

THE EARLY HAWAIIAN ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT:

1837—1843

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Not all knowledge can be obtained in one school.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the development of the Hawaiian antislavery movement among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission during the late 1830s and early 1840s. At first, a handful of individuals stationed in Hawai'i perceived their participation as a necessary part of their religious duty that was parallel to their work to evangelize and educate Native Hawaiians. Involvement in the movement was used to validate the efforts of the missionaries in Hawai'i. However, what began as an expression of antislavery sentiment shifted over time, as a result of the growing tensions between the ABCFM and the Sandwich Islands Mission, as well as the changing role of the missionaries in Hawaiian Society. This thesis also explores characterization of Native Hawaiians as slaves and the ways these concepts changed over the course of the movement to increasingly encompass aspects of Native Hawaiian governance and land ownership.

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INTRODUCTION

On June 9th, just one day after the concluding session of their annual General Meeting, a group of Sandwich Islands missionaries gathered at a Honolulu residence. The purpose of their meeting was rather extraordinary; driven by the conviction that they were responsible for working for the ending of slavery in the U.S., these individuals sought to formally organize an antislavery society in Hawai‘i. They adopted a constitution in order to firmly outline their beliefs:

Believing that the fact of our separation from the lands of our birth for the work of Christ among the unevangelized, does not weaken our obligation to cooperate with our brethren there in averting the displeasure of heaven for national sins; believing, more over that the field of our labors as Christian Philanthropists, “is the world,” that we are solemnly commanded to do good to all men as we have the opportunity”; that it is our privileges to sympathise with all who in the spirit of the gospel are making special efforts for the down trodden slave, and especially that we cannot be guiltless if we neglected to “remember those that are in bonds as bound with them,” and to seek, by all lawful means to confer upon all the inestimable boon of civil and religious liberty; therefore, we do hereby agree, seeking the blessing and guidance of God, to form ourselves in an Anti-Slavery Society.¹

The formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society was in fact a culmination of an early antislavery movement in Hawai‘i that was mostly concentrated between the years 1837 and 1841. Partially inspired by the growth of American antislavery movements of the same period, the movement began in the mid–1830s with a few missionaries who were concerned with the widespread existence and practice of slavery in the U.S. By the late 1830s and early 1840s, several individuals would choose to sever their ties with the Sandwich Islands Mission by seeking dismissals from their parent organization, the American Board of

¹ Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society” (Honolulu: Sandwich Islands Mission Press, 1841).

Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in protest of policies they felt sanctioned the perpetuation of slavery in the U.S.

Yet, despite their coordinated antislavery efforts and the seeming urgency with which the missionaries engaged in antislavery activities, the movement in Hawai‘i never extended beyond a few fervent members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. With the exception of scattered instances of public sermons and fundraising among the native churches, much of antislavery advocacy which was the foundation of the movement was actually targeted toward populations in the U.S. or to other members of the mission. The Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society itself was an extremely short-lived organization, and records of meetings or even of the society itself do not extend past 1843. Indeed, the very existence of the movement and the society were relatively unknown in Hawai‘i during the mid-nineteenth century, and no discussion of antislavery activities of the missionaries was published in any of the English or Hawaiian language newspapers in the Hawaiian Kingdom. It was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that a few scattered references to the antislavery sentiments of a few individuals who had been Sandwich Islands missionaries surfaced in obituaries and memoirs.²

As a result, the historical existence of the early Hawaiian antislavery movement and the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society is not well known and even scholars and academics who are familiar with Hawai‘i in the mid-nineteenth century may be unaware of the it.

Significance

² See for example ABCFM, “Rev. Lorrin Andrews,” *Missionary Herald*, Vol LXV (Cambridge; Riverside Press, 1869) or Alexander, Mary Charlotte Alexander, *Dr. Baldwin of Lahaina* (Berkeley, CA: MC Alexander, 1953).

This thesis explores the development of the Hawaiian antislavery movement during the late 1830s and early 1840s. At first, a handful of individuals stationed in Hawai‘i perceived their participation in the antislavery movement as a necessary part of their religious duty, within the scope of their objectives as missionaries, and parallel to their work to evangelize and educate Native Hawaiians. Involvement in the movement allowed the missionaries to occupy a position of elevated moral and spiritual authority among certain communities in the U.S. and also was used to validate the efforts of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawai‘i. However, what began as an expression of antislavery sentiment shifted over time, as a result of the growing tensions between the ABCFM and the Sandwich Islands Mission, as well as the changing role of the missionaries in Hawaiian Society. These factors would increasingly shape the antislavery movement into a politicized tool which was used to publicly challenge the authority of the ABCFM. Furthermore, the formation of the Hawaiian antislavery society became one of the ways the missionaries struggled to remain relevant to communities in the U.S.

This thesis also explores the ways Native Hawaiians were characterized as slaves and the ways these concepts changed over the course of the Hawaiian antislavery movement. In particular, this characterization purposefully engaged existing sets of rhetoric which portrayed Native Hawaiians as immoral, ignorant, and oppressed by the chiefs. Originally used as a justification for the evangelical and educational efforts of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawai‘i, the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery would shift during the late 1830s and increasingly encompass aspects of Native Hawaiian governance and land ownership.

The Scope of This Thesis

As previously noted, the development of the antislavery movement in Hawai‘i is not a topic of extensive historical analysis; very little or no reference to any aspect of the movement appears in general histories and other scholarly works that cover the mid-nineteenth century in the Islands. Academic discussions that explore the antislavery movement in Hawai‘i often focus exclusively on the advocacy and dismissal of Lafon, who was particularly fervent about publicly expressing his abolitionist beliefs. Nonetheless, there is a limited body of scholarship pertaining to the protest dismissals and the formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society.

In the 1950s, Frank Inouye, an Associate Professor of History at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo, investigated accounts of a Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society and requested Bernice Judd of the Hawaiian Historical Society to investigate the holdings of the society library. In a letter dated November 23, 1955, Inouye expressed hope that “something of value” could be found and noted that “No mention is made of it in any standard American history; and no reference about Hawaii makes note of it. It isn’t even mentioned in the *Polynesian!*”³ Judd’s response came in a letter dated January 12, 1956; “After a diligent search of all likely sources, I have to report that I have been unable to find any reference at all to the Anti-Slavery Society founded in Honolulu on June 9, 1841. Even the diaries of that date have no mention of the event. This curious lack of information is a matter for speculation.”⁴ Judd and other archivists were eventually able to compile a folio consisting of antislavery correspondences that had been sent between the missionaries between 1836 and 1843, some of which discussed the formation of the antislavery society.

³ Frank Inouye, letter to Bernice Judd, 23 November 1955, folder Antislavery Societies, Mission Children’s Society Library, Honolulu, HI., 2. The *Polynesian* was a mostly English language newspaper that ran from 1840 to 1841 and from 1844 to 1866. See Helen G. Chapin, *Guide to Newspapers of Hawai‘i, 1834-2000*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2003).

⁴ Inouye, letter to Bernice Judd, 23 November 1955.

This thesis seeks to build on the works of a number of contemporary scholars. In *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Mission* historian Paul William Harris wrote about the antislavery activities of the Sandwich Islands Mission in the context of the missionary ideology advanced by Rufus Anderson, a corresponding secretary for the ABCFM.⁵ In his book, *The Rights of My People: Lili‘uokalani’s Enduring Battle with the United States*, history and law professor Neil Proto briefly discusses the Hawaiian antislavery movement to illustrate the intellectual and cultural battle over slavery as it related to the ABCFM and the Sandwich Islands Mission to provide context to a discussion of the racial politics faced by Queen Lili‘uokalani in the late nineteenth century.⁶ Discussion of the Hawaiian antislavery movement is also present in works that include biographical sketches of specific missionaries. In his book about the missionary physicians of Hawai‘i, *9 Doctors and God*, Dr. John Halford discusses antislavery sentiments and activities of Dr. Thomas Lafon; historian Clifford Putney does likewise for the Reverend Peter Gulick in his book *Missionaries in Hawai‘i. The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797–1883*.⁷

While extremely valuable for providing greater context to the Hawaiian antislavery movement, the scholars discussed above present their discussions of the Hawaiian antislavery movement briefly, and as small parts of larger analysis on other topics of historical inquiry. The examination presented in this thesis questions the oversimplified assumption that antislavery sentiments missionaries were the only or even primary motivation for the

⁵ Paul William Harris, *Nothing but Christ: Rufus Anderson and the Ideology of Protestant Foreign Mission* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

⁶ Neil Proto, *The Rights of My People: Liliuokalani’s Enduring Battle with the United States* (New York, Algora Publishing, 2009) 63.

⁷ John Halford, *9 Doctors and God*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1954) 161; Clifford Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai‘i. The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797–1883*, (Amherst and Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

antislavery movement in the Hawai‘i through an in-depth examination of the social and political dynamics within the mission, as well as between the mission and the ABCFM.

Organization

This thesis encompasses a total of six chapters. Chapter 1 explores the growing stability of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawaiian society as a factor which would shape the development of the later antislavery movement. Chapter 2 discusses the earliest evidences of antislavery sentiments expressed by the missionaries in the *nūpepa*, or Hawaiian language newspapers, which was one of the few mediums the missionaries used to publicly express their antislavery beliefs within Hawaiian society. Chapters 1 and 2 also explore the intertwining rhetorics of *pono* (morality), chiefly oppression, and Hawaiian slavery. Chapter 3 discusses the emergence of the Hawaiian antislavery movement, with particular focus on the antislavery correspondences of a handful of missionaries that were published in American antislavery periodicals. This chapter also examines the onset of a financial crisis in the U.S., which would strain the worldwide operations of the ABCFM. Chapter 4 explores the fractioning relationship between members of the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM; this chapter also includes an analysis of the shifting role of the missionaries in Hawaiian society, which would create an environment that in many ways emboldened the expression of missionary frustrations with the ABCFM and provided economic alternatives for the members of the mission. Chapter 5 looks closely at the motivations for the protest dismissal requests of several missionaries and also explores the formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society as a culmination of the Hawaiian antislavery movement. Finally, Chapter 6 discusses some of the factors which may have limited and constrained participation in the

society among certain members of the mission, affected the society's scope and impact, and influenced its longevity as an organization. The discussion in this chapter is framed as an exploration of some of the social and political dynamics within the mission which may have impacted long-term missionary participation in society proceedings. Chapter 6 also examines the ways the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery was shifting from a conceptual basis on principles of morality that was increasingly based on governance and land ownership.

Sources

Diverse sources were utilized in this thesis, including missionary letters, correspondences with the ABCFM, newspaper articles, as well as records from the mission and the ABCFM. Overwhelmingly, the sources incorporated in this analysis are English-language primary sources. Research was mostly conducted in the library and archives of the Hawai'i Mission Children's Society Library, although a significant amount of material from the ABCFM utilized in this thesis has thankfully been made available digitally by the Houghton Library of Harvard University and other institutions.

This thesis also incorporates historical sources *ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i* (in the Hawaiian language) wherever and whenever possible; the utilization of Hawaiian language sources is vital to the progression of the field of the Hawaiian history, as they have largely been underutilized in the existing historiography. As noted, most of the historical records pertaining to the Hawaiian antislavery movement reflected activities which were contained within the social boundaries of the mission and are therefore mostly in English. However, the *nūpepa* represent one area where the missionaries publicly expressed their antislavery sentiments within broader Hawaiian society; while not many were written, a few articles

pertaining to slavery appeared in the newspaper *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i* prior to the year 1840.⁸

All translations of Hawaiian language material are my own.

⁸ For example, see “Helu 3,” *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, Buke 4 Helu 14, 5 Dec. 1838, Aoa 56.

CHAPTER 1

STABILIZING THE SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSION, 1820–1835

Despite a few reminders of American slavery in the Hawaiian Islands during the first decade and a half of the Sandwich Islands Mission, there is no evidence of an early antislavery movement among the missionaries. Indeed, this period was unmarked by the flurry of antislavery activities and the fervent sentiments which would later characterize the movement in the late 1830s and early 1840s.

This chapter explores the growing stability of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawaiian society as a factor which would shape the development of the later antislavery movement. This stability was evident not only in Hawaiian society, but also in the prestige and concomitant security the Sandwich Islands missionaries enjoyed with the ABCFM and among religious communities in the U.S. The growth of the mission in the mid- and late 1830s also allowed the missionaries to expand their evangelical efforts to areas and interests that extended beyond converting Native Hawaiians in Hawai‘i. In particular, the missionaries began to consider their religious responsibilities to populations in the U.S., an expanded scope which would eventually include the enslaved.

Early Reminders of American Slavery in Hawai‘i

Among some of the most visible reminders of American slavery in Hawai‘i were the close affiliation of two former slaves with the mission during the 1820s and two correspondences which provided the missionaries with brief accounts of slavery in the 1830s.

The early years of the mission in Hawai‘i were marked by the presence and aid of Anthony Allen and Betsy Stockton, both of whom had been slaves in the U.S. Allen traveled

to the Islands from New York in 1810 and had established himself as a successful farmer and entrepreneur. When the first company of missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i approximately a decade later, Allen provided the individuals stationed in Honolulu near his residence with desperately needed provisions, including fresh produce and other foodstuffs from his farm.⁹ Because he was familiar with life in Hawaiian society, Allen was also a crucial source of guidance and information and at times served as one of many cultural brokers for the members of the mission.¹⁰

Like Allen, Betsy Stockton would provide significant aid to the early Sandwich Islands Missionaries. However, while Allen had already been living in Hawai‘i for a number of years before the missionary arrival in 1820, Betsy Stockton would travel to the Islands with the first company of reinforcement missionaries sent by the ABCFM in 1823. Prior to leaving for Hawai‘i, Stockton had been a slave in the extended household of Ashbel Green, who was the president of Princeton College and a corporate member of the ABCFM.¹¹ Green was a supporter of the antislavery efforts associated with the American Colonization Society, and freed Stockton after she received the invitation to travel to Hawai‘i; he also helped her to pay for the supplies she would need while in the Islands.¹² Upon her arrival in Hawai‘i, Stockton frequently wrote warm letters to Green and his family (a testament to their cordial

⁹ Sybil Bingham, “Mrs. H.,” 1792-1848 Journal Letters Nov. 27 1819-July 7 1821, Typescript B52S, The Journal Collection 1819–, Box 1, Hawai‘i Mission Children’s Society Library [HMCS] (Honolulu, HI.); For more on Allen, see also Kathryn Waddell Takara, *The African Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i*,” *They Followed the Trade Winds: African Americans in Hawai‘i*, *Social Process in Hawai‘i*, 43 (2004): 1-22; Marc Scruggs, “There is one black man, Anthony D. Allen...” *They Followed the Tradewinds, African Americans in Hawaiian History*, *Social Process in Hawai‘i*, 43 (2004): 24-52; Kenneth Porter, “Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii,” *The Journal of Negro History* 19, no. 2 (April 1934): 193-197; and Eleanor Nordyke, “Blacks in Hawai‘i: A Demographic and Historical Perspective,” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 22 (1988).

¹⁰ Bingham, “Mrs. H.” The Journal Collection 1819–, Box 1, HMCS.

¹¹ Ashbel Green and Joseph Huntington Jones, *The Life of Ashbel Green*, V, Part 1000 (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1849) 325–326.

¹² Lawrence Jacob Friedman, *Gregarious Saints: Self and Community in American Abolitionism, 1830–1870*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1982) 37. The American Colonization Society was formed in 1816 and supported the return of freed slaves to Liberia in Africa.

relationship), which he published alongside letters from other Sandwich Islands missionaries in the periodical *The Christian Advocate*.¹³ Although she was sent to be a domestic helper and aid for the family of the Reverend Charles Stewart, Stockton was also selected to accompany the missionary reinforcements as because of her “qualification to teach a school.”¹⁴ She founded and operated a school for *maka ‘āinana* (members of the general populace) women and children in Lāhaina, Maui, which would help the missionaries to fulfill the requests of the *ali ‘i* (chiefs) “to have instruction in reading and writing extended to the whole population.”¹⁵ Stockton returned to the U.S. with the ailing Stewarts in 1825, just two years after her arrival.

Further reminders of American slavery would come in the form of correspondences sent to the missionaries by the students at Princeton Theological Seminary in New Jersey in the early 1830s; although they were not focused on the subject, these letters would provide the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission with accounts of the growing conflicts surrounding slavery occurring in the U.S.

Maintaining regular correspondence with American religious organizations and communities was considered to be an important responsibility of the missionaries; the mission annually assigned a number of individuals to provide updates of their work in Hawai‘i through letters that were also intended to bolster support for the missions in the

¹³ Green and Jones, 325–326.

¹⁴ ABCFM, *Missionary Register* 12, (Cambridge, MA: Church Missionary Society, 1910) 83; Charles Stewart, *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824 and 1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1970). Stockton’s name appears in historical records as “Betsy” and “Betsey.” Because “Betsy” is more frequently used in the ABCFM records and in the journal of Charles Stewart, for whom she was a family assistant, I have chosen to spell her name “Betsy.”

¹⁵ Charles Stewart, *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824 and 1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1970) 319, 323.

U.S.¹⁶ Although the missionaries exchanged letters with many institutions, organizations, and individuals, the Societies of Inquiry on Missions were among their most important correspondents. These organizations were formed at many religious colleges and theological seminaries in the U.S. during the early nineteenth century for the purpose of allowing students to pose questions to individuals who were actively serving as missionaries in the field, with the hopes that a higher percentage of these students would be inspired to dedicate their lives to the cause of missions.

In particular, two letters sent by the Society of Inquiry at Princeton Theological Seminary to the missionaries would briefly highlight the growing strength of the American antislavery movements in the early 1830s. In a letter sent to the missionary Lorrin Andrews dated July 31, 1832, society members described the 1831 Southampton Insurrection (also known as Nat Turner’s Rebellion), an infamous slave revolt which would create an atmosphere of fear in many American communities. The author of the letter wrote that as a result of the revolt, “the inhabitants of our slave holding states are beginning to feel and acknowledge that something must be done and that they are living in jeopardy every hour.”¹⁷ A second letter sent by members of Princeton’s Society of Inquiry in 1834 informed the missionaries in Hawai‘i of the 1833 formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society.¹⁸

The two letters received from the Society of Inquiry were some of the first communications discussing slavery sent between members of the mission in Hawai‘i and individuals in the U.S. In later years, these reminders of slavery may have inspired

¹⁶ Lorrin Andrews, letter to the Members of the Societies of Inquiry on Missions, Theological Society Princeton, 20 Sept. 1830, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820–1853 Society of Inquiry– Colleges and Seminaries, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

¹⁷ Princeton Theological Seminary, letter to Lorrin Andrews, 31 July 1832, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820–1853 Society of Inquiry- Colleges and Seminaries, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

¹⁸ Princeton Theological Seminary, letter, 12 April 1834 Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820–1853 Society of Inquiry Colleges and Seminaries 1834–1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

antislavery sentiments among some of the missionaries; for example, Andrews would become one of a handful of missionaries to participate in antislavery activities in the late 1830s and 1840s. Additionally, the American Anti-Slavery Society and many of its proponents would eventually garner the support of many of the missionaries.

Despite these early reminders of American slavery, there is little evidence of any public expression of antislavery sentiment among the Sandwich Islands missionaries during the 1820s and early 1830s. Indeed, during this time period, the missionaries were almost solely dedicated to efforts to establish and strengthen the mission.

Forces of Instability: Opposition to the Mission and “Ka Wā o Kaomi”

While the mission community was certainly a visible element in Hawaiian society during the 1820s and 1830s, the position of the missionaries among Native Hawaiians was by no means stable or certain. The members of the mission were constantly negotiating and renegotiating their spiritual, social, and political “territory” within Hawaiian society during the nineteenth century. In particular, resistance from foreigners and among Native Hawaiians complicated efforts to establish and strengthen the mission, which in turn restricted the initial role of the missionaries in Hawai‘i and narrowed the scope of the early missionary work.¹⁹ In 1831, Andrews acknowledged that the influence of the missionaries was still largely concentrated around the stations.²⁰

¹⁹ Andrews, letter from the Society of Enquiry on Missions, Theological Seminary, Princeton, 20 Sept. 1830; Reginald Yzendoorn, *History of the Catholic Mission in the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu; Star Bulletin, 1927) 26, 96; William Orme, A Defence of the Mission in the South Sea and the Sandwich Islands Against the Misrepresentations in a Late Number of the Quarterly Review in a Letter to the Editor of that Review, (London; B. J. Holdsworth, 1827). For example, the missionary William Richards and his family were physically threatened by sailors protesting laws that prohibited gambling, adultery and prostitution.

²⁰ Andrews, letter from the Society of Enquiry on Missions, Theological Seminary, Princeton, 20 Sept. 1830.

The support of the Native Hawaiian *ali'i* (chiefs), who had traditionally been the sources of political, social, and spiritual authority in Hawaiian society, was especially important for the long term stability and viability of the mission. However, the deaths of Keōpūlani, Kaumuali'i, as well as several other powerful *ali'i* who had advanced many of the missionary causes in the late 1820s and 1830s, also resulted in a loss of support for the mission among Native Hawaiians, and headway was severely stalled in many evangelical efforts, such as conversion and education.²¹ The death of Ka'ahumanu in 1832 would particularly unsettle the precarious stability of the mission.

An early and vital supporter of the mission, Ka'ahumanu had been appointed *kuhina nui* (regent or premier) by Kamehameha and had served in that position during the reign of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). Ka'ahumanu had sanctioned the work of the missionaries and gave many of their initiatives support, including efforts to spread literacy; Ka'ahumanu also provided protection and the impetus for advancement of the missionary objectives through the passage of laws which included prohibitions on alcohol, gambling, and prostitution. Under Ka'ahumanu's guidance, the Native Hawaiian *ali'i* would increasingly incorporate elements of the mission's teachings into their governance structures.

Ka'ahumanu's death allowed Kauikeaouli to seek greater political autonomy as king, and he attempted to consolidate his power and chiefly authority as ruler. One of the ways he would do this was to revoke or loosen many of the religious laws that had been put in place during the reign of Liholiho, which were supported by many of the chiefs who had been proponents of Ka'ahumanu and the missionary causes.²² 1833 to 1834 became known among

²¹ Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu; Bishop Museum Press, 1992) 102; Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii*, 334.

²² Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York; M. W. Dodd, 1842) 373; Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawai'i*, 334–338; Patrick Vinton Kirch and Marshall

the missionaries as “*ka wā o Kaomi*” for the alleged “debauching” influences of Kaomi, the half-Tahitian confidant and *aikāne* (intimate companion) of Kauikeaouli.²³ During this time, many traditional activities which had been deemed immoral by the missionaries, such as *hula* (dance), were revived and openly practiced. Furthermore, according to an article published in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hae Hawai‘i* in 1861;

*Ua hoopauia na kula, ua wawahia na hale kula, ua puhia ka okolehao, ua hulaia na hula a puni ka aina, haalele na kane i ka lakou mau wahine mare, haalele na wahine i ka lakou mau kane, a pili manuahi wale no.*²⁴

The schools were ended, the schoolhouses were torn down, ‘*okolehao* [a type of liquor] was brewed, *hula* was danced around the land, men deserted their wives, women deserted their husbands, and united only in adultery.

Although many of these statements were likely an exaggeration, the article reflected some of the tension and power dynamics between the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, the *ali‘i* and the *maka‘āinana* in Hawai‘i at the time. Many chiefs had continued to follow, uphold, and enforce the religious laws, and had constantly pressured Kauikeaouli to reinstate them. Yet, despite the efforts of the missionaries to “civilize” Native Hawaiians and the urgings of the religious *ali‘i*, many Native Hawaiians chose to act in ways that had been deemed immoral. The missionaries and others would later characterize Kauikeaouli’s actions and decision to revoke the religious laws as a “rebellion,” seemingly suggesting that they were simply temporary fits of youthful dissent against both the spiritual authority of the religious chiefs and especially that of God, in conjunction with the developing church. In truth, however, *ka wā o Kaomi* was a political struggle that threatened the stability of the Sandwich Islands Mission; in particular, traditional Native Hawaiian sources of chiefly

Sahlins, *Anahulu: The Anthropology of History in the Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) 124.

²³ Noenoe Silva, *Aloha Betrayed Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, (Durham; Duke University Press, 2004) 61; “Ka wa ia Kaomi” *Ka Hae Hawai‘i*, 11 Sep. 1861, Buke 6, Helu 24, Aoa 94.

²⁴ “Ka wa ia Kaomi” *Ka Hae Hawai‘i*, 11 Sep. 1861.

authority and legitimacy clashed with the religious conceptualization of morality and governance urged by the missionaries.

The political implications of *ka wā o Kaomi* are especially evident when considering that this period was commonly characterized as *haunaele*, or a tumultuous time of confusion that often accompanied war.²⁵ Although it was published more than twenty-five years after the incidents, the *Ka Hae Hawai'i* article reveals interesting aspects of the religious and political discourse that surrounded *ka wā o Kaomi* which would continue to hold relevance for Kauikeaouli and the other *ali'i*. According to the article;

I ke ao ana a na makua o ke alii i na hana ma ka mea e pono ai kona aupuni, henehene o Kaomi, "Aole oe he alii, he alii oe ma ka pepa wale no."

During the instruction of the missionaries to the chief about the actions which would make his government righteous, Kaomi teased, "You are not a chief, you are a chief on paper only."²⁶

This passage is particularly interesting for its deliberate usage of certain Hawaiian language words, which are meant to convey deeper meanings surrounding the role of the missionaries, the legitimacy of their teachings, the influence of Kaomi, and Hawaiian governance.

For example, when considering the relative youth of Kauikeaouli during this time period, the use of the word *makua* instead of *kumu* (teacher) to describe the missionaries in the article may reveal their perceived role in Hawaiian society. Not only does *makua* denote a parental figure, but also a mature person. When understood in the context of the religious teachings surrounding morality, particularly during *ka wā o Kaomi*, the use of the word *makua* also infers that the missionaries held elevated moral and spiritual position of authority in relation to the king and, by extension, among Native Hawaiians in general.

²⁵ "Ka wa ia Kaomi" *Ka Hae Hawai'i*, 11 Sep. 1861.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

The article suggested that Kaomi was not only responsible for “corrupting” the young *ali‘i*, but also that it was Kaomi who instigated Kauikeaouli to exercise his chiefly authority in a way that reinforced his traditional rights as *ali‘i* but which directly opposed the teachings of the missionaries. In particular, declining adherence to the religious teachings both reflected and coincided with Kauikeaouli’s efforts to strengthen his rule, which not only undermined the influence of religious *ali‘i* but also the moral authority and prominence of the missionaries as advisors among Native Hawaiians. Whereas many of the religious chiefs had sought the input and guidance of the missionaries and had modeled their governance accordingly, Kauikeaouli had initially relied on the counsel of Kaomi and the *hulumanu*, a group of young men who were favorites and advisors of the chief. Because the missionaries relied on the support of influential *ali‘i* to effect changes in belief and practice among the general Native Hawaiian populace, Kauikeaouli’s disregard for their teachings represented a major obstacle.

In the article, Kaomi is credited with taunting Kauikeaouli about being an *ali‘i* “*ma ka pepa wale nō*” (a chief on paper only), an interesting statement indeed, particularly when considering Kauikeaouli’s struggle for political authority during this time. One possible interpretation of Kaomi’s statement is that Kauikeaouli could not have been considered to hold the traditional authority of a chiefly ruler, perhaps because of his initial attempts to base his political legitimacy on ideals of governance set forth by the missionaries and because of his inability to command the loyalty of the religious *ali‘i*.

The assertion that the missionaries were responsible for instructing Kauikeaouli “*ma ka mea e pono ai kona aupuni*” (“in the things that will make your government righteous”) during the early 1830s, also reveals some of the political implications of *ka wā o Kaomi*. The

word *pono* traditionally carried meanings of balance, excellence, appropriateness, propriety, and justness, and was particularly ascribed to individual behavior; in particular, *ali 'i* who were considered *pono* were attentive to the needs of the *akua* (gods), the people, and the lands under their control. Native Hawaiian scholar Noenoe Silva argues that while one of the traditional meanings of *pono* had been a description of “the ideal behavior of *ali 'i*,” the missionaries appropriated the word in the first religious texts produced in the Hawaiian language and translated it as “righteousness,” so that it took on “the foreign connotation of conforming to Christian morality.”²⁷ In this way, the traditional concepts surrounding *pono* were used to validate the efforts and teachings of the missionaries among the Native Hawaiians. In particular, the understanding of *pono* as moral righteousness that was co-opted and altered by the missionaries engaged the traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of *pono* as a vital aspect of governance; as the spiritual and political leaders in Hawaiian society, *ali 'i* had always borne the responsibility of upholding religion.

In particular, the missionaries strongly associated the loss of the religious laws and what they understood to be the declining morality of the Native Hawaiians as a great threat to the stability of Kauikeaouli’s government.²⁸ The missionary Hiram Bingham noted that “certain places for a time appeared to be consecrated to saturnalia and exempt from the action of the laws of order which are still applicable to the largest portion of the islands and giving the appearance of a petty state within a state.”²⁹ Indeed, the missionaries maintained that there was strong link between *pono* (religious morality) and the effectiveness of

²⁷ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 33. For additional discussions of *pono*, see also Jonathan Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002) 10 and Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai, How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

²⁸ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1847) 456.

²⁹ Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 449.

governance in their teachings, a concept which they attempted to reinforce during *ka wā o Kaomi*.³⁰ Allegedly, the devastating effects of the immoral behaviors of Kauikeaouli and his court included the abandonment of farming, as well as the subsequent starvation and poverty of the general populace.³¹ Kauikeaouli's status as a *pono ali'i* was unsettled by his actions during *ka wā o Kaomi*, whereas the *ali'i* who had maintained the religious laws were still considered to be *pono*. In this way, Kauikeaouli's rule and authority was jeopardized.

Ka wā o Kaomi was one of many instances which would illustrate the depth of the systemic changes occurring in Hawaiian society during the 1830s and 1840s; in particular, *ka wā o Kaomi* reflected shifts in what constituted "ideal" Native Hawaiian behavior, especially among the *ali'i*. Indeed, the concept of a *pono ali'i* was shifting away from the traditional behaviors and beliefs of the Native Hawaiians to encompass aspects of the missionary teachings on morality, governance, and more. This shift would increase the stability of the mission and secure the prominence of the missionaries as moral teachers and leaders within Hawaiian society.

Kauikeaouli effectively ended *ka wā o Kaomi* by distancing himself from Kaomi and the rest of the *hulumanu* in 1834, although the political struggle over chiefly authority continued to plague his reign. For example, in 1835, he would appoint the chiefess Kīna'u (who was known as Ka'ahumanu II for her similar religious affiliations with the American missionaries) to be the *kuhina nui*. Furthermore, the religious community had long frowned upon the *moe pi'o* (sexual intercourse to obtain chiefly offspring of the highest rank) relationship between Kauikeaouli and his sister Nāhi'ena'ena; her death in 1837 would profoundly affect him and thereafter he became more receptive to the political and religious

³⁰ Noenoe Silva offers a discussion of the multiplicity of meanings and understandings surrounding *pono*, as well as the appropriation of the word by the missionaries; see *Aloha Betrayed*, 33-37.

³¹ "Ka wa ia Kaomi" *Ka Hae Hawai'i*, 11 Sep. 1861

reforms advocated by many of the other chiefs and the mission. The missionaries felt that these and other changes were “happy proof of the power of the Gospel and the presence of the Spirit of God at the Sandwich Islands,” essentially a triumph of their efforts.³²

Revival and Reinforcements Stabilize the Mission

The obstacles encountered by the individuals sent to Hawai‘i by the ABCFM in the 1820s and early 1830s limited their confidence as a mission. However, beginning in the mid-1830s, religious and educational work of the first decade and a half of the mission began to reach fruition, ultimately strengthening the authority of the missionaries within Hawaiian society and greatly increasing the stability of the mission.

For example, increased acceptance and support for the mission among the *ali‘i*, including Kauikeaouli, would augment the impact of the missionaries among Native Hawaiians. Efforts to provide a Christian education to Native Hawaiians who were members of the general populace were bolstered by commitments of funding for financially pressed common schools from the *ali‘i* resulting in the expanding role of the schools within Native Hawaiian communities, beginning in 1836.³³ The appearance and growth in popularity of the *nūpepa* (Hawaiian language newspapers), an endeavor which had begun as a school project at Lāhainaluna Seminary under the direction of Lorrin Andrews in 1834, would also strengthen the mission.³⁴ The *nūpepa* allowed the missionaries to disseminate religious ideas, hymns, scriptures, and their teachings beyond those individuals who attended schools or were

³² Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 456.

³³ Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, (Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary, 1843) 341; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom* Vol. 1 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i, 1938) 335.

³⁴ ABCFM, “The Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions with a General View of Other Benevolent Operations for the Year 1836,” *Missionary Herald*, 32, (January 1836): 20; Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, 309.

members of a church, beyond the areas immediately surrounding the mission stations and to the broader Native Hawaiian public. In fact, the missionaries had begun discussions regarding the establishment of a religious newspaper in Hawai‘i among themselves and with the ABCFM as early as 1831.³⁵ In a general meeting of the missionaries for 1834, the members of the mission reaffirmed the importance of the medium of newsprint;

The periodical press may be advantageously employed in the Sandwich Islands to exhibit truth in an attractive form before the eyes of several thousand readers; to open the sources and supply the means of useful knowledge in the arts and sciences, history, morals, and religion; to point out existing evil in their character... to supply deficiencies in the books printed, and to elucidate by various methods of simple and figurative language, diagrams, engravings &c. every subject brought before the people from the simplest elements of knowledge, to the highest points of instruction aimed at by the Mission.³⁶

As vehicles that provided religious and educational material to Native Hawaiian converts, the early the early *nūpepa* were a more aggressive attempt to disperse religious teachings and evangelize within Hawaiian society on a large scale.³⁷ Although they had been considered to be the moral teachers of many of the *ali‘i*, the missionaries utilized the *nūpepa* as a medium of communicating with a broader audience of Native Hawaiians that extended beyond the *ali‘i*, converts, and congregants.³⁸ The high literacy rates among Native Hawaiians during the 1830s would cement the importance of the *nūpepa* in the Islands.³⁹ The

³⁵ Rufus Anderson, General Letter, 16 Nov. 1832, 6, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission 1831-1849*, Missionary Letters Collection, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶ Sandwich Islands Mission, “Report on the Newspaper” *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 1834* (Honolulu, Mission Press, 1834) 15, in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1830-1837* Vol 1, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.); See also Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 457.

³⁷ “O Ka Lama Hawaii,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 14 Feb. 1834, Makahiki 1, Helu 1, Aoa 1.

³⁸ Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years*, 457.

³⁹ ABCFM “Mission to the Sandwich Islands,” *Missionary Herald*, 34, no. 1 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1838) 11. Besides being avid readers of the newspapers, Native Hawaiians were also vital contributors to the early *nūpepa*; Native Hawaiians were sources of information and also worked to provide content and written material, such as letters and translations. Native Hawaiians were also heavily involved in the printing and setting processes of the papers. It is also important to note that while Native Hawaiians were always vital to the success of the *nūpepa*, increasingly cultural and historical articles appeared in the papers during the 1860s; this change occurred in conjunction with the increased contribution and control of the newspapers by Native

historian Harold Bradley noted that “through the monopoly of the printed page the missionaries possessed a powerful agency for molding the thoughts and lives of the Hawaiian people.”⁴⁰

Another factor which would greatly enhance the stability of the mission was the arrival of several companies of reinforcements. By the early 1830s, illness had forced some members of the mission to return to America.⁴¹ Feeling the strain of their labors in the Islands and believing the scope of their work necessitated more missionaries, the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i pressed the ABCFM to send reinforcements, reasoning that more individuals on the ground would stem the loss of converts and halt the rapid decline of their efforts to evangelize and spread literacy among the broader population of Native Hawaiians.⁴² The ABCFM sent a number of reinforcement deputations to the Islands in the late 1820s and 1830s, hoping to strengthen the long-term viability of the Sandwich Islands Mission and to address the pressing need for aid articulated by missionaries who were already stationed in Hawai‘i.⁴³ The reinforcements contributed to the growth of the mission community in Hawai‘i, allowing for the establishment of new stations throughout the island chain.⁴⁴ In 1832, there were more than fifty men and women associated with the mission who

Hawaiians and also marked a crucial shift in the significance of the *nūpepa* within Hawaiian society. See discussions in Helen G. Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1996) and Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a I Ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010).

⁴⁰ Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii*, 155.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 353; Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, Sesquicentennial Edition*, (Honolulu; Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, 1969).

⁴² Cochran Forbes, letter to the Rufus Anderson, 10 Oct. 1836, *Missionary Letters Typed Copies from the Sandwich Islands Mission Supplementary to the Letters Published in the Missionary Herald of the Same Dates 1819–1837*, Vol 8, 2338.

⁴³ Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii*, 159.

⁴⁴ Sandwich Islands Mission, “Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting, 1832,” 21 in *Minutes of General Meetings of Sandwich Islands Missions 1830–1837*, Vol 1.

were residing in the Islands.⁴⁵ By 1837, there were fifteen missionary stations and a total of ninety individuals associated with the mission.⁴⁶

The growth of the mission enhanced the ability of the missionaries to accomplish their goals of evangelizing and educating Native Hawaiians. Beginning in 1837, thousands of Native Hawaiians were rapidly admitted to the churches by increasingly fervent members of the Sandwich Islands Mission.⁴⁷ The movement spread throughout Hawai‘i was known among the missionaries and in American religious communities as the Great Revival. The revivals in the Islands corresponded with similar movements among Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches in the U.S. during the 1830s and the Second Great Awakening; they were also connected to the revivals occurring among other ABCFM missions across the globe. The movement was said to have “extended to all the islands and affected nearly all the people.”⁴⁸ By missionary estimates, more than 15,000 individuals were admitted to the church during this time period.⁴⁹

Reinforcements also diversified the existing mission community in the Islands. Indeed, the revival was propelled by reinforcements who had recently been stationed in the islands. Many of these individuals had been directly influenced by religious revivals occurring in the U.S., including Sheldon Dibble, Lorenzo Lyons, Lowell Smith, and Titus Coan.⁵⁰ These missionaries had been students of Charles Grandison Finney, a prominent proponent of the American religious revivals, who was also as a social reformer and

⁴⁵ Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawai‘i*, 159.

⁴⁶ ABCFM, “Sandwich Islands” Annual Report 1837, *The Missionary Herald* 10 Jan. 1838, Vol. 34 No. 1, 10.

⁴⁷ ABCFM, “Minutes of the 31st Annual Meeting, 1840,” Vol 11–17 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster) 38.

⁴⁸ William Alexander, *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People* (New York; American Book Company, 1891) 371.

⁴⁹ ABCFM, “Minutes of the 31st Annual Meeting, 1840,” 38.

⁵⁰ Sereno Bishop, “The Great Revival of 1837–8” *The Friend*, Dec. 1902, Vol. LX, 12.

abolitionist.⁵¹ Among the newly dispatched missionaries, Coan was particularly known for his impassioned sermons and zealousness and was one of the biggest proponents of revival in the islands; he was responsible for single-handedly admitting thousands of new converts to the mission churches, particularly in the Waimea and Hilo districts on Hawai‘i Island.⁵² Although officials from the ABCFM and some of the missionaries who had been stationed in Hawai‘i for many years questioned the scale of the church admissions and the true piety of the new converts, the revival cemented the prominence of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawaiian society.

The revivals in the Islands resulted in more than unprecedented conversions of Native Hawaiians; the success of the revival also bolstered the status of the Sandwich Islands Mission within the structure of the ABCFM and among the religious communities in the U.S. and was described “one of the brightest pages of the history of missions.”⁵³ The idea that the mission was “a great experiment” had often been reinforced in communications sent to the missionaries by representatives of the ABCFM.⁵⁴ Whether or not the ABCFM continued to support the work of the missionaries in Hawai‘i depended on the ability of the missionaries in evangelizing Native Hawaiians. “Success” was largely evidenced by number of books that had been printed or disseminated, the numbers of scholars at a school, the number of converts, as well as other measures; these figures were reported to the ABCFM and disseminated to

⁵¹ Charles G. Finney, *Lectures on the Revivals of Religion* (New York: Leavitt, Lord and Company, 1835).

⁵² Titus Coan, *Life in Hawaii: An Autobiographic Sketch of Mission Life and Labors (1835-1882)*, (New York; Anson D. F. Randolph & Company, 1882) 14, 49; Bishop, “The Great Revival of 1837-8,” 12.

⁵³ Tracy, *History of the American Board*, 373.

⁵⁴ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston; Congregational Publishing Society, 1870) viii; ABCFM, “Sandwich Islands” Annual Report 1837, *The Missionary Herald* 10 Jan. 1838, 11.

the American public through newspapers and correspondences.⁵⁵ The number of Native Hawaiians admitted to the churches during the revival was also used as evidence of the success of the missionary work. According to the missionary Sheldon Dibble, the revival renewed some of the missionary spirit and commitment which had been damaged by the obstacles faced by the early missionaries.⁵⁶ Confident of the importance of their missionary work, many members of the Sandwich Islands Mission sought to extend their influence beyond Hawai‘i.

Beyond Hawai‘i’s Shores: the Duty of the Present Generation

The first company of missionaries had been directed by the ABCFM to devote themselves entirely to evangelizing Native Hawaiians. In the instructions given to the first company of missionaries the Prudential Committee noted;

It is his gracious pleasure and his high command that his gospel should be preached to them that they may be turned from darkness unto light be baptized... You go to the Sandwich Islands as the messengers of the churches and the glory of Christ and expressly and solely for the purpose of doing what you can in your respective stations and spheres.⁵⁷

However, the increasing stability of the mission during the late 1830s allowed the missionaries to consider other areas ripe for religious improvement, and they began to perceive the scope of their duties as extending beyond Native Hawaiians. By 1836, many of the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i had become convinced that it was their duty as Christians to labor on behalf of “a world sinking into perdition,” and that they “had

⁵⁵ For example, see Sandwich Islands Mission, “Extracts from the Records of the Hawaiian Association from 1823 to 1836” (Honolulu Mission Press, 1837) in *Minutes of General Meetings of Sandwich Islands Missions 1830–1837*, 1, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

⁵⁶ Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, 341.

⁵⁷ Sandwich Islands Mission, *Instruction of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission*, (Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary, 1838) 19–20.

something more to do than to labor for 140,000 souls at the Sandwich Islands.”⁵⁸ One of the ways they hoped to accomplish this was to maintain correspondence with individuals and communities in the U.S., particularly the churches. According to a letter sent by the missionary Lowell Smith in 1837;

We correspond with the greater part of the public institutions in the U. States and also with many of the agents of the A. Board in different parts of the world. We have two grand objects in view in our correspondence. One is to communicate information concerning this mission and also our own views of the personal duty and obligations of Christians to the heathen world.⁵⁹

Personal conviction on the matter led many of the missionaries stationed in the Islands to draft a document which they hoped would have a heavy influence in the U.S., which would inspire a renewed zeal for the cause of the American foreign missions.⁶⁰ Titled *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World: an appeal from the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands to their Friends in the United States*, the fifty-five page essay was written in English and printed on the Honolulu Mission Press in 1836.⁶¹ The work consisted of a series of twelve strongly worded resolutions as proposed by the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission and included the general remarks which were made by the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission; the document was actually drafted during the mission’s Annual Meeting in June 1836.⁶² Although some members of the mission, particularly the Reverend John Emerson, opposed the idea of drafting a circular, many others

⁵⁸J. S. Green, “From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838, Vol II Iss. 47, 182 (New York, NY.).

⁵⁹ Andrew Smith, letter to the Society of Inquiry at Lane Seminary, 7 Dec. 1837, containing Sandwich Islands Mission, *Resolutions Relative to Points of Christian Duty Adopted by the Sandwich Island Mission May 1837*, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820–1853 Society of Inquiry- Colleges and Seminaries, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

⁶⁰ Sandwich Islands Mission, *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World: An Appeal from the Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands To Their Friends in the United States* (Honolulu; Mission Press 1836, 5).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, 3.

were encouraged by the idea of spreading missionary zeal within the U.S.⁶³ As a result, the resolutions and remarks of the tract were adopted by most of the members of the mission and subsequently printed on the Sandwich Islands Mission Press; the document was presented as being representative of the united appeal of the members of the mission (despite the actual opposition voiced by a few of the missionaries) which gave the document significant weight.⁶⁴ A total of 200 copies of *The Duty of the Present Generation* were printed, and the majority of these were sent to the Missionary Rooms of the ABCFM in Boston for distribution among the affiliated churches and newspapers. While traveling to the United States in 1837, the Reverend William Richards was instructed to advocate for the cause of more missionaries, and was asked to directly present the mission's printed appeal to the members of the ABCFM.⁶⁵

Although the greater purpose of *The Duty of the Present Generation* was to foster missionary zeal within communities in the U.S., its resolutions and remarks were especially directed at the "settled" ministers of the churches, whom the Sandwich Islands missionaries felt were primarily responsible for the overall religious state of America.⁶⁶ In particular, they felt that clergymen in the U.S. held relatively comfortable positions and exerted a minimal amount of labor for the cause of evangelizing sinners, especially as compared to their own work as missionaries to the heathens abroad.⁶⁷ Viewing themselves as "voluntary exiles," and entirely convinced of the importance of their status and labor, the missionaries felt they had

⁶³ Jonathan S. Green, letter to William Richards, 16 June 1837, *Missionary Letters 1816–1900*, Green, J.S. 1837–1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

⁶⁴ Sandwich Islands Mission, *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World*, 4.

⁶⁵ Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 27.

⁶⁶ Sandwich Islands Mission, *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World*. 3, 14, 55.

⁶⁷ Cochran Forbes, letter to the Rufus Anderson, 10 Oct. 1836, *Missionary Letters Typed Copies from the Sandwich Islands Mission Supplementary to the Letters Published in the Missionary Herald of the Same Dates 1819–1837*, Vol. 8, 2338.

the right to admonish the perceived shortcomings of their brethren in the U.S.⁶⁸ Through *The Duty of the Present Generation*, the Sandwich Islands missionaries chided the larger U.S. ministry, expressing the sentiment that American clergymen did not do enough to encourage individuals within their congregations and within the broader religious communities to become missionaries, and also rebuked the ministers for failing to engage in missionary work themselves.

The strong wording of the third resolution of the tract especially illustrates the generally low estimation many of the missionaries held for the clergy in the U.S.; “Resolved, that the slow progress of the Gospel among the heathen is mainly to be attributed to the unwillingness of ministers to engage in the missionary work, and consequently that upon them in a great measure, rests the guilt of the eternal perdition of the heathen.”⁶⁹ The Sandwich Island Missionaries also wrote that the failure of American ministers to engage in evangelizing beyond their own congregations was “rendering their own salvation doubtful, exposing their country to divine displeasure.”⁷⁰

Despite the exceedingly strong language and generally harsh regard expressed for the American clergymen in *The Duty of the Present Generation*, the tract actually reiterated some of the sentiments on the importance of mission work that were found in many of the earlier, mission-sanctioned correspondences that had been sent to the U.S. For example, many of the letters that were sent to the Societies of Inquiry at many of the theological seminaries had strongly encouraged students to become missionaries instead of clergymen in the U.S.

⁶⁸ Sandwich Islands Mission, *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World*, 4.

⁶⁹ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 16 Sept. 1835, 14.

⁷⁰ Sandwich Islands Mission, *The Duty of the Present Generation to Evangelize the World*, 3.

The conception, printing and distribution of *The Duty of the Present Generation* reflected what the missionaries perceived to be an expanding scope of religious responsibility; in addition to their work in the Islands turning Native Hawaiians from “darkness unto light,” many members of the mission perceived themselves to have a religious duty to morally reform populations in the United States. In time, these sentiments would fuel aspects of the antislavery movement in Hawai‘i.

CHAPTER 2 THE EVOLVING RHETORIC OF HAWAIIAN SLAVERY DURING THE EARLY AND MID-1830S

In the early years of the mission, there was little evidence of antislavery sentiment among the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i. However, in 1836, the missionary Reverend Jonathan Smith Green would request an American abolitionist newspaper in the selection of periodicals that were mailed to him by the ABCFM; he was particularly interested in obtaining a subscription to the *Liberator*, an antislavery newspaper edited by the famed abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. In a letter to one of the ABCFM corresponding secretaries, Green wrote: “Did you never conjecture that brother Jonathan would be a flaming Abolitionist were he in New England... I shall not at the moment trouble my head pretty about slavery. I am too far off and we have slavery enough here to occupy my thoughts.”⁷¹

In addition to the sarcastic tone and strong choice of words, the request is notable for a number of reasons. Besides indicating that an active member of the Sandwich Islands Mission harbored antislavery sentiments in the mid-1830s, Green’s assertion that he was “too far off,” and geographically separated from the U.S. to concern himself about American slavery may partially explain the absence of a formal antislavery movement and the lack of expression of antislavery sentiments in the early years of the mission. Green implies that if he were in the US, he would have been an active participant in the antislavery movements. However, it is Green’s passing reference to slavery in the Hawaiian Islands is perhaps more interesting and historically compelling.

This chapter examines discussions of Hawaiian slavery among some members of the mission, or more accurately, the ways Native Hawaiians were characterized as slaves in the

⁷¹J.S. Green, letter to David Greene, 19 Dec. 1836, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, Folder Green, J.S. Nov 28, 1832- Dec. 24, 1836, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

early and mid-1830s, just prior to the emergence of an antislavery movement in Hawai‘i. The characterization of Hawaiians as slaves purposefully engaged existing sets of rhetoric which portrayed Native Hawaiians as immoral, ignorant, and oppressed as a means of justifying the evangelical and educational efforts of the Sandwich Islands Mission in Hawai‘i. Furthermore, during the late 1830s, the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery shifted and increasingly encompassed aspects of Native Hawaiian governance, particularly as it related to the missionary conception of morality as *pono* among the *ali‘i*. This evolution of rhetoric was particularly evidenced in the Hawaiian language newspapers.

The Early Antislavery Sentiments of Jonathan S. Green

Of the approximately ninety missionaries present in the Islands during the mid-1830s, the Reverend Jonathan S. Green would be one of the first members of the Sandwich Islands Mission to express his antislavery sentiments while stationed in Hawai‘i.

As with many other members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Green had been educated at Andover Theological Seminary, in Massachusetts. He had traveled to Hawai‘i with the third company of missionaries on March 31st, 1828; other members of this company included the Reverend Lorrin Andrews, Reverend Peter Gulick, Reverend Ephraim Clark, Stephen Shepard, and Dr. Gerrit Judd.⁷² After being in Hawai‘i for less than a year, Green was dispatched as an agent of the ABCFM on an exploring tour of the Northwest Coast of North America in 1829, a task he had been entrusted with by the Prudential Committee even before he had left the U.S.⁷³ The purpose of the trip was to discover the viability of establishing a mission station among the various Native American tribes in the area,

⁷² HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 104.

⁷³ ABCFM, “Sandwich Islands,” *The Missionary Herald*, 1829 December, Vol 25, No. 12, 397.

particularly in places that had been settled and were frequented by fur traders. Green's selection for the survey reflected the confidence of the ABCFM in his capabilities as a missionary and a representative of the ABCFM, even though it was ultimately determined that establishing a mission on the Northwest Coast would be difficult.⁷⁴ Upon completing the survey and returning to the Islands in 1830, Green was stationed for a time at Lāhaina with William Richards, as well as on Hawai'i Island in 1831 at the Hilo missionary station with Joseph Goodrich and Sheldon Dibble.⁷⁵ Green later settled in Wailuku, Maui, when a station was established there in 1832; it was in Wailuku that Green formed a female seminary in 1837 as a counterpart to the Lāhainaluna Seminary.⁷⁶ Green developed a strong grasp of the Hawaiian language; he was one of a handful of missionaries who was assigned to translate parts of the Bible into Hawaiian, and he would become a contributor to the *nūpepa*.⁷⁷

Green's first interests in the topic of slavery seem to have encompassed the perceived presence of slavery among Native Hawaiians. Since 1828, each missionary member of the Hawaiian Association attending the annual General Meeting had been required to present a sermon, as well as an essay or exegesis, (either one of these had to be in Hawaiian); some of these would be selected and printed to be circulated among the Sandwich Islands Mission. As

⁷⁴ ABCFM, "Letters to Jeremiah Evarts, Part 1 and 2, Nov. 13, 1829," *Missionary Herald* Vol 25, No. 12, Dec. 1829, 397; ABCFM, "Nineteenth Annual Report," *Annual Report* Vol 19-23 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1828) 111; ABCFM "Twenty-First Annual Meeting," *Annual Report* Vol 19-23 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1830) 99-103.

⁷⁵ ABCFM, "Sandwich Islands: Letter from Messrs Green and Dibble," *Missionary Herald* Vol 28, No 7, July 1832, 219.

⁷⁶ Jonathan S. Green, letter to William Richards, 19 August 1837, Missionary Letters Collection 1819-1900, Green Jonathan S., Letters sent, 1827-1868, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.); Sandwich Islands Mission, Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meetings, 1823-1853, Vol 1, 1836 (Honolulu; Mission Press, 1836); Coan, Life in Hawaii, 234. ABCFM, "Missionaries" *The Missionary Herald*, Vol 36, No. 1, Jan. 1840, 26.

⁷⁷ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Report on the Newspaper" *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 1834, 15, 16.

part of the 1834 General Meeting, Green presented an English essay titled, “Slavery as it exists in the Sandwich Islands; its evils and its remedy.”⁷⁸

The Kauwā as Hawaiian Slaves

One the least bit familiar with Hawaiian history and culture might conclude that in any discussions of slavery in Hawai‘i, Green was referring to the existence of the *kauwā*, a group or “class” of Native Hawaiian individuals who had broken *kapu* (sacred restrictions), who were prisoners of war, or who lacked *mana* (spiritual power).⁷⁹ Early accounts by foreign observers and by the members of the mission had characterized these individuals as slaves; for example, the Reverend William Ellis noted that captives of war were “spared only to be slaves” and that “the wives and children of those whom [the chiefs and warriors] had defeated were frequently made slaves.”⁸⁰ The belief that the *kauwā* were slaves was also fueled by the perception that they were “property” and that they were “treated with great cruelty.”⁸¹ These understandings were also based on the missionary perceptions surrounding the relative socio-economic position held by the *kauwā* in Hawaiian society; many missionaries had made early comparisons between the status of the *kauwā* in Hawai‘i and the *dalit*, or “untouchables” of India.⁸² Social distinctions between the *kauwā* and other classes

⁷⁸ Sandwich Islands Mission, “Extracts from the Records of the Hawaiian Association from 1823 to 1836” (Honolulu Mission Press, 1837) 5, 23 in *Minutes of General Meetings of Sandwich Islands Missions 1830-1837*, 1, HMCS (Honolulu, HI).

⁷⁹ “No kou wa e hanau mai ai, a hiki mai nei i nei manawa” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 17 Kekemapa 1834, Buke 1, Helu 23 ‘ao‘ao 4. A person could also be considered a *kauwā* based on genealogical inheritance. Even up into the latter half of the nineteenth century Native Hawaiians would attempt to disassociate themselves with the *kauwā* in daily interaction and through their genealogies.

⁸⁰ William Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis* (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1979) 105-106. William Ellis was a missionary of the London Missionary Society who had been stationed in the Society Islands (Tahiti). He worked with Sandwich Islands missionaries in Hawai‘i between 1822 and 1824.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² These conclusions were likely influenced by the writings of individuals who were associated with the first missions of the ABCFM, some of whom were sent to parts of India in 1812; the Sandwich Islands Missionaries

also remained clear in Hawaiian society in the early nineteenth century; for example, in a *Ka Lama Hawai'i* article about the importance of the teachings of God dated March 7, 1834, the missionaries called on all members of Hawaiian society, including the *ali'i*, *maka'āinana*, and the *kauwā* to heed the Gospel.⁸³ These perceptions fueled the emergence of “slave” as one of the connotations of the term *kauwā*.

Certainly, the missionaries remained aware of the *kauwā* and had frequently characterized them as slaves in their early writings. However, Green and the other missionaries who wrote publicly about “Hawaiian slavery” during the 1830s and 1840s were usually not referring specifically to this segment of the Native Hawaiian population. Instead, these discussions were referring to the Native Hawaiian populace, most particularly the *maka'āinana*.

The Rhetoric of Hawaiian Slavery

While somewhat jarring to modern readers, the characterization of members of the general Native Hawaiian populace as slaves was not unique to Green's letter, and actually stemmed from pre-existing and intertwining sets of rhetoric which had long been employed by the missionaries. Discussions of heathenism in America had been used to advance various commercial and religious agendas in the Islands, often denigrating traditional Native Hawaiian cultural practices and beliefs as inferior, while simultaneously validating Euro-American attempts to trade with, convert, and educate Native Hawaiians. These discussions would inform the characterization of Native Hawaiians as slaves; Native Hawaiians could be

were deployed to Hawai'i less than ten years later. See *The Panapolist and Missionary Magazine for the Year 1816*, Vol XII (Cornhill, MA: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1816).

⁸³ “No ka Maikai nui o ka ke Akua Olelo,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 7 Malaki 1834, Makahiki 1, Helu 4, Aoa 3.

considered thusly because they were immoral, unconverted and uneducated, and were also perceived to be oppressed by the *ali'i*.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the missionaries purposefully linked understandings of morality to the word *pono*, as well as its associated concepts. As conceptualized by the members of the mission, *pono* encompassed true conversion, observance of religious mores, adherence to the gospel, and education. For the missionaries, morality represented a way for Native Hawaiians to elevate themselves from heathenism, which was viewed as a form of slavery. In particular *pono* as morality was prescribed by the missionaries as a panacea to the afflictions which kept Native Hawaiians in a degraded social, economic, and political status.

The characterization of Native Hawaiians as immoral stemmed from the belief that they were in need of converting, educating, and civilizing; this sentiment had also been the foundational justification for the establishment of the Sandwich Islands Mission and remained a motivating force among its members.⁸⁴ However, despite concerted efforts which spanned more than a decade, the missionaries had not succeeded in their objectives to evangelize and educate the whole of the Native Hawaiian population by the mid-1830s.⁸⁵ To many of these missionaries, the large numbers of Native Hawaiians who remained unconverted and uneducated could be considered to be “slaves” on the basis of their immorality and ignorance. In a broad and decidedly religious understanding of slavery, many of the missionaries argued that Native Hawaiians who committed sins, whether it was

⁸⁴ Sandwich Islands Mission. *Instruction of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission*, (Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary, 1838).

⁸⁵ ABCFM, *The Missionary Herald* Vol 31 No. 1, January 1835, 18; Harold Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789-1843*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1968) 336; Wisner, Letter to the Sandwich Islands Missionaries, 6 Sept. 1834, 9.

smoking tobacco, gambling, drinking or committing adultery, were slaves to the act itself.⁸⁶ Likewise, Native Hawaiians who failed to adhere to the teachings of God and the Bible were servants or slaves of the devil. These sentiments were disseminated among Native Hawaiians by the missionaries through sermons, discussions, instruction, and in the *nūpepa*. An article that appeared in the September 27, 1834 issue of the mission–printed Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Lama Hawai‘i* noted:

*I ko na kanaka malama ole ana i ke Akua, ua akaka lea ia, e malama ana lakou i ka Diabolo. Pela o Adamu. I kona haalele ana ia IEHOVA, ua lilo ia i kauwa na ka Diabolo.*⁸⁷

When people fail to honor God, it is perfectly clear, they honor the Devil. That was so with Adam. In his abandonment of God, he became a servant to the Devil.

The idea that morality provided a powerful counterpoint to heathenism and represented a valuable tool for improving quality of life was also evident in the religious writings in the U.S. during the 1830s. In a reader used by the American Sunday School Union for instruction of youths and adults, the evangelist Ephraim Eveleth used accounts of Queen Kapi‘olani and a blind Native Hawaiian preacher named Puaaiike (Bartimeus L. Puaaike) to provide readers with examples of an individual from the *ali‘i* class and one of the “poor and degraded subjects” who had embraced the teachings of the missionaries which had led not only to improvement in their spirituality and morality, but also in other areas of their lives.⁸⁸ Although he had never been to Hawai‘i, Eveleth wrote about the work of the Sandwich Islands Mission by engaging the same rhetoric of morality which were commonly applied to Native Hawaiians that appeared in the U.S. and which many of the missionaries

⁸⁶ “No ka Lama Hawaii,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 12 Kepakemapa 1834, Buke 1, Helu 19, Aoao 4.

⁸⁷ “No Adamu,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 27 Sepatemaba 1834 Makahiki 1, Helu 21, Aoao 3. Emphasis in original.

⁸⁸ Ephraim Eveleth, *History of the Sandwich Islands: with an Account of the American Mission Established There in 1820* (Philadelphia; American Sunday School Union, 1831) 195-196. Both Kapi‘olani and Puaaiike were presented as model Native Hawaiians to the American public to demonstrate the importance and success of the missionary work; other Native Hawaiians were encouraged to emulate them.

also engaged to characterize Native Hawaiians as slaves. In describing the importance of the Gospel to members of both the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* of Hawai'i, Eveleth wrote:

I hope you know how beautifully the gospel of our Lord is adapted to all conditions of men. It is an honour to princes to embrace it; and to the captive and the slave, it is the proclamation of mercy and the opening of the prison door ... this truth has been exemplified among the Sandwich Islanders.⁸⁹

By likening the *maka'āinana* to slaves or prisoners, Eveleth engaged another aspect of the rhetoric surrounding Hawaiian slavery; that the *maka'āinana* were oppressed by the *ali'i* and were therefore slaves.⁹⁰ The perceived relationship between the *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana* had frequently been described as oppressive to the point of slavery in the accounts of Euro-American explorers, merchants, foreign residents, and others.⁹¹ During the height of the sandalwood trade in Hawai'i (1810 to the late 1820s), observers pointed to the ability of the *ali'i* to require the *maka'āinana* to cut and haul sandalwood without any form of monetary compensation as oppressive.⁹² The same sentiments had been expressed about the system of *kapu* which had formerly governed many aspects of Native Hawaiian society, including the interaction between the *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana*.⁹³ A journal kept by crewmembers aboard the *H.M.S. Blonde* from 1824–1825 recorded a meeting with the chief Naihe, who asked the men about an English code of laws for the Islands, as well as appropriate sentencing and punishment for crimes;

We more particularly insisted on the equal dealing of justice to noble and peasant alike. This seemed to make a great impression on the chief. While this conversation was going on, and while Nahi [Naihe] acknowledged that it was an excellent thing that the kanakas and erees [*ali'i*] should be equal by the laws, he had a favourite

⁸⁹ Eveleth, *History of the Sandwich Islands*, 191.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 195-196.

⁹¹ For an example, see "Report of Rev. J. Diell, Seaman's Chaplain at the Sandwich Islands, for [the] year ending 31st Dec. 1835" *Sailors Magazine and Naval Journal*, Vol VIII, No. II, No. 95 (New York: 1836) 334-345.

⁹² Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis*, 299.

⁹³ *Voyage of the H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the years 1824-1825* (London: John Murray, 1826) 133.

kanaka rubbing his back, and others waiting round him in the servility of actual slavery.⁹⁴

As with the “immoral” status of many Native Hawaiians, the perceived chiefly oppression of the *maka ‘āinana* that kept Native Hawaiians in a state of slavery was seen as a hindrance to what the missionaries considered to be the improved social, economic, and political status of the general populace. Over time, however, claims that the *ali ‘i* were outright oppressive or cruel to the *maka ‘āinana* diminished, particularly as increasing numbers of Native Hawaiians began to enroll in the missionary schools and convert; such assertions would have been detrimental to the claims that the mission was making progress in achieving their objectives in Hawai‘i. Instead, the discussions portraying Native Hawaiians as slaves increasingly targeted the traditional structure of Hawaiian society. In 1837, the Reverend Peter Gulick wrote;

Indeed the situation of the mass of this nation keeps the subject of slavery almost constantly before our eyes, and in our minds. The condition of the laboring class (which is almost the whole nation) is that of slavery, in its mildest form however, no corporal punishments are resorted to to extort labor, nor are families broken up and the marriage relation degraded as in the slave states of our beloved though guilty country. Nor do the chiefs who are the *only masters*, design to *exclude* mental cultivation, but rather endeavor to promote its general diffusion.⁹⁵

Although Gulick acknowledged the *ali ‘i* did not resort to “corporal punishments” and sought to improve the “mental cultivation” of the general populace (i.e. “the laboring class”), he maintained that Native Hawaiians were living in the conditions of slavery; essentially, the oppression of the chiefs was not the principal cause of Hawaiian slavery. Instead, Gulick and others considered the very nature of the relationship between the *ali ‘i* and the *maka ‘āinana*, as well as the role of the *ali ‘i* within Hawaiian society, to be the source of the degraded social,

⁹⁴ Voyage of the H.M.S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the years 1824-1825 (London: John Murray, 1826) 133.

⁹⁵ Peter Gulick, Letter to Theo S. Wright, in “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 Apr. 1838 Vol. II, Iss. 49 (Boston, MA) 191.

economic, and political status of Native Hawaiians. Such assertions reflected the evolving nature of Hawaiian “slavery” during the mid- and late 1830s, which was increasingly used by the missionaries to promote missionary conceptions of *pono* governance among the *ali‘i* as a means of improving the lives of Native Hawaiians.

The Changing Rhetoric of Hawaiian Slavery in the Nūpepa

The evolution of the rhetoric characterizing Native Hawaiians as slaves was particularly evident in the Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, a crucial venue for the religious writings of the missionaries.⁹⁶ *Ke Kumu* was overseen by a committee of six individuals who were appointed by the mission to assist the editor; these contributors were “requested to furnish communications when convenient,” and were expected to submit essays and translations to be published in the *nūpepa*, with materials amounting to four columns a month.⁹⁷ Although it was only the second newspaper to be printed in the Islands, *Ke Kumu* was well-read; near the end of its publication, the paper had secured six hundred regular subscribers and distributed 3,000 copies of each issue every other week to be circulated in the islands.⁹⁸

One of the ways to gain a greater understanding of the complexity of the rhetoric associated with Hawaiian slavery among the missionaries during the 1830s is to look at the ways in which the word *kauwā* was employed in the Hawaiian language newspapers; during

⁹⁶ Helen G. Chapin, *Guide to Newspapers of Hawai‘i, 1834-2000*, (Honolulu; Hawaiian Historical Society, 2003).

⁹⁷ Sandwich Islands Mission, “Report on the Newspaper,” 15, 16.

⁹⁸ ABCFM, “Annual Report: Java- Borneo- Sandwich Islands” *Missionary Herald*, January 1838 Vol 34, 11. Copies of *Ke Kumu Hawaii* were also distributed in the U.S. As with the *nūpepa* that would circulate in later years, the subscription rates for *Ke Kumu* and the other early newspapers also likely reflected an even larger readership than the recorded number of subscribing individuals, as papers in the Islands were frequently passed from person to person. See; Puakea Nogelmeier, “Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo: Looking Forward and Listening Back,” Diss. (University of Hawai‘i, 2003) 116.

this time, the usage of *kauwā* in the *nūpepa* was not strictly used in reference to the *kauwā* class of people, and not all usages of the word were strictly negative in association or connotation. Traditionally, the word *kauwā* had encompassed understandings of relationships of service and subordination that could be free from oppression or cruelty on the part of the superior. Many of these understandings were manifested in the *nūpepa*; for example, animals such as the horse, donkey, or even elephant, could be called *kauwā* relative to humans.⁹⁹ One article even refers to fire as a *kauwā* to humans.¹⁰⁰

More interesting is the use of the word *kauwā* to describe the followers or disciples of Jesus.¹⁰¹ In fact, Native Hawaiians were encouraged by the missionaries to become *kauwā* to God; such encouragement purposefully contrasted the assertion that an individual could become a *kauwā* to vice or to the Devil.¹⁰² Besides emphasizing the humble, earthly, and lowly status of humans, employing the word *kauwā* allowed the missionaries to urge Native Hawaiians to perceive God and religion in a way that was very similar to traditional Native Hawaiian understandings of their relationship to their *ali* 'i. In this sense, being a *kauwā* to God would have been perceived by Native Hawaiians as extremely positive and desirable, as well as *pono*.

Besides providing a greater understanding of the rhetoric surrounding Hawaiian slavery through an analysis of the general usage of the word *kauwā* in the *nūpepa*, a long editorial discussing some of the religious reasons slavery was considered to be immoral was published in the December 5, 1838 issue of *Ke Kumu*. Titled simply “Helu 3” (Number 3),

⁹⁹ For one example, see “No ka lio” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, 28 Malaki 1834, Buke 1, Helu 7, Aoao 1.

¹⁰⁰ “No ke ahi” *Ke Kumu Hawaii* 13 Kepakemapa 1837, Buke 3, Helu 8, Aoao 31.

¹⁰¹ “Ka Episetole a Paulo i palapala ai i ko roma i unuhiia a i hoomoakaakaia hoi ma ka olelo Hawaii, Mokuna 1, Pauku 1-7, Nov. 24-30, Helu 3. *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 12 Nowemapa 1834, Buke 1, Helu 1, Aoao 3. In later years, the word *haumāna* (student, adherent) was more commonly used.

¹⁰² “No Ka Lama Hawaii, Helu 5: E hooikaika aku hoi oe i na kanaka hou e hoonaaupono, “*Ka Lama Hawaii*, 10 Kekemapa 1834, Makahiki 1, Helu 24, Aoao 2.

the article was written by the Reverend William P. Alexander, a missionary who had arrived as a part of the fifth company in 1832.¹⁰³ Alexander would contribute many articles written in the Hawaiian language to *Ke Kumu*; in fact, the 1838 article on slavery was actually the third in a series of six tracts on *pono* that Alexander wrote between November 1838 and January 1839.¹⁰⁴ The series constituted Alexander's personal reflections on various examples of immoral behavior, which he felt continued to pose a threat to the true conversion of Native Hawaiians;

Ua hala na makahiki eono, mai ka manawa i hiki mai au i keia pae aina, a ua imi nui au e hoomaopopo iho i na mea e hoopoino mai ana i ko Hawaii nei poe kanaka. Auwe lakou! Nui wale na mea koe e pono ai lakou. Ua hiki mai no ka malamalama e maopopo ai ka pomaikai, aka ua hoomakapo ka nui; nolaila ke noho ilihune nei, pilikia, hooluhiia, naaupo.¹⁰⁵

Six years have passed since I arrived on these islands, and I have greatly sought to understand for myself the things that were afflicting Hawai'i's people. Alas for them! There are simply many remaining things which are necessary for them. The shining light of the Gospel has indeed arrived to make plain the blessings, but the majority of the people are blinded; therefore they are living in destitution, trouble, burden, and dark ignorance.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the missionaries employed the traditional concepts associated with *pono* to legitimize their efforts among Native Hawaiians. The pieces written by Alexander discussed various aspects of morality as a crucial aspect of *pono*, in order to illuminate proper and improper behaviors regarding an individual's body, spirit, and property.¹⁰⁶ Not surprisingly, this series of articles was meant to encourage Native Hawaiians to become *pono* through conversion, education, and good governance. Alexander's discussions incorporated the same elements of rhetoric employed during *ka wā o*

¹⁰³ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 19.

¹⁰⁴ "Waioli, Okatoba 27, 1838," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 21 Nov. 1838 Buke 4, Pepa 13, Aoao 52. Articles appearing in later issues of the series "No Ka Pono" were simply titled by their number, such as "Helu 2."

¹⁰⁵ "Helu 1," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 21, Novemaba 1838, Buke 4, Helu 13, Aoao 52.

¹⁰⁶ "No ka Pono: Helu 5" and "Helu 6," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 16, Ian. 1839, Buke 4 Helu 17, Aoao 65.

Kaomi and in the emerging conceptions of Hawaiian slavery. This was particularly evident in Alexander's use of words and concepts like *mālamalama* (light), *ho 'omakapō* (to be blinded), and *na 'aupō* (ignorance/ unconverted) in the article that launched the series; these words associated morality with aspects of light and immorality with aspects of darkness, which were common assertions among missionary writings.¹⁰⁷

Each of the other articles in Alexander's series included discussions that were rather general and contained diverse examples of immoral behavior. For example, the fifth and sixth articles of the series discussed maintaining wealth, and Alexander wrote generally on the importance of sharing profits and designating heirs through wills, as well as the moral dangers of theft and laziness.¹⁰⁸ However, the subject of Alexander's third article, which ran in the December 5, 1838 issue of *Ke Kumu*, was very specifically focused on slavery as a direct source of immorality that threatened all aspects of an individual's life. Alexander sought to establish some of the reasons slavery was immoral according to the teachings of the missionaries within this article. In order to reinforce the concept that slavery and slaveholding were sins against the commandments of God, he included gospel verses such as Matthew 19:19: "Love your neighbor as thyself," and Matthew 7:12, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you."¹⁰⁹ Alexander also described the institution of slavery as one that promoted the oppression of the weak by the strong, comparing the treatment of slaves to the treatment of animals or property, and characterizing the slaveholders as robbers because they did not work for themselves.¹¹⁰ According to Alexander, slavery bred evil acts and encouraged immorality within slaveholders and slaves alike;

¹⁰⁷ "Helu 1," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 21, Novemaba 1838, Buke 4, Helu 13, Aoao 52.

¹⁰⁸ "No ka Pono: Helu 5" and "Helu 6," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 16, Ian. 1839, Buke 4 Helu 17, Aoao 65.

¹⁰⁹ "Helu 3," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 5 Dec. 1838, Buke 4, Helu 14, Aoao 56.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

Eia kekahi mau hewa i ulu wale iloko o ka haku nana e hookauwa aku, o ka haanui, o ka haaheo, o ka huhu, inaina, ukiuki, hookaumaha wale aku, o ke aloha ia ia iho wale no, o ka makaleho a me ka paumaele a pau. A o ke kauwa i hooluhiia'i, aole e hiki ia ia ke imi ma kona manao iho, ma ka manao o kona haku no; a malaila ua ulu loa ka hoopunipuni, ka wahahee, ka hookamani, ka aihue, a me ka ae wale aku i na mea a pau e oluolu ai kona haku, hoolohe no ia ia ma kona kuko hewa, a haawi i kona kino iho i mea e lawehala ai nona.¹¹¹

There are some sins that simply develop within the master who enslaves; boastfulness, pride, anger, hate, vexation, and oppression of others, loving only oneself, covetousness and utter defilement. And as for the slave who is oppressed, he cannot seek his own desires, only the desires of his master; and from there indeed develops deceitfulness, lying, hypocrisy, theft, and only acceding to everything to please his master, listening to him in his wicked desires, and presenting his own body as vehicle for his sins.

Alexander's assertion that slavery fostered the development of sins in both the slave the master is puzzling, until considering the possibility that Alexander is not strictly referring to the a single form of slavery. Instead, it is likely that Alexander's deliberate discussion of slavery in this manner (i.e. "*haawi i kona kino iho i mea e lawehala ai nona*" / "presenting his body as a vehicle for his sins") more closely reflected the belief that a person who was a slave to vice was a willing victim of sin. The employment of such rhetoric in the *nūpepa* would have been immediately recognizable to Native Hawaiian readers, who were expected to link the physical oppression of the slaves with spiritual enslavement.

Although Alexander's article was a reflection of his opinion as an individual missionary, it was intended to have a deep impact within Hawaiian Society and among Native Hawaiians, particularly by positioning slavery in terms of *pono*. One of the most interesting arguments outlined in the article was that slavery was an institution that impoverished a nation and threatened the stability of government:

Eia no hoi keia, o ka hookauwa ana, he mea ia e ilihune ai ke aupuni. O na kauwa wale no ka poe paahana, noho wale ka poe haku, aole hana; nolaila aole i waiwai ke aupuni ko lakou mau lima, ua lilo na lima o lakou i mea ole... Hoomaunauna pii no

¹¹¹ "Helu 3," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 5 Dec. 1838, Buke 4, Helu 14, Aoa 56.

*hoi na kauwa. I loa mai kahi waiwai i kekahi, manao no oia e ai iho o kii mai auanei kona haku, pela no e hooilikoleaia mai ai ke aupuni hookauwa.*¹¹²

Here too, regarding slavery, it is a thing which impoverishes a nation. The slaves are the only laborers, the masters only sit, and don't work; therefore the nation is not enriched by their hands, their hands have become as nothing... The slaves are also increasingly wasteful. If one receives a bit of wealth, he thinks to spend it lest his lord snatches it away, which is how the nation of the enslaved is immediately impoverished by foreigners.

Placed within the historical and political contexts of the early *nūpepa*, it is evident that the article on slavery was intended to be more than an informative article. Like many other articles written by the missionaries and published in the early *nūpepa*, Alexander's article on slavery was meant to serve as a moral guide upon which Native Hawaiians, especially the *ali'i* and others in positions of leadership, should model their governance, an effort which was also evident during *ka wā o Kaomi*.¹¹³ Indeed, the article was written and published amid efforts in the late 1830s by Native Hawaiian *ali'i* to strengthen and safeguard the sovereignty of the Hawaiian government; this period also marked the beginning of the increasingly public involvement of a number of missionaries in Hawaiian politics.¹¹⁴ Because many of the missionaries considered themselves to be moral teachers within Hawaiian society, the *nūpepa* were often used as public outlets for dispensing advice to Native Hawaiians.¹¹⁵

¹¹² "Helu 3," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 5 Dec. 1838, Buke 4, Helu 14, Aoao 56.

¹¹³ "No ka Pono: Helu 1," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 21 Nov. 1838, Buke 4, Helu 13, 'ao'ao 49, 52; "Helu 3," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 5 Dec. 1838, Buke 4, Helu 14, Aoao 56.

¹¹⁴ These efforts would include the promulgation of a laws modeled on Euro-American legal principals and the transition of the Hawaiian government to a constitutional monarchy through a Declaration of Rights, and a series of constitutions. A diplomatic mission was also undertaken by the former missionary William Richards and Timeteo Haalilio. See Kuykendall *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, 1938; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 1999; and Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i; the Cultural Power of Law*, 2000.

¹¹⁵ Lorrin Andrews, Letter to the Members of the Societies of Inquiry on Missions, Theological Society Princeton, 20 Sept. 1830, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820-1853 Society of Inquiry- Colleges and Seminaries. HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

As a religious and educational newspaper, the original and primary purpose of *Ke Kumu Hawaii* had been to actively influence some of the political, economic and social decisions made by Native Hawaiians, as individuals and as a *lāhui*. Indeed, the very name *Ke Kumu Hawai'i* established the *nūpepa* as a teacher and source of knowledge for Native Hawaiians. This role of the newspaper was also reinforced by two phrases printed in the nameplate of every issue; the first phrase designated *Ke Kumu* as “*He pepa hoikeike i na mea e pono ai ko Hawaii nei,*” or “a paper to illustrate the things necessary for Hawai‘i.”¹¹⁶ The second phrase, “*O ka pono ka mea e pomaikai ai ka lahuikanaka; aka, o ka hewa ka mea e hoinoia'i na aina,*” asserted that “morality is the thing that blesses the Hawaiian race; but sin is the thing which afflicts the lands.”¹¹⁷

“No ka po‘e kauwā ho‘oluhi,” an Article About American slavery:

The amount of antislavery material specifically discussing American slavery printed in the *nūpepa* during the late 1830s and early 1840s was minimal, despite the fact that the missionaries published *Ke Kumu Hawai'i* themselves and the printing of the first *nūpepa* in Hawai‘i (in 1834) coincided with the appearance of increased discussion of slavery within the American press. A much larger body of articles and writing about slavery would appear in the *nūpepa* as a result of the events associated with the American Civil War in 1861–1865.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, the early *nūpepa* represented one of the few areas where the growing antislavery sentiments of missionaries would be expressed within Hawaiian Society,

¹¹⁶ *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 12 Nov. 1834, Buke 1, Pepa 1, Aoao 1.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ For one example, see “Na Nika Kaua a me na haku o lakou,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 11 Oka. 1862 Buke 1 Helu 46 Aoao 1.

particularly as the concepts associated with the American slavery movement would be incorporated into existing missionary rhetoric surrounding *pono*.

While Alexander's 1838 article on the immorality of slavery does not mention American slavery specifically, an earlier article that appeared in the February 17, 1836 issue of *Ke Kumu Hawai'i* does. Besides the mention of *Amerika Huipua* (the United States) in the article, the use of the word *kauwā* with qualifying adjectives such as *ho'oluhi* (to burden or oppress) and *kuapa'a* (bondaged, enslaved, oppressed) would allow the reader to distinguish between the alleged domestic "Hawaiian slavery" and the slavery of the U.S. and other locales; this would be particularly evident in articles about slavery that would appear decades later.

Although much of the content of February 17 issue of *Ke Kumu* consisted of religious material like hymns and gospel passages, it also included a small section of news stories gleaned from American newspapers that had been carried aboard the Joseph Peabody, a ship that arrived in Honolulu from New York after a voyage of 152 days.¹¹⁹ The actual discussion of slavery in this issue was relatively brief and appeared as a short, unsigned news update that ran alongside other contemporary topics that were considered newsworthy, including discussion of a desire to construct canal in Panama, news of unusually heavy rains on the island of O'ahu, as well as other topics of national and international interest.¹²⁰

Despite its brevity, the update in *Ke Kumu* is an interesting article, particularly when placed in the context of the time. The piece provides native and foreign readers in Hawai'i with an informative report of just how strong some of the tensions surrounding slavery in the U.S. were during the mid-1830s:

¹¹⁹ "He Ua" and "Ka Muliwai i Eliia ma Dariena," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 17 Feb. 1836, Buke 2, Helu 4, Aoa 15.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

*No ka poe kauwa hooluhi—he aneane mokuahana ko Amerika Huipuia i keia wa, no ka manao ikaika o kekahi poe e hookuu koke i na negero kauwa hooluhi, a no ka hoopaa loa o kekahi poe ma ka hoohana ia lakou. Nui ka olelo, nui ka hoopaa-paa; he hakahaka kekahi, he wawahi hale kekahi, a he pepehi kanaka. He malu nae ka nui o ka aina i na kanawai.*¹²¹

Concerning Slaves—The United States is very nearly a divided country now, as a result of the strong desire of some people to immediately emancipate the Negro slaves, and for the determination of some people in compelling them to work as slaves. There have been many discussions, many disputes; there is also fighting, the burning of buildings, and beatings. Nevertheless, the majority of the land is under the protection of laws.

The inclusion of the news update in the *nūpepa* reveals that the topic of slavery was considered to be of interest among the missionaries and was significant enough for publication in the *nūpepa*; the assertion that the U.S. was a divided country as a result of slavery is particularly notable, especially when considering the missionaries had often encouraged the Native Hawaiians to emulate the beliefs and practices of Americans, along with those of Britain and France. Whereas Alexander’s article was primarily addressed to a Native Hawaiian audience, “No ka poe kauwa hooluhi” was addressed a broader general reading public in the Hawaiian Islands, consisting of Native Hawaiians, foreigners, and foreign residents. It is also likely that the update was targeted towards members of the mission stationed on the various Islands, particularly since the newspapers were not only important for the purpose of instructing Native Hawaiians, but also as a medium of communication between the missionaries themselves.¹²²

Regardless of its targeted audience, the “No ka poe kauwa hooluhi” article informed all readers in Hawai‘i of the divisive and racial nature of American slavery, implicitly characterizing it as a potential threat to the stability of civilized countries. Although the

¹²¹ “No ka poe kauwa hooluhi.” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 17 Feb 1836, Buke 2, Helu 4, Aoa 15.

¹²² For example, *Ke Kumu* contained notices for General Meetings of the Mission as well as letters written in English to other missionaries that were not translated into Hawaiian by newspaper editors. See *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, 3, Feb. 1836, Buke 2 Pepa 3 Aoa 11, 12.

article is unsigned, it can be safely assumed that both the Reverend Reuben Tinker, who was at the time the editor of *Ke Kumu*, and the mission-sponsored printer Edwin O. Hall, were aware of its presence in the paper and stood behind its publication.¹²³ It is also highly likely that the inclusion of the “No ka poe kauwa hooluhi” article in *Ke Kumu* reflects a degree of the growing antislavery sentiment among many members of the mission.

The two articles that appeared in *Ke Kumu Hawaii* ‘i prior to 1840 were significant, in that they reflected early discussions of slavery in Hawai‘i which would extend beyond the members of the mission and Native Hawaiian congregants. While these articles were meant to be informative, they also emphasized the negative political, social and economic tensions surrounding slavery in ways that were meant to provide Native Hawaiians with codes of expected conduct and belief. Both articles revealed the emergence of a rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery which incorporated existing characterizations of Hawaiians as slaves based on the status of their conversion and what was understood to be chiefly oppression. In time, the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery would become a small part of the antislavery movement among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission.

¹²³ *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, Feb, 17, 1836 Buke 2, Helu 4, Aoao 4.

CHAPTER 3

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EARLY HAWAIIAN ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT

June of 1837 saw the conclusion of the well-attended annual General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, following weeks of sermons and lectures in Honolulu. Before returning to his station in Kōloa, Kauaʻi, the Reverend Peter J. Gulick took a bit of time to draft a rather remarkable letter. Gulick wrote to the Reverend Theodore S. Wright, an African American abolitionist and Gulick’s former classmate from Princeton Theological Seminary. The letter was published in the April 5, 1838 issue of an antislavery newspaper, *The Emancipator*, after initially appearing in the African American newspaper *The Colored American*.¹²⁴ Gulick’s letter was printed alongside comments by Wright, who applauded Gulick’s “interesting communication” as evidence of the “benign results of holy principles on behalf of our oppressed and enslaved brethren on the minds of the *watchmen* on this *distant post*.”¹²⁵ In his letter, Gulick wrote; “Ever since I seriously considered the subject, my sympathies have been with the abolitionists, and those for whom they labor—it is however, but *recently* [*sic*] I have become thoroughly convinced that the system of slavery ought to be *immediately abolished*.”¹²⁶

Gulick’s admittedly “recent” consideration of American slavery and his correspondence with Wright on the subject of abolition following the close of the General Meeting were actually one of several public expressions of antislavery sentiment among the members of the Sandwich Islands Missionaries in the late 1830s; prior to this time, the Reverend Jonathan Green had been the only missionary to write about slavery. In fact, 1837

¹²⁴ Both *The Emancipator* and *The Colored American* were based in New York.

¹²⁵ P. J. Gulick, “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838, Vol II Iss. 49, 191 (New York, NY.). Emphasis in original.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*

marked the beginning of a formal antislavery movement among the missionaries stationed in the Islands, which would span the late 1830s and early 1840s.

This chapter explores the factors which would shape the early antislavery activities of the missionaries and the emergence of the movement. In large part, the missionary physician Thomas Lafon inspired the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i to initiate antislavery prayer meetings and to correspond with antislavery periodicals in the U.S. These correspondences would not only serve as an important link between the missionaries in Hawai‘i and the communities in the U.S., but would also be a medium where the missionaries articulated some of the reasons they chose to participate in the movements.

In addition to marking the beginning of increased antislavery activity in Hawai‘i, 1837 also saw the onset of an economic crisis in the U.S., which would cripple the financial operations of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) and result in the imposition of strict regulations and limits on the expenditures on the Sandwich Islands Mission. In time, these regulations would aggravate tensions between the members of the mission and the American Board and inspire many individuals to participate in the antislavery movement.

Activities in the Early Antislavery Movement

The increased participation in antislavery advocacy and the expression of antislavery sentiments among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission following the close of the General Meeting could be attributed to a number of factors, including the rapid growth of the antislavery movement as an aspect of social reform in the U.S. during the 1830s.¹²⁷ However,

¹²⁷ Peter P. Hinks, John R. McKivigan, and R. Owen Williams, eds, *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolition: Greenwood Milestones in African American History*, (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2007) 184.

while many of the missionaries were aware of the movements in the U.S., it was actually the strong antislavery sentiments and relentless advocacy of Dr. Thomas Lafon which would directly prompt many of the brethren to become more active in the cause.

A former slaveholder who was originally from Virginia, Lafon became a fervent supporter of emancipation initiatives while still in the U.S.¹²⁸ Lafon had been a student of David Nelson, a famous preacher, abolitionist, and educator; Nelson was also a vice president of the American Antislavery Society.¹²⁹ Eventually finding his calling as a missionary, Lafon volunteered his medical expertise to the ABCFM and received an appointment in 1835; he was selected to become a member of the Sandwich Islands Mission because of dire need for physicians among the missionaries in Hawai‘i.¹³⁰ Lafon arrived in the Islands on April 9, 1837 as a member of the exceptionally large eighth company of reinforcements and began advocating on behalf of the American slaves almost immediately.¹³¹ Within a month of arriving in Hawai‘i, Lafon gave an impassioned speech during the “Wednesday evening exercises” of the General Meeting describing the state of slavery in the U.S. to an assembly of his fellow missionaries, many of whom had gathered in Honolulu for the General Meeting. Green wrote of the speech, “Doct. Lafon gave us such an account of the state of things in the United States as made our hearts bleed, and filled our bosoms with fearful apprehensions.”¹³²

¹²⁸ J. S. Green, “From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838, Vol II Iss. 47, 182 (New York, NY.).

¹²⁹ Elizur Wright, *The Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, Vol. 1 (New York, New York Antislavery Society, 1836) 24.

¹³⁰ ABCFM, “Annual Report, 1837” *The Missionary Herald*, Vol 34, 19 Jan 1838 No. 1.

¹³¹ The eighth company consisted of thirty-two individuals, which was the largest company the ABCFM had ever sent to Hawai‘i see HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 11.

¹³² Green, “From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838.

Lafon's rousing first formal antislavery speech as a Sandwich Islands missionary is one of the strongest examples of the strength and immediacy of his antislavery influence among the gathered members of the mission. Lafon quickly inspired a number of the missionaries to actively express their antislavery sentiments and become involved in the movement as never before. The gathering of the missionaries for the General Meeting had provided an important opportunity and forum for antislavery discussions for the missionaries, who were usually separated by the distances between their respective stations. They organized various prayer meetings and discussions among themselves specifically focused on the topic of slavery; in the minutes for the meeting it was noted that "the mission met frequently during the session for devotional purposes, and among other meetings of interest may be mentioned the monthly concert for missions; Sabbath schools; and the abolition of slavery."¹³³ An antislavery concert was organized in May of 1837 to be held on the last Monday evening of every month, and prompted the missionary participants to pray for the enslaved; the concert was an endeavor that was undertaken in accordance with calls for monthly prayers among many religious abolitionists in the U.S.¹³⁴

Lafon also heavily criticized the mission for not paying Native Hawaiian "servants," "domestics," and "assistants." While some of the missionaries had provided books, cloth, and other goods as payment to Native Hawaiians who performed services for the Mission, the fact that they were not given a fixed wage led Lafon to characterize the relationship as

¹³³ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, May and June 1837," (Honolulu; Mission Press, 1837) 34 in *Minutes of General Meetings of Sandwich Islands Missions 1830-1837*, Vol 1.

¹³⁴ Green, "From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837," *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838.

slavery.¹³⁵ Although some missionaries dismissed Lafon's arguments for paying Native Hawaiians, a number of other missionaries, including Gulick, began to advocate for wages.¹³⁶

Having left the U.S. relatively recently as compared to the individuals already living in Hawai'i, Lafon was more immediately connected to the growing antislavery movements and had witnessed the increasing tension there over issues surrounding slavery. With the exception of the sentiments of Green and early comparisons between Native Hawaiians and slaves, no missionaries had expressed strong antislavery beliefs during the first two decades of the mission. When considering the prior lack of concerted antislavery advocacy, it almost seems as though Lafon's strong personality and passion were important catalysts for the sudden expression of antislavery sentiments among a number of missionaries and the emergence of the antislavery movement in the Islands. Lafon's animated nature certainly provided his fellow missionaries with strong inspiration. For example, Lafon had been exceedingly popular during the months-long voyage to Hawai'i because of his eloquence; his style of delivering sermons was said to be particularly invigorating.¹³⁷ Eleven months after his arrival in the Islands, Lafon was permanently stationed at Kōloa on Kaua'i with the Gulicks, where he would continue to advocate for the abolition of American slavery. Gulick would also become very active in the Hawaiian antislavery movement. Delayed by the construction of his house, Lafon stayed in Waimea for a time and visited Reverend Alexander at the Wai'oli station; Alexander and his wife had established the station in 1834 just two years after arriving in Hawai'i.¹³⁸ Alexander would later write his 1838 *nūpepa*

¹³⁵ Neil Proto, *The Rights of My People: Liliuokalani's Enduring Battle with the United States* (New York, Algora Publishing, 2009) 63.

¹³⁶ The Reverend Artemas Bishop of the 'Ewa Mission Station on O'ahu was one of the missionaries who objected to paying fixed wages to Native Hawaiians. See Clifford Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i. The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883*, (Amherst and Boston, University of Massachusetts Press, 2010).

¹³⁷ John Halford, *9 Doctors and God*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1954) 161.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

article on the immorality of slavery, likely influenced by Lafon and the growing antislavery sentiments of his fellow missionaries.

The Antislavery Correspondence of the Missionaries

In addition to fostering various meetings and discussions in the Islands, one of the most important antislavery activities inspired by Lafon was the composition of letters on the subject of slavery by a handful of Sandwich Island missionaries; Gulick's communications with Wright was but one example of these correspondences. Lafon, Green, and Reverend Harvey Hitchcock would also write letters that would be published in American antislavery periodicals following the 1837 Annual Meeting, which had provided them with the opportunity to gather and participate in antislavery discussions in the Mission.¹³⁹ Most of these early antislavery communications were first published in the New York-based antislavery newspaper, *The Emancipator*, in 1838. However, the letters sent by the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission were popular examples of antislavery sentiment and were often published and republished in other American antislavery periodicals.¹⁴⁰

As previously discussed, Green had been one of the first missionaries to express antislavery sentiments while stationed in the Islands. Although he had moved between stations in the early years of his service to the mission, by 1837 he was settled in Wailuku, Maui, and had started the Wailuku Female Seminary there. Green composed an antislavery letter in Honolulu before he left the General Meeting over several days, from May 29th to

¹³⁹ The 1837 Annual meeting provided the missionaries with an opportunity to gather in Honolulu; Gulick was stationed on Kaua'i, Green was stationed in Wailuku, Maui, while Hitchcock was stationed at Kalua'aha on Moloka'i.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Gulick's "More from the Sandwich Islands," first appeared in the African American newspaper *The Colored American*, and was later published in the April 5, 1838 issue of *The Emancipator*. Lafon's "On Missions and Slavery, Letter I," was originally meant for the Illinois-based antislavery newspaper the *Alton Observer* but was published in *The Emancipator*, 31 May 1838, Vol III Iss. 5, 18 (New York, NY); his letter was also reprinted in *The Emancipator*, 7 June, 1838, Vol III Iss. 6, 22 (New York, NY).

June 1st. The letter was addressed and sent to Joshua Leavitt, a Congregationalist minister and abolitionist who was the editor of *The Emancipator* at the time. Green's letter was most likely one of the first overtly antislavery letters written by a Sandwich Islands missionary to be published in an American periodical; it described some of the earliest antislavery sentiments of the missionaries as directly inspired by Lafon, including the formation of the monthly prayer meetings.¹⁴¹

The letter written by Gulick was the second antislavery letter written by a Sandwich Islands Missionary to be published in *The Emancipator*. Gulick had arrived in the Islands with the third company of missionaries in 1828; he was originally stationed with the missionary Samuel Whitney in Waimea, but had been reassigned to start the Kōloa station with his wife in 1834.¹⁴² The chronically poor health of the Gulicks was one of the reasons Kōloa was chosen as a permanent station for Lafon.¹⁴³ In his letter, Gulick expressed his dedication to the antislavery movement and wrote, "I believe, assuredly, that abolition is the cause of God, and must, therefore, triumph."¹⁴⁴

Besides inspiring other members of the mission to participate in antislavery activities, Lafon would also write letters to individuals in the U.S. immediately following the 1837 Annual Meeting. One such letter was dated September 28, 1837 and sent to the Reverend Elijah Lovejoy, who was the editor of the Illinois-based antislavery newspaper the *Alton Observer*. In his letter, Lafon discussed the role of missions and missionaries with respect to slavery, noting that "it is impossible to see the multiplied evils that are a necessary

¹⁴¹ Green, "From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837," *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838.

¹⁴² HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 110.

¹⁴³ Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai'i*, 61.

¹⁴⁴ Gulick, "More from the Sandwich Islands," *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838.

consequence of the system of slavery... in such a light as sincerely to desire its abolition without being in principle a friend of missions.”¹⁴⁵

The Reverend Harvey Hitchcock was also among the men who chose to write an antislavery correspondence following the 1837 Annual Meeting. Hitchcock had arrived in Hawai‘i in 1832 with the fifth company of missionaries, and had established the first station on the island of Moloka‘i at Kalua‘aha.¹⁴⁶ Hitchcock wrote his letter in November 1837 from his station to Amos A. Phelps, a former editor of *The Emancipator*; it was subsequently published in the May 10, 1838 issue of that paper.¹⁴⁷

The letters written by Green, Gulick, Lafon, and Hitchcock expressed the support of the Sandwich Islands missionaries for the antislavery cause, contained appeals for the “overthrow of slavery,” and also described the antislavery efforts undertaken by individuals stationed in Hawai‘i, such as the prayer concerts.¹⁴⁸ In particular, all of these men insisted on the immediate emancipation of the slaves in their letters, during a time when many proponents of the antislavery movement advocated for gradual emancipation or the complete removal of African slaves from the U.S. The members of the Sandwich Islands Mission also supported the antislavery movements for humanitarian reasons, and objected to the forced labor and oppression of slaves for the economic profit of the slaveholders.¹⁴⁹ There were also religious reasons for their support; to them, slavery and slaveholding were considered to be

¹⁴⁵Lafon, “For the Alton Observer: On Missions and Slavery, Letter I,” *The Emancipator*, 31 May 1838, Vol III Iss. 5, 18 (New York, NY).

¹⁴⁶ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 11.

¹⁴⁷ H. R. Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838, Vol. 3 Iss. 2, 7 (New York, NY).

¹⁴⁸ “First Annual Report of the Union Anti-slavery Society,” *Pennsylvania Freeman* Vol V Iss. 45, 18 July 1839, 1 (Philadelphia, PA).

¹⁴⁹ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838.

sins.¹⁵⁰ Hitchcock wrote, “Of all the abominations that have cursed the earth, where is there one more flagrant than that of enslaving and crushing to dust our fellow-men?”¹⁵¹

Sending antislavery correspondences to individuals in the U.S. was understood to be one way for the missionaries to contribute to the American movements, despite their physical separation from the U.S. Although most of them had lived and worked in Hawai‘i for a number of years, many of the missionaries maintained strong connections to their country of birth, considered themselves to be citizens of that country, and retained a sense of pride in being Americans, despite the fact that they had been expected by the ABCFM to remain in the field for life.¹⁵²

Antislavery and the Revisualization of the Work of the Missionaries

Certainly, the correspondences revealed the growth of antislavery sentiment in the Islands and represented one of the first antislavery activities undertaken by members of the mission. In particular, these correspondences allowed the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i to publicly participate in and contribute to the dialogues surrounding the antislavery movements in the U.S. during the late 1830s and early 1840s. But the letters can also be considered to be historically important for other reasons; in particular, Lafon, Green, Gulick, and Hitchcock would articulate some of the reasons they supported the antislavery efforts in their letters, in the process revealing what they perceived to be the scope of their responsibilities as Sandwich Islands Missionaries.

In speaking about the extent of problems associated with slavery in the U.S. during the annual meeting, Lafon had caused some the missionaries to “wonder whether the cause of

¹⁵⁰ “Helu 3,” *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, Buke 4 Helu 14, 5 Dec. 1838, Aoao 56.

¹⁵¹ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

truth on earth is not actually *retrograde*.”¹⁵³ Essentially, Lafon prompted these individuals to begin to consider whether or not their work as missionaries in Hawai‘i and among the Native Hawaiians was enough of a contribution to the cause of evangelizing, as advocated by the religious communities in the U.S.

This concern was particularly evident in the antislavery correspondences of the missionaries. Hitchcock’s letter included a set of resolutions, titled *Resolutions Relative to the Points of Christian Duty*, that were adopted during the 1837 General Meeting and which the missionaries sought to distribute to the religious communities in the U.S.¹⁵⁴ It is highly probable that Lafon and Green also included the *Resolutions* with their antislavery letters, though it was never published with their letters. Likewise, Gulick had included the resolutions as an accompaniment to his letter, but *The Emancipator* was only able to print the eighth and ninth resolutions because of the space restrictions of the issue.¹⁵⁵ The *Resolutions* actually echoed many of the same sentiments that had been articulated in the *Duty of the Present Generation* the missionaries had previously sent to communities in the U.S., which had chastised Christians and churches in the U.S. for not doing enough to support the missions abroad. In the *Resolutions*, however, the missionaries would incorporate these criticisms with the expression of their antislavery sentiments. For example, one resolution noted that 3,000,000 “descendents of Pagan Africa” labored in the U.S. while another maintained “that a contempt of men on account of their imbecility and degradation and color, and an unwillingness to make sacrifices for their elevation and salvation, as the very opposite

¹⁵³ Green, “From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ Gulick, “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838.

of the Spirit of Christ and of the true spirit of missions.”¹⁵⁶ In his letter, Hitchcock noted that the resolutions were not adopted rashly and were the sentiments of the entire mission.

A common theme expressed in the letters published in the antislavery newspapers was that participation in the abolition efforts was a fundamental aspect of the religious duties of a missionary, even if such an individual was physically separated from the movements by geographic distance. Green wrote, “Yes, we felt though we have much pressing business on our hands, that we must turn aside and beseech our Heavenly Father to arise and vindicate the rights of the oppressed, and save our beloved country from impending ruin.”¹⁵⁷ Lafon, Green, Gulick, and Hitchcock believed that participation in the American antislavery movements among the religious was completely necessary, even if it meant diverting a part of their energies, thoughts, and prayers as Sandwich Islands Missionaries away from Native Hawaiians.

Through their correspondences, Green, Lafon, Gulick, and Hitchcock actively challenged the notion that it was imprudent or improper for missionaries to involve themselves in the antislavery movements, while providing religious justification for their participation by arguing that it was a part of their duty as missionaries and Christians to support abolition. Hitchcock noted:

I write because it is a privilege for me, (as I think it should be for every Christian), to take an open and decided stand in favor of those who are laboring to crush slavery. Especially is this a privilege at a time when morbid prudence or time-serving policy is setting afloat the sentiment that it is a subject with which the missionary should not intermeddle.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838.

¹⁵⁷ Green, “From a Missionary: Honolulu, Oahu, Sandwich Islands, May 29, 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 22 Mar 1838.

¹⁵⁸ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838.

These individuals believed that the existence of slavery in the U.S. undermined their efforts in Hawai‘i, as well as that of other missionaries around the world. Many of the missionaries found it ironic that they had been sent to Hawai‘i in order to spread the Gospel while many Christians remaining in the U.S. tolerated or supported the system of slavery.¹⁵⁹ Lafon wrote that Americans who “dream themselves the friends of MISSIONS, and who think that the subject of SLAVERY should not be so much as named among them... no correct feeling for the success of missions can be entertained without desiring the extinction of slavery.”¹⁶⁰ Likewise, Gulick wondered how “any real Christian would not want slavery immediately abolished.”¹⁶¹ The missionaries also believed that the work of the benevolent societies and the religious communities in the U.S. did not sufficiently address concerns about the morality of the American populations. Slaveholders, in addition to Americans who tolerated slavery, were also targets of the missionary correspondence, because these individuals were believed to promote heathenism and sin through the perpetuation of slavery. In this respect and in comparison to the unconverted Native Hawaiians, Lafon noted, “there is a wide difference between perishing for lack of knowledge, and perishing in consequence of the rejection of knowledge.”¹⁶²

Interestingly, part of the impetus among the missionaries to contribute to the antislavery movements stemmed from the perceived similarities and parallels between the conditions of Native Hawaiians and that of the slaves. To the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i, both Native Hawaiians and the slaves were unconverted and uneducated.¹⁶³ Both populations

¹⁵⁹ Lafon, “For the Alton Observer: On Missions and Slavery, Letter I,” *The Emancipator*, 31 May 1838.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Emphasis in original.

¹⁶¹ Gulick, “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Princeton Theological Seminary letter, 12 April 1834, Sandwich Islands Mission Collection, 1820-1853 Society of Inquiry Colleges and Seminaries 1834-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

were also thought to be oppressed; while Native Hawaiians were “oppressed” by the *ali ‘i*, slaves were oppressed by slaveholders.¹⁶⁴ In these ways, the missionaries felt that the conditions of the “heathen and of the slave” were essentially the same.¹⁶⁵ Lafon, Green, Gulick, and Hitchcock were not only using these comparisons to justify their involvement in the American Antislavery movements, but also to validate their efforts among the Native Hawaiians in ways that likened their efforts to those of the abolitionists, both perceiving and positioning themselves as working towards similar objectives as the antislavery proponents in the U.S. Hitchcock noted; “Though our fields of labor are at a great distance from each other, and are different in some respects; yet I feel that our objects are the same—that of breaking every bond and of letting the captives go free.”¹⁶⁶

Growing Interest in the American Antislavery Movements

Coupled with the belief that slavery was a “heaven-provoking sin” which was spiritually and morally endangering the U.S., the prevalent perception that the missionaries had the responsibility as Americans to contribute to the antislavery movements provided a strong impetus for many of the other missionaries to join the efforts to actively foster the growth of the antislavery sentiments in the Islands and in the U.S.¹⁶⁷ In the late 1830s, many more members of the mission became involved in the movement. In requesting the editor of the *Emancipator* to send him copies of the paper to his station at Moloka‘i, Hitchcock wrote, “No intelligence from my native land interests me more than that which announces the

¹⁶⁴ Lafon, “For the Alton Observer: On Missions and Slavery, Letter I,” *The Emancipator*, 31 May 1838.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ Hitchcock, “Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *Emancipator and Republican*, 10 May 1838.

¹⁶⁷ Green, “Letter Accompanying the Above,” 10 Sept. 1840.

progress of the cause of the slave.”¹⁶⁸ Indeed, antislavery periodicals represented a valuable source of news in the Islands during this time, and were often sent between the islands to be eagerly read by like-minded individuals at the dispersed mission stations. The abolitionist newspapers were also important sources of inspiration and direction for the antislavery activities of the missionaries. Several missionaries continued to hold their subscriptions to these periodicals into the 1840s.¹⁶⁹

The Panic of 1837

By 1835, a little more than twenty years after sending its very first company of missionaries abroad, the American Board was supporting a substantial number of stations throughout the world, including missions in parts of India, Africa, and China; the ABCFM had also established stations in North America and dispatched missionaries to many Native American tribes.¹⁷⁰ Around the same time, the Prudential Committee hoped to establish even more foreign mission stations, targeting communities in the Pacific, among other locales. Presenting the Board’s plans for expansion within a letter written to the Sandwich Island missionaries in 1831, the Prudential Committee’s corresponding secretary Rufus Anderson had written, “our prospects for men and money in this country were never more promising, and we must keep our eyes upon a continual enlargement of our operations in the Pacific till

¹⁶⁸ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838...

¹⁶⁹ “Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Held at Honolulu May and June 1842” (Honolulu; Mission Press, 1842) 34-35, in *Minutes of General Meetings 1838-1853 And Hawaiian Association 1823-1853* Vol II. The Extracts include a list of periodicals requested by the individual missionaries, including antislavery materials. For example: Baldwin (*American and Foreign Anti-SlaveryReporter*) Green (*Emancipator* and *American and Foreign Anti-SlaveryReporter*), Lafon (*Emancipator*) Johnson (*American and Foreign Anti-SlaveryReporter*), and Locke (*American and Foreign Anti-SlaveryReporter*) all requested antislavery periodicals.

¹⁷⁰ ABCFM, “Summary View of Missionary Operations Throughout the World,” *The Missionary Herald*, 1834, 30, 2-7.

every island is made acquainted with the gospel.”¹⁷¹ In the same letter, Anderson requested that the missionaries in Hawai‘i provide an estimate of how many additional reinforcements would be needed in Hawai‘i, with the understanding that their recommendations would help to guide the decisions of the ABCFM.¹⁷² As it was, the Sandwich Islands Mission was the largest and most expensive mission supported by the ABCFM, with the greatest number of missionaries and stations, as well as growing numbers of churches and schools.¹⁷³

The ABCFM had shouldered funding for the scope of its missionary operations wholly through donations from the American religious communities. The congregational churches constituted nearly three-quarters of the ABCFM, which was also supported by a group of patrons that included wealthy individuals and religious organizations, such as benevolent societies.¹⁷⁴ Despite having to rely on the generosity of the community to sustain itself, the ABCFM had been able to expand its operations throughout the world without accruing a significant amount of debt. Total contributions from patrons often increased annually, which would in turn offset steady increases in the expenses submitted to the Board by its missionary stations. This was especially true of the mid-1830s as a result of the religious revivals; for example, an increase in receipts from 1834 prompted Anderson to write that “never were the prospects of our missions, on the whole, so inviting.”¹⁷⁵ In the fiscal year of 1835, the expenditures of the ABCFM totaled \$163,254, but were offset by incoming receipts of \$163,340.10, which were actually representative of a \$10,954 increase in funds from the previous year; including the debts from the previous year, the

¹⁷¹ Anderson, “General Letter,” 16 Nov. 1831, 3.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ ABCFM “Present Financial Condition and Prospects of the Board,” *The Missionary Herald*, June 1837, Vol XXXIII No. 6 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1837).

¹⁷⁴ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 15 June 1836, 10 and Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 20, June 1840 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

organization's deficit was a paltry \$4,691.18.¹⁷⁶ Anderson related the cautious optimism held by the Board for overcoming the debt in his general letter dated for June 15, 1836, maintaining that there was no indication that the churches and other communities of funding would fail to provide enough funding to make up for the shortfall.¹⁷⁷

In fact, it seemed that in the mid-1830s, the biggest obstacle to the continued operations of the ABCFM was not one of securing funding, but rather one of finding enough men and women who were willing to dedicate their lives to becoming missionaries in a foreign land. Acutely aware of the need for more missionaries, the individuals stationed in Hawai'i wrote a number of tracts and articles that were meant to increase missionary zeal within the U.S., some of which were subsequently printed by the Board in the *Missionary Herald* and the Annual Report of the ABCFM.¹⁷⁸ In response to an estimate of needed reinforcements received by the ABCFM from the Sandwich Islands Mission, Anderson wrote,

The Committee will endeavor to send out the number of preachers and schoolmasters you have requested... We have not the men. Alas! What shall we do for men? We greatly need as many as fifty ordained missionaries to say nothing of schoolmasters to send forth to various fields, this very autumn, and we have not more than five or six!¹⁷⁹

The problem of not enough men as opposed to too little money was not to last very long, however. Beginning in late 1836, rapidly increasing expenditures and falling receipts led to serious financial troubles and deficits within the treasury of the ABCFM. A report of spending published in the *Missionary Herald* showed an unexpectedly large increase of \$47,000 in expenditures for 1836, resulting in a huge deficit of \$38,866.57.¹⁸⁰ The Board was

¹⁷⁶ ABCFM, "Annual Reports: Domestic Operations," *The Missionary Herald*, Jan. 1836, Vol XXXII No. 1, (Boston; Crocker and Brewster) 3.

¹⁷⁷ Anderson, "General Letter," 15 Jun. 1836, 10 and 14.

¹⁷⁸ Anderson "General Letter," 16 Sep. 1835, 3.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ ABCFM, "Annual Report: Domestic Operations," *The Missionary Herald*, Jan. 1837, Vol XXXIII No. 1 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1837) 3.

unprepared for such a large debt, which was an eight hundred percent increase from the previous year. Although financial reserves were limited, it was hoped that increased donations from various patrons would make up the shortfall in one or two years.¹⁸¹

Unfortunately for the ABCFM, much of the U.S. would be thrown into the midst of the financial crisis which would become known as the Panic of 1837, where speculation would cause many American banks to fail and plunge the U.S. economy into depression.¹⁸² The rapid progression of the crisis would cripple many American institutions, including the ABCFM. Caught off guard by the sudden decrease in their receipts, the operations of the Board suffered greatly;

We were never embarrassed, however, so much as now in respect to funds. At the close of the last financial year, we were about \$40,000 in debt, and at the same time were under engagements to send forth between 30 and 40 families of missionaries in the course of the ensuing autumn...but it so happened that the country was then and has since been sinking into a condition of unexampled pecuniary distress among the mercantile classes from which we do not yet see any certain prospect of its emerging.¹⁸³

The financial distress would extend for a number of years, severely and immediately limiting the amount of contributions the ABCFM received from the great majority of its patrons, deepening the debt of the organization significantly. Unfortunately, benevolent societies which had been dependable sources of extra funds in past years, such as the American Bible and Tract Society, had also been hard-hit by the economic downturn and were in no position to provide the ABCFM with the same level of monetary support as they had previously;

¹⁸¹ Anderson, "General Letter," 15 Jun. 1836.

¹⁸² Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 20 Jun. 1840, 2 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

¹⁸³ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 5 Dec. 1836, 2 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

Numbers of our most munificent patrons have utterly failed and become bankrupt. Thousands of dollars, which were subscribed last fall to encourage and enable us to send the waiting missionaries, have not been paid, and cannot be. Trade is strangely and universally stagnant. The banks throughout the country have stopped redeeming their bills with specie---- but I need not enlarge...It is unavoidable that our benevolent societies should all suffer.¹⁸⁴

The inability of the benevolent societies to provide additional monies to offset the deficits faced by the Board would in turn result in a rapid decrease in the amount of funds the ABCFM was able to budget for its missionary operations, in terms of establishing new mission stations, sending out missionary reinforcements, and provisioning already established missions. Indeed, the lack of financial support and revenue had the potential to permanently cripple the operations of the ABCFM, and it became increasingly difficult for the organization to deal with the annually increasing expenditures among the various mission stations. These factors forced the Board to adopt drastic cost-cutting measures in every way possible, beginning in late 1836. Besides trying to find ways to minimize the expenses of their domestic operations, the board began to implement austerity regulations on the expenditures of its missions around the world. For example, a number of much needed reinforcements that were scheduled to be sent abroad and to Hawai‘i, which had included deputations of missionaries, teachers, and physicians, were delayed because of the financial crisis.¹⁸⁵ The construction and maintenance of buildings associated with the missions were also heavily discouraged. The necessity of supplies and provisions, such as those for the printing establishments of the missions, were questioned. Additionally, strict limits were put in place to curb spending in many other areas and departments in ways that would directly

¹⁸⁴ Anderson, "General Letter," 21 Jul. 1837 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI).

¹⁸⁵ Anderson, "General Letter," 5 Dec. 1836.

affect the dispersed community of ABCFM missionaries throughout the world.¹⁸⁶ The budget crisis would have a particular impact on the Sandwich Islands Mission as the largest missionary operation supported by the American Board.

The beginning of the formal antislavery movement in the Islands coincided with the onset of the financial crisis in the U.S. and the tightening fiscal regulations imposed by the ABCFM on the Sandwich Islands Mission. Over time, many of these regulations would become a source of frustration and tension between the missionaries and the ABCFM.

¹⁸⁶ Anderson, "General Letter," 5 Dec. 1836.

CHAPTER 4

THE FINANCIAL CRISIS AND PROTESTS AMONG THE SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSIONARIES

The Panic of 1837 would bring about sweeping economic changes in the U.S., but would also result in the ABCFM implementing changes within its missionary operations. Coupled with severe reductions in the mission budget, regulations targeting the press and missionary correspondence during the closing years of the 1830s would incite strong reactions among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. In particular, the missionaries felt that these measures were oppressive, and they articulated their dissatisfaction in letters sent to one another and to the ABCFM corresponding secretary, Rufus Anderson. The frustrations stemming from the implementation of the regulations paralleled an increasing willingness among the missionaries to openly challenge the authority of the Board. In fact, many missionaries began to participate in antislavery protests that were specifically targeted at the ABCFM, condemning the Board for its perceived “neutrality” on the issue of slavery and the acceptance of funds from slaveholders.

This chapter explores the fractious relationship between members of the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM. This discussion is contextualized by an examination of the role of the missionaries was transforming during the late 1830s, as a result of ongoing social, economic, and political changes in Hawai‘i. In particular, greater opportunities for the missionaries to live and work in the islands led many individuals to request dismissal from the service of the Mission and the ABCFM.

The Impact of the Panic of 1837 on the Sandwich Islands Missionaries

Many of the measures adopted by the financially strapped ABCFM as a response to the Panic of 1837 would have an especially deep impact on the Sandwich Islands Mission, which was the largest and most expensive mission sponsored by the Board. In previous years, the size of the Sandwich Islands Mission had been deemed necessary, in order to rapidly evangelize the Native Hawaiians in the shortest amount of time possible.¹⁸⁷ With several stations spread across the Hawaiian Islands, a growing community of missionaries, prolific printing establishments at Lāhaina and Honolulu, as well as an increasing number of schools and churches, the relative cost of supporting the Sandwich Islands Mission was indeed considerable.¹⁸⁸ Unfortunately, many of the factors which had earlier made the Sandwich Islands Mission one of the most successful operations of the ABCFM became financial liabilities in the wake of the economic crisis in the U.S.

By late 1837, word of the financial crisis in the U.S. reached Hawai‘i. In response to the crisis and budget shortfalls, the Board chose to diminish the expenditures of the Sandwich Islands Mission by requiring the missionaries to cut costs in any way that they could. Instead of accepting new requests from the missionaries for supplies, the ABCFM based the provisions it sent on the lists that had been submitted by the mission in previous years, regardless of changes in the needs of individuals stationed in Hawai‘i resulting from the growth of families or the expansion of efforts.¹⁸⁹ The ABCFM also restricted the members of the mission from building any new permanent dwellings for reinforcement missionaries who had been deployed before the worst of the crisis and had arrived in the Islands in late 1837; as a result, missionaries were forced to live with one another for

¹⁸⁷ ABCFM “Annual Report: Conclusion,” *The Missionary Herald*, Jun. 1837, Vol XXXIII No. 6 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1837) 30.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 269.

¹⁸⁹ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 17 Jan 1837, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

extended periods of time, as opposed to being able to establish stations in new areas or set up their own households.¹⁹⁰ In addition to asking the missionaries in Hawai‘i to adopt a cheaper style of building for the construction of houses, schools, and churches, the Prudential Committee passed a resolution which determined that the Annual Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission was “too numerous attended, and too long in session,” ultimately recommending that the missionaries instead arrange smaller, shorter, and less expensive meetings.¹⁹¹ And although the subject of self-supporting missions had been frequently discussed in the years prior to 1837, the financial crisis prompted the ABCFM to place new pressures on the missionaries to determine whether Native Hawaiians, either through donations given by the *ali‘i* or the individual congregations, could support the mission stations and the efforts of the Sandwich Islands missionaries in Hawai‘i.¹⁹²

By the closing months of 1837, armed with knowledge of the crisis in the U.S. and plagued by subsequent requests to cut spending within the Mission, the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i redoubled their efforts to make the schools for Native Hawaiians economically independent of funds from the mission. In an 1838 letter, the missionary Abner Wilcox wrote, “We have recently been endeavoring to reorganize not only the station but all the schools on a new plan which is to have the people of every land support their own school.”¹⁹³ However, these and other efforts among the missionaries in Hawai‘i would prove to be too little to stem the tremendous strain on the resources of the ABCFM aggravated by the panic.

¹⁹⁰ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 5 Dec. 1836, 7.

¹⁹¹ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 21, July 1837, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

¹⁹² *Ibid.*

¹⁹³ Abner Wilcox, letter to Samuel N. Castle, 8 Sept. 1838, Castle Collection, Castle No. 107-66 Letters Rec’d 1838, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

The financial restrictions faced by the board would alarm the missionaries, particularly in situations that required expenditures. For example, in early 1837 there were serious discussions within the Hawaiian government and among the *ali'i* to tax the members of the mission, in the same way other foreigners were taxed. As expected, this proposition was met with significant protests by the missionaries. The issue was of such concern that a resolution was adopted at the 1837 General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission of that year, with the intention that it would be translated by the missionary Hiram Bingham and published in the Hawaiian language newspapers;

Whereas liberal and enlightened governments often exonerate the ministers of religion from taxes; and whereas the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands are devoted to the best interests of the country, and their influence is important in a temporal as well as spiritual sense, therefore,

- 1 Resolved, that this government ought to exonerate the missionaries from all taxation.
- 2 Resolved, notwithstanding that should the government persist, after a full explanation of our views on this subject, to levy taxes on the mission, - rather than offend or rebel against the rules, we will, like Christ, pay the taxes imposed on us while we remain in the land.¹⁹⁴

Ostensibly, the translation of the resolution into Hawaiian and its publication in the *nūpepa* was likely meant to build support for the exemption of the missionaries from taxation by the *ali'i* among the Native Hawaiians, particularly among the members of the general populace. Perhaps it was hoped that attempts to tax the missionaries would be met with such protest among Native Hawaiians that the *ali'i* would be pressured to refrain from levying the tax, or that an *ali'i* who taxed the missionaries was not *pono*. A quick search of the Hawaiian language newspapers published in 1837 in the months following the Annual Meeting did not reveal any direct mention of the resolution written by Bingham. However, in an August 28th,

¹⁹⁴Sandwich Islands Mission, "Taxation of the Missionaries" *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 1837* (Honolulu; Mission Press, 1837) 32-33, in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1830-1837* Vol 1, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

1837 article on the ways Hawaiians could support the transition of Hawai‘i to a “kingdom of God,” Davida Malo (an 1835 graduate of Lāhainaluna) wrote:

O oukou e na lii, a me na konohiki, e kokua aku oukou i na kumu ao palapala kanaka maoli, ka mea nana e ao na kamalii o Hawaii nei, e haawi aku i na mea e pono ai ko lakou hemahema, i hiki ia lakou ke ao pono i na kamalii o Hawaii nei. Aole hoi e auhau aku i na kumu, he mea ia e keakea ai i ka lakou ao ana, aole hoi e auhau i na keiki ao palapala e kau i kanawai maluna o na makua, i lawe ole ia na keiki mai ke kula aku.¹⁹⁵

It is you chiefs and lesser chiefs, assist the teachers who educate the Native Hawaiians, the ones who taught the children of Hawai‘i, who gave them the means to correct their ignorance, so that they could morally teach the children of Hawai‘i. It is not indeed a tax for the teachers, it is a thing that blocks their teaching, do not tax the children who are being educated and place laws on the parents, so they will not take their children from school.

In this article, Malo echoed the sentiments articulated in the resolution concerning the exemption of the missionaries, children, and families from taxation by the *ali‘i*.

Although the *ali‘i* decided the missionaries would not be taxed by the *ali‘i* in the late 1830s, the economic worries facing the mission would continue. Realizing that the dire financial situation that faced their organization would also require more serious actions than those initiated within the missions, the members of the Prudential Committee instructed the corresponding secretaries to notify all of the ABCFM missions of the immediate imposition of heavy limits to their expenses, with the hope that such limits would not negatively affect the daily operations of the missionaries at their respective stations. In an uncharacteristically grim circular dated January 17, 1837, Anderson notified the missionaries in Hawai‘i that the annual expenses for the Sandwich Islands Mission had been originally been set at \$35,600 after the cutbacks, but were almost immediately reduced to \$35,000.¹⁹⁶ In noting that the

¹⁹⁵ “No ka hiki ana mai o ko ke akua aupuni.” *Ke Kumu Hawaii*. 22 Nowemaba 1837, Buke 3, Pepa 13, ‘ao‘ao 50.

¹⁹⁶ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 17 Jan 1837, 1, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*.

fiscal year ended in July and that it was only January, Anderson also admonished the missionaries for what the Board considered to be the phenomenal amount of their expenditures, which was just one hundred dollars short of \$70,000.¹⁹⁷ A degree of urgency in the requests for the reduction of expenditures of the Sandwich Islands Mission was palpable in Anderson's correspondence to the missionaries. Despite concluding a letter on January 17, Anderson also found it necessary to include a postscript dated a day later, on January 18, apparently at the behest of the Board;

Our Committee think [*sic*] I must use more decisive language with regard to the annual allowance which will be made to your mission. They regard \$35,000 as being as great a proportion of the funds placed at their disposal as should ever be allowed to the mission at the Sandwich Islands; and wish me to say that all your plans must be made not to exceed that sum.¹⁹⁸

Just four months later, however, the ABCFM found it necessary to take even more drastic cuts. The Board again placed a the limit on the expenditures of the Sandwich Islands Mission, and reduced its funding to a mere \$30,000 in July 1837;

We earnestly hope that these letters may proceed to the islands without delay. They will give you, as they did us, very great pain, for they require an immediate reduction of your annual expenses to thirty thousand dollars, at any sacrifice... No living man has beheld the like before, and it is comforting to think that none of the present generation may be expected to behold the like again.¹⁹⁹

Although the immediate cuts to expenditures were considered necessary by the ABCFM, the missionaries in Hawai'i were unprepared for such drastic reductions and it negatively impacted the morale of the mission; according to an 1838 article in the *Missionary Herald*, there was a difference of about \$85,000 between what the missionaries had expected

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹⁹⁸ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 17 Jan 1837, 1, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, 4.

¹⁹⁹ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 21 Jul 1837, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

to receive and what they were actually allotted.²⁰⁰ Plans for the expansion of the mission, the establishment of new stations, the ability to pay Native Hawaiian laborers, and even the ability to provide for the basic needs of the missionaries in the Islands were jeopardized by the cuts made by the American Board; Wilcox noted, “The number of scholars in our station schools being large we have heretofore had native assistants whom we hired. For one week our schools went very well, but when it was fully understood that they were not to receive wages they all quit at once leaving us destitute of help.”²⁰¹ In the midst of a Protestant religious revival in the Islands that had brought thousands of new converts into the churches and schools, the expenditure reductions had the potential to irreparably cripple the operations of the mission. The tight limits on expenditures would greatly strain the relationship between the missionaries and between the mission and the ABCFM.²⁰² In particular, the missionaries felt that a greater share of the Board’s funds for the year should be apportioned to them, in an amount that was based on the large number of missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i and the scope of the operations in the Islands.²⁰³ They accused the Board of withholding aid to the mission while fully aware of the consequences to the churches and schools established by the missionaries, which would inevitably result in “the dereliction of Christian and missionary duty.”²⁰⁴

Despite the many reasons that were given by the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i justifying the mission’s operational expenses, the ABCFM staunchly refused to increase its

²⁰⁰ ABCFM “Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting of the Board,” *Missionary Herald*, Nov. 1838 Vol 34 No. 11 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1838) 438.

²⁰¹ Wilcox, Letter to Samuel N. Castle, 8 Sept. 1838.

²⁰² Dwight Baldwin, letter to Levi Chamberlain, Aug 8, 1837, Baldwin Collection in Baldwin Dwight 1837 Letters Sent HMCS (Honolulu, HI.); Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 Jun. 1838, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁰³ Ibid. The ABCFM argued that the missionaries in Hawai‘i were serving a smaller population of people in comparison to the members of its other missions.

²⁰⁴ Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838.

expenditure limits, noting that the monies the Sandwich Islands Mission was funded amounted to an eighth part of the Board's total income of \$280,000 for the year 1837, and represented an equitable share of its monies.²⁰⁵

The severe limits on funding notwithstanding, another issue relating to the financial crisis would become a source of increasing tension between the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM. Coinciding with the expenditure cuts, the ABCFM chose to renew its push for the implementation of a salary system for the missionaries in Hawai'i, as a replacement for the previously utilized common stock system of funding disbursement. While under the common stock system, the missionaries commonly drew their goods as needed from the Mission depository, which was stocked by the ABCFM;

It involved the keeping of a depository at Honolulu stocked with all the articles supposed to be needed by families and these the families obtained at cost. This was deemed a necessity during the first decade or two while the Islands were in a barbarous state but in many respects it did not work well.²⁰⁶

Under a salary system, however, individual missionaries and their families would be issued resources directly from the ABCFM; it was also decided that any important gifts, such as lands or cattle, that were given to the missionaries by Native Hawaiians or others were to be counted as part of the missionary salary.²⁰⁷

The possibility of the ABCFM instituting a salary system had been raised as early as 1831, when Rufus Anderson wrote to the Sandwich Islands Mission on the subject; Anderson noted that the idea of a salary system had actually been considered by the Prudential Committee for a long time. Intended as a cost-saving measure, it was thought that the policy

²⁰⁵ Anderson "General Letter," 17 Jan 1837.

²⁰⁶ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston; Congregational Publishing Society, 1870) 246.

²⁰⁷ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 4 Aug 1840, in General Letters Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 17 Jan 1837, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

change would promote economy in the mission operations of the ABCFM scattered around the globe, as a fixed salary would necessarily limit the amount of funds readily available to the missionaries at a given station.²⁰⁸

However, compounded with the expenditure cuts, the proposed implementation of the salary system angered many members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. The missionaries argued that while a salary might be preferable for a missionary who was stationed within America, “where every comfort is at hand, and nothing is needed but money to put the individual in possession of every desirable thing in the way of support,” the physical distance of Hawai‘i from suppliers in the U.S. made acquisition of provisions for the missionaries extremely difficult and much more expensive.²⁰⁹ Additionally, the missionaries in Hawai‘i were concerned that individuals who had been assigned to stations on the various islands, many of them far away from the major urban trading centers, would be unfairly disadvantaged by the establishment of a salary system.²¹⁰ Anderson responded to the material concerns of the missionaries by reminding them of their status as missionaries;

It is not a subject of a moment’s regret, if you find yourself as destitute of property in 1842, or 1843, when you get out of the common stock system, as you were when you joined the mission ... The missionary, of all men, does not labor for an earthly reward; and this, doubtless should be as true of him on the salary system, as on common stock.²¹¹

A majority of the missionaries believed that the imposition of the salary system was a regulation specifically targeting the Sandwich Islands Mission which was engineered to oppress them; in correspondence with Anderson, many of these individuals expressed the

²⁰⁸ Anderson, “General Letter,” 16 Nov 1831, 7.

²⁰⁹ Levi Chamberlain, Letter to Rufus Anderson, 16 October 1832, *Missionary Letters 1830-1836* Vol 8, 2448 in *Missionary Letters* (typed copies) From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1819-1837, “Supplementary to the letters published in the Missionary Herald of the same dates,” HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²¹⁰ Chamberlain, Letter to Rufus Anderson, 16 Oct. 1832, 2448.

²¹¹ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 1840, 6 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

belief that the adoption of the strict limits on their expenditures were not the result of financial distress of the Board, but rather a move that was meant to force them to accept the end of the common stock system.²¹² While Anderson acknowledged that the financial crisis had made it necessary to again consider implementing the salary system he noted, “I started the subject of salaries years ago, but the brethren would not hearken to it... until they came under the pressure of the limitation, in 1837 or 1838. We were glad when they consented to receive salaries.”²¹³

Although the institution of the salary system would facilitate the eventual establishment of independent native churches, the matter of the salary system replacing the common stock system would not be resolved until the early 1840s.²¹⁴ Indeed, the institution of salaries by the remained a contentious issue for many of missionaries, and would result in the fractioning of the relationship between the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM.

Publication Regulations

Although a great deal of resentment towards the ABCFM stemmed from the expenditure limits and the possibility of the implementation of the salary system, the relationship between the Sandwich Islands Mission and their parent organization was also negatively affected by a series of regulations imposed by the Prudential Committee in the late 1830s. Among the most vexing for the missionaries in Hawai‘i were correspondence and publication regulations.

²¹² Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838, 10.

²¹³ Anderson, “General Letter,” 1840, 6.

²¹⁴ Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, 246.

No small amount of controversy surrounded the printing and distribution of the appeals authored by the Sandwich Islands Mission, including *The Duty of the Present Generation* and *Resolutions Relative to the Points of Christian Duty*. While these documents were well received in certain circles (particularly as calls for increased involvement of religious individuals and institutions in the antislavery movement) the tracts were met with condemnation from the ABCFM.²¹⁵ One concern expressed by Anderson was the inappropriate use of the mission press; although the tracts had been printed on the mission presses in Hawai‘i, they were not distributed or used among Native Hawaiians and were instead targeted at communities in the U.S. Therefore, the printing of the appeals was considered to be a violation of the printing guidelines set forth by the ABCFM for its missions abroad, which stated that the printing presses were to be employed to print material that directly related to evangelizing native populations.²¹⁶

The members of the Prudential Committee maintained that they were more familiar with the current state of the American public mind and the delicate nature of printing and distributing religious tracts, especially since the Sandwich Islands Missionaries were stationed thousands of miles away in Hawai‘i.²¹⁷ In a general letter sent to the missionaries, Anderson asked,

If you have anything you much desire to say to the churches, why not entrust it to us at the Rooms, to be published if it is adapted to operate well on the community? Are we not in the most favorable situation possible to know how it would operate on the public mind?²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 22 May 1839, 6 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1816-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²¹⁶ Anderson, “General Letter,” 22 May 1839, 6.

²¹⁷ Anderson, “General Letter,” 21 July 1837, 7-8.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 8.

While they were meant to renew missionary zeal among the American religious public, many of the strong sentiments expressed in the appeals had seemed to these populations to be exceedingly condescending, and the propriety of the missionaries sending forth appeals with what was perceived to be an inflammatory tone to individuals in the U.S. was questioned.²¹⁹ Anderson noted, “The reading of your appeal made the strong impression on my mind that you overrate the influence which your united opinion as a mission, would have on our Christian community... At the same time I more and more feel that you are a spectacle to men.”²²⁰ Anderson chided the missionaries for assuming that they had the ability to effect change in religious behaviors and beliefs in the U.S., although his admission that they were “a spectacle to men” acknowledged their influence in religious communities and cautioned them to act accordingly. Unfortunately, Anderson’s letters did little to assuage the ire of the missionaries in Hawai‘i.

In the closing months of 1837, the Prudential Committee passed a formal resolution that reaffirmed the application of its guidelines to all missions with printing establishments. The resolution also specifically prohibited the missionaries from utilizing the printing presses for appeals meant to be distributed in the U.S. at the expense of the board;

In general the sole object of the printing establishments connected with the missions of the Board shall be to exert a direct influence upon the surrounding native population and no mission or member of a mission may print any letter tract or appeal at these establishments at the expense of the Board with a view to its being sent to individuals or communities in the United States.²²¹

²¹⁹ Ibid.; Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838, 18-19 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1816-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²²⁰ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 21 July 1837, 13-14 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1816-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²²¹ ABCFM, “Minutes of the Annual Meeting,” *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: September, 1837* (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1837) 27.

Although the measure was considered to apply to all of the ABCFM's missions abroad, and in particular to the twelve missions that had been provided with printing establishments, it was generally understood as a reaction to the printing activities of the Sandwich Islands Mission.²²² Most importantly, the resolutions adopted by the ABCFM served as a reminder that the American Board retained its authority over the Sandwich Islands Mission in matters of printing:

So far as appeals to the churches from the Board and its missionaries are concerned, the responsibility, with respect to their appropriateness in time, matter, and manner is with the Prudential Committee...they should be submitted to their judgment; and not in print, but in manuscript, before going out to the churches. Nor do I think it will ever be deemed proper, by the patrons of the Board, or by the Board, that an appeal to the churches, or an address to them in any form, should be printed at the expense of the Board without the previous sanction of the Committee."²²³

While the propriety and expense associated with the printing and distribution of the tracts by the missionaries were considered questionable, the members of the Prudential Committee were actually more concerned with the increasingly autonomous actions of the Sandwich Islands Mission, which threatened the authority of the ABCFM over the missionaries in Hawai'i.

Tensions Between the ABCFM and The Sandwich Islands Mission

Frustrated with the regulations, the members of the mission openly challenged the authority of the ABCFM in the years after 1837. In particular, they argued that the Board was fundamentally violating their rights to freedom of speech, not simply as missionaries but also as American citizens. Many of them felt that the regulations approved by the Board could not be considered binding unless they had the consent and approval of the missionaries stationed

²²² Anderson, "General Letter," 21 July 1837, 14.

²²³ Ibid., 9.

abroad.²²⁴ Believing that they were being severely oppressed by the ABCFM, the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission authored a set of resolutions and forwarded them to the corresponding secretaries in protest:

That we consider the late letter of the Board in no other light than as a strong expression of the wishes of the Prudential Committee in relation to our expenditures; inasmuch as to regard it in the light of a positive law, would be to concede to the Board the right to change the whole manner of our support, and limit us in our family and personal expenses without any consultation with us.... that as we cannot, for the reason above named regard the letter of the Board as possessing the authority of law, but merely as advice strongly expressed, we do not, therefore, consider that we are absolutely required by that letter to restrict our annual expenditures to \$35,600, but we feel ourselves called upon to limit our expenditures as near to that sum as we can without very serious embarrassment to ourselves and our operations.²²⁵

Anderson's response to the resolutions sent by the Sandwich Islands Mission was particularly firm, and he maintained that the Board's decisions and rules were never meant to receive the sanction of the missionaries before they could be put into force.²²⁶

Anderson used the general letter to chastise the missionaries for sending their resolutions to the Missionary Rooms in Boston and for questioning the authority of the ABCFM;

It has seemed to me that you need to use more caution how you act *as a mission*, in relation to objects for which, as a mission, you were not organized... *Individuals* may have a right to say precisely what they wished the organized mission to say, and to do precisely what they wished the mission to do, but that does not make it proper for the mission, as such, to say and do these things.²²⁷

Ironically, though the frustrations felt by the individuals stationed in Hawai'i may have been strongly felt within the other missions that were sponsored by the ABCFM, no other missionaries responded with as much force or frequency as the members of the

²²⁴Jonathan S. Green, letter to Rufus Anderson, 6 July 1838, Missionary Letters 1816-1900, Green, J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²²⁵ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Minutes," *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission held at Honolulu, August 1837* (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1837) 3 in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1830-1837* Vol 1, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²²⁶ Anderson, "General Letter," 30 June 1838, 5.

²²⁷ Emphasis in original; *Ibid.*, 18-19.

Sandwich Islands Mission. Noting this fact, the 1838 Annual Report on the operations of the American Board, included the following assertion:

The missions to a very gratifying extent appreciated the motives which governed the Committee... and conformed their plans and expenses to their instructions with the most commendable readiness and cheerfulness... In one mission, however, a portion of the missionaries agreed upon the following resolutions, as containing their views in relation to the power which the Prudential Committee and the Board possess over the expenses of the missions.²²⁸

The ABCFM had published the resolutions in their 1838 Annual Report so that they could publicly respond to the letters and protests received from the Sandwich Islands missionaries; the resolutions were also printed and circulated widely in the November 1838 issue of the *Missionary Herald*. Although the specific origin of the resolutions was not mentioned in the report, it was well known in religious communities that the resolutions had been authored and circulated by the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i; the ABCFM’s decision to print the resolutions publicly could be considered a chastisement of sorts, in addition to a public reassertion of the Board’s authority.

Attributing the adoption of the resolutions in the Islands to a “misapprehension of the facts,” the members of the Prudential Committee found it necessary to address the resolutions, which challenged “what the Committee have ever regarded as a vital principle in the prosecution of the missions.”²²⁹ Because the Sandwich Islands Mission had directly questioned the authority of the Board to create and implement regulations, the ABCFM also printed responses to each of the resolutions adopted by the missionaries and found, among other things, “that both as a right and a duty it unquestionably belongs to the Prudential

²²⁸ ABCFM, “Resolutions of Certain Missionaries,” *Minutes of the Twenty-Ninth Annual Meeting*, Vol. 34, No. 11 (Boston; Crocker and Brewster, 1838) 31.

²²⁹ ABCFM, *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: September*, 431.

Committee under the supervision of the Board to regulate the expenses of every mission and of every missionary.”²³⁰

Frustrated by the ABCFM’s admonishments, a number of the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i likened their treatment by the Board to that of “dogs or slaves,” and there was discussion of sending a letter to the Massachusetts legislature in order to notify them of what the missionaries considered to be the illegal actions of the Board; namely, they felt that the Board’s regulations amounted to censorship and a violation of freedom of the press.²³¹ The printing regulations, compounded with the expenditure limits and the possible implementation of the salary system, prompted a few missionaries to seriously consider severing their ties to the ABCFM. Among these, the Reverend Green was most vocal:

I have before me a letter of five sheets written by a beloved brethren of this mission, which I should love to put into your hands...he calls upon us earnestly to leave the service of the Board. Of the law I have no better opinion than this brother, but I have been slow to leave your service because it cannot be that the board will on re-consideration, adhere to so odious a law! They will repeal it, or allow us a salary we do—I do and my brethren will do so likewise—solemnly Protest against those laws, especially the 3rd and 4th. I insist upon it that the Board have no right to make any law binding our consciousness or taking away our rights. Do not, my dear brother, compel us to leave the Board, to earn our bread, or to send home an agent and seek support from some other source.²³²

General correspondence sent by Anderson to the Sandwich Islands Mission in 1839 made it clear that the Board considered the missionary protests to be insubordination. As a response to the persistent challenges to the regulations articulated in correspondences from the mission received after 1837, Anderson cautioned the missionaries against openly challenging the Board’s:

²³⁰ Ibid. 32.

²³¹ Wilcox, Letter to Samuel N. Castle, 27 May 1839.

²³² Jonathan S. Green, Letter to Rufus Anderson, 13 Feb, 1839, Missionary Letters 1816-1900, Green, J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.). Emphasis in original.

It is of vast importance that, as a mission, you should cultivate the feeling of confidence in your missionary Board of directors and in your patrons. Should you, by any means become divided among yourselves, or become alienated from your society, or in any manner be thrown into what would seem like a party stand in respect to your patrons at home, the enemy [Catholics] would be in danger of coming in like a flood.²³³

While the missionaries had initially been hopeful that their protests would lead to the repeal of the 1837 regulations, the issue continued to be a source of frustration for many years. A meeting of members of the American Board in 1839 found that there was “no sufficient cause for suspending or altering” the rules made by the Board in 1837, or the regulations that prohibited the mission from printing unauthorized material at the expense of the board.²³⁴ The relationship between the ABCFM and many members of the Sandwich Islands Mission remained tense, even into 1841; Levi Chamberlain wrote, “Our last general letter from the board seems ridiculous in the eyes of some, and I judge, will do nothing towards settling difficulties between us and the Board.”²³⁵

The ABCFM’s Perceived Neutrality and Acceptance of Slavery Funds

The tensions between the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM coincided with greater participation in the antislavery movement among the members of the mission and in the U.S. in general. Indeed, the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i had not been the only missionaries stationed abroad to express their antislavery sentiments through the American abolitionist periodicals in the late 1830s; a few missionaries who were stationed in

²³³ Anderson, “General Letter,” 22 May 1839.

²³⁴ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 1 Oct 1839, in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1816-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²³⁵ Dwight Baldwin, letter to Levi Chamberlain, 14 April 1841, Baldwin Collection, Baldwin, Dwight 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

Burma and India also wrote letters condemning the existence of slavery in the U.S.²³⁶ The momentum of the antislavery and religious movements in the U.S. during this time had galvanized similar sentiments among the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i, and provided them with impetus for action. Increasingly, slavery was understood as a “great crisis” and a “ferocious sin in the U.S.” and the missionaries felt that it was their duty to vocalize their sentiments condemning it.²³⁷ Many of the missionaries hoped that their participation in the movement would inspire other individuals and communities in the U.S. to actively labor for the emancipation of the slaves and the abolition of slavery. Lafon, Green, Gulick, and Hitchcock had sent correspondences to the U.S. in 1837 and 1838 because they were partially motivated by the belief that they could contribute to the American antislavery movements while stationed in Hawai‘i. By 1839, other members of the mission began expressing their antislavery beliefs. In a letter addressed to Samuel L. Castle, who was an assistant secular agent of the mission, Reverend Abner Wilcox wrote;

What are you doing in the gen. meeting? I want that as abolitionists you should pass some spirited resolutions in regard to slavery. I think it is high time that the Board were made acquainted with our views—and also the public generally... it would greatly strengthen the hands of the Abolitionists.²³⁸

As mentioned, the onset of the financial panic in the U.S. and the imposition of contentious regulations would aggravate the relationship between the Sandwich Islands Mission and the ABCFM. As a result, much of the public participation in the antislavery movement among the missionaries would become politically charged. One point of contention for the missionaries was the perceived neutrality of their parent organization, the

²³⁶ H. R. Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838, Vol. 3 Iss. 2, 7 (New York, NY); “First Annual Report of the Union Anti-slavery Society,” *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 18 July 1839, 1.

²³⁷ Charles McDonald to Samuel N. Castle, 9 Feb. 1839.

²³⁸ Wilcox, Letter to Samuel N. Castle, 27 May 1839.

ABCFM, in matters pertaining to slavery.²³⁹ Furthermore, the antislavery advocacy of the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i challenge the authority of the ABCFM. Additionally, the ABCFM accepted contributions from slaveholders, admitted slave owners to the church, and allowed slave owners to serve as its agents.²⁴⁰

For the missionaries and other antislavery reformers, there was no ambiguity in the immorality of slavery in respect to religious institutions. In their perception, slaveholders could not be considered Christians.²⁴¹ As one of the largest and most influential religious organizations in the U.S. during the late 1830s, the failure of the ABCFM to take a strong stance in support of the antislavery movements and against slavery was perceived as an implicit sanctioning of slavery, and resulted in relentless criticism from many abolitionists.

However, taking a strong position against slavery would have had considerable political and economic ramifications for the ABCFM; as a benevolent society, their endorsement and funding was dependent on economic, political, and religious community leaders in the U.S. The operations of the ABCFM could have been affected in other ways as well; in 1837, a doctrinal schism in the Presbyterian Church over issues surrounding slavery ended decades of cooperation between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in churches and in missions, resulting in complications for the ABCFM, whose population of missionaries had formerly been of both denominations.²⁴² Aware of potential political and economic

²³⁹ Charles Whipple, *Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery* (New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969) 6.

²⁴⁰ John R. McKivigan, *The War against Proslavery Religion: Abolitionism and the Northern Churches 1830-1865* (New York: Cornell University, 1984)113. The admittance of Cherokee and Choctaw slaveholders into the church by ABCFM missionaries would be a particular point of contention with the American Board by many religious abolitionists. See Whipple, *Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery*.

²⁴¹ McKivigan, *The War against Proslavery Religion*, 112; J. Earl Thompson Jr., “Abolitionism and Theological Education at Andover,” *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Jun., 1974), pp. 238-261.

²⁴² *Ibid.*; Although it had Congregational roots, the ABCFM was considered to be an interdenominational organization and had benefitted from the 1801 Plan of Union, an agreement which had fostered cooperation

ramifications, the ABCFM “avoided taking any stand on moral questions touching slavery that might either discourage southern donations or impinge on ecclesiastical authority of the cooperating denominations” and which might have resulted in sectional antagonism among its members and patrons.²⁴³

Despite the difficult position of the ABCFM following the financial crisis, the missionaries in Hawai‘i felt the ABCFM had the responsibility to come out strongly against slavery. Letters exchanged between the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i and those sent to the U.S. to be published in American newspapers often contained statements that asserted that although the ABCFM and the members of the Prudential Committee had not taken a strong stance on the issue, “neutrality” was effectually tantamount to a sanctioning of slavery. The missionaries insinuated that economic profit played a large role in the continued tolerance of the system within the U.S. and that the association of wealthy individuals in perpetuating the institution of slavery discouraged the American Board from publicly expressing its support for the abolitionists. In a letter published in the *Emancipator*, Hitchcock wrote;

A neutral position in reference to the immediate destruction of slavery can be justified by the spirit of the gospel no more than the same position can be in reference to the destruction of intemperance, perjury or highway-robbery... Were the sin of holding slaves confined to a few—and those few of little or no wealth or influence, the

between the Presbyterian and Congregationalist churches. However, the Presbyterian General Assembly ended the Plan of Union in 1837, a result of a doctrinal schism between Old and New School Presbyterians. Slavery was an important determining factor in the schism; according to the doctrines of many New School Presbyterians, slaveholding was a sin while many Old School Presbyterians felt that slaveholding was a secondary concern to other religious and moral questions; see also C. Bruce Staiger, “Abolitionism and the Presbyterian Schism of 1837-1838,” *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, Vol 36, No. 3 (Dec, 1949) pp. 391-414. As a result of the schism, the ABCFM sought to establish whether its missions were primarily Congregationalist or Presbyterian; correspondence with the missionaries in Hawai‘i resulted in the decision that the Sandwich Islands Mission would be considered Congregationalist, despite the presence of Presbyterian missionaries such as William Alexander and Peter Gulick.

²⁴³ McKivigan, 112.

neutrality which now exists in reference to its immediate abolition, would probably be unknown.²⁴⁴

The perceived neutrality of the American Board among abolitionists in the U.S. was one reason the correspondences sent by the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i were considered to be particularly valuable to the American antislavery movements. In contrast with the ABCFM’s lack of a formal position on the subject, the impassioned writings of Lafon, Green, Gulick, and Hitchcock on the immorality of American slavery clearly articulated their abhorrence of the widespread tolerance of such a system within the U.S. The relative silence of the American Board on the subject would amplify the already strong antislavery writings of the missionaries who were stationed in Hawai‘i, while correspondences sent by its missionaries would highlight the lack of a formal position of the ABCFM as an organization. These writings were used in abolitionist papers to illustrate the correct role of Christians in the abolition of slavery at a time when some religious organizations, such as the ABCFM, did not convey a strong stand against slavery or maintained policies that were perceived to be supporting slaveholding in the U.S. For example, the missionaries wrote statements that refuted the prevalent arguments of slaveholders that the Bible sanctioned slavery, and that slaveholding was not a sin according to Christian doctrine.²⁴⁵

The perception that all of the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission were unified in their abhorrence of slavery was one reason the letters from the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i were frequently published in the American antislavery periodicals;

It would seem as if God was determined to place this question beyond all doubt; and in order to this, he has kindled up in the Sandwich Islands a light, which is the admiration of the Christian world, and which clearly demonstrates that God is

²⁴⁴ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838, 7.

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

teaching his people that he will bless the labors of those who act consistently with their professions. It is a fact, settled by their own testimony, that ALL OF THE SANDWICH ISLAND MISSIONARIES ARE ABOLITIONISTS, in favor of the IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION of the slaves in the United States.²⁴⁶

The claim of unanimous support of the antislavery efforts in the U.S. within the mission was in fact asserted in many of the letters sent by the missionaries prior to 1840; for example, in 1837, Hitchcock wrote that the members of the mission “to a man are in favor of the immediate emancipation of the slave.”²⁴⁷ In later years, the editor of the *Emancipator* claimed that the overwhelming success of the Sandwich Islands Mission could be attributed to their unanimous support of the antislavery cause.²⁴⁸ It was hoped that the publication of these correspondences would bolster support for the movement among American communities and served to confirm the validity of participating in the antislavery movements on the grounds of religion.²⁴⁹ Other missionaries who were stationed abroad were also encouraged by abolitionists to “come out boldly as they have done in the Sandwich Islands, and bear their solemn testimony against the sin of slavery.”²⁵⁰

The members of the Sandwich Islands Mission became increasingly important proponents of the antislavery cause and were portrayed as religious role models for other groups of Americans.²⁵¹ In particular, the efforts of the missionaries to evangelize and educate Native Hawaiian “heathens” was viewed as a direct contrast to the Christians in the U.S. who were associated in any way with the perpetuation of slavery, which was understood

²⁴⁶ “First Annual Report of the Union Anti-slavery Society,” *Pennsylvania Freeman*, 18 July 1839, 1. Emphasis in original.

²⁴⁷ Hitchcock, “The Letter: Kaluaaha, Nov. 18 1837,” *The Emancipator*, 10 May 1838, 7.

²⁴⁸ “Dr. Lafon, a Missionary from the Sandwich Islands,” *Emancipator*, Vol VIII Iss. 17, 24 Aug. 1843, 65 (New York, NY) and “Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands,” *Emancipator and Republican*, Vol IX Iss. 49, 2 Apr. 1845, 194 (Boston, MA.).

²⁴⁹ “First Annual Report of the Union Anti-slavery Society,” *Pennsylvania Freeman* Vol V Iss. 45, 18 July 1839, 1 (Philadelphia, PA).

²⁵⁰ “First Annual Report of the Union Anti-slavery Society,” *Pennsylvania Freeman* 18 July 1839, 1.

²⁵¹ Gulick, “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838, 191;

“A Remarkable Fact,” *Emancipator* Vol II, Iss. 50, 14, Apr. 1838, 194 (New York, NY) 194.

to be a heathen institution, and slaveholders were understood to be agents of heathenism in the U.S. While the missionaries labored to mitigate the effects of heathenism in Hawai‘i, individuals in the U.S. were propagating heathens through the institution of slavery. In describing the establishment of the antislavery concert among the missionaries and Hawaiians in Hawai‘i, the editor of the *Emancipator* wrote:

By the intelligence communicated in our last two papers it will be seen that the Christians in the Sandwich Islands have established a monthly concert to pray for American heathens! We rejoice in the fact, but consider it one of the most remarkable events of this eventful age. Let *professing* Christians in America who *heathenize* their fellow men, or keep them in heathen darkness, and all who apologize for, or refuse to oppose such practice tremble in view of such an astonishing fact.²⁵²

That an antislavery concert to pray for heathens in America had been established among Native Hawaiians, all of whom had been considered heathens was considered both ironic and “astonishing,” and was meant to encourage greater participation in the antislavery movements among Christians in the U.S. Descriptions of the antislavery advocacy of the Sandwich Islands Missionaries in the newspapers were meant to be a rebuke for Americans who were not supporting the antislavery movements. For example, an editorial that appeared in the September 3, 1840 issue of the *Emancipator* urged Christians in the U.S. to follow the strong example set by the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i;

The missionaries there are decidedly opposed to the slavery of their native land... They send home their remonstrances against making heathen at home, while we are endeavoring to convert the heathen abroad. And they have established the monthly anti-slavery concert of prayer, (what a rebuke to a great many of our churches,) for the liberation and conversion of the slave.²⁵³

Besides the failure of the ABCFM to directly address slavery as an evangelical concern, many missionaries objected to the Board’s acceptance of funds from slaveholders, as well as their welcoming slaveholders as members of their congregations. In fact, the

²⁵² “A Remarkable Fact,” *Emancipator* 14, Apr. 1838, 194.

²⁵³ “Slavery and Missions,” *Emancipator*, Vol V Iss. 19, 3 Sept. 1840, 73 (New York, NY).

missionaries believed that acceptance of these funds amounted to the Board's sanctioning of American slavery. Many of these individuals perceived support of the antislavery movement and advocacy on behalf of the enslaved to be righteous; conversely, these individuals believed that the failure of their religious counterparts in the U.S. to take a stronger stance on the issue amounted to tacit support of the system of slavery. In reference to tolerance of slavery in the U.S. among Christians and the churches, the missionary Wilcox wrote "I consider it highly scandalous to take the ground which a large part of the American clergy occupy. Will they change their conduct? I wish never to hear one of them preach again; I would rather hear the *Devil* of all men."²⁵⁴

The Murder of Elijah Lovejoy and the Imprisonment of John Mahan

In many ways, the sentiments articulated by the missionaries in Hawai'i reflected those expressed by prominent American abolitionists, such as Gerrit Smith, and the movement in the islands was directly affected by the movements in the U.S.²⁵⁵ Two events were frequently mentioned in the correspondence the Sandwich Island missionaries sent to each other: the murder of Elijah Lovejoy and the imprisonment of Reverend John Mahan. Both of these events propelled the growth of the antislavery movement among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission.

Lovejoy was an American Presbyterian minister and the editor of the *Alton Observer*, an abolitionist newspaper of Illinois; he was shot multiple times in a confrontation with a pro-slavery mob on November 7, 1837.²⁵⁶ In a letter to fellow missionary Samuel Castle,

²⁵⁴ Wilcox, letter to Samuel N. Castle, 27 May 1839. Emphasis in original.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Lovejoy, Joseph C. and Owen Lovejoy. *Memoir of the Rev. Elijah P. Lovejoy who was murdered in Defence of the Liberty of the Press at Alton, Illinois, Nov. 7, 1837*, (New York; John S. Taylor, 1838).

Charles McDonald wrote: “The principles of Abolition can not be opposed by fair and manly argument... Yes, my bro [*sic*], the blood of Lovejoy shall cry to heaven... In the death of Mr. Lovejoy, we see the true character of slavery.”²⁵⁷ Just two months before Lovejoy’s death, Lafon had sent him correspondence expressing support for the antislavery movements among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, with the intention that portions of it would be printed in the *Alton Observer*.²⁵⁸ Lovejoy was widely regarded as a symbol of the free press after his death, and the missionaries in Hawai‘i also identified with him as a religious figure and an abolitionist.²⁵⁹

In 1838, an Ohio preacher and abolitionist named John B. Mahan was arrested, put on trial and imprisoned as a felon for helping slaves to escape in Kentucky.²⁶⁰ The case was of particular and personal interest to the Sandwich Island missionaries; Green mistakenly thought that Mahan had been a classmate and acquaintance of his at Andover Theological Seminary.²⁶¹ Mahan’s imprisonment was even written up as a brief news blurb in *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, by one of the missionaries, most likely Green:

*Ua paa kekahi kahuna pule i ka hao a hanaiia i ka berena wale no a me ka wai. O kona hala, he aloha aku i kekahi kauwa hooluhi, he negero ua mahuka, a hanai ua kahuna la ia ia i ka ai, a uhi I ke kapa, me ke ku e i ke kanawai, no ka mea, he mahuka ia. O Mahana ka inoa o ke kahuna, he luna kulanui.*²⁶²

A minister was locked in jail and fed only bread and water. As for his crime, it was to care for a slave, an escaped negro, and the aforementioned priest fed him food and

²⁵⁷ Charles McDonald, letter to Samuel N. Castle, 9 Feb. 1839. Emphasis in original.

²⁵⁸ Thomas Lafon, “For the Alton Observer: On Missions and Slavery, Letter I,” *The Emancipator*, 31 May 1838, Vol III Iss. 5, 18 (New York, NY).

²⁵⁹ “The first martyr has fallen in the holy cause of Abolition,” *Emancipator*, 27 Nov. 1837 Vol. II Iss. 30, 117 (New York, NY.); Jonathan S. Green, letter to Samuel N. Castle 18 Feb. 1839, Castle Collection, Castle 168-203 Letters Rec’d 1839, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁶⁰ Joseph B. Reid and Henry R. Reeder, *Trial of Reverend B. Mahan for Felony in the Mason Circuit Court of Kentucky Commencing on Tuesday, the 13th, and terminating on Monday the 19th of November, 1838* (Cincinnati, Samuel A. Alley Printer 1838).

²⁶¹ Jonathan S. Green, letter to Samuel N Castle 1, Feb 1839.

²⁶² “No ke kanawai,” *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, 30 Jan. 1839 Buke 4 Helu 18 Aoao 71.

covered him with a blanket in violation of the law, because he was a fugitive slave. Mahan is the name of this priest, a seminary official.

The role of both men as religious figures who were also extremely active in the antislavery movement was inspirational to other members of the Sandwich Island Mission. In fact, for many missionaries, Lovejoy's death and Mahan's imprisonment provided momentum for increased antislavery advocacy.²⁶³ For example, the missionaries had found it unacceptable that the ABCFM solicited funds for its missions and religious operations from slaveholders, which they compared to the sanctioning of a host of other crimes and sins, such as robbery; comparing the acceptance of funds from slaveholders by the ABCFM to "burnt offerings given to God," Green wrote: "Will not the ABCFM now take a better stand on the subject of slavery and indignantly say that the price of blood shall no longer flow into the treasury of the Lord, at least, that they will not solicit funds of slave holding?"²⁶⁴ The missionary Abner Wilcox wrote "I for one do not want to be supported by the contributions of robbers."²⁶⁵

The Changing Role of the Missionaries and the Nature of Dismissals in the Late 1830s

As discussed previously, the late 1830s marked a period of financial crisis in the U.S., which would impact the relationship between the ABCFM and the Sandwich Islands Mission and would mark increasing involvement in the antislavery movement among the missionaries in the Islands. However, these years also marked a period when the roles of the missionaries in Hawaiian society were shifting.

²⁶³ Thomas Lafon, letter to Samuel N. Castle, 23 Feb. 1839, Castle Collection, Letters Rec'd 1839 168-293. HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁶⁴ Ibid. Emphasis in original.

²⁶⁵ Wilcox, letter to Samuel N. Castle, 27 May 1839.

The early nineteenth century had marked a period of social, economic, and political transformations in Hawaiian society. By the late 1830s and early 1840s, governance structures in Hawai‘i were increasingly incorporating Euro-American legal frameworks.²⁶⁶ Among other changes, there was a much greater population of settled foreigners than there had been in years before. Increasing urbanization was leading to greater concentrations of people in port cities like Hilo, Kailua, Lāhaina, Hana, and Honolulu which were quickly becoming hubs of increased commercial activity and trade, economic growth and communication.²⁶⁷

The Sandwich Islands Mission itself had also greatly changed. By 1838, there were 17 mission stations staffed by more than 86 people; including missionaries, physicians, secular agents, book binders, printers, teachers, and female agents.²⁶⁸ The networks and infrastructures associated with the mission were also greatly strengthened. In the early 1820s, having a connection to the mission had made habitation in the Islands easier for the missionaries. As a group, they had garnered support from a great majority of the Native Hawaiians populace, and they were often afforded special privileges and esteem not necessarily extended to other foreigners.²⁶⁹ However, by the late 1830s, the transformations in Hawaiian society were providing growing opportunities for individuals outside of the mission, at the same time as the financial crisis in the U.S. and the budget restrictions on the mission placed by the ABCFM were limiting opportunities for the missionaries. As a result, the 1830s and early 1840s marked a period of years that saw the greatest number of requests

²⁶⁶ Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i; the Cultural Power of Law*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 35.

²⁶⁷ Robert Schmidt, *Demographic Statistics of Hawaii 1778—1965*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1965) 26.

²⁶⁸ This number does not include children or native assistants. In the years following 1838, however, the number of missionaries in the islands would decrease due to deaths, travel to the U.S., and missionary dismissals.

²⁶⁹ Charles Stewart, *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands, during the years 1823, 1824 and 1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1970) 127.

to the ABCFM from individuals who wished to be dismissed from the service of the Sandwich Islands Mission.

In the first decade and a half of the Sandwich Islands mission, dismissal requests submitted to the ABCFM had been overwhelmingly motivated by cases of poor health or retirement after many years of missionary service. Beginning in 1836, however, the reasons for dismissal requests were increasingly diverse, and reflected the changing role of the missionaries in Hawaiian society.

The decision to seek dismissal from the ABCFM was not undertaken lightly; in the early years of the mission, individuals who chose to leave the service of the mission had returned to the U.S. The ABCFM had actively attempted to prohibit missionaries from engaging in secular employment in the Islands from the beginning of the mission; this policy was observed into the late 1830s.²⁷⁰ However, increasing commercial activities and a growing economy in the Islands during this time represented a wealth of possibilities for many members of the mission in Hawai‘i. For example, the missionary Joseph Goodrich, an avid agriculturalist, was offered superintendence of the Kōloa, Kaua‘i sugar plantation by Ladd and Company in 1836 and consequently sought dismissal from the ABCFM.²⁷¹ Concerned that such an action “could not but have an injurious influence on the natives to see a missionary returning with such a secular vocation” the ABCFM discouraged Goodrich from accepting the offer but granted his dismissal request.²⁷²

²⁷⁰ Sandwich Islands Mission. *Instruction to the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission*, Lahainaluna: Press of the Mission Seminary) 28.

²⁷¹ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 103; “Aboard the Awashonks,” *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i*, 3 Feb. 1836, Buke 2, Pepa 3 Aoa 11.

²⁷² Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 5 Dec. 1836, 8-9 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

The possibility of being able to remain in Hawai‘i while finding an alternate system of support was an attractive consideration for individuals who felt they were unable to remain members of the mission community. Such was the case with the missionary Andrew Johnstone, who had been the Assistant Superintendant of Secular Affairs. In 1835, Johnstone was accused of unchristian treatment towards Hiram Bingham, who was generally considered to be the patriarch of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Johnstone was subsequently chastened by a few members of the mission; these individuals felt Johnstone could no longer be regarded as being part of the mission, and was therefore not entitled to its privileges.²⁷³ Ultimately, the Prudential Committee decided that the O‘ahu Charity School, a school for the children of foreigners that Johnstone had established, “did not come within the range of objects embraced by the Board” and he received a dismissal on April 22, 1836.²⁷⁴

Johnstone continued to reside in the Islands following his discharge, a decision which was markedly different than that of other missionaries who had sought dismissal from the ABCFM. Because no dismissed missionary had remained in Hawai‘i prior to 1836, it wasn’t immediately clear whether or not individuals who chose to remain in the Islands would have easy access to the same goods and services of the Mission. Separating from the ABCFM also had the potential to cause tension or resentment between those individuals that chose to stay with the mission and those that had decided to “quit” and yet remain in Hawai‘i. And unlike members of the mission who had skills that could be translated to a secular occupation (such

²⁷³ Ruben Tinker and Ephraim Spaulding, Letter to Andrew Johnstone, 3 Aug. 1835 in *Missionary Letters Typed Copies from the Sandwich Islands Mission Supplementary to the Letters Published in the Missionary Herald of the Same Dates 1819-1837*, Vol 8. In the early years of the mission (early 1820s) tense relations between Dr. Thomas Holman and his wife, and the other missionaries would result in the Holmans seeking dismissal.

²⁷⁴ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 127; see also “Annual Report: Sandwich Islands” in *Missionary Herald*, Vol. 33 January 1837, 17- 18.

as Johnstone), individuals who had served as ministers may have found acquiring an alternative means of support in the Islands to be difficult.

The 1838 dismissal of the missionary William Richards also marked a visible turning point in the role of the missionaries within Hawaiian Society. Many *ali'i* and members of the Hawaiian government had previously requested that the ABCFM dispense secular agents to serve as teachers and advisors. These requests were left largely unfulfilled by the ABCFM for a number of reasons, including the persistent lack of funds and budget shortfalls.²⁷⁵ But perhaps the strongest reason for the resistance to accommodating the applications for instructors was the desire of the American Board to maintain distance between the missionaries and the Hawaiian Government.²⁷⁶

The desire for a foreign advisor was reiterated in an 1838 meeting between the missionaries and Kauikeaouli, the *Kuhina Nui* (premier) Kīna'u well as a number of other important *ali'i* within the Hawaiian government; it was eventually decided that William Richards would serve in the capacity of a foreign advisor, and he was offered a salary to be paid by the Hawaiian government for himself and his family.²⁷⁷ On July 3, 1838, Richards assumed the role of a political advisor to the King; he would also serve as the official chaplain, interpreter, and translator to the Hawaiian government.²⁷⁸ Richards' new employment did not stop him and the Sandwich Island missionaries from associating with each other, nor did it completely sever his relationship with the ABCFM; for example, the Prudential Committee passed a resolution allowing Richards to return to the mission and

²⁷⁵ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 5 Dec. 1836, 2.

²⁷⁶ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 30 Jun. 1838, 17 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁷⁷ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Minutes," *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission held at Honolulu, August 1838* (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1838) 7 in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1838-1853 Vol II*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁷⁸ Anderson, "General Letter," 30 June 1838, 28.

renew his formal connection to the ABCFM if his employment with the Hawaiian Government ever ceased.²⁷⁹ In the resolution, the American Board noted;

That if any member of the mission, deriving his support from the natives, or from his own labor, shall believe that he can better promote the intellectual and religious improvement of the islands, by having his connection with the Board dissolved, and thus ceasing to be a missionary, and becoming simply the pastor of a native church, the Committee, on being informed by him of his wishes, will, at the recommendation of the mission, comply with them; and when such a case shall occur, the mission is requested to state to the Committee what privileges, in relation to the mission itself and the several institutions there belonging to the Board, can, in their judgment, be advantageously continued to the individual.²⁸⁰

The resolution seemed to encourage (or at the very least condone) the efforts of individuals who were able to find alternate means of support in the islands to leave the service of the mission for life in the Islands, and also seemed to imply that these individuals could maintain a cordial relationship with the Board. Surprisingly, the resolution also noted that if missionaries could be dismissed from service to the ABCFM if they felt that the efforts in Hawai‘i were better served by becoming pastors of the native churches and having their “connection with the board dissolved.”²⁸¹

However, in subsequent years, the Prudential Committee would make it clear that Richards’ dismissal was to be considered a special case, and not one that should be repeated;

The Prudential Committee seriously apprehend that the introduction of members of missionary stations by the native governments into civil offices, especially those implying familiar confidence, and affording opportunity to influence the measures of the administration is of dangerous tendency. When Mr. Richards, of the Sandwich Islands Mission, was dismissed, with his own consent, for the purpose of accepting an appointment from the government of the Islands, the Prudential Committee were aware of the danger, to which they and the mission might expose themselves, if the case of Mr. Richards should be used as a precedent.²⁸²

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838, 29.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 29 Jan. 1842, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1819-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

Despite these sentiments, on June 1, 1839, the missionary doctor Gerrit P. Judd became a trustee of the Chief's Children School in Honolulu, technically entering the service of the Hawaiian government without informing the Board or waiting for their approval of his leaving the mission. A few years later, Judd would take a more active role within the Hawaiian government, serving as a translator and interpreter, though he still did not inform the ABCFM until 1842.²⁸³ Two notable characteristics would distinguish Judd's request for dismissal; Judd did not consult with his fellow missionaries regarding his employment, nor did he wait to receive approval from the ABCFM. Additionally, Judd continued to receive funds from the ABCFM while under the employ of the Hawaiian Government until requesting and receiving a formal dismissal in 1842. Although he was ultimately dismissed, Judd was heavily censured by the American Board.²⁸⁴

The submittal of dismissal requests among the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission did not end with Judd; like those of Goodrich, Johnstone, and Richards, these requests would reflect the shifting nature of dismissals and the changing role of the missionaries in Hawai'i.

The tensions between the ABCFM and the Sandwich Islands Mission also remained. In fact, many of the missionaries found themselves increasingly unable to tolerate what they understood to be the ABCFM's sanctioning of slavery, as well as the solicitation of money from slaveholders; these sentiments would serve as a catalyst for action and protest against the ABCFM among the missionaries in later years. Green would write; "My whole sole [*sic*]

²⁸³ Anderson, "General Letter," 29 Jan. 1842.

²⁸⁴ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Minutes," *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission held at Honolulu, May and June 1841*" (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1841) 15 in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1838-1853* Vol II, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

is roused, and I will not cease to protest against the cause pursued by the unclean churches, and Christians till they repent and abandon all connexion to with slavery.”²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Jonathan S. Green, Letter to Samuel N. Castle, 6, Mar. 1839; original letter from Jonathan S. Green to Charles McDonald, 26 Feb. 1839, Castle Collection, Castle 168-203 Letters Rec'd 1839, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

CHAPTER 5

PROTEST DISMISSALS AND THE HAWAIIAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

This chapter explores the protest dismissal requests, which are usually solely attributed to the antislavery sentiments of the missionaries. In conjunction with far-reaching social, economic, and political changes occurring within Hawaiian society during the late 1830s and early 1840s, the rapid deterioration of the relationship between the missionaries and the ABCFM as a result of the policies of the Prudential Committee would permanently alter the Sandwich Islands Mission; although many of the missionaries had resigned themselves to accept the regulations, palpable tensions remained between the two entities. During this time, the American Board was faced with an unprecedented number of requests for dismissal from the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i. In particular, the policies of the Prudential Committee towards American slavery would factor into the decisions of three missionaries who sought dismissal because of what they perceived to be the ABCFM’s sanctioning of slavery.

This chapter also explores the formation of a Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society among the missionaries in 1841. Inspired by the progression of the American movements, the formation of the society represented a culmination of the early antislavery movement in Hawai‘i.

The Protest Dismissals

The first individual to request dismissal from the ABCFM on the basis of protest was the missionary Ruben Tinker. A member of the fourth company of missionaries who arrived in the Islands in 1831, Tinker had been stationed in Wailuku, Maui, but was later transferred to Honolulu to serve as an editor for *Ke Kumu Hawai‘i* and to operate the missionary

press.²⁸⁶ Tinker became frustrated with the “unjust and oppressive” policies enacted by the American Board against the Sandwich Islands missionaries, and requested a dismissal in 1838.²⁸⁷ His close connection to the press was perhaps one of the reasons he perceived the ABCFM’s press regulations to be censorship and suppression.²⁸⁸ The ABCFM deferred immediate action on the request, although it was eventually granted; Tinker would remain on Kaua‘i until 1840 before returning to the U.S.²⁸⁹

The missionary Lorrin Andrews would seek dismissal as a protest to the ABCFM, although the exact motivation for his request remains unclear. A missionary who had come to Hawai‘i in 1828 as a member of the third company, Andrews was the head of Lāhainaluna and had worked with the students to print the short-lived Hawaiian language newspaper *Ka Lama Hawai‘i*; he would also compile works on Hawaiian language grammar and later author a Hawaiian language dictionary.²⁹⁰ Andrews had been offered employment in 1836 by the *ali‘i* as a personal instructor and political advisor, although he had initially sought to remain a member of the mission.²⁹¹ In 1840, after asking to be relieved of his duties at Lāhainaluna, Anderson wrote “The Committee have received a request from Mr. Lorrin Andrews to be dismissed from the service of the Board and have voted to comply with it.”²⁹²

Although they weren’t clearly expressed in his dismissal request, Andrews’ antislavery beliefs were made evident in a letter sent to the abolitionist Lewis Tappan in 1841.

²⁸⁶ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston; Congregational Publishing Society, 1870) 457.

²⁸⁷ MLP Thompson, “Biographical Sketch,” in *Sermons by Rev. Reuben Tinker, Late Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Westfield NY* (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856) 40.

²⁸⁸ Thompson, *Sermons by Rev. Reuben Tinker*, 40.

²⁸⁹ Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838, 29; Thompson, *Sermons by Rev. Reuben Tinker*, 46.

²⁹⁰ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 24.

²⁹¹ Anderson, “General Letter,” 30 June 1838, 17.

²⁹² Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 1840, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

An extract of the letter was published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for May 1843 and then later published in the *Emancipator* in 1844 to stoke antislavery sentiment in the U.S.;

You are aware, I suppose, that the missionaries of the ABCFM have been cramped by their Prudential Committee on this [subject of slavery] and other points. I consider the ABCFM as far, at least, as they are represented by the Prudential Committee, as strong pro-slavery men, not merely because they, as a body, stand aloof from the work, but because their rules, laws, regulations &c., made for missionaries to obey are pro-slavery in their spirit and nature, and application. I am so well convinced on this point, that I have considered it my duty to ask a dismissal from the Board and expect one in a few months. I wish to continue missionary work on missionary ground and shall try to sustain myself here and do what I can.²⁹³

According to Andrews' obituary, which was published in an 1868 issue of the Honolulu-based English newspaper, *The Friend*, "about 1840 his (Andrews') mind was so strongly impressed with the iniquity of the system of American slavery that he resigned his position as a missionary of the American Board because funds for its support were received from the slave States."²⁹⁴ Like Johnstone, Richards, and Judd, Andrews would remain in the Islands after receiving his dismissal in April of 1842.²⁹⁵

There is little doubt that strong antislavery sentiments influenced the requests submitted by Dr. Thomas Lafon and the Reverend Jonathan S, as both men had been extremely active in the antislavery movement in the Islands. However, their frustrations with other issues likely compounded their desire to request the dismissals. For example, Lafon had also been highly critical of the ABCFM's lack of financial support for the schools and the printing presses in the Islands, as well as their tolerance of the American churches, which he

²⁹³ "Extract of a letter from Rev. L. Andrews, Dated Sandwich Islands, Sept. 1, 1841," *Emancipator and Free American*, 28 Dec. 1843 Volume VIII, Issue 34 Page 137.

²⁹⁴ ABCFM, "Rev. Lorrin Andrews," *Missionary Herald*, Vol LXV (Cambridge; Riverside Press, 1869) 42.

²⁹⁵ HMCS, *Missionary Album*, 25.

felt “discharge of their tremendous obligations to the heathen world” by relying on the labor of the missionaries.²⁹⁶

Disagreements between the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission also affected Lafon’s decision to seek dismissal. While most of the missionaries shared Lafon’s distaste for the ABCFM’s regulations, some felt that outright insubordination against the authority of the Prudential Committee was inappropriate. Because Lafon wrote prolifically of his frustrations with the Board and had encouraged others in the mission to do the same, he was an especially prominent target of ire by some of the more conservative missionaries. When he had first arrived, Lafon had criticized a number of the missionaries for failing to pay wages to native helpers and servants, and had controversially characterized it as a form of slavery; although he found some measure of support from within the mission, others had disagreed.²⁹⁷ Lafon was also pressured by other Sandwich Islands missionaries to stop publicly agitating against the ABCFM, particularly after the mission received a series of reprimands based on inappropriate usage of the press, insubordination, and the inflammatory nature of their personal communications from Anderson on behalf of the Prudential Committee.

Green was also discouraged by issues that were not directly related to his antislavery sentiments. As headmaster of the Wailuku Female Seminary, Green had long found the difficulty of finding financial and educational support for the school from either the Board or the Mission exceedingly frustrating.²⁹⁸ However, the financial difficulties experienced by the

²⁹⁶ Thomas Lafon, Letter to Lucia G. Smith, 4 Jun. 1838, 9 in folder Lafon, Thomas April 24, 1837- April 10, 1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

²⁹⁷ Proto, *The rights of my people: Liliuokalani’s enduring battle with the United States*, 63; Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai’i. The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883*, 62.

²⁹⁸ Jonathan Green, letter to William Richards, 16 June 1837 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

ABCFM during the 1830s and early 1840s had further aggravated the staffing and support issues for the Seminary. In 1837, Green wrote to William Richards;

I am sorry to say that there was a reluctance on the part of some to make any appropriation, or any of consequence—to the High school—or even to printers of the printing office at Lahainaluna! Poor Wailuku boarding seminary nearly went by the Board, and had not brethren Dibble pledged himself to pay the appropriation if the Board should refuse, I think all would have gone. I told the meeting plainly that I would do nothing unless I could be sustained... I did not consent to engage in the work on any other condition than that the school should be of so high a character that several instructors would be demanded.²⁹⁹

Like many of his brethren, Green had found the regulations of the Board to be intolerable, and characterized the restrictions placed on the missionary correspondences and the presses in the Islands as “gag laws.”³⁰⁰ He had also been reprimanded by the ABCFM for circulating a solicitation for donations for the Wailuku Seminary in the U.S.³⁰¹

The Dismissal Requests and Protests of Lafon and Green

By January of 1839, Lafon found that he was unable to continue his affiliation with the ABCFM and conscience what he considered to be its oppressive regulations, and therefore decided to submit a request for dismissal. In a letter sent to Rufus Anderson, Lafon wrote:

You will have heard so much upon the subject of the late laws of the Board before this reaches you as to render it unnecessary for me to speak of them except in the most general terms. They are such as I cannot consistently obey, and therefore ask dismissal from the service of the board. No other course is left to me indeed, unless I disregard the laws and still continue to accept the Board’s patronage, which I am

²⁹⁹ Jonathan Green, letter to William Richards, 16 June 1837 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁰⁰ Jonathan Green, letter to Rufus Anderson, 14 Nov. 1838 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁰¹ Kathee Hoover, “The Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society” (Unpublished manuscript, 1974) 21.

unwilling to do...I shall expect to continue my missionary work with all my strength.³⁰²

The ABCFM denied Lafon's initial request and would continue to delay approving his dismissal on the premise that the entire situation was merely a misunderstanding.³⁰³ Lafon would repeat his request a number of times between 1839 and 1841. In light of the other similarly-timed requests for dismissal from Richards, Andrews, and Tinker, the ABCFM was likely reluctant to agree to Lafon's request. However, a more compelling reason for the delay likely centered on the fact that Lafon's stated reasons for the request were highly controversial, and had the potential to reflect poorly on ABCFM. This was especially the case since many of Lafon's grievances with the American Board had become publicly circulated in letters and published newspaper articles.

Lafon continued to pursue dismissal by sending letters which expounded on the reasons behind his request, hoping to convince the Prudential Committee to allow him to sever his connection to the ABCFM.³⁰⁴ In one such letter, Lafon registered his displeasure with the Board's attempts to adopt a salary system, which he felt "must be the last feasible reason for a support."³⁰⁵

However, it was Lafon's objection to the ABCFM's countenancing of slavery and its acceptance of funds from slaveholders which would be considered especially sensational; indeed, among the handful of missionaries who chose to seek dismissals during the late 1830s and early 1840s, Lafon's request would become perhaps the most well known as a

³⁰² Thomas Lafon, letter to Rufus Anderson, Jan. 1839, in folder Lafon, Thomas April 24, 1837- April 10, 1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.). Halford notes that Lafon's first request was on May 24, 1838 but I was unable to locate that letter; see Halford, *9 Doctors and God*, 163.

³⁰³ Anderson, "General Letter," 30 Jun. 1838, 29.

³⁰⁴ Thomas Lafon, letter to Rufus Anderson, 27 Jan. 1840 in folder Lafon, Thomas April 24, 1837- April 10, 1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁰⁵ Thomas Lafon, letter to Rufus Anderson, 8 Nov. 1841 in folder Lafon, Thomas April 24, 1837- April 10, 1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

result of his strong antislavery sentiments and antislavery activities in the Islands. While slavery was not mentioned as part of his original dismissal request in 1839, Lafon would later write that he could not in good faith continue his affiliation with the Board because of his antislavery sentiments. Lafon received his official dismissal from the ABCFM on June 22, 1841, but had considered his connection virtually dissolved by April 1, 1840.³⁰⁶ In late 1841, Lafon wrote;

Though the objectionable laws of the Board constituted the only reason given for asking a dismissal they were by no means the only one that existed... I would avail myself of the present opportunity also, to express my unqualified objections to the Board's supporting their missionaries from the blood-stained contributions of the slave-holders of the south under present circumstances. I know that it is truly a pittance what they give. But for that pittance, they receive the countenance and support of the whole force of the character of the American Board.³⁰⁷

Despite severing his affiliation with the ABCFM, Lafon continued to work closely with the mission; in the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission held on May 12, 1841, the members of the mission approved a resolution which sought to convince Lafon to stay in the Islands, granting him a generous appointment as a physician and missionary helper on the island of Kaua'i;

Resolved, That the secular agents of the mission engage the entire services of Dr. Lafon, for the present year, as physician and missionary, for a sum not exceeding 400 dollars, offer him the advantages of the Depository and the medical stores of the mission, and sustain any extra expenses he may incur, either in traveling on the island of Kaua'i, or going to the other islands in the exercise of his medical profession for the mission.³⁰⁸

A handful of missionaries did not support the resolution allowing Lafon to continue to benefit from the resources of the mission, although for the most part his relationship with

³⁰⁶ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 16 Oct. 1841, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁰⁷ Lafon, Letter to Anderson, 8 Nov. 1841. Emphasis in original.

³⁰⁸ Sandwich Islands Mission, "Miscellaneous Business" *Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 1841* (Oahu: Mission Press, 1841) 21, in *Minutes of General Meetings of the Sandwich Islands Missions 1838-1853 and Hawaiian Association 1823-1853*, Vol II, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.) 25.

the mission continued. While Anderson had originally advised the remaining members of the Sandwich Islands Mission to treat dismissed members who chose to remain in the Islands, particularly Tinker and Lafon, with “Christian kindness and liberality,” news of the resolution of the mission caused the Prudential Committee to issue its own statement regarding Lafon’s continued employment. In a general letter to the Sandwich Islands missionaries dated October 16, 1841, Anderson wrote:

I had not the remotest suspicion that you would virtually appoint the latter as a missionary of the Board, by employing him with a salary, while he yet acknowledged no obligation to conform to its regulations, or report to its committee. Therefore, ‘resolved, that while the prudential committee appreciate the motives of the brethren residing on the island of Kauai ... they cannot but regard the proceedings of the mission in relation to Doct. Lafon above stated, as irregular, subversive of order, and injurious in their bearing upon the peace and prosperity of the mission; and all such virtual reappointments of missionaries by the mission, after they have withdrawn from their connection with the Board, or for any cause have been dismissed (except in the special cases provided for by express resolution of the committee) are wholly unauthorized.³⁰⁹

In addition to conveying tension within the ABCFM over the dismissal, Anderson’s curt reply and characterization of the actions of the mission as “irregular” and “subversive” in the resolution are telling. Anderson suggests that maintaining the authority of the Prudential Committee and the ABCFM was of the utmost importance, one which overrode the need for physicians among the remaining missionaries.

Whereas Lafon had submitted his first request for dismissal in 1839, Green would wait until late 1841 to submit his own request. In a letter dated November 6, 1841 that was addressed to both Anderson and the members of the Prudential Committee, Green wrote:

Gentlemen, having labored fourteen years as a missionary to the heathen under the direction of your Board I have come to the deliberate conclusion that it is my duty to seek a dissolution of this connexion. I therefore respectfully but earnestly request that

³⁰⁹ Anderson, “General Letter,” 16 Oct. 1841, 4-5.

you will, as soon as convenient accede to my requests and give public notice that my connexion with the board is, at my request, dissolved.³¹⁰

For Green, the decision to submit a dismissal request must have been difficult indeed. He had arrived in the Islands with the third company of missionaries in 1828 and was one of a handful of individuals who remained from the earliest deputations of missionaries; as a result, he was one of the oldest missionaries in Hawai‘i in the 1840s.³¹¹ Green had deep roots within the mission community and in Hawaiian society. He had been stationed on the island of Maui for more than ten years during his time in Hawai‘i and had worked closely with a number of influential missionaries there, including Richards, Andrews, and Tinker. He was also one of the most proficient missionaries in *‘ōlelo Hawai‘i*; he preached in Hawaiian, translated parts of the Bible into Hawaiian, and was a contributor to the Hawaiian language newspapers. He was also respected by Native Hawaiians as a reverend and teacher. Lafon, on the other hand, had only arrived in the islands in 1837; although he was a doctor and was sometimes called away from his station in Kōloa, he had had limited interaction with the wider community of missionaries and Native Hawaiians (mostly by virtue of being in the Islands for a relatively short period of time before requesting his dismissal). Lafon’s personality, differences in his beliefs, and his sensational style of preaching may have created friction with other missionaries.³¹²

While Green wanted to remain in the Islands following his dismissal, his financial security was not guaranteed. Unlike Richards, Judd, and Andrews, Green was not in the

³¹⁰ Jonathan Green, letter to Rufus Anderson, 6 Nov. 1841 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³¹¹ By 1841, only nine men remained from the original three companies of missionaries: Asa Thurston and Samuel Whitney (first company, 1820); Artemas Bishop (second company, 1823); Lorrin Andrews, Ephraim Clark, Peter Gulick, and Gerrit Judd (third company, 1828).

³¹² Putney, *Missionaries in Hawai‘i. The Lives of Peter and Fanny Gulick, 1797-1883*, 60- 61. Titus Coan had a similar style of lecturing to Lafon and both had been students of the famous abolitionist and orator Charles Grandison Finney. See also Abner Wilcox, Letter to Samuel Castle, 8 Sept. 1838, Castle No. 107-66 Letters Received, 1838, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

employ of the *ali'i* and had not been offered a position in the Hawaiian Government prior to seeking his dismissal. While Lafon was a physician whose skills would find great use in the Islands outside of the mission, Green was effectually “limited” in his ability to find work by virtue of being a minister and teacher who would no longer be affiliated with the Sandwich Islands Mission. Nonetheless, Green was optimistic about his decision, and wrote to Anderson; “I think I can, with the blessing of God, be more useful ultimately by casting myself upon the people to whom I minister, and with what assistance I may obtain from friends.”³¹³

Green would receive his dismissal from the ABCFM in a letter from Anderson dated October 1, 1842, although Anderson had first sent word of the dismissal in a letter dated for April 29, 1842.³¹⁴ Although he had received his dismissal and had severed his official connection with the ABCFM, Green continued his work at Wailuku for the mission for a short time;

I am still supplying Wailuku because, having held on a year after asking a dismissal (and they said dismissal arriving at a time when there could be no meeting of the brethren), and there being no one on the ground to supply the place, I felt that I could not leave without doing an injury to the cause. Pehea kou manao? Ko oukou no hoi [What is your thought? All of yours, indeed]... I have acted according to the best of my judgment and have acted conscientiously and rejoice in being free from the service of the Board.³¹⁵

Green was one of a number of missionaries who would remain permanently in the Islands in the years following his discharge; although Tinker and Lafon would both return to the U.S. a few years after receiving their dismissals, Johnstone, Richards, Judd and Andrews would remain in the Hawai'i until their deaths.

³¹³ Green, letter to Anderson, 6 Nov. 1841.

³¹⁴ Rufus Anderson, “General Letter,” 29 Apr. 1842, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³¹⁵ Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, 1 Nov. 1842 in *Missionary Letters 1819-1900*, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

The Formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society

The missionaries who had sent correspondence to the American antislavery periodicals, including Lafon, Green, Hitchcock and Gulick, as well as other individuals associated with the mission—Abner Wilcox, Samuel Castle, Dwight Baldwin, Charles McDonald and Lorenzo Lyons—began to correspond with one another on the subject of slavery by the late 1830s. In 1841, copies of the famous antislavery text *Slavery As It Is*, were circulated and discussed among members of the mission.³¹⁶

However, as discussed, involvement in the antislavery movement in Hawai‘i was becoming increasingly politicized in ways that were impacting the unity of the missionaries, as well as the relationship between the mission and the ABCFM. Among other things, the antislavery correspondences published in the American periodicals had given voice to missionary frustrations with the ABCFM and were often critical of the ABCFM’s authority. Likewise, the dismissal requests of Tinker, Andrews and Lafon, which were submitted in protest, were but a few examples of the increasingly political and often public antislavery activities of the Sandwich Island Missionaries during the late 1830s.

The abolitionist movements in the U.S. were also politicized, particularly in regards to religious societies like the ABCFM. In particular, Arthur and Lewis Tappan and a number of other prominent abolitionists would form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1840, after disagreeing with what they perceived to be the more radical abolitionist philosophy of William Garrison and the American Antislavery Society. Among the issues

³¹⁶ Mark Ives, Letter to Samuel Castle, 23 Aug 1841; David Lyman, Letter to Samuel Castle, Hilo, 1 Nov 1841; Edward Bailey, Letter to Samuel Castle, Wailuku, 14 July 1841 in Folder Castle 442-477 Letters Rec’d 1841. *Slavery As It Is* was coauthored by the famous abolitionist Theodore Dwight Weld and published by the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1839.

which the Tappans found problematic was the push for a greater involvement of women in the antislavery movements and a shift away from ecclesiastical abolitionism.³¹⁷ However, although he was more sympathetic to the religious aspects connected with the antislavery movement than other prominent abolitionists, Lewis Tappan was nonetheless highly critical of the benevolent missionary societies, most particularly the ABCFM.³¹⁸ This sentiment was shared by many members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, who felt that the ABCFM was not doing enough to aid the abolitionists and stop the practice of slavery.

Lewis Tappan had been a financial supporter of the *Emancipator*, which was the religious newspaper of the American Antislavery Society. For that reason, his name was familiar to members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, many of whom eagerly waited for copies of the periodical in Hawai‘i. In the late 1830s, Tappan gained greater influence in religious antislavery circles and engaged in outreach by sending letters to American churches and missionaries, including the Sandwich Islands missionaries.³¹⁹ In these correspondences, Tappan urged participation in the antislavery cause. According to a letter received by Samuel Castle dated May 21, 1841;

The Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have directed me to address a circular letter to all the American Missionaries, of every denomination, requesting their correspondence and their prayers on behalf of the Anti-slavery cause in this country... by direction of the Executive Committee, I shall also send to every Missionary Station a parcel of Anti-Slavery books, &c. Thus you

³¹⁷ Bertram Wyatt Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery*, (Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1969) 197. The appointment of the feminist abolitionist Abby Kelley on the same board as Tappan was a primary factor in his decision to leave the American Antislavery Society, and the constitution of the newly formed American Anti-slavery society did not allow women to vote the organization's elections.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 311. The 1830s marked a period where antislavery advocates increasingly attacked institutions and organizations, such as theological seminaries, for not having a strong enough stance against slavery; see J. Earl Thompson Jr., "Abolitionism and Theological Education at Andover," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (Jun., 1974), pp. 238-261.

³¹⁹ Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery*, 310, 312.

will be able to understand the true nature of American Slavery, the doctrines of the Abolitionists, and perceive the objects and principles of the Society.³²⁰

Perhaps influenced by the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society by Tappan and others, the missionaries in Hawai'i sought to form their own antislavery society in the Islands. Discussions pertaining to the organization of such a society in the Hawai'i, particularly as a means of contributing to the antislavery movement in the U.S., began in early 1841, likely shortly after receiving the correspondence from Tappan; a constitution was drafted sometime during this period.³²¹ On June 9th, 1841, a small group of missionaries met in Honolulu following the close of the annual General Meeting of the Mission. In addition to members of the mission who had been active in the early antislavery movement the islands, a number of other individuals would openly participate in the antislavery society. Horton Knapp, a teacher who had arrived with Lafon as a member of the eighth company, would host the meeting at his residence. Fellow members of the eighth company who participated in this meeting included the teachers Abner Wilcox and Edwin Locke, as well as the assistant secular agent Samuel Castle. Other missionary participants included the book binder Henry Dimond, the Reverend Titus Coan, and the teacher Daniel Dole.

The group met again on June 11th, 1841, just a few days after the first convention of the society. Dr. Lafon was chosen as President, while Green and Coan were appointed First and Second Vice Presidents, respectively. Andrews, who had recorded the minutes of the

³²⁰ American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "Constitution of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," in Lewis Tappan, Letter to Samuel Castle, 21 May 1841.

³²¹ Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society "Formation of an Antislavery Society" 1841, in MF 326.6 folder Anti-Slavery Societies.

previous meeting, was appointed Recording Secretary, while Castle was appointed Corresponding Secretary.³²²

Despite being a relatively brief manifesto consisting of a single printed page, the constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society expressed the antislavery beliefs that had been held by many of the missionaries. In particular, it reinforced the perceived sentiments regarding their moral and religious responsibilities, including their continued obligations to work for the benefit of populations in the U.S. despite their geographic separation, the belief that slavery was a “national sin,” and that their antislavery activities were contributing to efforts of “averting the displeasure of heaven” caused by slavery.³²³ It is likely they individuals believed that the formation of an antislavery society in the Islands would further align the missionaries and the Hawaiian antislavery movement with their counterparts in the U.S. and would allow them to contribute to those movements. Furthermore, given the grievances held by many of the missionaries against the ABCFM, particularly in matters relating to slavery, it is likely they hoped that their antislavery society would demonstrate religious support of the movement in the U.S. In these ways, the formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society was more politically complex and was not simply antislavery activity.

An affiliation with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was outlined in the first article of the constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society. In fact, much of the language of the two Constitutions is strikingly and deliberately similar; for example, while the goal of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was the “the entire extinction of slavery,” the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society would work for the “entire extermination of

³²² Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society “Formation of an Antislavery Society” 1841.

³²³ Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society” (Honolulu: Sandwich Islands Mission Press, 1841).

slavery.”³²⁴ As an auxiliary, the Hawaiian Society would have had the privilege of sending delegate members to the annual meetings of the American Society and would also have been sent materials published by the organization, such as abolitionist pamphlets, books and other publications; however, such a designation may have also made the Hawaiian society subject to an annual membership fee and would have been required to contribute the funds customarily received from other auxiliaries.³²⁵

News of the formation of the Hawaiian Society was circulated among the brethren, and copies of the constitution were sent to the mission stations on Maui, Moloka‘i, O‘ahu, Kaua‘i, and Hawai‘i, in the hopes that other members of the Sandwich Islands Mission would become members; it had been decided that membership in the Society was to be open, and any missionary only had to sign his name on the constitution in order to be considered a member.³²⁶ A handwritten copy of the constitution of the society containing the signatures of individuals who wished to become members was then set to type and printed on the Lāhainaluna Seminary Press by Lorrin Andrews.³²⁷ Each printed version of the constitution included three pages; an extract from the minutes of the first meeting, the preamble and constitution were placed on one page, while two blank pages were also included for letter writing. The constitutions were folded and bundled into eight copies, with each bundle going to members of the society throughout the Islands. While it was understood that each member would continue to seek the signatures of other missionaries, the copies distributed to current society members were meant to be sent as correspondence to friends, family, and others

³²⁴ Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society.”

³²⁵ American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,” in Lewis Tappan, letter to Samuel Castle, 21 May 1841.

³²⁶ Lorrin Andrews, letter to Samuel Castle, 16 Jul. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in Folder Castle 406-411 Letters Rec. 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³²⁷ Lorrin Andrews, letter to Samuel Castle, Aug 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in Folder Castle 442-477 Letters Rec. 1841.

members in the U.S. so that the formation of the society and the goals of its members would be known and circulated in American communities.³²⁸

Expanding Membership in the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society

Membership in the society was designated by Article III of the constitution, which set no limits on association within the society and did not require members to pay any fees for membership, annual or otherwise.³²⁹ All like-minded individuals within the mission were strongly encouraged to become members by simply placing their signature on the Constitution.³³⁰ In practice, however, the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society was an organization for the male missionaries and former missionaries of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Every recorded member of the Society was a missionary by association; businessmen, foreigners, and other individuals residing in Hawai‘i who might have been sympathetic to anti-slavery sentiments were not recorded as participating in the society. No Native Hawaiian congregants, *maka‘āinana*, or *ali‘i* are known to have participated. None of the 40 women associated with the mission, not even the single women present in 1841, were signatories to the constitution or counted as members of the society; there is also no record of women participating in any of the meetings of the society.³³¹

A large portion of the male members of the Sandwich Island Missions present in the Islands in 1841 were signatories to the constitution: 26 out of 37 men who were active within

³²⁸ Andrews, letter to Castle, Aug 1841.

³²⁹ Andrews, letter to Castle 16 Jul. 1841.

³³⁰ Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society.”

³³¹ While some antislavery societies and movements in the U.S. had welcomed the full participation of women, others chose to deny women the right of participation and voter eligibility. For example the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society encouraged women to form their own, separate organizations in order to become auxiliaries to the organization. See American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, “Constitution of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society,” in Lewis Tappan, letter to Samuel Castle, 21 May 1841, in folder Castle 406-441, Letters Rec. 1841.

the mission were recorded as members of the society in the finalized printed version of the Constitution.³³² In becoming a member of the society, Edward Bailey wrote;

I inclose [sic] the Anti Slavery Constitution to which I have affixed my name. God forbid that any man should take away my liberty to show myself opposed to such a diabolical system. What shall a man who devotes himself with all his strength + heart to labours among 100,000 comfortable heathens not find a spot of sympathy for 3,000,000 who are in every respect more to be pitied. They are no further from me now than the Hawaiians were 6 years ago.³³³

The individuals who became members of the society were stationed throughout the islands at most of the 17 established mission stations and included many of the missionaries, physicians, teachers, printers, secular agents, and book binders associated with the mission. Membership within the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society was likely influenced by the internal dynamics of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Often, these individuals shared a degree of mutual camaraderie and developed loyalties to one another.

Working at the same missionary station or in similar endeavors seem to be especially significant factors in the pattern of participation among the Sandwich Islands Mission. For example, Andrews, Green, Baldwin, and Edward Bailey were all stationed on Maui and worked closely with one another in similar endeavors; all of these men were heavily and directly involved in the education of Native Hawaiians. Andrews and Green had worked together in the construction of Lāhainaluna Seminary; both men had been members of the third company of missionaries. Bailey, a teacher from the eighth company, had been stationed with Green in Wailuku and took over the administration of Wailuku Female

³³² American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, "Constitution of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," in Lewis Tappan, letter to Samuel Castle, 21 May 1841, in folder Castle 406-441, Letters Rec. 1841. The members are: L. Andrews, J. Green, P. Gulick, D. Baldwin, W. Alexander, C. Forbes, H. Hitchcock, L. Lyons, E. Rogers, B. Parker, L. Smith, T. Coan, H. Dimond, E. Bailey, S. Castle, A. Cooke, E. Johnson, H. Knapp, T. Lafon, E. Locke, A. Wilcox, E. Bond, D. Dole, J.S. Paris, WW Rice.

³³³ Edward Bailey, letter to Samuel Castle, 14 Jul. 1841 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.). Emphasis in original.

Seminary when Green requested dismissal from the ABCFM. Lafon and Gulick had been stationed together on Kaua‘i.³³⁴ Likewise, the Reverend Titus Coan was stationed in Hilo with Wilcox, who had been one of a handful of individuals who would communicate his support for the antislavery cause in correspondence to the other missionaries; both men were signatories on the written first draft of the constitution. And, like Lafon, Coan had been a pupil of the abolitionist Charles Grandison Finney. The first meetings of the antislavery society were held in Honolulu following the Annual Meeting of 1841. Many individuals who were stationed in Honolulu were signatories of the constitution; in addition to the teachers Knapp and Amos Cooke, the book binder Henry Dimond, the printer Edmund Rogers, and the missionary Lowell Smith were listed as members of the antislavery society.

Membership within a specific missionary company, as well as length of time an individual had spent in the Islands also seemed to be important factors which influenced participation in the antislavery society; in particular, participation was much higher among companies that had arrived in the Islands in the mid- to late 1830s, as opposed to the first few companies that had arrived in the 1820s. Nearly all of the male individuals who had arrived in the Islands in 1837 with the eighth company of missionaries—the same company as Lafon—signed the constitution. Even after they were stationed on different islands, the relationships that had been developed between the company members during their time travelling to Hawai‘i and before they received their respective assignments may have been a factor in the decision to sign the constitution. The missionary Elias Bond and teacher Daniel Dole arrived in Hawai‘i on May 21, 1841 as members of the ninth company of missionaries with the Reverend John Paris and teacher William Rice; Paris and Rice were supposed to

³³⁴ Peter J. Gulick, “More from the Sandwich Islands,” *The Emancipator*, 5 April 1838, Vol II Iss. 49, 191 (New York, NY.).

continue on to their station assignment in Oregon but were allowed to stay in Hawai‘i by the ABCFM. Despite arriving in the islands only a short time after the formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, all four individuals became signatories to the constitution.

The high participation rates among individuals who could be considered to be more “secular” in their occupation may also have been a factor in membership of the antislavery society; perhaps they did not feel as strictly bound to the ABCFM by a sense of religious obligation associated with being an ordained minister. Although it was the largest company, the eighth company only included three ordained missionaries; the rest of its members consisted of two physicians, one secular agent and ten teachers. In addition to their personal antislavery beliefs, certain individuals may have felt more freedom to participate in the movement because of their occupation and position in the Islands. For example, Samuel Castle, the Assistant Superintendent of Secular Affairs who had arrived in the Islands to replace Goodrich in 1837, seemed to be an eager participant in the early antislavery activities of the mission; he corresponded frequently with Green on the subject.

Neither William Richards nor Gerrit Judd, both of whom had been dismissed from the mission, became members of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society. It is likely that they abstained from participation because of their roles and employment in the Hawaiian government. In fact, the majority of individuals who became members of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society were active members of the Sandwich Islands Mission, with the exception of Andrews, Lafon, and Green. Both Andrews and Lafon had submitted their respective dismissal requests to the ABCFM in 1838 and 1839, respectively, a few years before the formation of the society; Andrews had received his dismissal in 1840 and participated in the antislavery society as a former Sandwich Islands missionary, although he remained at

Lāhainaluna and made use of the press there.³³⁵ Lafon had considered himself separated from the ABCFM since April of 1840, although his official dismissal would not be granted until June 22, 1841 and he was technically still a member of the mission when the society was formed.³³⁶ And although he was a member of the mission at the formation of the antislavery society on June 11th 1841, Green would submit his request for dismissal in November of that same year.³³⁷ Andrews, Lafon and Green initially maintained their close connection to the mission following their dismissals, and the remaining members of the society remained Sandwich Islands missionaries under the patronage of the ABCFM.

Nonetheless, the potential ramifications for participation in the antislavery society for individuals who had withdrawn their formal association with the mission were markedly different than those of active missionaries, who still had to rely on patronage from the ABCFM. These ramifications may have been a consideration for some individuals; although a majority of the Sandwich Islands Mission signed the antislavery society's constitution, not every missionary chose to participate in the society proceedings. Although many members of the mission agreed with the assertion that "Satan himself could well devise a more devilish system of bondage than that under which negro slaves are held," not all missionaries held the same degree of fervor in regards to the cause of slavery as the members of the society.³³⁸ In fact, quite a few individuals expressed reservations about participation in the society.

³³⁵ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 1840, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³³⁶ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter" 16 Oct. 1841, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³³⁷ Rufus Anderson, "General Letter," 29 Apr. 1842, 4 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³³⁸ David Lyman, letter to Samuel Castle, 1 Nov. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in folder Castle 442-477 Letters Rec. 1841. HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

CHAPTER 6

THE DECLINE OF THE HAWAIIAN ANTI –SLAVERY SOCIETY

The formation of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society could be considered a peak in the development of a Hawaiian antislavery movement, a culmination of the antislavery activities of the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission during the late 1830s and early 1840s. Prior to that, many of the missionaries had considered themselves to be contributors to the American Antislavery movement through prayer and correspondence with their American counterparts. Yet, many members of the mission expressed reservations about the society and a handful chose not to participate in its proceedings. Furthermore, by all accounts, the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society seemed to be extremely short-lived with limited impacts in larger Hawaiian Society and in the slavery movements in the U.S.

This chapter explores factors which may have constrained participation in the society, affected its scope and impact, and influenced its longevity as an organization. In particular, varying degrees of support for the society within the mission were affected by social and power dynamics within the mission. Some members of the mission also expressed concern that the formation of the society was not simply to support the antislavery cause, but that it was highly political and thus controversial. The decreased role of Green and Lafon in the society following their dismissals, as well as Lafon's 1842 departure from Hawai'i would also contribute to the short-lived nature of the society.

Lafon's continued involvement in the antislavery movement following his return to the U.S. is also examined in this chapter. In particular, Lafon's deployment of the rhetoric of chiefly oppression as Hawaiian slavery in public discussions would be sensationalized in American Antislavery periodicals. Although he was no longer a member of the Sandwich

Islands Mission and many of his antislavery beliefs could be considered to be extreme relative to those held by other individuals stationed in Hawai‘i, Lafon’s discussions of the privatization of land as a remedy to chiefly oppression that reflected a shift in the rhetoric surrounding Hawaiian slavery that was also evident among the missionaries.

Reservations about Participation in the Hawaiian Antislavery Society

Several individuals chose not to sign either the written or printed version of the Constitution. The teacher Bethuel Munn and Reverend Isaac Bliss both left the Islands in December of 1841, just a few months after the formation of the antislavery society.³³⁹ The physician Seth L. Andrews, as well as the missionaries Mark Ives, Ephraim Clark, Sheldon Dibble, and Richard Armstrong would also never sign the Constitution.

Correspondence between the missionaries and comparisons between an early handwritten version of the constitution and a finalized printed version reveal that the membership of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society changed rapidly over a very short period of time. As early as June 21, 1841, just a few short weeks following the first official meeting of the society, a number of missionaries expressed the desire to remove their names from the constitution. The ministers Daniel Conde and David Lyman both reconsidered their involvement in the society. Lyman was a member of the fifth company and had been stationed in Hilo with Wilcox and Coan, both of whom were active in the antislavery movement. Conde was a member of the eighth company of missionary reinforcements and was stationed in Hana, Maui; although he was stationed on the same island as Green, Baldwin, and others who had been active in the Hawaiian antislavery movement, the Hana

³³⁹ HMCS, *Missionary Album*. Rufus Anderson, “General Letter” 28 Apr. 1842, 1 in *General Letters to the Sandwich Island Mission, 1831-1849*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

station was much more isolated than the other stations on the Island. Green wrote “I am truly sorry that the names of some 3 or 4 of the brethren are attached to our constitution. I am sorry. Because I am confident they are not cordial. Br. Lyman I hear wishes his name off and I hope it may be taken off, also Brother Conde.”³⁴⁰ Lorrin Andrews echoed Green’s sentiments about membership in the society in a letter of his own, writing “My opinion is that brethren should not be urged to become members. If they are not cordial they will make us trouble. There are several other names that I would as soon have off as on, because I do not think they are cordial in their business.”³⁴¹ The sentiments of both Green and Andrews with regard to the “cordiality” of their fellow missionaries hint at the fact that there were other reasons, besides the antislavery beliefs of an individual, which may have factored into participation or non-participation in the society. Chief among these concerns was the underlying political nature of involvement with the society. Many missionaries would express hesitation to join the society because they perceived the formalizing of an antislavery stance as a political, rather than a religious activity. The political nature of participation in the antislavery movement was also evident in the U.S., and had been one of the reasons the ABCFM abstained from taking a stronger position on the matter.³⁴²

Furthermore, the political nature of the Anti-Slavery Society was a source of division between the missionaries in the Sandwich Islands because it had the potential to cause friction between the entire mission and the ABCFM; these sentiments were commonly

³⁴⁰ Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, 21 Jun. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in Folder Castle 406-441 Letters Rec. 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI).

³⁴¹ Andrews, letter to Castle, 16 Jul. 1841.

³⁴² Charles A. Maxfield III, “The 1845 Organic Sin Debate: Slavery, Sin and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions,” *North American foreign missions, 1810-1914: Theology, Theory, and Policy* (Grand Rapids, MI: WM B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2004).

asserted by a number of individuals who withdrew their names from the constitution. In a July 10, 1841 letter to Castle, Lyman wrote:

I have no doubt that slaveholding is a heinous sin, and that the church will ere long clean herself from it. Still, I do not think that denunciation for the present at least is the best means of affecting the work to be done... I have no doubt you may do much. I place great confidence in your judgments and discretion on the subject. Still it appears to me almost ridiculous to suppose that the society forms at Honolulu, as such, can affect any thing for the object by the organization, unless it is by increasing the fervency of prayer in its behalf... Holding these views, if my name were not on the paper I should not put it on till they are changed. I would not ask to have it stricken off now, even it not for exciting unpleasant feeling though I do not feel strongly on the subject. Some would probably wish to have it stricken off. I wish to have unprofitable feeling among ourselves avoided. I care little what is done with my name in confusion. I think that harmony in the mission will affect more for the slave than can be affected by the society without it.³⁴³

As noted earlier, participation in the antislavery society was largely a phenomenon among younger, more recently arrived missionaries. For example, by 1841, only Samuel Whitney, Asa Thurston, Levi Chamberlain, and Artemas Bishop remained as active members in Hawai‘i in the Islands from the first and second missionary companies. Having worked among Native Hawaiians for decades, these individuals were fluent in Hawaiian and had built strong relationships within the Hawaiian community. These men were considered pioneers and were respected as authority figures within the mission, having been stationed in Hawai‘i for the longest period of time; they also had strong connections and loyalties to the ABCFM which had grown out of the early years of the mission. Yet, Whitney, Chamberlain and Thurston were never recorded as being involved in the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society and did not sign the constitution. Bishop had at first attached his signature to the Constitution but later withdrew it. In a letter dated August 9, 1841, written to Samuel N. Castle, Andrews claimed that Baldwin had said “that corresponding with Br. Bishop on that subject [of

³⁴³ David Lyman, letter to Samuel Castle, 10 Jul. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in folder Castle Letters Rec. 406-441, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

slavery] must be like driving a nail into a bag of cotton—it is mushy sort of work—it will never stick.”³⁴⁴ In his own defense and clearly expressing his reasons for departing from the Society’s membership roll, Bishop wrote to Castle:

Slavery has always been abhorrent to my heart. This you may think strange language for one who has taken off his name from an abolition society. But I wish it to be distinctly understood that it is not indifference to abolition, but to a full conviction (which the more I think of it is the more confirmed) that such a society in the Sandwich Isles for the abolition of slavery in the U. States is calculated to do injury within more than good to the cause.³⁴⁵

When considered in the context of the fractious relationship between many members of the mission and the ABCFM, Bishop’s assertion that the society was a deliberate attempt to cause harm reveals one of the possible reasons a handful of missionaries chose not to sign the constitution. These sentiments were possibly shared by the other missionaries, particularly those of the older generations and companies.

The participating missionaries themselves were aware of the political nature of the society. Knowing that the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society could be considered a controversial organization (both within the Sandwich Islands Mission and within the U.S.) the members of the mission who sought to form the society did so not as missionaries, but as individuals. They also deliberately conducted their meetings outside of the General Meetings of the Sandwich Island Mission so as to maintain a degree of separation from the proceedings associated with the ABCFM.³⁴⁶ Nonetheless, this artificial division was not enough to persuade certain members of the mission who had expressed reservations about the formation of an antislavery society in the Islands and the involvement of the missionaries in its

³⁴⁴ Andrews, letter to Castle, Aug. 1841.

³⁴⁵ Artemas Bishop, letter to Samuel Castle, 29 Sept. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900 in Folder Castle 442-477 Letters Rec. 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁴⁶ Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, 24 Jul. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900, in Folder Castle 406-441 Letters Rec. 1841.

proceedings. The possibility of being sanctioned by the Board for forming and participating in the society may have been one reason for the hesitation of some of the missionaries to readily participate in the Anti-Slavery Society; given previous warnings sent to the mission by the ABCFM corresponding secretary pertaining to the improper behavior of some of the missionaries (for using the printing press for publications that were not mission related, for sending negative correspondence to the U.S., etc.) may have factored into the decision of some individuals not to participate in the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society.

Concerns surrounding both the actual form of the society as well as its purpose were frequently expressed. In particular, the capability of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society to effect any real change from Hawai'i for the benefit of slaves was an issue. A few months after the initial meeting of the society, Lyman reaffirmed his hesitation to take a firmer stand against slavery through cooperation with the society, and questioned the true effectiveness of membership in the society. In a letter to Castle he explained;

I hope and pray that you may be able during your visit to the States to do much to help forward the cause of emancipation, immediate emancipation. Still, I cannot suppose that the fact that you are a member of an Anti-Slavery Society here, or that such a society exists here, will be a powerful means of enabling you to effect it though I have no doubt that in some communities and with some individuals these facts may be mentioned to considerable advantage.³⁴⁷

Ives also expressed a degree of concern about the formation of the Hawaiian Anti-slavery Society in the Islands; although he felt that slavery was morally wrong, he believed the formation of an Anti-slavery society was not necessarily “the gospel way of attacking this sin.”³⁴⁸

³⁴⁷Lyman, letter to Castle, 1 Nov. 1841. Emphasis in original.

³⁴⁸Mark Ives, letter to Samuel Castle, 10 Aug. 1841, Missionary Letters, in Folder Castle, Letters Rec. 406-441, 1841.

While association with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would certainly have benefits, a few members of the mission, even those who had been supportive of the antislavery movement, were opposed to the Hawaiian society being considered an auxiliary for a variety of reasons. Most notably, Castle had articulated his reservations regarding the idea to Green early in 1841, expressing concern with the particular abolitionist beliefs forwarded by the American Society and the individuals affiliated with it.³⁴⁹ The issue was a divisive one among the members of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, and eventually it was decided that they would no longer be an auxiliary. In a letter to Castle, Wilcox wrote:

I do think we have much missed our figure by ceasing to become auxiliary to the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Soc. I had hoped and believed that the wisdom and experience of some of the ripe heads in the Soc. would steer our bark aright and save us from shipwreck but alas we are split and I wish we were all in the bottom with none to relate our shameful exit... The objection to being auxiliary, that it is made a political thing, in my view furnishes a good reason for remaining auxiliary to that Soc... I feel sorry to have the feelings of many good friends of the cause at home injured by our withdrawal. Their hearts were cheered by the formation of this Auxiliary—they were thanking God and taking courage and now we inflict a wound upon them by withdrawing from them.³⁵⁰

Members of the society were still considering the question of whether their organization would be an auxiliary of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society as late as 1843.³⁵¹ This and other factors would likely affect the impact and longevity of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society.

The Decline of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society

By all available accounts, the society seems to have been extremely short-lived. As noted earlier, the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society never expanded its membership beyond the

³⁴⁹ Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, 24 Jul. 1841, and Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, 12 Aug. 1841 Missionary Letters, 1819-1900 in folder Castle 406-441, Letters Rec. 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁵⁰ Abner Wilcox, letter to Samuel Castle, 27 Jun. 1843, Missionary Letters 1819-1900 in Folder Castle 510-558, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁵¹ Abner Wilcox, letter to Samuel Castle, 27 Jun. 1843

individuals associated or formerly associated with the Sandwich Islands Mission, and records pertaining to the organization and its objects within broader Hawaiian society are sparse. There is little mention of any official meetings or activities of the organization after 1841, though a few of the members of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society continued to hold meetings after the initial gatherings in 1841.³⁵² Interest in the antislavery movement in the U.S. continued; in a letter sent to Castle dated March 23, 1843, Johnson wanted to know if the ABCFM was taking any action on slavery.³⁵³ The society was also still in existence in 1843, though individuals who had been instrumental in its formation like Lafon and Green were no longer directly involved with its proceedings.³⁵⁴ That Green was no longer a participant in the antislavery society, despite his continued residence in Hawai'i, is particularly interesting and lends credence to the theory that the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society was an organization that operated within the confines of the Sandwich Islands Mission.

One of the reasons for the short-lived nature of the society may have been that there were difficulties in holding regular and frequent meetings, especially since the members of the society were dispersed among the islands. The fact that most of the members remained affiliated with the ABCFM as Sandwich Islands Missionaries instead of seeking dismissals may also have impeded further participation in society meetings and activities; as discussed, the political nature of the society may have put members of the mission at risk of provoking the ABCFM into passing restrictive and harsh regulations.

³⁵² Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, 21 Jun. 1841, Missionary Letters 1819-1900 in Folder Castle 406-441 Letters Rec. 1841, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁵³ Edward Johnson, letter to Samuel Castle, Waioli, 23 March 1843, Missionary Letters 1819-1900 in Folder Castle 510-558, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁵⁴ Jonathan Green, letter to Samuel Castle, Makawao, Aug 26, 1843, Missionary Letters, 1819-1900 in Folder Castle 510-558, HMCS Honolulu, HI.

Although he was no longer a member of the mission, Green remained on tense terms with a number of the missionaries in part because the dismissals remained a contentious issue. In 1842, Green wrote that he was “on a list of rebels” who were threatening the “conservation of the mission.”³⁵⁵ Besides harboring resentment against certain individuals who chose to “desert” the mission, a handful of missionaries objected to the continued ability of these individuals to utilize the resources of the mission. In an 1843 letter to Levi Chamberlain, Green had commented on his ill treatment by the other missionaries, noting “I can bear to be called ‘a Jesuit and an adder’ by some of my brethren if it shall appear that good has resulted... But to be called ‘a jesuit’ and compared to an ‘adder’ is not altogether Christian I think.”³⁵⁶ More than a year later, the issue was still raw for a number of missionaries. In a letter written to Samuel Castle dated for April 7th 1843, Cochran Forbes wrote;

If I choose to withdraw from the Board thereby voluntarily place myself on the same ground with any other pious man who may choose to stop at these Islands. Having no further connection with and no further responsibility to the Board I of course have no further claims. The day I dissolve my connection with the Board I then and thereby dissolve my claim to all those privileges which result from that institution. The advantages of Depository, the house I live in, the herd, the land given because of my being a missionary. (Such, I suppose, was all the land of the mission). The tools I possess and other property accumulated with the funds of the Board, I renounce when I renounce the Board. Afterward I can with no consistency claim nor expect the use of any of them. So there is an end to my responsibilities and relations with the Board, there becomes also a mutual end to my claims. I can then have no more claim to employ. If I fall into straits that’s my look out and not the missions.³⁵⁷

In truth, much of the resentment manifested by some members of the mission were directed specifically towards Green, who had remained in the Islands and was not in the

³⁵⁵ Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, Wailuku, 9 Aug. 1842, Missionary Letters, 1819-1900, HMCS Honolulu, HI.

³⁵⁶ Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, Wailuku, 16 Feb. 1843, Missionary Letters, 1819-1900, HMCS Honolulu, HI.

³⁵⁷ Cochran Forbes, letter to Samuel Castle, 7 Apr. 1843 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

employment of the Hawaiian Kingdom as Richards and Judd were. Characterized as a “rebel,” Green acknowledged that there was the perception that he had “hung on too long” after receiving his dismissal.³⁵⁸

Conflict continued when members of the Sandwich Islands Mission published a letter written by the Reverend Lowell Smith, a missionary who had arrived with the sixth company of missionaries in 1833 and who was stationed in ‘Ewa on O‘ahu, containing a private discussion of the financial situations of Green and Andrews, insinuating that Green and Andrews were “lacking bread” and were struggling to support themselves without connection to the ABCFM. Green again found it necessary to write a letter to Levi Chamberlain about the matter, although by May 1844 Green stopped communicating with certain members of the mission:

Mr. Smith’s letter—Lowell to Mr. Bingham so far as he had any allusion to me or to bro. Andrews is all moonshine!! Of course the letter may go for what it is worth. I am poor as a matter of course, but not more so than I have been for the last sixteen years. I shall not persecute Mr. Smith for letting such a story about me... I blame Mr. Bingham more than any one for the appearance of the letter being evidently a private one. I am glad that I am not exported rich! It is a compliment... So tell brother Smith, we have plenty of good bread as good as any body on Maui I guess.³⁵⁹

Among the reasons for writing to Chamberlain, Green wanted to ensure that word of his supposed poverty did not reach family in the American community; he also wrote to friends in Boston to try to quell the rumor.³⁶⁰ In addition, Green felt that it was necessary to address prevalent discussion of the elevated position individuals who had left the mission found themselves in, in comparison to those who had remained in the mission:

³⁵⁸ Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain 16 Feb. 1843; Green to Levi Chamberlain, 9 Aug. 1842 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. 1837-1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.). Emphasis in original.

³⁵⁹ Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, 13 May, 1844 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶⁰ Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, 5 Jun. 1844 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

It's to what you say of my becoming better off than the members of the mission. I can easily see that it is possible that it may be so if your views of the terms of the compact are the true ones and I think, on the whole they are so. Still I think you will trust me and my good wife that we shall not get rich but by the most upright and honorable means.³⁶¹

The departure of Lafon may have been the greatest factor in the failure of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society to significantly expand the scope of its influence past the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission; he returned to the U.S. permanently in October of 1842. As one of the most vocal and active members of the Sandwich Islands Mission in regards to the American antislavery movement, it is likely that Lafon's fervent antislavery sentiments had provided the strongest catalyst for the organization of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society among the missionaries; his role as the first President of the Society was no small coincidence. Lafon had instigated many of the activities connected with the Hawaiian antislavery movement in the Islands and had been instrumental in its form and progression. Although the society remained in existence after he left, much of the impetus for direct action and organizing on behalf of the American slaves in the Islands seems to have been inspired and executed by Lafon, whose fervent antislavery sentiments had added cohesion to the antislavery movement within the Sandwich Islands Mission.

Lafon would continue his antislavery advocacy after returning to the U.S. He established an affiliation with the Union Missionary Society, which was organized on antislavery principles, and traveled through the U.S. to give lectures and addresses.³⁶² Although he would never return to the Hawai'i, in correspondence with Anderson, Lafon expressed his desire to contribute to the efforts of the Sandwich Islands Mission from afar

³⁶¹Jonathan Green, letter to Levi Chamberlain, 5 Jun. 1844 in *Missionary Letters 1819-1900*, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶²"Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands," *Emancipator and Republican*, 2 Apr. 1845 Vol IX, Iss 49 (Boston, MA) 194.

and was particularly interested in donating funds to the building and maintenance of a school.³⁶³ However, despite expressing his willingness to continue supporting the efforts in Hawai‘i, Lafon would make a series of public statements about the mission and relating to his antislavery beliefs slavery that were highly inflammatory; a number of these highly controversial statements would be published and sensationalized in American Antislavery periodicals in the early 1840s.³⁶⁴ Lafon’s articles about Hawaiian slavery would become especially charged.

Hawaiian Slavery

As discussed previously, many missionaries in Hawai‘i had characterized the *ali‘i* as oppressive; as the antislavery movement in the Islands grew, some individuals had described the relationship between the chiefs and the *maka‘āinana*, as well as the condition of the general populace, as a form of slavery. For example, in an 1839 letter to Castle, Wilcox noted the “petty, shameful tyranny” of the chiefs, insisting that the Hawaiian *ali‘i* were worse than the French gunboat diplomats who were at the time threatening Hawai‘i.³⁶⁵

Lafon’s claims about chiefly oppression following his return to the U.S. were also sensational. He alleged that the rapid depopulation of Native Hawaiians in the Hawaiian Islands was not the result of “causes ordinarily assigned by writers,” such as infanticide, drunkenness, idolatry, licentiousness, promiscuity and foreign disease.³⁶⁶ Rather, Lafon argued that the reason for the massive deaths among *kānaka* was slavery in the form of chiefly oppression. A piece written by Lafon about the depopulation of the Sandwich Islands

³⁶³ Thomas Lafon, letter to Rufus Anderson 10 Apr. 1843, Lafon, Thomas April 24, 1837- April 10, 1843, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶⁴ Thomas Lafon, letter to Samuel Castle, 14 Mar. 1839, folder Castle 168-203 Letters Rec 1839 in Missionary Letters Collection 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶⁵ Abner Wilcox, letter to Samuel Castle 20 Aug. 1839, folder Castle 204-239 Letters Rec 1839 in Missionary Letters Collection 1819-1900, Green Jonathan S., Letters sent, 1827-1868, HMCS (Honolulu, HI.).

³⁶⁶ This group of individuals included Lafon’s former Sandwich Islands Mission associate, Sheldon Dibble.

appeared in the *Journal of Commerce* in 1845.³⁶⁷ Following the appearance of this article, an unnamed writer provided a synopsis of one of Lafon's speeches for the *Emancipator*, attributing the following sentiments on Hawaiian slavery to Lafon;

What is there in the wide range of human influences, that will account for such a degree of ignorance, poverty, and recklessness of life, among people naturally sprightly and intellectual, inhabiting a country of excellent soil, with a mild climate, a good market at their doors, and where religion prevails to the extent of numbering about one-fourth of the population as members of the church? The withering word "OPPRESSION" is the only one in the English language that can stand as an answer to this question. In a word, the people of the Sandwich Islands are and have been SLAVES to their chiefs, and are so still, in part, because, although nominally protected by law, they have no right in the land, and cannot enjoy their own earnings. Dr. Lafon shows the reason why this work of depopulation did not take place long ago. It was because these islands were held by several chiefs, often at war with each other; and as the strength of each chief depended on the number of his followers, a certain care was exercised over the people, to provide for their wants. But when the whole were reduced under one king, this necessity, and this care, ceased, because the chiefs no longer felt the same dependence on the people. Thus it appears that, with the mass of the people enslaved, peace is more desolating than war."³⁶⁸

The assertion that chiefly oppression made the Native Hawaiians slaves was not new in the late 1840s; however, Lafon's belief that chiefly oppression as slavery was the overriding cause of depopulation among Native Hawaiians was quite sensational. For Lafon, the *maka'āinana* were experiencing a greater degree of oppression under the monarchy than they had under the traditional system of Native Hawaiian governance. Not only could this sentiment be considered an attack on the government of King Kamehameha III, but it could also be considered a poor reflection on the efforts of the Sandwich Islands missionaries. Despite the efforts of the missionaries to convert and educate Native Hawaiians, in Lafon's perception they remained oppressed. For Lafon, Hawaiian governance through a constitution and a system of laws based on Euro-American frameworks—elements of governance which

³⁶⁷ "Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands," *Emancipator and Republican*, Vol IX, Iss 49 (Boston, MA) 194. The *Journal of Commerce* was a weekly trade magazine started in New York by Arthur Tappan and Samuel Morse, which frequently wrote about political issues, including slavery.

³⁶⁸ Ibid. Emphasis in original.

were considered hallmarks of Kamehameha II's reign and which had been supported by individuals with ties to the mission—had offered only “nominal protections” against the oppression faced by the general populace.

Lafon also accused the ABCFM of deliberately hiding slavery as the cause of the depopulation of Native Hawaiians in the Islands.³⁶⁹ The author of the *Emancipator* write-up noted;

This suppression of the truth is part of a system—a settled policy—which is to ‘preach the gospel,’ as it is called, by denouncing all other sins and evils—but *not to take sides against slavery*... the work of wholesale murder goes on in sight of the missionaries, at a rate that will annihilate the people in forty years, because the missionary board connive at the cause—slavery!”³⁷⁰

Although the assertions that “wholesale murder goes on in sight of the missionaries” and that Native Hawaiians would be annihilated in forty years because of slavery were exaggerated inflammatory, they were meant to lend credence to criticisms antislavery supporters had long levied against the ABCFM with respect to the issues surrounding slavery. In this way, Lafon's discussions about the continued existence of chiefly oppression as the cause of Hawaiian slavery were meant to directly attack the ABCFM.

It is not likely that many of the Sandwich Islands missionaries shared Lafon's exact perspectives on Hawaiian slavery, especially given the extremity of his views. Many of the missionaries might have remained uneasy about any public discussion of the alleged slavery in Hawai'i because of the harm it might cause to their relationship with Native Hawaiians, particularly among the *ali'i* and with the Hawaiian government. Yet, despite the outlandish and inflammatory nature of many of Lafon's claims about Hawaiian slavery following his return to the U.S., they are nonetheless important for historical consideration. For example,

³⁶⁹ “Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands,” *Emancipator and Republican*, Vol IX, Iss 49 (Boston, MA) 194.

³⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

although he removed from the Islands and no longer counted as a member of the Sandwich Islands Mission, Lafon's emphasis on the status of Native Hawaiians as slaves because they were unable to obtain land actually reflected a shift in the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery that had also been articulated among the missionaries in Hawai'i and elsewhere. As discussed in previous chapters, many of the missionaries had believed Native Hawaiians to be degraded as the result of chiefly oppression, immorality, and ignorance in the 1820s and the early 1830s; some individuals had characterized this state as a form of slavery. It was thought that evangelization and education, both of which were also the original objectives of the mission, would remedy the "conditions" experienced by Native Hawaiians.

However, the growing economic opportunities in the islands would not only shift the role of the missionaries in Hawaiian society in the late 1830s and early 1840s, but would also change elements of the rhetoric informing conceptions of Hawaiian slavery. This is particularly pertinent when considering the increased missionary involvement and influence in matters relating to governance during this time. For example, Native Hawaiian participation in the growth of industry in the Islands were increasingly understood to be a force which would lift Native Hawaiians out of ignorance and immorality, which were also threats to Native Hawaiian governance. In 1839, a handful of missionaries had drafted a letter of support to the proprietors of Ladd and Company, encouraging their efforts to establish a sugar plantation on Kaua'i. They wrote, "We believe the direct influence of your manufactory there will be salutary in its affects upon the native population of these islands. As it is true that indolence begets vice, so it is true that industry promotes virtue without which no nation can long exist as such and which is not possessed."³⁷¹ In 1840, Josiah

³⁷¹ Ruben Tinker, letter to Samuel Castle, 11 Jan. 1839, in Missionary Letters Collection 1819-1900, HMCS (Honolulu, HI).

Brewer, a missionary to the Mediterranean who was sympathetic to the antislavery cause, wrote a letter to the *Emancipator* recounting his visit to the Islands and the efforts of the missionaries pertaining to the “absolute right” of the King;

The great obstacle in the way of the civilization of the people, and of their rising at no distant day to the rank of an enlightened and Christian nation, all were agreed arose from the absolute right which the king claimed over the entire soil and native population of the islands. After much prayerful consideration, it was resolved that the brethren and sisters should go in a body, and with all becoming respect and Christian earnestness, beseech him to relinquish his claim...they showed the immense advantage in point of revenue, from assigning small portions of land to each family in fee simple, and taking off all restraints upon industry.³⁷²

The instability of land tenure or the lack of private land in Hawai‘i was increasingly given as evidence of the oppression of the chiefs and the cause of Native Hawaiian insubordination, laziness, and ignorance. Indeed, Lafon’s assertions that Native Hawaiians were slaves because they “had no right to land” were motivated by strikingly similar ideals behind increasing calls for land privatization in Hawai‘i. In particular, Lafon had noted that the unstable land tenure in Hawai‘i was the source of slavery and chiefly oppression, and the primary reason for the inferior social, economic, and political position of the Native Hawaiians;

He found the minds of the people degraded and imbecile... Whence this degradation? This imbecility? It could not be attributed wholly to idolatry... The minds of the people he had found had been crushed by oppression. The King and some two hundred chiefs owned the soil and all the inhabitants—they claimed not only the land, the men and women upon it, but the sea and fish. The natives had no control over their time. They had no reward to animate their industry and put their minds in motion. They, therefore, were sluggish, stupid, and indifferent. This imbecility of mind was the greatest obstacle the missionary at the Sandwich Islands had to encounter. As soon as it was made obvious that this mental degradation was produced by slavery, the mind of the missionary there was reminded of the mortifying fact, that his own Christian America is cursed with the same soul-destroying evil; that the same churches that sent him abroad to convert the heathen were, in fact making heathen, if possible, still more degraded at home; and there are twenty-five times as many

³⁷² Josiah Brewer, “A Voice from the Heathen,” *Emancipator and Republican*, 25 June 1840, Vol V (Boston: MA) 33.

heathen in this country—made so by the consent and co-operation of many professed Christians, as there were in the Sandwich Islands when the mission began its operations.³⁷³

While Lafon had acknowledged that there were differences between American slavery and Hawaiian “slavery” in an attempt to account for the depopulation among Hawaiians, the article noted that he felt that the traditional command of labor the chiefs held over the *maka ‘āinana* fostered indolence, and that while the American slave masters provided “a supply for his natural wants,” Native Hawaiians were left to their own devices and did not have sufficient time to raise crops for themselves.³⁷⁴ Finally, the article insinuated that Lafon “thought the sin of slavery—the making of heathen in this country by professed Christians, was one reason why the blessing of God did not attend our missionary efforts abroad to a greater extent.”³⁷⁵

Lafon became a popular antislavery speaker after his return to the U.S., and his discussions of Hawaiian slavery were a part of the reason he garnered recognition and a certain degree of celebrity in the years that followed. The Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, formed as a result of the efforts of Lafon and other individuals who held strong antislavery sentiments, was crippled in scope and impact by reservations and concerns about the society’s political nature, which expressed by members of the Sandwich Islands Mission. Although many individuals associated or formerly associated with the Sandwich Islands Mission retained their antislavery sentiments, there is little record that the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society continued to function and operate to the same degree beyond the early 1840s.

³⁷³ Dr. Lafon, *A Missionary from the Sandwich Islands Emancipator*, published as *Emancipator And Free American Date* 08241843 Vol VIII; Iss 17 Pg 65 Loc New York, New York).

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

CONCLUSION

From 1837 to 1843, the strong beliefs of a number of Sandwich Islands missionaries had informed the development of an antislavery movement in Hawai‘i. Participation in the movement was also fueled by frustration with the ABCFM and the shifting role of the missionaries in Hawai‘i. Several missionaries would choose to sever their relationship with the ABCFM, in part because of their strong antislavery convictions; these protest dismissals were unprecedented and reflected the increasing tension between the American Board and the Sandwich Islands Mission.

By all available accounts, the 1841 formation of the Hawaiian Anti-slavery Society signified an important, if short-lived culmination of the antislavery movement in the Islands. Membership of the society also included most of the Sandwich Islands Missionaries. Despite this, internal social divisions, a lack of long-term support among all the missionaries, as well as the departure of Lafon from the Islands and Green from the mission, would affect the Society’s longevity and resulted in a considerable decrease in antislavery activities and advocacy in the Islands. In the end, however, the increasingly politicized nature of the antislavery movement, as well as the limited impact and relevance of the movement would negatively affect its evolution in Hawaiian society.

Nonetheless, the early Hawaiian antislavery movement was historically significant. Participation in the Hawaiian antislavery activities in the Islands, which mirrored similar movements in the U.S., had allowed the missionaries to maintain a connection to American religious communities. Over time, the antislavery advocacy of the individuals stationed in Hawai‘i made them celebrities of sorts; their strong stance on slavery and their status as missionaries were used by American antislavery proponents as justification for support of the

antislavery cause in the U.S. The early stance the missionaries had taken against slavery and against the ABCFM was an especially strong facet of their popularity with American antislavery advocates.

In the antislavery movements in the U.S. in the 1850s and during the outbreak American Civil War in 1861, proponents again recognized the advocacy of the Sandwich Islands missionaries to legitimate and reinforce their antislavery agendas. In his 1861 book, *Relation of the American board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery*, the abolitionist Charles Whipple argued that the members of the Sandwich Islands Mission had made one of the earliest “remonstrances” against the Prudential Committee and their policies regarding slavery, noting that they had been “deeply impressed with a sense of the guilt of slavery, the danger incurred by their native country in supporting such a wicked system and the responsibility of the church for its removal.”³⁷⁶ The early antislavery movement of the Sandwich Islands Missionaries captured the imaginations of scholars, and in this way the mission gained a positive reputation in many historical narratives dedicated to the American antislavery movements.

Many of the missionaries stationed in Hawai‘i continued to participate in antislavery activities in the years following the early 1840s, though not to the same extent that they had during the early antislavery movement. For example, a few of the missionaries continued to write to the American antislavery newspapers.³⁷⁷ Although he was no longer directly associated with the mission, Green especially continued his antislavery advocacy in Hawai‘i in the years following the end of the Hawaiian Anti-

³⁷⁶ Charles Whipple, *Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Mission to Slavery* (Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1861) 6.

³⁷⁷ Green, Letter to Samuel N. Castle. Makawao, 26 Aug. 1843.

Slavery Society, and continued to engage other individuals in these activities. In 1845, the *Emancipator* noted;

The Rev. Mr. Green has remitted four hundred dollars, to be appropriated as a prize for the best essay on the subject of American slavery. It was collected in two churches, and in a short time. The people in the Sandwich Islands communicate to us that they will remit soon, one thousand dollars, to be applied for the extinction of slavery, and say they are surprised at the amount of heathenism which exists in America; and we are assured that they will soon send missionaries from the Sandwich Islands to combat this heathen sin upon our soil, and to convert the American people to Christianity.³⁷⁸

The prospect of the people in the Sandwich Islands (Green's Native Hawaiian congregation) providing monies for the antislavery cause, coupled with their "surprise at the amount of heathenism which exists in America" was meant to provoke action among American populations and would have been considered very ironic indeed. It was the same sense irony that had informed and shaped the indignation of many of the missionaries involved in the Hawaiian antislavery movement.

Even in his later life, Green maintained his stand against the policies of the ABCFM. In the 1860s, Green received an invitation from the Board of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) to either place his name on a list of missionaries of the American Board or to become a home missionary member of the Hawaiian Board. Green penned a letter to HEA representative Luther H. Gulick (the son of his former colleague Peter Gulick) dated May 9, 1866 in which he declined both offers, which he considered to be essentially the same request. Noting the ABCFM policies towards slavery and that he had long since severed his ties with the ABCFM, Green wrote;

I have insuperable objections to having my name on the said list till I have evidence clear and full that the American Board has repented of what I regard as complicity with Chattell [sic] Slavery. The proof of this I have in the persistent silence on the subject of the oppression of the African race; their staving off year after year the

³⁷⁸ "Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands," *Emancipator and Republican*, Vol IX, Iss 49 (Boston, MA) 194.

petitions of their friends and contributors to their funds, praying them to give the influence of their name in favor of the cause of freedom among the oppressed ... I regard the course of the American Board in these particulars offensive to God, and a reproach to missions.³⁷⁹

As previously discussed, much of the scope of the Hawaiian antislavery movement was focused on addressing slavery in the U.S., and it was within the context of the American antislavery movements that the advocacy of the missionaries is most often interpreted. As a result, the impacts of the antislavery movement in Hawaiian society have not been fully explored in the current historiography. For these reasons, the impacts of the antislavery movement in Hawai‘i represented an important framework for discussion in this thesis, which also sought to explore the transformations within Hawaiian society (including social dynamics within the mission) that shaped the antislavery movement. It is in this way that we can better understand the antislavery movement as an important aspect of Hawaiian history.

For example, in most of the historical narratives and discourse surrounding the antislavery movement, Native Hawaiians are never understood as participants; this has very much to do with the confined nature of the antislavery activities of the missionaries, including the subjects of their advocacy in the U.S. Yet closer examination of the advocacy of the missionaries reveals that Native Hawaiians were exposed to a limited number of sermons, prayer concerts, and other activities by certain missionaries and were called upon for fundraising efforts for slaves in the U.S. even into the late 1840s.³⁸⁰

However, one of the most important ways Native Hawaiians were engaged in the antislavery movement was not as equal participants, but as the targets of a more liminal, subtle advocacy by the missionaries. An exploration of the *nūpepa* reveals one of the ways

³⁷⁹ Green, letter to Luther Hasley Gulick, 9 May 1866 in Missionary Letters 1819-1900, folder Green J.S. HMCS Honolulu, HI.

³⁸⁰ “Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands,” *Emancipator and Republican*, Vol IX, Iss 49 (Boston, MA) 194.

the missionaries conveyed their thoughts on slavery to Native Hawaiians, in the form of discussion of proper behavior and governance practices. Furthermore, although much of the focus of the antislavery advocacy of the missionaries was on slaves in the U.S., the Hawaiian antislavery movement also encompassed the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery. This rhetoric was deployed by the missionaries in the early and mid- 1830s to literally and figuratively characterize Native Hawaiians as oppressed slaves on the basis that they were immoral; it was used as a justification for the evangelization and education efforts of the mission. This rhetoric specifically played on the conceptualization of what behaviors were proper for a *pono ali'i* and was meant to affect Native Hawaiian behavior, and especially traditional governance. The characterization of Native Hawaiians as slaves would change subtly over time; by the early 1840s, the rhetoric of Hawaiian slavery was deployed on the basis that Native Hawaiians did not own land and were thus oppressed by the *ali'i*. Within the context of the ongoing economic, political, and social transformations within Hawaiian society, many of the same arguments which were used to characterize Native Hawaiians as slaves were deployed in support of land privatization in Hawai'i, a process which would be initiated in the late 1840s as the Māhele.

Continued historical analysis of this kind will allow for a richer and deeper understanding of Hawaiian society during the mid- nineteenth century, and will expand what has been considered the traditional scope of Hawaiian history. The intersections between American and Hawaiian societies inherent in the nature of the Hawaiian antislavery movement effectively move Hawaiian history beyond the physical geographical boundaries of the islands and recasts the reactions and interactions of the missionaries and Native Hawaiians within a dynamic historical context. In this sense, the exploration of the factors

which shaped the movement and its impacts in Hawaiian and American society will enhance the existing historiography and is an essential step for gaining a better understanding of complexities Hawaiian History.

Appendix A: Sandwich Islands Mission Stations, Missionary Occupations, Companies and Arrivals: 1841—1842

Island	Station:	Name	Occupation	Company	Arrival	
Hawai'i	Kailua	Asa Thurston	Missionary	1	1820	
		Seth Andrews	Physician	8	1837	
	Kealakekua	Cochran Forbes	Missionary	5	1823	
		Mark Ives	Missionary	8	1837	
	Waimea	Lorenzo Lyons	Missionary	5	1823	
	Hilo	David Lyman	Missionary	5	1823	
		Titus Coan	Missionary	7	1835	
		Abner Wilcox	Teacher	8	1837	
	Kohala	Elias Bond	Missionary	9	1841	
	Wai'ōhinu	John Paris	Missionary	9	1841	
Maui	Lāhaina	Dwight Baldwin	Missionary	4	1831	
	Lāhainaluna	Lorrin Andrews	Missionary	3	1828	
		Ephraim Clark	Missionary	3	1828	
		Sheldon Dibble	Missionary	4	1831	
	Wailuku	Jonathan Green	Missionary	3	1828	
		Edmund Bailey	Teacher	8	1837	
	Hana	Daniel Conde	Missionary	8	1837	
		William Rice	Missionary	9	1841	
Moloka'i	Kalua'aha	Harvey Hitchcock	Missionary	5	1823	
O'ahu	Honolulu	Richard Armstrong	Missionary	5	1823	
		Lowell Smith	Missionary	6	1833	
		Gerrit Judd	Physician	3	1828	
		Levi Chamberlain	Superintendent	2	1823	
		Samuel Castle	Superintendent	8	1837	
		Amos Cooke	Teacher	8	1837	
		Horton Knapp	Teacher	8	1837	
		Edwin Hall	Printer	7	1835	
		Edmund Rogers	Printer	5	1823	
		Henry Dimond	Bookbinder	7	1835	
		Daniel Dole	Teacher	9	1841	
		Punahou	Artemas Bishop	Missionary	2	1823
		'Ewa	John Emerson	Missionary	5	1823
	Edwin Locke		Teacher	8	1837	
	Waialua	Benjamin Parker	Missionary	6	1833	
	Kauai	Waimea	Samuel Whitney	Missionary	1	1820
		Kōloa	Peter Gulick	Missionary	3	1828
Wai'oli		William Alexander	Missionary	5	1823	
		Edward Johnson	Teacher	8	1837	

Bethuel Munn (Kalua'aha, Moloka'i; Teacher; Company 8) and Isaac Bliss (Kohala, Hawai'i; Missionary; Company 8) returned to the US in December of 1841; Elias Bond, Daniel Dole, John Paris and William Rice arrived in Hawai'i in May of 1841. Gerrit Judd is employed by the Hawaiian Government but is still counted as a missionary until 1842.

There are 17 stations, 25 missionaries, 2 physicians, 2 Secular Superintendants, 7 teachers, 2 printers, 1 book binder, 40 female assistant missionaries; a total of 79 people associated with the Sandwich Islands Mission 1841-1842.

 Member of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society according to the printed version of the constitution

 Employed by the Hawaiian Government

 Former member who wants his name to be taken off the constitution

 Former member of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society, according to the handwritten version of the constitution

Source: ABCFM. Annual Reports, 1837 to 1841. Found in *The Missionary Herald*.

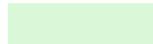
Appendix B: Sandwich Islands Mission Companies, Missionary Presence in Hawai'i and Participation in the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society: 1841-1842

1st Company (Mar. 30, 1820)	2nd Company (Apr. 27, 1823)	3rd Company (Mar. 30, 1828)	4th Company (June 7, 1831)	5th Company (May 17, 1832)	6th Company (May 1, 1833)	7th Company (June 6, 1835)	8th Company (Apr. 9, 1837)	9th Company (May 21,1841)
H. Bingham L. Chamberlain T. Holman E. Loomis S. Ruggles A. Thurston S. Whitney	A. Bishop A. Blatchely L. Chamberlain J. Ely J. Goodrich W. Richards C. Stewart	L. Andrews E. Clark J. Green P. Gulick G. Judd M. Ogden S. Shepard	D. Baldwin S. Dibble A. Johnstone R. Tinker	W. Alexander R. Armstrong A. Chapin J. Emerson C. Forbes H. Hitchcock D. Lyman L. Lyons E. Rogers E. Spaulding	J. Diell L. Fuller B. Parker L. Smith	L. Brown T. Coan H. Dimond E. Hall	S. Andrews E. Bailey I. Bliss S. Castle D. Conde A. Cooke M. Ives E. Johnson H. Knapp T. Lafon E. Locke C. McDonald B. Munn M. Smith W. Van Duzee A. Wilcox	E. Bond D. Dole J. Paris W. Rice

From Missionary Herald and Annual report citation



Left or died by 1841



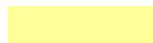
Member of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society according to the printed version of the constitution



Single female assistant missionary



Employed by the Hawaiian Government



Former member who wants his name to be taken off the constitution



Former member of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society according to the handwritten version of the constitution



Not a member of the Hawaiian Anti-Slavery Society according to both versions of the constitution

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