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EMPIRE OF THE YOUNG

Missionary Children in Hawai'i and the Birth of U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific,

1820-1898

by

Joy Schulz

A DISSERTATION

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EMPIRE OF THE YOUNG: MISSIONARY CHILDREN IN HAWAI‘I AND THE
BIRTH OF U.S. COLONIALISM IN THE PACIFIC, 1820-1898

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University of Nebraska, 2011

Advisor: Thomas Borstelmann

Hawaiian by birth, white by race, and American by parental and educational design, the children of nineteenth-century American missionaries in Hawai‘i occupied an ambiguous place in Hawaiian culture. More tenuous was the relationship between these children and the United States where many attended college before returning to the Hawaiian Islands. The supposed acculturation of white missionary children in Hawai‘i to American cultural, political and religious institutions was never complete, nor was their membership in Hawaiian society uncontested. The tenuous roles these children played in both societies influenced the trajectories of each nation in surprising ways. Similarly, the children’s cultural experiences shaped their views of religion, race and world affairs. This complicated, bicultural childhood inspired the missionary children to participate in revolution in Hawai‘i and accept U.S. annexation of the islands, even while attempting to keep the Hawaiian nation free from outside influence. This dissertation examines the competing parental, cultural and educational interests affecting the hundreds of white children born and raised in the Hawaiian Islands during the nineteenth century and assesses the children’s impact upon nineteenth-century U.S. foreign policy, including the particular influences of missionary sons Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Sanford Ballard Dole and John Thomas Gulick.

For Jaden, Jett, Ava and Alea

Acknowledgements

The colonization of children often was an uncomfortable topic for me. Numerous times I squirmed in my seat as I read nineteenth-century manuscripts and thought of my own two children and what messages I was transmitting to them through daily cultural practice—meanings of complex topics such as love, security, God, and fear. My interest in the missionary children from Hawai‘i arose after close friends, in order to conduct humanitarian work, moved with their three, preschool-age children into the heart of a war zone. Living on an enclosed city block and guarded by men with machine guns, the children spent much of their time inside a small apartment. I wondered the potential impact of this upbringing, just as I speculated how their view of the world would evolve differently from their American-born and raised parents.

More painful was researching the devastation wrought upon the Hawaiian people through foreign contact. The loss of native lives, land, and a beloved monarchy was tragic and unjustified. The parts missionaries and their children played in this process were significant. While I had hoped to find white missionary children, enlightened by a bicultural upbringing, adamantly anti-imperialist, I found the sinister evidence of racism instead. Key religious differences between indigenous leadership and missionary descendants drew the white settlers increasingly closer to the United States. Yet in the nineteenth-century colonial context of the Hawaiian Islands, racism was complicated, making this particular story interesting and worth reading. Never did any of the children view themselves as racist or imperialist, even when writing about the “dirty kanaka” to their peers. A history of imperialism from children’s perspectives perhaps will lend an

aura of unfiltered emotion to the historical record, while also pinpointing the route nineteenth-century children took toward adult attitudes of race, class and culture.

The opportunity to travel to Hawai‘i and New England to conduct research, I admit, were highlights of this project, as were the numerous people I met who encouraged and aided me. I would not have been able to complete this project without the unreserved archival aid of Carol White, David Forbes, Kylee Omo, Sara Lloyd, Patricia Albright, Linda Hall, Carrie Hintz, Ben Brick and Kathy Walter. Additional direction was generously given by Gary Okihiro, Geri Shomo, Andrew Graybill and Cari Costanzo Kapur. Neither would I have been able to ask the right questions without the excellent and insightful instruction I received from my committee: James Le Sueur, Margaret Jacobs, Lloyd Ambrosius and Loukia Sarroub. Most importantly, I would like to thank my advisor Tim Borstelmann for his patient, forthright and dedicated teaching. Under his guidance I became a better student, scholar and writer. Lastly, I acknowledge my husband Marc for whose support I am always grateful.

Regarding the use of nineteenth-century American missionary and missionary children’s manuscripts, I have corrected minor spelling and punctuation discrepancies to conform to modern usage and make the children and their parents’ writings more accessible to a contemporary audience. I have also included biographical dates after the names of all missionary children to differentiate them from other persons mentioned in the text.

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Introduction: Imperial Childhood Children and Empire Formation in the Nineteenth Century

“Kauhua Ku, ka Lani, i-loli ka moku; Hookohi ke kua-koko o ka Lani; He kua-koko, pu-koko I ka honua; He kua-koko kapu no ka Lani.” – Ancient Hawaiian Mele

*“Big with child is the Princess Ku; the whole island suffers her whimsies; the pangs of labor are on her; labor that stains the land with blood.”
(Translation)¹*

The first white child born in the Hawaiian Islands entered a culture engulfed by internal transformation and embattled by foreign pressures. Neither she nor her American missionary parents could have anticipated in 1820 the critical role missionary children would play in this international drama. Not only did the hundreds of missionary children born to American parents in the Hawaiian Islands propel the Hawaiian and U.S. governments towards their 1898 conflagration, the children themselves became subjects of the imperial process, their formative childhoods the site upon which a colonial agenda was transmitted and developed. Colonial childhood developed into a critical yet contested battlefield upon which U.S. empire was built.

Missionary children could not have predicted the lasting outrage their actions would illicit from descendants of native Hawaiians. Dispossessed of land by foreign laws and strange concepts of private ownership, and stripped of the government they preferred through revolutionary means, indigenous Hawaiians retained pride in their culture and passed on to their children the will to fight colonial power. Their fight continues into the twenty-first century. In this respect the Hawaiian story fits well within the broader history of empire and decolonization. As Albert Memmi first pointedly argued, colonial

¹ Hawaiian and English translations found in Nathaniel Bright Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula*, ed. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, vol. 38 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 80-81.

settlers were the strongest advocates for imperialism and the greatest obstacles to decolonization. The economic rewards were simply too great for retreat. American missionaries to Hawai‘i did not seek financial reward, but they did demand economic security. Their children did not bother with distinctions. By the mid-nineteenth century the benefits of staying in the Hawaiian kingdom were eagerly discussed among parents and children. At the same time, native petitioners argued to the Hawaiian king that white, settler power had grown too strong.²

Nevertheless, missionary children acquired their political and cultural values during the long process of childhood. Bicultural influences, what Homi Bhabha coined “hybridity” and Nancy Rose Hunt calls “debris,” became defining identifiers in missionary children who faced endless conflict between the nation they considered home and the parents who they loved. Their writings are filled with uncertainty and insecurity, as well as a ferocious courageousness.³

Some might question the need for another “white” history of Hawai‘i, arguing that the use of white sources is itself an act of colonization. Certainly a long line of theorists from Michel Foucault to Edward Said have argued the continuing imperial power of Western discourse. Houston Wood has done so for Hawai‘i, arguing the term “Hawaiian” itself is Eurocentric. As a non-native attempting to discuss the history of the Hawaiian Islands, I hope to remain faithful to the historical record in a way that

² First published in 1965 Albert Memmi’s *The Colonizer and Colonized* provides insight into the complicated, multithnic relationships in French Algeria. His work is an important theoretical tool for understanding the advantages white settlers experienced relative to their birthland. See Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*, trans. Howard Greenfeld, Expanded ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1991).

³ See, for example, Homi K. Bhabha, “Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817,” in *Race, Writing and Difference*, edited by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 163-184. Nancy Rose Hunt discusses decolonization in the Congo in *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.

acknowledges the anger many native Hawaiians continue to hold today, as well as highlights an untold aspect of U.S. imperialism and global colonialism.⁴

Placing the missionary children within Hawaiian history is also fraught with complications. As Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa succinctly argues, true Hawaiians share a genealogy derived from the land and “distinct from the waves of foreigners that have inundated our islands.” Although the white missionary children revered Hawai‘i as the land of their birth, were subjects of the Hawaiian monarchy, and often called themselves “Hawaiians,” this nomenclature today is highly problematic. That missionary children joined together in the “Hawaiian” League to illegally overthrow the monarchy in 1893 provides a glimpse as to why the nature of their Hawaiian citizenship remains contested.⁵

Yet the path towards revolution began in childhood, and the following pages are, above all, a children’s history. As any parent knows children can be brutally honest. Listening to a child reflect upon race, religion and identity can even be painful. Nineteenth-century missionary children in Hawai‘i provide a telling glimpse of why adults conquer nations and cultures, and do so believing they act righteously. For white missionary children in the islands, it began with their parents’ decision to leave the United States for the pagan shores of Hawai‘i.

The Hawaiian Islands had only been known to the United States since their “discovery” by British Captain James Cook in 1778, and Americans had little

⁴ See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Houston Wood, *Displacing Natives: The Rhetorical Production of Hawai‘i* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999).

⁵ Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 2-3. I would like to thank Gary Okiihiro for his insights on the Hawaiian League.

information except what had been given them by Hawaiian “converts” to Christianity, a handful of Hawaiian youth who had made it to New England shores and embraced the religion and education of its residents. Their strange stories of human sacrifice, infanticide, polygamy, idolatry, and sexual promiscuity shocked and titillated the American populace, as did descriptions of the “dancing ground” upon which “drums pounded, gourds rattled, singers chanted and hundreds of dancers garlanded with green leaves and flowers and adorned with dog-tooth anklets moved endlessly to and fro in serried ranks, their bare brown flesh glistening with sweat.” Honoring Laka, goddess of hula, chanters and dancers, who had undergone years of rigorous training, celebrated children, mourned death, and remembered the uniting of the Hawaiian nation under King Kamehameha in 1795.⁶

Despite the peace and conformity which Kamehameha brought to a political system ruled by hereditary chiefs through land divisions and religious taboos, the increased arrivals of foreign traders not bound to such beliefs had already caused internal fissures. No Hawaiian gods murdered the white men who trampled Hawaiian practice by eating and sleeping in the same quarters with women or partaking of chiefly foods such as bananas, coconuts and pork. Hawaiian women, too, began to use foreigners to defy these *kapus* (taboos). When Kamehameha died in 1819, his successor Liholiho allowed—not uncontested—the state religion to expire.⁷

Such was the turmoil into which the first American missionaries arrived after their six-month journey around Cape Horn. As one missionary descendent described it, “It

⁶ Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1968), 65-66.

⁷ Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 15, 21, 70.

was still the day of...adventurers and itinerant and occasional traders, who 'wintered' and defied God, man and the devil in the south and traded for furs and hides in summer in the north." Commissioned by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), the first of twelve missionary companies left Boston in 1819 determined to establish one God and a new set of *kapus* for the Hawaiian people.⁸

The American missionaries were wildly successful. Determined to stay out of politics, the missionaries rationalized reaching the Hawaiian people through influencing the chiefs, assuming the infusion of Christian principles into all Hawaiian institutions would follow. Thinking the American missionaries politically disinterested, the Hawaiian monarchs increasingly called upon their advice in trade negotiations with France, Great Britain and Russia. "Rarely," wrote American missionary Hiram Bingham, "has a missionary a more favorable opportunity to exert an influence on a whole nation, than was here afforded in the circle of the highest chiefs of these islands." Within five years of the missionaries' arrival, a dozen chiefs had sought Christian baptism and church membership, including the king's regent Kaahumanu. The Hawaiian people followed their native leaders, accepting the missionaries as their new priestly class. They accepted the missionary children, born on Hawaiian soil, as members of their society. The process culminated in Hawaiian King Kamehameha III's adoption of Christianity and a Biblically-based constitution in 1840. As Kenneth Latourette notes, in no area of

⁸ Lucy G. Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years* (Ann Arbor, MI: S.C. Andrews, 1882), b-c.

Christian missionary activity, “was a more extensive change wrought in so brief a span of time” as in the Pacific Islands during the nineteenth century.⁹

As the first American missionary organization, the ABCFM commanded resources and attention. Born in the midst of New England revival and influenced by British evangelical societies, the ABCFM led the nineteenth-century American impetus to develop private benevolent and reform organizations capable of commanding the public sphere. These voluntary organizations were, in part, a backlash to the post-Revolutionary disestablishment of state-supported religion, yet by 1830 they shared evangelical goals, memberships, and financial contributors and had become a “benevolent empire.” The ABCFM’s efforts in the Hawaiian Islands played a crucial role in this process, electrifying the American public. “We know of no Mission...that has hitherto left this country, which has excited such general interest and prompted so many prayers as that to the [Hawaiian] Islands,” the *Boston Recorder* stated. Contributions to the ABCFM jumped with news that the first missionaries had reached the islands, and by the 1840s the ABCFM had raised for the Hawaiian mission over \$700,000, roughly fifteen million dollars today.¹⁰

⁹ John A. Andrew, III, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1976), 154-159, 164; Arrell Morgan Gibson and completed with the assistance of John S. Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, *Histories of the American Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 274; Neil Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860* (Melbourne and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978), 219; Kenneth Scott Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, vol. V, *A History of the Expansion of Christianity* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1943), 263.

¹⁰ Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers: 1815-1860*, ed. Eric Foner, Revised ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 29-33. By 1850 the ABCFM was ordaining 40% of all U.S. missionaries, yet its membership had declined from 20% of the U.S. public in 1776 to just 4%. See David W. Kling, “The New Divinity and the Origins of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, *Studies in the History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004); Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 119; Rufus Anderson, correspondence, October 24, 1849, American Board of

The success of the Hawaiian mission was critical to the ABCFM. Although earlier ABCFM missions had embarked to India in 1812 and Ceylon in 1815, they had yielded few converts. As an organ of the Congregationalist and Presbyterian denominations, the ABCFM hoped to counteract the continuing decline of Congregationalist influence in the United States. The ABCFM was also in the midst of reevaluating its domestic efforts among Native Americans. Working in concert with the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, the ABCFM had hoped to Christianize and educate Native American, Hawaiian, and other foreign youth, in order to return them as missionaries to their own cultures. The results were not as hoped. Eight years after the school's founding, Cherokee student Elias Boudinot caused near rioting in Cornwall with his 1825 marriage to Harriet Gold, a white woman. The following year the school closed its doors, stating that "inquisitive curiosity" and "established prejudices" had made the students feel as "*mere shows*."¹¹

The Hawaiian Islands' strategic location in the Pacific was just what the ABCFM needed to revitalize the American evangelical missionary spirit, as well as provide future prospects for its work among Native Americans. A founder of the Cornwall Mission School pronounced that the difficulty of crossing the Rocky Mountains and comparative ease of travel by trade winds made the evangelization of the Hawaiian Islands crucial to the evangelization of the American West. The ABCFM's *Missionary Herald* argued that from Hawai'i "salvation may go to the tribes and nations in the north-western and western parts of America, in the north-eastern and eastern parts of Asia, and on the

Commissioners of Foreign Missions Archives (Foreign Letters, 1836-1875, ABC 2.1.1), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹¹ Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 97, 145-146.

numerous islands of the Pacific.” Soon after the establishment of the Hawaiian mission, American missionaries began to travel to the Pacific Northwest by way of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1835 the ABCFM sent Marcus and Narcissa Whitman to the Cayuse Indians overland. In Washington territory the Whitmans met Hawaiian laborers who were the few—if not only—“natives” to accept the Whitmans’ proselytizing before the couple was killed by angry Indians.¹²

The diplomatic and fundraising successes of the ABCFM mission to Hawai‘i did not escape the attention of the U.S. government. In 1829 President John Quincy Adams wrote the Hawaiian monarchy encouraging its support of ABCFM missionaries living among the Hawaiian people. In 1841 the ABCFM sought U.S. intervention for its Syria mission after the Ottoman Empire ordered it to leave. Secretary of State Daniel Webster complied. With competing British, French, Dutch, and Russian interests in the Pacific region, a few American statesmen flirted with the idea of Hawaiian annexation as early as the 1850s. “The Pacific Ocean, its shores, its islands, and the vast regions beyond, will become the chief theatre of events in the world’s great hereafter,” stated U.S. Senator William Henry Seward in 1851. His pronouncement became the masthead of the Hawaiian mission’s newspaper *The Friend*. As Secretary of State during the 1860s, Seward advocated the acquisition of Hawai‘i and directed U.S. annexation of the Midway Islands, the halfway point between Hawai‘i and Japan.¹³

¹² Ibid., 102-103, 130; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 289-290; John S. Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai‘i,” in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 320.

¹³ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People*, Second ed. (New York: Sherman Converse, 1848), 355-356; Angelo Repousis, ““The Devil’s Apostle”: Jonas King’s Trial against the Greek Hierarchy in 1852 and the Pressure to Extend U.S. Protection for American

The American missionary project in Hawai‘i was part of a much larger economic movement. U.S. merchants had won a monopoly in the Hawaiian sandalwood trade during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The fragrant wood was valued in Asia for perfume and incense. As sandalwood became extinct U.S. whalers joined other maritime nations in utilizing Honolulu and Lahaina as important trading ports. These U.S. industries were not small. American ships carrying furs from the Pacific Northwest stopped in the Hawaiian Islands for sandalwood and garnered as much as one million dollars annually in Canton. Pacific whaling earned ten times as much by 1850. The Japanese imprisonment of U.S. whalers shipwrecked off its Pacific coast influenced the United States to forcibly open Japanese ports in 1854. On the heels of Britain’s first Opium War with China, the United States negotiated the 1844 Treaty of Wanghia allowing U.S. naval access to China for the protection of its growing economic interests.¹⁴

With the discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s, San Francisco supplanted Honolulu as the most important Pacific port for American traders. As the nearest trading partner, Hawai‘i became California’s principal supplier of agricultural and manufactured goods. With the concurrent decline in whaling, the Hawaiian monarchy shifted its focus to agriculture, opening lands to private purchase, even by foreigners. Some in the United States saw the eventual U.S. domination of the islands. “The native population [is] fast fading away, the foreign fast increasing. The inevitable destiny of the

Missionaries Overseas," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (2009): 812; Helen Gay Pratt, *The Story of Mid-Pacific Institute* (Honolulu: Tongg Publishing Company, Ltd., 1957), 28; Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000), 21.

¹⁴ Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," 317, 321; John S. Whitehead, "Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 23 (1992): 160; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 330-334.

islands is to pass into the possession of another power. That power is just as inevitably our own,” declared the San Francisco *Alta California* in 1851. Some in Washington argued that annexation of the islands was necessary for protecting California and the Northwest Territory from encroaching French, British and German interests in the Pacific, as well as to facilitate trade with China.¹⁵

Despite the burgeoning relationship between the United States and Hawai‘i, American Protestant missionary efforts in the Hawaiian Islands were incomplete. Mark Twain, visiting the islands in 1866, called the missionaries’ work “shallow Christianity.” The missionaries themselves were their own harshest critics. Although half the Hawaiian population attended a mission church seventeen years after missionary arrival, not one in a hundred Hawaiians were allowed church membership. Even those Hawaiians converted and educated by the missionaries retained their own cultural understanding of the Christian faith. Unlike the Genesis creation, Hawaiian creation occurred in pairs. The earth-mother Papa was female; the sky-father Wākea was male. As one Hawaiian convert explained Christianity, “The first father and mother of human beings, Adam and Eve, they are material of the dirt of the earth...Therefore, it may be correctly said, the land itself is living and walking upon the earth. Living and walking are the children of the land...Who is your mother? She is the land!”¹⁶

¹⁵ Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," 323; Jean Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil* (Stanford Stanford University Press, 1935), 31, 49; Qtd. in Whitehead, "Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?," 164; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 364.

¹⁶ A. Grove Day, ed. *Mark Twain's Letters from Hawaii* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1966), xiii; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 98; Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004), 101, 140. For additional evidence regarding cultural readings of missionary Bible translations see Derek Peterson, "The Rhetoric of the Word: Bible Translation and Mau Mau in Colonial Central Kenya," in *Missions, Nationalism, and the End of Empire*, ed. Brian Stanley (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2003), and Peterson, "Translating the Word: Dialogism and Debate in Two Gikuyu Dictionaries," *Journal of Religious History* 23, no. 21 (1999).

Native Hawaiians despised the continuing decline of their population, disrupted by foreign diseases, and the loss of native land to foreigners. After decades of missionary political influence, native Hawaiians reacted, calling for the removal of foreign influence from government. “[Now] the children have become adults...living under parents, that is the Teachers [missionaries], is over, we have matured, our minds are made up,” an editorial in the Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hoku* proclaimed in the 1860s. The missionaries were unimpressed. “Many of these younger men, having some little education, thought themselves equal to or better than whites, and began to resent the absorption by the latter of the higher offices, for which the natives were in fact totally incompetent,” one commented.¹⁷

Domestic discourse was a profound tool North Americans also utilized to direct their political agendas. New England Puritans had long argued that the “childish” ways of North American Indians should give way to Christian civilization. Timothy Dwight, a Congregationalist minister, Yale University President and founder of the ABCFM, justified the killing of Indian babies in war, “Should then these infants to dread manhood rise,/What unheard crimes would smoke thro’ earth and skies!” he opined in his 1785 epic poem, *The Conquest of Canaan*. “It is true that the slave is driven to labor by stripes [lashes]; and if the object of punishment be to produce obedience or reformation with the least permanent injury, it is the best method of punishment...It is not degrading to a slave, nor is it felt to be so. Is it degrading to a child?” a Southern slave owner argued in

¹⁷ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 70. Between 1832 and 1853 the Hawaiian population dropped from 130,000 to 70,000. See Whitehead, “Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?,” 164; Sereno Bishop, scrapbook, April 29, 1897, Hawaiian Mission Children Society Archives (Children of the Mission, 1830-1900), Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, Hawai’i.

1837. Canadian missionaries on the frontier argued that the Indians were in need of maternal and, thus, imperial care.¹⁸

Soon such discourse extended to international agendas. American missionaries in Hawai‘i argued against transferring Congregationalist control to native pastors, “The Hawaiian people have not arrived at full manhood. They are yet in their teens.”

American cartoons portrayed Cubans as children and in need of U.S. rescue from abusive Spain. Latino “children” needed direction, but under a better parent. “Take up the White Man’s burden,” British imperialist Rudyard Kipling exhorted the United States in 1899. Born in colonial India Kipling argued that American colonization of the Philippines was necessary for producing manhood in U.S. citizens and taming “new-caught, sullen peoples, Half-devil and half-child.”¹⁹

Such was the tension existing in the Hawaiian Islands as the early American missionaries began to reach the end of their lives and their numerous children entered adulthood. Hawaiian subjects by birth yet reared according to American design, missionary children in the islands watched the native children around them run free, swim naked, and learn the land in extended, communal families. Hawaiians composed *meles* in their children’s honor and called a childless woman one who had “never known love.” Yet native historian Samuel Kamakau noted that Hawaiian children were killed at

¹⁸ Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980), 66; Thomas A. Bailey and David M. Kennedy, *The American Spirit*, 9 ed., vol. 1 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 359; Myra Rutherdale, “Mothers of the Empire: Maternal Metaphors in the Northern Canadian Mission Field,” in *Canadian Missionaries, Indigenous Peoples: Representing Religion at Home and Abroad*, ed. Alwyn Austin and Jamie S. Scott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 46-66.

¹⁹ Ephraim Clark, correspondence, June 18, 1857, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions Archives (Hawaiian Islands Mission, 1824-1909, ABC 19.1), Houghton Library, Harvard University; Michael H. Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987), 61-68. The text of Rudyard Kipling’s poem can be found at <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/kipling.html>.

birth if unwanted or murdered as pawns in wars and ancestral feuds. Missionary Lucy Thurston taught a girl whose eye had been gouged out for eating a *kapu* banana.²⁰

Many of the missionary children's observations about Hawaiian culture were made behind the walls of mission yards, where missionary parents attempted to isolate their children from the "degenerate" and untamed native offspring around them. "What a host of pleasant memories are clustered around those hallowed hours of home instruction, home songs, and home pleasures, all the world shut out," wrote one missionary mother. Mission children remembered the experience differently. My memory "is of adobe walls," recalled a child, "being shut in by walls that seemed fifteen feet high."²¹

Missionary children internalized the numerous tensions found between their familial and cultural upbringing. "[I]nstead of seeing a man worshipping an idol which he has made with his own hands, you see ridicule poured on any who should do such a thing," wrote one missionary son. "Nature's law is change. Her tide must ebb and flow or it is no tide," explained another. May "those who take the pen to trace the history of the olden race...treat their subject well, and show the reasons why [the Hawaiians] fell," a third lectured in 1849. By the 1890s, as the Hawaiian kingdom erupted into political

²⁰ Linda Kristeen Menton, "'Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report': The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850" (PhD diss., University of Hawaii, 1982), 201-202; Jocelyn Linnekin, *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 184; Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Revised ed. (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 232-233; Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands*, 20.

²¹ Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 148; Laura Fish Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1966), 102-103; Ethel M. Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, LTD., 1950), 261.

revolution, these youthful musings no longer represented simple school essays. They presaged the fall of an independent kingdom and the rise of U.S. global dominance.²²

Missionary children in Hawai‘i entered adulthood in the midst of international change. While post-Civil War industrial and westward expansion had temporarily slowed U.S. interest in the Pacific islands, industrialization brought new avenues for international trade and increasing political demands for international competitiveness. Steam power required ports, and urbanization and immigration required commercial markets to fuel continued economic growth. European states rushed to divide Africa in search of raw materials for factories back home. The United States vied for influence in Asia. Everywhere indigenous governments and populations suffered invasion, exploitation and displacement. New racist ideas appropriating Darwin allowed Europeans and Americans to justify conquest. Hawai‘i, the “crossroads of the Pacific,” as one missionary son called the islands, represented an American opportunity for merchant and military fueling en route to Asian markets. In exchange, settlers in the islands wanted unfettered access to U.S. markets. “Westward The Course of Empire Takes” read the banner below which officials finally announced the U.S. acquisition of Hawai‘i in 1898. The Hawaiian Islands, U.S. Congress asserted, were necessary for fueling American naval ships on their way to the Philippines during the Spanish-American War.²³

²² Levi Chamberlain, correspondence, n.d., HMCS; John Thomas Gulick and Addison Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), 148; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 6, 1849-September 27, 1849, Cooke Library Archives, (Box 2), Cooke Library, Punahou School, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

²³ Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 341-342; Sereno Bishop coined the phrase "crossroads of the Pacific." See Sereno Edwards Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd., 1916), 9; Whitehead, "Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?," 169, 172; On the importance of Asian export markets to U.S. statesmen during the 1840s, see Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire*,

As adults missionary descendants presided over these historic transformations. Sanford Ballard Dole, for example, led the revolution. John Thomas Gulick helped Western powers open China and Japan. Samuel Chapman Armstrong founded Hampton Institute, influencing global education policies towards nonwhites. Anecdotal evidence collected during the twentieth century suggests that children of American parents raised outside the United States possess unique strengths, including political, cultural and environmental awareness, but struggle with identity, rootedness, and acceptance of those who do not share their experiences. The case of nineteenth-century children of American missionaries in Hawai'i yields considerable support to such observations.²⁴

Missionary children heard their New England parents decry U.S. slavery but watched them rely on unpaid native labor for the most intimate tasks, including childcare. Children saw their parents bow in deference to the Hawaiian chiefly class but listened to them degrade the Hawaiian commoner's way of life. Children saw their parents teach in schools considered too inferior for them to attend. "[I]t will raise fire!" wrote one missionary son about the idea white parents educate their own children with native children, who missionaries considered mentally "dissipated" and slow.²⁵

Revised ed. (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 2003). Regarding the importance of Asian markets to a newly-industrialized U.S. during the 1890s, see Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). For a discussion of American attitudes towards cultures encountered through U.S. economic and political expansion, see Hunt, *Ideology and U.S. Foreign Policy*. An excellent introduction to the international impact of European and American industrialization is C. A. Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, ed. R. I. Moore, *The Blackwell History of the World* (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004).

²⁴ Sanford Dole, born and raised in the Hawaiian Islands, was cousin to James Dole, founder of Dole Pineapple. James Dole arrived in Honolulu in 1899 at the age of twenty-four. See Bruce Cumings, *Dominion from Sea to Sea: Pacific Ascendancy and American Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 182-183. For a survey of 300 American repatriates, see Carolyn D. Smith, *The Absentee American: Repatriates' Perspectives on America and Its Place in the Contemporary World* (New York: Praeger, 1991).

²⁵ Luther Gulick quoted in Clifford Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 190, fn21. Missionaries considered native

Missionary children observed parents worry about money while preaching against earthly profits. Taught Calvinist orthodoxy, missionary children developed distaste for the version their parents attempted to transplant in the islands. Missionary children welcomed American missionaries on their way to the Pacific Northwest, but feared Native Americans when visiting the United States. They heard their parents extol the blessings of U.S. civilization but were unimpressed when experiencing it firsthand. As adults missionary descendants decried the deaths of native Hawaiians but increasingly relied upon bonded Chinese labor to take their place. Missionary children loved their homeland yet explored the world as if its entitled citizens. Considering themselves “Hawaiians,” missionary children felt born to lead the Hawaiian race. Above all, missionary children worshipped their parents as living martyrs and searched for their own cause to which they, too, could give their lives.

Many historians have documented the importance of the domestic sphere to the formation of empire. American missionaries in Hawai‘i, like their American and Canadian counterparts in the Pacific Northwest and British associates in the Pacific, fixated on the natives’ “uncouth and disgusting manners,” their “modes of dress and living” and lack of “taste, refinement and comfort.” Missionaries wrote to the United States about Hawaiian defecating habits, calling native parents filthier than swine and their children as wild as goats. American missionary wives believed demonstrating proper parenting and homemaking was essential to the Christianization of Hawaiian women, and used their growing number of children as tools to display proper obedience and respect to God. British, American and Canadian missionaries exhibited the cultural

children intellectual bright but morally damaged. See Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 237.

artifacts of “heathen” cultures to donors at home, in order to demonstrate the need for continued financial contributions, just as American missionary families in the Hawaiian Islands carefully presented their clean, dressed and obedient children before the natives.²⁶

Children became a key ingredient in the American colonization of Hawai‘i. Not only was the demographic size of white missionary families significant to the development of American colonialism, children *as* children became participants in the formation of U.S. empire. In the process children became a site of empire upon which settler parents attempted to transfer their goals and aspirations. This is the story of white childhood in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i. While the story includes the demarcations of race, religion, land ownership and political power, it is ultimately about the children’s views of such things, their understanding of the world and place in it. This tale spans the globe and covers one of the most critical periods responsible for making the world what it

²⁶ For a discussion of women and the domestic sphere in American colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands, see Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989). For the placement of domestic issues in the formation of political empire, see Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). On the ABCFM practice of putting cultural artifacts sent by missionaries on display in Boston and Hiram Bingham’s writings on Hawaiian domestic habits, see Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 126, 152-154. Merry discusses missionary perceptions of the Hawaiian body in *Colonizing Hawai‘i*, 236-237. For a domestic theory of mission among missionary wives in Hawai‘i, see Dana L. Robert, “Evangelist or Homemaker? Mission Strategies of Early Nineteenth-Century Missionary Wives in Burma and Hawaii,” in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory and Policy*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, *Studies in the History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004), 127-130. For a comparative view of Canadian missions in nineteenth-century British Columbia, see Adele Perry, “From ‘the Hot-Bed of Vice’ to the ‘Good and Well-Ordered Christian Home’: First Nations Housing and Reform in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia,” *Ethnohistory: The Bulletin of the Ohio Valley Historic Indian Conference* 50, no. 4 (2003). Early nineteenth-century British evangelical missionaries in Tahiti inspected native homes to make sure they were “plastered in and out, have doors and windows, bedrooms with doors and shutters, and a garden encircling the house.” See Brian Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Leicester, U.K.: Apollos, 1990), 158. By the time of her death, Narcissa Whitman had shifted her missions focus to domestic and parenting duties. See Julie Roy Jeffrey, *Converting the West: A Biography of Narcissa Whitman* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991). On the politics of missionary exhibitions, see Barbara Lawson, “Collecting Cultures: Canadian Missionaries, Pacific Islanders, and Museums,” in *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri and Margaret Strobel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992).

is today. Strong-willed, restless and often ambivalent, missionary daughters and sons crossed boundaries and transformed nations. The Hawaiian mission children were among the first to experience what children of immigrant parents today readily understand—religion, race and culture are powerful yet ambiguous markers of personal, familial and national identities. For the children of American missionaries in Hawai‘i, it was a process that began at birth and took a lifetime.

Chapter 1: Birthing Empire

Economies of Childrearing and the Formation of American Colonialism in Hawai‘i

“There was an old woman who lived in a shoe. She had so many children she didn’t know what to do.” - English Nursery Rhyme

“We multiply like the Jews in Egypt...Perhaps we are to inherit the land.”—Missionary Son Amos Cooke

“We were not rich in toys,” Sereno Bishop (1827-1909) recalled. Anxiously guarding the solitary Noah’s Ark sitting amidst the “cheap toys” sent to Honolulu by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in Boston, Bishop watched missionaries distribute the coveted toy to another member of the growing number of missionary children born to American missionaries in nineteenth-century Hawai‘i. Bishop received an iron skillet. “Alas for those who came late to the annual distribution of supplies!” wrote Henry Lyman (1835-1904). Attending the annual mission meetings in Honolulu with his parents, Lyman saw each mission family receive its parcel of “unsalable residue of various slop-shops” in the United States. Lyman wanted a rocking horse like Hawaiian Prince Alexander Liholiho: “It required numerous dissertations on the difference between kings and common people, before my vaulting ambition could be laid to rest.”¹

Toys and clothing which “did not appear to be adapted to the human form” was one thing. Foodstuffs were quite another. Oliver Emerson (1845-1938) celebrated the “welcome arrival” of a barrel of flour from the United States only to open the barrel and find much of it moldy from seawater. Emerson’s father cut the barrel in half and sifted out the usable remains. Elizabeth Judd (1831-1918) did not appreciate the need for such

¹ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 40; Henry M. Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Company, 1906), 46.

resourcefulness. Judd believed the ABCFM's decision to stop sending flour added "insult to injury," since the Hawaiian diet was "ill-adapted to the adequate nourishment of refined and educated" cultures. Maria Whitney (1820-1900), writing to the mission depository for sewing supplies, instructed, "I rather have none than *poor* ones." Hawaiian mission children quickly constructed the belief that material deprivation in the islands was caused by stingy and inattentive Americans in the United States.²

Such were the perceived economic injustices experienced by missionary children in the islands, yet the lack of more important resources, such as circulating currency, private land ownership, and advanced educational institutions, played more immediately upon the minds of their American missionary parents, who had initially forsaken such cultural artifacts to live among the Hawaiian people "for life." As one missionary revealed, "Most of us came from home without even thinking whether we should ever have a child to provide for, and asked no questions about such a matter." The missionaries quickly realized having children changed everything. Almost immediately missionary parents developed attitudes of entitlement, demanding churches back home to remember their families and the sacrifices they had made. Missionaries did not embark upon a program of economic imperialism in the Hawaiian Islands, yet their decision to have children altered their course. Domestic concerns became political ones, and American missionaries began to rationalize colonial policies. Missionary tension between Christian martyrdom and economic reward produced a lasting effect upon their children's understanding of religious, economic and political security, as well. In fact, so

² Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 30; Oliver Pomeroy Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1928), 61-62; Elizabeth Leslie Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder* (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Press, 1909), 8-10, 50; Maria Whitney, correspondence, February 7, 1848, Hawaiian Mission Children Society Archives (Children of the Mission, 1830-1900), Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

significant were missionary children in Hawai‘i to the development of American colonialism in the Pacific, it would be impossible to discuss the formation of a U.S. political empire without including their story.³

Impacted by the revivalist fervor of the Second Great Awakening, most among the 140 American missionaries, sent by the ABCFM to the Hawaiian Islands in twelve companies, were unreserved in their commitment to spending the rest of their lives in the Pacific islands. Levi Chamberlain, for example, was a successful Boston businessman who sold his dry goods business and donated all his money and property to the ABCFM after joining the second company of missionaries to Hawai‘i in 1822. Sybil Bingham also gave her small but entire fortune to the ABCFM before leaving for the islands. Others worked off their debts in order to be commissioned as missionaries.⁴

So that missionaries could devote their entire energies to developing a written language for the Hawaiian people, translating the Bible into Hawaiian, and teaching native men, women and children to read it, the ABCFM supplied all the Hawaiian mission’s domestic needs through a common stock system administered by appointed agents for the mission. The ABCFM also desired to protect the missionaries’ reputations. “The kingdom to which you belong is not of this world. Your mission is to the native race,” ABCFM Secretary Rufus Anderson instructed the missionaries. Consequently, missionaries practiced rigid economy partly out of necessity, and partly out of a desire to appear trustworthy to the American churches upon whom they depended for total

³ Peter Gulick, correspondence, August 30, 1842 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, October 15, 1847 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

⁴ Charles Stewart and Artemas Bishop, for example, became ABCFM agents to fulfill their debt obligations. See Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 108, 131-132.

support. One missionary who returned to the United States told of the “bitterest remarks and sneers” he received upon seeking gainful employment. The American public proved unsympathetic to his ideological shift regarding the pursuit of wealth, ridiculing his lack of commitment to a life of chosen poverty.⁵

Within fifteen months of the first company’s arrival in 1820, each of the seven American wives had given birth to a child, propelling the first renegotiation of communal living. Exhausted mission mothers demanded divided food shares and an end to the “good old long table” at which growing mission families shared all meals. The mothers no longer wanted to rotate cooking responsibilities, which were required three times a day for as many as fifty mission members and guests. A few missionary mothers refused outright to continue their communal duties, and the missionaries reverted to operating as nuclear families.⁶

The economy of childrearing almost immediately became a topic of intense negotiation between the ABCFM missionaries and Boston Board. By 1822 the seven-year-old Ceylon mission wanted the ABCFM to establish a seminary in the United States to which it could send missionary children as young as eight years old. The Board remained unresponsive during eight years of continual correspondence, until 1830 when, according to the Board, “the case of [the Ceylon mission] children was concisely and ably stated” for the first time.⁷

⁵ Rufus Anderson, correspondence, April 10, 1846 (Foreign Letters, Transcript series, 1836-1875, ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM; Cochran Forbes, correspondence, September 12, 1848 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

⁶ Mary Zwiep, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 137-138; Lydia Bingham Coan, 1887, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," (Honolulu: Government Press, 1853-1937).

⁷ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, "Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," (Boston: The Board, 1846), 234.

The Ceylon missionary parents argued their lack of ability to provide for the futures of their children. The American parents believed their ability to educate, employ, settle, and marry their children in Ceylon was severely limited. As missionaries who earned no income, nor were allowed to individually profit in any way from their work, they had no resources to offer their children. Lumping their children together with native children in rudimentary mission schools, they argued, would be woefully inadequate, as well as morally dangerous. This fear regarding the cultural dangers of raising their children in a non-Christian environment and the corresponding impetus to racially segregate their children would follow ABCFM missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, as well.⁸

By its 1826 annual meeting, the Hawaiian mission was formally debating the “condition and prospects of the children of missionaries.” The mission noted that it was “[d]eeply impressed with the difficulty of giving our children a proper education at the islands.” In their personal correspondence, the missionaries were consumed with providing for the future circumstances of their children. “Of all the trials incident to missionary life, the responsibility of training up children, and of making provision for their virtue and usefulness... is comparatively speaking, the only one worthy of being named,” wrote missionary mother Lucy Thurston. “When my thoughts turn to their future prospects in life, a darkness visible seems to brood over their path.” Abigail Smith declared. A “thorough education” for her children, Smith stated, was the “only *personal* luxury I crave.”⁹

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Mary Charlotte Alexander and Charlotte Peabody Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1941), 6-7; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and*

The Hawaiian mission remained adamant in its letters to the Board: “The education and future prospects of our children constitute a subject of increasing solicitude with us....if every parent must himself educate his own children, how can the other great and pressing interests be sustained and advanced?” Missionary Hiram Bingham asked, “children over eight or ten years of age...ought to be sent or carried to the United States...in order that they might escape the dangers of a heathen country, and inherit a portion of the civil, religious, and literary privileges which their ancestors had bequeathed them, and at the same time allow the parents more time and strength for missionary work.” Bingham rationalized that while parents could give very young children the “rudiments of education,” there was “no employment into which the parent could with propriety thoroughly initiate them as a business for life.” Bingham and fellow Hawaiian mission parents conflated worries regarding future employment opportunities for their children with their views of Hawaiian culture, which, they believed, had nothing to offer their children but dissipation, paganism and intellectual malaise.¹⁰

The ABCFM missionaries also regarded the lack of New England-style preparatory schools and colleges in the islands a severe hindrance to their children’s upbringing. Although they attempted to replicate the model for Hawaiian elites, such as at the Royal School in Honolulu, the majority of missionaries focused their attention on teaching native Hawaiians a written, Hawaiian language, the one language they forbid their own children to learn. Instead, missionary parents wanted their children taught

Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years, 101-102; Mary Dillingham Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll* (New Haven: Privately Printed, 1934), 210-213.

¹⁰ Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, June 5, 1841 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People* (Tokyo, Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981), 331-332.

English, Greek and Latin, a task for which, they argued, they had no time. The Congregational requirement to be classically educated and seminary ordained, in order to enter the pastoral or mission fields, guaranteed that missionary parents in Hawai‘i were well educated. They desired the same advantages for their children. “Should it be urged that the establishment of a *school* at these islands would obviate the difficulties mentioned,” the mission wrote in 1827, the children will “unavoidably be ignorant of many of the liberal arts and will not be as qualified for extensive usefulness as persons educated in civilized lands.” Our children “have a right to an education by inheritance,” the Hawaiian mission again appealed in a joint letter to American churches. “We could more easily do with only half a loaf of bread than without the means of educating our children,” missionary Ephraim Clark stated.¹¹

The early nineteenth-century American practice of apprenticing one’s child into his eventual occupation also proved difficult for missionary parents in the islands. “[T]here is not a mechanic in all the islands with whom any missionary would suffer his son to live in order to learn a trade-there is not a merchant with whom he would allow him to become a clerk-not a farmer to whom he could entrust him,” emphatically wrote missionary Dwight Baldwin. The “low character of the native population,” and the “almost universally irreligious and immoral character of foreigners with whom the islands abound” make us “afraid to settle our children here.”¹²

¹¹ Not all Christian denominations required such high educational standards for their missionaries. The relationship between American missionaries and higher education is discussed in Dana L. Robert, *American Women in Misison: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1996); Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 7-9, 21; Ephraim Clark, correspondence, June 28, 1853 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

¹² Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, June 22, 1848 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

Despite the mission's arguments that there were no educational or employment opportunities for their children in the islands, the official position of the ABCFM was that "as a *general* rule...children should be educated under the inspection of their parents." ABCFM secretary Jeremiah Evarts reminded the missionaries that "impurity and profaneness of language" existed in U.S. schools, too. Missionaries who exchanged their own parental guardianship for the perceived benefits of an American education were simply exchanging "*one degree of danger with another.*" Evarts encouraged the missionaries to have faith that God would bless their educative efforts in the islands.¹³

Not least on the Board's mind was the financial impact of providing for the education of mission children, an expense bound to increase with the size of missionary families. "[S]hould the Board make it a part of their plan to defray the expense of sending your children [to the United States] for education, this item of expenditure would in time become very great...*the public mind would not probably bear the expenditures to which such a system would give rise,*" Evarts wrote. "[T]he expense on this score," he predicted, "would be prominent and insulated, and would be regarded as an *incidental* expense, very large, if not extravagantly so." Considering that the eventual number of children born to American missionaries in Hawai'i numbered over 250 by the 1850s, Evarts's worries proved prescient.¹⁴

The Board attempted to sympathize with the missionaries. "[P]arents find trying difficulties everywhere," Evarts wrote. For those missionaries who persisted in their demands to send mission children to the United States, Evarts encouraged them to see the financial benefit of the increasing importance of the Hawaiian Islands to American

¹³ Jeremiah Evarts, correspondence, October 27, 1827, American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions Archives (Preliminary series, 1827-1836, ABC 2.01), Houghton Library, Harvard University.

¹⁴ Ibid.; "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1853.

commerce, “opportunities of obtaining a gratuitous passage... would be to those enjoyed by your brethren [in Ceylon], probably, as ten or twenty to one.” Hawaiian mission parents remained unconvinced. Begging a ship captain for free passage to the United States for one’s six-year old was the easy part. Parents still had to arrange U.S. guardianship and provide tuition for their children.¹⁵

Such was the standoff in 1830 when the Ceylon missionaries finally convinced the Board to alter its policy. Arguing that establishing a seminary for mission children in the United States was prohibitively expensive and unnecessary, the Board agreed to provide one-way passages for mission children to the United States to attend existing American schools. In 1833 the Board extended its policy to Hawaiian mission children, and in 1834 granted annual stipends to mission children studying in the United States. By 1846 ABCFM missionaries had sent more than one hundred mission children to the United States. Over thirty Hawaiian-born missionary children made the six-month voyage, nineteen unaccompanied by an adult. Most of the children sent to the United States, to live apart from their parents, were between the ages of six and ten.¹⁶

Placing a dollar amount upon the cost of raising one’s child, while a seemingly natural occurrence for parents in the United States today, was disastrous to the nineteenth-century “disinterested benevolence” of ABCFM missionaries in Hawai‘i. While other scholars have noted the impact of the Panic of 1837 upon American financial contributions to ABCFM missions, the demands of childrearing and the expectation that “God will not suffer children to be *losers*, by the sacrifices of their parents in his cause”

¹⁵ Evarts, October 27, 1827 (ABC 2.01), ABCFM.

¹⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, “Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” 334-336; Anderson, September 5, 1834 (ABC 2.01), ABCFM; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 6; Zwiép, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*, 247.

played the more important role in transitioning the missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands towards new thinking regarding the accumulation of wealth. In their role as parents missionaries ultimately derived a colonial mindset which had a permanent impact upon the political sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands and the domestic culture of the Hawaiian people.¹⁷

By 1832 the Hawaiian missionaries were already discussing a move from the common stock system to fixed salaries. Realizing the increased expense the Board would incur from such a measure, the missionaries resolved that each family should estimate not only their current expenses but what their expenses were “likely to be in [the] future.” Clearly some missionaries had begun contemplating a kingdom of this world. Nevertheless, the missionaries continued to eschew private property. In 1836 the Mission wrote, “No man can point to private property to the value of a single dollar, which any member of the mission has acquired at the Sandwich Islands.” Missionary Dwight Baldwin noted, “Every member, I think, to a man, has been engrossed in labors for the benefit of the people. And it is certainly true of nearly every one, that he has turned his attention to no provision whatever which his children might need in America.”¹⁸

Additionally, the difficult process of shipping young children back to the United States to be thrown upon the goodwill of relatives, or other guardians whom the Board could procure, was proving untenable to newly-arriving missionaries. By the 1830s mission feeling had decidedly cooled to the idea. For some parents it was due to the lack of relatives to whom they could send their children. Reports of mission children who had

¹⁷ Gulick, August 30, 1842 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

¹⁸ Hawaiian Islands Mission, General Meeting Minutes, 1832 (19.1), ABCFM; Bradford Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1956), 217; Baldwin, October 15, 1847 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

been tossed around families did not ease their minds regarding the capacity of the Board to adequately place their children. Others did not trust their own relatives—"Unitarians," one missionary called his—to guard their children's moral upbringing. Some parents simply did not want to leave the islands for the yearlong journey required to personally place their children in American homes and schools. Parents were also obligated to obtain permission both from the mission members and Boston board to leave the islands. This could sometimes prove challenging as Abner Wilcox discovered when trying to take his young son Albert to the United States to receive surgery on a club foot. Their trip was almost stopped by the arrival of a doctor in Honolulu, who the mission depository agent thought might be able to provide cheaper medical services. From Boston Board secretary Rufus Anderson requested information from other members of the mission regarding the medical necessity of Albert's trip.¹⁹

More subtle influences shifted mission parents away from sending their children to the United States, including economic changes occurring both in North America and the Hawaiian Islands. In the United States the market revolution of the early nineteenth century drove rural residents to the cities for wage employment, and the consequent rise of the urban middle class changed the nature of domestic relationships. No longer business partners, husbands and wives now divided their duties between public and private spheres. Women commanded the domestic front, in part, by developing complex theories of motherhood to justify the amount of time spent at home in their non-wage

¹⁹ Zwiap, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*, 247; Levi Chamberlain, correspondence, December 21, 1847 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 289. For a discussion on the nineteenth-century development of separate spheres for men and women, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" In New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1977). For a picture of how nineteenth-century industrial and demographic changes influenced motherhood, see Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2, Part 1 (1966).

earning capacities. Theories exalting the nurturing role of motherhood and the need for constant companionship with one's children, in order to oversee their moral upbringing, culminated in the 1847 publication of Horace Bushnell's immensely popular *Christian Nurture*. "It requires less piety...to be a martyr for Christ than it does to...maintain a perfect and guileless integrity in the common transactions of life," Bushnell admonished.²⁰

Hawaiian mission mothers, who actively pursued subscriptions to American publications, were familiar with the new parenting theories. While not all of them embraced the popularized attitudes, they eventually admitted that "with adequate facilities [and] increased paternal faithfulness the children of missionaries may be trained up here." With contributions to missionaries dipping in the United States by the end of the 1830s, parents worried that "placing their children so far out of their own influence" to be influenced instead by a country "where the missionary spirit is low," could cause their children to "be lost to the mission."²¹

A more important reason behind the mission's reversal regarding the proper location for the education of its children was economic changes occurring in the islands. As the missionaries explained, "The increase of foreigners of a good character within a few years past...leads to the hope that were there no other employment for our children they might at least some of them, find employment as clerks, overseers, or laborers on the plantations." More to the point, another noted, "Natives are rapidly dying

²⁰ Qtd. in Margaret Bendroth, "Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*," in *The Child in Christian Thought*, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 356.

²¹ Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 129-130; Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, July 20, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM. Missionary Peter Gulick called the United States the "land of temptations, and seducers," August 30, 1842 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM. Jennifer Fish Kashay notes the role of the 1830s financial panic on contributions to the ABCFM in Jennifer Fish Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *The New England Quarterly* 80, no. 2 (2007).

off....Foreigners are multiplying—lands are now put as it were into the market to be leased out to the highest bidder for 25 years.”²²

In the 1830s all Hawaiian lands belonged to the Hawaiian king to be used by the chiefs and people. The king administered all property, and, according to the 1840 Hawaiian Constitution, no one could “convey away the smallest portion of land” without his consent.²³ With the decline of the Hawaiian sandalwood trade by the 1830s, the development of agriculture became increasingly important to the continued economic viability of the islands. The rise of the Pacific whaling industry meant as many as 300 to 400 ships stopping each year to buy supplies from the islands. King Kamehameha III’s leasing of land to foreigners knowledgeable in agriculture meant potential opportunities for mission children, as well.²⁴

The development of a Hawaiian market economy, centered at the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina, created immense demographic change for the original inhabitants of the islands. Ships not only brought disease, but they also created a demand for wages by providing currency. Native laborers flocked to port towns to seek employment, leaving the land of their parents, just as rural sons and daughters left New England farms for Boston, Philadelphia and New York. Sereno Bishop “never saw a British or United States coin of any sort” as a boy in the early 1830s. Missionary families, instead, traded books and slates for sweet potatoes, eggs, squash, fish, taro and melons. Peter Gulick made money tokens for his sons to trade among themselves and “cultivate in them ideas of property value, and of traffic.” Soon Honolulu was gaining an estimated 120 thousand

²² Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, July 20, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; John S. Emerson, correspondence, July 27, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

²³ Qtd. in Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 28-29.

²⁴ Ibid., 18-19; Whitehead, "Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai'i," 321.

dollars in annual income during the whaling season. In 1840 11,000 out of 100,000 natives lived in either Honolulu or Lahaina. By 1860 that number had grown to 18,000, while the total number of native Hawaiians, devastated by foreign diseases, had shrunk to 70,000.²⁵

Consequently, almost as soon as the Board had granted stipends to mission children sent to the United States, missionary parents in Hawai‘i were estimating the cost to raise their children in the islands, including tuition costs for a non-existent preparatory school for their children. In 1838 the missionaries resolved that the adoption of salaries was necessary to the “missionary cause,” making clear that any accumulation of wealth was for their children, “not...for ourselves.” In 1840 the Mission hastened the Board to settle the amount of their salaries “as soon as possible,” adding that the Board’s proposed 540 dollars per year was “sufficiently low” for sustaining a family. At least one missionary threatened to take his family back to the United States unless the Board also established a boarding school for mission children in the islands.²⁶

In the end, the mission families determined to move forward on their own to establish a school for their children. Utilizing whatever mission resources they could muster, missionary parents in 1841 built a school at Punahou (“fresh spring”), two miles outside Honolulu. Oahu Governor Boki had gifted the land to Bingham, who, eschewing property as required by the Board, transferred the gift to the mission. The missionaries argued that the use of mission property for the purpose of educating their children would

²⁵ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 29, 49; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 61-62; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 167-168.

²⁶ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 17-18; Hawaiian Islands Mission, resolutions adopted at meeting of Sandwich Islands Mission, June, 1838 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, June 1, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Emerson, correspondence, July 27, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

free their missionary labors for the native people, a “most economical expenditure.” The missionaries also notified the Board that they had convinced Daniel and Emily Dole, ABCFM missionaries who had arrived that year, to change their plans from missionary work among the native Hawaiians to teaching mission children. “The Lord has graciously sent us instructors to take charge of the school just at the time they were needed,” the mission informed Boston.²⁷

Punahou School, and the consequent retainer of scores of mission children in the islands, might not have been possible without the economic aid of Kamehameha III. By 1840 the American missionaries were educating 15,000 native Hawaiian children in schools across the islands. The mission had also established boarding schools at Hilo and Wailuku, the Lahainaluna and Central Female Seminaries, and the Royal School, a Honolulu academy for the children of Hawaiian chiefs. That same year the King took over all financial support for native elementary schools, a propitious act which, Emily Dole noted, came as “a great relief to the mission, especially at this juncture of establishing a boarding school for the children of the Mission.” Faced with the realization that foreign encroachment was inevitable, the Hawaiian government sought to prepare the nation to hold its own and made education compulsory. So important did the government consider education that the legislature enacted a law requiring a man to demonstrate his ability to read and write before being allowed to marry. Two years after Kamehameha III created the first Hawaiian constitution, legislature, and public education system, the ABCFM aided the missionaries by transitioning to a salary system. The Board allotted each couple \$450 per year and granted children under 10 an additional \$30 and children over 10, \$70 annually. The Board abolished the common stock system but

²⁷ Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, June 5, 1841 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

retained the depository at which missionaries could now purchase goods. Missionary parents could now give their children a New England education in the islands and save their personal incomes for their children's futures.²⁸

Still missionaries worried about their children. Although Punahou School did not charge tuition to the mission families, parents hoped the Board would provide more aid for the school's operational costs. Some argued that the allowance for children under 10 precluded parents' abilities to pay for their children's board at the school, around twenty-five dollars per year. "You doubtless anticipate that *money* is again to be the subject of discussion. And you are right. The *inadequate* allowance for the support of children in the school is, in my opinion, *the great obstacle*," one missionary wrote the board in 1842. "Is it a small thing indeed to disband a school on which much toil...treasure and prayers and tears, too, have been expended for years and turn out the half educated," asked another, "to sink down on a level with the mass of degradation that surrounds them? Is it a small matter for a feeble mother to lie on her couch and see her children growing up and running wild without education?" Missionary parents retained the ever-present fear that without a liberal arts education their children would fall into ruin. Some missionaries fought amongst each other over mission resources for their children. Abner Wilcox angrily wrote the Board that John Emerson had taken, of all things, a children's medical reference book when transferring mission stations.²⁹

²⁸ Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 34; Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, the Pioneers, 1789-1843* (Stanford University Press, 1942), 341-347; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 61; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 107; Cecil K. Dotts and Mildred Sikkema, *Challenging the Status Quo: Public Education in Hawaii 1840-1980* (Honolulu: Hawaii Education Association, 1994), 20; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 103-104.

²⁹ Gulick, correspondence, August 30, 1842 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Richard Armstrong, correspondence, March 21, 1841 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Abner Wilcox, correspondence, January 17, 1845 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

Most seriously, missionaries had begun to leave the mission over the issue of providing for their children's futures. "My father has left the Board so we haf to work for our living," explained ten-year old Sarah Andrews (1832-1899). Sarah's father justified his 1842 departure from the ABCFM as necessary for the support of his family. "It is my duty to look forward a little and see how I can accomplish my own designs to do the missionary work," Lorrin Andrews stated. "What I call my own designs is the education of my children." Some missionaries wanted Andrews to leave the islands, but he refused. Instead he taught school to Sarah and her four siblings before joining the Hawaiian government as a member of the Privy Council and, later, a Supreme Court justice. Andrews was among the first American missionaries to reverse their economic challenges by offering their political services to the Hawaiian monarchy. Others, such as the Tinkers and their five children, resigned from the ABCFM and returned to the United States. After Elizabeth Judd's parents severed their relationship with Board in 1842, Judd wrote that "a new and happier life opened to us all." In 1843 the Hawaiian government appointed her father, Dr. Gerrit Judd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.³⁰

The ABCFM held its ground. Salaries were one thing, but the accumulation of individual property and the acceptance of government appointments were quite another. Bishop thought his parents' salary "comparative opulence" to the family's previous way of living, but Sereno's father was incensed the family was required to send all income from its herds to the mission. Sereno's stepmother annually earned between 400 and 500 dollars selling butter, all of which she sent to Honolulu. "The only course that is safe for

³⁰ Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 25; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 12-13; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 55.

the minister and missionary...is, *in holding on in his spiritual course*,” Anderson reminded the mission in 1846. “We all most earnestly deprecate having any other one from the mission coming into any sort of official connection with the government,” he added.³¹

Missionary parents continued to agitate. “The existing regulations of the mission in regard to herds...are offensive to some of our members, and are regarded by them as *absurd*,” mission depository agent Levi Chamberlain wrote the Board in 1847. At least one missionary, Chamberlain noted, thought it was time for the missionaries to “have the right of making and using property as clergymen do at home...Thus they may be able in due time to make provision for their families.” With Punahou School operating as a preparatory school, parents now began to argue that it was “inadequate to finish their [children’s] education.” As one English-language Hawaiian newspaper declared, “Every civilized, educated and Christian nation must have an elevated institution of learning, well officered and well endowed.” With greater opportunities for settling their children in the islands, parents worried about “capital to begin with.” Less than eight years before, the Hawaiian mission had been adamant that it was “very undesirable that any brother should turn aside from his work to engage in labor or traffick.” Missionary parents now argued for colonial status.³²

Missionary parents held the upper hand and were growing “impossible to guide.” At the 1848 general meeting in Honolulu, the mission counted 130 mission children, not including the ones who had been sent to the United States. Even the king commented on

³¹ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 44; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 25, 291-292; Anderson, correspondence, April 10, 1846 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

³² Levi Chamberlain, December 16, 1847 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Newspaper clipping, January 1, 1859 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, June 1, 1840 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

“the numbers and sprightliness of the [mission] children.”³³ Missionaries wanted the Board to grant them permission to acquire private property for their children. Levi Chamberlain summarized parental feeling at the meeting:

[T]hey recommend that every obstacle [to acquiring private property] be removed...that we may have it in our power to obtain means to provide for our children either by settling them in the islands or doing something to educate them in the United States....Soon our children will cease to receive support from the Board: they must have support from some quarter; is it not the duty of parents to provide for their children? Our sons must have employment, and, if they remain in the islands, they must have land, horses and cattle, and who shall provide all these things for them? . . . The school at Punahou is not lost sight of as affording means for training and mental qualifications; but it only relieves in part the embarrassments of the parents; it makes no provision for getting a livelihood....It is highly probable that those missionaries who wish to acquire property for their children, should they be successful, will eventually seek for separation from the mission.³⁴

Chamberlain advised, “Colonization by means of missionaries might well receive the attention of the wise men who have connected themselves with the missionary enterprise.”³⁵

The parents, once again, moved the Board. In fact, the Board had already received enough personal correspondence from individual missionaries for Anderson to estimate that as many as twenty-six of the forty missionary families in the islands would return to the United States for the sake of their children “in the course of six or seven years, at the expense at least of \$26,000, not to speak of the missionary labor and influence at the islands.” To lose over half of its missionary presence in the islands, after spending “about seven hundred thousand dollars on the Sandwich Islands people since the year 1819,” was untenable to the Board. Thus, “nothing short of the certainty of far

³³ Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 292; David Lyman, correspondence, January 23, 1849 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

³⁴ Chamberlain, correspondence, August 22, 1848 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

³⁵ Ibid.

greater evils would have induced the Committee to such a risk” as the one it took in 1848.³⁶

“I know not whether the communication I am about to make will take you by surprise,” Anderson wrote the Hawaiian mission on July 19, 1848. Such was the beginning of a momentous announcement from Boston. No longer would the ABCFM stand in the way of its missionaries in Hawai‘i pursuing the ownership of private property. Additionally the Board would transfer all mission lands and property to individual mission families. In order to encourage the colonization of American missionary families in the islands, the ABCFM would reduce American financial support of and concede control over Protestant Hawaiian churches by encouraging American missionaries to obtain their own support from their native Hawaiian congregations and expanding the native pastorate. “O Brethren,” Anderson wrote, “you have only come to a *new epoch* in your labors at the islands. You will need to gird yourselves up anew, that you may become the fathers and founders of the Christian community that is to exist in that North Pacific.” The goal, Anderson explained, “is to keep the greater part of your children with you at the Islands, and to give them such an education and setting up, as you can *there*;-as our fathers did in the first settlements of this country.” Just as seventeenth-century Puritans believed they could transform the world through their “shining” example of godly institutions in New England, so, too, did the ABCFM hope to create a Congregationalist monument in the Hawaiian Islands through the importation, settlement and multiplication of Americanized Christians.³⁷

³⁶ Anderson, October 22 and 24, 1849 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

³⁷ Ibid., July 19, 1848 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

At this critical juncture in American colonial history, the Hawaiian government again assisted the ABCFM in its goals. The king had already established his preference for foreign advisors, and the newly-established Hawaiian legislature agreed that it was necessary to “select persons skilful like those from other lands to transact business with foreigners.” Beginning in 1845 these advisors, including former missionary Gerrit Judd, presided over what became known as the Great Mahele, one of the most astounding voluntary acts of a national sovereign in world history. The King divided all Hawaiian land among the crown, chiefs, and common people, and again divided crown lands between him and the Hawaiian government. Private individuals, “whether native or foreigners” could, for the first time, seek permanent title to their land grants and claims. Individuals could sell their titles, and by 1850 even alien residents could buy and sell property to anyone.³⁸

The king needed revenue and revenue-producing land to fuel a Western-style government, including a public school system. The Hawaiian government also realized the importance of a successful agricultural sector for trade with whalers, as well as California. “It is proper to sell small farms to natives and also to foreign subjects, and let them cultivate alike, that the skilful may instruct the ignorant in the work,” the Legislature decreed. “The prosperity of the Islands and their altered position relatively to Oregon and California, require a greatly increased cultivation of the soil, which will not be possible without the aid of foreign capital and labor,” the king told the legislature in 1850. Believing foreign investment and expertise necessary to produce a plantation-scale agricultural sector in the islands, the king and legislature sought to attract foreign

³⁸ “Concerning Foreigners Taking the Oath of Allegiance,” *The Friend* (August 1845): 119; Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 39-41.

landowners at the same time they attempted to bolster the number of potential agricultural laborers. In 1850, the same year foreigners were allowed to freely purchase Hawaiian land, the Hawaiian legislature enacted the Masters and Servants Act, allowing for the importation of contract labor, and passed legislation restricting Hawaiian emigration.³⁹

The ABCFM and its missionaries in Hawai‘i were forthright in their efforts to take advantage of these changes. The Hawaiian mission pursued land titles for its homes and churches, property which at one time had been granted to the mission by the king and chiefs. The ABCFM then sold the titles to individual missionaries. Transactions between the ABCFM and individual missionaries often were for “\$1.00 and services rendered.” As nineteenth-century native historian Samuel Kamakau, noted, “The missionaries were given land by the chiefs without any payment. They left these to the American Board when they moved away from the land, and those missionaries who wished to own the lands given by the chiefs bought them of the American Board...They were clever people!”⁴⁰

Missionaries also acquired property from the Hawaiian government through gifts, gifts for service, and outright purchase.⁴¹ All sales of government lands were crucial to the government’s revenue stream, yet astoundingly the Hawaiian government justified transactions with missionaries as being necessary for the care of mission *children*. In a joint statement the Foreign and Interior Ministries argued in 1850:

³⁹ Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 53-56; "Concerning Foreigners Taking the Oath of Allegiance," 119; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 3 vols., vol. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938; reprint, 1968), 329-330.

⁴⁰ Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 86; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 335.

⁴¹ Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 87.

Much has been said against sales of land to individuals of the American missionaries at low prices. But nothing can be more unreasonable and unjust. It is well known that these parties are severing their connection with the Board in Boston with a determination to seek support for themselves and families on the Islands, that they return poor and in most cases with numerous children all born in the Islands....It would then ill become the government to refuse to sell lands at moderate prices to retiring missionaries while it has confirmed grants of thousands of acres to others who never paid one dollar for it.⁴²

The ABCFM plan appeared to work. By 1850 the missionaries owned close to 8,000 acres of former government lands. The mission reported to Boston that “all” at the 1849 general meeting “admitted that it would be likely to diminish the number of [missionary] returns” to the United States. Although some missionaries worried about the ability of their native congregations to support them, the Board assured the mission that missionaries who released themselves from the ABCFM could still receive grants-in-aid and provision in old age as needed. Their children could still attend Punahou School free from tuition.⁴³

The Board’s next step dealt with the school. Weary of hearing parental complaints that Punahou was not adequate to finish their children’s educations, the Board chartered the institution as Oahu College in 1853, eventually gifting the land and building to its new trustees, and, according to Anderson, “ever after reliev[ing] the Board from the necessity of paying anything for the education of the children elsewhere.” The Hawaiian government granted the charter and donated proceeds from the sale of 300 government acres to the college.⁴⁴

⁴² Qtd. in Ibid., 100.

⁴³ Ibid.; Ephraim Clark, May 10, 1849 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

⁴⁴ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1870), 244, 259; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 247.

New conflicts immediately arose. Within the first few years of the Board's announcement, at least six families took advantage of the plan and left the support of the mission, yet rumors reached Boston of these former missionaries engaging in government surveying and serving in the Hawaiian national legislature. The "Resolution relaxes no man's responsibilities and leaves him no more at liberty than he was before to become a legislator, mechanic, surveyor, landbroker or speculator, trader, banker, or money broker," Anderson wrote the mission in 1851, "grasping after worldly gain, is no part of the object of this act." While released missionaries were to find their own support, the ABCFM limited those pursuits. Secular income jeopardized one's relationship with the ABCFM. In a private letter to his son Samuel, former missionary Richard Armstrong warned that "[t]he native churches will never support the missionaries; they can help, but the burden must rest somewhere else. The missionaries will of necessity in this way be more or less engaged in secular pursuits." Armstrong had already left the mission to serve the king as minister of public instruction, a position looked upon very skeptically by the Board. Meanwhile the California Gold Rush, a boon to Hawaiian farmers and merchants supplying San Francisco, caused prices of goods in the islands to rise. Mission families sent more animated letters to Boston arguing against the Board's definition of ill-gotten gain.⁴⁵

Clearly the Board had hoped the missionaries would earn full financial support as pastors in the islands, training up a native pastorate to carry on after their retirement. The Board also hoped to end its financial support of the missionaries without sacrificing any

⁴⁵ Anderson, December 3, 1851 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM; Armstrong to Samuel Chapman Armstrong, January 15, 1850, qtd. in Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 340, fn 326; Samuel Castle, correspondence, February 27, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Gulick, correspondence, April 29, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

of the missionary spirit. The Board had no desire “to change this mission into a mere secular community, into a *colony*,” Anderson complained, “it was a far different proposal, that was commended to your attention.” Financing changes were “forced upon us,” Anderson reminded the missionaries. “[T]he parental feelings of not a few of you seemed likely to overpower your missionary self-consecration, and bring you home.”⁴⁶

Not all the missionaries were ready to end the communal property and salary system. Abigail Smith wrote that the family’s purchase of land in 1854 “was the first direct effort we had made to increase our possessions, and we should not have done this, had it not seemed very necessary in the new arrangements for our support.” Smith rationalized, “Land here costs a great deal—but it will never probably cost less than now and perhaps our Heavenly Father designs this to be a comfort to us and our dear children in future years.”⁴⁷

The Board’s shift regarding the colonial settlement of its missionaries in Hawai‘i propelled other missionaries to uncomfortably seek new ways for support. When Abner Wilcox asked the board for a salary increase, he wrote Anderson, “My preferences have always been in favor of doing missionary work....To be engaged about this, that, and the other worldly things destroys my peace and happiness.” Wilcox, a teacher, ultimately turned to the Hawaiian government for part of his salary. He did so by adding English to his school’s curriculum, something he did not want to do. “Were I without family, I would step quietly out of the way, Wilcox explained, “But I have a family dependent on me....I have 7 children.” John Emerson went through a depression when the Board turned down his request for additional support. “[I]f family circumstances had not

⁴⁶ Anderson, December 3, 1851 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

⁴⁷ Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 210-213.

forbidden,” Emerson said, “I would willingly have exchanged my situation for a deep, dark valley among the heathen of Hivaoa.”⁴⁸

In 1854 the ABCFM transferred governing power over Congregational activities in the islands to the newly-created Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). With this action the American Board gave the Hawaiian mission “home rule” status, and the Board considered its missionary work in Hawai‘i essentially finished. Still the economic concerns of the missionaries stalled ABCFM efforts to train a native pastorate. Some missionaries argued that they could find few viable candidates, but other missionaries blamed their peers. “But why have the missionaries been so tardy in bringing forward a native ministry?” one missionary wrote the Board. “A pastor can get a larger salary from a larger flock than from a small one....To carve up their mammoth churches and form distant parishes with distant pastors would so reduce the number who contribute to their support that the amount would not meet the wants of their families, and hence without knowing exactly what moves them, they oppose the measure.”⁴⁹

The U.S. Civil War in 1861 devastated American contributions to ABCFM missions just as it devastated American churches. The Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist denominations each split, in part, over the issue of slavery, and the ABCFM, made up of Presbyterians and Congregationalists, was not exempt from the controversy. The Board lost donations from Southerners, who were convinced the society was a Boston abolitionist group. It also lost the support of northerners incensed the society accepted donations from slave owners. To propel the end of ABCFM support in the islands, Anderson traveled to the Hawaiian kingdom in 1863 to conduct meetings with

⁴⁸ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 359-361; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 194-195.

⁴⁹ William P. Alexander, correspondence, August 15, 1859 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

the HEA. The HEA finally agreed to divide most large churches and give them to native pastors, as well as to make native pastors and laymen part of all religious bodies in the islands. From this point forward the American Board considered itself an “auxiliary” to the HEA. Some missionaries until their deaths retained partial support from the Board, but others were told to depend upon the aid of their children, now Hawaiian landowners, merchants, lawyers, surveyors, government workers, pastors and teachers.⁵⁰

The American missionaries to Hawai‘i arrived with idealistic notions of preaching a theological message of spiritual conversion to the Hawaiian people without entangling themselves in political and economic concerns. With the birth of the first mission child in 1820, missionary *practice* changed. The Hawaiian mission children were not unaware of the changes occurring around them and actively participated in the completion of their parents’ revolution. Their understanding of these events, however, was almost totally different, heavily influenced by their relationship to their parents.

“What is the destiny of the Sandwich Island mission?” mission students at Punahou debated during 1848-1849. As one contributor explained in the *Punahou Gazette*, the school’s weekly student newspaper, “This is a subject of very great importance...not only to the parents, but also to the children of the mission.... It may materially affect both their present and future lives and prospects.” Missionary children believed that if the majority of mission families returned to the United States, the impact on the Hawaiian kingdom would be great. “Would it not rapidly sink in the scale of Nations?” the writer asked. “In twenty five years, what would be the character of

⁵⁰ For the impact of U.S. slavery on American Protestant denominations, see Paul K. Conkin, *The Uneasy Center: Reformed Christianity in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 289; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 381-382.

inhabitants of these islands, here where the missionaries have been laboring, for nearly a quarter of a century, to civilize and Christianize them?”⁵¹

Mission children felt both a tremendous pride in and responsibility toward their parents' work. “Should they not be considered among the greatest men on earth?” Levi Chamberlain (1837-1917) asked in a school essay. “Perhaps there is no other missionary station whose success has equaled that of the mission,” a writer in the *Gazette* argued. “Can ye who have spent the best portion of your lives and strength in laboring for these inhabitants give them up now in their present critical circumstances?” the writer admonished mission adults. Clearly missionary children were aware of parental hopes that time was “bringing forward another generation to occupy [the missionaries'] place on earth.” As Chamberlain sarcastically remarked, “We have been exhorted and beseeched until the oft repeated story of our peculiar position, parentage, and advantages for doing good fall upon our weary ears like a tale that is told.”⁵²

The children also knew their parents felt great trepidation regarding the future. One solution the parents had discussed was to center all mission children on one island, a colony which could influence the natives and foreigners around it without being unduly influenced by them. “We have heard their plan...to have those of the missionaries who remain on these islands, assemble and settle down in a community, and lay the foundation of a colony composed of Missionaries and their descendents, whose descendants will in a few years people these islands with a civilized, enlightened and enterprising community,” a student wrote in the *Gazette*. Liking the idea, the author

⁵¹ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, September 7, 1848-March 30, 1849, Cooke Library Archives, (Box 1), Cooke Library, Punahou School.

⁵² *Ibid.*; Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence and papers, n.d., HMCS; Hawaiian Islands Mission, correspondence, June 1, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

suggested East Maui as “the best site for a colony,” where “the soil is very fertile, and would well repay the labors of the Husbandman.”⁵³

Some mission children seemed to have a sharper understanding of economics than either their missionary parents or the American Board. Seventeen-year old James Chamberlain (1835-1911), who worked in the mission depository for Samuel Castle and Amos Cooke, ridiculed the Board for sending out “a great many rocking chairs sent out all set up, while if they had been packed in boxes ten times the amount of freight would have been saved.” Chamberlain also quickly noticed that friends Curtis Lyons and Henry Lyman were earning “more than \$100 per month” as surveyors, compared to his 100 dollars per year at the Depository. “Curtis sent down \$1000 the other day to be put at interest for him,” Chamberlain wrote his sisters Martha and Maria in the United States.⁵⁴

In a particularly resourceful move, Lyman had arranged to have his father appointed land agent for the southern half of Hawai‘i. Lyman had been told by the Minister of Interior he was too young to hold the position but that as land agent his father could appoint anyone he wished as surveyor. “This arrangement was perfectly satisfactory to me...to the no small discontent of my father, who was not at all pleased with the idea of becoming, even nominally, a government official,” Lyman wrote. “On second thought, however, he concluded for my sake to accept the situation, though it involved a compulsory sacrifice of inclination on his part.”⁵⁵

Mission children understood the financial hardships their parents experienced. At the Depository, Chamberlain noted there was “hardly a missionary that is not in debt” with “some of them having taken twice their salary in goods and other things.” Even

⁵³ *Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

⁵⁴ James Chamberlain, correspondence, late 1850, February 21, 1851, and April 20, 1852, HMCS.

⁵⁵ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 219-221.

though American missionaries paid lower prices than native Hawaiians and other foreigners who shopped at the Depository, the burgeoning market for Hawaiian goods placed even the Chamberlain family in debt to the store. Samuel Castle and Amos Cook, who bought the depository at cost from the ABCFM in 1851, sold goods to the missionaries for cost plus ten percent. Everyone else paid a twenty-five percent markup. “We shall be glad to get \$1,000 where some merchants get \$10,000 and try to be more grateful for it than they,” Cooke resolved, his comments a far cry from earlier mission days of common-stock distribution and equal salaries. Mission children worried about their “duty and privilege” to help parents. “I feel that you have a claim upon me. I am your oldest son,” Warren Chamberlain (1829-1914) told his sick father, “A mother and a large family may be left who will need support....[P]erhaps the King might favor me in some way.” Chamberlain was by no means the only missionary child hopeful for government patronage upon returning to the islands.⁵⁶

In 1851 Warren Chamberlain’s widowed mother bought 70 acres of farmland beside the Waialua River for her eldest son, who was planning to return to the islands after his U.S. education. “I think that the prospect at present is quite flattering that the Islands are destined to become quite important,” twenty-year old Warren wrote his parents from New England in 1849. “The market especially I think is destined to be a very good one in the Pacific Ocean,” he predicted. “At present I suppose large tracts of land lie uncultivated which the king would be willing to rent or to sell....Here the land has become so valuable, that it would require many years of labor to obtain a small

⁵⁶ James Chamberlain, late 1850 and February 21, 1851, HMCS; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 312; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, October 17, 1849, HMCS. Just a few of the missionary sons who sought to professionally benefit from their parents’ relationship to the monarchy included Henry Lyman, Henry Whitney, William Armstrong and Sanford Dole.

farm.” Chamberlain was right. By the early nineteenth century the availability of New England land had dramatically shrunk, causing land values to rise and forcing many young men to the cities to find wage labor. Only a five-hour horseback ride from Honolulu, Warren Chamberlain’s Waialua farm was employing 25 men and producing nearly two million pounds of rice within a decade.⁵⁷

The U.S. Civil War boosted Hawaiian agriculture. With the Union embargo on Confederate sugar, northern states increased their importation of Hawaiian sugar. In 1860 the Hawaiian Islands contained twelve plantations exporting one and a half million pounds of sugar. By 1866 the kingdom possessed thirty-two plantations exporting nearly eighteen million pounds. Mission children entering adulthood benefitted from the change. Castle and Cooke financed mission sons Samuel Alexander and Henry Baldwin in the sugar industry. Baldwin’s brother Dwight joined former missionary Elias Bond at the Kohala Sugar Plantation. Alexander’s brother James began a plantation with their father. Joseph Emerson became plantation manager at Kaneohe, Oahu. Emerson’s brother Oliver worked as a plantation overseer before entering college.⁵⁸

Encouraging his parents to begin planting sugar on their land, Albert Wilcox (1844-1919) became one of the most successful planters in the islands. “Albert has quite a mind to go to cane planting,” his mother Lucy Wilcox, wrote in 1862. Wilcox’s brother Edward (1841-1934) also spent time working on a sugar plantation, “We usually worked till midnight four days in the week. I got \$1 a day and board, and \$1.00 extra for the

⁵⁷ Levi T. Chamberlain, February 22, 1851, HMCS; Warren Chamberlain, October 17, 1849 and June 23, 1862, HMCS.

⁵⁸ Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 174-175; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 327; LaRue W. Piercy, *Hawaii’s Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1992), 179; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 190; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 205.

night work, making \$10.00 a week,” Edward Wilcox remembered. “This seemed like ‘*affluence beyond the dreams of avarice*’.” Their brother George Wilcox attended Yale University to study engineering, return to the islands, and build water irrigation systems for sugar cane. Rufus Anderson had proven prophetic in his encouragement to mission parents in 1849, “As for your *children*, the great field of enterprise now is certainly in the part of the world where you are.”⁵⁹

Mission daughters also entered the changing Hawaiian economy, particularly as teachers. As Maria Whitney explained in 1878, “While we were connected with the Seminary at Lahainaluna, we received a larger salary from Government than we needed for our support. [We] invested \$1,000.00 in the stock of the Sugar Plantation at Kohala, Hawaii, which after more than 12 years of patient waiting, is now paying dividends.” In 1870 Anderson noted over thirty mission daughters employed as teachers in the islands.⁶⁰

Mission daughters also owned land. Although Jean Hobbs concludes in her study of missionary land deeds that “comparatively small areas were left by will to descendants,” many children inherited or bought land nonetheless. Helen, Elizabeth and Laura Judd each received lots in Honolulu after their father’s death. “Honolulu is becoming a large place. Houses are all the time going up. There has probably been two hundred or more wood houses put up since you left,” James Chamberlain wrote his sisters. “The plain has been portioned out into lots which have been sold to different individuals.” At least one peer, Chamberlain noted, had already bought one. Sanford

⁵⁹ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 375-379; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 190; Bob Krauss and William P. Alexander, *Grove Farm Plantation: The Biography of a Hawaiian Sugar Plantation* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, Publishers, 1965), 94; Anderson, correspondence, October 22, 1849 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

⁶⁰ Maria Whitney, 1878, HMCS; Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 330.

Dole (1844-1926) observed that “lands...distributed among some of the missionary families, became in later years of great value and enriched their owners.”⁶¹

As Hawaiian-born subjects, mission children also took political appointments from the native government. Joseph Emerson (1843-1930) accepted a position with the Hawaiian Government Survey, and Nathaniel Emerson (1839-1915) became president of the Hawaiian Board of Health. William Richards Castle (1849-1910) and William Neville Armstrong (1835-1905) served as attorney generals and Samuel Mills Damon (1845-1924) as minister of finance. Albert Judd (1838-1900) and Sanford Dole received appointments to the Hawaiian Supreme Court. At least fifteen mission sons were elected to the national legislature. In 1887 no less than nine of the forty-nine members of the legislature were former mission boys.⁶²

At a time when native Hawaiians were lamenting their falling birthrates, and the Penal Code punished native Hawaiians who left the islands, it certainly appeared as if the white mission children had, in the words of Amos Cooke (1851-1931), “multipl[ied] like the Jews in Egypt” and would “inherit the land.” As English travel writer Isabella Bird noticed during her visit to the Hawaiian Islands in 1873, “At Honolulu and Hilo a large proportion of the residents of the upper class are missionaries’ children; most of the respectable foreigners on Kauai are either belonging to, or intimately connected with, the Mission families; and they are profusely scattered through Maui and Hawaii in various

⁶¹ Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 101; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 323; James Chamberlain, correspondence, late 1850, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1888.

⁶² Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 229-230; W. D. Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York: American Book Company, 1899), 340-345; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 342-325; Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo’ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2002), 247.

capacities.” Throughout much of this period, the Hawaiian monarchy remained committed to its missionary friends, including their beliefs and descendants.⁶³

This legacy—“our inheritance,” Sanford Dole called it—missionary children began to feel slipping from their grasp beginning in the 1860s. With the ascension to the throne of Lot Kamehameha in 1863, the children correctly sensed that native emotions had shifted against American missionary influence. Lot immediately distanced himself from the American missionaries by refusing to support the constitution they had helped define and reinstituting native religious practices. The missionary children rose to the challenge. “We are the children of the missionary enterprise. And is there no claim upon us to do all in our power for the cause which has done all for us?” Anderson Forbes (1833-1888) asked fellow missionary children. “[M]ay God have mercy upon [our] filial ingratitude.” Asa Thurston (1827-1859) argued to his peers, “It is to us that the Hawaiian nation must look for...its advocates, its protectors and defenders.”⁶⁴

Missionary parents had warned their children about what could happen if the mission lost its influence over the monarchy. “When the king rejects the counsel of long and well tried friends... and when he selects infidels and scoffers of religion for his most intimate companions, we cannot confidently expect the providence of God will long smile upon him,” Missionary Lowell Smith told his daughter Emma (1844-1920) in 1857.

⁶³ *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A.D. 1850*, (Honolulu: Government Press, 1850); Cooke qtd. in Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 292; Isabella Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1964), 192.

⁶⁴ “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1888, 1863, 1853.

“Alas! For this poor puffed up nation!” Martha Chamberlain (1833-1913) wrote her sister Maria. “They are top heavy and will so fall over prostrate in the dust.”⁶⁵

Adult mission children were concerned that the institutions their mothers and fathers had created in partnership with earlier Hawaiian sovereigns were in jeopardy. In 1865, for the first time, no one associated with the ABCFM or HEA was serving on the Hawaiian Board of Education, and the Inspector General of schools, Abraham Fornander, was openly critical of the missionaries. Ann Eliza Clark (1833-1938) wrote her sister about the Board of Education while teaching at Waialua Girls’ School with her husband, Orramel Gulick (1830-1923). “[W]e hear and know of more petty acts of tyranny on the part of the King and others than you do,” Clark stated. “It is [the Minister of Finance’s] policy now to get into petty offices like school teachers, and under Government pay, as many as he can of the good folks, and so give a semblance of goodness to the Government, while at the same time it keeps them from acting against it, while the worst kind of men are put into the posts of real power and influence.” The Gulicks decided to leave the government school in 1870, “[W]e have managed the school independently and according to our own ideas too long, to accept with any grace, dictation or advice from such enemies of the right as now compose the Board of Education,” Clark wrote. As the Gulicks argued, “The Hawaiians were not strong enough to keep up, alone, the high standard to which they had attained....The Christian chiefs and men of authority had passed with their influence for good, while the representatives of good government had

⁶⁵Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 224; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, February 1, 1874, HMCS.

been replaced by others.” Soon adult mission children were calling the legislature “one of the weakest and most corrupt that ever sat in Honolulu.”⁶⁶

The children had other concerns. Missionary son and Hawaiian historian William Dewitt Alexander (1833-1913) believed the “germs of many of the evils” began under Lot and “his encouragement of the lascivious hulahula dances and of the pernicious class of Kahunas or sorcerers.” Oliver Emerson remembered “the riotous sound of the *hula* drum” from his boyhood. “[I]t was not, as some would believe, a call to an innocent dance,” Emerson declared. “The *hula*, as I knew it to be then and in later days, made its appeal to grossness and immorality, an insidious evil which the fathers had fought.” By the reigns of King Kalākaua in 1874 and Queen Lili’uokalani in 1891, fortune tellers and mediums, not missionaries, played frequent advisory roles to the Hawaiian monarchy, and in the words of one former mission child, “All who would not bow the knee” to such changes, “received the honorable sobriquet of ‘missionaries’.” Even more distressing to missionary descendants was King Kalākaua’s 1886 revival of the ancient Hawaiian religion. “This was done in order to promote sorcery and bring the nation into political subjection to the king himself as the chief sorcerer,” Sereno Bishop wrote.⁶⁷

Just as important as defending their parents’ religious legacy in the islands, the mission children sought to protect the material inheritance bequeathed by them. Some, such as Elizabeth Judd and her husband, sugar planter Samuel Wilder, actively

⁶⁶ Pratt, *The Story of Mid-Pacific Institute*, 2; Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence, July, 18--, HMCS; Orramel Hinckley Gulick and Ann Eliza Clark Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1918), 310-311; W. D. Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1896), 8.

⁶⁷ Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, 1, 12, 16; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 209-210; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 269; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 22.

campaigned for King Kalākaua's election, due to his promise of to pursue trade reciprocity with the United States, an achievement he completed in 1876. Although reciprocity "ushered in an era of unexampled prosperity," according to one mission son, adult missionary children continued to see the monarchy as regressing into unstable and corrupt "personal government." Bribery scandals under Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani's 1893 attempt to unilaterally change the constitution were too much for the children to handle. "In order to safeguard the stability of the Government and its commercial interests," Emerson admitted, "a closer relation with the United States was more and more favored." Sereno Bishop was blunter: "On account of the commercial necessities of the Islands, nothing can be more certain than that some strong and efficient government must and will be maintained here." English traveler Isabella Bird sympathized with the white missionary descendants while deviating from their optimism. Agreeing Hawaiian government institutions had been "Christianized" by their parents, Bird questioned their overall success. Hawaii's westernized government, she thought, was "ludicrously out of proportion to the resources of the islands."⁶⁸

Missionary descendants in Hawai'i might not have been so eager to accept the imperial power of the United States if had not been for their belief that Americans had abandoned their parents and left the Hawaiian mission incomplete. Missionary children's growing calls for U.S. annexation stemmed, in part, from their tenuous relationship with the ABCFM. "The old missionaries were not reinforced by outside aid, and on the shoulders of a native ministry was laid a burden which we can now see was too heavy for it to bear," Samuel Damon assessed in 1886, "I think there are few who are truly

⁶⁸ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 158-159; Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, 303, 308-309, 314-315; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 242; Bishop, scrapbook, HMCS. Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 161-166.

conversant with the real state of affairs on our Islands but will acknowledge the inexpediency of this action,” Damon criticized. William Smith (1848-1929) believed the picture drawn by the Board in 1848 was “in colors too brilliant.” The Board “met the difficulty partially only.” Missionary children interpreted the ABCFM’s move to end its financial support of missionaries in Hawai‘i very differently from their parents. To their parents, the ability to own private property and pursue individual income allowed better provision for their children. To the children, this difficult transition represented an American desertion of their parents and the islands, the effects of which they alone were left to rectify. “These men and women love the fair land of their birth and are not willing to let it return to barbarism,” Emerson said of his fellow mission descendants. “[T]heir pride in the institutions which their fathers were enabled to build, spur them on to a studied and careful support of humane and worthy causes which may save their loved native land.” American aid, in the form of U.S. reciprocity, military protection and, ultimately, annexation signaled the rectification of decades of foreign pressures and Hawaiian decline.⁶⁹

Some natives questioned whether mission descendants were capable of such altruism. Mahualu, who worked for the Emerson family, told Oliver and his brothers, “Your father combined in one person the various vocations which you five brothers have followed, and all of you put together are not equal to the old man.” As Mahualu and others astutely observed, missionary children engaging in medical, ranching, surveying and ministerial professions primarily did so for themselves.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1886, 1882; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 256.

⁷⁰ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 169.

Rufus Anderson also criticized mission descendants after visiting the islands in 1863. The 1848 changes, which had ended the Board's formal role in sending missionaries to the islands, was based on the supposition that the mission children "might be depended on for future exigencies," Anderson explained. "[W]hat, let me ask," Anderson wrote the descendants, "will your plantations or other secular occupations be worth to you if the Puritan religion, diffused by your fathers through the Islands, should be allowed to sink in decay and desolation?" Although the mission descendants pledged to Anderson during his visit that they would help carry on the Hawaiian mission's work, "so far as we are able," they also retained the opinion that the American churches had not fully done their part. And, while the Board "favored the independence of the Islands," adult mission children were not as deferential to ABCFM opinion as their parents had been. Ultimately, the Hawaiian mission children were "practically unanimous for the overthrow of the monarchy and for annexation to the United States." As Gavan Daws notes, the missionary children "were fond of saying that they looked always to the higher good...by the eighteen nineties the United States had come to embody the higher good."⁷¹

Missionary children inherited the material concerns of their parents. While they may not have shared the same ideals regarding the continued independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, parents and children both sought to solidify their economic livelihoods in the islands. For missionary parents this effort entailed a decades-long debate with the ABCFM in Boston over how to best provide for their children. Parents

⁷¹ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1863, 1865; Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 339-340; Sereno Edwards Bishop, "Are Missionaries' Sons Tending to America a Stolen Kingdom?," *The Friend* 52, no. 1 (1894): 2-3; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 292.

won the debate in 1848 and colonized the islands with their families. Missionary children fought to protect those gains, ultimately viewing the monarchy as an enemy to their parents' legacy. The children won their fight in 1898 when the United States annexed the islands.

What mission parents and their children held in common was an inability to see their struggle as an economic one. "To us they left no heritage of gold, or jewels or land," Albert Lyons (1841-1926) addressed fellow mission descendants in 1890, "A richer bequest they left us; we inherit the fruits of their work in the material prosperity which the Christian civilization they established here has made possible." Mission descendants fully believed that no other group in Hawai'i "has in it the power of numbers, of wealth, of cultivation, of social standing, which we may claim," yet they conflated their religious ideals and economic agendas, just like their parents, who had argued for more wealth while denying they sought it. "And how can I better aid the work of the Master than by earning money thus to devote to missionary enterprises which must be maintained by the contributions of Christians?" Lyons asked. After nearly a century of American missionaries birthing empire in the Pacific, the question seemed perfectly natural.⁷²

American missionary families in Hawai'i were unique among their fellow missionaries in the Pacific. Although the London Missionary Society (LMS) had been the first to send missionaries into the Pacific Islands, sending thirty-six missionaries and three children to Tahiti in 1796, the Tahiti mission by the 1820s was warning American missionaries in Hawai'i to send their children back to the United States in order to avoid the disasters which had befallen their own families. By 1820, the year the first Hawaiian

⁷² "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1890, 1883.

mission baby was born, LMS missionaries had had ample time to witness their sons and daughters reject Protestant morality in favor of native culture. In the case of the Tahitian mission children, sexual promiscuity—including incest and prostitution—became so pronounced that in 1824 the mission established a school on the nearby island of Moorea to separate the mission children from the Tahitians. At the South Seas Academy children ran off to the hills, roamed the bush, cavorted with natives and generally developed, what the missionaries believed to be “depraved and filthy minds.” The school closed in 1839, and English missionary parents sent their children to boarding schools back in England. “One of the principal causes of the disillusionment of later missionaries was the moral character of the mission children and their families,” Neil Gunson writes. Only one LMS mission child converted to Christianity while in the islands. In the 1850s the LMS abandoned Tahiti to French Roman Catholic priests.⁷³

In the case of New Zealand, the British Church Mission Society (CMS) sent its first mission, including several families, to the Maoris in 1814. However, the CMS, along with the Aborigines’ Protection Society, fought colonization and white settlement. When Great Britain made New Zealand part of the empire in 1840, the Church of England took religious control of the colony. Large groups of colonists began to arrive in New Zealand under the direction and protection of the British Empire. Consequently the settlement of American missionary families in Hawai‘i, initially unaided by the imperial protection of the United States, yet ultimately guiding United States absorption of the islands, made the

⁷³ Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, 202; Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860*, 76, 159-160; Zwiep, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*, 239.

American missionary enterprise in Hawai‘i a “frontier [which] surpassed all others as an alterative force.”⁷⁴

Cultural anthropologist Robert A. Levine argues that parents pursue parental goals in hierarchy. Only after protecting the physical survival and health of their children and preparing children for economic independence do parents develop their children’s cultural values, including religious piety and intellectual achievement. The health and survival of Hawaiian mission children were never in question. The average family size of missionary families living in the islands was between six and seven children. Of the 282 mission children born by 1853, only thirty-six had died in the islands. In fact Rufus Anderson postulated that the sizeable number of mission children was due to “the extraordinary healthfulness of the Islands.”⁷⁵

Hawaiian mission parents instead fixated on the second and third goals, the economic independence of their children and the transmission of parental values. Missionary parents pursued both goals with inordinate terror. “It has always seemed to me,” Anderson complained, “that the great enemy of missions directs his chief assaults on the *parental* side of our missionary brethren, as their most assailable point.” Hawaiian mission parents demonstrated what Richard Drinnon notes as one of the salient characteristics of American settler colonialism: fear. Throughout U.S. history, Drinnon argues, American expansionists have encountered “heathen” cultures with repressed hostility, stemming from anxiety about potentially losing control of nature, as well as

⁷⁴ Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, 179-187; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 268-269.

⁷⁵ The importance and implications of Levine's theory are discussed in Barbara Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 109; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 89; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1853; Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 240-242.

their own bodies. As American expansionists in the Hawaiian Islands, missionary parents were no different—except that they feared for their children. LeVine has observed that children’s attachments are dependent upon the cultural contexts in which parents pursue their goals, “specific conditions that have given [children] comfort and that arouse anxiety when they are withdrawn.” Hawaiian mission children derived security not only from their caregivers, but from the *ways* in which those caregivers addressed the children’s needs, and the *environments* in which caregivers assured the children they were secure. Missionary children learned to accept Hawaiian lands and political appointments as necessary to securing their own “civilized” place in Hawaiian society. In the case of their economic wellbeing, missionary children in Hawai‘i pursued U.S. annexation as a form of parental protection over the institutions and property their parents had secured.⁷⁶

As adults, the Hawaiian mission children viewed their parents as martyrs worthy of continued recognition both in Hawai‘i and the United States. In many cases the children conflated their parents concerns about economic security with their own. This sense of entitlement, the missionary descendents argued, was never about them. It was about protecting the legacy of their parents. Missionary children had accepted the normalcy of their parents’ spiritual grandeur and continued to live in their parents’ shadows. In the process, Hawaiian mission children expected land ownership, government offices, and economic opportunity in the islands as their birthright.

⁷⁶ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 34; Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*, 116. Drinnon traces the saliency of fear in American expansion from colonial through twentieth-century U.S. history in Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*.

American missionaries did not begin their residence in the islands with a colonial agenda, but in their role as parents, they taught their children the value of colonial practice, the pressures of parenting clouding their missionary zeal.

The children also absorbed high levels of parental anxiety. Controlling their economic livelihoods through developing the land, and securing legal institutions which recognized private ownership, were only two manifestations of such fretful inculcation. Xenophobia was another. Missionary parents, who had decided to forsake their American homeland to live among the Hawaiians, could not accept the same for their children, teaching their children to fear Hawaiian acculturation. In the case of their own social upbringing, missionary children tolerated isolation, segregation and loneliness, the effects of which would have tremendous impact on how the children valued the Hawaiian land and its people.

Chapter 2: Playing with Fire

White Childhood in the Islands

“Come with a whoop, come with a call, Come with a good will or not at all. Up the ladder and down the wall, a half-penny roll will serve us all.”—English Nursery Rhyme

“In our country, children play ‘keep house’; and in the same high-sounding but miniature way the grown folk here, with the poor little material of slender territory and meager population, play ‘empire’.” – Mark Twain in the Hawaiian Islands (1866)

“Jump for joy. I am so happy,” six-year old Emma Smith wrote in her journal.

“A man has given me a pretty pair of doves and our servant has made me a nice house for them.” Joseph Cooke (1838-1879) called “joy unspeakable” the “wild delights of climbing *palis* [steep hills or precipices]...of long ranges of black sea coast bluff dashed with white spray.” Raised in an environment of profound natural beauty and limited opportunities for social engagement, missionary children in Hawai‘i developed a complex relationship with the land of their birth and the people of their childhood, indigenous Hawaiians whose contact with the missionary children was often limited to subservient roles within missionary families. Although differences existed, the majority of mission children stationed across the islands experienced a childhood of intense isolation and wild freedom, both of which created in them a deep distrust in the Hawaiian people among whom their parents had come to work. The loneliness which the Hawaiian mission children learned to accept in their childhoods dramatically influenced their adult views of land, race, class and empire.¹

¹ Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 201; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1868.

Three years after the first American missionaries arrived in the islands, the only missionaries who had brought children with them returned to the United States. Daniel and Jerusha Chamberlain and their six children had lived freely among the Hawaiians, oldest sons Dexter and Nathan even travelling the islands with their father as interpreters. A visit from London Missionary Society missionaries stationed in Tahiti quickly changed this practice. The LMS missionaries painted such dire pictures of Tahitian mission children who had been allowed free exchange with the native population that the Hawaiian mission voted to send the Chamberlains home. Left in the Chamberlains' place was an overwhelming fear among mission parents that their children would be permanently, morally damaged by even the most minimal contact with native Hawaiians. "The nation must be converted, or our own children will go down with them into the same pit," one missionary said. "Our own families and this nation were both in the house of bondage," Lucy Thurston cried. "[I]t was parental responsibilities which made me so emphatically *feel* the horrors of a heathen land."²

In regard to their children, mission parents feared the sexual explicitness of native Hawaiian conversation. The sexual freedom practiced among native Hawaiians was, of course, a similarly-terrifying concern. After all, the Hawaiian creation story began with incest. The sky-father Wākea instituted the religious *kapus* that separated him from his wife and half-sister, the earth-mother Papa, in order to have sexual relations with his daughter Ho'ohōkūkalani. Their father-daughter union brought forth the *kalo* plant and first Hawaiian high chief, ancestor of the Hawaiian people. Hawaiians celebrated their genealogical heritage by playing games that allowed married men and women to switch

² Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 209-210, 126-127.

partners. Hawaiian children followed suit. “We were not permitted to learn any of the native tongue until later years,” Sereno Bishop remembered. “The reason of this was to prevent mental contamination. There was no reserve whatever upon any subject in the presence of children...The vilest topics were freely discussed in their presence and the children grew up in an atmosphere of the grossest impurity.” As one stunned mission mother exclaimed, “In all social acts, [children] were taught to be alike skilled with those of adult years. They divided and subdivided this knowledge, laid it upon their tongues, and then scattered it right and left to vaunt their won knowledge or promote their pastimes.”³

Consequently, missionary parents kept their children segregated from the very people they had come to live among and forbade their children from learning the language the missionaries themselves were laboring to transcribe. Through establishing rigorous and rigid systems of segregation and enforcing those systems upon both children and natives, the missionary parents hoped to raise their children in a morally-pure environment until around the age of ten, when missionaries would send their children to the United States or Punahou School. Persis and Lucy Thurston, for example, were never allowed to speak to a native. When a Hawaiian visitor or servant would enter the house, the children were required to leave, returning to their own separate rooms or walled yard into which no native was allowed to enter. The Judd children were never allowed out of sight without their mother knowing where they were. Often Gerrit Judd could be found

³ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 20; Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 23-24; Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 235; Menton, ““Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850”, 212.

somewhere about the property playing with his father's medical student, Hoohano, Judd's mother calling for him.⁴

Many mission families had walled yards for their children. As missionary descendent Lorrin A. Thurston explained, "mission children were kept cooped up where they could see and hear but little of what was going on outside. With hundreds of children all around them, they had no playmates except the children of other missionaries, most of whom were scattered over the Islands, meeting only a few times a year." With numerous native servants and visitors in every mission home, the pressures upon both parents and children were, according to Ann Eliza Clark, "simply immense if not crushing."⁵

Some of the mission children's recollections of this seclusion are heartbreaking. "My memory of the house at Waialua is of adobe walls," George Wilcox (1839-1933) said, "being shut in by walls that seemed fifteen feet high, but I suppose they were about five feet really." One missionary child, after visiting a prison in Massachusetts, remarked, "They have as much liberty as we had at the Sandwich Islands." Four-year old Gerrit Judd (1829-1839) wrote to his aunt in 1833, "There are a great many...native children playing in the street Sabbath day and other days, and ma[k]e a loud noise." Unable to even see them, the child could only imagine sharing in their fun. Unable to participate in village life at Kailua, Sereno Bishop grew to consider the "dismal resonance of the tapa-mallets all around the village...a dreary memory of childhood."

⁴ Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 128-129; Percy, *Hawaii's Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*, 45; Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*, 130.

⁵ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 5; Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 52.

Emma Smith's only playmate was her sister Ellen. "Then followed a long period of happy times," Emma wrote of her sister's birth. "The little sister was on her feet and we were little girls together." Days must have seemed long to the child, for Ellen died before her second birthday. "[I]f we did not hope to meet her again in Heaven our hearts would break," six-year-old Emma wrote.⁶

Smith's family was unusual in terms of its size, for most mission families grew quite large. Siblings often provided each other with caretaking and companionship while mission parents were busy translating, preaching and teaching. Usually parents only had a couple of hours each day to spare with their children. Elizabeth Judd, whose Honolulu kitchen and parlor "always seemed filled with natives," once wrote in her journal, "Something remarkable happened, nobody called today." Such was not the norm. Sophia (1820-1887) and Elizabeth (1829-1899) Bingham's mother daily taught a school of two to three hundred native children. Abbie (1833-1913) Baldwin's father delayed sending her to school due to the "almost indispensable" aid she provided the family "in taking care of younger children."⁷

Still, older children would eventually leave younger ones behind when entering school age. Oliver Emerson stood on a ridgepole for hours watching for the dust from horses' feet announcing the return of his brothers from Punahou School. By the time Oliver was sixteen, he and his brothers were permanently separated between the United States and Hawaiian Islands. "Though all of us lived to be much more than three score

⁶ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 261; Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 195; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 44; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 14; Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 185.

⁷ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 8-10, 68; "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1887 ; Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, October 15, 1857 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

years and ten, we four brothers never met again as a quartette,” he recalled. Maria (1832-1909) and Martha Chamberlain begged their mother not to send their brothers “away from home” until they had arrived home from school. As Henry Lyman assessed, “I, who came into the world during this unfavorable period, had to suffer in my own person the consequences of the abnormal life that my parents were living.”⁸

Like the Lymans, many mission families “occupied the lonely outstations, where from one year’s end to another no white people except themselves...were ever seen.” These children were able to appropriate more freedom for themselves than the mission children stationed in the ports of Honolulu or Lahaina. While mission mothers tried to watch their children at all times, Henry Lyman’s mother exemplified their lack of success by pleading, “When will the churches send out laymen, so that most of the teaching shall not devolve on the wives of the missionaries, to the great neglect of our dear children?” Particularly in the highlands where villages were further apart, mission children were able to develop a deep appreciation for the land. With limited understanding of the Hawaiian language and an instilled fear of native culture, the children explored the islands, cultivating a fascination with adventure, self-reliance and independence.⁹

No roads and few bridges existed in the islands in the early days of missionary occupation. “We forded streams” and “crossed the creeks in canoes, swimming the horses,” Bishop remarked. The “barefooted squad,” as Henry Lyman called himself and fellow mission children, also walked. Sixteen-year old Lucy Thurston (1823-1841) detailed in her journal a four-week, family trip around Hawai‘i. The five Thurston

⁸ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 153, 205; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, September 14, 1853, HMCS; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 13.

⁹ Sarah Lyman qtd. in Robert, *American Women in Misison: A Social History of Their Thought and Practice*, 126-127.

children—the youngest only three—hiked and canoed 300 miles, covering 15 to 30 miles daily. The children slept on mats in native houses and in logs and caves outdoors. They spent the night two feet from the edge of Kailua, an active volcano. Blistered feet from walking on hot volcanic crust at the bottom of Kailua's crater, getting lost in a boggy forest, descending 300-foot *palis*, and nearly capsizing their canoes in the ocean were just a few of the “perils by sea and by land” which the Thurston family conquered on this “tour of pleasure.”¹⁰

Stationed at Hilo, Lyman considered the beach his “principal playground.” Although mission parents rarely could swim, this was not the case for mission children whose earliest memories included watching through the groves of coconut trees “the active gambols of the crowd of natives sliding on the great rollers of the surf.” Lucy Thurston and her siblings often traveled half a mile to the seashore to bathe “in the waters of the ocean, with a high sea, and a spring tide.” Even in Honolulu, mission children could escape for a swim. “Kapena pool was then, as now, a favorite place, and few days went by that it was not visited by at least one member of the family,” Elizabeth Judd wrote. “Hidden in the midst of trees...we bathed and picnicked to our hearts' content, sometimes sliding with a splash down the slippery stones, sometimes diving off the rocky ledges, or swimming slowly around.” The Wilcox boys learned how to swim by tying gourds around their arms to float themselves. “[Father] could not swim himself, but was very eager to have us learn,” George Wilcox remembered. It was a rare mission child

¹⁰Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 45; Piercy, *Hawaii's Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*, 49; A. P. Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands* (New York: American Tract Society, 1842), 103-118.

that did not know how to swim, and it became positively “ridiculous” if someone did not know how to swim after leaving Punahou School.¹¹

Horseback riding eventually became the rage among both natives and mission children. Henry Whitney (1824-1904) loved Saturday afternoons in Honolulu when everything would shut down early so that as many as 1,000 “reckless riders” could have free reign in the streets. The seven Gulick brothers “all became expert horsemen,” their father raising colts. Emma Smith took her “summer rambles” on horseback “over the other side of the *pali*.” Twice Judd caught her horse in quicksand. Her riding companion Prince Lot Kamehameha rescued her the first time, her husband Sam Wilder the second. “Ah! What is there to compare to our horseback excursions,” she exclaimed, “when a party would dash along the road, the very horses dancing in the joy of their existence, while the sun glowed and ocean sparkled, and the mountains in the distance raised their blue heights against the bluer sky!”¹²

Some mission families were fortunate enough to live close to each other. Every Wednesday afternoon the Thurston and Bishop children were allowed to play together. When the Andrews family arrived at the station, all the children would explore the cave which opened into the Thurston’s yard and extended for “many miles.” The Gulick and Emerson families—each with seven boys and one girl—were separated only by a river.

¹¹ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 49; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 144; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 18; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 123-124; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 74-75; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 261; *Weekly Star*, September 1, 1852-December 22, 1852, CL, (Box 2).

¹² Henry M. Whitney, *The Hawaiian Guide Book, for Travelers: Containing a Brief Description of the Hawaiian Islands, Their Harbors, Agricultural Resources, Plantations, Scenery, Volcanoes, Climate, Population and Commerce* (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1875), 27; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 49; Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 228, 246; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 72, 101-102.

“In the vacations there were lively times in the waters and on the banks of the gently flowing Anahulu,” Oliver Emerson wrote. “They would have been still livelier if all the Gulick and Emerson boys could have been at home at the same time, but by the time the younger ones were old enough to be counted in, the older boys had been sent to ‘The States’.” At Hilo the Wilcox, Lyman and Coan families spent “[m]any a happy hour...in childish chat running about the capacious and shady yards attached to each of our houses.” After the Wilcox family moved to Waialua, the children, reported their mother, were “lonely and sigh for Hilo.” Not all parental attempts at controlled, social engagement worked. In Honolulu Martha and Maria Chamberlain often ran home crying after being bullied by Elizabeth Judd.¹³

Mission children near the ocean would fish, carve sail boats, and search for sea shells. In the hills they would hunt with rifles and lassoes for wild goats, pigs, turkeys and cattle. In Hawaiian jungles with trees one-hundred feet tall, they would use swords to hack their way or walk on top of tightly-woven branches, not even touching the ground. Some parents questioned the impact a rambling, outdoor life could have on a child. Judd’s mother believed a serious fever sweeping through the Wailuku girls school was, in part, caused by native girls “spending most of their time in the open air.” Judd got the message and dutifully noted in an essay, “[The rude girl] never cares about anything else but play out-doors (and indeed it seems to be the best place for her.) Out she goes, slamming the door after her...climbing trees or something else as rude.” Oliver Emerson remained unconverted. The “virgin coverts” of Hawai‘i “were to us brothers

¹³ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 20; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 81; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 152; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 195; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 25.

‘the call of the wild’.” To Ann Eliza Clark the “simplicity of childhood” was found in the “deep blue sea where waves crashing against the shore sing our evening lullaby.” One young mission child described sunset as “not very pleasant...the children are now running in from their sports and fun.”¹⁴

While girls could be kept close to the house on the pretext of training them for domestic duties, mission mothers had no such excuse for boys, and it appears many of them simply gave up oversight. “Were our oldest children sons, I would by no means retain them here till they were far advanced in their teens,” Lucy Thurston said of her daughters Lucy and Persis, who did not leave the islands for a U.S. education until the ages of seventeen and nineteen. While Lucy Abner was writing to the United States about the “poor mothers of Hawaii . . . very few [of whom] know where their children are from morning till night,” Abner’s seven sons were earning the name “*kolohe*” (mischievous) from irritated Waioli residents who disliked having fruits and nuts dropped on their heads from the trees.¹⁵

Mission boys could be found engaging in more violent entertainments, as well. The Wilcox brothers attempted to beat their family dog to death before their father gave the dog to a native Hawaiian who ate it. On numerous occasions mission boys would hunt for stray cats to kill, writing about their exploits in the *Punahou Gazette*. “These animals are uncommonly tenacious of life,” one Punahou student wrote. “[I]t was hard work I tell you....[I]t seemed as though it would never die.” Other children reveled in the

¹⁴ Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*, 135; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 65; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 157; Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence, n.d., HMCS; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 6, 1849-September 27, 1849, CL (Box 2).

¹⁵ Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 123-124; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 107, 259.

chance to see the whale catchers at work. One young author described the death of a sperm whale, “He fought manfully for his life but in vain his fate was sealed, exhausted by the loss of blood which issued in torrents from his spout hole and dyed the water a dark crimson he soon rolled on his side and expired.”¹⁶

Perhaps the favorite outdoor pastime of mission sons was traveling with their fathers. Toddler Charles Wilcox (1838-1888) would cry, “I want papa, go see papa,” when Abner Wilcox was away on lengthy tours of Hawaiian schools. “Mothers here have to perform the labour of Mother and teachers and I had almost said Fathers, for the Fathers have so many other duties that their children are many times neglected by them,” Charles’ mother complained. Young Sam Emerson reveled in long horseback rides with his father, hardly able to stop chattering about them after his return. Samuel (1839-1893) and Baxter (1837-1871) Armstrong traveled with their father around the islands in 1851, as Richard Armstrong inspected all the public schools. “I have always been thankful,” Samuel Armstrong said about the trip. “Among the cherished memories of my childhood are the days spent with father and my brothers in excursions to Kamoku after firewood, or up Kawaihoa valley after oranges,” Oliver Emerson remembered. “I could hardly sleep the night before.” It was a sad day when a younger sibling would be left behind at home.¹⁷

Mission daughters also missed their fathers. Judd wrote that her father was busy with natives “from daylight to dark.” Mission girls, too, preferred the outdoors, despite

¹⁶ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 263; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, August 28, 1850-May 7, 1851, CL (Box 4); *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, August 13, 1851-January 27, 1852, CL (Box 5).

¹⁷ Ibid., 117; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 130; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 113, 151; Samuel Chapman Armstrong Collection, 1826-1947, Helen W. Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 5 vols. (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute, 1898), 44, Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts; *Punahou Gazette*, 1848-1849, CL.

their parents' expectations. Girls often escaped from school studies and mission gatherings to run around outside, jump streams, wade barefoot in the water, or climb trees. Mission children could be jealous for their mothers' affections, as well. "*Hele pela oe!!*" (Get away, you!) Lucy Bingham (1826-1890) cried whenever their native, servant girl would comb her mother's hair.¹⁸

For most mission families strenuous, outdoor travel of as many as 200 miles was required to reach Honolulu for the Hawaiian mission's annual meeting. Each June mission families would embark upon inter-island schooners for what Henry Lyman called "descents into purgatory." Crowded with people, dogs and pigs and "filthy beyond description," the schooners could take as many as ten days to reach Honolulu. Dependent upon wind and sails, passengers would spend some days idle or even moving backwards. Numerous children became seasick. Mary Thurston (1831-1866) was born on an interisland schooner, earning the name, "Daughter of the Ocean." Henry Lyman's two-year old brother died after one trip, too weak from a recent bout with dysentery to survive the grueling journey.¹⁹

It was on the water that many of the deaths and near deaths among mission children occurred. Four-year old Henry Locke (1837-1841) drowned in the river outside his mission home at Waialua. Twelve-year old Edward Johnson (1839-1852) drowned returning to Punahou School after the ocean schooner he was riding in overturned. William Emerson (1834-1852) and William Richards (1823-1851) died at sea. Elizabeth Andrews (1830-1868) fell out of a canoe into the ocean and needed resuscitation.

¹⁸ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 11; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 90-91, 16.

¹⁹ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 20; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 42-43; Piercy, *Hawaii's Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*, 96.

Charles Wilcox rescued his six-year old brother George from drowning. Seventeen-year old Lucy Thurston, who had once prepared to die by taking off her bonnet, shawl, and shoes as her canoe filled with sea water, died less than three weeks after disembarking from a six-month voyage to the United States. As an adult Thomas Thurston (1836-1884) killed himself and his daughter attempting to drive his carriage across a North Carolina river. “The river was at least two feet above ordinary fording...being a fearless man, and a powerful swimmer, he probably underestimated the danger,” friends reported.²⁰

With the opening of Punahou School in 1841, mission children were further removed from the oversight of their parents. Clearly parents had high hopes in Daniel and Emily Dole’s abilities to serve both as surrogate parents and teachers for their children. By 1848, Daniel Dole had to remind parents, “The teachers of Punahou are willing to do what they can...Their task is hard, wearing, exhausting; and if some of the younger children are supposed to be neglected, it should be remembered that the ladies at Punahou are as much pressed as any mothers in the Mission.”²¹

Even though daily life at Punahou was fairly regimented, Saturdays afforded to children much freedom to roam. The combined imagination of the missionary children—a new social experience for some of them—provided opportunity for exploration and adventure. Student newspapers from 1848-1853 reveal the joy many students felt on such excursions. One writer described a “delightful” evening walk to the beach with a

²⁰ With the exception of several young fatalities attributed to appendicitis, and the death of twelve-year old John Emerson (1837-1849) from a congenital illness, the health of mission children who survived infancy remained vigorous. See Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 261; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 117; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1884.

²¹ Qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 143.

party of “young people of all sexes from 17-5 years of age.” The group jumped puddles, crossed streams, collected shells, and left their shoes behind.²²

Some students desired more dangerous exploits. Rolling rocks over cliffs into the sea, searching for “wild, romantic” picnic spots, and climbing Diamond Head were child’s play. Mission children jumped from waterfalls sixty feet high to swim “like fishes” in the mountain basins below. They attempted to climb the “uppermost mountains of Manoa valley, where none but the most desperate can go.” One group of mission boys thought they had reached the highest summit of Maui’s Mauna Haleakela until the fog cleared, and they realized there was one peak higher. Mission children also wanted to descend the lowest cave. In one cave near Puna, a group of Punahou boys descended six feet into the ground and crawled eight feet through a rat hole to find a thirty-foot pool of water, ten feet deep and 100 degrees Fahrenheit. They immediately dove in.²³

School vacation was the “happy day” to which all mission children at Punahou looked forward. With the opening of the boarding school, mission parents seemed more confident in allowing their children to travel in groups across the islands. Children wrote of the “pleasure parties, riding parties, and rambles” they had while on vacation, as well as the dangers of keeping children cooped up at school. “Children who are kept at continued application to any kind of employment can never enjoy that sprightliness and vigor, which is one of the chief indications of health,” one contributor to the *Gazette* wrote. “Their ability to study is diminished and depression of spirits and stupor of intellect...occasioned.” Children would travel home on inter-island schooners

²² *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

²³ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 42, WC; Levi Chamberlain, correspondence, October 24, 1850, HMCS; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849, CL.

unaccompanied by adults and form large, travelling parties that would stay at mission stations along their way to waterfalls, mountains and volcanoes. The girls and boys in one coed party argued the entire trip. “Scarcely a day passed without a sanguinary battle between the two contending parties,” a reporter for the *Gazette* noted. “The Johnsons are *running over* with girls,” George Wilcox’s mother wrote. Maria (1842-1867) and Emily (1844-1911) Rice, Clara Armstrong (1840-1904), and Martha Cooke (1840-1918) were all visiting the mission station.²⁴

Every mission child wanted to see Kilauea and descend into the crater to see the “huge lake, full of bubbling, boiling red lava.” Just one year before Punahou School opened, the volcano erupted. Lava flowed five miles wide and 200 feet deep, visible 100 miles away at night. Mark Twain named Vesuvius “a mere toy, a child’s volcano” compared to Kilauea, whose crater was nine miles in circumference and 1500 feet deep. Henry Lyman visited the active volcano at least twelve times as a boy. Five-year old George Wilcox got a lava splinter in his foot when descending the crater without shoes. Punahou students wrote poems and songs to Pele, Hawaiian goddess of the volcano. Lucy Thurston called Kilauea “awful.” Elizabeth Judd said that it “terrified” her. A contributor to the *Weekly Star* described it “a fearful and wonderful place, not like anything I ever saw before.” In 1858 a group of twenty-five Punahou students traveled 150 miles to see “a jet of red-hot lava issuing from the sides of Mauna Loa 300 feet in height and 100 in diameter, and a stream of molten rock flowing fifteen miles to the sea.” Samuel Armstrong called the sight “an illumination beyond imagination; an awful

²⁴ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 368; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1853, CL (Box 1).

darkness and a lurid, hellish light, creating forever a mental picture that makes all the art galleries in the world seem trifling.”²⁵

Mission children grew to love the diversity and grandeur of nature. “There are few parts of the world which present such diversity of surface, and scenery as the Sandwich Islands,” one mission child wrote. The independence, sometimes born out of loneliness and neglect, which mission children used to discover the “majestic mountains...deep and precipitous valleys and ravines, frightful chasms, and craters,” also created a deep appreciation for the environment. One mission child wrote of the appearance of stars above the dark forest, the sight of which “was a most joyful surprise to him, for he felt himself no longer entirely alone.” In the country “everything is calm and peaceful,” another student believed. “You can spend your time alone, and hold converse with learned men of other countries and other ages.” Other children retained an “excessive longing to behold the sea. Not because they had never seen it, for they had lived all their lives in sight of it, but they did so desire to walk along the beach, and watch the waves come dashing up to the shore.” A poet in the *Punahou Gazette* extolled the sun “sparkling with jewels...half immersed beneath the wave.” He placed himself inside the scene, “And as the sun descends below, the shadows grow with rapid pace. A boy becomes a giant now. His shadow reaches rods of space.”²⁶

²⁵ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 18-19; Mark Twain, *Roughing It*, vol. I (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1913), 274-275, 264; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 113; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 91; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 261; *Weekly Star*, February 16, 1853-April 20, 1853, CL (Box 3); Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 42, WC; Samuel Chapman Armstrong Collection, 1826-1947, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, "Editorial Correspondence," 1880, Archives and Special Collections, Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts.

²⁶ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, October 25, 1849-May 3, 1850, CL (Box 3).

In the midst of conflicting restriction and freedom, what Elizabeth Judd called “the contrast of the dark tropical night and the adventuresome times,” mission children found identity in a deep affection for their birthplace, the land of their childhood. “[M]y golden age,” Judd called her youth. Mission children learned the names of Hawaiian flora and fauna, often recording their discoveries and questions in journals and school papers. “[W]hy is the [Opihikao cave] water so warm when the rocks around are nearly as cold as ice?” a contributor to the *Punahou Gazette* asked. Missionary children were also aware of the difference between indigenous and imported vegetation. “There are a good many disadvantages in the raising of corn in these islands,” one Punahou student lectured.²⁷

While some of their knowledge can be attributed to a liberal education, the children’s reflections go beyond rote memorization, demonstrating a deep interest in the land. Children measured *kalo* leaves and climbed coconut trees. They compared the taste of fruits and size of plants among the various islands. They ate *poi* and roasted meats in the ground. On one occasion a group of Punahou students, exploring the woods behind the school, collected over four-thousand snail shells in one day. One mission daughter planted over two hundred varieties of trees and plants in her garden. “Children of Hawaii” Emma Armstrong called herself and fellow mission children. “Home, the place where you have been born, and brought up is always a hallowed place,” another child wrote. “Who can look back, and remember the days of his childhood, and the home

²⁷ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 101-103; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 71. For a good introduction to the alterative force of transplanted flora and fauna in the Hawaiian Islands see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); *Weekly Star*, February-April, 1852, CL.

of his youth, without emotions of some kind. It [is] a sacred place, and the most beloved of any spot on earth.”²⁸

With absent or exhausted parents, disappearing siblings, and limited social contact with non-family members, mission children, not surprisingly, turned to nature for companionship and comfort. Their loyalty to the land rarely extended to the people on it. “Scenery both beautiful and sublime,” one Punahou student noted upon returning to Honolulu. “A great many natives gathered round us...I can’t but think of those two lines where it says, ‘Tho’ every prospect pleases, And only man is vile.’” With mission parents dedicating their lives to living among the Hawaiian people, mission children grappled with the mixed messages their parents sent them. Told Hawaiians were too vile to speak to, the children watched missionaries sacrifice time with and proximity to their children to be with the indigenous population. All the while, mission parents allowed native Hawaiians intimate involvement in every part of their children’s lives.²⁹

Almost all mission families employed native domestic help. Some relied on native labor quite extensively. The Thurston family had one man to cultivate *kalo*, the “staff of life,” and another man to do the washing and bring fresh water from ten miles away. They also used a native cook and female natives for sewing and infant care, although children were “never left to the care of natives after reaching the age of prattling.” When necessary, mission mothers also used native women as wet nurses. The missionaries argued that without native labor they would not have time to teach the natives. It was the same argument mission parents used for sending their children away.

²⁸ Samuel Armstrong describes his sister’s garden in his Editorial Correspondence, 1880, WC; Ellen Armstrong Weaver, “Memories of the Old Palace,” *The Friend* 89 (May 1920): 106; *Weekly Star*, February 1852–April, 1852, CL.

²⁹ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849–1850, CL.

“The missionary mother who is qualified to give her own offspring a thorough education on missionary ground, without calling in the aid of others,” missionary Hiram Bingham wrote, “is, or ought to be, qualified to teach a multitude of those whose mothers cannot teach them well at all.”³⁰

Missionary parents constantly worried about the influence native servants would have upon their children. “Could we live by ourselves and have no domestics, I often think it would save us many anxious hours,” Oliver Emerson’s mother wrote. Henry Lyman’s mother was distressed one day when she realized her son understood a command she had given a servant in Hawaiian. Charles Wilcox’s mother recorded that the infant had already “learned one bad habit from the natives though I do not intend to have him out of my or his father’s sight with a native.”³¹

Missionary disgust toward their domestic laborers was complicated by the fact missionaries did not pay for their services. The dichotomy between their support for American abolition and psychological abuse and economic exploitation of their Hawaiian native workers went unnoticed for several decades. When American missionary and staunch abolitionist Thomas Lafon arrived in the islands in 1837, he was appalled, denouncing missionary practice as a form of slavery. Lafon was from Virginia and had freed his own inherited slaves. His comparison of Southern slaveholders to New England missionaries in the islands initially did not go over well. “My parents felt that to be unreasonable,” Sereno Bishop recalled, “as our servants were envied by all the common

³⁰Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 101-102, 126-127; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 138; Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People*, 333.

³¹Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 14; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 106-107.

people for their advantages and coveted positions.” Soon, however, the missionaries complied with Lafon’s requests and began to pay their “*ohuas*” (servants) cheap wages. Lafon left the ABCFM shortly thereafter, appalled that it would take contributions from slave owners. Although missionaries Reuben Tinker and Jonathan Green followed Lafon, Bishop noted that the “consciences of the rest of the missionaries failed to be awakened upon the subject enough to make them abandon their work.”³²

Missionaries also utilized extensive Hawaiian labor to build their numerous buildings. Often chiefs would donate the time and labor of their people to construct missionary houses, schools and churches. Missionaries gladly accepted and even encouraged the feudal offerings. Native Hawaiians tithed their labor to missionary farms to help fund missionary aims. In the case of Honolulu’s Kawaiahao Church, thousands of natives worked for a decade to hand quarry and construct the coral structure. As one contemporary observer noted, “Tyranny and exactions laid its foundations and raised its walls.” Such missionary dependence upon native labor and chiefly goodwill complicated parental messages of American benevolence.³³

Regardless of the level of parental supervision, Hawaiian mission children throughout their most formative years were intimately affected by native Hawaiians, and, more importantly, by how their parents’ viewed and used them. Not surprisingly these frequent encounters often remained unanalyzed by the children. Lyman’s earliest memory was of a native boy pushing him in a wood cart underneath the Hawaiian trees.

³² Clifford Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010), 62; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 52-53; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 105.

³³ Kashay, "Agents of Imperialism: Missionaries and Merchants in Early-Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," 287; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 276; Ethel M. Damon, *The Stone Church at Kawaiahao, 1820-1944* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin Press, 1945), 28, 59, 65.

The “copper-colored young barbarian” would run and tip the carriage around corners as soon as no adults were in sight. Judd, who called her early childhood years “those times of worthless servants,” slept all night with two native women waving branches over her. Emma Smith complained in her journal every time a “servant was sick and I had to do his work.” She recorded, “Today I have had my school and hope I shall not be interrupted again.” When Ann Eliza Clark arrived at Mt. Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts, she had to learn to do her own laundry. “I well remember the first time I undertook this task for brought up where we had Hawaiian servants I was not used to such work,” she wrote.³⁴

Sereno Bishop argued that the “position of house-servants to missionaries was one greatly coveted by the natives, who were miserably poor.” Emerson noted that the natives of his childhood “as domestics and attendants” were given “a warm place” in the family. At least a few members of the mission worried about the asymmetrical relationships between missionary children and natives. Punahou teacher Marcia Smith criticized mission parents for failing to teach their children to love work. Lucy Thurston, on her way to the United States to attend Mount Holyoke Seminary, worried, “The children of missionaries who have returned from the Sandwich Islands, and from the Eastern missions, are found fault with for their excessive indolence, and that they had rather be waited upon than do a thing themselves. All those who return in this vessel will of course be criticized.” Lucy’s only personal contact with natives had also been asymmetric. When she turned twelve, her mother allowed her to teach a Bible class to

³⁴ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 10; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 10, 14; Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 203-204; Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence and papers, n.d., HMCS.

young, native girls. “I am swelling with love to you the mother,” one student wrote young Lucy.³⁵

Some native servants and mission children appear to have developed attachments. As an adult, Bishop spoke fondly of his “personal nurse” Maunalua. Edward Wilcox’s nurse, worrying for her charge, would not let him outside at certain times of the moon. “The Mu [executioner] is out!” she would cry. Sam Wilcox (1847-1929) remembered his washwoman Aha “very well.” Oliver Emerson spoke of Puukua and Hannah and Huki and Polly, two native couples who were “father’s and mother’s standbys, and were loved by us all.” Polly cried every time one of the Emerson children would leave home for school. “[N]o servant ever quite took the place Polly held,” Emerson said.³⁶

Gerrit Judd also developed a close relationship with his father’s assistant Hoohano. When Judd died of appendicitis at age 11, Hoohano described his grief in a poem, “Alas! Alas! O my blossom that has fallen....When wilt thou return to thy birthmates?” Ellen Armstrong (1844-1924) loved to sit in Sari Ii’s lap, “which seemed like a great soft bowl into which I fitted exactly.” Ii would hold little Ellen during Richard Armstrong’s palace prayer services. “She caressed me at intervals and I felt supremely happy in my warm bowl so near her dark, kind heart,” Ellen said. Nearing her

³⁵ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 15; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 161; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 80; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 169-170, 199; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 130.

³⁶ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 15; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 270, 276; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 83-84, 163-164.

departure, Thurston wrote her native students, “Great is our love to this land, and to you also our dear scholars.”³⁷

Mission children were not naïve. As one Punahou boy put it, mission children “were not by any means ‘goody goody, bloodless, incapable innocents.’” Orramel Gulick wrote matter-of-factly about his childhood servant “who had killed all of her seven children in infancy.” Ann Eliza Clark noted that “all [mission children] who remained in the islands till in their teens acquired full command of the vernacular, and were proficient in the use of it as soon as the restraints of early childhood were removed.” One of the Judd daughters described how their servant Hannah would use flattery on their mother. “[W]hen she wants any particular favor of my mother, she always begins by telling her how somebody had praised her children, or said how young and good-looking she was, and how much all the chiefs had always admired her looks and skill.” The Emerson brothers often followed Huki, “an old-time native athlete,” around the mission station to watch his prowess with a bow and arrow. Oliver Emerson would go hunting with Mahuaulu, a “vigorous and keen” native boy who had come to the family seeking work. “The white man’s ways were interesting to the natives, not that they might be imitated, but as a revelation of another kind of life,” Emerson wrote. “When provoked and out of patience with us, they would chide us...when pleased they would flatter us.”³⁸

While mission children’s memories toward the end of their lives tended to reflect personally and positively on these early, formative relationships, mission children rarely

³⁷ Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*, 128-129; Weaver, “Memories of the Old Palace,” 105; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodall Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 96.

³⁸ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 91; Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 52; Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*, 261-263; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 161-167.

referred to natives by name in their childhood writings. Occasionally children sent away to the United States would ask parents to greet “the natives” at home. Seldom would those letters contain a personal name. In four years of weekly Punahou student newspapers, only a handful of contributors refer to non-royal, native Hawaiians by name, and only one in a relational manner. “There is now on the Island of Kauai an old woman who was my nurse in younger years,” the young author wrote. “I have no doubt but that she would make any sacrifices on my account. That she would risk her life and go through any danger for my sake.” The writer may have been Samuel Alexander (1836-1904) whose nurse, Hannah, “followed him from Waioli to Lahainaluna,” begging to be allowed to accompany the seven-year old boy to school. Even then, the *Weekly Star* writer was apologetic, “I do not mean however to say that the Hawaiians are not degraded.”³⁹

In fact, the children’s writings seem much more representative of relations between whites and natives in the islands, making the pleasant musings of aging memoirists somewhat suspect. Revealingly, mission children seldom acknowledged their reliance upon native Hawaiians, despite the fact the children were completely dependent upon natives to do what they loved best: explore the land. “If not studious, the native boy of today is apt to be venturesome...He is a good companion and guide in the wild uplands,” a missionary son revealed. “Everyone admires the physical vigor and fearlessness of the Hawaiians.” Nevertheless, the children’s disregard, and even disdain, for the natives, who almost always accompanied them around the islands, is shocking. Children utilized native guides on trips to the volcanoes and caves. Native Hawaiians hunted food, fetched water, carried provisions and started fires. Natives even carried the

³⁹ *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 77-78.

children. Henry Lyman remembered crossing the Hawaiian mountains astride the neck of a native, “after the manner in which the little Hawaiian princes of the royal family were carried by their bearers.” A native woman carried Thomas Thurston on her back five miles down a mountain in the rain as the family hurried home from a vacation. Ten natives carrying baggage and Thurston children accompanied the family on their month-long pleasure excursion. A Hawaiian saved young Elizabeth Andrew’s life when she fell out of a canoe. Mission children were around natives, as one mother reported, “almost all the time.”⁴⁰

Selective memoirs also mask the ever-present tension of race between mission families and their native servants. Constant companionship did not mean equal treatment. On one excursion to Mauna Loa, seven mission boys were accompanied by one missionary and six natives “bringing up the rear.” According to Levi Chamberlain, the natives guided them, gave them their water when the boys ran out of their own, and spotted game. One native was repaid that night by a boy who, irritated by the native’s snoring, “hit the man three or four sound knocks, over the head, with his fist.” On another volcano trip, mission girls sent natives for water and berries, while the children visited the crater. Mission children also utilized natives for their hospitality. “[T]he natives will always provide for strangers lodging and food,” explained a mission son. They would “gladly give up their best house,” experienced a mission daughter.⁴¹

⁴⁰ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 164-165; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 29; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 80, 104; Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence and papers, n.d., HMCS; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 16.

⁴¹ Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence, n.d., HMCS. *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL; Whitney, *The Hawaiian Guide Book, for Travelers: Containing a Brief Description of the Hawaiian Islands, Their Harbors, Agricultural Resources, Plantations, Scenery, Volcanoes, Climate, Population and Commerce*, 121; Clark, correspondence and papers, n.d., HMCS.

Even though no native students attended Punahou School until the 1850s, Hawaiian natives were employed at the school, living in separate quarters, maintaining the campus, and serving the students. Opuni worked in the Punahou kitchen for ten years, while Kahui, the campus carpenter, guided the boys on at least one excursion. Despite these associations, the *Weekly Star* reported no Hawaiian names during one student picnic at which the “natives” arrived with food for twenty-six mission children. The students were celebrating Hawaiian King Kamehameha III’s birthday.⁴²

Mission children rarely had contact with native children. Occasionally, mission children would be accompanied by native children on snail-shell hunts in the hills, but such interactions were rare, a situation made all the more striking by the prevalence of native children’s schools on or near mission property. Edward Wilcox wrote about feeling “terribly put out” when the native boys from his father’s school would watch through the family’s windows as the Wilcox brothers ate their meals. “[I]t was a novelty to them to see [whites] sitting at a table eating with spoon and fork and knife. But I certainly didn’t like it,” Wilcox remembered.⁴³

The dearth of symmetrical engagement between the white children and native population only enhanced the mission children’s guided opinions about the Hawaiian people. Taking cues from their parents and teachers about what constituted clean and civilized dwellings and dress, children noted the absence among natives of proper furniture, such as beds and tables, and Euro-American attire, such as shoes and pants. Sleeping with pigs and dogs in grass houses was “truly dirty kanaka style.” As Lucy

⁴² Emma and Angelina Metcalf were the first students of Hawaiian ancestry to attend Punahou, entering the school in 1852. See Nelson Foster, *Punahou: The History and Promise of a School in the Islands* (Honolulu: Punahou School, 1991), 34; *Oahu College Directory, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1841-1916*, (Honolulu, HI: n.p., 1916); Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 131; *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL.

⁴³ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 266.

Thurston explained, “The most respectable among the natives adopt the American style of dress, and sit on chairs or settees of their own construction. The lower classes wear *kapa*, a cloth made from the bark of trees, and sit on mats.” Mission children even made fun of the differences between themselves and nonwhites. “One of these days I am afraid the genteel folks will think the Punahou boys have turned into Negroes,” a student joked about the mud puddle in which the boys bathed.⁴⁴

For the mission children, the inter-island voyages between home and school provided some of the most irritating interactions with natives. As one schooner took aboard load after load of natives, “our astonishment soon gave place to rage,” a mission child reported. “The idea of starting on a trip to Lahaina which might be a weeklong with such a herd of natives, dogs, and pigs, was insupportable.” Even though white passengers were the first to be offered births, and only the “most respectable natives” were allowed to share cabins with them, on this particular voyage there was not enough cabin space for all of the white children. The young author was especially irritated by the laughter of fellow white students sailing by and perceiving his predicament.⁴⁵

The mission children’s cultural outlook contained clear class divisions, as well. Many mission children, particularly the ones living in closest proximity to the Hawaiian chiefs and royalty, had a profound awe for the monarchy and sought to identify with Hawaiian history. One mission child condemned the “Hawaiian curs” who were allowed to roam the land attacking poultry “or anything else of the king that is within their reach.” The child understood that the land belonged to the king. Levi Chamberlain criticized Hiram Bingham’s published history of the first twenty years of the mission. “He only

⁴⁴ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 15; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 78-79; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

⁴⁵ *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April, 1852, CL.

gives thirty pages to describe the life, actions, wars, etc. of Kamehameha, one of the most wonderful men that ever lived,” the young Chamberlain critiqued. Children in Honolulu often reported in their journals when they had attended palace soirees, and after some missionaries left the mission to take posts in the government, the children’s exposure to the Hawaiian monarchy increased. Emma Armstrong recalled the “thrill of having our names called by the big chief and walking before ‘Their Majesties,’ dropping an old-time courtesy, and passing down the line of royalty in court array.” When King Kamehameha III lifted her up and placed her on the Hawaiian throne, Armstrong wrote that she “felt an inexpressible sense of exaltation.” A brilliant tactical move or perhaps one of sincerity, Punahou students petitioned their teachers to celebrate Kamehameha III’s birthday as a school holiday.⁴⁶

Elizabeth Kinau Judd held the distinction of being named after Hawaiian royalty. When the Judds refused Hawaiian Premier Kinau’s request to adopt Elizabeth at her birth in 1831, Kinau settled for the child to be named after her. In a shocking display of disrespect, the parents relegated the King’s half sister to middle-name status. “[A]s I was the first white girl she had ever seen, “ Judd explained, “[Kinau] deigned from that time on to show a great interest in me, either visiting me or having me visit her every day.” Judd was pulled in Kinau’s carriage by twenty men, sat on the King’s lap, and “spent many a happy hour” at the palace which, she noted, “was very well furnished.” Sereno Bishop remembered his family going to pay respects to Kinau “in company with the principle people of the district.” Kinau’s death, Judd wrote, was “a sad, sad day for

⁴⁶ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849, CL; Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence and papers, n.d., HMCS; Weaver, “Memories of the Old Palace,” 106; *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL.

Hawaii.” The female Hawaiian royalty of her youth, Judd asserted, represented the “noblest specimens” the world had ever known.⁴⁷

Other mission children also forged intimate connections with the Hawaiian monarchy. Martha Chamberlain called the palace music “delicious” and mourned as King Lunalilo lay dying of tuberculosis in 1874, “We feel as if one of our own kin was passing away.” Six-year old Emma Smith wrote in her journal after she had attended the opening of the Hawaiian legislature with her father. “The king and queen were richly dressed. The officers were in grand uniform. There were many finely dressed ladies and soldiers and music....It was all very grand. I wish the Legislature w’uld open every day.” Ellen Armstrong and her siblings begged their father not to conceal his king’s star and always tried to place it prominently on the lapel of his coat.⁴⁸

The 1840 Hawaiian Constitution issued by King Kamehameha III was, in some respects, the culmination of missionary efforts. The document stated that no law was to be contrary to the Bible. The king welcomed former missionaries, such as Armstrong and Judd, into his cabinet and hoped the mission children would stay in the islands. In 1844, as Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Gerrit Judd wrote the ABCFM encouraging it to allow missionaries to become naturalized Hawaiian citizens, “[The missionary] children born here are native born subjects of the king and would many of them settle here were it not for the anxiety of their parents.” Judd argued that if mission children stayed, the country would benefit from “a highly educated and virtuous

⁴⁷ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 7-8, 17, 22-24, 56; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 47.

⁴⁸ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 19, 1872 and February 1, 1874, HMCS; Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 203; Weaver, “Memories of the Old Palace,” 106.

population.” Chief Justice William Lee believed the missionaries and their “numerous children are emphatically the sheet anchor of our salvation.”⁴⁹

After the Mahele and changes in the mission which allowed the missionaries to own land, the Hawaiian government sold land to many mission families at a lower price than non-missionary families. Abner Wilcox wrote the board that he had received land from the government “at a small price.” Wilcox had been hesitant to buy property, “but others urged me and said I should be wronging my children not to accept the favorable offer of the Government and take advantage of such an opportunity likely soon to pass away.” Chief Justice Lee and Minister of Foreign Affairs Robert Wyllie were two government officials who encouraged such transactions. Jonathan Osorio writes that only two missionaries remaining in Hawai‘i after the Mahele did not possess land. As Orramel and Ann Gulick described the process, “[M]ission families took root in the land.” As Oliver Emerson put it, Hawaii’s leaders emerged, “honorable white men, most of them born in Hawaii...with the rights of citizenship and a sense of responsibility for the nation.”⁵⁰

Because of the monarchy’s ability to maintain Hawaiian independence, receptiveness to their parents’ work, and inclusion of their families into native society, mission children respected the early Hawaiian kings. They also viewed themselves as Hawaiian subjects. Nevertheless, most mission children believed the monarchy’s days

⁴⁹ *Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Established in the Reign of Kamehameha III*, trans. William L. Richards (Lahainaluna Press, 1842; reprint, 1994), 10; Gerrit Judd, correspondence, September 5, 1844, HMCS (ABC 19); Lee qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 177.

⁵⁰ Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 96-98; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 359-360; Abner Wilcox, correspondence, February 23, 1861 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii: Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 52-53; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 246.

were numbered. As one contributor to the *Punahou Gazette* wrote, “[The natives] are an indolent people, yet not destitute of intellect and might, in time, become an enlightened independent nation, were white men to stand out of the way and wait their snail pace motion in improvements. But the superiority of the Anglo Saxon race in constitution and mind, will in all probability overrun the natives and prove their extinction.” Another student implored white empires to leave the islands alone: “Why will [Britain and France] not let the Hawaiian race end its existence in peace? And when this is finished, then let them come and satiate their infamous desires and vent their rage on the forsaken possessions and relics of a people whose right they have so often violated.”⁵¹

Mission children lived through serious challenges to Hawaiian independence both by the French in 1839 and 1851 and the British in 1843. With the constant influx of foreigners arriving on naval vessels and merchant ships, many children believed the Hawaiian people were ultimately outmatched. They saw the devastation that imported smallpox, measles, and whooping cough had caused the people in 1848. Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau attributed the tremendous population decline and rising infant mortality rate to foreign epidemics and venereal diseases. Between 1832 and 1853 the native Hawaiian population dropped from 130,000 to 70,000. One mission child noted, “As civilization increases, civilized custom and habits are introduced, and with these blessings sickness and disease....Is not this a sad picture?”⁵²

⁵¹ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

⁵² The 1848 whooping cough and measles epidemics hit native populations particularly hard. Missionary Lowell Smith reported his congregation fell from 1500 to 100. See Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 287-288; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 237. Jocelyn Linnekin writes missionaries reported an infant mortality rate as high as 50% and the birthrate 1 for every 11 women in the 1850s in Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender, and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands*, 210; Whitehead, “Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?,” 164. Almost all Punahou students contracted measles in 1848, closing the school temporarily. In contrast to the natives, measles was rarely fatal for whites, although the *Gazette* reported that Punahou student John Emerson, suffering from a

Missionary children also contributed the native population decline to moral behaviors such as alcohol abuse, which they believed was a hereditary condition. “That the natives would thus dwindle away and each succeeding generation be less vigorous than the proceeding one, and they become finally extinct needs no gift [of] prophesy to foretell,” a young Punahou student wrote. Sereno Bishop saw his father prescribe mercury for “the fearful syphilitic ulcers which disfigured so many of the people’s limbs and faces.”⁵³

It is not difficult to ascertain where mission children inherited their pessimism regarding the future of the Hawaiian race. In 1844 Daniel Dole, principal and teacher at Punahou School, wrote the ABCFM, “Evidently, the population must soon change its character....I know that most of my brethren do not like to entertain these views. They do not wish to think of the Hawaiian nation becoming extinct.” Long before the Board changed its policy regarding missionary colonization in the islands, Dole advocated, “Now if our children are to become part of a new nation, and are to have an extensive influence in forming the character of that nation, is it not all important that their moral and intellectual character be the best possible?” Punahou student newspapers were filled with this sense of inevitability regarding the demographic future of the islands. They were equally optimistic about the role white Hawaiians could play in Hawaii’s political future.⁵⁴

congenital illness, was weakened by a bout with measles and declined from that point until his death. *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849 and July 1849-September 1849, CL.

⁵³ *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852; Bishop qtd. in Piercy, *Hawaii’s Missionary Saga: Sacrifice and Godliness in Paradise*, 60. Americans were unaware of genetic science in the nineteenth century. They believed what a person culturally learned while alive would be passed on biologically to one’s children. Scientists began to discard these “Lamarckian” views around 1900. See Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 29.

⁵⁴ Daniel Dole, correspondence, July 1844 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

In her study on Dutch colonialism in Indonesia, Ann Laura Stoler calls the native servants of European colonists “subaltern gatekeepers” who “transgressed” race and class distinctions with their presence at the intimate experiences of European family life. Dutch parental fears of racial degeneration among their children were common in the Indies, and parents sought to instill such qualities as physical health, mental stamina and an overall “inner and outer refinement” in their children, qualities considered European.⁵⁵

American mission parents in Hawai‘i shared these colonial concerns. “Our second son needs something to give him a constitution, which we often think might be found on a farm in the United States better than elsewhere,” wrote one mission father. “Our children seem debilitated by the climate and to need the invigorating influence of a Northern Latitude,” wrote another. Lucy Thurston thought it necessary to remind her children they would be going to the United States for their education “as a stimulus to effort beneath this tropic sun, where there is so much that is indolent and uncivilized to meet the eye.” Mission son John Gulick noted the impact these parental fears had upon the children when he spoke before a Punahou assembly, “We began to dread the thought of making these islands our home. Not from want of attachment to them, but from fear of the influence of the enervating climate upon ourselves and our posterity, till at last they should become as effeminate as the creoles of central America or the still more degraded aborigines of these islands.” Clearly, missionary parents had taught their children to conflate race, class and gender with American Protestant behaviors.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, 133, 124, 138.

⁵⁶ David Lyman, correspondence, January 23, 1849 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, November 20, 1850 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 134; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849-1850, CL.

Hawaiian mission attitudes also reflected American prejudices, shaped by U.S. demographic changes. As industrialization changed the urban landscape of the United States and attracted immigrants from Europe, reformers argued that crime and poverty were the result of a lack of proper moral training in lower class children. The public school movement began, in part, as an effort to address the problems associated with urbanization, such as idleness among youth, and to provide socialization to diverse cultural groups. Middle-class fear of the influence of Roman Catholic immigrants upon the society in which they were raising their own children compelled Massachusetts to become the first state to create a Board of Education in 1837. Americans in Hawai‘i also believed poverty contributed to idleness. “Owning no land and dependent on the caprice of their superiors, the common people were shiftless and indolent, living from hand to mouth,” one said. Mission attitudes were therefore a complex mix of racial views involving inherited moral behavior, class values regarding land ownership and wealth, and religious ideology preaching a gospel of industry and education.⁵⁷

Missionary children received these messages yet construed them to fit their own conception of Hawaiian identity. Their love of the land, Hawaiian citizenship by birth, and lack of personal experience in the United States meant they did not always share the same views of white racial degeneracy amidst Hawaiian national culture as did their parents. “[T]here is no other place on the earth, where [mission children] will feel at home, so much as on these islands,” a Punahou student wrote in the *Gazette*. “We cannot think that any of you will be willing to let this nation fall to decay [by] your negligence.”

⁵⁷ Michael B. Katz, "The Origins of Public Education: A Reassessment," in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 102-103; Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 154-155; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 44.

Another mission youth described himself and friends as “a number of natives (which by the way happened to be whites).”⁵⁸

Mission children also carried conflicting views of class and ethnic belonging. A group of mission children, returning from a muddy excursion to the sea, reached the highway only to see a party “not composed of native ladies and gentlemen, but of white folks.” A reporter for the *Gazette* recorded their response: “What shall we do?” “How I look!” The children decided to retreat into the marshes to avoid the group of whites, saying to each other, “Now this is really pleasant...This is what I like.” The dirty and disheveled mission children were comfortable with their appearance among native “ladies and gentlemen” but not among whites of any class. More importantly, they preferred their freedom to gentility.⁵⁹

This comfortableness around natives did not extend to all situations. “[T]he influence of the idle habits of the natives must be resisted by those persons who wish to get an education here,” a mission student wrote. “By mingling with them more or less every day he soon becomes accustomed to their idle habits.” Mission children believed that as “Anglo-Hawaiians” they could work together for the betterment of their nation. As children of white Americans they had inherited the fear of God and love of liberty and industry from their Pilgrim Fathers, who were “now crowning their descendants with innumerable blessings.”⁶⁰

Anthropologist Lawrence Hirschfeld argues that children’s conceptions of race develop out of the messages they receive regarding biological difference by “listening to what people *say* about social groups and their interrelationships.” Children as young as

⁵⁸ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849; 1851-1852, CL.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, July 1849-September 1849, CL.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 1851-1852 and 1849-1850, CL.

three, Hirschfeld writes, embark upon a “programme to acquire knowledge” about racial categories, if they perceive race as an “ambient belief” in their environment.⁶¹ Nicholas Emler and Julie Dickinson suggest the same is true for children’s conceptions of class: “the social groups to which they belong present them with explanations, which they then adopt.” Children learn to reject occupations they deem of lower status than those of their parents.⁶²

Mission children saw their parents attack native Hawaiian social practice, but, more importantly, denigrate the indigenous domestic sphere. As Sally Engle Merry describes, through institutionalizing Christian laws, missionary advisors to the monarchy reduced the social role of women through establishing coverture laws, by which Hawaiian wives were subject to their husbands’ discipline, and children and property belonged to the father. After 1850 Hawaiian women could no longer vote, and divorce became more difficult. Other domestic changes, such as the shift to private land ownership under the Great Mahele, had severe repercussions for the Hawaiian extended family, as communal land use, the value of generosity, and social definitions of acceptable behavior were torn apart. Missionary attitudes also targeted Hawaiian bodily practices and stations. Sexual promiscuity and adultery became taboo, regardless of rank. The revulsion missionaries felt toward Hawaiian sexual practices became evident when missionary Hiram Bingham took King Kamehameha III’s physical labor as penance for adultery. While no

⁶¹ Lawrence A. Hirschfeld, “Children’s Understanding of Racial Groups,” in *Children’s Understanding of Society*, ed. Martyn Barrett and Eithne Buchanan-Barrow (Hove and New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 201, 215-217; Nicholas Emler and Julie Dickinson, “Children’s Understanding of Social Class and Occupational Groupings,” in *Children’s Understanding of Society*, ed. Martyn Barrett and Eithne Buchanan-Barrow (Hove and New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 173-177, 186.

commoner would dare stand in the presence of a Hawaiian monarch or any chief sit higher, Bingham allowed the king to build him a fence.⁶³

Concepts of race consumed the missionary-parenting environment. The missionaries came to the Hawaiian Islands to share Christianity with a heathen race. The disregard with which missionaries attacked Hawaiian culture and treated natives in the presence of their white children, ultimately hurt the people they had come to aid as their children adopted a conception of the Hawaiian race based upon biological and moral inequality.

The same was true for issues of class. Because Hawaiian mission parents believed the missionary calling was the highest occupation to which a Christian could aspire, mission children saw everyday tasks like cooking and cleaning relegated to natives, who did not even receive wages for the first twenty years of the mission's existence. Similarly the missionaries—most from New England—believed strongly in developing mission lands. Herds and crops occupied the lands surrounding the mission, and the missionaries hoped their example would encourage natives to further develop their own lands. Consequently, mission children developed a tension between their love of the Hawaiian wilderness and respect for industrious land use.⁶⁴

The Hawaiian mission children's passion for the land around them could also include confusion over ethnic belonging. Because children learn to identify with a group through habits, behaviors and values, Alida Lo Coco, Cristiano Inguglia and Ugo Pace argue, children ultimately incorporate their ethnic identity into their personal identity.

⁶³ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 95-97, 228-229. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 9, 37.

⁶⁴ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 52-53.

Usually ethnic traditions are strongly rooted in family influence, yet, the researchers argue, “[i]n the early phases of development, emotional processes seem to prevail over cognitive ones, and so children can show preference behavior for some national groups long before they develop any knowledge of these groups.” From birth, missionary children in Hawai‘i were surrounded by native Hawaiians, and their childhood environments were steeped in Hawaiian culture.⁶⁵

Hawaiian mission children were nursed, cared for, carried, and guided throughout their childhood experiences by native Hawaiians, and their own ethnic identities incorporated a complicated mixture of affection toward individual Hawaiians, respect for aspects of Hawaiian culture, and disdain for the Hawaiian race. Thus, the term “Anglo-Hawaiian” became a prominent marker in mission children’s writings. Honolulu is an “Anglo-Hawaiian city,” Henry Whitney declared in his 1875 travel guide. “We are laboring,” Luther Gulick (1828-1891) argued as secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, “not alone for the Hawaiians of the present, but with an eye also to the Anglo-Hawaiians of the future; and the higher we lift the Hawaiian race, the more influence do we exert for good on the people who are to succeed them.” Despite fond personal memories or attachments, the expectancy of white empire prevailed among missionary descendants.⁶⁶

The native Hawaiian people in some respects made the process of identity formation more difficult for mission children. Their overwhelming acceptance of and

⁶⁵ Alida Lo Coco, Cristiano Inguglia, and Ugo Pace, “Children’s Understanding of Ethnic Belonging and the Development of Ethnic Attitudes,” in *Children’s Understanding of Society*, ed. Martyn Barrett and Eithne Buchanan-Barrow (Hove and New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 224, 244.

⁶⁶ Whitney, *The Hawaiian Guide Book, for Travelers: Containing a Brief Description of the Hawaiian Islands, Their Harbors, Agricultural Resources, Plantations, Scenery, Volcanoes, Climate, Population and Commerce*, 14; Qtd. in Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 332.

generosity toward the children provided a sense of belonging which conflicted with parental messages about the need for children to return to the United States for proper social conditioning and as a means of cultural avoidance.

Anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin has noted in her study of Polynesian societies, and particularly Hawaiian society, that “familial affiliation has historically been extremely flexible...one can be called a relative whether or not there is a known genealogical tie, if one meets the behavioral expectations for a relative.” As Linnekin observes, reciprocity, generosity, and humility are Polynesian characteristics requisite for symmetrical, even familial, Polynesian relationships, making “multiple potential ethnicities.” For Hawaiians, Linnekin notes, the relationship of relative is “theoretically unbounded.” Similarly, Gary Okihiro argues, “Pacific civilization is both global and local, a crossing and a home. It is multiply positioned and occupied.” Simple binary relationships, such as race and empire, Okihiro finds, do not work when describing the complexities of Pacific history.⁶⁷

Because Hawaiian concepts such as “kinship, adoption, land rights, and title systems” were rooted in “the physical and social relationships that nurture a growing child,” the Hawaiians’ willingness to adopt the Hawaiian mission children as members of their culture also signaled their willingness to grant them access to the land. When Kinau wished to adopt Elizabeth Judd in 1831, she was signaling her acceptance of a white baby into her ethnic identity. Hawaiian natives often called mission children their *moopunas*, foster children. When Luther Gulick returned from the United States to preach to native

⁶⁷ Jocelyn Linnekin, “The Politics of Culture in the Pacific,” in *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*, ed. Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 155, 160; Linnekin, *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*, 80; Gary Y. Okihiro, “Toward a Pacific Civilization,” *The Japanese Journal of American Studies* 18 (2007): 82-83.

Hawaiians in their own language, they flocked to see “one of their *own number*, as they were wont to call brother Halsey.”⁶⁸

Nevertheless, by the second half of the nineteenth century, native leaders like Samuel Kamakau were using the term “stranger” to describe white landowners who had rushed to buy land under the Mahele. Understanding that the continued decline in the native population and increase in white land ownership signified a revolutionary demographic shift, Kamakau complained, “[Kamehameha’s] children do not get the milk; his adopted children have grasped the nipples and sucked the breasts dry.” As a representative in the national legislature, Kamakau had already witnessed that “[i]t was the race who owned the government who were not defended.” Individual land ownership went against traditional Hawaiian practices of kinship and reciprocity, nor were individual plots large enough to support the extended, Hawaiian family. In a nation in which whites owned four acres to every one acre owned by native Hawaiians, Kamakau argued that the lack of reciprocity and symmetry between adult mission children and their adoptive, native parents signaled the children had cast themselves outside the Hawaiian race.⁶⁹

Of course the adult mission children did not see it that way. Already by 1849 Rufus Anderson wrote that the “greater part” of mission children sent to the United States was planning to return to the islands: “the current is setting that way. Some have gone, others will soon, and others are beginning to think of it.” James Alexander (1835-1911)

⁶⁸ Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer, “Introduction,” in *Cultural Identity and Ethnicity in the Pacific*, ed. Jocelyn Linnekin and Lin Poyer (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 7; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 208; *Weekly Star*, 1852, CL.

⁶⁹ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 407, 403. Land ownership was decidedly skewed according to race by the end of the 19th century. See Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 295-298; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 128.

wrote from the United States in 1859, “The Hawaiians here all long to return to the Pacific to live.” By 1861 the majority of children still attached to the mission also desired to remain.⁷⁰

Adult mission children writings are filled with references to their native soil, as well as their “Hawaiian brother” and “fellow countrymen.” As twenty-five year old Hiram Bingham, Jr. (1831-1908) described his mission peers, “the land of their birth and childhood years, will ever bind many of them to this soil.” We “are Hawaiians,” Samuel Alexander stated in 1864, after living nearly thirty years in the islands. “We cannot get rid of our Hawaiian nationality. We may travel abroad and become the naturalized citizens of foreign powers, and yet, after all, our Hawaiian nationality will stick to us; it cannot be wiped out.” Such sentiment is striking considering nearly half of all mission children were still being sent away by their parents to spend formative years receiving a U.S. college education.⁷¹

Despite this connection to their birthplace, the tendency of mission children was toward disengagement from the Hawaiian people. Those connected with the mission were not unaware of this problem. Anderson had noticed the tendency on his visit to the islands in 1863. He implored the mission children to “cultivate a fellow-feeling with the native people. Do not look down upon them. Do not despise them.” Anderson was particularly concerned that mission children had written off the Hawaiian race as participants in the future of Hawai‘i. Anderson had much about which to be worried. “The Hawaiians as a *nation* are doomed,” Samuel Alexander declared the very next year. “But, whatever may be the destiny of the *native* race,” Hiram Bingham Jr. stated, “the

⁷⁰ Anderson, correspondence, October 22, 1849 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM; James Alexander, correspondence, October 12, 1859, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1861.

⁷¹ Ibid., 1853, 1881, 1857, 1864, 1879.

very strength of this nation, mental, moral and physical, shall, for many ages, lie in the descendants of the American Protestant Missionaries.” Such sentiment was a dramatic departure from the original aspirations of missionary parents.⁷²

Most adult mission children continued the practice of racial seclusion with their own children, believing their children’s contact with native servants would cause, according to one, “filthiness, lying, superstition, and animal aims, [to become] ingrained into their infant natures.” The mission children’s belief in the relationship between character and genetics reflected popular Eurocentric views of race during the late nineteenth century, particularly the association of manliness and vigor with Anglo-Saxon civilization, the “outgrowth of centuries of civilization on the other side of the globe,” according to Joseph Emerson. Adult missionary children well understood colonial fears that the white race would degenerate in tropical cultures, and, conversely, newer arguments that the white middle class was in danger of effeminacy living amidst developed urban landscapes. Anglo-Saxon men needed vigor to develop character and keep civilization strong.⁷³

As Americans began to look to bodybuilding and football, Hawaiian mission children argued they represented evolution at its best. “As a rule, European colonies in the tropics have hitherto been failures in this vital point of maintaining manhood and virtue,” Sereno Bishop stated in 1872. “So far as I know, [our] group presents the only exception to this rule among all white communities in the tropics....we hold, and, God helping us, shall doubtless continue to hold our hereditary place in the vein of the best

⁷² Robert Andrews, correspondence, April 27, 1865, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1863, 1864, 1857.

⁷³ “Annual Report,” 1872, 1898. For a discussion on manliness and civilization see Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, 11-15, 118-120.

vitality and progressiveness of Christendom.” Bishop understood and accepted white colonialism in the Pacific.⁷⁴

Hawaiian mission children also believed they represented the best of Christendom. Missionary practice, according to Samuel Armstrong, was the “finest heroic action offered to the Christian nations.” As Greg Smithers argues, “Despite the best of intentions, missionary activity tended to reinforce white supremacy because of its emphasis on conformity to the noblest ideals of Western civilization.” Writing in the 1880s for the American Home Mission Society, Congregationalist Josiah Strong declared, “an undeveloped race, which is incapable of self-government, is no more a reflection on the Almighty than is an undeveloped child who is incapable of self-government.” The descendants of Congregationalist missionaries in the islands concurred. The Hawaiian mission descendants’ ultimate participation in the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy demonstrated what Mark Twain called during his visit to the islands the “miniature way the grown folk here...play ‘empire’.” Twain knew empire when he saw it. In 1905 the author wrote *King Leopold’s Soliloquy* to highlight colonial abuses in the Congo and lobby the American government to pressure Belgian King Leopold to reform his treatment of the Congolese people.⁷⁵

Hawaiian mission children “played” with the land of their birth, both as children and adults. In doing so they exhibited many of the characteristics Elliott West has

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1876; Gregory D. Smithers, *Science, Sexuality and Race in the U.S. And Australia, 1780s-1890s* (New York and London: Routledge, 2009), 11; Strong qtd. in Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917*, 164. For Josiah Strong's influence on Congregationalism see also Wendy J. Deichmann Edwards, "Forging an Ideology for American Missions: Josiah Strong and Manifest Destiny," in *North American Foreign Missions, 1810:1914: Theology, Theory and Policy*, ed. Wilbert R. Shenk, *Studies in the History of Christian Missions* (Grand Rapids, MI and Cambridge, UK: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2004); Twain, *Roughing It*, 211; Adam Hochschild, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1998), 242.

described in his study of nineteenth-century American children on the continental frontier. Hawaiian mission children demonstrated frontier characteristics of optimism, individualism, restlessness, and a drive to accomplish and control. “Is self sufficiency, as has been alleged, too prominent a trait in the character of the young people generally at these islands?” the children debated amongst themselves. “Nature is full of antagonistic forces,” Robert Andrews (1837-1922) wrote, “and these are always paired off, and ready to join battle at any provocation.” Missionary children tussled with their respect for the land and a sense of Christian superiority which called them to subdue it.⁷⁶

Mission children also developed a passion for adventure, alleged as self-sufficiency, which continued to influence their adulthoods. As one Punahou student declared, mission children were not “afraid to step out into the world and wrestle with difficulties.” The countries in which adult mission children settled circumvented the globe: Micronesia, Melanesia, the Marquesas, Australia, Japan, China, Turkey, Spain, Mexico, Venezuela and Colombia. Mission children traveled around the world for relaxation and studied in Scotland, Germany, and France. They struck for gold in California and drove cattle in the “great west” of the United States. Mission girls and boys learned to plot latitude and longitude on their six-month voyages to the United States. One missionary son became captain of a vessel sailing throughout the Pacific Islands; another missionary son became first mate. Accustomed to long voyages, living as a white minority, and exploring natural habitats, mission children set out for foreign landscapes and cultures unafraid. Their experiences become even more striking

⁷⁶ Elliott West, *Growing up with the Country: Childhood on the Far Western Frontier*, ed. Ray Allen Billington, Histories of the American Frontier (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989), 252; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1893; Andrews, October 31, 1862, HMCS.

considering it would not be until the following century that a U.S. President would step outside his own country.⁷⁷

The comparison is apt, for mission children—consciously or not—represented white, Christian civilization wherever they went. The fearlessness with which they traveled allowed them great freedom to explore and value the earth as their home, yet their segregated childhoods hung around them like anchors. In their writings, mission children compared and contrasted the Mexican, African, and Native Americans they encountered to indigenous Hawaiians, perpetuating among their peers a belief in Anglo-Saxon superiority. In the unpublished memoir of one missionary son, who became an ABCFM missionary to China and Japan, no Chinese or Japanese commoners are mentioned by name.⁷⁸

Nineteenth-century missionary children in Hawai'i experienced amazing cultural contacts which few other white children at the time ever would. While many honestly desired to teach members of other cultures Christianity, they had little faith in those cultures themselves. They had been taught to distrust racial difference and fear acculturation into non-white populations. Perhaps missionary children also desired to prove to themselves that they represented a worthy race. After all, their parents had

⁷⁷ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 91. Persis and Lucy Thurston learned to plot geographical positions on their way to the U.S. See Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 156. Hiram Bingham, Jr. and Orramel Gulick sailed as a captain and first mate throughout the Polynesian Islands. The travels of these and other Hawaiian mission children are noted in the "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1853-1937. Their mobility can be compared to Theodore Roosevelt, for example, who was the first sitting President to leave the United States, traveling to Panama to inspect the construction of the Panama Canal. Woodrow Wilson was the first sitting President to travel to Europe, attending the Versailles treaty negotiations after the First World War.

⁷⁸ See, for example, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands* (Hampton, VA, 1884); *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, October 25, 1849-May 3, 1850, CL (Box 3); Children of the Mission, 1830-1900, John Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

given them up for the sake of the degraded natives. This sense of isolation allowed missionary children to explore places few Americans or Europeans had ever seen and construct engagements with cultures few Westerners understood. Yet the same independence and insecurities which propelled Hawaiian mission children also inflicted them. Many simply incorporated the tension into the way they understood the world. The education they received in the islands solidified it.

Chapter 3: Schooling Power

Parents, Punahou and the Process of Teaching Colonialism in the Islands

There's a neat little clock-in the schoolroom it stands, and it points to the time with its two little hands. And may we, like the clock, keep a face clean and bright, with hands ever ready to do what is right.-English Nursery Rhyme

"In the great mansion for men upon earth, we occupy a nursery room, where children may luxuriate and grow into strength." –Mission Son Robert Andrews¹

"If you wish to be happy, keep busy," declared the *Punahou Gazette* in 1848.

"One way to promote happiness is to be industrious," a mission daughter explained, "the mind is occupied, and we cannot spare time for unpleasant feeling." "We are happy all day long," responded an old native woman, "not like white people, happy one moment, gloomy another...What are *haoles* always unhappy about?" Cultivating their souls and intellect were just a few of the responsibilities in which mission children were to engage their time. Through the process of education in the islands, children were expected to develop an appreciation for an industrious mind, including, as one young scholar noted, an understanding that "knowledge is power,-and the more you have of it, the better." Yet all around them the children witnessed an indigenous culture tuned to the natural rhythm of the islands and unmoved by the demands of the clock. By contrasting Hawaiian and American cultural practices, missionary teachers hoped to erase the conflict many Hawaiian mission children felt about their station both in the islands and world.²

"Citizens of the world" American missionary parents in Hawai'i proudly called their children, yet the parental expectations attached to such an important birthright were immense. Mission parents viewed the moral and religious training of their children as the

¹ Andrews, February 12, 1865, HMCS.

² *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 134.

soil from which all attitudes and behaviors would grow, including their children's approach to Hawaiian politics and international affairs. The Hawaiian mission children's unique educational experiences in the islands grounded their justification, in later years, for the direct use of power to overthrow the existing Hawaiian political system and install another, a government rooted in the children's understanding of the world and their relationship to it.³

By environment and design mission parents were their children's primary educators during their earliest years. Most children stayed with their parents until around the age of seven, after which they were shipped back to the United States or, after 1841, to Honolulu for further education. Although five-year old Samuel Alexander begged his parents to allow him to go away to school with his older brothers, most children preferred being at home with their parents, their "Alpha and Omega," as one mother described mission fathers and mothers. Sheltered from native schools and often removed from other white children, mission children were haphazardly homeschooled by parents and random visitors while mostly studying alone.⁴

The parent as teacher was a role missionaries closely designed. "[W]ithout filial obedience, and a regard to and love to parents, [children] can neither be respected or useful in the world, or beloved of God," wrote one missionary father to his wife. Mission parents felt the need for domestic control particularly in the Hawaiian Islands, far from cultural support systems that could reinforce their values and habits to their children. "Unless children count their home the most pleasant of all places, and their parents the

³ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 21.

⁴ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1875.

most delightful society which can be found,” the missionary continued, children were libel to risk entering adulthood without virtuous, industrious and, above all, obedient characters. The American Tract Society agreed. At least one nineteenth-century tract on parenting that reached the islands, counseled, “Children should early learn that though they can be more *wicked* abroad, they cannot be more *happy* any where than at home in the society of their parents and one another.”⁵

Although the methods by which parents taught obedience differed, most mission families practiced daily family worship, Bible and catechism memorization, and strict Sabbath keeping. On the Sabbath we “dared not even run or even step quickly,” wrote Sam Wilcox. “Climb a tree? I should say not! Not on any Sabbath I knew anything about!” One early children’s primer, printed in the islands, proclaimed God’s view of the Sabbath: “For all the blessings of his other days; this small return he surely may expect, and will as surely punish its neglect.” Mission parents also spanked. “Oh, [my father] believed in the Bible command, ‘Spare not the rod!’” Wilcox reflected. “And to him the safest thing he could do was to ‘break the child’s spirit.’”⁶

Missionary parents were impartial in their practice of New England Calvinist theology. They were true believers, products of revivalist fervor, leaving country and family for the sake of the missionary call. Their Calvinist parenting methods, in decline back in the United States, remained alive and active in missionary homes abroad. In the United States, nineteenth-century industrialization had created distinct gender roles, and an emerging middle class utilized new leisure time to romanticize childhood.

Antebellum mothers became responsible for uncovering their children’s innate religious

⁵ Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, 1835, HMCS.

⁶ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 274-275; Daniel Chamberlain, correspondence and papers, 1822, HMCS.

sensibilities. The new professions of pediatrics and psychology emphasized stimulating the senses through play and learning from the environment. In New England, these changes were accompanied by an overall decline in religious adherence. In the Hawaiian Islands, Calvinism prevailed. Puritan parenting required teaching both a love and fear of parents, in order to render the child's will malleable. Obedience to parents meant a child was aware of her sinful depravity and willing to obey God. At least one child tried to get around such theology. Henry Lyman cut wedges in the wooden rod his father used to spank him in order to blunt the force. Although Lyman pretended to be in pain, his father discovered the ruse.⁷

Some mission parents tended to be more severe than others. Sereno Bishop called his religious instruction "very thorough....Our parents diligently did their duty according to their old-fashioned Calvinistic lights." Abner Wilcox once prayed that God would convict his wife Lucy of frivolity, after he heard her laughing aloud. Such severity was not always shared by both spouses. Sam Wilcox said his mother later laughed about the incident.⁸

Many mission children developed particularly close relationships with their mothers, who were responsible for their children's early education. Although some mission fathers helped teach children at dinner or in the evenings, mission mothers played the primary role of teacher. Mission children often learned to read early. Henry

⁷ For changes in nineteenth-century parenting practice in the United States, see Bendroth, "Horace Bushnell's *Christian Nurture*," 350-364. For the impact of romanticism on motherhood, see Anne L. Kuhn, *The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts, 1830-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), 9, 97, 105, 119, 144-145, 183-184. The Calvinist influence on New England parenting is discussed in Philip J. Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 21-22; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 27.

⁸ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 20; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 275.

Lyman began to read through the Bible on his fourth birthday, after learning to read a basic primer at age two. Lyman called his mother his “constant companion and instructor.” Sarah Lyman clearly enjoyed this role, for she kept Henry at home as long as she could. When he finally entered Punahou in 1846, he was ahead in all subjects except Latin.⁹

Because missionary mothers were busy with their native schools, mission children rose early to learn their studies before their mothers left to teach native children, usually around 9 a.m. Mission children were often left to themselves to finish their schoolwork. Persis Thurston (1821-1906) spilled sulphuric acid on her dress while trying to make hydrogen gas and later went to her mother asking who had cut her dress in two. Lucy Thurston, searching for snail shells in the Manoa valley, recorded in her journal that she had found “*Oahuensis*” and “*Stewartii*” shells from the genus “*Achatina*,” after walking fourteen miles in one day. Mission children visited Kilauea, taking notes on its “continual modification.”¹⁰

Above all, mission parents desired their children learn the fear of God and need for spiritual conversion. “I rejoice that their mother is one who believes that children *can* be converted, and that they *need to be* converted,” Dwight Baldwin praised his wife. Young children capable of conversion was not something New England Calvinists had historically believed. Jonathan Edwards changed that in the mid-eighteenth century, postulating children were sinful but able to experience conversion: “when G[od] hath a design of mercy, he sometimes bestows it on Persons when young or Even in

⁹ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 24; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 11; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 141; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 75, 104.

¹⁰ Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 47, 52; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 91.

Childhood.” Edwards thought one of his own children had undergone a conversion at the age of seven and argued that extremely young children might not even realize they had been converted until older. By the 1830s New England Congregationalists like Lyman Beecher had begun to advocate the importance of morally-trained youth for the future of the young nation. According to one parental-advice publication, properly-trained children were “among the principal means of reforming the world and introducing the day of millennial glory.” As Dwight Baldwin wrote his wife, “I suppose we are of one mind their being converted in infancy.”¹¹

The responsibility to teach the reality of hell, seriousness of conversion, and shortness of life fell heavily upon mission parents. If children could be saved, they could also be damned. Calvinist American parents in the United States and Hawai‘i feared the ramifications of this diminishing emphasis on God’s sovereignty. Parents were now required to see that their child’s free will was not wasted. To missionary parents in Hawai‘i, cultural temptations faced their children at every turn, and teaching mission children the fear of damnation became their paramount concern. “You are well aware that being in the church does not, of itself, make you better or safer,” missionary Titus Coan wrote to thirteen-year old Lucy Thurston. “It does not *make* you a Christian.” One mother wrote a mission child, “You have yet to learn how to live—how to die.” Parents hoped that deaths within the mission, especially of children, would “be the occasion of a revival of religion among the children and youth” of the mission. “Our fourth son appears to have felt the heavenly influence, and sometimes hopes he is a Christian; and

¹¹ Catherine A. Brekus, “Children of Wrath, Children of Grace: Jonathan Edwards and the Puritan Culture of Child Rearing,” in *The Child in Christian Thought*, ed. Marcia J. Bunge (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2001), 301, 311-312; Peter Gregg Slater, *Children in the New England Mind: In Death and in Life* (Hamden, CN: Archon Books, 1977), 133; Baldwin, correspondence, 1835, HMCS.

we have a faint hope for him,” Peter Gulick wrote ABCFM secretary Rufus Anderson.

“But his case is less satisfactory, than that of his elder brothers.”¹²

In his study of 19th century American children’s diaries, E. Brooks Holifield notes a prevalence of concern among children about sin and death. “The simplest answer would be that they thought and felt what parents, teachers, and clergy taught them to think and feel,” Holifield writes, yet deeper emotions were at play: “fearfulness and a yearning for protection and security to a desire for approval, mutuality, and love.”

Mission children absorbed their parents’ exhortations in various ways. “I shall be twelve the 24th of next June if I live,” wrote Martha Chamberlain to her grandfather in the United States. “God has been very good to me in preserving my life and health,” seven-year old Emma Smith recorded in her journal. Thirteen-year old Lucy Thurston wrote a fellow mission child, “You know not how soon you may die, and you should be prepared for it....We know not whom he will call next.” Twelve-year old John Emerson left a dying message to his Punahou classmates that “they should give their hearts to God while in health.” Ten-year old Charles Gulick (1834-1854) pondered, “It seems that I will never be converted from the state that I am in now. Sometimes, after I have been thinking a good while...I am almost led to believe that there is no God. . . . I think of going to hell.”

Another mission teenager worried, “I hope I am converted.”¹³

¹² William G. McLoughlin, “Evangelical Child Rearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland’s Views on When and How to Subdue the Willfulness of Children,” in *Growing up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*, ed. N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 96; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 67-68, 121-123; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 347-348; Peter Gulick, correspondence, 184- (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

¹³ E.B. Holifield, “‘Let the Children Come’: The Religion of the Protestant Child in Early America,” *Church History* 76, no. 4 (2007): 76; Martha Chamberlain, January 24, 1845, HMCS; Frear, *Lowell and Abigail: A Realistic Idyll*, 203; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 69-70; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL;

Missionary children understood the brevity of life and need to “improve what little time is allotted to us, in preparing for eternity,” yet in their Hawaiian context, they struggled with the parental-approved evidences of grace. Mission children, like their parents, believed conversion was a spiritual experience gifted by God, but often failed to appreciate the outward habits parents deemed important to demonstrating conversion. For the missionaries, outward deportment “bore witness to the discipline and the self-denial which marked the true Christian.” For their children, Calvinist deportment left much to be desired.¹⁴

“Father Bingham presided in much dignity,” wrote a mission child about the Honolulu pastor and head missionary. “But his sermons were much protracted, and many of the natives fell asleep.” Bingham’s prayers following his sermon were known to last as long as one and 1/2 hours, a forty-minute prayer considered short. Oliver Emerson noted, “If we slept through any of the services, it was not when [the native choir] was singing.” Always appreciative of Hawaiian musicians, mission children, nonetheless, had great difficulty piously sitting through Sunday morning services. The difficulty was more pronounced due to the fact the services were given in Hawaiian, a language they were forbidden to learn. Even the most devoted child could barely stand it. Persis Thurston often broke down in tears. “Mama, what do I go to church for?” she would ask each week. Consequently, one the hallmarks of the missionaries’ week produced a mixture of boredom, hostility and pain in their children. Some parents improvised. Abner Wilcox required his children to sit through an afternoon service in English after

Charles Gulick, correspondence, January 10, 1844, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, May 10, 1845, HMCS.

¹⁴ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL; Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*, 43.

attending the “long service” at the native church. “We all had to go to his study where he read a chapter from the Bible; then he prayed, and we all had to kneel down too; after that he read a hymn or a sermon or a chapter from the life of some missionary; then he prayed again. Then at last it was over. It seemed endless, but perhaps it was only 2 or 3 hours,” one son recalled.¹⁵

Even the annual mission gatherings in Honolulu were a source of consternation for some mission children. Lyman preferred playing hide-and-seek outside to listening to the “ponderous debates” of the missionaries inside the meeting house, where missionaries developed “fine-spun” theories about “original sin as a factor in Hawaiian morals.” Lyman recognized early on that “[g]rown-up people behave just as we do; they are like boys.” Other children simply ignored the whole proceedings. Emma Armstrong fired pop guns with her friends under the meeting house windows until a missionary warned them to stop. She deliberately fired another shot. Levi Chamberlain described these sentiments: “Probably there is no class of persons in the mold so well acquainted with missionary life in reality as ourselves. There exist in our minds no mistaken notions in regard to the romance of missionary life...It was natural then that our hearts should be hardened.” Bishop was harsher: the missionaries were simply “better people” than their children.¹⁶

¹⁵ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 36; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 45; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 148; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 120; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 274-275.

¹⁶ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 155; Henry Parker, “Old Mission School Home of Free Kindergarten and Children's Aid,” *The Friend* 93 (December 1924): 294-295; Levi Chamberlain, correspondence, n.d., HMCS; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 28-29.

Despite the practical ambiguities of Calvinist faith in the islands, mission children continued to join the mission church, an outward sign of spiritual conversion which required missionary approval. In 1847 fourteen mission children joined the church. Lyman said of his joining, "Never, after that awe-inspiring ceremony, did the world seem again what it had before." In 1853 the Hawaiian Children Mission's Society (HCMS), an organization of mission children established to maintain communication amongst themselves, estimated that four-fifths of mission children living in the islands, and over the age of twelve, were "hopefully pious."¹⁷

Adult mission children tended to act out their frustration with orthodox Congregationalism in other ways. Some veered away from strict denominationalism. "[I]s our Hawaiian brother wholly wrong in condemning the old teaching and the old system?" William Castle asked in 1881. "[W]e must admit that in some respects the status of to-day is a reaction from the strictness of old." Others embraced Darwinian evolution, questioning their parents' understanding of prehistoric chronology. "Of geology we never heard," Bishop said of childhood. "Six thousand years was the limit of past earthly chronology." Some advanced to social Darwinism. "Educators realize more and more that the intellectual characteristics of a people can no more be changed at will than can their physical features," Joseph Emerson wrote. At least one mission son embraced indigenous Hawaiian religion. "If one comes to the study of the hula and its songs in the spirit of a censorious moralist he will find nothing for him," Nathaniel Emerson wrote in 1909. "[I]f he comes as a student and lover of human nature...he will find himself entering the playground of the human race." Titus Munson Coan (1836-

¹⁷ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 142; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 156; "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1853.

1921), a physician, described the ancient Hawaiian practice of infanticide as the reason for the early nation's relative happiness and wealth. "The reform that is most needed in the world...is to look for quality, not mere quantity of life, and to put humane and scientific checks upon over-population," Coan read before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, as he called for government sterilization of the "unfit." Although Coan denounced infanticide, he argued for population control and admired the simplicity and pragmatism of ancient Hawaiians. Such moral evolutions among adult mission children were far cries from their parents' admonishments to remember the total depravity of human nature and the vileness of Hawaiian culture.¹⁸

Mostly mission children chose to work out their salvation in their own ways, engaging in what they considered to be benevolent occupations and avoiding direct missionary work they viewed too difficult and unproductive. "In our refusal to engage in foreign missionary work we refute in a measure the doctrine of inherited tendencies," stated William Smith in 1882. It was in their occupations as newspaper editors, lawmakers, pastors, and teachers, however, that mission children eventually clashed with the Hawaiian monarchy over values imbedded deep in their psyche, "habits of orderly life" mission children learned at home and in school that were meant to shore up and demonstrate their religious conversions and make them useful Christians and citizens.¹⁹

"Habits," wrote Harvey Newcomb, popular 19th century author of the *How to Be a Man* and *How to Be a Lady*, "are mostly formed in early life." Difficult to be broken they

¹⁸ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1881, 1898; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 38; Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula*, 11. Coan did not advocate infanticide, calling it "barbarous and wasteful," but looked to ancient Hawaii as an "idyllic" society in terms of "quality" of life. He also noted the negative changes brought by "modern civilization." See Titus Munson Coan, "The Native of Hawaii: A Study of Polynesian Charm," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 18, no. 1 (1901): 15.

¹⁹ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1882; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 139.

can “follow you as long as you live,” the 1846 children’s books warned. By the 1840s mission parents hoped that early habits of piety would be reinforced at Punahou School, the newly-established Honolulu boarding school for missionary children. Parents also hoped that their children would develop habits of scholarship and industry.²⁰

The establishment of Punahou coincided with important legislative changes in the islands. When the Christian premier Kaahumanu died in 1832, missionaries saw a sharp decline in school attendance. Kamehameha III and the Hawaiian legislature reversed this native movement the following decade by instituting a state educational system and compulsory education for children ages 4 to 14. With the Hawaiian government and local communities taking on the financial burden for primary education, the missionaries were able to channel mission resources into a school for their own children, separate from native children. Punahou opened its doors in 1841 and finished its first year with a class of thirty-four students, including nineteen boarders.²¹

For mission parents, thrilled they did not have to send their children all the way to the United States to receive a New England-style education, Punahou turned out to be an odd mix of stern instruction in an unorthodox environment. The school itself was a one-story, E-shaped adobe structure about 200 feet in length. Each wing opened into a courtyard surrounded by verandahs. The building was “purely a native product.” The

²⁰ Harvey Newcomb, *How to Be a Man: A Book for Boys, Containing Useful Hints on the Formation of Character*, 11th ed. (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1853), 83.

²¹ Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, the Pioneers, 1789-1843*, 338-339; *Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Established in the Reign of Kamehameha III*, 40-43; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 94.

treeless plain between Honolulu and the school allowed an unobstructed view of the ocean. Mountains were the children's backyard.²²

If the physical environment did little to take students' minds off the geographical setting in which they were learning, Punahou boarders had an even more difficult time learning the virtue of cleanliness. The bathing pond students so often liked to discuss in their student newspapers had a foot of mud on its shallow bottom. The boys liked to stir it up until the water was black. "The result of such a state of matters would be just this, that he who bathes would not derive very much benefit from it, as far as cleansing is concerned," complained one student. The situation united students in body, if not in spirit, with the "dirty kanaka."²³

Punahou also decried nineteenth-century American gender roles. Mission girls and boys spent much more time together in educational pursuits than many mid-century, middle-class youth in the United States. Before the Civil War only a few women went to academies or colleges, and the curriculum was always different from male institutions. Only a few coeducational opportunities existed, and in those women were usually placed on a separate track.²⁴

More girls came each day from Honolulu than ever boarded at the school, but some would ride their horses as many as three miles each direction to attend Punahou. Punahou boarders on the weekend headed to Honolulu to play with the day scholars. Many Saturdays were spent together exploring the mountains behind the school. Girls served as newspaper editors and contributors, engaging in competition with the boys over

²² Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 66; "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1887.

²³ *Weekly Star*, 1852, CL; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 15.

²⁴ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, 397.

which gender contributed more to the student publications each week. Girls studied Greek, and boys took drawing and music classes, despite the school's separate aims to prepare boys to "enjoy the privileges of a college and to study any of the learned professions," and girls "for the highest usefulness in whatever station Divine Providence may place." Even then principle Daniel Dole and his teachers made decided efforts to teach girls to "render themselves independent of the assistance of others." Occasionally there was conflict over how this should be done. Punahou girls thought it odd when one day a teacher required them to curtsy to her on the way out of class. When word reached the school that girls in the United States were reciting on stage in front of their peers, Punahou teachers quickly complied. Missionary parents faced the constant tension of trying to prepare their children to enter the United States as accepted members of its society and protecting their children from its sinful influences. Sometimes the dueling goals collided, as when missionary girls and boys wished to dance together like their American counterparts.²⁵

Despite the unorthodox nature of their surroundings, Punahou boys remained decidedly against allowing women a political role in civic life. The Punahou Debating Society picked up the question in the early 1850s, concluding that women were too busy in their domestic sphere to "meddle with politics." A mother governing her family correctly (as, the boys argued, few women did) could calm "the heated [political] passions of husbands, brothers and relations," but she would have little time for anything else. The Biblical curse precluded her from governing a man. Only one debater voted in favor of granting women political rights. It appears Punahou boys did not invite the girls

²⁵ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 68-69, 157-158; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 163.

to participate in the debate. In this respect Punahou's gender training mirrored New England's, rather than its Hawaiian environment, for the most influential Hawaiian premiers had all been women, and native women prominently served in the House of Nobles. In 1840, for example, five women sat in the upper chamber.²⁶

Close proximity between genders and extended time away from parental supervision led to other behaviors. Punahou boys voted for the prettiest girl in school and gave the winner a prize. Teachers reprimanded girls for lacing their corsets too tightly. One teenage girl died of a "lingering illness," perhaps an eating disorder. Students nurtured crushes on each other. One "buxom lass" later married the object of her affection, Samuel Alexander. Alexander was the most popular boy in school, reigning champion of self-defense tactics practiced among the boys every night. Punahou boarders often fought with the Honolulu day scholars, once with crossbows and hoes. William Gulick (1835-1922) retained a life-long scar from the battle. Some students were loved for their "merry pranks." Mission girls and boys would take "tropical moonlight" horseback rides, "galloping eight or ten abreast" through the coconut grove at Waikiki and around Diamond Head, as many as forty students riding together. "The Punahou boys and girls of our day were good companions," wrote Oliver Emerson. Thirty-four mission children eventually married each other, although there could also be conflict. Edward Wilcox believed his father's difficulties with a neighboring missionary were due "to the fact that we never played the *beau* to his daughters."²⁷

²⁶ *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 226; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 43-44.

²⁷ An eating disorder would not have been unusual. Sereno Bishop's mother Elizabeth Edwards Bishop essentially starved herself to death in 1828 due to extreme back pain after eating. Charles Gulick died of bulimia in 1854. Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 77, 110, 206-207, 120-122; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 37, WC; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*,

The wide divergence in ages among students also made Punahou unique.

Although the one-room school house remained the U.S. norm for most of the nineteenth century, Punahou's boarding arrangement meant children ranging from ages 5-17, and occasionally older, were required to interact as a family, the older students teaching the younger ones and helping them navigate critical childhood years away from home. This did not always go smoothly. "How often do we see the young gentleman or lady of fifteen, or sixteen, pass a little child without noticing it, and seemingly feeling him or herself vastly superior to it?" asked a contributor to the *Gazette*. Younger children would seek the time and affection of older students and were just as often rebuffed. Ignoring the feelings of younger children, according to the *Gazette*, is "frequent here."²⁸

Grievances often occurred between older students, as well. An "unthinking jest or a hasty twit" could lead to long-held resentments. Students fought over how loudly to speak at the dinner table after student feelings were hurt at not being included in the conversation. Daniel Dole once admitted that he "dreaded" a new scholar arriving at Punahou "knowing the seasoning he was sure to go through despite our utmost vigilance." Albert Lyons remarked that after Punahou, college "was a tame experience by comparison."²⁹

Loneliness among the scholars was often enhanced by homesickness and dislike of the teachers. Henry Lyman recalled that the first time he visited home, "My joy was too great for anything but tears; I could only clasp my mother's neck, and weep like an infant in her arms." Children often noted in their letters to parents which students had

154-155; Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 190; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 382.

²⁸ Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783-1876*, 395; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

²⁹ *Weekly Star*, 1852, CL; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 153, 206.

received letters or visits from family and which had not. Orramel Gulick told his mother “I am well, comfortable, and contented, only I puke once in a while.” Another student wrote, “I once had a happy home.” Students read letters from parents numerous times in a row.³⁰

Students also dreaded returning to their Punahou teachers. The anticipation of arriving at school after vacations was always “mingled somewhat with the fear of Mr. Dole.” Daniel Dole was thought by all the missionaries to be an excellent classicist. The erudite scholar was not, however, considered a good teacher. He and his wife Emily had consented to teach at Punahou after arriving in the islands for missionary work. While a solid instructor to advanced scholars who were interested in their studies, Dole did not appeal to many of the younger scholars or their parents. Writing to the ABCFM, Dr. Gerrit Judd complained in 1852, “*Apt to teach* is a better qualification in an instructor than *fondness for study, skill in the languages* or a desire to become *President of a College*.” Judd alleged that some parents were willing to send their children to the United States rather than have them sit under Dole’s teaching style. “[W]hen compelled to deal with listless and backward scholars,” one student surmised, “he never appeared to advantage.” Dole, one biographer wrote, “made it a point never to spare the rod.”³¹

If Dole intimidated young Punahou students, Marcia Smith outright scared them. William Gulick said that Samuel Alexander was the only mission child not terrified of the unmarried teacher who also believed in corporal punishment to the chagrin of some

³⁰ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 143; *Weekly Star*, 1852, CL; Orramel Gulick, correspondence, January 9, 1844, HMCS; Charles Gulick, correspondence, February 16, 1844, HMCS.

³¹ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL; Gerrit Judd, March 22, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Henry Lyman qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 170; Ethel M. Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp* (Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books, 1957), 17.

parents and all students. Smith was known for “great physical strength,” and the children would joke about her punishments. “How many rods make an acre?” they would ask each other. “Why, I think one, well laid on, is quite sufficient for an *acher*.” Some students did not accept her discipline with humor. At least one older brother tried to protect a younger sibling from her wrath. Ann Eliza Clark, who also had Smith’s sister, Lucia Smith, as an island tutor, said of her Punahou teacher, “Sister of my first teacher, never were sisters more alike though we thought that this one went far beyond the other in the severity of her government. Her punishments were numerous and frequently applied, and her memory is indelibly stamped on the minds of all those who have enjoyed her instructions.” So severe were these memories that Clark later wrote, “I cannot think of her and of those days calmly, so adieu for the present to my teachers.”³²

Not every Punahou teacher was remembered with such vehemence. Children regarded the second Mrs. Dole, Charlotte Knapp, as the “best of teachers.” Students considered Mary Rice, who came to the school with her husband in 1844, as a mother. With Daniel Dole’s resignation in 1855, Edward Beckwith became president of Punahou, newly-chartered as a college. Students loved President Beckwith and his brother, George Beckwith, who also came to Honolulu to teach. “There is a universal effort. Everyone does his best,” Samuel Alexander said of the students under their instruction.³³

Even under Dole Punahou School was doing something right in educating students in the New-England preparatory model. Punahou graduates were receiving high honors in U.S. colleges, and some U.S. children were even moving to Honolulu to attend the school. By 1856 a few students from Oregon had begun to arrive. In 1858 the school

³² Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 78; Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence, n.d., HMCS.

³³ Orramel Gulick and Samuel Alexander qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou*, 98, 107, 199.

attracted 76 pupils, its highest number of students since opening. Although ABCFM secretary Rufus Anderson was “quite amused” that one student had moved to Honolulu from New Jersey to attend the school, a traveler sighting Honolulu from her ship asked if the city was Punahou. “I feel safe in saying that no school equal, on the whole, to Punahou College is to be found west of the Alleghenies,” William Alexander wrote his brother. “Only in New England would it find a few rivals.” One hundred and fifty years later the school still advocated its equality to prestigious New England preparatory schools, continuing its lengthy history of stringent self measurement. In 2008 Punahou could boast its first U.S. Presidential alumnus.³⁴

At Punahou students received a classical education. Seven-year-old Levi Chamberlain noted in 1845 that he was studying history, arithmetic and spelling. By 1850 he had added Greek, chemistry and botany. His brother James took astronomy, singing and drawing courses. It was the “moral advantages” offered by Punahou, however, that kept mission parents committed to the success of the school. What parents and teachers deemed the virtues and habits of a moral life was evident in student compositions. The *Punahou Gazette*, running from 1848-1852, was a weekly newspaper students read publicly every Thursday afternoon. Students also issued the *Critic*, a weekly publication criticizing the *Gazette*. In 1852 the *Weekly Star* replaced both newspapers by combining contributions and criticism in one issue. The preserved

³⁴William Alexander qtd. in Ibid., 201, 210, 288, 227-228; *Punahou Gazette* and *Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL; Foster, *Punahou: The History and Promise of a School in the Islands*, 171-187.

newspapers provide insight into the minds of young Hawaiian mission children, as well as the nature of their education.³⁵

For the young writers, deportment constituted character. Punahou students considered biting nails, swearing, lying, and stealing bad habits formed in childhood. Gambling, billiards and theater also made the list. Having fits of the “pouts” and “sulks” were definitely signs of poor temperament. Saying “can’t,” “won’t,” “shan’t,” “ha’nt,” “aint,” and “don’t” were vulgar and ignorant, since “a person’s character may often be known by the language he uses.” At least one student believed rising at five was less wasteful than sleeping until seven or eight, and almost all mission children prized clean clothes and orderly rooms. Unbrushed hair, they warned each other, would mean being sent away from the dinner table by Miss Smith. Tiredness and dullness during the school day signaled mischievousness. Talking and laughing too much could mean laziness. People “who live that they may eat” tended toward dyspepsia and gluttony. Punahou students also embraced benevolence. Boarders sewed in the evening to raise money for missions and wanted to be a “blessing to the world.” Selfishness was the root of all war, and filial obedience was necessary for receiving love. “God loves obedient children, but those who are disobedient he does not love,” declared one child.³⁶

Mission children could be too concerned with appearances. Teachers admonished Charles Wilcox for being “a little too dandyish” in caring about his clothing. Charles had given his mother written instructions for sewing his shirts, “I wish you would make the Bosoms longer and wider and the collars like the pattern I send in the letter.” Missionary

³⁵ Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence, March 12, 1845 and October 24, 1850, HMCS; James Chamberlain, correspondence, October 2, 1848, HMCS; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 201, 135, 139.

³⁶ Manners, deportment and character training taken from *Punahou Gazette* and *Critic*, 1848-1852 and *Weekly Star*, 1852-1853, CL; Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence, March 12, 1845, HMCS.

parents tried to teach their sons to “abhor tassels in the boots, a ruffle to the shirt, bows to a cravat, and curled earlocks” and daughters to abstain from “ostrich feathers hung on her head,” “rings in the ears or nose,” “a waist half of the size which nature makes,” and curly hair, “the sign of a bad disposition.” Missionary Dwight Baldwin voiced what all mission parents believed, “We must give a knowledge of the world...even while we are afraid to have them associate with any of the society around us.”³⁷

Mission teachers educating Punahou students in the habits of a useful life used the juxtaposition of native Hawaiian culture to refine their messages. Numerous school compositions on diligence highlighted “Kanakanaka fever.” As one student wrote, the illness, also known as “Lazy fever,” could only be cured by “Dr. Industry” or “Dr. Birch.” In an essay entitled “Evil Tendencies to be Resisted in Procuring an Education at these Islands,” another student explained that the “the indolent habits of the natives” were caused by a tropical climate and the easy availability of food. Students were to pay special attention to these risks which could threaten their becoming “a useful and respectable member of society.” Most degrading, native children “generally do not like to go to school.” From an early age, mission children believed there was little they could learn from their Hawaiian neighbors.³⁸

Mission children absorbed the overt racism of these messages and prized their academic education, which set them further apart from the “*kanakas*.” Even a merchant or farmer was elevated by his education. “He is capable of more refined and exquisite pleasure than the noneducated person by his side,” a student surmised. Education gave individuals “more power over themselves” and “more power and influence over others,”

³⁷ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 262-263; Dwight Baldwin, correspondence, 1835, HMCS.

³⁸ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849 and 1851-1852, CL.

and the time for learning was in one's youth. "Let us improve all our time and opportunities that we may not be classed among the unlearned," a young writer admonished. "What is man without a cultivated intellect, but a brute, and what are the majority of men, who live along through life, but a drove of *sensual asses*?" Sam Alexander asked.³⁹

If most Punahou students took their academic preparation seriously, about one virtue they were unanimous: temperance. On every island mission children joined temperance societies, attended temperance meetings, and debated all facets of the issue. In Honolulu Levi, James, Martha and Maria Chamberlain together signed a temperance pledge. Their sister Isabella (1838-1901), despite her pleas, was too young to write her name. George Wilcox remembered joining a temperance society when he was not more than three years old. Some mission children, like Persis and Lucy Thurston, also joined the "cold water army" and refused to drink coffee or tea. "[W]hen a boy goes so far as to contract a relish for intoxicating drinks, his ruin is well nigh accomplished," Harvey Newcomb warned his readers. Punahou teacher Marcia Smith gave Newcomb's popular *How to be a Man* to graduating students, advising "It will greatly increase your ability to do good and give you power over other minds."⁴⁰

So serious were Punahou students regarding the evils of intoxicating drink that in 1846 debaters unanimously voted rum "productive of more evil than war." They also decided coffee and tea were a "great waste of time and money." Mission children were

³⁹ *Weekly Star*, September 1852-December 1852, CL; Qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 211.

⁴⁰ James Chamberlain, correspondence, March 7, 1845, HMCS; Levi T. Chamberlain, correspondence, March 12, 1845, HMCS; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 260; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 51; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 165.

taught that the “free circulation of spirituous liquors” lessened respect for law, life and property. They read reports from the American Temperance Society regarding the negative influence of liquor in the United States and applied those conclusions to the islands. There were some points of disagreement among the students. At least one missionary child thought Hawaiian coffee unavoidable, “I know of some persons that came out from America who were very strong on the side of cold water, but of late years they drink coffee as much as anybody.” Successfully transplanted in the islands in the 1820s, coffee trees were soon thriving in Kona. On Oahu, more than a century ahead of Starbucks, the Chamberlain family was known for mixing scalded milk with coffee and attracting to their home numerous visitors enamored by the concoction.⁴¹

Neither did some students wish to abstain from tobacco. “Tobacco is one of the most active vegetable poisons. It disorders the system and creates an appetite for stimulants,” Newcomb advised. “What makes an appetite for rum, and sends the drunkard staggering home, and prematurely seals his doom?” the *Gazette* asked in 1849. “*Tobacco.*” At one debate Punahou students discussing this assertion broke up in disorder when “the tobacco side were generally losing ground.” Some students went outside to smoke cigars, “and there was a good deal of confusion.”⁴²

Temperance was a value mission children shared with native children. Under the influence of the missionaries, thousands of native children joined temperance movements. Over 1400 children marched in a Children’s Temperance Society parade at

⁴¹ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1949, CL; Warren Chamberlain, papers, circa 1909-1910, HMCS. As a college student George Dole called American coffee “adulterated approximations.” See Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp*, 51.

⁴² Newcomb, *How to Be a Man: A Book for Boys, Containing Useful Hints on the Formation of Character*, 97; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 226.

Lahaina. Punahou students believed alcohol was destroying native lives and culture.

“Thirst which all the uncivilized portions of the globe have for ardent spirits, is probably as strong in the natives of these Islands as in any other nation,” wrote a student in the *Weekly Star*, “I have not much fear in saying that if it were not for the restraining influence of the present stringent laws with regard to liquor and the good influence of the missionaries that they would soon dwindle away to nothing.” Students also compared native Hawaiians to alcohol users in “civilized” cultures: “The effect of the use of ardent spirits whether in excess or in moderation, on all persons and in all climates is injurious in the extreme.”⁴³

With the mission children’s hatred of liquor came a distrust of foreign visitors. Missionaries had long influenced native rulers to legislate against prostitution and drunkenness, vices encouraged, the missionaries argued, by foreign whalers, merchants and naval sailors. Some mission children experienced foreign wrath directed at the missionaries’ efforts. In 1826 six-year old Sophia Bingham hid inside her house as sailors from the U.S. warship *Dolphin* attacked her father outside for his efforts to curb prostitution. Her sister Lydia Bingham called the incident “a scene never effaced from the memory of those who witnessed it.” Sereno Bishop noted that almost all foreigners in Honolulu during the first twenty years of the mission were at odds with the missionaries. Kamehameha III agreed with the missionaries on temperance, issuing a law against drunkenness in 1835 and outlawing liquor distillation and liquor importation in 1838. The King also imposed the first Hawaiian duty, a tax on wine imports.⁴⁴

⁴³ Menton, ““Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School, 1839-1850”, 164; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL.

⁴⁴ Zwiap, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*, 242; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1881; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography*

The Hawaiian monarch also sided with the missionaries on Protestantism, forbidding Roman Catholic missionaries from operating in the islands. As a result, the island nation was faced with the first of several serious threats to its independence. Arriving in Honolulu in 1839 the French frigate *L'Artemise* brought with it a manifesto from the French government: The King and chiefs “doubtless do not know how powerful France is, and that there is no power in the world which is capable of preventing [France] from punishing her enemies; otherwise they would have endeavored to merit her good will.” The French monarchy demanded religious toleration for French Catholic missionaries, as well as limits on Hawaiian duties for French merchandise, “especially wines and brandies.” The King’s concessions to France effectually repealed his own liquor laws. To the missionaries and their children, Catholic priests and alcoholic imports represented the worst sort of foreign aggression. As one Punahou student noted, “[T]hose who have visited these shores are worse than the Hawaiians themselves.” Foreigners were the ones “who have done so much to degrade” the Hawaiian people. Of course, missionary children did not view their own families as either foreigners or visitors.⁴⁵

The British demonstrated its power over the islands in 1843, when Commander Lord George Paulet of the *Carysfort* briefly annexed the kingdom and ruled it for six months. Although the British crown reversed Paulet’s action, Elizabeth Judd saw her mother threatened with a sword in the middle of the night. “I shall run you through if

by Lorrin A. Thurston, 50; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 162-163.

⁴⁵ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 165-166; *Weekly Star*, 1853, CL.

you don't tell me!" a British lieutenant shouted as he looked for Dr. Judd. "Do it then," Elizabeth's mother replied in front of the children.⁴⁶

The annexation episode, in part, led to a British-French agreement in 1843 to honor Hawaiian independence, and a tacit U.S. agreement to protect Hawaiian independence under the Monroe Doctrine, which forbade European encroachment on U.S. interests in the Western Hemisphere. The United States did not become party to the written treaty, ostensibly under the auspices that it did not want to entangle itself in foreign alliances.⁴⁷

Despite the kingdom's accomplishments in securing independent-nation status from nineteenth-century international powers, Hawaiian sovereignty again faced a test in August 1849 as two French frigates arrived in Honolulu to enforce French agreements regarding liquor imports. When the king refused to meet with French officials, including the French consul Guillaume Dillon, soldiers came ashore, destroyed the king's armory, occupied government offices and stole the royal yacht. By early September the French had left without achieving their resolutions, and the French government was forced to disavow the hostile acts.⁴⁸

Punahou students witnessed this entire escapade. During the temporary crisis Punahou boys climbed Diamond Head to raise a Hawaiian flag in protest to the French attacks. When the French left, one Punahou student rallied, "The younger days of this kingdom are past, and powers can no longer, as formerly, enforce their demands on the point of the bayonet or at the cannon's mouth." A Punahou poet opined, "Nor *flag* nor

⁴⁶ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 63-64.

⁴⁷ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 194-195, 203.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 393-394.

duty would come down, though fought for by *M. Dillon*, and so they sneaked off out of town, like puppies caught a *stealin*.”⁴⁹

Among U.S., British and French “foreigners,” most mission children directed their fear and animosity toward the French, whose invasions were directly related to the two things their parents abhorred most: liquor and Roman Catholicism. In 1840 Persis and Lucy Thurston’s father refused to leave his post and travel with his daughters to the United States because “two Catholic priests ha[d] lately established themselves at Kailua.” He never saw his daughter Lucy again. “Popery and Brandy, as you will see are at the bottom of this whole affair,” Ann Eliza Clark’s father wrote the Board regarding the 1849 incident with France. In Boston Rufus Anderson worried that the imposition of French “wines and brandy” would cause missionaries to return home, “and thus the islands will come more and more under an adverse influence and the Hawaiian nation, as such, soon cease to exist.” The Board reminded the missionaries to remain at their posts, unlike the London Missionary Society missionaries who left Tahiti when the French instituted a protectorate in 1842.⁵⁰

Children absorbed these messages. Passing by a new Roman Catholic chapel in Hilo, Henry Lyman and Titus Coan were “stricken with terror, and fled for our lives lest we too might somehow get burned at the stake like poor John Huss.” In Honolulu mission children looked at the house of French Consul Dillon “with fear and trembling” and the Roman Catholic cathedral with “holy horror.” Punahou children believed “that beneath the high altar were certain gloomy vaults that only awaited the establishment of

⁴⁹ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 148-150; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL.

⁵⁰ Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 134; Ephraim Clark, correspondence, August 28, 1849 (ABC 19.1) and Anderson, correspondence, October 24, 1849 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 148-149.

French ascendancy to be fully equipped and put to use after the manner of the terrible Spanish inquisition.” The *Gazette* declared, “Behold the lamentable results of these measures.... Drunkenness and debauchery became common scenes...Catholic priests were admitted...striving to instill into this poor benighted people, the bigoted fancies of the Catholic religion.”⁵¹

Some children reserved approbation for the Hawaiian government. “Now is it right for this government to admit the manufacture of an article within its dominions, which although it may enrich a certain class of the people, while in the experience of all nations, it has poured death and destruction over the mass of the people ruining both body and soul?” a Punahou student asked. “No it is not! And the person who would advocate it should be regarded as an enemy to the nation.”⁵²

Other mission children saw more serious issues. Is it “sufficient for a nation to keep another nation at bay, while at the same time it is obliged to admit an article or articles of traffic from that nation, against its will...Is this a desirable state of things?” one student questioned. Most were unwilling to delve too deeply into the status of Hawaiian independence. The French “from all probability have given up their design” of taking the islands, a Punahou student argued, “For they know how the United States and England would look upon such an act.” Levi Chamberlain noted “how ridiculous” it was for the Hawaiian kingdom to maintain a standing army. “Are there any reasons to believe that any of these nations will take the Islands by force?” Rather than maintain an army,

⁵¹ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 76-79, 135; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, July 1849-September 1849, CL.

⁵² *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL.

Chamberlain suggested continued reliance on England and the United States whose “interposition” had held back France.⁵³

All mission children were interested in the naval vessels which visited the islands. Journals, letters and student newspapers were filled with information regarding the names, sizes and nationalities of ships entering port. Many children stepped aboard these ships and saw for themselves the far-reaching powers of England, France and the United States. In 1845 John Gulick (1832-1923) noted that the English warship *Collingwood* was “the largest ship I have ever seen. (What a joy to go aboard her!)” As many as fifteen ships arrived in Honolulu each day by the 1850s. “Ships are coming in sight, thick and fast,” the *Weekly Star* noted. Warren Chamberlain described Honolulu harbor as a “forest of masts.”⁵⁴

Mission children were cognizant of the Hawaiian Islands’ strategic role in international affairs. Punahou students believed the kingdom needed to develop its agricultural trade in order to become a full participant in international commerce and preserve its seat at the table of independent nations. Increased trade “would increase the sympathy of nations and thereby lesson the spirit of war,” wrote one student. “It would bind the world so strongly together, that it would be like a fraternity.” Students also believed in free trade and realized that the “duties which now exist in California on Island produce are such as render it impossible for these islands to compete with other countries in that market.”⁵⁵

⁵³ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852, CL; Levi Chamberlain, papers, n.d., HMCS.

⁵⁴ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 126; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL; Warren Chamberlain, papers, circa 1909-1910, HMCS.

⁵⁵ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852, CL.

Through trade, students argued, surplus produce could be exchanged for foreign goods, and “savage nations” could become civilized because the “comforts and luxuries of life” would land “more within the reach of the poor.” Although one dissenter called the products of foreign trade “perfectly useless” and noted that in “savage” nations “wants are few and simple, and can easily be supplied,” Punahou students generally agreed that commerce was necessary for the spread of education, civilization, and Christianity, including the printed Bible. Duties prohibited the spread of civilization.⁵⁶

In 1876 the Hawaiian kingdom achieved trade reciprocity with the United States, an important economic protection considering the United States had recently concluded trade treaties with China and Japan. While the treaty certainly drew the business interests of the two nations closer together, John Whitehead astutely notes that the revolutionaries who overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 and requested U.S. annexation “were more concerned with the conduct of the monarchy than the financial interests of the sugar planters.” Of the twenty-eight men on the Committee of Public Safety, which planned the revolution, more than one third were Punahou graduates. These graduates simply acted upon beliefs they had learned and accepted as children.⁵⁷

Punahou students had a long association with the Hawaiian monarchy. In 1840 the Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School (called the Royal School after 1846), under the administration of former missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke, began to board and teach sixteen Hawaiian royal children, five of whom became the last five Hawaiian monarchs. The royal children learned English, in order to deal with foreigners, and received a New England-style education. All the royal children were members of the Children’s

⁵⁶ Ibid., 1848-1849 and 1851-1852.

⁵⁷ Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai’i,” 326; Menton, ““Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School, 1839-1850,” 232-233.

Temperance Society and instructed to eschew gambling, dancing, and the theater. The boarding school closed in 1850 after most of the royal children had finished their educations, but the Royal School continued as a day school for the foreign and native residents of Honolulu, largely government and chiefly offspring.⁵⁸

The Cookes were disappointed that their efforts did not produce more spiritual rewards. They could only point to a few conversions. Linda K. Menton argues that the royal children probably did not “internalize the values taught at the school” because they were not isolated from the larger Honolulu community and “from the influence of the indigenous culture.” Conversely, many mission children were deeply affected by their relationships with Hawaiian princes and princesses. Four Judd children and two Richards daughters attended the Royal School during the 1840s, as did several Andrews and Armstrong children, including Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Maria Whitney, one of the earliest mission children to be sent to the United States as a child, returned to the islands in 1844 to assist the Cookes at the school. Punahou graduates Martha Chamberlain and Ann Eliza Clark taught at the Royal School. So close were some of these relationships that Kamehameha III formally asked Elizabeth and Helen (1833-1911) Judd’s parents if the girls would marry princes Lot Kamehameha and Alexander Liholiho. When the Judds declined for their daughters, the four youth remained friends. The princes, wrote Elizabeth Judd, “came to our house daily, where we read, sang and played together.”

⁵⁸ Linda K. Menton, "A Christian And "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School, 1839-50," *History of Education Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1992): 213; Menton, ""Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report": The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850", 229, 232.

Judd must have been a heartbreaker. “Oh, Lizzie, fairest of her sex, she will break more hearts than she will necks,” read a valentine.⁵⁹

Most mission children, including the Judds, Andrews and Armstrongs, eventually made their way to Punahou, where other mission children also came into contact with the young Hawaiian royalty. Lyman remembered the “cavalcade” of young chiefs who visited the school. “The vivacious young chieftains, resplendent in blue broadcloth and gilt buttons, always made a profound impression on our barefooted squad,” he wrote. The two schools would quickly organize wrestling matches and running races. It became a considerable source of pride whenever the mission children could hold their own against the six-foot tall Hawaiian giants. Students also attended each other’s exhibitions. When Punahou School lured away popular teacher Edward Beckwith from the Royal School in the 1850s, at least fifty students followed him.⁶⁰

Mission children understood the authority of the Hawaiian monarchy and the royalty of their Hawaiian schoolmates. Prince Alexander, for instance, had a retinue of twenty-five servants with him at school. Punahou students accepted the wealth, privilege and physical prowess of the future monarchs and admired their skills in oration and languages. This respect must have been communicated to the young royalty, for Prince

⁵⁹ Menton, ““Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850”, 89, 237, 240; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 189; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 72, 79.

⁶⁰ Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 139. The discrepancy in sizes could be pronounced. One Chamberlain brother called himself a “great fat fellow” at 120 pounds, and Royal School principal Amos Cooke weighed 107 pounds. See Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, January 24, 1845, HMCS; Menton, ““Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850”, 151. Isabella Bird called Hawaiian women “majestic,” noting that the “diminutive, fair-skinned haole, tottering along hesitatingly in high-heeled shoes, look grotesque by comparison” in Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 169; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 157-158, 191, 197-198.

Lot was shocked when called a “nigger” while visiting the United States. Elizabeth Judd noted, “Lot never forgave or forgot it.”⁶¹

Mission children’s acceptance of native Hawaiian elites only went so far. Despite at least six mission children marrying native Hawaiians, Charles Judd (1835-1890) once reportedly told William Armstrong, “Do you think I would marry a girl with native blood?—far from it.” The two boys were discussing the future Queen Emma. Martha Chamberlain pitied native girls, who she believed were aiding in the destruction of the Hawaiian race, “the poor foolish things like foreign husbands...far beyond their own kin.” One mission son noted that the amalgamation of mission children and native Hawaiians was “repugnant” to missionary parents.⁶²

Issues of race, gender and class infused the cultural understandings of nineteenth-century Hawaiian mission youth. Just as Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa exposes asymmetrical white land tenures, Sally Engle Merry describes a gender-based legal system, Jonathan Osorio depicts a white, elitist legislature, and Noenoe K. Silva translates a race-based Hawaiian press, missionary children in Hawai‘i coalesced around their membership in a white, missionary class. Yet as much—or perhaps more—than these identifiers, mission children united around their shared, religious-based moral code. As a result the changing religious views of Hawaiian royalty presented tremendous conflicts for the adult mission children, ultimately leading to their decision to help overthrow the monarchy.⁶³

⁶¹ Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 225-226; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 98; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 95.

⁶² Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 316; Martha Chamberlain, February 1, 1874, HMCS; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, October 17, 1849, HMCS.

⁶³ See Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of the Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i

ABCFM secretary Rufus Anderson foresaw trouble. “You live under a good government, and should be loyal subjects,” he admonished a group of mission children in 1863. “Stand together in supporting your king, your constitution, and your religious liberties.” Two years later Anderson acknowledged the “alarming crisis,” that had begun to cause fissures in the group’s loyalty to the monarchy: “Another set of rulers, ‘who knew not Joseph,’ had come into power,” he wrote. “Among the mysteries of the divine government was a new invasion of religious formalism, coming with the prestige of the British Government, with which the King and Queen were in close alliance.”⁶⁴

Anderson was referring to what Whitehead describes as a fifty-year effort of the Hawaiian monarchy “to eschew American political and missionary influence” and solidify an alliance with the British monarchy. This movement commenced with the ascension of Alexander Liholiho to the throne in 1854. Liholiho and his wife Emma embraced Anglicanism and requested from Queen Victoria a bishop for the kingdom. Bishop Staley arrived in Honolulu in 1862 and confirmed the king and queen. When Alexander’s brother Lot came to the throne in 1863, he continued the movement away from Congregationalism. As teenagers Alexander and Lot had visited Britain, coming away from the experience with renewed faith in monarchy. As Gavan Daws has noted, “Lot meant to be a real king, and he did not much care what white men thought of him.” Lot’s ascension to the throne was the direct crisis to which Anderson referred. One missionary wrote in 1866, “The Reformed Catholics are here, trying to slander us before the world.” At least twice in 1864 Sam Alexander wrote to Sereno Bishop begging him

Press, 2002); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004).

⁶⁴ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1863, 1865.

to take a teaching position at Lahainaluna Seminary. “I wish you would. There is some danger it may fall into the hands of the English.” Robert Andrews wrote Martha Chamberlain in 1865, “an element of population, neither sanctifying nor outrageously bad, is coming in more rapidly than ever before,—and a more active hostility towards religion as we have learned it, may be expected from those who are friends of virtue in name.” Such dangers required action. “[W]e have organized hostility to meet, Andrews declared.”⁶⁵

Although Lot’s successor William Lunalilo reigned for less than two years, he, too, sought ways to strengthen the monarchy. English traveler Isabella Bird met the king during her 1873 visit to the islands and noted his interest in the workings of the British parliament and cabinet. Kalākaua’s reign, beginning in 1874, however, combined all the political elements adult mission children most feared: religious subversion, foreign infiltration, and moral vice. A confirmed Anglican Kalākaua further distanced the government from the American missionaries and their descendents by reinstituting native religious practices. By reviving genealogical *meles* (chants), promoting the hula, and redirecting the Hawaiian Board of Health to license *kāhuna* (native healers), Kalākaua solidified the origins of chiefly power, importance of indigenous ceremonies, and possibilities of priestly medicine. As John Osorio writes, Kalākaua reinserted “the glory and vitality of Hawaiian traditions and affirmed the cultural distinctions between Natives and foreigners.” The fact that Kalākaua achieved trade reciprocity with the United States, a tremendous accomplishment in the minds of most adult mission children, was

⁶⁵ Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai’i,” 324; Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, 253; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 186; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 386; Samuel Alexander, correspondence, August 28, 1864 and September, 27, 1864, HMCS; Robert Andrews, correspondence, April 27, 1865, HMCS.

marred by his relationships with Claus Spreckels and Walter Murray Gibson. Both foreigners played key advisory roles to the king, and many mission descendants believed they were responsible for acts of corruption and bribery within Kalākaua's administration. It certainly did not help that Gibson had first arrived in the islands as a Mormon missionary, a commissioned elder in the Mormon Church.⁶⁶

“Church-going among the Hawaiians is now about as rare as staying away used to be forty years ago,” William Castle lamented in 1881. The Hawaiian “condemns the training of his youth...preferring to associate and live under the foreigner.” Castle was right in one respect. The American-founded Congregational church in the islands had lost its hold on the government and the people. By 1896 there were almost as many Catholics as Protestants in the islands, and the number of Protestants included Anglicans. One sixth of the population adhered to Mormonism. “On us no small measure depends whether the pure and simple Gospel of Christ or the Church of Rome, laden with all the accumulated error of the Dark Ages, shall shape the character and destiny of these Islands,” William Alexander declared. As the native Hawaiian population continued to decline, adult mission children blamed Kalākaua for the *kāhuna*'s “nefarious practices,” which kept some natives from seeking westernized physicians and medicine. The years of Kalākaua's rule, wrote Joseph Emerson, “mark the lowest stage of corruption reached in church and state in these islands.”⁶⁷

At the heart of the conflict between missionary descendents and the king were issues of religion and morality. Kalākaua's support for removing liquor restrictions,

⁶⁶ Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 126; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 225, 284ff, 287ff, 184, 199.

⁶⁷ “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1881, 1862, 1898; Latourette, *The Great Century in the Americas, Austral-Asia, and Africa, A.D. 1800-A.D. 1914*, 254.

licensing the sale of opium, and chartering a lottery company were untenable political positions to the former mission children. “We have a grave, a serious duty toward the society in which we live,” Castle argued to fellow mission descendents. “Do you suppose that the liquor interest trusts only to chance for laws fostering and protecting its sale and use? Do you expect good without laboring for it?” Castle called for greater political engagement among his former mission peers.⁶⁸

Mission descendents experienced a major defeat in 1882 when the Hawaiian legislature eliminated prohibition for native Hawaiians. The restriction on giving intoxicating drink to Hawaiian natives had been in place for over three decades and came with steep fines or imprisonment for those who broke the law. “[S]ince that fateful day when the ‘free liquor’ law was passed,” the president of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society lamented in 1883, “the worst that could be anticipated has been realized.” Free liquor “to the natives means ruin,” wrote Samuel Armstrong, “for they have no self-control.” By 1886 the “true friends of the native race” were also unable to fight off legislation licensing the sale of opium. The mission descendants were equally shocked when bribery scandals associated to the opium license rocked the king’s administration.⁶⁹

Mission son William Alexander asserted in his 1891 *Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, a book commissioned by the Hawaiian Board of Education, that the opium scandals were directly responsible for the revolution against the Hawaiian monarchy. In 1887 a group calling themselves the Hawaiian League demanded through

⁶⁸ “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1881.

⁶⁹ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 3 vols., vol. 3 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 257, 302; *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A.D. 1850*; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1883; Armstrong, “Editorial Correspondence,” WC; Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, 11.

force of arms that Kalākaua sign a new constitution, which removed his powers to appoint the upper house of the legislature and made his executive cabinet responsible to the legislature alone. Of the known organizers of the secret league, nearly half were Punahou graduates. “[T]he mad plunge into the abyss was suddenly arrested by the determined efforts of Hawaii’s most faithful sons and friends,” Joseph Emerson declared. The new legislature immediately revoked the opium licensing law and prohibited the sale of opium in the islands.⁷⁰

Queen Lili’uokalani took her brother’s place after his death in 1891. Reigning for less than two years, her monarchy presented the final straw for mission descendants. An Anglican like her brother, Lili’uokalani in early 1893 signed new opium licensing legislation, as well as a lottery bill, both of which passed the legislature “to the surprise and horror of the community, undoubtedly by lavish bribery, only one white man voting for it,” Alexander reported. Alexander, Punahou alumnus, teacher and president, clearly represented the opinion of fellow mission descendants.⁷¹

Punahou graduates had long encouraged each other in how to respond to such crises. “Our childhood and youth were nurtured in the stimulating atmosphere of enthusiastic religious devoutness,” Bishop reminded his childhood friends. “It is to us that the Hawaiian nation must look for its teachers, its ministers, its advocates, its protectors and defenders,” Asa Thurston preached. “If in its infancy, the influence of strong examples was demanded, much more imperative is the demand for such influences

⁷⁰ Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, 308-309; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 236-239; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 247, 410; *Oahu College Directory, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1841-1916*; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1898.

⁷¹ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 581; Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, 28.

now, during the transition state of the nation,” Albert Judd argued, “For it has now arrived at a moral crisis, that susceptible period between youth and manhood, when the resolves of the moment decide the character for eternity.”⁷²

Just as during their school years, adult mission descendants compared their own moral training to the morality of the indigenous nation. “What now may we naturally expect from the descendents of the American Missionaries?” asked Hiram Bingham Jr. “They have been, are now, and will be trained in the highest schools of the nation.” Another proclaimed, “The malady with which this nation is afflicted is too deeply seated to be removed by any political scheme, whether fiat of the crown or statutes of the legislature, for it is the fearful plague of *sin*.” The Hawaiian people, mission descendants believed, had been attacked by a “current of vice which is threatening to sweep them out of existence.”⁷³

Adult mission children also remained cognizant of the Hawaiian Islands’ situation on “the highway of nations” and the role they could play in international affairs. “[W]e are placed in an important centre of radiation for missionary effort,” Anderson Forbes wrote. “Situated nearly in the centre of the North Pacific...with the gold-fields on the East, and the domain of spices, silks and teas, on the West, we have spread out before us a vast field.” Only religion can “prevent the extinction of those abject and sensual races which are scattered along the highways of trade,” determined Samuel Armstrong. “The fundamental condition of all permanent, solid and universal progress is a *moral condition*,” Samuel Alexander stated. “In the midst of this new world stands our own

⁷² “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1872, 1853, 1860.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1857, 1860, 1862.

group,” Samuel Damon surmised, “undoubtedly called to be of influence in the propagation of great and noble ideas.”⁷⁴

At least one mission descendant disagreed with this sentimental tide. George Dole (1842-1912) warned in 1876, “I think it especially true that in the case of the Hawaiians we are too prone to thoughtless and uncharitable condemnation....It is a gigantic task for a nation to undertake to lay aside the habits, and superstitions, and beliefs which have grown up with it, and become a part, as it were, of its very life.” Dole argued Hawaiian culture needed more time to evolve according to the missionary children’s social ideals. Although cautioning restraint, Dole did not question the moral hierarchy mission children used to justify their leadership over the islands.⁷⁵

The growth of the Roman Catholic Church, influence of British Anglicanism, and resurgence of monarchal support for native religion, liquor, gambling and opium brought the mission children to their breaking point. When Queen Lili’uokalani attempted in 1893 to issue a new constitution, which not only restored lost monarchic powers, but also enhanced them, it proved too much for the mission children to handle. In 1893 the Committee of Public Safety—led by Dole’s brother Sanford Ballard Dole—overthrew the Queen and monarchy, establishing a republic.⁷⁶

Andrew Preston, Andrew Rotter and others argue that religion must play a more formal role in the study of foreign relations if historians are to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the political motivations of their subjects. The theological understandings and religious ideals of the 1893 “Hawaiian” revolutionaries command a place in that scope of inquiry. The morals, habits and motivations of mission descendants

⁷⁴ Ibid., 1853, 1863, 1858, 1864, 1886.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 1876.

⁷⁶ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 586.

in the decades prior to the overthrow of the monarchy shed light on the political events of the 1880s and 1890s.⁷⁷

As significant, the educational environment in which the missionary children grew served as a “hot house” of political revolution. Yitzak Kashti notes the role boarding schools play as agents of change. The peer culture and closed communities of boarding schools reinforce social values, just as they create new cadres of individuals willing to look at the political world around them in new ways. Kashti argues that rather than working as conservative forces, boarding schools become “educationally integrative and socially innovative, breaking up social structures mainly by accelerating processes of mobility and change in society.” Margaret Jacobs has demonstrated this process for indigenous children in the United States and Australia by exposing nineteenth-century government boarding schools, which were designed to penetrate aboriginal familial structures and reshape native cultures. In the case of white elite and middle-class boarding schools, Kashti argues that cultural change occurs through the social roles graduates play, the professional statuses they achieve, and ways in which they are able to disseminate “new ideologies and cultural symbols.” In the case of Punahou graduates, perhaps William Alexander best demonstrates this process. By the 1890s the former Punahou student had been appointed Minister of Public Instruction for the Hawaiian Islands and commissioned to write the nation’s history for its public schools.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ Andrew Preston, “Bridging the Gap between the Sacred and the Secular in the History of American Foreign Relations,” *Diplomatic History* 30, no. 5 (2006). Rotter demonstrates the influence of theological beliefs upon statescraft in Andrew J. Rotter, “Christians, Muslims, and Hindus: Religion and U.S.-South Asian Relations, 1947-1954,” *Diplomatic History* 24, no. 4 (2000). Repousis shows the influence of organizations such as the ABCFM on U.S. foreign policy in Repousis, ““The Devil’s Apostle”: Jonas King’s Trial against the Greek Hierarchy in 1852 and the Pressure to Extend U.S. Protection for American Missionaries Overseas.”

⁷⁸ Yitzhak Kashti, *Boarding Schools at the Crossroads of Change: The Influence of Residential Education Institutions on National and Societal Development* (New York and London: The Haworth Press, Inc.,

Formal, authoritative structures and informal peer cultures worked in tension at Punahou School. Through peer culture, students creatively engaged their social world by publishing and critiquing each others' work. These "intensive negotiations with and among the students" created a "profound experience of culture." Alexander described his years as a student "a beautiful dream from which I have waked to the cold realities of life." Alexander reminisced with fellow classmate John Gulick: "What profound discussion we used to have concerning 'the powers that be'." ⁷⁹

In studying 19th century British boarding schools, Kashti observes the ties between boarding schools and universities. Boarding-school graduates filled the ranks of English universities and returned to boarding schools to teach. "Many pupils saw the move to the university as part of a continuous process of development answering their expectations and those of their parents." This process in an industrializing Britain helped the middle class negotiate society by incorporating new members into their expanding social class and training those in that class to fill new roles in society, thus maintaining their status. ⁸⁰

Nineteenth-century U.S. educators also adapted to industrialization. With an emphasis on habit formation, in order to create "an adult imbued with a firm sense of duty, a deep distrust of impulse, and an ingrained capacity for patient self-denying industry," educators sought to control change. These messages of duty, industry, and self

1998), 4, 2. On U.S. and Australian boarding schools for Indians, see Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2009); Carl Kalani Beyer, "The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai'i," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2007): 45.

⁷⁹ Kashti, *Boarding Schools at the Crossroads of Change: The Influence of Residential Education Institutions on National and Societal Development*, 79; William D. Alexander, correspondence, January 6, 1851, HMCS.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 49, 53.

control, made their way to the Hawaiian Islands in textbooks, stories and periodicals. While the impetus for educational changes in the United States may have been a fear of working-class immigrants among the American middle-class, American mission descendants in Hawai‘i appropriated these messages for different purposes. Mission children welcomed social change in the islands, but demanded such change be controlled by them. Numerous Punahou students returned to the islands after college hoping to participate in Hawaii’s entrance into the modern, industrial era. Thus one legacy of nineteenth-century Punahou is its production of children unafraid of social revolution and willing to lead it.⁸¹

Hawaiian mission children, while utilizing creativity and peer culture to adopt their own symbols of missionary and Hawaiian cultures, coalesced around each other in the decades following their Punahou experiences. William Alexander acknowledged as much when he wrote, “I am strongly opposed to [brother Sam] going through College at Punahou. His college course ought not to be a mere continuation of his Academy in the same society and the same set of boys. He must see more of the world.” Yet for those in the islands, Punahou remained a solid marker of deportment and class, a divider between those capable of cultural and political leadership, and the outsiders who were to follow them.⁸²

Nineteenth-century Punahou solidified religious morality among mission children, while training the children to become leaders in Hawaiian society. Punahou students

⁸¹ Daniel T. Rodgers, "Socializing Middle-Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth-Century America," in *Growing up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*, ed. N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 124.

⁸² William D. Alexander, correspondence, 1857, HMCS.

discussed and debated Calvinist doctrine, Protestant morals, and American habits and determined how they would approach the convergence of native practice and Protestant belief in the islands. That they would be leaders in the islands was unquestioned. “Who are better qualified... than the children of those who first brought light to the land?” James Alexander asked. That they would respect the monarchy was uncertain. “We are all as yet good and loyal subjects to his majesty,” fifteen-year old Robert Andrews noted in 1852. When the opportunity came for Punahou graduates to choose sides, they chose revolution. “Great hopes were entertained for better things,” Orramel and Ann Gulick wrote. After 1893 only one important question remained among missionary descendants: whether U.S. annexation was preferable to Hawaiian independence. Hawaiian mission children’s ultimate answer to that question was profoundly shaped by their experiences as American immigrants during the “susceptible period” between youth and adulthood—college.⁸³

⁸³ James Alexander, correspondence, October 12, 1859, HMCS; Robert Andrews, April 6, 1852, HMCS. See also Lawrence H. Fuchs, *Hawaii Pono: A Social History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1961), 45-46, 59-61. Fuchs notes that such insularity among missionary descendants lasted into the fourth generation and included social discrimination against mainland haole after U.S. annexation. Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 310-311.

Chapter 4: Cannibals in America

U.S. Acculturation and the Formation of National Identity

“Ye parents who have children dear, and ye, too who have none, if you would keep them safe abroad pray keep them safe at home.” – English Nursery Rhyme

“From birth I was cast upon you; from my mother’s womb you have been my God. Do not be far from me, for trouble is near and there is no one to help.” –A Psalm of David (22:10-11)

What a sight! “The dirty roads had been paved smoother and fairer by the hand of nature than miserable art could have done,” James Chamberlain exclaimed upon beholding his first view of New England snow. “I was delighted, nature had put on her Sunday, go to meeting garments, and I had seen the long wished for, long heard of sight.” Chamberlain’s sister Martha at nearby Mount Holyoke Seminary described the hysterical picture of 280 “young ladies” walking to church on the ice, “another and another would slip down and lie flat on the ground and then jump up again....Some fell down and rolled over and over on the ice.” Elizabeth Judd could not figure out why people kept slipping in front of her American residence, as she rinsed the walk each winter morning in “tropical ignorance.” In Massachusetts Samuel Armstrong complained, “[O]ne can go into the stream only *three* months in the year!” Adjusting to a new climate that could reach twenty-five degrees below zero was the perhaps the easiest challenge missionary children from Hawai‘i faced when arriving in the United States to complete their educations. Anxiety over finances and facing an American public that doubted the missionary children’s abilities, yet remained overbearingly curious about their attempts at success, were more significant. The missionary children from Hawai‘i quickly realized American culture was different from their own. “Hawaiian” college students negotiated this new landscape largely alone, and despite their parents’ desperate desires to make

them Americans, missionary children choose whether to return to Hawai‘i or embrace the United States. They each chose differently.¹

During the 1820s and 1830s almost all mission children over the age of seven were sent to the United States for what mission mother Mercy Whitney described to her children as “advantages far superior to what you would have had at the Islands.” The journey between Boston and Honolulu took six months by ship, and the parting scenes between mission children as young as five and their parents could be heartbreaking. Caroline Armstrong (1832-1905) screamed from the deck of her ship, “Oh, father, dear father, do take me back!” Others begged to see their mothers’ faces one last time. Mission parents advised their children that they might never again meet on earth, and, indeed, some did not. Mercy Whitney, for example, never saw two of her children again. While nineteenth-century American parents often chose separation to secure an education or apprenticeship for their children, the length of time and distance missionary parents were willing to put between themselves and their very young children went much further. That so many missionary parents chose familial separation demonstrates the power their decision to become missionaries held over their children’s lives.²

Sometimes parents accompanied their children back to the United States to situate them with friends or relatives. Some children travelled with other missionary families. Nineteen mission children spent the voyage alone or with a sibling. Warren

¹ James Chamberlain, correspondence, November 29, 1855, HMCS; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 18, 1850, HMCS; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 168; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 148, WC.

² Mercy Whitney, letters to children, August 18, 1834 and October 18, 1841, HMCS; Qtd. in Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 133-134 ; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 15-16.

Chamberlain, at the age of seven, was responsible for his brother Evarts (1831-1882), age five. At the end of his life, Warren still remembered the terror of a “monster wave” filling their cabin one night while they slept. Samuel (1822-1905) and Henry Whitney, ages eight and six, had an “unkind captain” as their chaperone.³

Once children had arrived in the United States, mission parents relied on the ABCFM to make sure their children maintained proper placement. If no sympathetic acquaintance could be found for them, children were given over to the mercy of strangers, the Board providing portions of the child’s allowance to their guardians as needed. Rufus Anderson argued that the system “with few exceptions” worked. The exceptions that did exist were “owing to causes which experience will remedy hereafter, or against which no human wisdom can provide in this imperfect world.” Such analysis probably was not comforting to the children of which he spoke.⁴

So certain were missionary parents that Hawaiian society had nothing good to offer their impressionable children that parents risked not even knowing where their children were. Correspondence between children and parents also took six months, so some years passed with only one or two letters exchanging hands. Often parents sent letters to their child’s last known address only to hear later that the child had moved families, schools or even states. Living with relatives was not necessarily the optimal situation. Maria Whitney, shipped to the United States at age six, was passed from home to home, her relatives deeply disapproving of her parentless situation. In classic Puritan

³ Zwiep, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii*, 247; Warren Chamberlain, personal papers, circa 1909-1910, HMCS; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 14.

⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, “Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” 336.

style, Sophia Bingham's guardian worried she had indulged the eight-year old and wrote she was attempting "to counteract" the attention the young girl had received.⁵

The irony of their situation would not have been lost on the children. One of the most vexing attributes of Hawaiian society for mission parents was its lack of nuclear fidelity. Hawaiian marriage, traditionally, had been rare outside of the chiefly class, and children often changed hands, adopted by grandparents and others. These relationships, while important to Hawaiians, were shocking to Americans. Mission parents who gave up their children, while attempting to teach the Hawaiians to keep their own, demonstrated an amazing ability to compartmentalize their lives.⁶

Hawaiians were also deeply emotional regarding their attachments. Hawaiian children, sent to the Royal School for the first time, were extremely distraught. Prince Moses, who was brought to school by his mother and adopted father, held on to the brig of his ship and cried for two hours until his biological father sent soldiers to arrest the boy. In the school's early days, royal children would climb over the school fence to find their caretakers, usually nearby, waiting and often weeping over the separation. Isabella Bird noticed that despite the "capriciousness" of familial ties, Hawaiians were "remarkably affectionate to each other, sharing with each other food, clothing, and all that they possess."⁷

The contrast was stark for mission children. Advised that the United States was a bastion of religious institutions and economic opportunities, children were admonished

⁵ Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 134; Sophia Bingham, correspondence, May 31, 1831, HMCS.

⁶ Linnekin, *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*, 61-64; Menton, "'Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report': The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850", 190-191; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 13.

⁷ Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 225-227; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 191-192.

by parents to “value your privileges, and to feel grateful for them.” Children were to humbly fit themselves for “usefulness,” while depending upon and thankful for the charity of others. One day, Samuel and Mercy Whitney wrote their sons, “should your lives be spared,” you will be able to “thank your Parents who were willing to part with you.” It was not until ten years later that Mercy Whitney had an inkling of what her sons might have felt being sent from home. Nine-year old Maria Chamberlain had come to visit the Whitneys for two months, and Mercy often found Maria crying for her mother. “At such times your departure would rush into my mind,” Mercy wrote her children, “and I would say to myself, well, I suppose my own dear children felt very much so.” Yet, even in this realization, Mercy wrote to Henry, “I trust we shall never have cause to regret that we made the sacrifice. We certainly shall not, if you profit as we hope you will, by the many blessings which you there enjoy.”⁸

In her psychological analysis of twentieth-century adult missionary children, Robin Geelhoed argues that missionary children tend to understand their relationship with God according to their missionary experiences. “[C]onstructing negative meanings of their experiences...would mean, potentially, a rejection or denial that God is loving and takes care of them.”⁹ Similarly Robin Kietzman’s study of missionary children who disassociated from their parents’ faith reveals a “common thread of disengagement, or passive neglect, that defined their relationship with their parents.” As missionary parents placed mission work above parenting, their children associated this choice with a lack of love, demonstrating their anger towards God. Kietzman observes:

⁸ Mercy Whitney, letters to children, August 18, 1834 and October 18, 1841, HMCS.

⁹ Robyn J. Geelhoed, “A Qualitative Investigation of How Adult Missionary Children Make Meaning of Their Past Transcultural Experiences” (PhD diss., Western Michigan University, 2002), 228-229.

Parental disengagement thrived in the mission environment where the urgency of the mission work and the assumption of protection led to a diffusion of responsibility for the children who were left in the care of others. Minimally, [missionary children] were left at loose ends, or left in the benign care of others, yet feeling uncared for by their parents. At times, though, the care given was abusive. The ramifications of disengagement affected their understanding and experience of God as largely uninvolved in their lives, withholding care, or orchestrating their pain.”¹⁰

Nineteenth-century Hawaiian mission children dealt with similarly-complex emotions in various ways. Some harbored guilt over their unhappiness, believing their parents wanted their best and were sacrificing for them. “I take some satisfaction now in thinking I get along without using any of your money,” Warren Chamberlain wrote his parents in 1844. “Still it is a heavy debt which I owe to you for your care of me this fourteen years.” Chamberlain, sent to the United States at age seven, was entrusted to a farmer who required him to rise nearly four hours before dawn, in order to study and get his chores done before school. After walking two miles home from school, the boy would study until 9:30 at night. “I sleep on straw because (The reason is simple enough.) there is not a mattress in the house to sleep on,” Chamberlain wrote his parents. When a physician advised Chamberlain that farm work was impacting his health, he moved “as Mr. W. would not keep me without reducing my wages.” Through his experiences, Chamberlain concluded to his mother, “Though our future life and destiny is clouded and obscured from our view yet I believe the same kind Providence.” He was more honest with his sisters. “You will never find persons who will answer the part of parents after

¹⁰ Robin Marie Kietzman, “The Lost Mk: A Qualitative Study Exploring the Choice of Some Adult Missionary Kids to Leave Their Parents’ Faith” (PhD diss., Rosemead School of Psychology, Biola University, 2005), 112.

you have once left them,” Chamberlain wrote them. “Our experience before you convinces us of this.”¹¹

Other mission children concealed resentment about being sent away from their parents. Chamberlain’s brother Evarts, sent to the United States at age five, rarely wrote his parents. “I think he is doing wrong very wrong by so neglecting to write the ones who pay for his board and clothing,” Warren tattled to their parents. Although Evarts argued he was too busy studying to write his parents, “his story is false. I know it is,” Warren asserted. Maria Whitney, sent to the United States at age six, returned to the islands sixteen years later, refusing to live with her mother and marrying without her consent. “She manifests but little affection for, and still less confidence in me, (notwithstanding my endeavors to ensure both),” Mercy Whitney wrote. “This seems strange in my darling firstborn, and I cannot account for it, unless I attribute it to her long absence from me.”¹²

Children also shielded their parents from the realities of their American experiences. Martha Chamberlain, against her sister Maria’s wishes, wrote their mother for more money to pay for board during school vacations. “Yes, board us, for we have no home,” Chamberlain wrote. “Dr. Anderson’s family is no home for us.” To criticize Anderson, the ABCFM secretary to whom mission parents entrusted their children, was serious. “Maria Jane thinks I am cruel to write such things,” Martha continued. “Sister fears you will write a very hard letter to Mrs. Anderson, but I do not think you will.” Warren Chamberlain wrote home regarding relatives with whom he had briefly stayed, “I

¹¹ Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, April 21, 1844, January 19, 1846, July 17, 1848, May 31, 1849, and March 5, 1846, HMCS.

¹² Ibid., January 24, 1845, HMCS; Mercy Whitney, letters to children, August 14, 1847, HMCS.

would not hurt mother's feelings, if it were possible, and I will not say everything that impresses my mind."¹³

It is not hard to imagine confusion among mission children over the dictates of a religious faith that required so much sacrifice at such a young age. Although the ABCFM boasted that over half of the children sent to the United States were "professedly the followers of Christ," some floundered. Sent away for protection from a heathen culture, both Samuel and Henry Whitney, for example, exhibited years of what their mother called "heinous" behavior, "blinded by sin." It is unclear what the boys were doing, but other missionaries wrote about mission children breaking the Sabbath, gambling, drinking, and otherwise "debauching," once unleashed in the United States. "O prodigal, absent from home, remember your early training, remember and turn from your sin," wrote one young Punahou student to her older brother in the United States. When Samuel and Henry Whitney's father was on his deathbed in the islands, the missionary had no parting words for his sons. On further prompting, he commanded the two boys in the United States "to repent." To the Polynesians, however, Mercy Whitney called her husband "*a Father to them all*." Unsurprisingly, Henry Whitney named his firstborn son after his U.S. guardian.¹⁴

Despite familial tensions created by distance and time, mission parents often maintained a profound grip on their children, particularly over their choice of professions. While always allowing their children to pursue whatever course of "usefulness" God

¹³ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, November 30, 1850, HMCS; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, July 17, 1848, HMCS.

¹⁴ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, "Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," 337; Mercy Whitney, letters to children, June 28, 1845, March 18, 1840, October 11, 1841, February 23, 1846, and May 8, 1850, HMCS; Cochran Forbes, correspondence, March 9, 1849, HMCS; *Weekly Star*, February-April 1852, CL.

seemed to provide, mission parents made clear to their children that becoming a missionary was the highest status one could attain. “Above all,” missionary Peter Gulick wrote, “I desire that [my children] become faithful and devoted missionaries.” When missionary Lucy Thurston’s youngest child Thomas returned to the Hawaiian Islands as an ordained pastor, she exclaimed, “A son! Qualified for the gospel ministry. It is enough.”¹⁵

Once in the United States, mission children faced great pressure from parents back home to study for the ministry. James Chamberlain wrote his mother, “It seems to me more evident daily that I should mistake my calling were I to prepare myself for the ministry. I shall, therefore, though it grieves me to grieve you, give that idea up forever.” Chamberlain’s conviction did not last long in the face of parental pressure. He became a minister. Several dreams were squashed by parental correspondence. James Chamberlain wished to be an artist, John Gulick a scientist, and Evarts Chamberlain a sailor. “I was born on an Island. I have sailed thousands of miles on the Ocean, and I have seen some storms that made the ship rock like a cradle,” Evarts wrote his parents. All three sought their parents’ advice. All received negative responses. John Gulick became a missionary. Evarts Chamberlain, after numerous professional failures, settled for journalism. Even forty years later, James Chamberlain wrote his sister, “took my

¹⁵ Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, Co., 1918), 193-194; Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years* (Ann Arbor, MI: S.C. Andrews, 1882), 180.

Army sketch book, and the [doctor] was very much interested in looking it over. Said I ought to have been an artist.”¹⁶

Other children truly desired to become missionaries only to have their parents tell them they were not fit for such work. On his deathbed missionary Samuel Whitney told his daughter Maria, “I fear your health will not admit of it.” In the same breath Whitney told her how fortunate he was to have been a missionary, “I do not regret it! Tell all the children so.” Maria adamantly stayed in the islands as a missionary, but her mother successfully steered Maria’s brother Samuel away from the profession. Samuel wrote his brother Henry, “Mother seems to think it best for me not to think of becoming a missionary....I care not, to disgrace the holy calling. I am to teach...I am now *fixed*.” Missionary Peter Gulick was decidedly irritated his son Luther, a physician, did not finish a full seminary course before returning to the islands as a missionary. Even though Gulick had not seen his son in twelve years, he groused, “Time, however, must decide whose was the more correct opinion.”¹⁷

Mission children, taught filial obedience from their earliest memories, desired to please their parents and looked to their parents for how best to please God. Philip Greven argues that nineteenth-century evangelical adults suppressed deep animosity toward parents and authority, writing that their anger emerged in self-hatred, depression, anxiety, rebellion against God, and even fear that one was rebellious. Evangelicals, Greven notes, often had difficulty dealing with those with whom they disagreed, simply because they had never learned how. “Consequently, by becoming soldiers for Christ and warring

¹⁶ James Chamberlain, correspondence, February 15, 1856 and January 1, 1898, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, April 1845, HMCS; John Gulick, correspondence, April 4, 1854, HMCS.

¹⁷ Mercy Whitney, letters to children, February 23, 1846, HMCS; Samuel Whitney, correspondence, January 25, 1845, HMCS; Peter Gulick, correspondence, April 29, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

against the unregenerated people of the world, evangelicals often demonstrated a remarkable capacity for vigorous and sustained aggressiveness,” Greven concludes.

While Greven’s arguments regarding early American evangelicals seem a bit rigid for all familial situations, they remain prescient when considering mission children who became missionaries, ministers, and teachers, despite their personal wishes.¹⁸

With the opening of Punahou in 1841, most mission children remained in the islands for their primary education, only traveling to the United States to attend college. The Board provided missionary families with annual education stipends until children turned eighteen, after which college students in the United States worked for their tuition and board or relied upon their relatives’ gifts and Americans’ charity. After the Board moved towards a salary system, missionary parents were responsible for funding their children’s education, although Punahou tuition remained free for missionary families, and missionaries’ salaries were dependent upon the number and ages of their children. Even after the Board chartered Punahou as Oahu College in 1853, many mission children still chose to attend U.S. colleges, working on plantations and guano islands, or for the Hawaiian government, to earn travel funds and tuition. In 1878, for example, 97 Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society members were studying in the islands, while 87 were in the United States. Punahou students had long discussed the United States in their classes. The children often referred to the United States as the “fatherland,” a nation created by Puritans, and the finest example of religious freedom in the world. “The free

¹⁸ Greven, *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*, 110, 117.

and just government of the United States is preferable to any other,” wrote one student in the *Gazette*. Students celebrated George Washington’s birthday and the fourth of July.¹⁹

By the 1850s Punahou students also debated U.S. annexation, as French encroachments and rumors of American filibusters—independent adventurers seeking to instigate political upheaval for their own benefit—occupied the monarchy. “It is my sincere and honest wish that for the good of these Islands, the time is not far distant, when the Stars and Stripes, the emblem of freedom, shall wave from their highest peaks and shall be hailed by every Hawaiian as the *Flag* of his country,” wrote one student. Arguing that the Hawaiian people had demonstrated their capacity for choosing their own representatives, the student proposed that full republicanism was the next, logical step: “We know that the tendencies of free institutions are to enlighten a people, and we have no reason to suppose that free institutions would not enlighten this people.” Other Punahou students disagreed: “the inhabitants are not intelligent enough to make a right use of the privileges that they would enjoy under such a form of government....Their votes would be too easily bought.” Never did the students argue that they or their parents were unready for a republican government.²⁰

By 1854 Kamehameha III was negotiating U.S. annexation to avoid French dominance and filibuster invasion. His death killed the treaty, and his successors moved decidedly away from such a solution, but missionaries in Hawai‘i privately began to change their minds regarding annexation. “Our whole safety now lies in hugging close to Uncle Sam....Though it would be bad for the natives, I prefer it to French insolence, popery, and brandy,” wrote one missionary in his journal. Although U.S. naval vessels

¹⁹ “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1879; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849-1850, CL.

²⁰ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852, CL.

were often at Honolulu throughout the 1830s and 1840s—largely to discourage French or British annexation—the U.S. navy heavily patrolled Hawaiian waters in the early 1850s to address the increasing threats. Mission children welcomed its protection.²¹

Over two decades before, in 1829, President John Quincy Adams had written to the Hawaiian monarchy that he hoped the king would “protect and encourage” the American missionaries who had brought the islands “the true religion.” Mission children accepted American interest in the islands and, in certain situations, expected it. By the 1850s, with a growing number of pirates patrolling the Pacific, the *Punahou Weekly Star* was “of the opinion” that the U.S. government needed to “check these pirates soon” for the sake of the “small defenseless islands scattered through the Pacific” and before “richly laden vessels bound to the states” were destroyed.²²

Much more interesting to Punahou students than U.S. foreign policy, however, was California gold. “The love of gold is now causing many of the inhabitants of Honolulu, to leave their homes,” a writer noted in the *Gazette*. “Lying, stealing, gambling, and other crimes are committed there and it must be altogether such a place of wickedness and vice as none of us I hope would desire to be in.” Although condemning the “love of money,” many mission boys could not resist an adventure so close to home. “California gold is bringing the U[nited] States to our very doors,” Ann Eliza Clark’s father noted. “To our great surprise, we have just heard, that Asa Thurston, son of our

²¹ Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai’i,” 324; Richard Armstrong qtd. in Smith, *Yankees in Paradise: The New England Impact on Hawaii*, 308; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 336; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 408.

²² Bingham quotes Secretary of the Navy Samuel Southard, who relayed President Adams’ regards to King Kamehameha on January 20, 1829 in Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People*, 355-356; *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL.

honored brother Thurston, is digging gold in California! I should hope that none of our children at the Islands will be led in that direction.” Clark had reason to be worried.

With California gold rushers spending winters in Honolulu, and Honolulu residents heading to California, the financial world had shrunk overnight. “I will go to California and worship the golden calf for one brief year, and then return to the Islands, and bow again at the shrine of intellect,” Samuel Alexander announced, as he and Fred Lyman (1837-1918) departed for the United States. John Gulick convinced his parents to allow him to visit Oregon missionaries, only to immediately head to San Francisco and mine for gold.²³

The letters mission children sent from California to friends at Punahou reveal their sense of adventure, even as they attempted to maintain piety. “The splendid gambling houses that are open to every street are the finest buildings in the place and cannot be excelled for elegance or finish,” Clark’s future son-in-law Orramel Gulick described San Francisco in 1850. “In the evening these temples of Mammon are brilliantly illuminated and thousands of infatuated devotees throng together to do sacrifice to the deity of their choice.” Witnessing a San Francisco fire a few days later, Gulick joked, “Many people think that if ever it is allowable to ‘take a little’ it is at a funeral a wedding, or a fire...The peculiar notions of these barbarians in regard to these special occasions is I suppose the reason that so many fires are attended with rows.”²⁴

Missionary children soon became aware of other economic opportunities available in California. Charles Wilcox left for California “where the soil is better

²³ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL; Ephraim Clark, May 10, 1849 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 147, 211; John Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

²⁴ Orramel Gulick, June 13, 1850 and June 17, 1850, HMCS.

adapted to raise men for this world rather than the heavenly,” his father complained. “The way of life is filled with temptations,” the elder Wilcox worried, “more I fear in California than elsewhere.” Rufus Anderson also feared the potential influx of “ungodly Anglo-Saxon” into the Hawaiian kingdom as a result of the discovery of gold in California. As Paul Harris notes in his study of Anderson and the ABCFM, “For all their hostility to foreign intrusion, the [Hawaiian] Mission never entirely shed the original hope that the ‘right kind’ of Westerners might show the way for indigenous people whose own capacity for self-governance they profoundly doubted.” The Hawaiian missionaries held intense hope that their children would be part of this plan.²⁵

Punahou students also believed that emigration could help the islands but disagreed over methods for achieving it. Some believed annexation to the United States would remove agricultural duties and “increase the inducements to emigrate” to the islands. Others argued the Pacific trade was still in its infancy, and “[w]hen the commerce of the Pacific becomes more extensive...then emigrants will be seen to flock to these shores.” Gold rushers from California, “unpolished in their appearance and behavior,” were not the type of emigrants Punahou students had in mind.²⁶

Rather than usher in a population boom in the islands, the California gold rush placed San Francisco at the center of Pacific commerce. By 1850 mission children and mail from the islands were able to travel to New York through San Francisco, overland Nicaragua, and up the Atlantic coast, a journey of weeks, not months. Despite the confidence mission children gained from traveling to and meeting people in the western

²⁵ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 355-356; Rufus Anderson, July 19, 1848 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM; Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*, 111.

²⁶ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852 and July 1849-September 1849, CL.

United States, missionary children still viewed entering the eastern United States as an unnerving experience. While their parents viewed cities such as Boston and New York as home, mission children understood what their parents did not. They were strangers entering a strange land. Before the children had even arrived, they knew that in many respects American culture was already set against them.²⁷

In an essay which won the annual award for best composition, John Gulick encouraged fellow Punahou students not to be intimidated by attending college in New England. Students were upset by reports that “friends and superiors, who had lived for many years in both lands” had returned to the East coast with stories “that we were as a school a more lazy and shiftless set than almost any school in New England, that we were less studious, less enterprising, less intelligent, and even more depraved by nature than those born in colder climates.” Gulick rallied his friends: “Never allow yourselves to think that you cannot be as learned or as smart in every respect as the New Englanders.” Punahou students knew Americans would make judgments regarding their appearance, character and abilities. Punahou teacher Marcia Smith had often vocally judged her students as inferior to American youth and considered the missionary children in Hawai‘i to lack a work ethic.²⁸

Students also realized each time a new company of missionaries arrived in the islands that their own fashions were terribly out of date. Students were aware that beaver hats, tight lacing, craves and collars were popular fashions in England and the United States. “We could but hope that such a degree of perfection would at length be arrived at in dress, that, it would be unnecessary to change or remodel it,” wrote a contributor to the

²⁷ Whitehead, “Noncontiguous Wests: Alaska and Hawai‘i,” 325.

²⁸ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1849-1850, CL; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 80, 168.

Weekly Star. Others worried that they would not understand the etiquette and expressions of Americans. En route to Boston Lucy Thurston wrote in her journal, “We desire exceedingly to be informed on these subjects, and esteem it a great favor for anyone to instruct us that on making our egress from a heathen land to enlightened America, we may not by our awkward appearance, disgrace the Sandwich Island mission.”²⁹

The primary embarrassment mission children experienced upon their arrival in the United States was American curiosity bordering on rudeness. “It seems to me as though everyone will say, ‘There is someone from the Sandwich Islands; I wonder if she knows anything. Let us find out’,” Thurston worried aboard ship. Her worries proved well founded as people came daily to see them and her mother’s trunk of Hawaiian “curiosities.” Lucy’s sister Persis chose to deal with the scrutiny by dressing in traditional, native-Hawaiian clothing and parading around curious visitors. Justin Emerson debated giving his 1865 graduation oration in native attire. Samuel Chapman Armstrong’s landlady seemed surprised “people can get educated there as well as here.”³⁰

Clothing was a chief concern for mission children. Armstrong was particularly worried about his appearance, “I hesitate about attending the party tonight as my breeches are not exactly immaculate and I use the same black vest that I had before I left home,—it’s rather old fashioned,” Armstrong wrote. “When a man’s history isn’t known, dress has a great deal to do with his position.” When Luther Gulick arrived in the United States at age twelve, a Sunday school superintendent brought Gulick before the children to show them his old hat and asked for a collection to buy him a new one. Gulick was

²⁹ *Weekly Star*, September 1852-December 1852, CL; Cummings, *The Missionary's Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 167-169.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 169-170, 181; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 172; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 114, WC.

mortified. When Elizabeth Judd Wilder and her children visited New England, her children were deeply offended after a boy announced that he had helped pay for their clothing, “thinking no doubt, of pennies gone to clothe poor missionaries in heathen lands.” Armstrong stated, “to be without money in New York is an awful thing.”³¹

Richard Drinnon writes about the roles judgment and superiority have played in the American psyche throughout its expansionist history, “[P]lace itself was infinitely less important...than what the white settlers brought in their heads and hearts.” Seeking personal redemption through national conquest, Americans viewed the ever expanding American West as filled with unchristian, inferior “savages” who stood in their way. “[T]heir metaphysics became a time-tested doctrine, an ideology, and an integral component of U.S. nationalism.” Whether seeking economic redemption through conquest or spiritual redemption through the conversion of heathen souls, white Americans moved freely westward. It was quite another matter for westerners to move eastward. Mission children, with their dated clothing, tanned skin, uncomfortable demeanors, and questionable breeding represented not-quite-savages, but certainly not Americans. The *New York Observer* stated as much when three missionary children from Hawai‘i won top astronomical awards at Yale during the 1850s: “Curious to see those sons of the Pacific come round Cape Horn to wrest so surely this particular laurel from the Youth of America.”³²

Mission children did more than win science prizes. They excelled in all areas of academic study. William Alexander was Phi Beta Kappa, a member of Skull and Bones

³¹ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 138, 145-146, WC; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 23; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 171.

³² Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*, 463-464; Qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 171.

and salutatorian at Yale. Henry Lyman was valedictorian at Williams College.

Numerous Punahou alumni gave graduation orations. Mission children found that small Punahou classes had worked to their advantage, despite the constant pressure to recite.

“The classes are so large that I should think you would have easy times,” Lyman wrote to Alexander about Yale, “I have just returned from the first day trial at the Academy. I am in the first class.” David Hitchcock (1832-1899) found the same situation at Williams College. “I guess that I can beat any of them easy in Greek or Latin,” he reported.

Alexander soon discovered for himself, “The scholars here are no smarter, if they are as smart as we Punahou scholars.” Mission boys were also unimpressed with their American female peers. “A set of girls have grown up at the Islands far superior to these in the U.S.A.” one wrote.³³

Despite their confidence in American academic institutions, mission parents held tremendous anxiety about what their children might encounter in the United States. These fears did not outweigh their disgust with Hawaiian culture, however, and parents instead chose to focus on which schools their children should attend. The choice could be fraught with complications. “I remember that when I first attended a public school in Rochester at the age of thirteen, I was confounded by the prevalent grossness of speech among the boys,” Sereno Bishop wrote, noting that the coarseness of Hawaiian speech was the very reason he was sent to the United States at age twelve. While praising Sabbath-keeping New Englanders, English travel writer Isabella Bird noted in 1859 the growing prevalence of Unitarianism in New England, a religion which “tramples upon the doctrine of human depravity.” Bird also witnessed a “love of excitement” and “restlessness” which were “fostered rather than discouraged in youth.” American youth,

³³ Qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 168-172.

Bird believed, demonstrated too much flippancy and independence, a result of “the want of complete home discipline and religious training.” Missionary Cochran Forbes, who returned to the United States with his family in 1848, noted similar qualities in his parishioners. “I thought our tawny bare feet brethren there exceedingly defective while among them,” he wrote missionary Dwight Baldwin, “but now believe them to be more devoted and consistent than professors here!!” The problem, Forbes surmised, was that “*all in this land are intent on their own matters.*”³⁴

During the first half of the nineteenth century, American college students were generally older and poorer. Many came from rural New England where they had been displaced by the lack of land. Such changes impacted classical education, as college curriculum shifted to reflect the abilities and availability of students, who often worked to pay tuition. Harvard, however, was the bastion of Bostonian elites. Students demonstrating a “fashionable lifestyle” and previous academic achievement were admitted only to find it necessary to expend upwards of \$2,000 each year on expenses. Congregationalists accused Harvard of harboring unorthodox Unitarians and diluting New England Protestantism.³⁵

Mission children had received a classical education in the islands. Such an education had long been the model for New England Puritans, who valued reading the Bible in its Latin and Greek translations, as well as educating a Biblically-literate citizenry who would participate in republican politics. Mission children were well

³⁴ Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 20; Isabella Bird, *The Aspects of Religion in the United States of America* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 69, 182-183. Cochran Forbes, correspondence, September 12, 1848, HMCS.

³⁵ Jr. Allmendinger, David F., “New England Students and the Revolution in Higher Education, 1800-1900,” in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 66-68; Ronald Story, “Harvard Students, the Boston Elite, and the New England Preparatory System, 1800-1876,” in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 73-76.

prepared for American colleges but had limited financial means. Neither did their parents desire them to be surrounded by faculty and peers who had been influenced by Unitarianism and religious pluralism. As a result Williams College and Mount Holyoke Seminary in Massachusetts became the American homes to many Hawaiian mission children.³⁶

Nestled deep in the hills of western Massachusetts, Williams College began educating young men in 1793. Missionary parents were attracted to the college by several important events which had occurred at the institution. In 1810 Williams College and Andover Seminary students led the effort to form the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the sending organization for all Congregational missionaries to Hawai'i. Over a half-dozen mission fathers had attended Williams, although Amherst was equally popular. Most importantly, the college had appointed Mark Hopkins its president in 1836, a position he held for thirty-six years. Hopkins was more than a college president. He taught most senior courses and preached to students every Sunday. In 1857 the ABCFM also elected Hopkins its president. Hopkins embraced missions and character development, extending to mission parents the hope that their children would be theologically and morally protected while in the United

³⁶ For a good discussion on Puritan education in New England see Jon Teafor, "The Transformation of Massachusetts Education, 1670-1780," in *The Social History of American Education* ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). The post-revolutionary ideology of pluralism and disestablishment contributed to the rise of public universities. New England colleges with denominational affiliations increasingly became privatized. See Jurgen Herbst, "The Eighteenth-Century Origins of the Split between Private and Public Higher Education in the United States," in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988).

States. “[T]he highest form of benevolence is in seeking to improve character,” Hopkins declared. “This is the object of missions.”³⁷

Mission sons had their own reasons for wishing to attend Williams. Popular Punahou teacher Edward Beckwith had been valedictorian at Williams College before coming to the islands to transform both the Royal and Punahou Schools. Mission children also wanted to be where other mission children were. In 1858, for example, six Hawaiians together attended Williams. At least one mission son chose Williams simply because he already had friends there. One mission son left college due to his lack of friends. Of course, mission children did not always welcome acquaintances from home. “Nevins Armstrong as I presume you have heard is at Williams now,” James Chamberlain wrote his sister. “I would myself prefer that he would not be there, that is if things turn out so that it seems best for me to go there.” Halsey Gulick, “makes me feel sick,” Evarts Chamberlain wrote his sister from Williams. Rufus Anderson’s son “is about as wild as any of them,” James Alexander noted.³⁸

Hawaiian missionary parents and children generally chose wisely in Williams College. Although Samuel Chapman Armstrong called the mountains around Williamstown “Nature’s warts,” and complained “you could cross in an hour on a donkey

³⁷ George M. Marsden, *The Evangelical Mind and the New School Presbyterian Experience: A Case Study of Thought and Theology in Nineteenth-Century America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970), 15. For children's names, family chronologies, and educational achievements of the ABCFM missionaries in Hawaii see *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1969); Mark Hopkins, *A Discourse Delivered at Williamstown June 29, 1886 on the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Election as President of Williams College* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1886), 5; Calvin Durfee, *A History of Williams College* (Boston: A. Williams and Company, 1860), 244; Hopkins, *A Discourse Delivered at Williamstown June 29, 1886 on the Fiftieth Anniversary of His Election as President of Williams College*, 33.

³⁸ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 191; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1858; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 146; James Chamberlain, correspondence, March 27, 1856, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, April 1851, HMCS; James Alexander, correspondence, September 30, 1854, HMCS.

going backwards,” most mission boys appreciated the wild and “romantic” scenery.

Alexander told his brother Henry that it reminded him of “the islands as much as any I have seen.”³⁹

In President Hopkins the Hawaiian children had a friend and advocate who reserved special rooms for them, visited them, and even, as in the case of Armstrong, invited them to live with his family. “President Hopkins is a nobleman in the highest sense of the word. I never saw his equal,” wrote Armstrong. “He told me that I should have no college bills whatever to pay, being a descendant of the Hawaiian mission.” Evarts Chamberlain tried to describe Hopkins’ charisma, “I might write some of his exhortations, but, the *man* would not be there.”⁴⁰

Williams’ moral and religious culture was also generally supportive of parental wishes. Although one mission son had to leave Williams “in disgrace” after joining the wrong group of friends, “[t]he religious influences here are very good,” James Alexander wrote his mother. The college held prayer meetings five days each week and fined students for their absence. Students were required to attend two services each Sunday. Alexander noted that Williams’ students generally did not read translations (“ponies”) to cheat in their Greek and Latin courses like students at Yale. The reason was less than righteous. In the mountains there were “few means” to buy ponies. Armstrong complained that in his class of fifty-two students, “study and not thought seem to be the aim of college exercise.”⁴¹

³⁹ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 114, WC; James Alexander, correspondence, September 30, 1854.

⁴⁰ Ludlow, 126, WC; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, April 1851, HMCS.

⁴¹ James Alexander, correspondence, February 11, 1855, HMCS; Ludlow, 131, 128, WC.

Mission sons were generally well received by their peers. Evarts Chamberlain was “very popular at college,” according to his brother. Evarts, with his “broad shoulders” and “open chest,” fit well within the nineteenth-century American concept of masculinity, relishing “muscular feats,” and “exercising with a crowd of students.” Sanford Dole remarked in 1867 that the Hawaiian delegation at Williams was leaving Oliver Emerson as “the solitary representative from the Islands, to stand up for the reputation of Hawaii during the coming year.”⁴²

Mission parents could not control everything, however, and Hopkins was a new breed of theologian. Hopkins was critical of Rufus Anderson’s singular focus on teaching foreign pastors to read the Bible. “[W]e regard destiny as turning upon *character*,” Hopkins stated. “[A]ll desirable results of political economy and social order, and a high, pure, and permanent civilization, will follow.” As Paul Harris argues, this focus on character “represented a subtle departure from evangelical rhetoric” emphasizing spiritual conversion and discipline. “Hopkins was one of a generation of evangelical leaders in American higher education who regarded colleges as character-building institutions vital to the creation of an educated elite to guide the process of social change.” Hopkins’ message was particularly well received by Hawaiian mission youth whose independent childhoods had already trained them for leadership and whose segregated Hawaiian upbringing had informed them of the desirability of social change. Hopkins’ influence over the Hawaiian youth was undisputed. From seminary James Chamberlain noted he was “not as yet able to reconcile my ideas” with his theology professors, whose ideas were “rather different from some I have received under Professor

⁴² Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, March 7, 1849, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, January 16, 1848 and June 7, 1851, HMCS; Sanford Dole, correspondence, July 1867, HMCS.

Hopkins.” As the founder of his own educational institution, Hampton Institute, Armstrong declared, “whatever good teaching I may have done has been Mark Hopkins teaching through me.”⁴³

For mission daughters, the Mecca of female institutions was Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in South Hadley, Massachusetts. Established in 1837 by Mary Lyon, the college offered a three, and eventually four-year, course that emphasized preparing women to be “*educators*,” as opposed to “mere teachers,” in the words of Lyon. Lyon advocated preparing young women for usefulness around the world and cultivating the “missionary spirit.” She was a personal friend of Rufus Anderson, who sent his daughter to the seminary during the 1840s, and the two cooperated to recruit Americans for missionary work. The ABCFM was, to Lyon, “the glory of our country,—the corner stone of all our voluntary benevolent associations.” Several Hawaiian mission mothers had attended the seminary before arriving in the islands, and Warren Chamberlain wrote to his mother from the United States, “I can think of no better place for my sisters to get an education.” Some of the earliest mission daughters to be sent to the United States attended the seminary, including Maria and Emilie Whitney and Persis Thurston. While there, Emilie Whitney (1827-1898) said “she never was so happy in her life.” By 1853 five mission daughters were together attending the seminary.⁴⁴

⁴³ Hopkins qtd. in Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*, 156; James Chamberlain, correspondence, March 27, 1858, HMCS; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 96, WC.

⁴⁴ Mount Holyoke College Mary Lyon Collection, Mary Lyon, Circular 1, June 15, 1845, Archives and Special Collections, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Massachusetts; Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*, 33; Mary Lyon Collection, Mary Lyon, *Missionary Offering, or Christian Sympathy, Personal Responsibility, and the Present Crisis in Foreign Missions* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1843), 14-16, MHC; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, July 17, 1848, HMCS; Maria Whitney, correspondence, 1844, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1853.

Mission parents were no doubt pleased to hear that Lyon ran a tight ship. She required all students to board at the institution and participate in its domestic upkeep. “All the teachers and pupils, without exception, will constitute one family,” she stated. She required students to take entrance examinations and admitted no one under the age of sixteen. To Lyon the enemies of American civilization were “infidelity and Romanism,” and the school required public worship and Bible study, private devotions, prayer meetings, and Sabbath-keeping. Teachers solicited missionary subscriptions from all the pupils and kept track of individual contributions to both home and foreign missions in a written notebook. Most young ladies pledged between 25 cents and 5 dollars each year, including students from Hawai‘i. In 1853, for example, the school donated over 900 dollars to missions.⁴⁵

More controversial among the students was the Seminary’s honor system. “The section teacher meets with her section every day...seeing if they have violated any of the rules,” described Martha Chamberlain. Once a week students would gather in the Seminary Hall, and faculty would publicly read each violation. “Then we have to come forward if we have any and seat ourselves before the school. Miss Chapin [the principal] reads over the list...and if we have one, we must rise, and tell how long or how many times we violated them,” Chamberlain complained.⁴⁶

The section leaders were each responsible for twenty to twenty-five students and were intended to be “guardian angels,” but sometimes they were barely older than the students, which created friction. “I think the teachers do some things that are really

⁴⁵ Mary Lyon, Circular 1, June 15, 1845, MHC; Mary Lyon, Circular 8, June 1839, MHC; Mount Holyoke College Missionaries Collection, Records of Contributions Supporting Missionary Work, circa 1841-1902, Archives and Special Collections, MHC.

⁴⁶ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, November 30, 1850, HMCS.

mean, and I cannot help thinking so,” Ann Eliza Clark wrote. “I do not think the teachers have any idea, how much feeling there is in school, even some of the very best girls, seniors, talk as hard as anybody.” The Seminary Hall in which girls were called to account was a large, ground-floor room of the Seminary building where students had devotions in the morning, exercises in the afternoons, and religious meetings once a week. Particularly irksome to many of the girls was the school’s effort to punish girls who wore fashions deemed outside the bounds of Christian deportment. Lyon also forbade the girls from getting their daguerreotypes taken, a new craze interfering with their schoolwork and potentially affecting their missionary contributions. Occasionally, the seminary expelled girls for their continued “spirit of insubordination under discipline,” which teachers worried could spread like cancer. One student joked about the Blue laws of New England and the “*Bluer Laws*” of Mount Holyoke.⁴⁷

Most annoying to the Hawaiian mission girls was the requirement that students walk each morning, even in the winter. “It is very hard for us to walk two miles every day in this weather but we must,” Martha Chamberlain wrote. “Sister seems to take it harder than I do. Sometimes she says, ‘I know *mother* would not like to have us walk such weather as this.’” The following winter she lamented, “How I hate winter....Sometimes it seems as though I could not possibly spend another winter in the United States.”⁴⁸

Mary Lyon, who died in 1849, and successive school principals took special interest in the Hawaiian mission daughters. The students from Hawai‘i had their own,

⁴⁷ Ibid., Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence, May 29, 18--, HMCS; Mount Holyoke Journal Letters, 1843-1891, Susan L. Tolman, Letter 14, January 1, 1841, Archives and Special Collections, MHC; Mount Holyoke Journal Letters, Unsigned, July 22 1850, MCH; Alumnae Biographical Files, circa 1831-present, Jerusha Babcock letter, March 14, 1844, MHC.

⁴⁸ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 18, 1850 and February 20, 1851, HMCS.

large room and did not have to sleep in the public rooms, where many students did due to overcrowding. The school also held regular prayer meetings for missionaries and days of fasting for “the missionary cause.” Various faculty members took turns writing a detailed journal of college events to send to missionary alumni around the world. At least two Hawaiian mission daughters were invited to stay and teach at the school after they finished their courses. Persis Thurston was one, referred to by the Holyoke faculty as “the beloved Persis.” Thurston recorded that Lyon “gave me a kindly welcome, after looking me through as if she would read my very soul.” Just like Hopkins, Lyon’s charisma influenced her Hawaiian students. “Miss Lyon knows how to make anybody feel ashamed of doing anything wrong.” Thurston wrote her sister Mary. “I wish you could hear her say it in her own words, and in her own animated way.” Lyon must have appreciated Thurston’s “resolute self-discipline.” Thurston said of Lyon, “She says she can find out a great deal of the character from very little things.”⁴⁹

Even then, Lyon was critical of the mission children. If she had an hour to spend with all the missionary daughters she had met, Lyon wrote, “I should want to spend more of the hour in pointing out the temptations I should fear for them.” Lyon worried the girls would return to the mission field and attempt to obtain a standard of living equal to other foreign residents or the native aristocracy. Under the auspices of gaining influence over the people, Lyon feared, the young ladies would lose the missionary spirit.⁵⁰

Part of her concern may have stemmed from what Lyon saw the mission daughters experience in the United States. Martha Chamberlain noted that twenty

⁴⁹ Alumnae Biographical Files, Ann Eliza Clark, “Around Cape Horn in 1850,” October 1929, MHC; Mount Holyoke Journal Letters, Rebecca Fiske, Letter 14, May 16, 1848, MHC; Alumnae Biographical Files, Persis Thurston, letter, December 20, 1841; Alumnae Biographical Files, Persis Thurston obituary written by Sereno Bishop in *The Friend* (May 1906): 10, MHC.

⁵⁰ Mary Lyon, *Missionary Offering*, 248-249, MHC.

students, “the *aristocracy* I suppose. Cream of the school,” were invited to a Christmas party off campus. “We being common people were not invited,” she reported. Fellow student Jerusha Babcock appalled when Persis Thurston conducted a missionary prayer meeting in the Hawaiian language and “in the style of the Islanders, with white long gown, long shawl made of the bark of trees...a necklace of human hair taken from the head of captives.” Wearing jewelry made of whale and swine teeth, Thurston was, according to Babcock, “my ‘beau ideal’ of a Pacific Islander.” Not one to give undue credit, Babcock mocked Thurston who was at any other time “a very coarse, plain looking” girl. “Ah! It was truly comical to see her seated upon the Carpet in the Hall with *swarms* of girls around her.”⁵¹

Even then Hawaiian mission daughters formed deep friendships “which will be as lasting as life,” Ann Eliza Clark noted. Mission daughters laughed at other students’ pranks and enjoyed their experiences in South Hadley. Clark wrote about one school acquaintance she “felt most as happy as some young gentleman might feel who felt that his love was requited.” Mount Holyoke students also formed attachments with young men from nearby colleges. On more than one occasion Mount Holyoke students took field trips to Amherst. Edward Beckwith met Hawaiian missionary daughter Caroline Armstrong while he was at Williams, and she was at the seminary. They later married. At least five Mount Holyoke graduates, who had never been outside the United States, married Hawaiian mission sons and returned with them to the islands. In 1860 Cyrus Mills and his wife Susan Tolman-Mills, a former Mount Holyoke teacher, arrived to take charge of Punahou School. Four years later they moved to California to establish Mills

⁵¹ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 23, 1851, HMCS; Alumnae Biographical Files, Jerusha Babcock, March 14, 1844, MHC.

College, the “Mount Holyoke Seminary” of the West. Several Holyoke graduates taught at or supported East Maui Seminary, the self-styled “Mt. Holyoke Seminary of the Hawaiian Islands.”⁵²

Missionary parents had much to praise about Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. The school’s religious instruction, strict discipline, and familial-like accountability were comforting to them as they sent their daughters far from home. In another respect, however, Mount Holyoke distanced their daughters from the usefulness for which their parents assumed they were being trained. When mission mother Lucy Thurston sent her daughter Mary to the Seminary in 1852, she instructed her “Housekeeping is woman’s profession. I wish you to give special attention to this subject. To be able to sustain the responsibility, to regulate and to perform every part of household good, in the most accomplished manner, is woman’s glory.” Warren Chamberlain counseled his parents that the seminary’s objective was “to fit young ladies to be missionaries, or qualify them for that responsible station—a *minister’s wife*.”⁵³

Yet Mount Holyoke, like other rising female institutions of the mid-nineteenth century, was changing the nature of a “woman’s profession.” As Anne Scott writes, “despite their emphasis upon the importance of woman’s sphere, [these colleges] were important agents in that development of a new self-perception and spread of feminist values which contemporary observers described as the ‘great nineteenth century movement for the elevation of women’.” Hawaiian missionary daughters at Mount

⁵² Ann Eliza Clark, correspondence and papers, May 29, 18-- , HMCS; Mount Holyoke College Missionaries Collection, Hawaii, Archives and Special Collections, MHC; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 191, 267, 279; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1881.

⁵³ Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands, Gathered from Letters and Journals Extending over a Period of More Than Fifty Years*, 167; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, July 17, 1848, HMCS.

Holyoke, while not surprised by rigid, religious devotion, were certainly not swayed by it. Their independence as mission children and American status as outsiders afforded them the ability to choose how they would utilize their American training. Many became missionaries, teachers and wives, just as the school and their parents hoped they would, but mission daughters did so on their own terms, marrying whom they wished and demanding equal partnership with their husbands. Unlike their mothers, who had given up family and homeland for the islands, mission daughters returned to the islands ready to embrace them as their home and embark upon the leadership of them. Unlike their mothers, Hawaiian mission daughters could—and did—return to the islands as single, professional women and married their partners for love, not expediency.⁵⁴

Hawaiian mission children studying in the U.S. also remained defiantly unimpressed with American society. In 1844 Gerrit Judd, who had become a naturalized Hawaiian citizen, accused his former mission colleagues of trying to “make” their children Americans instead of embracing the Hawaiian kingdom as their family’s home. In this effort mission parents decidedly failed. Missionary children in the United States wrote home about the intemperance, profanity, novel reading, and Sabbath breaking around them. They complained about idlers at school, denominationalism in the churches, and “democrats and universalists,” the political supporters of slavery and theological supporters of pluralism.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Anne Firor Scott, “The Ever-Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1822-1872,” in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1988), 153. Patricia Grimshaw discusses the marriages of early missionaries to Hawai‘i. While they often were filled with love, many started as a means to achieving missionary status. The ABCFM initially required its missionaries to be married. See Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1989).

⁵⁵ Gerrit Judd, correspondence, September 5, 1844 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; James Chamberlain, correspondence, September 6, 1861, HMCS.

Additionally, missionary children were surprisingly fearful of Native Americans. Arriving in the United States just after the acquisition of the Texas, California, New Mexico and Nevada, college students from Hawai‘i witnessed dramatic change. Finalizing its northwestern border with Great Britain, the U.S. government and its citizens embarked upon immediate and rapid transcontinental expansion, while violently securing and enforcing treaties with Indian tribes on the Great Plains and in the West. Between 1845 and 1890 the process essentially was completed. Yet missionary children worried that their transcontinental letters to parents would be stolen by the Indians. In 1870 Samuel Wilcox traveled the transcontinental railroad with “muskets ready loaded, because we heard that the Indians were all on the war path.” On his trip Wilcox, saw “a lot of dead horses where about 300 Indians had two days before tried to stop the train, but the Engineer put on all the steam and rushed through them, killing about 16.” Taught to fear the influence of their own Hawaiian “natives,” mission children joined their American peers in assuming the worst about Western inhabitants.⁵⁶

The influx of European immigrants to the United States during the nineteenth century helped fuel Westward expansion, and missionary children from Hawai‘i marveled at the number of people living in American cities. “Carts, carriages, horses, men, newsboys, bootblacks, beggars, porters, etc. etc. all appeared to see who could make the most noise,” William Andrews (1842-1919) described New York. Andrews called the furrowed brows of New York shippers the “mark of Mammon” and joked that 50,000-100,000 New Yorkers traveled to New Jersey every Sunday to frequent liquor stores closed by law in the city. “[T]his leaves us a quiet city on Sundays—something new

⁵⁶ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 231-233; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 391.

for New York.” In some places, the children wrote home, “Religion is almost a dead letter.”⁵⁷

The students from Hawai‘i also complained about the psychological aspects of American culture. “[I]t is nothing but hurry, hurry, hurry, one thing after another all the time. No idle moments here,” Martha Chamberlain apologized to her mother for her short letters. Sanford Dole joked that New Englanders, “with their proverbial economy of time, condense the diluted gratitude of a whole year into a highly concentrated extract to be offered up in a single day,” when engorging on massive Thanksgiving dinners. “An American tries to be in two places at once,” Samuel Armstrong summarized. “You all know (for it has been said a hundred times,) that time flies much more swiftly in this hard country than in our Pacific home,” Robert Andrews noted, “life is more intense here.” Andrews also apologized to friends at home for his lack of letter writing. He blamed football: “there is a new amusement before which all others have been losing ground of late. . . . The game has an interest which no one can understand who has not taken part in it.”⁵⁸

As outsiders, the Hawaiian mission children were some of the earliest critics of Western modernism, noting that time management had replaced natural pace, and the pursuit of efficiency had run amuck. “I am ready to give up trying to say or do anything

⁵⁷ William Andrews, correspondence, June 15, 1861, October 22, 1865, and May 30, 1866, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, January 12, 1849, HMCS.

⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, for example, argued that modern science disrupted the European sense of time and place, as well as changed the processes of human understanding. See Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1970). Daniel Rodgers demonstrates that by the last third of the nineteenth century American educators were concerned about excessive childhood systematization, a product of extreme industrialization. See Rodgers, “Socializing Middle-Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth-Century America.” Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 18, 1850, HMCS; Sanford Dole, correspondence, November 29, 1867, HMCS; Armstrong writing in 1881 in Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 865, WC; Robert Andrews, correspondence, 1859 and November 2, 1861, HMCS.

new in this Country, where there is sure to be someone who has just said or done before me, and perhaps that person Number 10000 (and so on 000,) in order from the first,” Andrews lamented. “We have often spoken in America of the simplicity of nature, of the importance of living simply, of letting our wants be as few as possible,” Oliver Emerson remarked, “and I still feel that the imaginary wants of many people in America are quite too numerous.” Chamberlain criticized Americans for “running after each new thing.”⁵⁹

The immigrants from Hawai‘i also sensed a closed mindedness in Americans. William Alexander disparaged “the shallowness, the slavery to prejudice, the readiness to take things at second hand, the false...and narrow views that prevail so much among what are called educated men in this country.” Writing particularly about the West where “the only thought is money and there is the greatest energy shown in the pursuit of it,” Alexander stated, “It is not the country I should want to live in permanently.” Curtis Lyons (1833-1914) was surprised by the “antagonism and distance” with which Americans treated “gentler and darker races.” Most missionary children condemned slavery and praised Yankee abolitionism. During the 1840s and 1850s missionary children in the United States also sensed political upheaval. With James K. Polk’s election to President in 1844, Warren Chamberlain wrote home: “[T]he country is ruined as a great many of the Whigs think....Texas, Free Trade, and slavery are triumphant!!!” Chamberlain complained that “Foreign Emigrants, thousands in number, who care nothing for the good of the union, have been bribed to cast their votes in for the ruin of the country.” Many Americans, he relayed to his parents, believed “there will be a civil war before the term of Polk has expired.” Writing from rural Indiana in the 1850s,

⁵⁹ Robert Andrews, correspondence, October 31, 1862, HMCS; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 91-92; James Chamberlain, correspondence, July 1875, HMCS.

William Alexander condemned it as a “Democratic stronghold...partly owing to the ignorance of the people but more to the pro-slavery feeling that still lingers among them.” Alexander wrote articles in support of Republican Presidential candidate John C. Fremont.⁶⁰

While astute in many of their criticisms, the Hawaiian mission students’ feelings about the United States often stemmed from their homesickness and outsider status. William Andrews explained New York, “till you have been in the crowd, and have walked miles without seeing a familiar face, you cannot realize how hopeless it is to find a person.” Martha Chamberlain wrote her mother from Mount Holyoke, “Your precious letters are like ‘cold water to the thirsty soul’ here.” Calling themselves “expatriates” and “Hawaiian exiles,” the students banded together wherever they could. New York and Chicago housed sizable populations, and students often met annually in New York, Boston, Williamstown or New Haven. “Since I have been at college my desire of finally returning to the islands has been constantly increasing, and this term I have almost been homesick,” James Alexander wrote home. “I feel truly thankful that we have been brought up amidst the good influences of a *heathen* country and not in the U.S.A.” His sister Mary Jane Alexander (1840-1915) concurred, “I am thankful my home is not here, and that I can hope to return to my native land. . . . We Hawaiians do not know how patriotic we are till we come away from home. Then when we have told fifty thousand people what fine fruit we have, what kind of climate and what scenery we have, we believe most firmly that ‘Hawaii nei’ is the best land the sun shines on.” Elizabeth Judd

⁶⁰ William Dewitt Alexander, correspondence, circa 1856 and 1857, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1879; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, December 3, 1844, HMCS.

was a little more sarcastic about the hundreds of “eager faces” who turned out to hear “the woman from the Cannibal Islands” speak.⁶¹

Students from Hawai‘i also struggled financially. “I economize in every respect,” John Gulick wrote his parents. “[I] have not had any fire in my room since I commenced my studies in March ...but I shall not try it much longer.” Gulick only made it to November. “You probably think I live fancy as I board myself,” James Chamberlain said to his sister. “Crackers and water is my principal diet.” Missionary children coupled their real need to conserve resources with a perception that the tiniest expenditures would detract from their parents’ missionary cause. Shopping and even eating were often stressful tasks.⁶²

Mission children missed sugar cane, bananas and *poi* and were not prepared for American winters. “I need a good thick coat, and I hate to buy one here for such articles are high, and I am not acquainted,” Chamberlain worried. Some confided as much in ABCFM treasurer Henry Hill as they did their parents. Required to write Hill a report of their expenses, missionary children would sometimes reveal much more, worrying about their success in school, future occupations, and state of salvation. Hill, who charged missionary parents for their children’s expenses, usually forwarded these letters to the islands. “It is not of much consequence whether our children shine in the world,” Hill wrote one parent. “If they may do good and be saved we may be satisfied.” Chamberlain, who was given the “worldly” honor of speaking at his graduation

⁶¹ William Andrews, correspondence, October 22, 1865, HMCS; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 18, 1850, HMCS; James Alexander, correspondence, February 11, 1855 and October 12, 1859, HMCS.; Mary Jane Alexander, correspondence, October 8, 186-, HMCS; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 170.

⁶² John Thomas Gulick, letters from California and United States, 1849-1854, November 3, 1854, HMCS; James Chamberlain, correspondence, March 27, 1856, HMCS.

ceremony, had no one with whom to share his public mortification afterward. “I wanted to punch you and make you speak louder,” Chamberlain’s professor accosted him after the speech. Chamberlain wrote his mother, “A week ago today we graduated, and here I am living still in the deserted halls... feeling very blue.”⁶³

Some mission children fit into their surroundings and did well. William Armstrong became an attorney on Wall Street. A peer commented, “He had metamorphized himself into the fashionable...lawyer. Very gentlemanly.” Other missionary children failed. Evarts Chamberlain published a novel which did badly. Even if it had been good, his brother assessed, “The book sellers are perfectly overrun with novels.” Chamberlain was a fighter. “I won’t be trod upon. I have got talent, and I will use it,” he declared. “I have the power to make myself what I will.” Eventually, Chamberlain was forced to rationalize his failures. “I feel the uselessness of honor and glory; riches are nothing,” he wrote. “I do not regret that we have to die since such pleasures await us who are redeemed by Christ’s blood.” Retreating behind the security of a religious theology that spiritualized material failure, Chamberlain continued to search for earthly success the rest of his life. The only measure he found was in publishing articles advocating U.S. annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. “All you can do is ride and guide—if you try to stop the progress the car will run over you,” Chamberlain wrote.⁶⁴

Most immigrants from the islands survived by trying to appreciate their privileges during the short time they had to endure them. Warren Chamberlain peddled books to

⁶³ James Chamberlain, correspondence, August 29, 185- and August 8, 1861, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, August 20, 1845, HMCS.

⁶⁴ James Chamberlain, correspondence, November 28, 1859 and February? 1, 1860, HMCS.; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, February 1846, September 22, 1849, and April 6, 1873, HMCS.

earn money, hoping one day to buy a farm. He was able to achieve his goal when his mother bought him land back in the islands. Ann Eliza Clark left Mount Holyoke early after her mission friends graduated. “My longing for home and Mother... led me to decide to go with them,” she recalled, later wishing she had stayed to graduate. As James Alexander prepared to leave the United States for home, he shouted, “*Good bye!!* I am almost on the wing! Hurray for the Islands!”⁶⁵

Warren Chamberlain noted that it was a “singular fact” Hawaiian mission children in the United States “almost without an exception” wanted to return home. Not all were able. Just getting back to the islands could be difficult. Alexander borrowed money from the ABCFM for his passage. The Board expected him to pay it back. Evarts Chamberlain borrowed funds for his passage at six-percent interest from a Boston merchant and friend of the missionaries. “He is very kind,” Chamberlain said. Passage for two to the islands cost as much as 1,000 dollars, and “money does not grow wild to be thrown away,” one mission son remarked, “Still I sometimes dream of it.” Henry Lyman left the islands intending to return as an attorney “to grow rich in the courts of the kingdom.” He never did. More than one mission son or daughter who remained in the United States wrote of how much they missed their native land. Sarah Dimond Kinney (1842-1880), married and living in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, admitted that she “often” felt homesick. Reverend Samuel Conde (1837-1919) annoyed his Rockford, Illinois,

⁶⁵ Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, September 22, 1849, HMCS; Alumnae Biographical Files, Ann Eliza Clark, “Around Cape Horn in 1850,” October 1929, MHC; James Alexander, correspondence, October 31, 1861.

congregation by “often refer[ring] to his old home, and his mother.” His wife noted, “He wants to go back to the Islands very much.”⁶⁶

Some Hawaiian mission children returned home by obtaining commissions from the ABCFM or Hawaiian Evangelical Association for missionary work in the islands. Persis Thurston, Luther Gulick, Sereno Bishop, Hiram Bingham, Jr., Anderson Forbes, and Oliver Emerson were all sent back to the Hawaiian kingdom by the Board. Lydia and Elizabeth Bingham returned to the islands at the invitation of Kawaiahoa Seminary, a mission school. The Hawaiian government also gave many mission sons the opportunity to return. The Privy Council offered Henry Whitney the post of government printer while he was still in the United States. The government invited Dr. Nathaniel Emerson to return to the islands to study leprosy. Although a successful attorney in New York, William Armstrong returned to the kingdom to serve King Kalākaua as commissioner of immigration and attorney general. In 1881 Armstrong sailed with the king around the world.⁶⁷

Not everyone who returned to the islands was happy there. Robert Andrews noted that the Hawaiian Islands could seem small. “[F]or the active man *in* business, life here is confessedly cramping. . . . [T]here is too little variety in occupations, too little scope for the firm determination lurking the corners of the mouth to ‘go somewhere and do something.’” Evarts Chamberlain returned to the United States a second time, admitting to his sister, “I am proud enough not to wish to make the Islands my home. . . .

⁶⁶ Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, May 31, 1849, HMCS; James Alexander, correspondence, October 12, 1859, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, October 13, 1853 and September 22, 1870, HMCS; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 242; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1875, 1885.

⁶⁷ For missionary children sponsored by the ABCFM, see *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands*; Henry Whitney, correspondence and papers, May 25, 184-, HMCS; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 229-230; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 125-132.

I think you are right about the islands being too small.” Travel-writer Isabella Bird observed the gossiping, English-language newspapers and the missionary descendents who “take an intense interest in each other, and love each other unusually. Possibly they may hate each other as cordially when occasion offers.”⁶⁸

Despite their overwhelming desire to return to the familiarity of home, Hawaiian mission children embraced the Union with the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861. In fact, the Civil War was the single most important factor in the process of their American acculturation. As staunch opponents of slavery, missionary children and their parents admired from afar the Republican Party and cheered the election of Abraham Lincoln. When war began, mission parents were petrified their children in the United States might join the fight. “We send Nathaniel from us hardly expecting to see his face again as...he goes to our native land at a time when the spirit of war is raging,” Emerson’s father worried. He had reason to worry. At least a dozen Hawaiian mission boys, including Emerson, enlisted in the Union army. Brothers William (1836-1888), Theodore (1840-1917) and Joseph (1838-1864) Forbes enlisted. Their mother wrote, “I feel as though I had buried them all in one grave.” William Forbes travelled with General Sherman through Georgia. Theodore Forbes spent six months in a hospital and was permanently disabled by a shoulder wound. A rebel sharpshooter killed Joseph Forbes.⁶⁹

For his part, Emerson fought at Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville and Gettysburg before catching fever during the Battles of the Wilderness. He spent four months in the hospital. Emerson wrote his island friends, “my heart seems to burn with feeling and an

⁶⁸ Robert Andrews, correspondence, February 12, 1865, HMCS; Evarts Chamberlain, correspondence, April 6, 1873, HMCS; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 151.

⁶⁹ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 205-207; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society,” 1862, 1863, 1865.

overpowering sense of responsibility and of littleness comes upon me.” His friends were impressed, noting to each other that he was “spilling his blood in the glorious cause of universal liberty.” Samuel Ruggles, appointed Assistant Surgeon in the U.S. Army, died during the war. Henry Lyman, also an army surgeon, arrived to devastation in Nashville the day after the battle of Shiloh. Titus Coan practiced medicine in the U.S. Navy. Samuel Conde twice escaped being held prisoner by the Confederate Army. James and Evarts Chamberlain served the U.S. army on Mississippi River steamboats.⁷⁰

Mission children were caught up in the feeling of being part of something greater than themselves. Mary Jane Alexander described being in New York City after the fall of Sumter: “the scene was grand; the change of men from dollar and cent calculators to enthusiastic patriots was sublime.” Robert Andrews depicted how the news of the Union’s second defeat at Bull Run was received in his shop, “The foreman came sailing down the long floor, shouting the news right and left as he passed-this loosened the men from their work, and they stood all agog.” Samuel Alexander declared, “I am not certain but [war] is my calling.” Samuel Chapman Armstrong, after enlisting, wrote home that he was “tired of defending Washington, and would prefer more stirring action.” Mary Andrews (1844-1930), lacking a flag, “hung out of a window a red dress, a white one, and a blue one, determined not to be behind in [her] exhibition of patriotism.”⁷¹

Hawaiian mission children in the United States could support the Union’s stance on ending the Western extension of slavery. At the same time, missionary children could

⁷⁰ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 207; Nathaniel Emerson, November 22, 1863, qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 260-261; George Dole, correspondence, October 7, 1864, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1862, 1863, 1865; James Chamberlain, correspondence, August 3, 1863, HMCS; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, June 23, 1862, HMCS.

⁷¹ Mary Jane Alexander, correspondence, October 8, 186-, HMCS; Robert Andrews, correspondence, October 31, 1862, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1861, 1863, 1864.

feel part of the nation, something they had not experienced before. At a mock November 1860 election at Mount Holyoke Seminary, for example, 246 students voted for Lincoln; only fifty students voted for the other three candidates combined. Williams College President Mark Hopkins' son was "burning to enlist." Supporting the Union was one way Hawaiian mission children could demonstrate they were like the Yankees and not like Southern slaveholders. After all, popular children's author Harvey Newcomb had compared Hawaiian children to that "vicious" American class of idlers.⁷²

Missionary children quickly joined in the anti-Southern rhetoric. Robert Andrews condemned the Confederacy for breaking up the Union: "a country cursed with Secessionism, whether under the name of 'Southern Sympathy,' neutrality, or state rights, cannot become what Nature has intended it." After visiting relatives in Kentucky in 1861, Andrews was relieved to breathe the "freer air" of Ohio. Samuel Armstrong sympathizing with secessionist arguments until President Lincoln announced his Emancipation Proclamation in 1862. Armstrong understood the war had been elevated, and the Union could end slavery in the South. Not all Hawaiian mission children in the United States shared such abolitionist enthusiasm, however. Frank Judd wrote home that he was less than thrilled when invited to teach an African-American Sabbath school. "They thought, I suppose, that being accustomed to black people at home, teaching negroes would be natural work for me." His sister Elizabeth Judd was equally unmoved after staying with Southern relatives who owned slaves. "They have nine colored servants, one named Nancy, whom they paid \$1,800 for," she wrote after her visit in 1855. Judd joked that she had inadvertently helped Nancy escape by passing her a letter

⁷² Mount Holyoke Journal Letters, Anna C. Edwards, Notebook V, November 7, 1860, MHC; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 191; Newcomb, *How to Be a Man: A Book for Boys, Containing Useful Hints on the Formation of Character*, 117-118.

from an African-American messenger. Judd was told “never give any more messages to the negroes.” Her husband Samuel Wilder later bought a female slave in China.⁷³

Some mission children reserved criticism for Northerners, as well, disappointed by the “foul nest of traitors even in good old New England.” James Chamberlain wrote to his mother, “If there was a purer spirit of patriotism North and a more genuine piety amongst Christians and self abasement before God I should have more hope for the nation.” Nevertheless, most mission children abhorred slavery, were genuinely patriotic, and desired to help the war effort, even remaining in the country after the war to assist the Union. Siblings Porter (1833-1886) and Mary (1830-1902) Green and Jennie (1836-1920) and Samuel Armstrong, for example, assisted the U.S. army by teaching freed slaves.⁷⁴

Witnessing an aggressive fight for a righteous principle, the Hawaiian-mission college students of the sixties returned to the islands to become the middle-aged revolutionaries of the nineties. Yet supporting the overthrow of Queen Lili’uokalani and working towards U.S. annexation were considered two different things to adult missionary children living in Hawai’i. Missionary children who had returned to the islands after studying in the United States maintained ambivalence about U.S. nationalism and imperialism. “The little kingdom could not remain independent indefinitely,” Oliver Emerson wrote. “It was destined to become in time annexed either by conquest or by colonization to some one of the great powers.” Isabella Bird was confused by the “incongruous elements” of Hawaiian culture in which “Republicans by

⁷³ Robert Andrews, correspondence, November 2, 1861, HMCS; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 288, 294, WC; Albert “Frank” Judd in “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1861; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 115, 150.

⁷⁴ James Chamberlain, correspondence, June 15, 1861, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1864.

birth and nature” uttered the words “Your Majesty” so easily. Bird noted that although mission descendents expected U.S. annexation, it was “impious and impolitic to hasten it.”⁷⁵

The Union’s prosecution of the Civil War gave mission children a moral confidence in the United States. They cherished republican institutions that protected religious education and freedom and sought to replicate those in the islands. Bird, traveling the Hawaiian Islands in 1873, called them thoroughly “Americanized.” Yet adult mission children were more thoughtful about their national allegiances than their parents had been. Joseph Cooke observed that missionary descendents possessed “Northern principles and Northern ambition” but also “Southern careless liberality.” For Cooke “the senses claim Hawaii—the spirit claims America.” Cooke resolved this dichotomy by encouraging fellow missionary descendants to remain true to their republican principles *and* loyal to the race and monarchy that ruled over them. He encouraged his white peers to “bear in mind that perhaps not yet are those principles to be carried out.” A “combination of firmness and courtesy is what is required of us.”⁷⁶

Giving up “pride of race” to live in a multiethnic society was not an outrageous theory of nationhood. After all, it is what many Americans espouse today. The problem for missionary descendants, however, was that Anglo-Hawaiian pride included elements of white superiority. The Hawaiian mission descendants, who returned to the islands as adults, believed they were choosing to live as “voluntary exiles from the social and moral atmosphere,—and political, too,—which we would gladly choose, had we our own and a selfish choice.” Asa Thurston called it a “fearful responsibility of rightly using and not

⁷⁵ Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 241; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 121, 172.

⁷⁶ Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 166; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1868.

abusing our advantages of education and position.” Missionary children believed the moral education and appreciation for democratic liberalism, which they had received in the United States, elevated their position in the islands. Lecturing each other not to abuse that superiority only reaffirmed their beliefs.⁷⁷

Mission descendants faced tremendous temptations in their efforts to live under the indigenous Hawaiian monarchy. One was encroaching U.S. empire. U.S. westward expansion opened opportunities for Hawaiian mission children in California that had not existed prior to its U.S. statehood in 1850. ABCFM secretary Rufus Anderson said as much to the mission descendants in 1863: “Should you not all find scope on these Islands, the same will be true of young men in New England...while they have the Great West for an ultimate resort, you will have the United States.” Francis Damon (1852-1915) pointed to the “large circle” of Hawaiian descendants living in California by 1886. They represented “a link to the great body of Christian friends and sympathizers all over the world, and [could] direct their interest to Christian and missionary operations in this ocean.” California, for the missionary descendants, became a tie to Christian civilization and an important American neighbor for their own civilizing agenda in the islands.⁷⁸

Of more import than U.S. proximity was U.S. trade reciprocity. “The prosperous era of Hawaiian affairs, dating from the adoption of the reciprocity treaty with the United States,” Sanford Dole said, “have so engrossed our attention and occupied our activities that the thought of the missionary fathers and mothers, whose influence so largely contributed to the permanence of civil institutions on these islands, is well nigh crowded from our minds.” Mission descendants viewed reciprocity as the necessary means to

⁷⁷ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1868, 1853.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1863, 1886.

maintaining Hawaiian independence. Without it, the Hawaiian economy would collapse, unable to participate in the growing prosperity and power of its neighbor. When the reciprocity treaty stalled in the U.S. Senate, mission son Henry Whitney was the first to propose granting the United States the use of Pearl Harbor in exchange for free trade, a provision inserted in 1887 with the treaty's renewal. Whitney argued that such an agreement would keep annexationists at bay. Influenced by the American concept of "manifest destiny," mission descendants living in the islands welcomed American moral authority and, thus, U.S. political and economic influence in the Pacific. As editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Whitney described native Hawaiians as "inferior in every respect to their European and American brethren," echoing the racist views of other missionary descendants, as well.⁷⁹

Not surprisingly, the most strident voices for strengthening U.S.-Hawaiian relations came from mission children who had spent the longest time and their most formative years in the United States. Whitney, for example, had been sent to the United States at age seven, never to see his missionary father again. He returned to the islands on the advice of his guardian, who believed the position of government printer "a far greater opening for intensive usefulness, than can be found for him in the U.S." Whitney's deafness prevented him from attending college, and he had trained for the printing business instead. Whitney welcomed the opportunity for useful employment but

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1888; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1966), 249; Whitehead, "Hawaii: The First and Last Far West?," 169; Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, 54; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 172; Whitney, March 5, 1857, qtd. in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 80.

lacked the attachment to place that summoned other mission children back to the islands, arriving to a mother who did not even recognize him.⁸⁰

More forceful in his advocacy for U.S. supremacy over the Hawaiian nation and explicit in his racial views was Sereno Bishop. Sent to the United States at age twelve, Bishop returned to the islands thirteen years later as an ABCFM missionary. Before accepting a position with the ABCFM, Bishop made it clear that he did not want to work with the dying Hawaiian race. Bishop wanted to work with the foreign population, writing he would rather stay in the United States, his “last alternative,” than preach to native Hawaiians, “since education and opportunities enjoyed, make the possessor responsible for their use.” Becoming a pastor “over a flock of very little capacity for influence or outward usefulness, or even prospect of permanent existence” was to Bishop a waste of his education, “youth,” and “strength for labor.” Bishop left little to the imagination regarding his view of the Hawaiian people. “Who are the real people of Hawaii?” Bishop asked in 1896. “Are they the decadent and dwindling race of aboriginal Hawaiians, who still linger in the land? . . . Or are they not rather the fresh, active, brainy white race . . . who are manifestly the heirs of the future of Hawaii, rather than the weak native race?” For Bishop, “Hawaii is to find its unavoidable and certain destiny in the bosom of the American Union.”⁸¹

Segregated from society for his first decade and separated from his family for the next, Bishop relied upon his American cultural education, as well as the advice of his father through letters from the islands. Bishop’s father warned him of “serious obstacles”

⁸⁰ Henry Ely to Gerrit Judd in Henry Whitney, correspondence and papers, April 11, 184-, HMCS; Mercy Whitney, letters to children, 1831-1856, HMCS.

⁸¹ Sereno Bishop, December 23, 1851 and February 23, 1852 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Sereno Bishop, scrapbook, November 24, 1896 and January 21, 1898, HMCS.

in obtaining native financial support should he return to the islands. “My father expresses hope that I shall come to California. That field, I suppose is also very needy, and very important,” Bishop mused when the Board appeared hesitant to send him to the Hawaiian Islands. Bishop’s father had long complained to the Board about living at Ewa, remote from “civilized society” and among his physical and mental inferiors. Bishop got his wish. The ABCFM stationed him at Lahaina as Seamen’s Chaplain, working with white sailors. Bishop followed in his father’s footsteps and segregated his own children from the native Hawaiian population.⁸²

Bishop’s racist views were in no way adopted by all white residents in the islands. The English-language newspaper *Independent* stated about the “Hawaiian”: “We cannot agree with [Bishop] politically, or endorse the wrongs and injuries he has inflicted upon others.” Adult mission son Henry Baldwin publicly advocated a constitutional solution to the crisis of Lili’uokalani’s reign, eschewing revolution and annexation.⁸³

Nevertheless, Bishop’s strength of conviction and bully pulpit as editor of the Hawaiian evangelical publication *The Friend* from 1887-1902, as well as the growing support for his position within the United States, provided moral fortitude for wavering whites in the islands before and after the 1893 revolution. Sanford Dole, for example, preferred putting Princess Kaiulani on the Hawaiian throne rather than abolishing the monarchy. Bishop and others convinced Dole that “no half-way measure like a Regency would be practicable or satisfactory” and “the manifest destiny of the islands was

⁸² Ibid., ABCFM; Artemas Bishop, correspondence, October 1, 1847 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

⁸³ Sereno Bishop, Scrapbook, July 20, 1896, HMCS; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 273-274.

annexation to the United States.” Dole changed his mind, and accepted the presidency of the new Hawaiian Republic.⁸⁴

Six other mission descendents served the new republican government as supreme court justices, ministers of state, and delegates to Washington DC. When the United States annexed the Hawaiian Republic during the Spanish-American War, and the American flag was raised in front of the Executive Building on August 12, 1898, Orramel and Ann Eliza Clark Gulick gushed, “It was truly an impressive scene.” For them, as well as other mission descendents educated in U.S. colleges and living in the islands, annexation meant the possibility of fewer liquor licenses, as well as less crime, disease and death. When this did not occur, the Gulicks blamed the native population rather than question the legitimacy of U.S. moral hegemony, arguing, “The minds of the people had been so poisoned that their friends were not trusted.”⁸⁵

It is tempting to view the mission descendants’ participation in revolution and annexation as the simple product of racial hatred or economic incentive. Queen Lili’uokalani certainly did. It was “a project of many years on the part of the missionary element that their children might some day be rulers of these islands,” she argued to the U.S. government after her overthrow. Others such as Linda K. Menton believe that the great disparities in education between college-educated mission children and Hawaiian royal children created increasing conflict over the forty years leading up to revolution. The deeply-segregated educational system in the islands, coupled with the American

⁸⁴ Alexander, *History of Later Years of the Hawaiian Monarchy and the Revolution of 1893*, 55.

⁸⁵ Bishop, “Are Missionaries’ Sons Tending to America a Stolen Kingdom?,” 2-3; Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 309-311.

Board's educational funding for missionary children, ensured that whites in the islands had greater opportunities than their native counterparts. More importantly, many whites in Hawai'i believed their educations made them superior.⁸⁶

Yet the Hawaiian mission children's experiences in the United States complicate these explanations of racial revolution and American imperialism. Most mission children wrestled profoundly with their identities as missionary children and Hawaiian subjects. While in the United States, they missed their parents and homeland. Some harbored anger and rejection for being sent there. Almost never did they view themselves as Americans. Instead, after returning to the islands, they experienced constant tension between their sense of moral superiority and emotional attachment to their Hawaiian citizenship. These complexities were made all the more confusing by a quirk in U.S. immigration law that denied many of them American birthright citizenship.

⁸⁶ Queen Lili'uokalani qtd. in Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 170; Menton, "'Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report': The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850", 232-233.

Chapter 5: Crossing the *Pali* Bicultural Identity and the Racial Divide

“If all the seas were one sea, what a great sea that would be! And if all the trees were one tree, what a great tree that would be! . . . And if all the men were one man, what a great man he would be!” –English Nursery Rhyme

“And today I take up my Hawaiian Bible to read a chapter in preference to the English version. It is beautiful Hawaiian.” –Sam Wilcox¹

“The children at the Sandwich Islands have nothing to do. Their parents have no employment for them. They grow up in idleness,” lectured popular American children’s author Harvey Newcomb in 1846. “Idleness also makes these children vicious. Having nothing useful to do, they are always ready for every evil work.” It is doubtful Newcomb, whose *How to Be a Man* and *How to Be a Lady*, graced the bookshelves of missionary children in Hawai‘i, was referring to the several hundred mission children born and raised in the islands. Yet Newcomb’s statements must have struck the mission children, for they, too, were Sandwich Islanders. Not only had they been born subjects of the Hawaiian monarch, through a strange interpretation of U.S. law, many were denied American citizenship, despite the fact that their mothers and fathers were American citizens. As a result, many missionary children struggled with their national identities even into adulthood.²

In 1790 U.S. Congress granted natural-born citizenship “to children of Citizens of the United States, that may be born beyond sea, or out of the limits of the United States,” as long as their fathers had resided at one time in the United States, and no state had

¹ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 276.

² Newcomb, *How to Be a Man: A Book for Boys, Containing Useful Hints on the Formation of Character*, 116-117.

proscribed citizenship. In 1802 Congress amended the law to read, "And the children of persons who now are, or have been citizens of the United States, shall though born out of the limits and jurisdiction of the United States, be considered as citizens of the United States." The effect, although probably not the intent, of the amendment was to deny birthright citizenship to children born overseas to fathers who had been born after the date of the amendment, April 14, 1802. Immigration officials apparently enforced this interpretation, for Horace Binney, a nineteenth-century immigration attorney, published a pamphlet in 1853 arguing for the law's revision. "It does not probably occur to the American families who are visiting Europe in great numbers, and remaining there, frequently, for a year or more, that all their children born in a foreign country, are ALIENS, and when they return home, will return under all the disabilities of aliens," Binney stated. "Yet this is indisputably the case." The Supreme Court upheld Binney's interpretation of the law in *United States v. Wong Kim Ark* (1898), noting that Congress had amended the law in 1855 to provide citizenship to children of citizen-fathers born overseas.³

Mission fathers in the first two companies of ABCFM missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands were unaffected by the law, but by the third company's arrival in 1828, the law began to have effect upon the younger missionaries and their children. Compounding the confusion was the Hawaiian monarchy's ambiguous efforts to require foreigners in government service to take an oath of allegiance to the Hawaiian kingdom. Ralph Kuykendall writes that beginning in 1844 the king began to require the oath for

³ For citation, probable intent and impact of the law, and the U.S. Supreme Court's 1898 interpretation, see Michael G. McFarland, "Derivative Citizenship: Its History, Constitutional Foundation, and Constitutional Limitations," *New York University Annual Survey of American Law* 63, no. 3 (2008): 467-510; Horace Binney, *Alienigenae of the United States under the Present Naturalization Laws* (Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1853), 5.

naturalization. Yet Jonathan Osorio has noted the oath was inconsistently worded and applied, and not even binding. By 1850 the government reversed course and allowed dual citizenship.⁴

Consequently, mission children were often unclear about their national identities. Elizabeth Judd took the oath of allegiance with her father in 1844, even though she was a Hawaiian citizen by birth and excluded from American citizenship by his. James Chamberlain wrote of being a “naturalized American” after twenty years in the United States, even though he had been a U.S. citizen all his life. After serving three years in the U.S. army, Samuel Armstrong was surprised by news he was entitled to automatic U.S. citizenship. Mission parents throughout the 1840s opposed their children taking the Hawaiian oath of allegiance, even though it was a moot point.⁵

Governments also complicated the issue. Hawaiian mission children visiting a U.S. armory in 1867 were asked to show their Hawaiian passports, documentation which would not have been necessary for Hawaiian subjects holding dual citizenship, but which the Hawaiian government also required before granting permission to leave the islands. By 1850 the Hawaiian government refused to grant a passport to a “native subject” for permanent emigration, unless “for some urgent necessity... he or she shall give proof satisfactory to the governor of the island, to which he or she may belong.”⁶

⁴ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation*, 239; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 59-63.

⁵ Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 55; James Chamberlain, correspondence, November 25, 1875, HMCS; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 480-481, WC; Warren Chamberlain, correspondence, October 17, 1849, HMCS.

⁶ Sanford Dole, correspondence, November 29, 1862, HMCS; *Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives, During the Twenty-First Year of His Reign, and the Third and Fourth Years of His Public Recognition, A.D. 1845 and 1846*, vol. 1 (Honolulu: Government Press, 1846); *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A.D. 1850*.

Not only were mission children required to negotiate between two national identities—the American citizenship their parents assumed they had, and a Hawaiian nationality parents’ wished their children would avoid—missionary children also had to contend with bilingual identities. Although mission parents tried to keep the Hawaiian language from them, almost all mission children became fully proficient in the Hawaiian language by their teenage years. Not only had they heard the Hawaiian language spoken by both parents from their mothers’ wombs, some mission children were surrounded by Hawaiian caretakers who were allowed to speak Hawaiian to the children until the children were old enough to speak, clearly a formative period for language acquisition.⁷

Children called for their *omole* (bottle) and peppered their letters to each other with Hawaiian expressions. Even their Punahou school compositions contained Hawaiian words, usually crossed out with the corresponding English word written above. Some parents, like Abner and Lucy Wilcox, became less restrictive with each successive child, so that the youngest siblings were the most proficient in the Hawaiian language. Regardless of how it happened, most Hawaiian mission children understood Hawaiian from a young age. As Henry Parker remembered, the process occurred “unconsciously.” Mission children, “even those under [the] ban, soon acquired a ready use of the language, often to the horror of the parents.” Parker laughed at one missionary father who began to address mission families in Hawaiian, forgetting children were present. Most disturbing

⁷ Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 52. Recent studies suggest newborns cry in the language their mothers speak and prefer the language and voices they have heard in the weeks before birth. See “Babies Cry in Their Native Tongue,” *The Week* November 27, 2009, 25. Infants can also differentiate between languages by five months old. See Robert S. Feldman, *Development across the Life Span*, 3rd ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2005), 143.

to the missionaries was the laughter of the children, who clearly understood what he was saying.⁸

More significant was the importance missionary children gave the Hawaiian language once they had arrived in the United States. When Sarah Coan (1843-1916) met King Kalākaua on his visit to New York, she called his Hawaiian “indescribably sweet...*only* a native can say *aloha nui*.” A group of Hawaiian mission friends meeting together in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1864 eschewed the “vulgar English language” and spoke only Hawaiian, using an interpreter when around non-Hawaiian speakers to demonstrate their Hawaiian nationality. Seventeen-year old Lucy Thurston spoke Hawaiian on her deathbed. “*Auwe, auwe*” (“oh dear, oh dear”), Thurston repeated after contracting a respiratory infection in the United States. Luther Gulick, sent to the United States at age twelve, returned to the islands twelve years later, still fluent in the Hawaiian language.⁹

Native Hawaiians understood the power of the spoken word. “[S]aying the word gives power to cause the action,” Hawaiian historian Noenoe K. Silva writes. Mission children, too, understood this power. “In many instances new meanings, or shades of meaning, must be given to natives’ words,” Hiram Bingham, Jr. stated to fellow mission children in calling them to missionary service throughout Polynesia. Bingham was advocating what his own father had already done by creating a Hawaiian written language and translating the Bible into Hawaiian. The American missionaries had shifted

⁸ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 102, 261; Parker, “Old Mission School Home of Free Kindergarten and Children’s Aid,” 294.

⁹ “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1875; George Dole, correspondence, October 7, 1864, HMCS; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 189; Jennifer Kashay first brought Lucy Thurston’s short life to my attention in Jennifer Fish Kashay, “Problems in Paradise: The Peril of Missionary Parenting in Early Nineteenth-Century Hawaii,” *Journal of Presbyterian History* 77, no. Summer (1999); Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 54.

the Hawaiian language subtly yet unreservedly toward Christianity, forcing native Hawaiians to follow. The American translators replaced the ancient Hawaiian religious *kapus* (taboos), requiring strict segregation of the sexes, extreme deference to the chiefs, and religious sacrifices and rituals, with Christian *kapus*, including strict Sabbath keeping. The missionaries called their segregated yards for mission children “*kapu* yards.”¹⁰

Bilingual from birth, missionary children understood what their parents did not and what modern researchers continue to uncover. Language structures shape how different cultures see the world. For example, a native Hawaiian under feudal rule justified his land claim by calling himself a *kama āina*. The word implied that one was an “old-timer,” a “long-time resident of place,” and had a right to remain on the land. When Hawaiian mission descendants called themselves “loyal sons of the soil,” they were saying the same thing: they were native-born “land children” with the right to participate in the future of the nation. When *kama āina* William Rice married land-child Mary Waterhouse, their fellow natives on Kauai held a *‘aha‘aina* (feast) to celebrate. Five-hundred native Hawaiians each brought gifts to the couple, “so delighted that [Rice] had married an island lady who could speak Hawaiian.”¹¹

Some mission descendants took the power of the word further. In a series of articles written for the Washington D.C. *Evening Star* between 1893 and 1900, Sereno Bishop argued strenuously for U.S. annexation, trying to convince Americans of their

¹⁰ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 169; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1873; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 16.

¹¹ The relationship between language and cognitive thinking is discussed in Lera Boroditsky, “Lost in Translation: New Cognitive Research Suggests That Language Profoundly Influences the Way People See the World; a Different Sense of Blame in Japanese and Spanish,” *Wall Street Journal*, Saturday/Sunday, July 24-25, 2010; Linnekin, *Children of the Land: Exchange and Status in a Hawaiian Community*, xiii; Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii*, 246; Bird, *Six Months in the Sandwich Islands*, 190-191.

manifest destiny to rule the inferior, Hawaiian race. Bishop walked a fine line, not wanting Americans to believe the Hawaiian people too dark or inferior to become U.S. citizens. He did this by using language as a cultural marker. Requiring all territorial proceedings to be conducted in English “would be an effective obstacle to the election of ignorant natives to the legislature,” Bishop argued, “A Hawaiian of their average weakness of intellect is incapable of mastering the use of English.” Bishop boasted that English “has wholly supplanted the native tongue, and has become the medium of instruction in all the schools.” Controlling who could govern during the interim it took to acculturate Hawaiian children to the English language would keep U.S. civil society intact. When Bishop signed these articles under the pseudonym “*Kamehameha*”—the first Hawaiian chief to unite and rule the islands as a kingdom—Bishop was making a profound statement. He was giving himself the authority to speak for the nation as its rightful heir and ruler.¹²

Not all mission children viewed positively the Hawaiian nation’s transition to English-language instruction. Orramel and Ann Eliza Clark Gulick lamented the loss of the native language among young Hawaiians. “Of pride or love for his mother tongue he has but little,” they wrote, “soon may a small race and its language pass from the earth!” The Gulicks also argued that educational equality was hindered by immersing Hawaiian-speaking children in English-language instruction. The Gulicks considered the language question the “gravest” problem in the “program of progress.” Henry Townsend, Inspector General of Hawaii’s public schools agreed. “Although English education for Hawaii...is an absolute necessity, it offers but a small part of the solution of our

¹² Sereno Bishop, Scrapbook, May 4, 189- and August 1900, HMCS.

problem,” Townsend wrote in his 1899 report. “Polynesians and Asiatics cannot be made to think and feel as Anglo-Saxons by the simple process of teaching them the English language.” While the Hawaiian republic considered English-language training crucial to the islands’ eventual U.S. annexation, everyone understood the cultural ramifications of doing so. Those who argued against the loss of native Hawaiian identity were fighting a losing battle.¹³

The ABCFM also considered the growing emphasis on English-language education harmful to the native population. Rufus Anderson, for example, required mission children at Punahou to study the Hawaiian language, in order to receive free tuition after 1863. Three years previously the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society had resolved that all of its members should learn the Hawaiian language. Nevertheless, Sanford Dole, as the Hawaiian territory’s first U.S. governor, appointed Alatau Atkinson superintendent of the Hawaiian public schools in 1900. Dole ordered minimal government expenditures. Atkinson believed in traditional rote learning. The result was English-language instruction as the means to acculturate Hawaii’s multi-ethnic population. Some believed the language barrier resulted in poorer performance among native children, a view dismissed by Inspector General Thomas Gibson who argued that a large number of native children were unlikely to ever be able to acquire a liberal

¹³ Gulick and Gulick, *The Pilgrims of Hawaii; Their Own Story of Their Pilgrimage from New England and Life Work in the Sandwich Islands, Now Known as Hawaii; with Explanatory and Illustrative Material Compiled and Verified from Original Sources*, 323-324; Townsend qtd. in Dotts and Sikkema, *Challenging the Status Quo: Public Education in Hawaii 1840-1980*, 39.

education and needed instead “a concrete education which can be obtained only in a garden, field, shop, or factory.”¹⁴

Hawaiian mission children knew instinctively from their own experience what modern researchers affirm: A child’s sociolinguistic situation is a key marker of her national identification. Ethnic identity, in its earliest developmental stage, is the result of emotive, not cognitive, processes. “[C]hildren can show preference behavior for some national groups long before they develop any knowledge of these groups.” Mission children raised and educated in a bicultural environment struggled with their national and ethnic identities. The conflict particularly is seen in how they referenced themselves and each other.¹⁵

“Exile,” “stranger,” “expatriate” and “Hawaiian” were terms mission children in the United States used to describe themselves as American college students. Their most common nomenclature was “cannibal.” Sitting on the floor “a’ la Hawaiian,” nine “cannibals” met together in 1864 in Worcester, Massachusetts at the annual ABCFM meeting. They were so excited to see each other, speak Hawaiian, and discuss native politics that George Dole wrote they left each other “feeling that we had enjoyed more happiness than often falls to the lot of man in one evening.” Cannibal “conventions” occurred almost annually and were often reported to fellow mission children back in the islands. Twenty-two cannibals met at Williams College in 1857. William Armstrong’s Wall Street office was “a rendezvous for all Cannibals” passing through New York City.

¹⁴ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 276; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1860; Dotts and Sikkema, *Challenging the Status Quo: Public Education in Hawaii 1840-1980*, 41-43, 60-61.

¹⁵ Coco, Inguglia, and Pace, “Children’s Understanding of Ethnic Belonging and the Development of Ethnic Attitudes,” 279; Martyn Barrett, “Children’s Understanding of, and Feelings About, Countries and National Groups,” in *Children’s Understanding of Society*, ed. Martyn Barrett and Eithne Buchanan-Barrow (Hove and New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 244.

“There are strong ties, which ought to bind the ‘cannibal islanders’ in this country together,” James Alexander wrote. At Union Seminary in New York, Alexander roomed with three other Hawaiian mission youth, “a Cannibal throng,” he called them.¹⁶

Indigenous Hawaiians had never been cannibals, and at least one mission son was quite sensitive about this fact. Dexter Chamberlain, whose parents had been part of the first missionary company to the islands, wrote to the *Boston Daily Advertiser* complaining that “Cannibal Islands” was an inappropriate nickname for the Hawaiian Kingdom. “That they were *Heathen* and pagan no one can doubt, but that they were savages and cannibals I do not believe,” Chamberlain, by then in his seventies, stated. “I was a resident of these Islands several years and believe the aborigines of these Islands to have been kind, hospitable...and unless driven to the necessity as in the case of Captain Cook, his officers, and crew, would never have harmed any one.” Missionary children did not believe the Hawaiians had been cannibals, but they realized most Americans did. The children’s use of the term suggests that they, too, felt judged as uncivilized by their American peers. “You can imagine then the pleasure I felt when once in a while I would run against a ‘Cannibal’ and be greeted with *Aloha*,” William Andrews explained.¹⁷

Returning to the islands after college, some mission children struggled to feel again at home. “I know the fault must be mostly in me,” wrote Mary Castle (1838-1926). “I long for a resting place, not of body, but of mind and soul, and it seems to me that I shall never reach it,” Castle revealed. “Wanderers” were how some parents described their children. “My life is fitful, strange, and lacks the essential of permanence,” one

¹⁶ George Dole, correspondence, October 7, 1864, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1857; William Andrews, correspondence, May 30, 1866, HMCS; James Alexander, correspondence, October 31, 1860 and October 12, 1859, HMCS.

¹⁷ Dexter Chamberlain, correspondence and papers, circa 1880-1881, HMCS; William Andrews, correspondence, October 22, 1865, HMCS.

mission son mused. “I am a pilgrim, still, though in my native land,” decided Robert Andrews. “I do hope and pray that [Evarts] may become settled and contented,” James Chamberlain wrote about his brother, “there is a place for anybody in this big world. May he find it.”¹⁸

“*Creole*” was how Andrews described himself—neither Anglo nor Hawaiian. “We, who are such, hold a peculiar position,” Joseph Cooke said, “having early recollections of cocoa-nut and kukui groves, and of sea-breezes and balmy trade-winds sweeping through them, of surf-beaten shore ramblings, and canoe voyages with swarthy, half-naked men at the paddles;—and yet by some sort of in-bred instinct, taking to all the ways of the Fatherland when we return thither.” Speaking to fellow mission descendants, Cooke revealed, “None of us are earnest but are sad....we are divided in our being, either the one or the other part of ourself vainly craving what it has not and cannot have.”¹⁹

Most often, Hawaiian mission children in the islands called each other “cousin.” Attempting to carve out a sense of belonging from within the larger society, mission children together formed the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society (HMCS) in 1853. Originally established to raise contributions for missions, the society quickly became a social network for mission descendants and, eventually, their allies. Members called each other “cousins,” just as their parents had called fellow missionaries “brothers” and “sisters.” The “Cousins’ Society” became a place through which monthly meetings, regular correspondence, and annual reports could disseminate information about each

¹⁸ Castle qtd. in Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii*, 189-190; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1887; James Chamberlain, correspondence, August 3, 1863 and November 28, 1859, HMCS; Robert Andrews, correspondence, December 24, 1878, HMCS.

¹⁹ Robert Andrews, correspondence, September 30, 1852, HMCS; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1868.

other, even around the world. The first missionary the Cousins' Society supported was Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, one of their own. Eventually the group funded Hawaiian schools and paid for the education of native-Hawaiian missionary children who remained in the islands while their parents traveled throughout Polynesia. The society also funded several cousins to come back to the islands to teach. Cousins even raised funds to support a home in the United States for the children of American missionaries in Turkey, "though none of *our* family have had any help from the American Board in this country," reminded Samuel Armstrong. By 1883 the society boasted over 900 members. What had started as a group of young children, sewing to raise funds for missionaries, had turned into an influential peer network of adult mission descendents, families, and friends, together possessing close to two million of the estimated 32 million dollars in island property.²⁰

The Cousins' Society had a decided influence on its members studying in the United States. "No cousins by lineage, in this country, are more united and interested in each other, than the mission children, the only playmates of each other," wrote James Alexander from Williams College. "I would enjoy infinitely more a sojourn with my Cousins at the Islands than with my best cousins in the States. And I find that I only echo the feelings of my Hawaiian friends there." The constant correspondence, including newsletters, kept interest in the islands alive among Hawaiian-mission college students and encouraged them to return home after graduation.²¹

If mission children struggled with their national identity, they wrestled more with their identities as missionary sons and daughters. The ABCFM's Hawaiian mission was

²⁰ "Annual Report," 1853, 1880, 1882, 1883.

²¹ James Alexander, correspondence, March 17, 1858 and October 12, 1859, HMCs.

its most successful missionary enterprise during the nineteenth century. Rufus Anderson declared the islands essentially Christianized by 1863 with “nothing equal to it” in Christian history. Some of the Hawaiian missionaries were household names in New England. Titus Coan’s 7,000-member church in Hilo was the largest Protestant church in the world by 1842. When Samuel Armstrong’s father died, the news ran in “hundreds” of U.S. newspapers. Americans actually read Hiram Bingham’s *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (1847). With the pressure mission children faced from parents to embrace the missionary profession, some mission children naturally sought to distinguish themselves in the field. Elisabeth Bingham tried to become a missionary to China by engaging herself to a man being sent by the ABCFM. When the Board refused to sponsor her due to her poor health, her fiancé broke off the engagement. “She will feel it deeply I know, for her heart was set on going as a missionary,” Martha Chamberlain wrote. Nearly two decades later, the Cousin’s Society invited Bingham’s sister Lydia to teach at the Kawaiahoa Seminary for native Hawaiian girls. Lydia Bingham’s sister-in-law guessed she would accept the position, “I know her mind is not at rest on the subject of entering the foreign work *somewhere*.” Lydia Bingham arrived in the islands in 1867, after an absence of nearly thirty years. Elisabeth Bingham joined her sister at the Seminary in 1869.²²

Elisabeth and Lydia Bingham’s brother Hiram was similarly drawn to the missionary profession. Like his father he desired to go someplace no other missionary had gone and translate the Bible into an unwritten language. Sent back to the Hawaiian

²² “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1882; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 274-275; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 120, WC; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 23, 1851, HMCS; Pratt, *The Story of Mid-Pacific Institute*, 6, 13-15.

Islands by the ABCFM in 1856, he wrote his sister, “Father’s old people are making very strenuous effort to keep me here as their pastor.” The Honolulu congregation had even circulated a petition signed by several hundred people—including chiefs—to convince Bingham to stay. “I have very little inclination to remain,” he wrote. Bingham soon moved on to the Gilbert Islands, translating the entire Bible into the Gilbertese language.²³

The American missionaries in Hawai‘i were an energetic and stubborn set. For her mother’s sixtieth birthday, Martha Chamberlain wrote, “Your step is firm and quick as ours. Your hair scarce tinged with grey, and when we see you midst your flowers, you seem as fresh as they.” Sereno Bishop remarked that the elder Hiram Bingham’s “immense personal influence” over the chiefs, and his extreme moral fortitude made him extremely unpopular with other foreigners, as attested by several attacks upon his home and person. As a boy Bishop had viewed Bingham with “awe” and a “little fear.”²⁴

The missionaries set strenuous and dramatic goals for themselves. Their children witnessed numerous physical and mental breakdowns as a result. Missionary children sometimes referred to themselves as “orphans” and “fatherless,” even when both parents were still living. Mission children were both attracted to and repelled by the missionary mindset, calling it “anxious labor,” that “captivated [their parents] as the prospect of gold drew those who were eager for wealth to the mines of California.” Even though missionary children believed that everyone possessed “some great object in life,” most believed their own “may not be in the line of missionary work.” One of their strongest arguments against missionary labor was the “sacrifice of family life so imperatively

²³ Hiram Bingham, correspondence, May 19, 1857, HMCS.

²⁴ Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, March 19, 1863, HMCS; Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with a Brief Biography by Lorrin A. Thurston*, 25, 51.

demanding by such work.” HMCS President William Smith asked, “It is glorious to die for one’s country, but what becomes of the solemn obligation to cherish the wife and educate the children?” Not wishing to enter into a profession by which they themselves had been hurt, Smith voiced the missionary descendants’ resolve, “We shrink from repeating our Fathers’ experiences, or of placing our children in the same painful conditions.” More significantly, a sizable minority of Hawaiian mission children rejected their parents’ faith altogether. John Gulick described one such mission son he visited in the United States, “He admitted religious truth but said he did not feel its power and was a stranger to its hopes....Resolved to make the most of life, he passes on to gain the giddy heights of honor and intellectual power.” George Wilcox returned home from college refusing to go before his father’s congregation to profess a spiritual conversion he did not feel. Missionary children heard their parents complain about the sacrifices they made on the mission field and instinctively understood that the external pressure they faced to follow in their parents’ footsteps was just another way to commend the martyrdom of the missionaries and confirm the rightness of their calling.²⁵

Thus, children became important markers in nineteenth-century missionary endeavors. Nineteenth-century American missionary societies incorporated children into their efforts to evangelize non-Christian populations. Their efforts were directed both at American and native children. The Hawaiian mission printed its first children’s book with spelling, reading, songs, and catechism lessons in 1830. Missionaries passed out

²⁵ According to the 1853 HMCS report, 22 of 86 mission children over the age of twelve did not profess the Christian faith. “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1853, 1882. In 1846 the ABCFM assumed that 12 of 28 older mission children in the U.S. had no profession of the Christian faith. See American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, “Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.” Gulick describes meeting his friend Nevins Armstrong at Andover in 1854 in Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 141-142; Krauss and Alexander, *Grove Farm Plantation: The Biography of a Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*, 100.

over 1,100 copies within two months of its first printing. The missionaries also were operating schools for Hawaiian children by the early 1830s. Missionary Laura Judd, who helped organize the first school, wrote, “[T]he children were not yet tamed, and to catch them even was considered an impossibility.” The missionaries had determined to focus their labor on educating children as the means to influencing the future leadership of the nation. Over six-hundred children and youth converted to Christianity in 1838 alone. Arrell Morgan Gibson notes that education became British and American missionaries’ “most widely accepted offering” throughout the Pacific region.²⁶

Mission societies had an agenda for American children, as well. The American Tract Society’s *Tract Primer* asked children, “Do you know that there are some parts of the world where the minds of men are so dark, that they worship the sun, moon, and stars, and call them gods? . . . When you look at the starry heaven, pity the blindness of these people, and give thanks to God that you have been taught the way of life.” The Tract Society’s *Children’s Picture Book* contained pictures of Polynesian islands with captions including, “Perhaps missionaries have come to this island. If they have, they will teach the people to love God. . . . Then we shall have nothing to fear.” These simple reading books were designed to inculcate a respect for American missionaries and depict a need for foreign missions, in part to engender “systematic charity,” but also to remind children about the realities of sin and demands of piety. When seventeen-year old Lucy Thurston died in 1841, the American Tract Society published her journal along with its own

²⁶ Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands, or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People*, 369; Judd, *Honolulu: Sketches of Life in the Hawaiian Islands from 1828 to 1861*, 105; Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii, the Pioneers, 1789-1843*, 346-347; Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 168; Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 295.

editorial comments, “Lucy was *an industrious scholar*....Lucy was *obedient to her parents*....Lucy *reverenced the Sabbath*....Lucy *loved the heathen*....Lucy died a *happy, peaceful death*.”²⁷

American children had a long and significant relationship with the Hawaiian Islands. Children read Captain Cook tales, and a stage play about the English captain ran in Boston and starred a Hawaiian youth actor. In 1816 the ABCFM published the *Narrative of Five Youths from the Sandwich Islands* to raise funds to educate young, indigenous Hawaiians arriving in the United States aboard New England merchant ships. The ABCFM hoped to return the native students to the Hawaiian Islands as missionaries. The death of one such student, Henry Obookiah, became the springboard for the first American mission to the Hawaiian kingdom. The *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah* sold over 50,000 copies in twelve editions.²⁸

The ABCFM also encouraged local societies to start juvenile associations. “Who will carry it on when we are dead?” the Board argued. More pragmatically one society argued, “how easy it is to obtain access to a parent, through the medium of a beloved child.” New England churches utilized *A Missionary Catechism, for the Use of Children; Containing a Brief View of the Moral Condition of the World, and the Progress of Missionary Efforts among the Heathen*, published by Yale College in 1821. Part of the ABCFM’s early fundraising efforts included supplying slates for Hawaiian children. The success of this effort was quickly followed by offering earmarks for children’s education.

²⁷ American Tract Society’s *Tract Primer* inscribed to Richard Baxter Armstrong, correspondence and papers, 1849, HMCS; *Children’s Picture Book*, Children of the Mission Collection, n.d., HMCS; Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 121; Cummings, *The Missionary’s Daughter: A Memoir of Lucy Goodal Thurston of the Sandwich Islands*, 193-209.

²⁸ Andrew, *Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth: New England Congregationalists and Foreign Missions, 1800-1830*, 98-102.

The Hawaiian mission advocated “the exclusive privilege” of furnishing Hawaiian children with “such books only as were designed to have a salutary tendency, or were, on the whole, favorable to the service of God.”²⁹

By far the most popular ABCFM fundraising effort was directed at both American and Hawaiian children. In an amazing display of cultural exchange, children bought “stock certificates” in a vessel built to service Protestant missionaries traveling between the Hawaiian and Gilbert Islands. When the *Morning Star* arrived in Honolulu in 1857, native children, who possessed ownership in the vessel, lined the shore cheering. Successive *Morning Stars* were built with children’s contributions, as earlier vessels wrecked or wore out. Two-thousand Sunday schools worked together to raise funds for the *Morning Star II*, contributing 24,000 dollars in less than five months. Two-thousand Americans came to see the *Morning Star IV*’s Boston launch in 1884. The chairman of the ABCFM wrote the “owners” of the missionary vessel, “I doubt if any ship ever had so many owners, of such age and character....You are all missionaries.”³⁰

Hawaiian mission children occupied a strange, in-between place within this cultural exchange. Missionary children, raised in a torrid climate among native “heathens,” were suspected by their American peers of tending toward intellectual lethargy and cultural inferiority. By the end of the nineteenth century, many native Hawaiians, rallying “Hawai‘i for Hawaiians,” also viewed the white mission descendants with disdain. The term “missionary” became connected with anyone wanting U.S. annexation. Most mission children were not missionaries, and some questioned

²⁹ The ABCFM and Hawaiian mission are qtd. in *Ibid.*, 144-145, 162.

³⁰ Children raised funds for the *Morning Star II* in 1866. See Hiram Bingham, Jr., *Story of the Morning Stars, the Children's Missionary Vessels, with Sequels* (Boston: American Board, 1897), 23-24, 75-76, 95-97.

annexation, yet their identities remained fused to their parents trapped, between the United States and Hawaiian kingdom.³¹

Even today attempting to describe the mission children is difficult. Some writers use the term *haole* to describe the white men, including mission sons, who forced the Bayonet Constitution in 1887 and overthrew the monarchy in 1893. The Hawaiian word initially meant “foreigner” but came to denote “white person.” Jonathan Osorio writes this change occurred after Captain Cook’s arrival to the islands in the eighteenth century. Jean Hobbs notes that into the nineteenth century Hawaiians sometimes described naturalized citizens or the children of parents originating in foreign lands as “foreigners.” In the contemporary context *haole* is often used disparagingly, such as to act like a white person, or to be Europeanized or Americanized. Popular references simply use the word “white” when referring to the 1893 revolutionaries.³²

While conflating national identity and race places missionary children in Hawai‘i outside the Hawaiian nation, a similar problem exists when attempting to describe Hawaiian natives. Some, such as Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, use the term *maka‘āinana* (“people that attend the land”) to refer to indigenous Hawaiian commoners. Yet as Cari Costanzo Kapur points out, others, such as the descendants of Japanese laborers brought

³¹ Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 292.

³² Noenoe K. Silva writes that the “haole” were motivated by a belief in their own superiority and created an oligarchy of “haole planters and businessmen.” See Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 125-126. Jonathan Osorio is blunter. In reference to missionary son and 1887 Hawaiian League member William Castle, who claimed his own Hawaiianess, Osorio writes, “[F]or haole to claim that they were also Hawaiian was another very significant appropriation of what had once been an exclusively Native possession.” See Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 237, 290; Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil*, 76. See, for example, Associated Press, “50th State Turning 50 with Little Hoopla: In Deference to Its Native Residents, Hawaii Will Mark the Anniversary with Low-Key Observances,” *Omaha World-Herald*, Tuesday, August 18, 2009.

to the islands to work on the plantations, also use their generational connection to the land to demonstrate cultural and national belonging.³³

Others, such as Osorio and Silva, use the terms *kanaka* (person or Hawaiian) or *kanaka maoli* (real or native Hawaiian) to refer to Hawaiian natives by racial ancestry, and nowhere do mission children refer to themselves as *kānaka*. In fact, mission children, as Silva points out, tended to use the term pejoratively. Cooking “*a’ la kanaka*” meant burying meat in the ground and sitting on the floor. Living “*kanaka style*” meant sleeping on dirt floors covered with fleas and animals. Mission children conflated *kanaka* with “heathen,” designating the word a behavior associated with race. “How many of them suppose that Oahu College [i.e., Punahou] is for the Kanaka and the Niger?” John Gulick asked his father about fellow missionary families, as Punahou began accepting non-whites in the 1850s. “I think perhaps...you would find more aversion to such equality than you anticipate, even amongst your good folk.” In using the word *kānaka* disparagingly, the Hawaiian mission children placed themselves outside the Hawaiian nation. Silva concurs and writes that the mission sons were “determined to rule over the Kanaka Maoli.”³⁴

Nevertheless, in 1846 the native Hawaiian government made its intentions clear:

“E manaoia kela haole keia haole hoohiki pela, ua lilo oia ma ke ano pili i na hana a

³³ See Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Cari Costanzo Kapur, “Gender and Memory in the Pacific: Contemporary Hawaiian Nationalism and the Memorialization of Plantation Workers at the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawai‘i,” *Amerasia Journal* 35, no. 2 (2009), 168-190.

³⁴ *Kānaka* is the plural of *kanaka*. See Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971). See, for example, Aaron Steven Wilson, ““West of the West”: The Territory of Hawai‘i, the American West, and American Colonialism in the Twentieth Century” (PhD diss., University of Nebraska-Lincoln, 2008); *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL; Wight, *The Memoirs of Elizabeth Kinau Wilder*, 15; John Gulick qtd. in Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai‘i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883*, 121; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, 125-126.

pau, i kanaka maoli o Hawaii nei.” (“Every foreigner so naturalized, shall be deemed to all intents and purposes, a native of the Hawaiian Islands.”) Under the law the *haole* could become a *kanaka maoli*. A white person could become a “real” Hawaiian. For white missionary children, born subjects of the Hawaiian monarchy, their “nativeness” seemed assured.³⁵

Perhaps nineteenth-century missionary children in Hawai‘i would best be described as the *hānai* (adopted). The Hawaiians’ practice of raising the children of friends and family members signified the fluidity of familial relationships but also the very real acceptance of other *kānaka* (human beings). Samuel Armstrong described the deep attachments formed within the *hānai* relationship. “It is their custom to transfer their loyalty to the children of their friends,” he wrote, “For these kind Hawaiians, we, their children, feel a deep attachment.” When missionary parents began to pass away, and mission children perceived the Hawaiian monarchy as moving against them, they reacted, taking their own steps to separate from the Hawaiian monarchy; *na hānai* became *kamali'i mākua 'ole*, orphans.³⁶

Hawaiian mission children were white, but they were not foreigners, “Hawaiian” by birth but not race. Missionary children represented a racial minority within the Hawaiian kingdom. In some respects, missionary descendants who remained in the islands had the freedom to choose on which side of the *pali* they would fall—living as white Hawaiians or Americanized foreigners. Many wrestled with confusion over their

³⁵ *Statute Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives, During the Twenty-First Year of His Reign, and the Third and Fourth Years of His Public Recognition, A.D. 1845 and 1846.*

³⁶ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 44, WC.

identities for decades. Ultimately, their choice was made easier by the close connections they maintained with their fellow “cousins,” their family in the islands. As fellow missionary children, they understood each other, supported each other, and, in the end, jumped off the precipice together. The irony is that while missionary children in Hawai‘i believed they were identifying with the Hawaiian Islands and acting on their behalf, the children, in reality, were aligning themselves with white empires around the world in one of the most dramatic periods of colonization in history.

Chapter 6: Wise Men of Gotham

Hawaiian Mission Children in the World

“Hector Protector was dressed all in green; Hector Protector was sent to the Queen. The Queen did not like him, no more did the King; so Hector Protector was sent back again.” – English Nursery Rhyme

“As we launch out...we trust with your favor and support, that the story of the three wise men of Gotham...may not be unhappily repeated in our experience.” –Sanford Dole¹

Like the “wise men of Gotham” who set out to sea, Hawaiian mission children were expected by their parents to use their missionary upbringing and American education to benefit the world. Missionary parents exhorted their children to place personal ambition and worldly wealth aside, in order to bring Christian light to dark places and bolster the next generation of Christian missionaries. Hawaiian mission children were to lead spiritual, cultural and institutional transformations wherever they went, as well as protect the accomplishments of their parents back home in the Hawaiian Islands.

Numerous missionary children from Hawai‘i achieved professional distinction, and many had a significant impact upon the political and international changes which occurred in the late nineteenth century. For three, a Hawaiian-American bicultural upbringing was significant to the decisions they made as adults. Their experiences as missionary children and education as white elites shaped their belief that they were capable of leading other races and altering foreign cultures. Although one stayed in the United States, one returned to the Hawaiian Islands and one traveled the world, each left his mark upon the peoples he encountered. Because of the influence and daring of these three missionary sons, it is tempting to place Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Sanford

¹ Qtd. in Helena G. Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926* (Glendale, CA: A. H. Clark Co., 1988), 68.

Ballard Dole and John Thomas Gulick, like the mythical men of Gotham, inside a glass bowl and judge them as colonialists of the worst sort. The truth is more complicated.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong (1839-1893)

In 2008 an extraordinary event occurred. U.S. citizens elected a President who had spent several of his formative childhood years outside the United States and at the furthest reaches of the Pacific. Barack Obama garnered much criticism for his mother's decision to live in Indonesia, a place most Americans deemed beyond the bounds of U.S. influence. Nefarious rumors of "un-Americanism" circled around him. Behind much of the agitation lay the assumption that where and with whom a person spends his childhood can significantly influence one's cultural assumptions and loyalties. No such sentiment existed in the nineteenth century toward Samuel Chapman Armstrong. Hawaiian by birth, American citizen by military service, Armstrong volunteered for a job few wanted—the education of freed slaves in the Reconstruction South. Nevertheless, Armstrong's Hawaiian childhood redefined American cultural orthodoxies and affected global trajectories.²

In his last report to the Trustees of Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, the teaching college and manual labor institution Armstrong had founded in Virginia in 1868, Armstrong boasted eighty teachers and 650 boarding students, including 130 Native Americans. With the help of over 700 Hampton graduates, Armstrong estimated that close to 150,000 pupils had been reached by Hampton during the twenty-five years following the Civil War. More importantly, Armstrong's message of racial uplift through manual labor, and racial equality through generations of moral evolution, was adopted by

² Johnathan Alter, "The 'Illustrated Man'," *Newsweek* September 6, 2010, 22-25.

mentee Booker T. Washington at Tuskegee Institute, hundreds of secondary schools in the rural South, U.S. educators in colonial Hawai‘i, Puerto Rico and the Philippines, and nationalists in India and Israel.³

Many have argued that Armstrong set in motion a system of training for racial subservience that would dominate U.S. educational models for one-hundred years.

Armstrong, notes William H. Watkins, was a “colonizer for the twentieth century.” This picture is complicated by Armstrong’s youth, however. The missionary and cultural influences which affected Armstrong during his Hawaiian childhood shaped the directions Armstrong pursued as an adult.⁴

At Punahou, teacher Mary Rice explained, all boarders were expected to keep their rooms in order. Orderliness was a sign of proper development, but, Rice added, there was an additional reason: “The school was intended to be one for manual labor.” Arriving at Punahou in 1844, William and Mary Rice were charged by fellow ABCFM missionaries to help Daniel Dole teach mission children the rudiments of manual labor. Over the next ten years, William Rice instructed Punahou boarders in raising *kalo*, sweet potatoes, corn, beans, bananas and melons. As one mission parent explained in 1842, “We indulge the hope, that the school at Punahou, when fairly underway, will be an economical one. The land attached to the establishment, it is thought, will produce most

³ Armstrong made this analysis shortly before his death in May 1893 in Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 1396-1397, WC; James D. Anderson, “Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education, 1902-1935,” in *The Social History of American Education*, ed. B. Edward McClellan and William J. Reese (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 307; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai‘i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 129-130.

⁴ William H. Watkins, *The White Architects of Black Education: Ideology and Power in America, 1865-1954* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2001), 60; More recent discussions of Armstrong as southern colonizer include Jaqueline Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2007). See also Beyer, “The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai‘i.”

of the vegetables needed for the table....Under these circumstances, we trust [our children's] physical, as well as mental powers, may be properly developed." As Mary Rice later recalled, "our table was never satisfactory."⁵

Attempting to control costs, Punahou included student boarders in the process of providing for their meals. The results were mixed. "Nothing in their temporal concerns gives me so much uneasiness as the scantiness of their food at Punahou," Abner Wilcox wrote his wife in 1850. "Miss Smith may mean well, but I fear she may starve the boys. 'Make a little do,' she says." Despite Wilcox's concern for his sons' health and the apparent controversy it raised among some missionaries, Wilcox advised silence. "Mrs. Thurston feels quite as keenly as I do. She says that Thomas T. complains of hunger and has grown poor....But probably you had better say nothing about all this."⁶

For missionary parents, making a New England education affordable in the islands required manual labor. For their children, the results were sometimes damaging. One young boarder was so hungry he excused himself every morning to forage through the lunch pails of the Honolulu day scholars. Punahou's solution was to advise day scholars not to be so opulent in their daily consumption. Student John Gulick experienced physical breakdown due, he believed, to "the unduly Spartan attitude which his surroundings inculcated." Required to ring the rising bell for field work without an alarm clock, Gulick "went through unnumbered hours of wakefulness for fear that he

⁵ "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1887; Peter Gulick to Board, August 30, 1842 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM.

⁶ Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 292.

might accidentally oversleep.” By 1846 Gulick withdrew from school due to his poor health, unable to reengage in continuous schooling for the next eight years.⁷

“Punahou-hoe-hoe” students called their school. Rising before daylight students hoed weeds in the fields until 7 a.m. and again for an hour or two after supper until they could see at least two stars. After gathering their own water and changing clothes, students would study until bedtime at 9 p.m. The system warranted much comment in Punahou student newspapers. Some students had little patience for fellow students who struggled to rise early, “the best way to cure them is to give them a hoe and send them to work,” one young author wrote. Punahou “has a nice spring, which yields excellent water,” another student described. “Oh that it had better taro. Who would not get tired of having taro that was hardly fit to be boiled?” Punahou peer pressure, however, considered a boy, who “goes to the field to work, feeling out of humor because he is compelled to work and wishing all the time that it would rain or that something might happen, so that he might have an excuse for not working,” of the lowest class of character. “[I]f he knows there is no person whom he fears looking on, he gives few strokes with his hoe, and then if there are others with him of congenial disposition with his own, he enters into idle conversation with them.”⁸

Armstrong, who attended Punahou for more than a decade during the 1840-1850s, initially did not relish the manual labor system or the enforcers of it. “My own earliest recollection is of being rebuked for passing my plate for a second help,” Armstrong recalled, “and of an enforced division among my schoolmates of a delicious squid sent by

⁷ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 80-81; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 22.

⁸ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 84; Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 130; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

my father.” Armstrong also remembered farming with Mr. Rice. “Most distinct is my recollection of our manual labor drill—I did not then have it on the brain....[Mr. Rice] hit us hard sometimes, when delinquent. . . . How I hated work then, impatiently digging up the melon seeds to see if they had started!” Mrs. Rice remembered the young Armstrong as “taxing my patience in many ways.” Armstrong grew to appreciate his experiences at Punahou. “It was good discipline for which we were not then thankful.” In characteristic terms Armstrong wrote of Punahou, “The battle of life is often won at school.”⁹

Armstrong’s peers may have contributed to Armstrong’s moral evolution regarding the value of manual labor. In 1848 a contributor to the *Gazette* noted that only by giving children “practical exhibitions,” “a good literary education,” and “tools for the facilitating of mechanical operation” could parents and teachers accurately determine “what the particular turn of the child is.” Presaging Armstrong’s later views on the education of nonwhites, the writer continued, “In choosing an employment, the *capacity* should be regarded rather than the favor with which it will be likely to meet....Our Saviour was a carpenter. No matter what a man’s employment is, it is a respectful one, if he is honest, and upright in all his doings.” On the other hand, students believed missionaries represented a separate class and had the particular obligation to learn “a little of all the most important trades.” A missionary’s knowledge of medicine, agriculture and mechanics, the Punahou author argued, could save lives.¹⁰

Armstrong’s personal experience with manual labor eventually gave him a respect for the habits of character it could produce. “[F]or only as a moral uplifting force do I

⁹ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 50-53, WC; “Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society,” 1887; Samuel Chapman Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC.

¹⁰ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1848-1849, CL.

advocate such an extensive industrial system as [Hampton's], which rightly carried out may do incalculable moral good. Self made men have become so by being useful," Armstrong wrote at the end of his life. At Hampton, students worked on the school farm in the morning, went to classes in the afternoon, and studied in the evening. Hampton's beginnings were "very different from those being developed at other institutions for exslaves, where greater weight was given to academic and professional training," Jaqueline Fear-Segal notes. From its inception, Armstrong reiterated, Hampton "has been true to the idea of education by self-help."¹¹

Armstrong's application of manual labor for freed slaves and Native Americans was also distinctly rooted in the racialist ideas he developed as a child in the islands. "Our country's noblest mission is to leaven and lift up the weaker, less favored and despised classes in our midst," he argued to Americans. After touring Hawaiian schools in the 1850s with his father William Armstrong, the Hawaiian Minister of Education, Armstrong came to believe that the Hilo Boarding School represented the best means for training Hawaiian youth. Comparing Hilo Boarding School to Lahainaluna Seminary—both established by missionaries and eventually aided by the government—Samuel Armstrong argued, "The school at Lahaina has been a warning against a too exclusively mental culture of a soft and pliant race, the one at Hilo, an illustration of an equilibrium of mental, moral and industrial force."¹² Admitting that Hilo served as a model for Hampton, Armstrong explained:

The negro and the Polynesian have many striking similarities. Of both it is true that not mere ignorance, but deficiency of character is the chief

¹¹ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 620, 1402, WC; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 114-115.

¹² Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 1395, WC; Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands* (Hampton, VA, 1884).

difficulty, and that to build up character is the true objective point in education. It is also true that in all men education is conditioned not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but very largely on a routine of industrious habit, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid.¹³

In fact, the unique combination of Armstrong's childhood experiences and personality had tremendous implications. By his teenage years Armstrong was fluent in the Hawaiian language, helping to edit the *Hae Hawaii*, a Hawaiian language newspaper, and teaching Bible classes to native children. Armstrong once wrote his sister that he "never got one quarter as much real good from English preaching as I did from teaching those native children." His intimate understanding of the cultural and emotional attachments to language influenced his decision to allow native languages to be spoken at Hampton outside of work and the classroom.¹⁴

Nevertheless, Armstrong's impatient personality dictated action. Fellow Punahou student Joseph Emerson wrote, "On the playground he was the leading spirit in all athletic exercises...There was something in his personality far more influential than mere learning or scholarship." The same impulse to dig up what he had planted caused Armstrong to disdain the Hawaiian language as incompatible for use by the self-made man. "There is no ring or vigor in any of their words...theirs ripple along, and stop and play and don't attend strictly to business," he wrote. Armstrong believed the English language represented the highest moral evolution of human thought. "Savage dialects are part of a low, sensuous life that must be forsaken together with its other belongings. English is a tonic for both mind and soul," Armstrong argued. Believing language

¹³ Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*.

¹⁴ Edith Armstrong Talbot, *Samuel Chapman Armstrong: A Biographical Study* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1904), 35; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 279, WC; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 112.

influenced action, Armstrong based his advocacy of English-language instruction at Hampton, in part, on his personal relationship to the Hawaiian language.¹⁵

The same was true of his belief in educating the “weaker races” together. Not until witnessing the “friendliness between the races” in the Union Army’s contraband camps did Armstrong begin to think that Native and African Americans could be educated together. Armstrong attributed the relative congeniality between southern whites and blacks in the camps as due, “I think, to the fact that they had been brought up together, often in the most intimate way, from childhood; a surprise to me, for on missionary ground, parents with the spirit of martyrs, take every pains to prevent contact of their children with the natives around them.” Armstrong admired the familiarity he observed without completely understanding it, and he realized that the Hawaiian mission children had been deprived of a potentially-profound childhood experience. Nevertheless, Armstrong tempered his optimism, “generations will pass before prejudice is all wiped out.”¹⁶

Of course, coeducating the vast majority of black children with white children was unthinkable to Armstrong, just as educating white mission children with native Hawaiians was unthinkable to Hawaiian missionaries. Whites and African Americans were, in Armstrong’s words, “two thousand years apart in real civilization.” Armstrong’s educational philosophy of self-help collided with nineteenth-century Lamarckian ideas of race, which held that moral, behavioral and cultural traits were hereditary but moldable. “Only in generations can [the Negro] develop those guiding instincts and institutions that the Anglo Saxon has reached through ages of hard experience,” he argued. Like the

¹⁵ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 210; Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC; Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*.

¹⁶ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 524, 538, WC.

Hawaiians, African Americans “crave just the schooling that the white race has, rather than that which is adapted to their condition....They do not crave what they most need—moral strength.”¹⁷

Armstrong’s racial ideas always contained an element of class-based prejudice. It was only the “lower classes” of whites who instigated fights with freed slaves in contraband camps. More importantly, it was the Hawaiian *ali’i* (chiefly class) of the Hawaiian kingdom that constituted any hope for the continued independence of the Hawaiian nation. “While selected individuals with special opportunities may make rapid progress,” Armstrong asserted, “the main line of a people must move slowly.” As a child, Armstrong had attended the Royal School with members of the Hawaiian *ali’i*, and he allowed for the exceptionalism of the “truly kingly” native aristocracy. Yet Armstrong believed these “peers of the nobility of any age” ended with Bernice Pauahi and Queen Emma. “The mighty have fallen,” Armstrong quoted after their deaths in 1884 and 1885. Armstrong also blamed the degraded “class” of foreigners who had hastened the decay of the Hawaiian people. The young chiefs, with whom Armstrong had attended school, ultimately could not contend against foreign influence and their “a sad inheritance of instincts.” The “weak” and “ruinous” King Kalākaua and Queen Lili‘uokalani, Armstrong believed, represented the unfortunate standard of their race.¹⁸

If Armstrong discredited the last two Hawaiian monarchs, he maintained lifelong respect for the Kamehameha kings, who had welcomed his father into their government, and held even greater admiration for the Hawaiian *ali’i nui* (high chief) whose military

¹⁷ Ibid., 916-918, WC; Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*; Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC.

¹⁸ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 33, 36-37, 524, 918, WC; Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*.

might had secured the unity of the kingdom. Kamehameha I was, to Armstrong, a soldier “whose equal as warrior or ruler has never appeared in the annals of Oceanica.” The Hawaiians of old were a people whose “struggle of savage life had made brave and self-reliant,” Armstrong stated, “able to execute large enterprises, and to hold their own with men from civilized lands.”¹⁹

Armstrong’s childhood perceptions influenced his views of the importance of military bravery. Armstrong’s childhood home in Honolulu stood at the foot of Punch Bowl. On top of this extinct crater sat the royal Hawaiian battery of fifteen sixty-pound cannon that “often fired national salutes... and made the windows and dishes rattle.” As a child Armstrong “thought the place impregnable.” Armstrong and his brother William built miniature cannon, fired powder, and played war. Years later when Armstrong met White Ghost, Iron Bull and other American Indian chiefs, he noted that they “strikingly resemble the old Hawaiians, both as to personal presence and bearing, and in character and thought.” The “manliness” and courageousness that “characterized the Hawaiian rulers in all their dealings with the representatives of foreign powers in the early days,” Armstrong compared, “were like the Indians, who have been conquered but never subdued.”²⁰

As strongly as Armstrong praised early Hawaiian statecraft and warfare, he criticized the “missionary period.” Despite his close relationship with the American missionaries, including his parents, Armstrong decried their neglect of “practical training of the whole life.” Segregating the education of Hawaiian youth by sex and ignoring professional training for the sake of theological instruction had left Hawaiians untrained

¹⁹ Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*.

²⁰ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 28-29, WC; Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*.

in the practice of Christian morals, Armstrong believed. “Morally, they are weak; industrially, they are slow,” he argued. “People become trustworthy by being trusted; they learn to swim by going into the water.” Regarding his mission peers, Armstrong confirmed, “The Puritanical ideas and ways of the missionary fathers have not been generally followed by their children.” His own experience in coeducational boarding at Punahou School, and his general distaste for missionaries who relayed impractical theology like “galvanized mumm[ies],” influenced his later efforts to coeducate African-American men and women, as well as Indian boys and girls.²¹

Armstrong’s energy and zest for the “active” life were personal traits he inherited from his mother Clarissa Armstrong. “I have felt a peculiar gift of grit and strength that seemed not myself but my mother in me,” he once wrote. Punahou peers commented on this “spirit and purpose,” and classmates at Williams College elected Armstrong president of their literary society in 1862. Armstrong also was popular with American women, writing home about the social calls he had made and joking about falling in and out of love. With one “extremely saucy” young secessionist Armstrong enjoyed “having a good deal of sport.” She “wants me to call,” he wrote his mother in the islands. “You see, I’m still myself.”²²

When Armstrong arrived in the United States in 1860 to attend Williams, he entered the college with junior standing. Two years later he graduated fifth in his class, the four students above him, he noted, “all valedictorians from the finest preparatory schools in Massachusetts.” At Williams, Armstrong attracted the attention of its

²¹ Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*; Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 136, WC.

²² Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 210; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 353, WC.

president, Mark Hopkins. The two were similar in many ways. Hopkins emphasized character above theology and exuded charisma. “I never saw his equal; he is essentially a man of power,” Armstrong described Hopkins. “Pres. makes a man *think*, and think quickly too.” Hopkins clearly had high regard for Armstrong. Armstrong became the first student invited to live with the Hopkins family, “an advantage that not one in college has but me,” he reported. Hopkins apparently trusted Armstrong enough to leave his house to him while traveling. “We young folks will take possession of the house and next summer we’ll have rich times,” Armstrong joked.²³

If Armstrong’s temperament, which he described as “sunny,” attracted American mentors and peers, it also tended to hide anxiety. Martha Chamberlain once commented that Armstrong’s sister Caroline had inherited her mother’s “excitable disposition.” Whether Armstrong also inherited such anxiousness, his letters reveal ongoing concern over his and his mother’s future. With Richard Armstrong’s untimely death from a fall off his horse in 1860, Armstrong felt an obligation to provide for his mother. Like other mission children he looked with uneasiness toward the ministry. “I shall not, probably, enter the ministry—am not made for a preacher,” Armstrong wrote his mother. “I would rather *minister* than be a minister.”²⁴

Armstrong looked to California and even New York City for openings in business. “I expect to begin at the bottom of the ladder and work along—don’t expect to study a profession,” he wrote. At Williams Armstrong called himself an “exile” and got “sick” of all the questions people asked him about the islands. “Life here is strangely different from what it is at the Islands,” he wrote. “I do not hesitate to say that its

²³ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 126, 133, 136, 210, 325, WC.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 488, 742, WC; Martha Chamberlain, correspondence, December 23, 1851, HMCS.

tendency is demoralizing—lost as one is in the great throng.” When visiting his brother William in New York City, Armstrong would sing loudly as he walked down Broadway—“no one hears me and often I don’t hear myself.” He considered becoming a missionary. “I can never be Yankeeified,” Armstrong declared to his brother Baxter in 1861. “I feel now entirely unsettled as to my future home and prospects.”²⁵

Two events directed Armstrong’s path. Like many mission children, the accession of King Lot to the throne in 1863 created for Armstrong a “miserable government.” Armstrong felt so strongly about the turn in Hawaiian political events that he thought “less and less about going back.” Simultaneously, U.S. President Abraham Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, promising to elevate the American Civil War into a cause to which Armstrong could commit. “Possibly God will crown our arms with success after the 1st of January,” Armstrong wrote in December 1862, “for then we shall be fighting for a principle. I am curious to see what will turn up.”²⁶

On the eve of the American Civil War, Armstrong had written his sister, “Political excitement runs very high here, but I wonder at my own indifference to it....I take less interest in American politics here than I did at the Islands.” Armstrong also had tended to sympathize with Southern secessionist arguments. “The Union is to me little or nothing; I see no great principle necessarily involved in it.” Nevertheless, Armstrong believed four million slaves and the principle of “universal freedom” were worth a fight. “I believe the whole world cannot buy a single soul,” he wrote a friend. Like many Americans, Armstrong still had confidence in the Union’s abilities nearly one year into

²⁵ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories*, 115, 125, 148, 193, 204, 219, 449, WC.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 193, 288, WC.

the war. “We are expecting a great, decisive battle before very long, but people don’t feel very much anxiety, as so much confidence is had in McClellan,” Armstrong assured his family, “there is very little prospect of Will’s and my going to war.”²⁷

Armstrong’s emotional attachment to the war effort grew after visiting New York City with his sister shortly after the fall of Fort Sumter. “Thousands wear badges on the breast, of one kind and another, indicating allegiance to the flag.” Watching the departure of New York’s Seventh Regiment from a third-story window, Armstrong recorded it was “perhaps the sublimest spectacle New York ever saw.” Caught up in the crowd’s excitement, Armstrong declared, “[E]ven we cannibals intend to adopt the red, white and blue ribbon instead of the plain red as our full national costume.” Armstrong noticed that the “most delicate and beautiful girls are perfectly inspired with the war spirit and burn to follow the noble Seventh and nurse them and others.” Armstrong concluded, “I will go to the war if I am needed but not till then—were I an American, as I am a Hawaiian, I should be off in a hurry.”²⁸

By the time Armstrong graduated from Williams College in 1862, the war had changed. “The Northern cause is dark,” Armstrong wrote his mother, “men enlist very slowly, and all must come forward; drafting will soon begin.” Armstrong decided to join. “We must fight! The next breeze from the South will bring to our ears an urgent request for more men.” With no other business prospects on the horizon, Armstrong admitted that he had not “learned to love the negro,” but justified his decision to enlist as a “sort of abolition[ism] . . . I go in, then for freeing [the slaves], more on account of their souls than their bodies.” Armstrong had been taught abolition as a child in Hawai‘i by

²⁷ Ibid., 125, 193, 395, WC.

²⁸ Ibid., 141-144, WC.

missionary Jonathan Green, “who always prayed for, and often preached about slavery in America.” The first African-American minister Armstrong met was in Honolulu. The Civil War gave Armstrong a reason to join the United States.²⁹

Always relishing the fight and preferring to be near the front where “it brings out all the truly heroic and noble in one’s nature, and one sloughs off certain dregs of habit,” Armstrong admitted, “the curse of war in its reality is a disheartening, dreadful thing—the ground itself seems cursed under it.” Twice taken prisoner-of-war, Armstrong “stabbed pigs, and lived,” shamed by rebels who gnawed the bones of discarded Union rations, and fought “not for money but for their homes.” Armstrong was disgusted by Union officers who “skulked behind” houses in the heat of battle, realizing, “Our system of munificent bounties and fine clothing diverts us from the principle for which we are contending, and few of us really know what we are fighting for.”³⁰

After nearly five months in the service, Armstrong still had received no pay. President Lincoln’s announcement in September 1862 of an “emancipation proclamation,” freeing all confederate slaves as of January 1, 1863, energized Armstrong to continue. He wrote, “so long as this war is to sustain the President’s proclamation, *I am in for it*. I am willing to fight in so noble a cause. If his proclamation shall be canceled in any way, I think I shall resign.”³¹

Armstrong remained in the U.S. army, and, in 1864, witnessed the battle at Gettysburg. Toward the end of his life, Armstrong revealed that Gettysburg remained one of the “chief pictures in my mental gallery...a proof and a sign of God.” Writing to his mother on July 5, 1864, Armstrong exclaimed, “The Rebels are fleeing and the bands

²⁹ Ibid., 28, 228, 283, WC.

³⁰ Ibid., 254, 264, 319, 397, WC.

³¹ Ibid., 288, 294, WC.

are playing the ‘Star Spangled Banner.’ The Army of the Potomac has given the enemy the handsomest thrashing they ever got. Lee is in a tight place and if all goes well he’ll never get back to Virginia.” Armstrong recorded that the dead were “lying like ‘ocean weeds heaped on the surf-beaten shore.’” Three times during the battle, Captain Armstrong charged, twice leading. “I did not allow a man to get ahead of me,” he told his mother, advising her not to share the letter outside the family as it was “too egotistical.”³²

Armstrong’s regiment lost 136 of 302 men at Gettysburg. “The slaughter was awful on both sides, but the rebs lost many more than we,” he wrote. “I cannot describe the battlefield—the dead—the wounded—the piteous groans and the prayers of agony that went up to heaven all night and day.” Armstrong’s conduct at Gettysburg earned him a promotion to Major. In November 1863 he wrote home, “I have been appointed by the President of the United States a Lieutenant Colonel in the 9th Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops.” Armstrong explained why he had examined for the position: “The Negro troops have not yet entirely proved themselves good soldiers; and if the negroes can be made to fight well, then is the question of their freedom settled.”³³

One day Armstrong heard someone calling “Kamuela” (Samuel) and turned to see a “grinning Kanaka,” serving in a colored brigade. “A thousand of them [native Hawaiians] could easily have been enlisted for the Union army...had not the law forbidden their leaving the Islands,” Armstrong proudly noted. He apparently missed the irony of dark-skinned soldiers joining together to fight against white oppressors. Armstrong was soon promoted to Colonel of the 8th Regiment of U.S. Colored Troops

³² Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories*, 316-318, 322, WC.

³³ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories*, 320-321, 350-352, WC.

and, finally, Brevet Brigadier General of Volunteers, a position, he wrote, “which was entirely unexpected—I have made no effort to get it.”³⁴ Of his African-American troops

Armstrong concluded:

The [N]egro rallied grandly to the duty required. There was, as there has been ever since, more in him than we expected to find, and more than his old masters ever dreamed of. The question about men is not so much what is their innate capacity, but what are the conditions in which they live....heredity is a power in life, but...it is secondary, decidedly, to the surroundings of a man....knowing as they did the difficulty of the way and the certainty of death before them, not one man faltered. Such experience of the Negro soldier through two years, gave me a basis of hope to begin the work at Hampton.³⁵

In 1865, on the day of his third full year of service in the U.S. Army, Armstrong became a U.S. citizen. “The thought was tremendous! To be forever under the shelter of the broad pinions of the American Eagle!” he wrote. “[T]his is a thought too immense to be grappled at once, but enough to excite the profoundest emotions.” Unconcerned with American politics just four years before, Armstrong now wrote his sister Carrie, “There may be a place for me in the struggle for right and wrong in this country.” That place turned out to be Hampton Institute in Virginia, created under the auspices of the American Missionary Association and directed by Armstrong until his death in 1893.³⁶

Armstrong’s Americanization was never complete. Armstrong detested the profaneness of Union soldiers, the ostentatious displays of money in New York City, and the emasculating schooling of American children, where “shoes and cloth and money are too plenty.” He also condemned Northerners for their attitude toward Reconstruction. “I cannot understand the prevailing view of the war among even pious and intelligent Americans,—it is simply barbaric to whip the South and go home rejoicing to build

³⁴ Ibid., 31, 352-353, 409, 438, WC.

³⁵ Ibid., 492, 499, WC.

³⁶ Ibid., 480-481, WC; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 103, fn 101.

monuments of victory, leaving one-third of their countrymen in the depths of distress,” he criticized.³⁷

Armstrong reserved his harshest condemnation for American slavery and the U.S. treatment of American Indians, “The aborigines of America and the forcibly imported natives of Africa furnish a singularly tragic chapter in American life unique in the history of the world,” he revealed. As an outsider Armstrong clearly saw what few Americans would admit: “The mass of wealth in our country is as unresponsive as the pyramids of Egypt to the cry of these unfortunate races....whose labor underlies our wealth and upon whose land we are living in luxury.” Ten years after achieving American citizenship, Armstrong wrote to Punahou students, “A Hawaiian cannot become a thoroughly rooted American. We may be buried in smoke and dust and work for years, but something like the roar of a distant surf is always sounding in our ears.”³⁸

Yet Armstrong felt sufficiently American to consider running for U.S. Congress in Virginia in 1869, and he supported American annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. “I have watched eagerly for news and have been sorry no annexation is proposed,” he wrote in 1873. “Prosperity under Uncle Sam is better than poverty under Prince Bill [Lunalilo].” After visiting the islands in 1880, Armstrong commented he was eager to return to the United States, “I like the arena with its dust, detail and drudgery better, after all, than these delectable mountains.”³⁹

Just before his death Armstrong wrote that he was “most thankful for my parents, my Hawaiian home, for war experiences and college days at Williams, and for life and work at Hampton.” While each of these experiences shaped Armstrong’s approach to

³⁷ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 753, WC.

³⁸ Ibid., 856, 1404, WC; Qtd. in Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 314-315.

³⁹ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 700, 749-750, 861, WC.

American race relations, Armstrong's efforts were most decidedly the product of his bicultural upbringing. The question is not whether Armstrong practiced a paternalist educational philosophy. He did. The question is whether the Hawaiian cultural context of Armstrong's childhood mitigated that philosophy relative to his white American contemporaries. Above all, Hampton was a reflection of Armstrong. Armstrong's service in the Union Army awakened him to the active, disciplined life his personality craved and provided a rigorous structure for his Hampton students. Armstrong ran Hampton with military discipline and emphasized "promptness, deportment, and obedience to authority." He viewed his Hampton work as warfare: "The stake of my destiny is planted here. . . . [T]his is part of the war, on a higher plane and with spiritual weapons; it will not soon end and success is yet to be won."⁴⁰

Yet more than the war, Armstrong was influenced by the Hawaiian nation and his parents' missionary mindset. "Nations like individuals choose their own fate," Armstrong argued in 1880. Speaking of the Hawaiian kingdom, he continued, "Let Hawaii work out her own salvation." Armstrong believed the Hawaiian kingdom would rise or fall depending upon the morality of its people. Like most mission children Armstrong saw a role for "white natives," and specifically the mission descendants, in leading the Hawaiian kingdom into its future, but Armstrong maintained a strong appreciation for the uniqueness of Hawaiian—as well as African and Native American—culture. Just as Armstrong as a Punahou student began the *Oahu College Monthly*, a newspaper dedicated to collecting legends, traditions, and *meles* from the Hawaiian Islands, Armstrong published an Indian student newspaper at Hampton, designed to

⁴⁰ Ibid., 753, 1407; Beyer, "The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai'i," 33.

preserve native traditions, and opened an African and Indian museum at the school to “stimulate race pride.” Part of Armstrong’s agenda included training teachers unafraid to work and, thus, willing to “go to the country, where the majority of the Negro population lives....where those more daintily fed and highly polished might flinch or fail.” Regarding his Indian students Armstrong worried that “over-education may break the race tie...and make [the Indian] a man without a country.”⁴¹

Nevertheless, Armstrong believed that native, African and white Americans constituted one nation. “All men, white, black or red, on our continent are engaged in a physical and moral struggle,” he wrote. “The annual reinforcement from schools and colleges sent yearly into the midst of this struggle, is the hope of the races and of the nation.” Armstrong’s race theories did not exempt white Americans: “Even the white man is not through his blundering period.” As a U.S. citizen Armstrong believed, “Emancipated Afr[ican]-Americans and Christianized Indian citizens are our greatest national glory.” Ultimately, Armstrong supported the U.S. absorption of Indian reservations into the larger, white culture, his stated goal to “help make good citizens for the country.”⁴²

As important as his understanding of race was Armstrong’s commitment to Christianity. At the heart of Armstrong’s manual labor enterprise at Hampton was his desire to train students to live moral lives according to his Christian faith and missionary upbringing. “Real progress is not in increase of wealth or power, but in gain in wisdom,

⁴¹ Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 218-219; Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 113; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 922, WC; Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Indian Education at Hampton, Va* (New York: G. F. Nesbitt & Co., 1881), 5.

⁴² Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 898, 912, 1399, 1404, WC; Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *Report of a Trip Made in Behalf of the Indian Rights Association, to Some Indian Reservations of the Southwest* (Philadelphia: Indian Rights Association, 1884), 24-25.

in self control, in guiding principles and in Christian ideas,” Armstrong stated. The “only way to make [students] good Christians” was through “labor as a moral force.” School, Armstrong believed, should simulate “a little world in itself,” mingling “hard day’s work in field or shop with social pleasures; making success depend upon behavior rather than on study marks.”⁴³

It was a faith to which Armstrong steadfastly adhered. “I was born in Wailuku, but was born again at Punahou,” Armstrong wrote of his childhood Christian conversion. “I believe implicitly in the spiritual powers.” With intimate knowledge of the American missionary enterprise, Armstrong concluded, “The fate of the native [Hawaiian] depends on his morality, not on his intellect.” Believing the same to be true for African and Native Americans, Armstrong sought to fill his Hampton students “full of the spirit of missionary work.” As one alumni remembered, “General Armstrong always made us feel that Hampton students ‘gathered to scatter’.” Sent out to spread a message of Christian character through practical living, Hampton graduates were taking a gospel Armstrong molded according to the dictates of his personality, parental influence and bicultural experience. Unfortunately, the influence of the American missionaries in Hawai‘i held the strongest effect. Christian civilization among the American Indians, Armstrong believed, would be reflected by “good, decently furnished houses,” property ownership, proper clothing, and “not a blanket or a wild Indian among them.” These were messages he had heard his entire life.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 619, 899, 918, WC; Armstrong, *Indian Education at Hampton, Va.*, 6.

⁴⁴ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 53, 628-629, WC; Armstrong, editorial correspondence, 1880, WC; Beyer, “The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai‘i,” 43; Robert Francis Engs, *Educating the Disfranchised and Disinherited: Samuel Chapman Armstrong and Hampton Institute, 1839-1893* (Knoxville: University

The practical impact of Armstrong's beliefs has been well documented. While Armstrong would have been horrified at the suggestion he was establishing a national system of racial subordination, Northern philanthropists, crucial to the support of Hampton, saw in the manual labor model an opportunity for trained, non-unionized, agricultural labor and, thus, a way to maintain a U.S. monopoly on the international cotton trade. "We cannot afford to lose the Negro. We have urgent need of all and of more," stated Andrew Carnegie. With a declining national will to invest in Southern reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow in the South, northern philanthropic investment in rural industrial schools became the primary option for Southern secondary education. By the 1930s industrial training was the "sole source of public secondary education" in nearly a third of all Southern counties.⁴⁵

U.S. educators also took the Hampton and Tuskegee models overseas to U.S. colonial possessions. Estelle Reel, U.S. superintendent of Indian schools from 1898 to 1910, used Tuskegee as the model for her 1901 *Uniform Course of Study*, standardized curriculum distributed to American Indian schools, as well as colonial schools in Puerto Rico and the Philippines. Yet Armstrong's self-help pedagogy at Hampton, influenced by his manual labor experience at Punahou, also influenced the Indian nationalist movement. By the early twentieth century, Mohandas Gandhi, impressed with Hampton

of Tennessee Press, 1999), 135; Armstrong, *Report of a Trip Made in Behalf of the Indian Rights Association, to Some Indian Reservations of the Southwest*, 24.

⁴⁵ In his last report to Hampton Trustees shortly before his death, Armstrong wrote, "No one who has taught them doubts the capacity of the Negroes for higher education. . . . There was and is no need of the higher education here when every northern college is, open to the capable earnest colored student." See Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 1398, WC; Anderson, "Northern Foundations and the Shaping of Southern Black Rural Education, 1902-1935," 293, 307.

and Tuskegee Institutes as methods of racial uplift, experimented with self-sustaining education, rural training, and manual arts.⁴⁶

“The names of General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington are very great names of service and sacrifice,” Gandhi stated, “I want our educated friends to realize this. I want them also to realize that when they are propagating intellectual culture, they must also inculcate the principle of dignity of labour as is done in those institutions.” Gandhi believed that Indian children did not need an English education. They needed vocational training for their predominantly rural environment. Because the cost of education for a newly-decolonized state would be crippling, Gandhi advocated self-supporting education. “[Students] would not only repay the expenses incurred in the schools but would turn that training to use in after life,” Gandhi wrote, “No originality is claimed for the method advocated here. Booker T. Washington tried it with considerable success.”⁴⁷

Gandhi’s early attempts at self-supporting, rural education included the Tolstoy Farm outside Johannesburg in South Africa. From 1910 to 1914 Gandhi educated 70-80 Indian residents, including 20-30 children, at the farm. The adults, all participants in nonviolent resistance, wanted a place to provide support for their families in case of their arrest. Residents, including children, worked daily at farming, gardening and forest clearing. They also learned tailoring and sandal making. Boys and girls, ages seven to twenty, rose at six, worked until eleven, and studied geography, history, arithmetic and

⁴⁶ Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States*, 129; William Stuart Nelson, "The Tradition of Nonviolence and Its Underlying Forces," *The Journal of Religious Thought* Summer-Autumn (1959): 121-136.

⁴⁷ Qtd. in Vol. 39 (June 4, 1927-September 1, 1927) and Vol. 46 (May 12, 1929-August 31, 1929) in Gandhi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Online* (New Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1990), 333, 257-258.

writing until five. Each day ended with communal religious readings and hymns.

Gandhi had been influenced by Armstrong's *Education for Life*. The "building of character," Gandhi wrote in his autobiography, is the "foundation" of education. Tolstoy Farm, writes one scholar, was the "training ground" for Gandhi's nationalism and leadership in India.⁴⁸

Gandhi's educational efforts were intimately linked to his view of nonviolence. "We have to make [Indian children] true representatives of our culture, our civilization, of the true genius of our nation." He said. "We cannot do so otherwise than by giving them a course of self-supporting primary education." Gandhi believed that Armstrong's work at Hampton Institute was "worth studying by all." Hampton and Tuskegee, Gandhi noted, elevated the "dignity of manual labour."⁴⁹

Several decades later, delegates from India, studying agricultural and industrial education, also visited the Ben Shemen Youth Village in Palestine. Established by Siegfried Lehmann in 1927, the agricultural boarding school was designed to draw Jewish youth from Europe and Asia to Palestine to participate in a Zionist, nation-building program. As Yitzhak Kashti notes, "youth villages and kibbutz youth groups helped them to integrate and become part of the emerging Israeli identity."⁵⁰

Lehmann desired to acculturate youth into an Israeli consciousness and was influenced in Berlin by American social settlement efforts. His boarding school at Ben

⁴⁸ Surendra Bhana, "The Tolstoy Farm: Gandhi's Experiment in 'Co-Operative Commonwealth'," *South African Historical Journal* 7, no. 1 (1975): 88-100; Qtd. in Vol. 72 (July 6, 1937-February 20, 1938) in Gandhi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Online*, 361; Mohandas K. Gandhi, *An Autobiography: The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1957), 333-334.

⁴⁹ Qtd. in Vol. 72 and Vol. 61 (April 27, 1933-October 7, 1933) in Gandhi, *Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi Online*, 361-362, 287-288.

⁵⁰ *In Memory of Doctor Siegfried Lehmann, 1892-1958*, (Boston: Children to Palestine, 1958), 6; Kashti, *Boarding Schools at the Crossroads of Change: The Influence of Residential Education Institutions on National and Societal Development*, 56.

Shemen became the model for the Zionist Youth Aliyah, an organization that brought to Palestine thirty thousand children during the 1930s and 1940s to help settle the region. The children, many from Germany and Austria, were fifteen years or older and had the permission of their parents. The Youth Aliyah was committed to the idea that productive work, especially agriculture, was crucial to the formation of character and nationalism, the organization's stated goal to "impar[t] to the youth the value of productivity in fulfilling the Zionist ideal, and above all implan[t] in them the awareness that work has to be done on the basis of the reality prevailing in the land and according to its requirements." A fifteen-year old girl described her experience at Ben Shemen, "I...learn half a day and work half a day. In Iraq Jewish girls did not use to do agricultural work and therefore I did not like it at first. But now I enjoy the work very much and every morning I look forward to see my seedlings again and I tend to them as if they were children."⁵¹

Samuel Armstrong was not the first American to link race, nationhood, and responsible citizenship to agricultural production and land ownership. After all seventeenth-century New England Puritans through early nineteenth-century Jeffersonian Democrats had argued similarly. Yet Armstrong was the first in the United States to demonstrate the "success" of manual labor education. "We are ahead and alone;—the ground is new," he wrote his mother in 1868. Manual education would continue to influence educational policies into the twentieth century. In the United States and its colonial possessions, Armstrong's advocates infused fear and prejudice into the industrial education system. In South Africa, Gandhi offered hope. In Palestine, Zionists

⁵¹ Iraqi boarder qtd. in *In Memory of Doctor Siegfried Lehmann, 1892-1958*, 4-5; The Youth Aliyah's 1937 Convention qtd. in Kashti, *Boarding Schools at the Crossroads of Change: The Influence of Residential Education Institutions on National and Societal Development*, 71-74, 78.

transformed the political landscape with disciplined zeal. Armstrong could not have predicted all the cultural contexts in which a system he advocated would be tried. Yet he would have clearly understood the complicated relationship between nation and race which infused these manual labor experiments.⁵²

Sanford Ballard Dole (1844-1926)

Unlike Armstrong who welcomed American citizenship and made the United States his home, Sanford Ballard Dole attended college and law school in the United States with a clear desire to return to the Hawaiian Islands. As Paul A. Kramer notes of the experiences of Kwame Nkrumah, Sayyid Qutb and Isoroku Yamamoto, foreign exchange students who utilized their American educations without accepting American foreign policies, Dole's political career in the islands also reflects the limits of U.S. cultural transmission through international college exchange. Despite the U.S. citizenship of his parents and his status as a white native in the islands, Dole never viewed himself as an American, and his life exemplifies a reluctant acceptance of U.S. international power.⁵³

Born at Punahou School to Emily and Daniel Dole, Sanford Dole's earliest years were marked by tragedy and transiency. Just days after her son's birth, Emily Dole died, and Dole was removed from his father and two-year old brother George. First taken by Honolulu missionaries Levi and Maria Chamberlain, Dole was soon transferred to Ewa to

⁵² For Puritan New Englanders' views of land use see Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*. For a discussion on early Jeffersonian Democrats and their heirs, the Democratic Party of the 1840s, see Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire*; Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 628-629, WC.

⁵³ Paul A. Kramer, "Is the World Our Campus? International Students and U.S. Global Power in the Long Twentieth Century," *Diplomatic History* 33, no. 5 (2009): 782.

live with Artemas and Delia Bishop. Two years later Dole returned to his father and new stepmother Charlotte Knapp Dole. The one constant in Dole's early life was the presence of a Hawaiian wet nurse. Dole later remarked, "I am of American blood but Hawaiian milk." Perhaps these experiences taught a degree of independence to Dole. His stepmother commented upon first meeting the toddler, "he exhibits a good degree of resoluteness." Dole certainly remembered the aid these mission families gave his family. As Punahou students Dole and his brother George took turns walking across the plain each day to help a widowed Maria Chamberlain milk her cows. Dole, who by age two called himself "Sanfa Balla Dole Bishop," also "vividly" remembered his entire life the day Daniel and Charlotte Dole rode into the Bishops' yard and carried him back to Punahou.⁵⁴

As a student at Punahou, Dole imbibed the same messages fellow missionary children did. Principal Daniel Dole's belief that the racial character of the islands was inevitably changing, and Dole's desire to teach the mission children "to become part of a new nation" was not lost on his son Sanford. Sanford Dole, who watched his father work in the Punahou fields during school vacations to offset the cost of board for students, had a lifelong respect for the school's mission. During Punahou's first one-hundred years, Dole was the longest-serving trustee, helping administer the institution for forty-eight years.⁵⁵

When Daniel Dole resigned from Punahou in 1855, Sanford left with him. Father homeschooled son for the next eight years until Sanford returned to Punahou in 1863 to

⁵⁴ Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 19-20; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 107, 209; Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp*, 15.

⁵⁵ Daniel Dole, correspondence, July 1844 (ABC 19.1), ABCFM; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 157, 404-405.

take a year of college courses. When the younger Dole arrived at Williams College in 1866, he entered the institution as a senior, the only Punahou student to achieve the distinction. One missionary groused to the Board, “Had I a classical and finished education like my brother, the Rev. D. Dole, I might as he does his two children, educate all at home, thus saving much expense, having his private English school for foreigners’ children and a [pension] of \$450.”⁵⁶

The shortness of Dole’s stay at Williams may have negated some of its cultural impact, yet despite the brevity of his American collegiate experience, Dole was anxious to return home to the Hawaiian Islands, and Williams College President Mark Hopkins encouraged his leanings. “I have decided to study law, with reference to practicing at Honolulu,” Dole wrote to his parents in 1866, “I look upon it as a possible stepping stone to influence and power in the Government, where they need good men.” The decision deeply disappointed his parents who wished Dole to return as a pastor to the natives. “[I]t is too late to change my plans,” he answered them.⁵⁷

Like many mission children, Dole was critical of the American missionary experiment in Hawai‘i. “I think that the reason that the old missionaries have so little influence...is because they thunder at [the people] too much from the pulpit, and shun them too much in the affairs of daily life,” Dole wrote his stepmother from the United States in 1868. “I believe whether I may be talented or not, I can be thoroughly honest,” Dole told his parents, “a good man could, I think, do more for the nation for morality and justice than preaching to the natives.” Dole ultimately rejected the Congregationalist

⁵⁶ *Oahu College Directory, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1841-1916*; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 401; Damon, ed. *Letters from the Life of Abner and Lucy Wilcox, 1836-1869*, 360-361.

⁵⁷ Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 40; Qtd. in Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp*, 2.

creed, to the apparent dismay of his parents. “I find, I think, less of sectarian differences; that I judge men not by their creeds but by their lives,” Dole wrote them. “I don’t know as I make you understand clearly how I feel.”⁵⁸

While in the United States, Dole held similar views of American culture as his “cannibal” friends. Dole regularly attended the meetings of fellow “cannibals” at Williams and during his law studies in Boston. The “cousins” debated the morality of dancing and card playing, and Dole wrote his parents about the American dance craze, asking whether it might be acceptable to dance with girls. Dole ingratiated himself among Boston’s scientific elite by donating to Harvard his personal collection of Hawaiian crania. At Williams Dole was elected senior class president. Yet Dole’s continued dissatisfaction with the United States reflected his deep distaste for rootlessness. Dole called himself a “Hawaiian exile” and lamented the loss of fellow cousins to the American West, “that fabled, boundless land, wither so many of them go, and whence so very few return.”⁵⁹

Athletics was the one arena of U.S. culture that garnered Dole’s praise. Condemning what he believed to be the effeminate passion for croquet among whites in the Hawaiian Islands, Dole noted the rigorous athletic training and Olympic-style games held on most American college campuses. Dole praised calisthenics for women, commenting that the islands were “far behind other parts of the world in these things,” and argued that athletic skill should rank “fairly with a prize for trigonometry or the dead languages.” Like his American counterpart Theodore Roosevelt, who praised “barbarian

⁵⁸ Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 40, 53-55.

⁵⁹ Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 276; Sanford Dole, correspondence, November 29, 1867, HMCS; Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp*, 57-58, 63.

virtues” and the “strenuous life,” Dole believed rowing, cricketing, baseball and football were “means of grace” and necessary for “muscular Christianity.” Just as Roosevelt would criticize Cleveland’s refusal to annex the Hawaiian Islands in 1894 as effeminate weakness, Dole believed white civilization had effeminized the islands. “We found the Hawaiians an athletic race, rejoicing, during the breathing spells of the noble pastime of war, in games requiring severe physical training,” Dole complained at the age of twenty-five, “From our example, or from some other cause than the climate, almost every one of these games is now extinct.”⁶⁰

In his criticism of Hawaiian society, Dole often directed blame at white Hawaiian residents. Arriving back in the islands as a young attorney, Dole, along with “cousin” Alfred Castle and friend Thomas Walker, began *The Punch Bowl*, an anonymous newspaper which ran from July 1869 through October 1870. *Punch Bowl* editorials were always sarcastic and generally directed at a white audience. The editors criticized, for example, white planters destroying Hawaiian forests. “If the plan is merely to make all that is possible in ten or twelve years of hard work, and leave the next generation to look out for itself, then it seems that they go to work in the right way,” *The Punch Bowl* remarked in August 1869. The next month, Dole and his friends took on the islands’ upper class: “The idleness of individuals in all stations and places, makes salaries lower and bread higher; so it is the idle in any community who should be despised, and not they who labor.” The authors questioned why a “boy of twelve years can tell you to a nicety

⁶⁰ Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, 100, 184; Children of the Mission Collection, *Punch Bowl*, August 1869 and January 1870, HMCS.

the last quotations for gold on the Coast, and his younger sister is *au fait* as to the number of engagements contracted at the last ball.”⁶¹

Dole did not neglect the missionaries in his judgments. Isn't *The Friend* “a little, just a little, behind the times?” the *Punch Bowl* asked about the missionary publication in 1870. In taking on the Christian orthodox view of divorce, Dole argued, “To hold that, because marriage is a divine institution to dissolve it in any case is wrong, is a great mistake. It is very evident that there are many legal marriages which do not contain one particle of the divine principle of marriage. . . . [D]oes it help the matter to continue the wrongs?” Dole reserved particularly harsh criticism for those “calling themselves Christians” who profited from distilleries. “No true Christian,—one who loves his fellow men,—will either own or work distilleries or furnish anything to be distilled,” Dole declared. “Intemperance,” Dole stated, was “as great an evil...as slavery.”⁶²

Dole's bent toward resoluteness and his attraction to the law also caused him to hold the Hawaiian monarchy in high regard. The fact that the Hawaiian monarchy had willingly created a constitution and legislature limiting its power, and continued to live under it, deeply influenced Dole's thinking. Kamehameha III's 1839 Bill of Rights was “not wrung from an unwilling Sovereign by force of arms, but the free surrender of despotic power by a wise and generous ruler,” Dole wrote. The Great Mahele, Dole commended, resulted from “the earnestness and patriotism of the King and chiefs, who cheerfully made great sacrifices of authority.” The 1853 Hawaiian constitution forbade slavery, Dole noted, “ten years before this enlightened policy was followed by the United States.” Dole also respected the concept of royalty, supporting a legislative increase in

⁶¹ *Punch Bowl*, August 1869, September 1869, and January 1870, HMCS.

⁶² *Ibid.*, May 1870, August 1870, and October 1870, HMCS.

the King's salary in 1870. "It must be evident to any candid minded man that the present appropriation for that purpose is ridiculously small, and entirely inadequate for keeping up the style due to royalty," *The Punch Bowl* stated. Dole found no reason to look to the United States, "a president is not a king, and his expenses can be no guide to us."⁶³

Dole also commended the native Hawaiian population for its history of exploration and generosity. "Would Columbus have sailed west from Spain without a compass?" Dole asked Americans to consider in 1920, as he detailed the navigational expertise of Hawaiians. The Hawaiian people, Dole noted, fed, schooled and churched California "in the first years after its annexation," gave Oregon its first printing press, and "furnished the United States with sailors and soldiers in its Civil War." Celebrating the fortieth-anniversary of Punahou in 1881, Dole invited guests to his home to eat *poi*, *luau*, and Hawaiian fruit, a meal he knew would be appreciated only by "those who were true *kama'āinas*."⁶⁴

From his first years back in the islands, Dole was concerned with the issue of Hawaiian labor. Even before he returned, Dole had admonished his mother from the United States to "be sure that the men are well paid for their work." In Dole's condemnation of the Masters and Servants Act, Dole revealed himself to be deeply possessive of the independent Hawaiian kingdom, as well as Hawaiian citizenship. The 1850 act allowed Hawaiian planters to sign foreign labor to contracts of up to five years. The contracts were binding even if signed outside the islands. Violation of a contract could result in lengthened service, restitution, or prison and hard labor. Dole, who had

⁶³ Sanford Ballard Dole, "Evolution of Hawaiian Land Tenures Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, December 5, 1892," in *Papers of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (Milford, NY: Kraus Reprint Co., 1978), 12, 18; Sanford B. Dole, "Hawaii before the World," *The Friend* June 1920; *Punch Bowl*, March 1870, HMCS.

⁶⁴ Dole, "Hawaii before the World"; Alexander and Dodge, *Punahou, 1841-1941*, 355.

just witnessed reconstruction in the United States, condemned the labor system he encountered in the islands. “The words so often heard during the last few years, ‘I did not like my Chinaman, so I sold him last week,’ or ‘I have bought a new cook,’ smack too disagreeably of the Southern institution for us to pass lightly by,” Dole wrote in 1869.⁶⁵

Dole saw around him what his father had predicted over two decades before. The native population, devastated by disease and dislocation, was giving way to foreigners. White plantation owners were bringing in Chinese and Japanese laborers under the contract system to fill the demand for plantation labor, but Dole worried that contract labor did not attract the quality of foreigner who would thoroughly assimilate into Hawaiian society and appreciate the responsibilities of Hawaiian citizenship. Dole’s first issue of *The Punch Bowl* dealt with the labor question, and his biographer Helen Allen concludes that Dole was “more interested in the workers than the plantation owners.”⁶⁶

Instead, Dole suggested a plan that he and fellow Punahou students had debated for decades, a Hawaiian homestead act. In a lengthy series of debates in 1851 and 1852, the *Punahou Gazette* took on the subject of Hawaiian government revenues. Students debated duties, property taxes, and renting or selling millions of acres of “arable” government lands. Students raised numerous questions. “[I]f they sell all their land now, they will have nothing to rely upon in cases of emergency; and the value of lands is increasing so fast now, that it might not be good policy to sell so great a quantity of it; for

⁶⁵ *Penal Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the House of Nobles and Representatives on the 21st of June, A.D. 1850*; Qtd. in Damon, *Sanford Ballard Dole and His Hawaii. With an Analysis of Justice Dole's Legal Opinions by Samuel B. Kemp*, 59; *Punch Bowl*, July 1869, HMCS.

⁶⁶ Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 68, 137.

in a few years double the price might be obtained,” one student wrote. Further, who would want to rent rather than own land, and how would the government find another permanent revenue stream once the lands had been sold? Students looked to the governments of the United States, England, Austria and Spain for their direction and generally advocated selling land and instituting property taxes (“This would be a method which would bear equally on the poor and the rich,” one argued.) to raise lost revenue from lowering duties. Abolishing duties would stimulate international trade, encourage the development of arable land, and provide property tax revenue to the government. Fascinating is the students’ concern with Hawaiian government revenues, even at the expense of the individual land owner.⁶⁷

Punahou students in the 1840s and 1850s were aware of the serious decline in the native Hawaiian population and availability of native agricultural labor, and, while Hawai‘i had not yet experienced the tremendous influx of Chinese and Japanese laborers, students certainly noted the arrival of Chinese immigrants in their papers and condescended Chinese traditions. Punahou students followed several Chinese travelers who were visiting the graves of their fellow countrymen near Punahou. “When we arrived at the graves, the food was all spread out, and some of the Chinamen had commenced bowing. Before each of the graves, jostics were burning,” a student reported for the *Weekly Star*, and the Chinese had laid out “melons, bananas, eggs, and a roasted pig.” This “foolish” ceremony was soon over, and the Punahou students “returned not however without carrying away some of the things.”⁶⁸

⁶⁷ *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852, CL.

⁶⁸ *Weekly Star*, February 1852-April 1852, CL.

The American Civil War brought an economic boon to Hawaiian sugar planters. With a Union embargo on Confederate sugar, Hawai‘i stepped in to take the Confederacy’s place. By the end of the 1860s, Hawaiian planters were arguing that sugar was “doomed” without Chinese contract labor. Immigration and labor were serious issues facing imperial nations by the latter half of the nineteenth century. International powers needed labor to fulfill industrial demands. Colonies, who supplied the empires, also relied upon cheap agricultural and extraction workers. Although southern U.S. slaves gained freedom after the war, many were relegated to sharecropper status. Britain chose to annex Fiji in 1875 to end “blackbirding,” the illegal kidnapping of neighboring islanders for labor in its cotton plantations. Yet in other colonies Britain suppressed indigenous populations, including native rebellions in India in 1857 and South Africa between 1899 and 1902, the same years the United States was putting down its own colonial rebellion in the recently-acquired Philippine Islands. The United States addressed increasing outrage over the importation of cheap, Chinese labor by banning almost all Chinese immigrants in 1882, the first legislative act to limit immigration based upon race. In the Hawaiian Islands, missionary children earned money for college by travelling to Jarvis and Baker Islands to govern “gangs” of native labor loading guano onto San Francisco ships. Guano, the excrement of seabirds, was used by the United States for agricultural fertilizer. Hawaiian laborers revolted against at least one missionary son for his abusive management. Only the fortuitous arrival of other *haoles* saved the teenager’s life.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years*, 191; Gunson, *Messengers of Grace: Evangelical Missionaries in the South Seas, 1797-1860*, 333; Stanley, *The Bible and the Flag: Protestant Missions and British Imperialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 114-116. Missionary sons who managed native laborers in the “Guano Islands,” included Charles Judd, Levi

By the 1870s Chinese immigrants represented close to five percent of the population in the Hawaiian Islands, encroaching closely upon the number of whites. Adult missionary children found themselves on both sides of the Masters and Servants Act. Henry Whitney and Luther Gulick used their newspapers to oppose the labor-contract system. Samuel Alexander and Elizabeth Judd's husband Samuel Wilder argued for it. In a series of articles for *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in 1872, Dole proposed his own way of looking at foreign immigration and the economic development of the islands.⁷⁰

The Hawaiian population, though less than 60,000, Dole noted, was proportionately productive at a rate "far greater than that of England or the United States, or of any other commercial nation." Dole estimated that the size of unused, arable land could sustain as many as 150 plantations, compared to the existing thirty two. With a native population declining at a rate of two percent annually, "the question of population clearly assumes a position of the first importance in our political economy," Dole wrote. "The Hawaiian is not meant to be displaced, but must be supplemented."⁷¹

Dole believed that a "higher civilization" had taught the native Hawaiians a political economy that could sustain a population of one million. He argued that government, not plantation owners, should lead the immigration debate. Dole worried

Chamberlain, George Wilcox and members of the Alexander and Emerson families. See Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 46, WC. See also, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1859. The account of George Wilcox's experience as an overseer is found in Krauss and Alexander, *Grove Farm Plantation: The Biography of a Hawaiian Sugar Plantation*, 80-83. By 1870 the United States claimed sovereignty over seventy such guano islands. These uninhabited atolls contained enough "nitrate-rich" guano to appear as several feet of snow. Americans hired Hawaiian labor to collect and load shipments. See Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 21, 166-167.

⁷⁰ Kuykendall cites 3,500 whites, including 450 Portuguese, and 2,500 Chinese. By 1900 Chinese and Japanese residents comprised 56.5%, whites 17.5%, and natives 26% of the Hawaiian Islands' population. See Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 116; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years*, 187-190.

⁷¹ Sanford B. Dole, "The Problem of Population," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* September 28, 1872.

that if the Hawaiian government did not arrest its economic decline, the kingdom's independent status among nations would be jeopardized. "The United States hold out the tempting prizes of citizenship and fee simple homesteads, and her gain in population through these means has never been paralleled," Dole suggested. Rather than contract labor, which Dole believed to be transitory and inferior, he postulated that Chinese and Japanese families might be induced through high wages, homesteads, and citizenship to settle permanently in the islands—"settlers and citizens, rather than convicts and coolies." Families, not plantations, Dole believed "constitute the true basis of state prosperity." Dole was not opposed to Asian, Malaysian or Polynesian immigration, although he seemed to most admire the "enterprising and industrious" Chinese and Japanese. "[I]ndividuals adopting this country as their own and investing in its soil with the intention of remaining, should have all the privileges of native born citizens as soon as a reasonable time for becoming acquainted with the meaning and force of such privileges should have elapsed," Dole reasoned. Perhaps Dole's own status as a Hawaiian racial minority influenced his seemingly-broadminded view of immigration.⁷²

Dole used the examples of other nations to justify his position against the arguments of the planters who utilized labor contracts to keep wages low. However, Dole used the Hawaiian cultural context, not American idealism, as his guide. "For our purpose, perhaps the Mormon system will be the most useful and instructive," he wrote. The Mormon government paid the passages of European immigrants traveling to "the city of the Saints." Immigrants were free to labor or homestead and repaid the government without interest within five years. Dole advocated selling individual plots of up to thirty

⁷² Ibid.; Sanford B. Dole, "Immigration," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* October 5, 1872; Sanford B. Dole, "Inducements to Citizenship-Homesteads and Citizenship," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* October 19, 1872.

acres of government lands to immigrant settlers and paying for the passages of up to 800 families annually. “The children of the immigrants, educated in our schools, would grow up, to all intents and purposes, nationalized Hawaiians,” he explained. Dole’s view of Hawaiian citizenship was racially expansive but politically restrictive, based upon a degree of commitment and responsibility.⁷³

In 1884 Dole was elected to the Hawaiian legislature. Although he disagreed with Kalākaua’s desire to enact a national lottery and grant opium licenses, he supported the king’s efforts to find “compatible immigrants with the way of life in Hawaii.” Dole also worked to pass in 1884 the first Hawaiian Homestead Act, designed “to provide many persons of small means who were without permanent homes and are desirous of obtaining homesteads.” The Hawaiian government made available public lands of between two and twenty acres. Individuals, irrespective of race, who paid a ten dollar filing fee and quarterly interest on the appraised value of the land, were freed from paying taxes on the land for five years. Homesteaders could not transfer their land to a third party and were required to pay or mortgage the price of the land at the end of five years. In 1887 Kalākaua appointed Dole to the Hawaiian Supreme Court where he served until the 1893 revolution.⁷⁴

Despite his support for the monarchy, Dole had concerns about its retrenchment. In 1864 King Lot Kamehameha refused to take the oath pledging loyalty to the constitution and unilaterally called a constitutional convention. The changes he ushered

⁷³ Sanford B. Dole, “Systems of Immigration and Settlement,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* November 16, 1872.

⁷⁴ Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 137; William DeWitt Alexander, *A Brief History of Land Titles in the Hawaiian Kingdom* (www.hawaiiankingdom.org, 1891); Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, 347; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 297.

through the convention continued to allow the Hawaiian monarch to appoint the house of nobles but reduced the legislature to one chamber, ostensibly to increase the king's influence. All cabinet appointments were made by the king and served at his pleasure. There was no provision for overriding the king's veto. "The constitution was defective," Dole wrote, "in that it lacked restrictions on royal arbitrary power, if the sovereign was bent on attempting to exercise it."⁷⁵

When the legislature passed Kalākaua's opium bill in 1886, Dole recorded that legislative reform had become impossible. The king's use of political appointments to direct the legislature, along with the king's absolute veto, had created, Dole reported, "widespread" sentiment "in favor of a protest, backed by sufficient organized force to go farther, if necessary."⁷⁶

Mission descendant Lorrin A. Thurston later stated that Dole "was the revolution." Universally regarded as an honest man, Dole "could not consciously identify himself with or advocate a selfish or unjust cause," Thurston wrote. Yet Dole's leadership in both the 1887 and 1893 revolutions was tentative and ambivalent. Dole advocated a native solution to political unrest, but continued to support the revolutionaries when they moved against the native monarchy. The only possible explanation is that Dole viewed his own participation in revolution as necessary to safeguarding the Hawaiian kingdom he prized.⁷⁷

In 1887 Dole invited the Hawaiian League to meet at his home and plan constitutional change. Just as Lot had questionable authority to instigate constitutional

⁷⁵ Sanford Ballard Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., 1936), 45.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ix-x.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

change in 1864, so, too, Dole viewed the League's illegal actions as necessary to political and economic stability. When the League began to favor the absolute overthrow of the monarchy, Dole resisted but did not withdraw from the League. The League forced Kalākaua to sign a new constitution limiting the monarch's power by allowing the election of nobles, separating the legislative houses, and creating a veto override. Dole strongly agreed with these constitutional changes that favored the legislature. After Kalākaua signed the constitution, its veto provision came before the Hawaiian Supreme Court. Dole gave the lone dissent, arguing unsuccessfully that the king could not even exercise a veto without the consent of his cabinet.⁷⁸

When Lili'uokalani attempted to abrogate this "bayonet" constitution, Dole again assumed a leadership role in the resistance movement. As he had done before, Dole condemned what he viewed as constitutional proposals that allowed for monarchial abuse of power. Under the queen's proposed constitution, the Hawaiian monarch would be able to remove cabinet officials without legislative approval, ignore a legislative veto override, appoint nobles, and restore a one-house legislature.⁷⁹

Again Dole looked for culturally-specific solutions to the problem of Hawaiian political power. As Fareed Zakaria has pointed out, similar debates were occurring in the United States with the opposite outcome. Post-Civil War presidents flexed their executive muscles by arguing for the unilateral right to remove cabinet members and for an increased use of their veto power. Like the Hawaiian monarchs, U.S. presidents sought greater executive privileges at the expense of legislative power. In the case of the United States, presidents did so in order to move around deeply-divided congresses and

⁷⁸ Ibid., 47, 57-58; Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 241.

⁷⁹ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 72-73.

exert greater national and international influence in an industrializing era. Dole did not look to the United States as his guide when attempting to define executive power in the islands.⁸⁰

Nor did Dole look to the annexationists. In his memoirs Dole wrote that he found the Committee of Safety “unanimously in favor of setting aside the monarchy and establishing a republican form of government, with the view of eventual annexation to the United States.” Instead, Dole suggested “that the Queen be deposed and Princess Kaiulani be installed as queen.” When his idea was rejected, Dole “gave the subject much thought, and in the morning felt favorably disposed toward the proposition of the committee of safety...and so an end to our difficulties.” Dole’s memoirs suggest more confidence than he may have felt at the time. In a letter to his brother George, Dole wrote, “over and over again I pleaded that they consider accepting Kaiulani in a regency. When it proved to be of no avail I felt there was nothing else to do.”⁸¹

Dole also looked to the native Hawaiian population. Thirty years after the revolution, Dole said in an interview, “Only the stiffening of a backbone, the grasping of initiative leadership, seemed needed in Honolulu 30 years ago to undermine the carefully prepared plans of a group of citizens and perpetuate the Hawaiian monarchy....Just the sudden appearance of a group of Hawaiians, determined to remember that their nationality was at stake...would have broken up the council of those who were then preparing to declare the monarchy at an end.” Even after the Committee of Safety had occupied government buildings in January 1893, Dole suggested, “had the solitary

⁸⁰ Fareed Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 106-127.

⁸¹ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 76-77; Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 245.

royalist present been reinforced, the tale of the overthrow of monarchy and of Queen Liliuokalani...might never have been written.”⁸²

Although Dole’s sympathy clearly remained with an independent Hawaiian nation, these comments seem somewhat disingenuous considering the revolutionaries had the support of U.S. minister John Stevens. “We knew that the United States minister was in sympathy with us,” Dole wrote. “I think you have a great opportunity,” Stevens had told Dole. With the revolutionaries’ forcible control of government buildings and abrogation of the monarchy, Dole became the first and only president of the provisional government and Hawaiian republic. The provisional government immediately repealed the lottery and opium acts, and Dole began work drafting a new constitution. Minister Stevens assumed a U.S. protectorate over the islands.⁸³

Dole’s attempts to create a constitution in a nation where potentially-hostile native Hawaiians comprised a majority of the population in some ways mirrored Lot’s efforts thirty years before. Lot had demanded property and literacy qualifications for the electorate and disenfranchised non-citizens. Dole, too, sought a way to protect political power from the influence of transient forces and from those he believed did not yet understand “free citizen government.” The 1887 “bayonet” constitution, while allowing the electorate to choose the upper house, attached higher property qualifications to this “special electorate,” also increasing the property qualifications for electors of the lower house. Denizens (non-citizens) could vote, but Asians could not. Only those of Hawaiian, English or European descent qualified as legitimate members of the nation. The 1887 constitution gave more authority to the legislative branch but disenfranchised

⁸² Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 186-187.

⁸³ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 74, 78, 91-92.

more people. As Jonathan Osorio writes, “For haole, it meant not only an enhanced representation in the legislature and control of the executive, it also retrieved their ability to define the nation and membership in it.”⁸⁴

In creating a constitution for the Hawaiian republic, Dole again looked to Hawaiian politics, not U.S. example. By 1900 over one half of the population in the Hawaiian Islands was Chinese and Japanese. Those of Hawaiian descent constituted a mere 26 percent of the population, with whites making up around 18 percent, two thirds of which was Portuguese laborers from Madeira and the Azores.⁸⁵ In defending the revolutionaries’ actions, Dole wrote U.S. minister Albert Willis:

It is difficult for a stranger like yourself, and much more for the President of the United States, with his...want of familiarity with the condition and history of this country and the inner life of its people, to obtain a clear insight into the real state of affairs and to understand the social currents, the race feeling and the customs and traditions which all contribute to the political outlook. We, who have grown up here...are conscious of the difficulty of maintaining a stable government here. A community which is made up of five races, of which the larger part but dimly appreciate the significance and value of representative institutions, offers political problems which may well tax the wisdom of the most experienced statesman.⁸⁶

From only one American did Dole seek advice, looking to Columbia University professor John Burgess. Dole had read Burgess’ *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law* (1891) and was attracted to Burgess’ idea that political power was culturally specific. Political rights, to Burgess, were “legal and historical rather than universal and natural.” While Burgess believed what he called the Teutonic race had constructed the most complex state, Dole was less interested in European statecraft than

⁸⁴ Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887*, 125-126, 240, 243; Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 186-187.

⁸⁵ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1874-1893, the Kalakaua Dynasty*, 116. Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i*, 143.

⁸⁶ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 123.

he was in constructing the proper Hawaiian electorate. “[I]t is the highest duty of the state,” Burgess wrote, to preserve, strengthen, and develop its own national character.” Through education and a common language, Burgess argued, heterogeneous ethnic populations could unite under the same laws and institutions. Immigration, however, should never endanger national institutions or customs and the state’s “own national existence.”⁸⁷

In a series of letters written between the two in 1894, Dole, still concerned with creating a proper “settler” class of voters, sought Burgess’ advice on a constitution for the Hawaiian republic. Questioning Burgess’ belief that the cabinet should be selected from the legislature and act in accordance with it, Dole wrote in March 1894, “I wish to ask you in such a case, if the tendency would not be to weaken the executive and transfer the real power to the Cabinet, or to its leader, who would become the leader of the party in power?” Dole sought real legislative power but remained cautious in how to proceed without a monarch. Before Burgess could reply Dole wrote a second letter asking about the electorate. Noting that the 1887 constitution required different qualifications for the electors of each legislative house, Dole revealed, “There are many natives and Portuguese who have had the vote hitherto, who are comparatively ignorant of the principles of government and whose vote from its numerical strength as well as from the ignorance referred to will be a menace to good government.”⁸⁸

Dole considered maintaining property and literacy requirements for the electors of the upper house but also giving “the upper house the right with the lower to introduce

⁸⁷ Alfred L. Castle, “Advice for Hawaii: The Dole-Burgess Letters,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* XV (1981): 25-26; John W. Burgess, *Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law: Sovereignty and Liberty*, vol. 1 (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1891), 43-44.

⁸⁸ John William Burgess papers, [ca. 1873]-1930, Dole to Burgess, March 24 and March 31, 1894, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Butler Library (New York: Columbia University).

money bills.” Dole noted that the plan, which reasserted the largely white and foreign propertied class, “will raise considerable opposition and will result probably in some permanent discontent.” Lili‘uokalani had endeared herself to her people, in part, by promising to reassert her appointment power of nobles, disenfranchise foreigners, and reduce the property requirements for the electorate. Again, Dole sounded ambivalent, “but those who insist on it say that it is the only plan by which the government can be kept out of the control of the irresponsible element, and consequently of the professional politicians.” Dole asked if there were any other way to limit the electorate without fostering native discontent. In his reply Burgess reminded Dole that no elector was losing his power to vote under Dole’s proposed constitution. Technically Burgess was correct, as long as voters swore their allegiance to the new republic.⁸⁹

On July 4, 1894 President Dole proclaimed from the front of the Executive Building the Hawaiian Republic’s new constitution, adopted the day before by constitutional convention. The president was to be elected by the legislature. No president could serve more than six years. The senate was to approve all cabinet appointments and removals. Cabinet officials could no longer vote in the legislature. Just as required for the monarch, cabinet approval was required for presidential action, but the threshold was increased to a majority of the cabinet instead of just one member. Property of differing values was required for senators and representatives. Property requirements were set for the electors of senators but not representatives. Voters had to

⁸⁹ Dole to Burgess, March 31, 1894, BL; Castle, “Advice for Hawaii: The Dole-Burgess Letters,” 28.

take an oath of allegiance to the republic and be literate in English. Japanese and Chinese residents could not become citizens.⁹⁰

The Hawaiian Republic's constitution is a stunning example of "legal and historical rather than universal and natural" political rights. Striking is how little American politics and annexationist desires influenced the final document. Of utmost concern to Dole and the convention was legislative power. Truly fascinating is how little power the president of the new republic had. While Dole and his supporters sought ways to limit the electorate, they dramatically increased legislative control of Hawaiian government. Dole's biographer called it "oligarchy," yet from a comparative perspective, the 1894 constitution favored parliamentary rather than executive privilege. A far different scenario was occurring in the United States as presidents sought to negate ethnic, political and racial divides by exerting new constitutional interpretations of formerly legislative prerogatives.⁹¹

Both Dole's public and private life reflected the ambiguity he held toward religion, race and nationhood. While he clearly believed that Christianity had provided "all civil, commercial and religious prosperity" in the islands, he often seemed dissatisfied with his status as a white Hawaiian. He once commented that Euro-American attire in the islands was worn by no one "except clergymen, government officials and fools." He frequently reflected upon the beauty of Hawaiian women as compared to their "stooping and round-shouldered" white counterparts. He extolled democracy but reviled the lack of "patriotism and goodwill" exhibited by those "in the mad rush for position and

⁹⁰ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 164-168; Castle, "Advice for Hawaii: The Dole-Burgess Letters," 29; Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 211.

⁹¹ Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 223; Zakaria, *From Wealth to Power: The Unusual Origins of America's World Role*, 106-127.

wealth.” Dole once remarked that “should one of Pele’s lava flows wipe out Hilo, would it not be the retribution of Nature for a community that could only appreciate it for the gold that it lured in its coffers?”⁹²

Dole also ignored the criticism of white-Hawaiian residents. Without asking or informing his New England wife, Dole adopted Hawaiian native Elizabeth Puiki Napoleon, the daughter of his friend Pamaho'a Napoleon. The *hānai* adoption, based upon the Hawaiian custom of allowing a close friend or relative to raise one’s child, agitated the white community. Some speculated that Lizzie, the only fair-skinned child of Pamaho'a’s fifteen children, was Dole’s own daughter, but Dole ignored the rumors to the great chagrin of his wife. Dole and Lizzie’s relationship was close. Dole wrote poetry to Lizzie, and Lizzie named her firstborn child, as well as her ninth and last child, after Dole. Lizzie only allowed her children to speak English, despite fluently speaking Hawaiian herself.⁹³

“You must...help knock the rot from the administration,” Oliver Emerson once wrote Dole, “head a revolution and form a republic, but never let the whites put down the natives.” Dole seemed to agree with this sentiment. “How but by the inspiration of example” could one impart democracy, Dole asked at the end of his life. Caught between a parental and educational upbringing he respected and the Hawaiian Islands he adored, Dole took refuge in the law, seeing those who reformed the law and “mold[ed] society in the face of prejudice, ignorance, stupidity and selfishness” as modern-day “missionaries.”

⁹² Qtd. in Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 66, 73, 276. Allen, too, notes Dole's ambivalence.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 158-160, 167, 215, 279-280, 290.

Sanford, “you are a missionary if you are in earnest to do your duty, just as much as the ordained apostle,” Emerson encouraged.⁹⁴

Despite these ambivalences Dole was unalterably attached to the Hawaiian Islands. His sense of place was rooted in Hawai‘i, and all cultural, political and racial debates circled around this fact. The resoluteness people saw in Dole, while somewhat tentative in times of political agitation, was intractably committed to the *‘āina* (land). Hawai‘i, “land of youth’s and soul’s desire,” Dole wrote. This connection helps explain why Dole was willing to jeopardize U.S. annexation—the stated goal of the revolutionaries—as president of the Provisional Government. After his inauguration in March 1893, U.S. President Grover Cleveland investigated the sequence of events leading to the January revolution, determined U.S. Minister John Stevens had unjustly aided the revolutionaries, and ordered U.S. Minister Albert Willis to attempt to return the throne to Lili‘uokalani.⁹⁵ Dole replied to Willis’ request:

We do not recognize the right of the President of the United States to interfere in our domestic affairs. Such right could be conferred upon him by the act of this government, and by that alone, or it could be acquired by conquest. This I understand to be the American doctrine, conspicuously announced from time to time by the authorities of your Government....Though the Provisional Government is far from being ‘a great power’ and could not long resist the forces of the United States in a hostile attack, we deem our position impregnable under all legal precedents. . . . We cannot betray the sacred trust [revolutionaries] have placed in our hands, a trust which represents the cause of Christian civilization in the interests of the whole people of these islands.⁹⁶

By the time Cleveland received Dole’s response, the U.S. President had already referred the entire matter to Congress. Nothing further happened until President McKinley, through his request for a Congressional joint resolution, annexed the islands

⁹⁴ Qtd. in *Ibid.*, 48-49, 276; *Punch Bowl*, March 1870, HMCS.

⁹⁵ Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole*, 279; Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 277-278.

⁹⁶ Dole, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution*, 113-126.

in 1898. Perhaps if President Cleveland had been as resolute in his own opinion as Dole had been in his, Hawaiian history and U.S. foreign policy in the Pacific would have turned out differently.⁹⁷

John Thomas Gulick (1832-1923)

Most mission children returned to the Hawaiian Islands or remained in the United States, but a few chose to wander the world—their adult lives reflecting the sense of exploration, adventure and fearlessness that characterized their childhoods. John Thomas Gulick was one such mission child, yet Gulick also wrestled with deep emotional conflict in search of national and spiritual identity. His efforts to combine the divergent cultural influences of his childhood led to surprising results, and Gulick's legacy, more than Armstrong's or Dole's, reflects the discrepancies found within an Anglo-Hawaiian-Christian upbringing.

Born at Waimea, Gulick recalled his earliest memories of “strange starfishes” and “frightful crabs ...laid out to dry on a board in the garden.” Not more than two years old, Gulick was fascinated by the sea creatures and later recalled that his mother Fanny Gulick, “like her son, was interested in these strange things.” The Gulick family moved to a little grass house in Koloa, near the “green mountains and valleys, and the rippling brooks shaded in ferns,” but Gulick could not enjoy his surroundings. From the ages of three to five, Gulick was kept in a dark room “shut out from the light of day” because of eye infections.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands*, 279-280.

⁹⁸ John Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

Gulick suffered his entire life from poor eyesight and endured numerous bouts of near blindness requiring rest. Gulick was much later diagnosed with kidney problems. After two years of solitude and darkness, Gulick was released from his prison, “nearly blind from the growth of a white film over each eye.” Seeing the world as if for the first time, Gulick wrote, “The trees, the birds, the insects, were all strange interests for me.” Gulick’s tendency toward solitude and his love of the outdoors remained part of his nature the rest of his life.⁹⁹

At Koloa, Gulick’s missionary parents forbade their eight children any communication with native Hawaiians. Gulick remembered his father Peter Gulick as “austere in his religion” and “completely devoid of fear.” When the canoe in which Peter Gulick and his six-year old son Thomas were riding was overturned by a wave in 1846, the two spent the next eight hours floating in shark-infested water waiting for rescue. All Peter Gulick could think about was Thomas and “my other impenitent children who have no hope in the merits of the blessed Redeemer.” After their rescue Peter Gulick instructed all his children, “Kiss the Son lest he be angry and ye perish from the way while his wrath is kindled but a little.”¹⁰⁰

Fanny Gulick was more poetic but shared with her husband and son a love of the outdoors. Nevertheless, she reflected the attitudes of most mission mothers when fearfully allowing her four sons to take an interisland schooner home from Punahou in 1841. “They went with none but native company, a thing which we never before permitted, and may never repeat,” Fanny wrote, “but there seemed no alternative.” The

⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 3, 17-18;

Gulick children ignored these parental concerns. Gulick called life with his brothers a “constant disposition for amusement, fun and play.”¹⁰¹

John Gulick sporadically attended Punahou between 1841 and 1853. Despite his periodic bouts with poor health, Gulick remembered the boarding school as a place where his “religious life was nourished.” While at Punahou, Gulick recorded in his journal he had “joined the church” and “started on my Christian life.” Punahou students shared with Gulick an attraction to the outdoors, but Gulick infused a serious, intellectual component into their understanding of the natural world. As the *Punahou Gazette* was calling steamboats, railroad cars, and electric telegraphs “works of art” that “humanized mankind,” Gulick was devouring Darwin’s *Voyage of the Beagle* and researching natural philosophy, a topic his brother Halsey introduced to him after returning home from college in the United States. “A vast field of thought and study has within a few days been rapidly opening to my view,” John wrote in his journal in 1852. “It is the study of God’s character, as displayed in his stupendous works...and in connection with this, the study of the relations that I sustain to my fellow creatures on earth.”¹⁰²

Gulick’s personal studies soon included public attempts to sway his peers. By contemplating nature, Gulick wrote in the *Gazette*, one “will obtain life, pleasure and instruction.” Presenting a lecture to Punahou and Royal School students in 1853, Gulick spoke of Darwin’s discoveries on the Galapagos Islands and encouraged his peers to pursue a life of science. “Here we are by fortune or by providence placed in the midst of an unexplored field,” Gulick argued, “[W]ho is there amongst us that cannot do

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 5, 11; John Gulick, correspondence, September 5 and November 3, 1854, HMCS.

¹⁰² Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 55; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS; Gulick, journal, January 17, 1847, HMCS; Gulick, 1880 notes, HMCS; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1850-1851, CL.

something to advance the cause of science if he will only commence now.” Seeing boundless possibilities around him, Gulick encouraged his friends, “This is a wide field...open to all and by no true sense of propriety can the fair sex be shut out.” Sixty years later Titus Coan remarked to Gulick: “As an intellect, you were for me ‘The only one’ among our fellows.”¹⁰³

Gulick’s health did not deter him from seeking adventure. In May 1848, during one absence from school, Gulick convinced his parents to allow him to travel to Oregon to visit the Congregationalist mission, still recovering from the deaths of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman the previous winter. With rumors of gold, Gulick soon made his way from Oregon to California. Sleeping under a blanket, washing “in water covered with ice,” and climbing trees to escape bears, Gulick relished the gold-mining experience. His mother did not. “You may not acquire any more [gold] than you will need for your voyage to the United States and support through your education,” Fanny wrote her son. Arriving in San Francisco with 100 ounces of gold, Gulick bought a horse and cart to carry wood and earn passage home. He lost both horse and cart in a San Francisco fire, and regained the lost income by sewing flour sacks. When Gulick arrived in Honolulu, he gave the money he had saved to his father. Peter Gulick invested it in ranchland. The investment helped pay college tuition for John and several brothers, as well as provide a steady income for Peter Gulick, whose failing health prevented him from preaching. Years later Gulick discovered his father had put the ranch in his son’s name. Gulick rented the land for sugar production and retired.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 114-119, 366-377; *Punahou Gazette and Critic*, 1851-1852, CL.

¹⁰⁴ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 37, 51-52, 320-321; Gulick, correspondence, June 30, 1848, HMCS; Gulick, journal, January 18, 1849, HMCS; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

Education, not gold mining, Fanny Gulick wrote her son in California, “is the first object.” Gulick concurred but struggled his entire life over their diverging understandings of it. In the islands Gulick had long been fascinated with the indigenous land snails—*Achatinellae*—that covered the hills and trees. After returning from California Gulick travelled the islands for a year collecting shells and trading with natives for them. “I asked myself whether I was not acting foolishly in letting shells and other natural objects defer my researches,” Gulick wrote. He rationalized that he could best strengthen his body by studying nature. “In the meantime I will...carefully revise and correct my habits of thought and action,” he justified. Peter Gulick was not impressed. “I appreciate your kind warning in regard to the danger of following my natural inclinations as a guide in my studies and my plans for life,” Gulick wrote his father in 1854. “An entire devotion to intellectual pleasure is I suppose as truly selfish as indulgence in sensual pleasure.”¹⁰⁵

Gulick arrived in New York City in 1854, planning to attend New York University. Almost immediately he met tragedy. Travelling to Westfield, Massachusetts, to see his brother Charles, Gulick arrived “too late, I found him not.” Charles had died the night before. Gulick was despondent. Through a postal error Gulick did not receive the letter warning him that Charles’ health was critical. Charles had not received the letter assuring him that John was in New York and coming to see him. Charles Gulick, two years John’s junior, had died alone at a boarding house, away from family and friends. “Here when my heart was beating with the expectation of seeing Charles, the next minute my hope was suddenly plunged in the dust,” Gulick wrote his mother. It is

¹⁰⁵ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 37, 121, 125; Gulick, correspondence, April 1854, HMCS.

unclear why Charles died. John Gulick's letters suggest a physical and mental breakdown. By the time of his death, Charles weighed less than 85 pounds. "He was held by a strong net that could not have been broken, except by some rare change of circumstance, that would have transplanted him out of himself and obliterated all thought of the past," Gulick concluded. Peter and Fanny Gulick's biographer Clifford Putney argues that bulimia, caused by fear of disappointing God and his parents, led to Charles Gulick's lengthy illness and death.¹⁰⁶

The incident deeply affected Gulick. "If I could have been here six months earlier...it might have been differently," he grieved. "And this [Charles] earnestly desired himself but could not have." Perhaps imagining the loneliness of Charles' deathbed is why Gulick only stayed at New York University one year, leaving the New York scientific community and transferring to Williams College as a sophomore. "I have as classmates and companions three valued Hawaiian friends," he wrote. One half century later, after his brother Thomas died while on vacation, Gulick still carried the wound. "[Thomas'] death occurred among strangers," he wrote.¹⁰⁷

Williams College was a place of refuge for Gulick, just as it was for many mission sons. Gulick respected Mark Hopkins as "one of the leading men in those days," but Gulick's intellectual stimulation had already been fostered by the New York scientific community. The New York Lyceum of Natural History had unanimously elected Gulick a member, and he had given presentations to the New York Geographical and Ethnological Societies. Darwin, not Hopkins, was Gulick's prophet. Soon after

¹⁰⁶ Gulick, correspondence, January 1854 and June 5, 1854, HMCS; Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i: The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883*, 110.

¹⁰⁷ Gulick, correspondence, June 5, 1854, HMCS; Gulick, manuscript memoir, circa 1912, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 146.

graduating from Williams College in 1859, Gulick read Darwin's *Origin of Species*.

"Many good people of that day were startled and dumbfounded at his ideas of the growth of the living world, but my mind was ripe for his illuminating interpretation of nature," Gulick recalled.¹⁰⁸

Unfortunately, Peter Gulick did not share his son's respect for science.

Throughout his stay in the United States, Gulick attempted to obtain his father's blessing in pursuing a scientific career. His father would not give it. All professions were "subordinate" to preaching and publishing the gospel "in every destitute portion of the earth, as the great means of elevating our race." Gulick wrote to his father asking for his support in establishing a museum of Hawaiian natural history. Peter Gulick would not. "I was not surprised to hear that upon reflection you have concluded, that it is not your duty to aid in getting up a museum to any great extent," Gulick wrote to his father but tried again:

We are all fond of the beauties of nature and of the history of past generations and almost everyone from the king to the beggar spends more or less in gratifying this taste; and it was undoubtedly implanted by the Creator...Now all these things are good and not to be frowned upon, if they are kept within proper bounds....Awaken in a young person a disposition to seek the new and wonderful in the hidden mysteries of nature, and he will never be impelled to go to sea or enlist as a soldier...for nowhere will he find so broad a tempting a field for adventure, or so many avenues to promotion and honor as in science."¹⁰⁹

Gulick kept the letter in his desk for three months before mailing it. On the back of the letter Gulick penciled "my philosophy of life and how we may serve the world *even* by starting a Museum." (Emphasis added.) Four years later Gulick tried once more to convince his father that scientific study in Europe would be beneficial. His father

¹⁰⁸ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 143-144; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

¹⁰⁹ Gulick, correspondence, April 4, 1854, HMCS.

rebuffed him. “In the first place, I feel persuaded that you can learn all that is requisite to make you a faithful and an efficient *missionary*, as well in the United States as in any part of the Old World,” Peter Gulick wrote. “Then, as life is *short* and souls are *precious*, the next thing is how shall you get well prepared for your work, and *at it?*” Instead of studying in “skeptical, rationalistic Germany,” as his father called it, Gulick attended seminary. Gulick clearly questioned the career path his parents preferred for him and his siblings, writing of his brother Orramel, “I doubt not that the decided purpose to which he came, was the result of more entire faith and consecration, than is brought into exercise, in many cases where the missionary work is fully and actively entered upon.”¹¹⁰

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, Gulick attempted to join the Union army. His eyesight prevented him. Disappointed and in poor health, Gulick left seminary hoping to explore New Granada (Colombia) for land shells. Turned away by revolution, Gulick again found himself in San Francisco, looking to merge his missionary training with his love for science and adventure. “I love Mystery and Mystery loves me,” Gulick wrote. “Agitated and disconcerted, I grieve in silence.” Gulick found his answer in Japan.¹¹¹

Gulick had seen Japanese Ambassador Shimmi Masaoki parade up Broadway during his visit to the United States in 1860 to sign a treaty opening the island nation to U.S. trade. Gulick was one of 500,000 New York spectators who turned out to watch the ambassador’s entourage. Only several years before, Commodore Perry had militarily forced the Tokugawa regime to acknowledge the realities of nineteenth-century international power. Japan had been closed to most outside influences for centuries.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., April 4 and June 5, 1854, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 152.

¹¹¹ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 161, 166-167.

Gulick was fascinated by the thought of “opening communication with that interesting people.” He decided to wait in California for the opportunity to visit. Because few ships yet traveled to Japan, Gulick waited six months. Eventually he heard that the newly-appointed U.S. minister to Japan, Robert Pruyn, had chartered his own ship, as “no opportunity was offering by which he could take passage to Japan.” Gulick secured passage with the minister’s party, writing that Pruyn seemed to sympathize with missionaries. Gulick arrived in Japan in 1862 and stayed for eighteen months.¹¹²

The Japan Gulick met was engulfed in forced transformation and violent reaction. Only a handful of Christian missionaries lived in Japan, and they were strictly forbidden to proselytize. Instead they subverted the nation’s customs and laws by introducing secular, western-style education and infusing it with Christian symbols and meanings. Gulick recorded that the Japanese people were receptive to the new learning. However, the strong, negative reaction of the *daimyos* (provincial rulers) and *samurai* (warriors) to the Tokugawa *Shogun’s* (military ruler) weakness toward foreigners had caused internal upheaval.¹¹³

Gulick lived in Japan during much of the violence, recording the cultural abuses westerners promulgated. On September 14, 1862 one high-level *daimyo* and his *samurai* traveled from Edo (Tokyo) to Kagoshima, meeting with an English riding party coming in the opposite direction. “These English people probably did not know that they were expected either to go off on some branch road, or to dismount and uncover their heads

¹¹² Ibid., 163, 173-174; Dallas Finn, “Guests of the Nation: The Japanese Delegation to the Buchanan White House,” *White House History* 12 (2003): 35; Perry arrived in Japan by gunboat in 1854. See Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, 150-151; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

¹¹³ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 177.

when the prince passed,” Gulick wrote. “They remained on their horses riding on one side of the road.” *Samurai* immediately killed one man and wounded two others. They knocked the hat off a woman in the party, trying to decapitate her with their swords.

Gulick recorded:

The English government demanded \$500,000 indemnity which was not granted, until in August 1863 Kagoshima was bombarded and destroyed by British warships. The *daimyo* and other leaders...from that day became advocates of the policy of studying the European methods of war, and of organizing the defense of Japan on that line.¹¹⁴

Despite the periodic attacks on American and British legations, Gulick stayed, learning the language, tutoring the children of American missionaries, and exploring the country. He often walked the Tokaido highway leading to Edo and “several times met the train of some *Daimyo*, and observed the fierce looks of the guards.” Gulick also took and sold photographs. Just as his parents had brought a written language to the Hawaiian people, transforming the way in which they communicated and thought, Gulick brought a visual language to Japan, translating Japanese culture for Westerners and profoundly truncating centuries of history.¹¹⁵

Gulick took photographs of Buddhist temples and priests’ houses. In 1862 Minister Pruyn obtained the *Shogun*’s permission for Gulick to enter the capital city Edo, a privilege forbidden to all foreigners other than government ministers. Gulick took his camera. “The pictures that I took...were so far as I know the first photographs ever taken in that city,” Gulick recalled. Gulick photographed streets and temples and several

¹¹⁴ Gulick, 1880 notes, HMCS.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 188-190; Gulick notes that there was only one other foreign photographer in Yokohama. For a discussion on the relationship between the language of photography and imperialism, see Laura Wexler, *Tender Violence: Domestic Visions in an Age of U.S. Imperialism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

officials, including a *yakunin* (two-sword *samurai*). The preserved photograph depicts a serious, robed soldier holding shield and sword, with two swords tucked into his belt. One long, heavy sword was designed to be used with both hands, and the other small sword to be used solely for suicide. Another photograph entitled “Secretary of the Treasury” shows a stately official with scrolls tucked inside his robe. When Gulick left Japan in 1863 he gave all his equipment to a Japanese student he had taught to use it. “He became one of the first to spread the knowledge of that kind of picture taking among his countrymen,” Gulick noted.¹¹⁶

Gulick, along with Western missionaries and government legations, resisted the outrage of the Japanese ruling class. When the *Shogun* announced June 25, 1863 as the day for foreigner expulsion, the foreigners ignored him. Gulick stayed in Japan another three months. *Daimyo* acts of violence were instead met with American, British, Dutch and French military reprisals. In 1868 the *Shogun* was forced to abdicate, and Japan began its rapid path toward Westernization and industrialization. Gulick had wanted to remain in Japan as part of this revolutionary process, but the ABCFM refused to allow him to establish a Congregationalist mission, arguing the American Civil War had depleted its funds; it could not afford to begin anything new. “Not wishing to leave the Orient without further investigation I decided to visit Hong Kong,” Gulick wrote.¹¹⁷

The first British missionaries to China had arrived in 1807. The ABCFM followed in 1830. Several ABCFM missionaries even assisted U.S. Ambassador Caleb Cushing in negotiating the 1844 Treaty of Wanghia, inserting provisions allowing

¹¹⁶ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 185-189.

¹¹⁷ Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World 1780-1914: Global Connections and Comparisons*, 269-270; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 191-192; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

Americans to build churches in five treaty ports. That same year the French negotiated full tolerance for its Catholic missionaries, a protection China extended to all Protestant missionaries in 1845. When Gulick arrived in China in late 1863, no missionaries had tested these provisions outside the treaty ports. Gulick soon did, writing to the ABCFM in early 1864 for permission to represent the Board in North China. “Although much touring had been done by the missionaries, they all had their permanent residences either at Peking [Beijing] or at some treaty port,” Gulick wrote. Gulick consulted with American Minister Anson Burlingame and determined that “there was no reason why American missionaries should not have the same privilege of residence in the interior that was enjoyed by Roman Catholic missionaries from France. In fact, this very point was arranged for.” With ABCFM and U.S. government permission, Gulick and his new wife Emily De La Cour, an English woman he had met in Hong Kong, learned Mandarin and traveled to Kalgan, 140 miles northwest of Beijing. Two thousand feet above sea level, Kalgan was just inside the Great Wall and served as a trade city between China and Russia. Foreign traders crossed over Mongolia to conduct business inside the Chinese city.¹¹⁸

Until 1874 the Gulicks taught Kalgan children to read the Chinese language and visited Mongolian villages. “We healed the sick, and we preached the Gospel to the poor and made some devoted friends,” Gulick wrote. Although untrained as physicians the Gulicks utilized their medical books and applied “Western” medicine to hundreds of people who came to their door each week. Gulick traveled by horse or local schooner,

¹¹⁸ Gibson and Whitehead, *Yankees in Paradise: The Pacific Basin Frontier*, 293; Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Missions*, 98; Jonathan D. Spence, *The Search for Modern China* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1990), 161; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 206-207; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

rather than foreign steamer. Once the schooner on which he and Emily were traveling was shipwrecked by a storm and overtaken by pirates. The captain, afraid for his life, remained anonymous, and Gulick parlayed with the pirates for the crew's lives. In exchange for all their possessions, the Gulicks received transport from the pirates. "It will be of no use to send out men who shrink from a rough and somewhat lonely life," Gulick wrote the Board.¹¹⁹

It is somewhat difficult to judge the impact of Gulick's decade in China. Looking back in 1907, Gulick credited mission schools and missionary teaching with the "awakening" of China to Western education, democratic government, women's rights, and "Buddhist temples turned to schools and churches." China Inland Mission's Hudson Taylor said that Gulick's success enabled him to overcome the objections of the British Minister in Beijing and begin work in the interior of China. Gael Graham has documented the impact of American Protestant mission schools in China, including their influence upon gender and nationalist movements, despite the fact that Chinese modernists eventually diverged from missionary aims, and the Chinese nationalist government ultimately rejected the missionaries. Gulick was on the forefront of an explosion in U.S. Protestant missionary efforts. Prior to the 1890s there had been less than 1,000 American missionaries living outside the United States. During the 1890s the number jumped to 5,000, a result of colonization, open-door treaties and international trade. China became the largest Protestant missionary field. By the mid-twentieth century it was home to nearly 4,000 missionary children.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 232.

¹²⁰ Gulick, 1880 notes, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 356-357; Gael Graham, *Gender, Culture, and Christianity: American Protestant Mission Schools in China, 1880-1930* (New York:

Gulick also was a leader in an important transcultural exchange that had significant implications for U.S. foreign policy. Missionaries and missionary schools introduced Christianized Asian nationalists to potential U.S. donors. Mission supporters in the United States advocated for these Asian “allies,” including for their political support. What followed was a systematic American policy of supporting leaders, such as Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Ngo Dinh Diem, over their atheist rivals, often to the later detriment of the United States. While Gulick was in Asia, for example, Sun Yat-sen was a student in Hawaiian mission schools, including Punahou. The future Chinese nationalist leader chose Punahou after embracing Christianity. In 1912 Gulick met Sun’s son Sun Fo in Hawai‘i, calling him “the young man whose father has attained such great note.”¹²¹

In 1875 John and Emily traveled to Kobe, Japan for medical treatment. They had already lost two infants. In Kobe Emily and her newborn child died in childbirth. Gulick decided to remain in Japan, working with the new ABCFM Japanese mission for the next twenty-four years. Gulick found great change in Japan. “The power of the [*shogun*] had been broken...The persecution of Christian converts had ceased,” he wrote. In Kobe Gulick lectured on biology at Doshisha School, a Congregational mission school. The

Peter Lang, 1995); Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 21; Sarah R. Mason, “Missionary Conscience and the Comprehension of Imperialism a Study of the Children of American Missionaries to China, 1900-1949” (PhD diss., Northern Illinois University, 1978), 6-7.

¹²¹ Sun Yat-sen married Song Qingling, and Chiang Kai-shek married her younger sister, Song Meiling. The Song family was a prominent Chinese Christian family who were educated in the United States and closely associated with the American missionary community in China. See Marie-Claire Bergère, *Sun Yat-Sen*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Stanford University Press, 1998), 25, 250-251. See also Spence, *The Search for Modern China*, 385-386; On the United States’ volatile relationship with Chiang Kai-shek, see Odd Arne Westad, *Decisive Encounters: The Chinese Civil War, 1946-1950* (Stanford University Press, 2003). For the complicated U.S. relationship with Ngo Dinh Diem, see Seth Jacobs, *America’s Miracle Man in Vietnam: Ngo Dinh Diem, Religion, Race, and U.S. Intervention in Southeast Asia* (Duke University Press, 2004). Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 365-366.

school had been established in 1874 by a Japanese convert to Christianity who had raised funds in the United States “by awakening the sympathy of American Christians.” Gulick called Doshisha “one of the great powers for the advancement of Christian thought and progress in the empire.” In 1880 Gulick married Congregational missionary Frances Stevens and moved to Osaka to teach at Taisei Gakkwan, another Western Christian school.¹²²

Gulick retained his deep, personal interest in natural science, publishing articles on Hawaiian land shells and evolution. An article he published in *Nature* in 1872 allowed Gulick an introduction to Charles Darwin during a missionary furlough in London. “I read your article with the greatest possible interest and admiration,” Darwin wrote Gulick. The two met twice at Darwin’s home. Darwin encouraged Gulick to “write, *write*.” Gulick believed the fact he retained his Christian faith while working in evolutionary science “had a strong influence on the young Japanese men with whom I was brought into close contact through the schools in which I was a teacher.”¹²³

“Japan is a land of earthquake, fire, floods and tidal waves,” Frances Gulick wrote. In 1885 the Gulicks survived a flash flood that destroyed most of the canal city. Bridges in Osaka were “lifted from their foundations and carried out to sea.” Frances Gulick and the Gulicks’ two toddlers were commanded to “*run*” through sparks across the last standing bridge between the Gulicks’ home and dry ground. Soon after, the burning bridge broke from its moorings and was swept away. In 1891 the Gulicks experienced a severe earthquake. “Chimneys fell into the streets. Brick walls

¹²² Gulick, 1880 notes, HMCS; Gulick, manuscript memoir, circa 1912, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 251, 254-256.

¹²³ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, 233-234; Gulick, manuscript memoir, circa 1912, HMCS.

cracked....Trees swayed from side to side but there was no wind.” Osaka was on the outer edge of the earthquake, but many nearby towns and villages were destroyed.¹²⁴

The Japanese government’s response to foreigners during these crises demonstrates much about the deference it felt toward foreign settlers, as well as the expectations foreigners had for colonial protection and service. During the Osaka flood, the Japanese government housed all foreigners in a new hospital, assuring the foreigners that “no contagious disease had ever been admitted” and provided “a succession of luxurious meals such as none of us were accustomed to in our own homes.” The Gulicks, like the earlier ABCFM missionaries in Hawai‘i, had “numerous” Japanese servants so that they could focus on their teaching and writing. Gulick, while writing of Chinese and Japanese “friends” in his memoir, mentions none by name.¹²⁵

Yet the Gulicks adopted three Chinese children. One five-year old boy, blinded by smallpox, had been poisoned by his mother. When the poison did not work, neighbors asked the Gulicks to take in the child before she could try again. He later died of scarlet fever. The Gulicks also adopted two Chinese girls, a three-year old suffering from such extreme malnutrition that Mrs. Gulick nursed her at her breast, her own newborn infant having just died. Martha recovered, attended school in the United States, taught English

¹²⁴ Gulick, manuscript memoir, circa 1912, HMCS.

¹²⁵ Gulick refused to leave the family’s flooded neighborhood, staying in their elevated home and helping to house his neighbors. See Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 256. Carol Chin discusses the special privileges American women missionaries received in Western-protected spheres of influence, as well as their ambivalence about possessing a social status their Asian counterparts did not, in Carol C. Chin, “Beneficent Imperialists: American Women Missionaries in China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century,” *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 3 (2003).

in Japan, and married a Japanese pastor. Hannah, her father an opium addict, taught music, married a Japanese teacher, and moved to Hawai‘i.¹²⁶

Gulick’s solitary and intellectual nature perhaps influenced his seeming distance from the native populations with whom he worked. Instead, he related to people through his love of the natural world and through teaching and writing about biology. Gulick spent much of his adult life attempting to reconcile the evolutionary science he observed in the Hawaiian Islands and the Christian faith he accepted as a child. Gulick believed that the Hawaiian land snails he had studied as a young man demonstrated the principle of evolution by isolation. Although he used the term “species” somewhat loosely, Gulick believed he had categorized over 180 different species of shells, some incapable of interbreeding. Gulick noted that under the same environmental conditions in the Hawaiian Islands, the evolution of snails in “diverse directions,” proved that “there is more happening in evolution than the factors discovered by Darwin can account for.” Gulick believed this diversity was “due to release from the standardizing effect of the strenuous competition on continents, and to the increased opportunities to take up new ways of life.”¹²⁷

Gulick termed his discoveries “habitudinal” evolution, and spent the rest of his life trying to discern the social implications of human isolation and diversity. He attempted to reconcile his parents’ invasion of Hawaiian culture, as well as his own forceful entry into Japanese and Chinese civilizations. “In biological evolution a new type has influence only as its offspring multiply to the exclusion of other types,” Gulick wrote, “but in rational evolution a new character may propagate itself by transforming

¹²⁶ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 243-245.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 462, 477, 482-464.

other types into more or less conformity to its own standards without any infusion of new blood. This is the method of Christ's influence on the world." Twentieth-century child psychologist Lev Vygotsky would later argue similarly, observing that learning takes place "only" through interaction with people and "in cooperation" with peers. Vygotsky proposed that cultural-historical factors interacted with genetics, as well as physiological and ontological factors, in the evolution of human development, including the formation of memory, conceptualism, and volition.¹²⁸

Gulick's belief that volitional and cultural factors aided in the process of evolution was critical to his understanding of the Christian God. Materialism and "fatalism of the heaviest type" resulted from the belief that environmental factors alone drove survival. Choice, even among the lowest snail, suggested that "some future day mankind will execute intelligent plans for influencing its own evolution." Genetics, Gulick wrote in 1907, hid the "secrets of biology...if I judge rightly."¹²⁹

Gulick also attempted to reconcile the concept of national identity with the theory of evolution. For Gulick, who was born in Hawai'i and lived in Japan, China and the United States, before spending his last two decades back in Hawai'i, the question was personal. Gulick believed citizenship was global and international socialism inevitable. Gulick demanded an international response to exploitation, overproduction, waste, and artistic and scientific ignorance. "The socialists are the only political party seeking to attain any of these ends," he wrote. Capitalism, Gulick argued, blotted out "community of interest," increasing the divergent evolutionary paths of social classes. Class

¹²⁸ Ibid., 293; Vygotsky qtd. in Michael Shayer, "Not Just Piaget; Not Just Vygotsky, and Certainly Not Vygotsky as *Alternative* to Piaget," *Learning and Instruction* 13, no. 5 (2003): 471; Rogoff, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*, 65.

¹²⁹ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, *John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 326, 351, 493.

consciousness would ultimately demand national-industrial democracy. An international, class-based economy would eventually give way to international-industrial democracy. “I realized that socialism as a philosophy is in accord with Evolution; and in practice it is in accord with Christianity. In the relations of man to man it applies the principles that Jesus taught.” In 1907 Gulick founded what became the Hawaiian branch of the American Socialist Party.¹³⁰

Gulick was ambivalent about his own role in disrupting China and Japan. “I had seen a country wrapped in feudalism of centuries break away from its old and honored customs and plunge into the turmoil of modern capitalism,” he later wrote. “I had seen the factories multiply till their smoking chimney clouded the air with ever increasing gloom while thousands of girls were standing and serving through twelve hours of dimmed daylight and other thousands taking their place during the darker hours of night.” Gulick condemned the United States for demanding the open door in China while placing high duties on Japanese imports. “What then will be the result when China, now awakening from the slumber of ages, avails herself of modern science and with her unlimited resources of coal, iron and cheap labor, enters the world of competition?” Gulick asked. “I see arising vast corporations that become virtual monopolies. But these corporations bleed the poor and feed the rich.”¹³¹

Gulick predicted that China would one day dominate the world market in manufacturing cheap, surplus products and would turn to socialism to secure the buying power of its own population, “producing for use, and not for profit.” He was right. As Sarah R. Mason notes in her study of twentieth-century adult missionary children in

¹³⁰ Ibid., 335-337, 356; Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

¹³¹ Gulick, memoir manuscript, circa 1912, HMCS.

China, the missionary children's widespread sympathy toward the People's Republic of China stemmed from their early cultural experiences in China and "identification" with the Chinese people. For many of the adult missionary children, communist China was "a more moral social system than the United States, both in terms of social equality and ideological commitment." Gulick's advocacy for Chinese socialism also stemmed from his cultural understanding of China, yet his early childhood experiences were in Hawai'i. His adaptability to the unique diversity of human choice in both China and Japan suggests an open-mindedness that, unlike his parents' missionary generation, stemmed from his bicultural upbringing. Only religion complicated Gulick's ability to acculturate globally.¹³²

Hawaiian mission children shrank from missionary work, the "plain, ugly, unwholesome facts; the picturesque dramatic elements all out," as one mission son put it. Yet more adult missionary children chose the teaching and ministerial professions than all other careers combined, believing their home-based, humanitarian occupations the perfect blend of faith and reason. They continued to shun an isolating, missionary calling. "For intense work as soldier, pioneer, explorer, or missionary, the only rest is in solitude with God," HMCS president and mission son William Smith remarked in 1882. Despite their distaste for their parents' profession, many felt compelled to demonstrate they had not negated their parents' choices completely.¹³³

¹³² Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 358; Mason, "Missionary Conscience and the Comprehension of Imperialism a Study of the Children of American Missionaries to China, 1900-1949", 10, 393.

¹³³ The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society printed its occupational findings in 1878. See "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society," 1878; William Smith qtd. in "Annual Report," 1882.

Samuel Armstrong, Sanford Dole and John Gulick exemplified the tension of a Hawaiian missionary upbringing. Loyal to their homeland they struggled to achieve a level of professional success that would satisfy both their personal longings and parents. Armstrong found his “calling” in the United States. Dole secured his missionary family’s legacy in the Hawaiian Islands. Gulick remained restless, stuck between a desire for scientific recognition, which he never truly achieved, and a missionary career he recklessly embraced. As a “soldier” in U.S. Reconstruction, “pioneer” in a new, Hawaiian republic and “explorer” of Asian lands, Armstrong, Dole and Gulick would have been proud to have been ranked among their intrepid, missionary parents. Their “successes” in uncharted territories, however, left a complicated trail upon which indigenous peoples and historians continue to navigate.

Conclusion: The *Pali* Revisited
Nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Mission Children in Comparative Perspective

“An exile, wandering o’er the deep, yet often in my dreamful sleep, I am a child once more.”-Sanford Ballard Dole¹

“Strangers move about but native sons remain.”-Samuel Kamakau²

The nineteenth century witnessed one of the most profound periods of human migration in world history. Nationalist politicians, industrialized militaries, unequal treaties, and the search for raw materials and consumer markets led to entire continents falling under European, U.S. and Canadian sway. From Australia, New Zealand, and Japan, to China, Africa, and North America, Western imperial powers violently introduced their cultural artifacts and religious and political ideologies to indigenous populations. The Pacific Islands were no different, and the Hawaiian Islands became central to U.S. expansion in the Pacific and Asia.

Emigrant families also participated in these historic transformations. Southern and Eastern Europeans traveled to the United States to participate in industrialization. British, French and American missionaries traveled around the world, sometimes ahead of their governments but never far behind. Much has been written about the nineteenth-century transgression of national borders and the seismic shifting of international relationships. Yet one colonial population largely has been ignored: white children. For Western colonialists, imperial children represented perhaps the greatest natural resource to be harnessed and cultivated for the perpetuation of global power. Just like diamonds and rubber in Africa, gold in Australia and the American West, and sandalwood and guano in the Pacific, European and American immigrants captivated their children and, in

¹ *The Punch Bowl*, December 1869, HCMS.

² Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 377.

some cases, exploited them for the sake of an international agenda. In the case of American missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, parents segregated their children from society and taught them to idealize American institutions and secure the spread of Christian civilization throughout the world.

Nineteenth-century Christians were not unaware of this exploitation. Rufus Anderson, foreign secretary of the ABCFM, was horrified after being told the full extent of missionary efforts in the Hawaiian Islands to control their sons and daughters. “The practice of training the children in utter seclusion from the native society and language, treats them of course as exotics. . . . It sets them up in hot houses,” he chided in 1851, after uncovering nearly thirty years of such missionary practice. Anderson warned missionary parents that when their children finally were transplanted into the world, they would not stand. “It would be strange if they did. They were not trained for such exposure.” Missionary parents remained unconcerned. Their goal was not to acculturate their children to the indigenous Hawaiians but to make Hawaiian culture more like the New England civilization from which the missionaries had come.³

Missionary children became important tools in the construction of a colonial society in the Hawaiian Islands. Their presence served to bridge the cultural divide. Indigenous Hawaiians welcomed missionary infants into their hearts and homes, even to the point of wishing to adopt them. Missionary families used their children to demonstrate proper familial deportment to Hawaiian parents. Hawaiian mission children grew up expecting this continued position of privilege, never realizing how revolutionary it was. As one missionary son described his appointment to the Hawaiian government,

³ Rufus Anderson, correspondence, July 14, 1851 (ABC 2.1.1), ABCFM.

“My parents were quite overwhelmed by this unexpected bounty; but to me, in my ignorance of the world, it seemed quite naturally a part of the due order of events.”⁴

Missionary children in Hawai‘i perpetuated their parents’ goals upon entering adulthood. While disavowing their parents’ missionary profession, the children nevertheless sought to remake the islands into their parents’ image. After nearly two decades of instruction in the superiority of New England industriousness, the children appropriated this education for their own ends. As one missionary son explained his lucrative surveying career, “we lived very much after the manner of missionary itinerants engaged in periodical visitation of their converts; only our discourse with the people was not so much concerning treasure in heaven as of land and worldly property to be laid up where moths might devour and where thieves could break in and steal.” The size of American missionary families in the islands and the entrance of Hawaiian mission children into adulthood were crucial to the Hawaiian monarchy’s decision to transfer land to the missionaries and employ their children in the islands. Just as nineteenth-century colonization required the participation of indigenous elites to aid in the administration of Western occupation, so, too, did missionary children accept their role as leaders in Hawaiian society and seek to enhance a political system within which they could benefit.⁵

Yet nineteenth-century, African-American slaves resisted their Southern owners, twentieth-century Native Americans asserted their indigenous rights in U.S. courts, the Philippines gained independence from the United States in 1946, and some Hawaiian natives continued to agitate for sovereign nationhood into the twenty-first century. As

⁴ Henry Lyman on being appointed a government surveyor in Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 219.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 205.

decolonization efforts around the world have demonstrated, nineteenth-century Euro-American colonization was incomplete, and the colonization of Hawaiian mission children was no different. Missionary children contested their parents' agendas and rejected the sacrifices they had been forced to make in childhood. Many rejected Calvinist orthodoxy, and some rejected Christianity altogether. Almost all rejected the missionary trade.⁶

Nevertheless, what Nancy Rose Hunt has called the "debris" of colonization remained. Confusion over their personal identity, fear of displeasing their parents, and detachment towards the indigenous Hawaiian population reflected the children's deep-seated questions about their childhoods. Some were more confident than others. Henry Lyman relished striding through the Hawaiian woods dressed in an "unstarched shirt that displayed a wide rolling collar," high boots, a felt hat and "bright red sash of Chinese silk." When running into a Westerner, Lyman enjoyed surprising him with his knowledge of Virgil, French, German and Greek. Others, such as Sanford Dole, wrote private poetry to "The Half-White Girl," perhaps not only a reflection of personal desire, but also of identity. Others retreated into science and nature. "Trees are companions, the mountains are our elder brothers," John Gulick wrote.⁷

⁶ For example, slaves in the Southern United States contested a slaveholding system in which they "were left peculiarly vulnerable and were encouraged to depend on and identify with their owners as a strategy of survival." See Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 16. For an excellent introduction to decolonization theory, see James D. Le Sueur, ed. *The Decolonization Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁷ Hunt describes the Congolese birthing practice of throwing hot water onto mothers who have just delivered babies, a conflation of Western medical practice and Christian missionary cleanliness in the absence of Western medicines. See Nancy Rose Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999). Lyman, *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, 232; Allen, *Sanford Ballard Dole: Hawaii's Only President, 1844-1926*, 277; Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary, John Thomas Gulick: Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 151.

Hawaiian mission children seemed to instinctively understand that they were culturally different from their parents and that these differences affected the trajectory of their lives. Language, Gulick wrote, “is the chief instrument of thought [and] builds itself out of symbols and metaphors into which higher and lower meanings are read according to the mood of the individual or the age.” Missionary children absorbed the Hawaiian language, despite their parents’ efforts, and some even preferred it. Missionary children struggled, however, with how to explain these preferences to their parents and, more importantly, how their Christian faith fit within this cultural divide. “Pity that in their boasted enthusiasm for truth the professed champions of ancient faith, often, yes, usually, shut their eyes to everything new that presents itself as truth,” Gulick lamented. As Lev Vygotsky convincingly argued in the twentieth century, the acquisition of knowledge contained communal and cultural components. Hawaiian missionary children knew what their parents did not: children’s understandings of God also reflected the cultures in which they were raised.⁸

The Hawaiian mission children’s cultural education was not the only difference between them and their American parents. The children’s formative years were also developmentally dissimilar. “Very young persons sometimes live in an *ideal world*,” Harvey Newcomb warned young New England girls and boys in the nineteenth century. This “fairy world,” as Newcomb called it, would do them no “substantial good.” Reality, he admonished, should be the children’s chief concern “through the whole of their being.” For New England girls, “romping” was also out of the question. Yet as

⁸ Gulick and Gulick, *Evolutionist and Missionary*, John Thomas Gulick: *Portrayed through Documents and Discussions*, 142, 298. Contemporary missionary methodology utilizes Vygotsky. See, for example, R. Daniel Shaw, “Beyond Contextualization: Toward a Twenty-First-Century Model for Enabling Mission,” *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 34, no. 4 (2010).

researchers have uncovered, a child's prefrontal cortex, the part of the brain associated with imagination and learning, is undeveloped, allowing children to see the world differently from adults and contemplate possibilities that their caretakers have long rejected through planning and inhibition. As Alison Gopnik writes, childhood play is "the most visible sign of the paradoxically useful uselessness of immaturity." Many missionary children in Hawai'i had great freedom to explore the islands. They relished travel and embraced adventure. Their childhood play allowed them to contemplate change in ways their parents could not. Ironically, indigenous Hawaiian children had the most independence of all—"free and unconstrained," as Linda K. Menton describes. Their boundless, childhood freedom perhaps later influenced their easy acceptance of white immigrants. The American missionaries represented new possibilities and a different way to view the world. Unafraid, indigenous Hawaiians made up their own minds about the *haoles* and their children.⁹

Samuel Chapman Armstrong cited his parents, the Hawaiian Islands, and the American Civil War as among the greatest influences upon his life. Armstrong's reflection simply echoed countless other missionary children from Hawai'i. The Hawaiian Islands, where the missionary children spent their earliest and most formative years, possessed them in a way no other geographical space ever did. The implications for colonialism have already been made and continue to hold ramifications for the twenty-first century migratory world.¹⁰

⁹ Harvey Newcomb, *How to Be a Lady: A Book for Girls, Containing Useful Hints on the Formation of Character*, 5th ed. (Boston: Gould, Kendall and Lincoln, 1848), 10-11; Alison Gopnik, *The Philosophical Baby: What Children's Minds Tell Us About Truth, Love, and the Meaning of Life* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009), 12-14; Menton, "'Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report': The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850", 201-202.

¹⁰ Ludlow, ed. *Personal Memories and Letters of General S. C. Armstrong*, 1407. One such example is the tremendous demographic shift which has been occurring in Europe since the late twentieth century as

The American Civil War, by contrast, blunted this Hawaiian devotion by giving license to a moral frustration and aggressiveness which many missionary children sensed but few could describe. The war allowed them an outlet for supporting a righteous cause far from their parents—a cause which gave them prestige among their American peers—and some missionary children utilized war to achieve confidence in their own identities. Of course, the frustration Hawaiian missionary children experienced stemmed from their complicated relationships with parents. Isolated, sent away, and boarded by strangers, Hawaiian missionary children genuinely loved their parents and admired their missionary calling. The insecurity children felt stemmed from not knowing how they fit into their parents' world.¹¹

For the majority of Hawaiian missionary children, the Christian faith remained their primary source of security—a bridge to their parents, a compass directing them through Hawaiian and American cultures. The tenacity with which most Hawaiian missionary children maintained a form of Christianity was witnessed by the populations among whom the children lived as adults. Their religious adherence influenced U.S. foreign policy in China and Japan and, of course, the Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaiian missionary children represented a white minority within Hawai'i, yet being white in the nineteenth century garnered enormous protection from European and American states. These international powers carried with their militaries an ideology of racial superiority by which all Hawaiian missionary children benefitted. The powerful

immigrants from former colonies migrate to European metropolises yet attempt to raise their children according to the religious and educational practices of their birthland.

¹¹ The complex relationship between missionary children and their parents is demonstrated by the findings of one recent investigation into missionary boarding school abuse. See Wes Stafford, "A Candle in the Darkness: The President of Compassion International Tells His Story of Childhood Abuse and Deliverance in a West Africa Boarding School," *Christianity Today* May 2010, 22-26. It seems clear that physical and psychological abuse also occurred at Punahou during its first decade.

combination of race, religion and restlessness—with which Hawaiian missionary children combed the world—shaped nations, overturned governments, and divided cultures. Their strength of will demonstrated the tremendous capability children have to piece together childhood into meanings that impact the world.

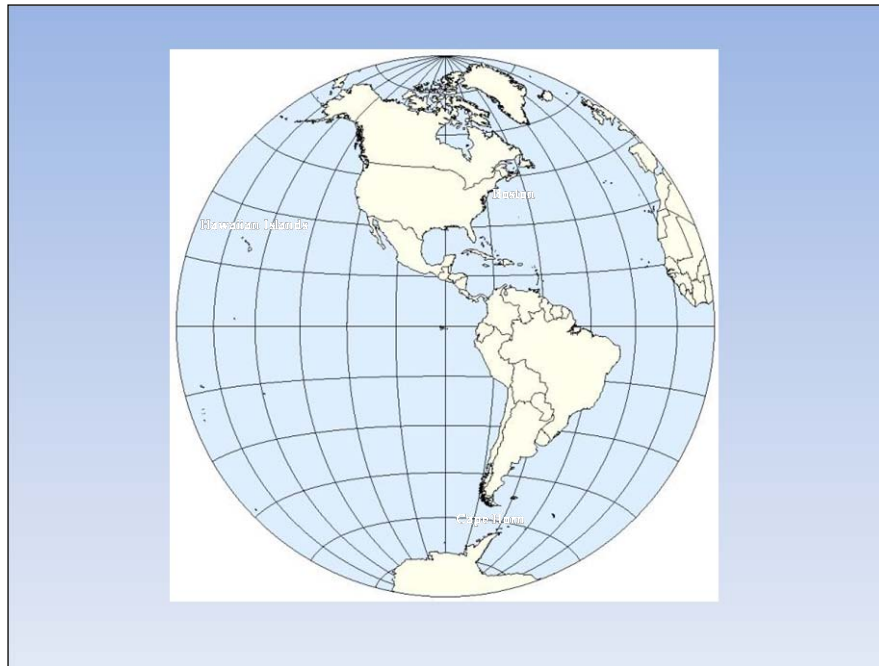


Figure 1. Map of the Western Hemisphere. Missionary children traveled by sea from the Hawaiian Islands, around Cape Horn, and up the Atlantic coast, in order to reach New England schools. The journey would take six months. Source: Sean Baker (self made, 2005).

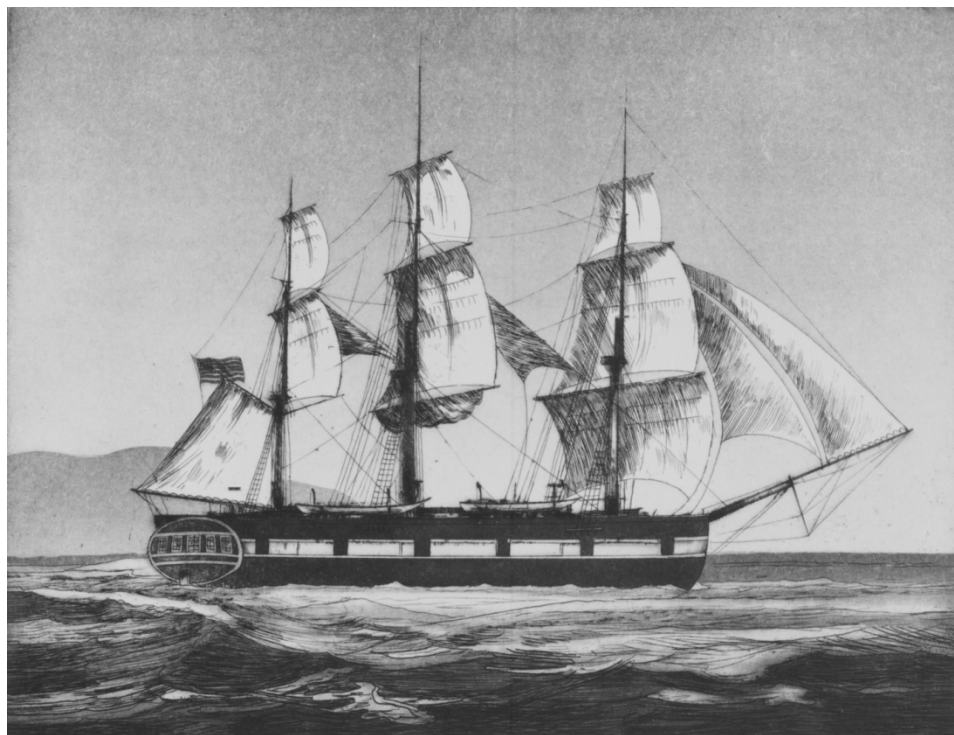


Figure 2. The whaleship *Averick* brought the fifth company of ABCFM missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands in 1832. Missionary children rode similar vessels to the United States, many times unaccompanied by adults. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.



Figure 3. Sophia Moseley Bingham (1820-1887) was the first American missionary child born in the Hawaiian Islands. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.



Figure 4. Missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke and their seven children, c. 1860. Missionary families, on average, were quite large. The Cookes taught at the Royal School in Honolulu before Amos Cooke left the Hawaiian mission to begin the successful mercantile Castle & Cooke with partner and former missionary, Samuel Castle. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.



Figure 5. Hawaiian man carrying calabashes. Native Hawaiians were instrumental to missionary families. Fetching water, growing food, and washing clothing were just a few of the tasks for which missionaries relied on their indigenous servants. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.



Figure 6. Kealoha, Hawaiian nurse to the Baldwin family. Missionary children were often cared for by native Hawaiians, and some children developed close attachments to their native caregivers. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.

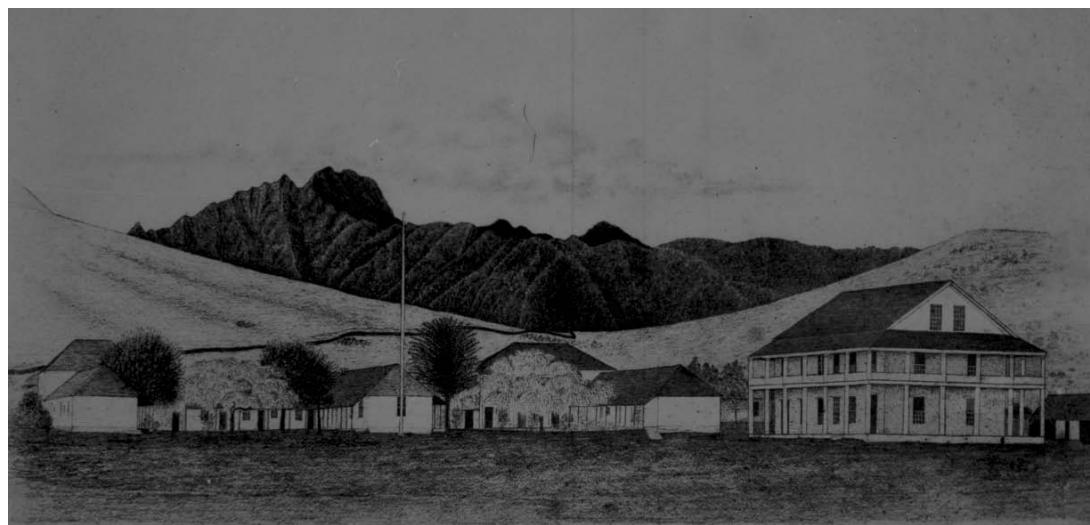


Figure 7. Punahou School, from an original sketch. Punahou opened outside Honolulu in 1841. The boarding school became the primary preparatory school for white missionary children in the Hawaiian Islands. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.

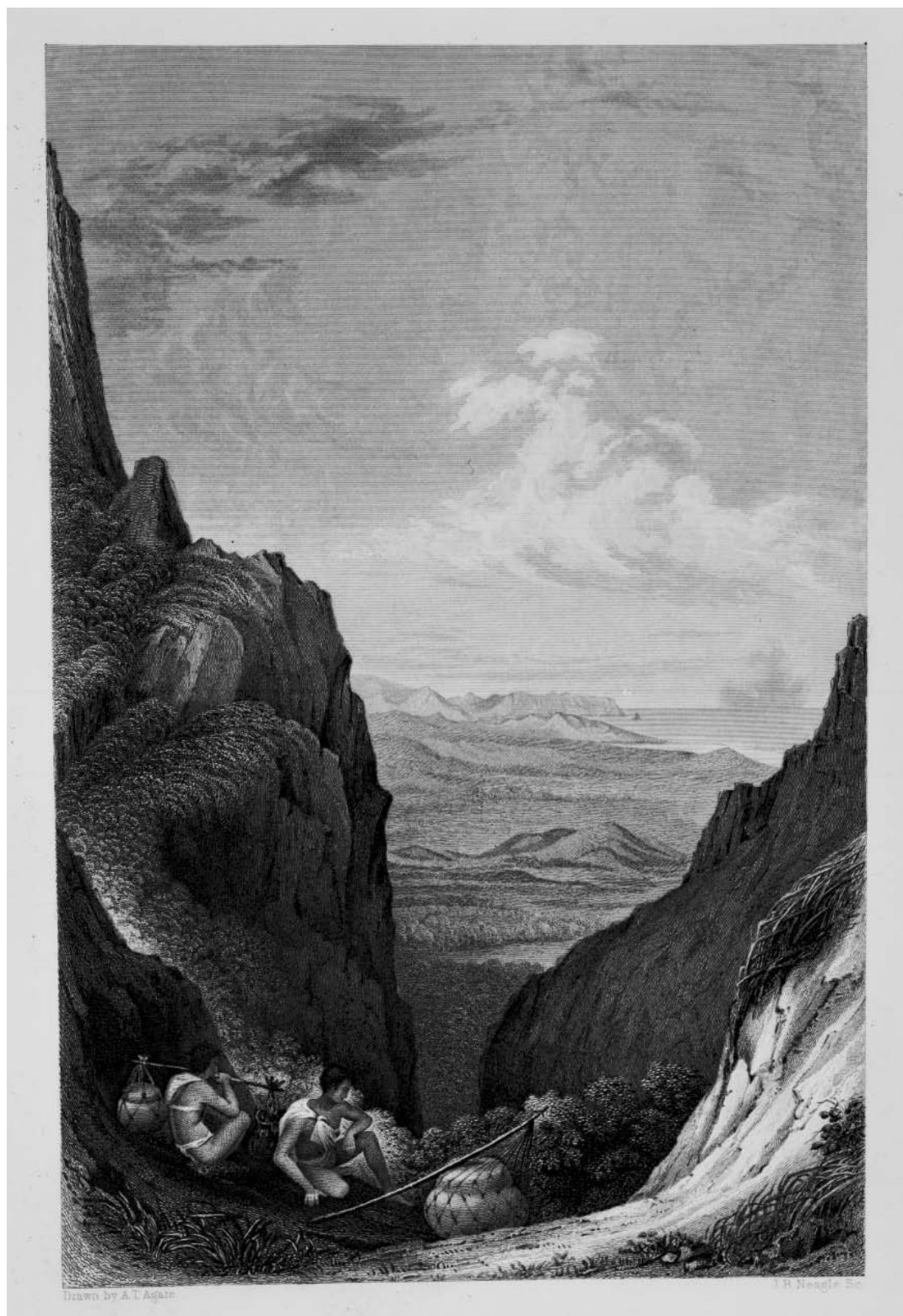


Figure 8. Natives crossing Pali. Native Hawaiians often accompanied and aided missionary children on their excursions across the Hawaiian Islands. The Pali, for missionary children, symbolized the deep cultural divide they balanced as children of American parents and subjects of the Hawaiian kingdom. Source: Mission Houses Museum Library.

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