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SOJOURNERS AMONG STRANGERS: THE FIRST TWO COMPANIES OF
MISSIONARIES TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

University of Hawaii

PH.D.

1986

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SOJOURNERS AMONG STRANGERS:
THE FIRST TWO COMPANIES OF MISSIONARIES
TO THE SANDWICH ISLANDS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN HISTORY

MAY 1986

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ABSTRACT

The first two companies of missionaries under the sponsorship of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions arrived in Hawaii, then known as the Sandwich Islands, in 1820 and 1823, respectively. There has been a certain amount of controversy surrounding the motivation these people had to migrate to Hawaii. The religious apologists of the nineteenth century attributed the venture to evangelism, genuine concern for the heathen, and the desire to hasten the Second Coming of Christ. Later, twentieth century historians presented a less spiritual frame of mind as they discussed the contemporary economic situation in New England, the American enthusiasm for manifest destiny, and/or the economic success many missionaries and their descendents enjoyed in Hawaii.

None of these theories represents an adequate explanation for the migration of the twenty-seven members of the first two missionary companies to Hawaii. Rather, the choice to migrate was due to four primary factors. First, a theology within the Calvinist tradition which emphasized the necessity of a "disinterested benevolence" with the result that the individual not only received God's saving grace, but acted upon it. Second, each individual underwent a significant converting experience during the Second Great Awakening, and this experience changed the recipient's life. Third, the establishment of an institution to sponsor American missionary activity, i.e., the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions founded in 1810. Fourth, the choice of the

individuals involved to become foreign missionaries, and their perception of both the missionary role and the abilities of their potential converts. Other factors, such as secular career opportunities, the New England economy, and/or patriotism played only a minor role in the commitment of these individuals to the mission field in Hawaii.

Primary sources are provided by the letters and journals of the missionaries who arrived in Hawaii in 1820 and 1823. Material related to Calvinist theology, the Puritan experience with the American Indians, and the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions relies heavily on secondary sources. However, these sources are interwoven with primary material both from the missionaries and from other contemporaries.

The value of this study is threefold. First, it presents material from the first two companies of missionaries to the Sandwich Islands which has not been previously available. Second, this study places the missionaries within their society in a manner which demonstrates the forces influencing their career choice. As much as possible, the individuals' responses to these intellectual and social provocations are presented in their own words. Finally, this dissertation brings the theology, institution and personalities of the American mission field in Hawaii together for the first time in one source.

There is a saying in Hawaii that the missionaries came to do good and stayed to do well. It is my contention that this adage paints an inaccurate picture of the personnel involved in the first ten years of evangelical mission in the Sandwich Islands.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM OF THE MACEDONIAN CALL

"And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us. And after he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto them." (The Acts of the Apostles 16:9-10)

The Thaddeus dropped anchor at Kailua-Kona on the big island of Hawaii on March 30, 1820. Aboard the vessel were two missionaries and twelve assistant missionaries from New England who after a voyage of five months saw their new home for the first time. The missionaries soon learned that it was a propitious time for them to bring the Christian religion to Hawaii, because the state religion had recently been overthrown by the new king, Kamehameha II (Liholiho), and the kuhina nui, Ka'ahumanu, a widow of the late king.¹

The missionaries under the leadership of the Reverend Hiram Bingham set to work with alacrity. Progress was slow, and the frustrations were many, yet only one couple, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Holman, doubted God's purpose in bringing them to the Sandwich Islands. On April 27, 1823, a second company of missionaries arrived and immediately joined their predecessors in the field. The Hawaiians said the missionaries brought the pule and the palapala, i.e., prayer and literacy, respectively. In general, the terms encompassed all aspects of Western civilization brought by the missionaries. For a number of years it was the trappings of

Western civilization that most appealed to the Hawaiians, but about 1825 the pule became popular as the high chiefs were baptized into the Christian church. By 1830 the veneer of Western civilization had begun to touch the lives of all but the most remote Hawaiian villages.

The missionaries did not bring the only outside influence to Hawaii. Europeans and Americans had interacted with Hawaiian culture since Captain James Cook arrived in the Sandwich Islands in 1778. But unlike the traders who preceded them, the missionaries were not interested in simply replenishing ship's stores and picking up a cargo before moving on. The missionaries came to bring the Hawaiians to Christ and civilization; they would not leave until that task had been accomplished.

The work and influence of the missionaries has been well documented. Accounts appear in standard histories and monographs. Among the monographs specifically devoted to missionaries, religious apologists have been overwhelmed in recent years by those who ascribe missionary zeal to economic depression in New England or to American manifest destiny.² Neither approach, however, offers a complete explanation of why the members of the first two companies of missionaries volunteered for the Sandwich Islands mission field. These explorations do not delve into the religious experience, culture, or expectations of these individuals.

If an individual simply wanted to serve God, he or she could do so in a locale closer to home. Missionary efforts were occurring among both the Indians and the unchurched on the frontier. There were opportunities to distribute Bibles, teach Sunday School or join the movements for temperance and the abolition of slavery. Drama, excitement and danger could all be found in activities that did not require severing

relationships with family, friends, and country.³

The explanation of manifest destiny is unsatisfactory, because being a missionary is not the most efficient way to occupy new territory.

Economic explanations are also questionable. Certainly New England farms were suffering, but most people chose to go west and establish new farms. A number of young men turned to business or the new professions as was the case with Levi Chamberlain and Charles Stewart who gave up these secular concerns to join the missionary band.⁴

The above reasons for an individual's choice of the missionary life offer partial explanations, but fall short of defining what being a missionary meant to people of the early nineteenth century and why a man or woman would choose such a life. The missionaries themselves seemed to harbor some doubts as to their effectiveness if not their call. Elizabeth Edwards Bishop and Charles Stewart, both members of the Second Company, are representative of the early missionaries to the Sandwich Islands and illuminate the complexity of discerning the basis of a missionary call.

II

Elizabeth Edwards was born in Marlborough, Massachusetts on June 2, 1798. Her father died when she was two years old. At the age of ten young Elizabeth went to live with friends in Boston. The girl returned to Marlborough in 1813 after her mother's death. When Elizabeth was eighteen, she studied at Bradford Academy and took up the teaching profession.

This skeleton of facts, written by Artemas Bishop, contains nothing to suggest that the orphaned Elizabeth would be accepted by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions as an assistant missionary to

the Sandwich Islands where hers would be the first adult death in the mission family. Nor is there anything to suggest the depth of spiritual anguish she would experience throughout her young adult life. Miss Edwards revealed some of her spiritual insecurity in her journal. Despite an apparent pious life "this carnal mind attends me in every action of my life; but O its dreadfully aggravated workings in regard to a particular subject. I see . . . the danger of leaning on earth, of danger feeling anything without the glory of God in view. O Lord, make me feel my dependence on thee for preservation from the guilt and power of sin."⁵

On June 4, 1822, commemorating her twenty-fifth birthday, Miss Edwards wrote of her desire "to devote the remaining years of this short life . . . exclusively to [God's] service." By September she had made an important decision; Elizabeth would spread the Gospel in foreign lands. Such a decision was easier said than done since the American Board did not send unattached females into the mission field. The day after declaring her career choice, however, Elizabeth mentioned her "dear friend," Artemas Bishop, who had been accepted into the second company of missionaries bound for the Sandwich Islands, provided he found a wife.⁶

When Artemas Bishop and Elizabeth Edwards married on November 19, 1822, their common bond was less affection for each other than love for unbelievers. Only the day before, the bride wrote the American Board's Prudential Committee, "I trust that with the glory of God in view [I have the] earnest desire that the Kingdom of Christ may be built . . . among the heathen. I have prayerfully considered the question 'Is it my duty to go to them?' Under a firm conviction that it is my duty, I hopefully offer myself." A month aboard ship did not dim Mrs. Bishop's ardor. "I

rejoice in the prospect of doing these distant islanders some good," she wrote, "My soul exults at the thought of being instrumental in raising the degraded females to the elevation which I have enjoyed." For the missionaries, the uplifting of the downtrodden was part of the Gospel message.⁷

There were times when Elizabeth Bishop felt fainthearted at the awesome task before her, and wondered if even this difficult task could end her search for the assurance of salvation. She never doubted her probable unhappiness if she failed to serve unbelievers, yet she worried that she did not really love these people as she should. "I often wonder that I feel no more for them. The Lord grant that I may be quickened."⁸ Indeed, this would be her constant lament.

III

Charles Samuel Stewart, a fellow worker in the Lord's vineyard, was born in Flemington, New Jersey, on October 16, 1795. He graduated with honors from the College of New Jersey in 1815, read law for three years with Judge Reeve in Litchfield, Connecticut, briefly studied medicine at the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, and finally returned to Princeton Theological Seminary. Stewart was ordained by the presbytery of New Brunswick on the basis of his evident piety and missionary zeal.

It was unusual for an ambitious young man to leave the law, and, suddenly, begin the study of medicine. It seems Stewart received a converting experience in Litchfield, a center of the Second Great Awakening. Apparently, the experience called him to serve his fellow men, hence the brief detour into medicine. Stewart eventually accepted a higher call to the ministry in 1819 when he was twenty-two years of age.

The call to mission took a bit longer.

Initially, Stewart resisted any thoughts of a missionary cause with the excuse that nothing in his life had prepared him for the probable hardship and deprivation of such a life. But friends and teachers continued to encourage him in this direction. Stewart gave particular credit to the influence of the Reverend Doctor Ashbel Green, president of the College of New Jersey. Stewart's "experiences upon this point were painful and conflicting for a length of time, but culminated in a perfect willingness and full resolution to give up and forsake all and go even into the uttermost parts of the earth, if it should appear to be the will of Providence."⁹ Missionary enterprise became part of his duty as a Christian minister.

"To me, the duty involved in Christian Missions to the heathen, is clear as the sun at noon-day," Stewart wrote, "to deny it is . . . at once to oppose the whole spirit and genius of our faith - as well as expressly to reject the authority of the scriptures. Unto the Gentiles the Gospel of Jesus must be preached. On whom, then, does the obligation of this necessity fall?" Reluctantly, Stewart answered that the duty fell "on those ministers of the cross . . . who can devote themselves to the work, without neglecting or forsaking a prior and superior duty, incompatible with the undertaking; and who are not disqualified by physical or other causes Of this number, after a careful, and, . . . at the time unwelcome examination, I proved myself, to my own conscience, to be one. And what reason could I plead, why an exemption should be granted to me?"¹⁰

Stewart tried to find a way of declining the call, but was unable to

do so. Finally, he gave in, just as he had given in to the call to repent and the call to ministry. "This surrender [to mission] was not made, I admit, without a struggle - not the struggle of a day - nor of an hour - but of months: and a struggle of agony too." However, after accepting his fate, Stewart knew peace.¹¹

Once the decision was made, Stewart did not look back. He was ready to welcome the rude missionary's hut if by doing so he could most "fully achieve these great ends of existence." The fact that it had taken him so long to acquiesce in God's will, gave Stewart increased confidence that he was pursuing the right cause. "Whatever I myself . . . may suffer, I am fully persuaded, that I have done right We are not on a warfare at our own charge We have engaged in this enterprise, not from a sudden impulse of unenlightened enthusiasm, but from a long process of reasoning."¹²

Stewart served at Lahaina, Maui, from 1823 to 1825 when his wife's declining health forced their return to the United States. He was a popular missionary both with the Hawaiians and the mission family. Stewart experienced great distress as he departed. Never had the field seemed so desirable to him. Leaving Hawaii "was scarce less affecting, and caused an agitation of the heart far more oppressive than any we experienced" leaving the United States in 1822.¹³ Upon his return to the United States, Stewart continued to serve the missionary cause. The Reverend Charles Samuel Stewart gave himself to God and the mission with few doubts and no regrets. Nevertheless, he later wrote that "in review of my life as a missionary abroad and agent of the Board in this country, I am humbled by a sense of shortcoming in the discharge of my duty - if

any good has been accomplished by my services it is only because the Lord worked by whom He will work and to Him only be the praise."¹⁴

IV

It is interesting that two such seemingly disparate individuals should arrive at the same career choice with the same misgivings as to their suitability for the task. Elizabeth Edwards, orphaned as a young girl, forced by circumstances to support herself turned to teaching, one of the few professions open to women. Her religious faith was real, passionate, but not particularly comforting. In an effort to earn the religious security she was looking for, Edwards willingly made what she thought was the ultimate sacrifice, yet she still lacked the assurance of salvation.

Charles Stewart probably experienced a more secure youth.¹⁵ He was a highly educated, ambitious man. Stewart was well on the way to a successful law career. Yet, something happened to make this accomplished young man stop in his tracks and choose a career offering no material advancement. Stewart zealously entered the mission field, yet, although he seemed relatively secure in his state of salvation, Stewart never felt competent at his calling. These were two individuals, approaching faith and calling from two different directions, but, neither had any confidence that he or she had fulfilled his or her obligations.

If the suggested motivations of religious calling, economic depression, manifest destiny or any combination of the three are correct, then one wonders why Elizabeth Edwards and Charles Stewart questioned either their salvation or their competency, and traveled so far with so little personal gratification.

The purpose of this study is to answer the question of why these

people chose to become missionaries in the Sandwich Islands by shedding light on the personal development of the members of the first and second missionary companies which led them first to a converting experience and then to an acceptance of the missionary call. There will also be a discussion of the preconceptions the missionaries had about both the Hawaiian people and the missionary field, how these concepts were borne out by reality, and whether the missionaries then revised their approach. These questions are important, because they not only affected the way the missionaries approached potential converts, but also when candidates were allowed to enter the church. The missionaries taught more than the gospel of Christ; they also taught New England civilization. Depending on one's point of view, missionaries either meddled or advised in Hawaiian political and economic affairs. But, their participation in these issues was but an extension of their Christian message.

This study is confined to the first two missionary companies to Hawaii, because these men and women were members of the same generation, subject to the same American trends. The third company arriving in 1828 came of age in the changed American environment of Andrew Jackson and Charles Grandison Finney. That group had a different approach to both religion and politics.

V

There were three basic components which entered into the decision to accept the missionary call to the Sandwich Islands. The first was theological. The legacy of Calvinism and the Reformed tradition shaped the world view of the majority of Christians in New England. Jonathan Edwards exerted the most influence on the development of that tradition in

America. Edwards set the tone for both an acceptable converting experience and an active Christian life in which the truly converted merged his will with God's in utter selflessness. Edwards' disciples continued these two themes until, under the leadership of Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher, they became a justification for both missionary activity and social reform. This Calvinist theological tradition provided the theoretical underpinning for the Second Great Awakening with its emphasis on building God's Kingdom on earth in preparation for the millennium.

The second component in the missionary call was the development of institutions to support the missionary enterprise both physically and conceptually. Early Puritan missionary activity among the Indians, though markedly unsuccessful, set the tone for future missionary work among both the Indians and the Hawaiians. Evangelism was not facilitated by the apprehension New Englanders felt toward those who were so different in their appearance and lifestyle. Accounts of the early missionaries among the Indians were widely read during the early nineteenth century. The romantic Diary of David Brainerd was especially popular, and many potential missionaries adopted Brainerd's expressions to describe their own experience.

Despite the interest in evangelism, there was not a physical institution devoted to the missionary enterprise until the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810. For institutional example the American Board looked to the London Missionary Society founded in 1795. Though the American Board kept its separate identity clear, the level of cooperation between the two societies was

high. In 1812 the American Board sent their first company of missionaries to Asia. Soon American Christians could read of their own missionaries as well as Britain's.

The existence of theological structure and institutional development however, does not explain why people chose to enter the mission field. Only the individuals, themselves, can do that. The focus of this study is the men and women who volunteered for the first two companies of missionaries to Hawaii. As much as possible, this is their story as they and their contemporaries perceived it. Other studies of the period have generally overlooked the human aspect of missionary activity, in part, because of the difficulty our twentieth century secular minds have in comprehending the religiosity of early nineteenth century New England. Nevertheless, it is people who utilize both their institutions and their intellectual antecedents as they shape their environment. It is only through the discovery of the personal development of the missionaries that we can begin to understand why they chose such a career and how they interacted with the Hawaiians.

VI

As much as possible the missionaries and other major figures will be presented in their own words. For the most part, spelling and punctuation have been left as they originally appeared. In keeping with the spirit of a section, terms such as "savage" or "heathen" may be used, because these were the terms in use at the time. Each chapter opens with a biblical quotation from the King James Bible. This provides not only continuity within the essay, but also some continuity with the missionaries who were steeped in biblical explanations for virtually all occasions.

The study begins with a discussion of the personal lives of the missionaries. This serves to introduce the reader to the subjects as people before meeting them as religious zealots. The next chapter provides the theological underpinnings which are brought into play as the missionaries describe their own conversion experiences in chapter four. Chapter five is a discussion of the development of the concepts, precedents and institutions of the cause of missions in the early nineteenth century. In chapter six the emphasis returns to the subjects as they struggle with their own concepts and experiences of the missionary life. The study ends in 1830 when the initial work was done and before the flavor of the mission changes with the addition of the third company in 1828. These later missionaries were greatly influenced by the "new measures" they had learned from Charles Grandison Finney.

Not all the missionaries receive equal attention in this study. Omissions are due to a subject's failure to write much of either a personal or a public nature. The contrast between the Reverend Hiram Bingham who left voluminous material and the Reverend Asa Thurston who left few letters and no journals is an example of why some names occur more frequently than others. All the twenty-seven missionaries in the first two companies are included in the appendix.

ENDNOTES

1. For a full discussion of the early contact period, see Harold W. Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii (Gloucester MA: Peter Smith, 1968); Gavan Daws, Shoal of Time (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1982); Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1978), vol. I.
2. For general accounts, see Bradley; Daws; Kuykendall. Apologists include Samuel C. Bartlett, Historical Sketch of the Missions of the American Board in the Sandwich Islands, Micronesia and Marquesas (1876; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972); Oliver W. Elsbree, The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America (1928; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1980); Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" in History of American Missions to the Heathen from their Commencement to the Present Time (Worcester MA: Spooner & Howland, 1840). For a focus on the political and economic motivations of missionaries, see Aarne A. Koskinen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands (Helsinki: 1953); Clifton J. Phillips, Protestant America and the Pagan World (Boston: Harvard East Asian Monographs, 1969). Institutional motivations for the entire missionary enterprise are discussed by John A. Andrew, Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976). Hiram Bingham's personal, non-religious motivations for mission are discussed by Char Miller, Fathers and Sons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), chapter 1.
3. See Andrew; Alice F. Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (1944; reprint, New York: Harper & Row, 1962).
4. Information on Charles Stewart and Levi Chamberlain is contained in this study.
5. Elizabeth Bishop, Journal, April 4, 1822, Journal Collection (hereinafter referred to as JC), Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu HI (hereinafter referred to as HMCSL).
6. Ibid., June 4, 1822 and Sept. 3, 1822.
7. Elizabeth Edwards, Letters of Candidacy, Missionary Letters (hereinafter referred to as ML), HMCSL; Elizabeth Edwards to the Prudential Committee, Nov. 8, 1822, ML, HMCSL; Elizabeth Edwards to Mrs. G. Thomas, Dec. 16, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
8. Elizabeth Edwards, Journal, Jan. 22, 1823, JC, HMCSL.

9. Charles Stewart, Letters of Candidacy; Charles Stewart to the Prudential Committee Nov. 1, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
10. Charles Stewart, Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands 1823-1825, (1830; reprint, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1970), p. 44.
11. Ibid., p. 45.
12. Ibid., pp. 42-43.
13. Ibid., pp. 401, 403.
14. Charles Stewart to Jeremiah Evarts, June 8, 1829, ML, HMCSL.
15. There is no information on Stewart's earliest years. This supposition is based on the fact that Stewart had the means to obtain a good education. Such means were usually provided by parents.

CHAPTER II

THE TIES THAT BIND

"Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together."
(Psalms 133:1)

The early missionaries to the Sandwich Islands shared a deep commitment to God and to the conversion of the heathen which involved them in an evangelical network of family, friendship and school ties. The work of Erik H. Erikson has demonstrated how important early family relationships can be.¹ The child first develops the sense of trust and the relationship to authority during his or her early years. This relationship affects his or her later religious and/or ideological proclivities. Those from an authoritarian home are more inclined towards an authoritarian religion such as Calvinism. A few of the young missionaries, however, suffered less from an authoritarian home than from the loss of one or both parents either through death or absence. Such loss might make the strict parental aspect of a Calvinist God and/or the familial aspect of the converted appealing.

Some of the missionaries came from loving homes and were influenced by the ties of friendship or sibling affection in their choices of Calvinism and the missionary life. Friendships in the early nineteenth century were as binding as blood ties, sometimes more so.² Within the circle of the converted, ties of friendship formed at school seemed especially strong.

While relationships with family and friends exercised great influence over the missionary's initial commitment to God and His work, the tie of marriage was a key factor in his or her ability to fulfill that commitment. During the early years the American Board refused to accept single female missionaries, but was more ambiguous as to the marital state of male missionaries. Some mission fields, for example, those in the Middle East, were considered too dangerous for women. Other fields, such as the Sandwich Islands, required that missionaries be married. The London Missionary Society had encountered some difficulty with sending single male missionaries to the Society Islands, and the American Board thought it advisable to deflect temptation wherever possible. In addition, by bringing families the missionaries would not only indicate their intention to settle peaceably, but would also provide the example of Christian homes. On a more practical note, the women would care for their husbands' needs, freeing the men for their work. Female assistant missionaries would also be able to instruct native women.

The marriages, generally contracted on short notice, were remarkably successful. Levi Chamberlain who served in the Sandwich Islands as a bachelor lamented his conjugal loneliness until his own marriage in 1828.

An individual's relationship of marriage, family and friendships has much to do with his or her character formation and the choices he or she makes. These bonds are an integral part of an individual's personal development and his or her ability to relate to others. Hence they cannot be overlooked in seeking to understand why twenty-seven young adults chose to serve as missionaries in the Sandwich Islands.

II

Six of the missionaries experienced the loss of one or both parents before reaching maturity either through death or separation from the family, and were faced with the necessity of supporting themselves. Elizabeth Edwards Bishop lost her father when she was two years old. When the child was ten, she was sent to live with family friends in Boston; five years later Elizabeth's mother died. Nevertheless, Miss Edwards was able to attend Bradford Academy to train for the teaching profession.³

Sybil Moseley Bingham also lost both her parents, though not until she was nineteen. As the eldest, Miss Moseley had to support herself and contribute to the support of her two younger sisters, who stayed with relatives while she taught school in Canandaigua, New York.

Levi Chamberlain lost his father in 1800 when he was eight years old. Young Levi was sent to Boston the following year to live with his uncle, Richard Chamberlain. Levi Chamberlain trained for a career in business and entered into the partnership of Chamberlain and Holbrook in 1817. The mercantile business was a success, earning Chamberlain about \$1000.00 annually. Chamberlain was also frugal and at the time he joined the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he made a \$3500.00 donation to that organization.⁴

Lucia Ruggles Holman and her brother, Samuel Ruggles, lost their parents when she was fifteen, and he, thirteen. Isaac Ruggles, another brother, took in Samuel, and, presumably, his sister. Miss Ruggles became a teacher and opened a school in Cooperstown, New York. Brother Samuel Ruggles attended Yale College, but dropped out due to poor health. Ruggles also became a teacher, accepting a position at the Foreign Mission

School operated by the American Board at Cornwall, Connecticut, for the education of heathen youth.⁵

Samuel Whitney's father was away at sea during most of the youngster's childhood, and Mrs. Whitney had some difficulty controlling her youngest child. Whitney would later confess that as a boy he had broken his mother's "restraints, became disobedient and wicked Few of my mates plunged deeper into sin than myself." Mrs. Whitney died when Samuel was fourteen, and the lad went to live with an elder sister in Northfield, Massachusetts where he completed an apprenticeship to a shoemaker. Within that pious family young Samuel became acquainted with his cousin, the Reverend Eli Smith who later became a missionary to Palestine. Samuel Whitney made a public profession of faith in 1814 when he was twenty-one.⁶

Lucy Goodale Thurston enjoyed a comfortable childhood. Her father, Abner Goodale, was a substantial farmer in Marlborough, Massachusetts, and a deacon in the church. At an early age Lucy Goodale displayed an independence unusual for young ladies at this time. Miss Goodale observed that while boys doing farm work were paid for their labors, girls were not, and resented the fact that boys were given vocational training, but girls were expected to marry. Lucy Goodale rejected such future plans, and entered Bradford Academy with her father's blessing. Upon graduation, Miss Goodale opened a school about six miles away from her father's house.⁷

Lucy Goodale had an extremely close relationship with her sister, Persis. The two attended Bradford Academy together; then, in the summer of 1819, Persis Goodale married a Mr. Parkhurst and moved away. Lucy

was intensely lonely after her sister's departure. "The dear solitary chamber that I occupy witnessed my grief, while I walked from side to side, or watered my pillow with my tears. I applied to the fountain of all grace and consolation for support, sacredly devoting all my leisure hours to the study of the Will of the Supreme. Here my sorrows were assuaged."⁸

Hiram Bingham came from a large family and was the seventh of thirteen children. Four of the Bingham brothers moved from the family farm at Bennington, Vermont, to build their own farms in nearby Onondaga County, New York. Amos Bingham became a minister. The family expected Hiram to care for the elder Bingham's and take over the paternal farm. Hiram Bingham's plans changed, however, when he was twenty-two. Bingham received a converting experience and decided to prepare for the ministry. When Bingham graduated from Middlebury College in 1816, his brother, Amos, drew his attention to the Hawaiian youths studying at the Foreign Mission School and urged him to return with them to Hawaii. Hiram, however, declined the opportunity in order to pursue his studies at Andover Theological Seminary. The Reverend Amos Bingham approached his brother again in 1819. This time Hiram Bingham accepted the call.⁹

Betsey Stockton was born into slavery. Miss Stockton's owner was a Mr. Robert Stockton of Princeton, New Jersey. When Stockton's daughter, Elizabeth, married the Reverend Ashbel Green, Stockton gave her Betsey. At this time Betsey was thirteen or fourteen.

The Green family moved to Philadelphia, but Betsey became unmanageable in the city, and Green sent her to live with his niece's family at Princeton. In 1816 the Greens returned to Princeton where Green served as

president of the College of New Jersey, and Betsey Stockton rejoined the household. When Betsey Stockton was twenty years old, Green freed the young woman and hired her as a domestic servant.

Betsey Stockton was baptized into the First Presbyterian Church at Princeton in 1817 or 1818, and expressed a desire to serve as a missionary in Africa. When Charles Stewart accepted the missionary call, his acquaintance with the Greens led to an invitation for Betsey Stockton to accompany the Stewarts to the Sandwich Islands. Miss Stockton would serve as both an assistant missionary and an assistant to Mrs. Harriet Stewart, a frail woman who could not bear the rigors of missionary life without aid.¹⁰

III

The American Board's marriage requirement for missionaries serving in the Sandwich Islands presented some difficulties for aspiring candidates since most of the young men had been too occupied in educational pursuits to expend much time and energy courting suitable young women. Matchmakers in the form of ministers and family members appeared with some success, though just as often the couples met by happenstance and learned of their mutual interest in foreign missions. The marriages turned out to be successful, and many were even passionate.

Finding a wife was an unexpected obstacle to Hiram Bingham's missionary career. The young man had a fiancée, Sarah Shepard, but her father, the Reverend Samuel Shepard, refused to allow his daughter to travel so far from home to a life of such uncertainty. Miss Shepard wrote Bingham that she was willing to go, but for her parent's opposition. "'Is not this a plain intimation,'" Sarah Shepard asked, "'that providence

desires to employ another & not me in the good work in Owhyee?"¹¹

Bingham was in a difficult situation. The American Board required that the missionaries be married men, and he had no prospects. Then, on the day of his ordination, Hiram Bingham met Sybil Moseley, a young woman not only interested in the missionary cause, but willing to leave within the month. The marriage was a success. Bingham later remarked that God had brought him a woman "he chose himself and bade me take her with a thankful heart, and always to remember that God hears prayer. For he had prepared her and her friends to bless the mission with her aid."¹²

Miss Moseley had had several suitors. One of those with whom the young Sybil had apparently been in love, was Reuben Clapp who died while a student at Yale College. Sybil Moseley was later engaged to Levi Parsons, an American Board missionary assigned to Palestine, but the American Board then decided that since Palestine was under Turkish control, it was too dangerous to send women, and the engagement was broken.¹³

Hiram Bingham was Sybil Moseley's third serious suitor. On her birthday, September 14, 1819, Sybil Moseley confided her hopes that God "would open the door for me among the heathen."¹⁴ On September 29th, fifteen days later, the prayer was answered. Miss Moseley attended the ordination of Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston at Goshen, Connecticut. Bingham proposed about three days after meeting Miss Moseley, and she accepted. "Memory," Mrs. Bingham later wrote, "loves to run back to the time when a stranger . . . I first received the affectionate hand of my dear Mr. B."¹⁵

Despite the brief courtship, the marriage thrived. Aboard the Thaddeus Bingham wrote that he "had a bosom companion of singular

excellence & eminently qualified to fill the Station of Missionary wife & whose talents, feelings, manners & habits are peculiarly adapted to the promotion of my happiness and usefulness." On a more personal level, the new husband confided that "every week acquaintance during five months of the closest intimacy resulted in an increase of natural attachment & served to confirm my sanguine hopes & to raise in my estimate this sweetest earthly comfort Few indeed must be the cases of alliance where mutual confidence is more unreserved & natural kindness more uninterrupted . . . we are each both the subject and the object of as much social affection as it is safe for any mortal to be."¹⁶

Ten years later Sybil Bingham wrote that she thought her comforts in the marriage had been many. "I have thought them of no ordinary kind," Mrs. Bingham emphasized, "I have thought that to few, even favored Christian women, were they given in equally rich measure."¹⁷ Mrs. Bingham bore seven children. Two of these died in infancy, one of whom was called Levi Parsons.

Bingham's classmate at Andover Theological Seminary, Asa Thurston, was also looking for an appropriate bride. Fortunately, William Goodell, a fellow student and member of the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Foreign Missions who later served as a missionary in Malta, knew a likely young lady, his cousin, Lucy Goodale. Goodell had often discussed the subject of foreign missions with his cousin, and with some confidence immediately proceeded to gain approval for the match from Miss Goodale's father, Deacon Abner Goodale. Goodell then approached Miss Goodale. Coincidentally, the subject of marriage was broached just three weeks after Persis Goodale Parkhurst had moved away from her sister, Lucy.

William Goodell approached his cousin in an indirect manner, indicating that the purpose of his call was simply to inform Miss Goodale that the mission to the Sandwich Islands would be departing from Boston within the next four to six weeks. He dwelt upon the topic "with interest and feeling . . . now and then [Lucy Goodale] saw the tear start in [William Goodell's] eye." Lucy Goodale wrote that her cousin's "conversation and appearance made me tremble. At length, having prepared my mind, the proposition was made." Goodell inquired whether his cousin would join the mission by marrying a stranger. "Now," Lucy Goodale confided to her journal, "I feel the need of guidance. Oh, that Persis were here!" Miss Goodale consented to meet with Asa Thurston at her father's house as Thurston traveled to Goshen, Connecticut for his ordination in a week's time. If the couple disliked each other, no one would be the wiser.¹⁸

Lucy Goodale struggled with her decision as to the missionary call. "The subject has been to my mind utterly overwhelming, and I all alone during this season of conflict I have no confidential friend near me to whom I can unfold my feelings."¹⁹ Ultimately, she accepted the call. "If God will grant me His grace, & afford an acceptable opportunity Lucy & all that is hers, should be given to the noble enterprise."²⁰ Miss Goodale also accepted Thurston's proposal. William Goodell gladly offered his services in outfitting Thurston's fiancée with the necessities of a departing missionary.

Elisha Loomis met his bride, Maria Sartwell, by chance as he journeyed through Utica, New York on his way to bid farewell to the Loomis family before departing for Hawaii. Loomis and Miss Sartwell discovered that

they not only shared a common interest in foreign missions, but also in the making of books. Loomis was trained as a printer and Miss Sartwell worked for the firm, Seward and Williams, folding books. Elisha Loomis was "pleased with [Maria Sartwell] at first sight." When Loomis inquired as to Miss Sartwell's character and qualifications for mission work, he learned that the young lady had spoken of her desire to participate in the Sandwich Island mission, and he heard good accounts of her disposition, attainments in human and divine knowledge, piety and zeal. "I have now spent several days with her -- could not be more pleased with a person. She is satisfied with me."²¹ The marriage proved to be a happy one.

Elisha Loomis concluded that "marriage is one of the greatest blessings of life," and the bride discovered she had a "kind and affectionate partner" who cared for her as a nurse during her confinement.²² There would be five children; the eldest, Levi, was the first white child born in Hawaii.

Mercy Partridge and Samuel Whitney met with the aid of ministerial matchmaking. In response to an apparent inquiry by the Reverend Eleazer Fitch, Reverend Heman Humphrey described his parishioner, Mercy Partridge, as a pious church member with a deep interest in the missionary cause. Nevertheless, while many might find Miss Partridge well-suited to the missionary call, Humphrey remained unconvinced of her commitment. Humphrey did, however, offer to introduce Miss Partridge to Mr. Whitney, and suggested that the young woman would probably agree to go to Hawaii if Whitney met with her approval.²³ The couple married a month later, on October 4, 1819.

James Ely met his wife while he worked for the Foreign Mission School. Louisa Metcalf grew up in Cornwall, Connecticut. With the

presence of the Foreign Mission School in the town, Miss Metcalf and her parents must have been familiar with the cause of foreign missions. Yet, it took James Ely two years to convince Miss Metcalf's mother to allow the couple to marry and serve as missionaries. The delay meant that the newlyweds traveled with the second rather than the first missionary company to Hawaii.²⁴

Elizabeth Edwards was delighted with her intended, Artemas Bishop, not only because he enabled her to become an assistant missionary, but also for his own self. "To me it is a solemn thought to give myself away for life. I have every reason to [think] that it will be a happy union. The most important events will be suspended on such a union."²⁵ Mrs. Bishop confided her happiness with the marriage to her journal. "Through night, through day, one form rises to view in the form of my dear bosom friend." Bishop was away at the time, and Elizabeth Bishop implored an indulgent God to "protect, preserve, bless, return to my waiting heart my dear husband, my soul's delight, support and joy."²⁶

Artemas Bishop also regarded the marriage with anticipation. "The more I reflect, the more I am persuaded, I cannot live happily without you," Bishop wrote his fiancée, "I pray God I may not dote upon you too much."²⁷

Elizabeth Edwards Bishop died February 21, 1828, after a lingering and painful illness, the first adult death in the mission family. The widower was distraught, but resigned to God's will. "Yet I will rejoice in the lord, tho his hand has been laid heavily upon me, tho the wife of my youth and the desire of my eyes has been removed from my sight."²⁸

Bishop was left with two small children at an isolated mission.

station. When the Parthian docked in March, 1828, it carried the third missionary company which included three single women. It is not surprising that Bishop courted one of these women, Delia Stone, and married her December 1, 1828. "I am happy to assure you," Bishop wrote the American Board, "that . . . she is worthy to bear the name and fill the place of one who has laid it aside."²⁹ In retrospect, Bishop could look back upon the year 1828 and see the positive side of his afflictions. If Elizabeth Bishop had not died, Bishop might have been forced to return to the United States for an indefinite period. Or, Bishop might have been condemned to a life of widowhood. But, with the new Mrs. Bishop by his side, Bishop could carry out his "desire to dedicate the remainder of my life to the service of God."³⁰

As important as the American Board believed the marital state would be to the missionaries serving the Sandwich Islanders, one marriage proved to be the cause of no little disquiet among the mission family. Dr. Thomas Holman and his wife, Lucia Ruggles Holman, loved each other far more than missionary service, and perhaps more than they loved God. Lucia Ruggles taught school in Cooperstown, New York, where Dr. Holman opened his first medical practice. The couple wanted to marry. Indeed, Miss Ruggles at the age of twenty-six was already considered to be a spinster and might not have another suitor. The nuptial plans, however, had to be postponed indefinitely due to Thomas Holman's many creditors.

Miss Ruggles' brother, Samuel Ruggles, taught at the Foreign Mission School and had been accepted as an assistant missionary to the Sandwich Islands. However, the missionary company still lacked a physician. Then, in February 1819 the first reference to Lucia Ruggles' missionary

inclinations appears in a letter from her brother, Isaac Ruggles. "I am glad to hear you speak so feelingly of the poor heathen," Isaac Ruggles wrote, "I think you say you are almost persuaded to give yourself up to go with our dear brother as a missionary."³¹

The following month Samuel Ruggles wrote his sister, Lucia, "I am much pleased with your feelings relative to missionary life. I had rather see you a little doubtful than too sanguine at first. I am confident that you have feelings and zeal, which with proper cultivation, would arrive to that standard which would render you eminently useful to the benighted daughters of Babylon."³² More appealing than the mission, however, was the fact that the American Board would pay Holman's debts. The Holmans married and engaged in what the other missionaries judged as an excessively carnal relationship. Daniel Chamberlain witnessed the "gay levity of their fawning honeymoon" when he gave the newlyweds a ride from Brookfield, Connecticut to Boston.³³ Shortly thereafter, Holman carried his wife to the boat that would ferry them to the Thaddeus rather than allow her to wade as the other women did.³⁴ But this was not the end of the Holmans' public, physical contact.

Public displays of affection were offensive to New England evangelical sensibilities, and the Holmans' conduct during the voyage offended all the other missionaries, most of whom were also newlyweds. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston later testified that while aboard the Thaddeus the Holmans were "practising & justifying the most sickening familiarity in the cabin & on deck, which not only excited the disgust of every passenger, & officer, & sailor on board, but subjected themselves to the rebuke of the simplest hearted heathen boys born in a land where indecent familiarity is

fashionable."³⁵

Lucia Holman had a different point of view. The bride found Dr. Holman to be "a kind husband, a faithful friend, & a pious & intelligent companion" who attended to all her wants. Mrs. Holman also commented that "in the eyes of some of our brethren, [my husband] has been kind to a fault, who have thought were he less attentive to my wants I should put more confidence in my own strength."³⁶

It is possible that Bingham and Thurston were overstating their case, but there is no doubt that the Holman's continued infatuation with each other destroyed the mission family's harmony. When the Thaddeus arrived in the Sandwich Islands on April 4, 1820, King Kamehameha II granted the missionaries permission to stay for one year, because the king wanted their educational and medical expertise. In particular, the king wanted the group's physician to remain with the court. Bingham and Thurston drew lots to determine who would remain with the Holmans on the island of Hawaii, while the others proceeded to Honolulu on Oahu. The Thurstons and the Holmans remained with the Hawaiian court.

Lucia Holman had never been as enamored with the missionary enterprise as she was with her husband, and Kailua-Kona did not offer an even remotely hospitable environment. The area was dry and hot with little available water. Mrs. Holman had expected to be stationed with the Ruggles, not the taciturn Thurstons.³⁷ Later, Bingham and Thurston reported that Mrs. Holman immediately stated that she "did not find things here as I expected -- I do not feel for the heathen in being among them as I formerly did -- reading or hearing of their miseries." Mrs. Holman indicated that if any of the missionaries continued to "possess that

self-denying spirit which is necessary to live among [the heathen] & do them good, I am glad of it. It is for them to do the work — But as for myself I do not possess these feelings & consequently cannot be useful among them." As far as Lucia Holman was concerned, she would "embrace the first opportunity to return to my native land."³⁸

Realizing his bride's reluctance to remain at such a barren location, Holman promised her that if after a trial period she was still unhappy, they would move to Oahu or some other pleasing location.³⁹ Lucia Holman's health began to decline and her husband feared she might develop heart trouble. According to Dr. Holman, his wife also suffered mental anguish from the lack of fresh water and general privations.⁴⁰ Lucia Holman "plead that if she might leave this place, she would be willing to live awhile without any society, provided she could have water and a few fresh provisions."⁴¹

Concerned, Dr. Holman asked Kamehameha II for permission to move to Oahu. The king, wary of the growing foreign community at Honolulu, ordered the Holmans to Maui. The couple moved without receiving the approval of the mission family. The relocation of the Holmans was met with extreme displeasure by the other missionaries. In view of various other altercations, the issue of Lucia Holman's health was considered a flimsy excuse for leaving their assigned station, even by her brother.⁴²

An angry Lucia Holman asked Samuel Ruggles what he meant by accusing her husband of failing to provide her with wise and judicious counsel. "Why make this singular assertion before you know whether my expectations have, or have not, in this respect been answered? My right has never been denied me, but is more, & greater than I could hope or ask for." The

young wife continued, "I cannot be grateful enough . . . to God for so dear, so kind, so affectionate a friend [who] sympathizes with me in sickness and sorrow and . . . all my privations here on this barren soil." Were it not for Dr. Holman's concern for his wife, he would have remained at Kailua-Kona.⁴³

The Oahu brethren remained unconvinced. Prior to the relocation, Samuel Whitney and others had tried to dissuade Dr. Holman from his intention. They argued that such a move indicated that Holman did not trust God and that he placed his wife's health above the mission.⁴⁴ In response, Lucia Holman exclaimed that those who claimed missionaries must sacrifice their lives and health for the sake of Christ "know not what it is to be sick, know not how to feel for those who are."⁴⁵

Eventually both Lucia and Thomas Holman were excommunicated from the church at Honolulu and left Hawaii aboard the whaleship, Mentor, on July 30, 1820. The couple's absorption with each other was probably a major reason for their dismissal; it was an affection which the others considered too carnal, too worldly for those seeking to labor in the Lord's vineyard.

IV

Although all the newly wedded missionaries soon had families, only one couple traveled to the mission field with a well-established family in tow. Daniel and Jerusha Chamberlain brought five children from the ages of one to twelve, to the Sandwich Islands. In many ways the senior Chamberlains served as the parents or older siblings for the rest of the mission family.⁴⁶ Their greater experience of life and faith made the Chamberlains a center of calm in the confusion of the Holman affair.

Daniel Chamberlain exercised a steadying influence on the young men of the mission while Jerusha Chamberlain provided practical advice for the new wives and mothers.

The two oldest Chamberlain children, Dexter and Nathan, studied at the Foreign Mission School before their departure and became fluent in the Hawaiian language. Aboard the Thaddeus the boys assisted in the supervision of supplies. Upon arrival in Hawaii, Nathan stayed with the Whitneys on the island of Kauai and Dexter with the Thurstons on the island of Hawaii. The boys provided translation services and general assistance at these missionary stations.

The youngest child, Nancy, was still nursing at the time the Thaddeus arrived. A prominent female chief was especially attracted by the infant and suggested that as a sign of good faith, the child should be lent to her. The chief promised to return Nancy to her mother the next day. After prayerful consideration, Mrs. Chamberlain let the chief take the child, but Nancy was not returned for several days.⁴⁷ The Hawaiians became so attached to young Nancy that they brought frequent gifts of hogs for her, and so provided the greater part of the food supply at the Honolulu station through 1821.⁴⁸

The presence of the children, however, also created severe problems for the Chamberlains which, in conjunction with Daniel Chamberlain's debilitating rheumatism, would force their unexpected return to the United States. The problem of the children became notable in 1822 when Jerusha Chamberlain discovered her eldest son, Dexter, teaching a Hawaiian girl the game of tic-tac-toe. Dexter's mother suddenly realized the temptations her sons must face in this heathen land. Mrs. Chamberlain was

also concerned about her daughter, Mary, playing with the Hawaiian children. Hawaiians matured early and were uninhibited about that process; girls of Mary's age often slept with sailors. Mary suddenly found herself separated from her Hawaiian friends.⁴⁹

In January 1822 the Chamberlains presented their concerns to the mission family. As it happened an English deputation was visiting the American missionaries from their station at the Society Islands. The English missionaries were especially concerned about the Chamberlain children in view of the problems they had encountered with missionary children in the Society Islands. The English deputation was certain that the American Board would concur with their opinion that the Chamberlains return to America if the Prudential Committee of the American Board was "in these islands to witness the habits & manners of the inhabitants; which cannot but have the most injurious effect upon the principles & conduct of those whose characters are to be formed under the influences of such scenes as daily present themselves in these heathen lands."⁵⁰

The mission family recommended that in view of Daniel Chamberlain's physical decline, the impossibility of his serving in his assigned capacity as an agriculturalist, and "the extreme difficulty of providing suitably for the education, employment and settlement of [the Chamberlain] children without returning with them to their native country, and consideration of the kind and deliberate advice of the English Missionary Deputation," that the Chamberlains should be given full liberty to return to the United States.⁵¹

V

It was as unusual for the American Board to assign single persons to

the missionary field in the Sandwich Islands as it was to assign established families. During the early years, only two individuals arrived unaccompanied by a spouse, Levi Chamberlain (no relation to Daniel Chamberlain) and Betsey Stockton. The single state proved to be one of loneliness.

Levi Chamberlain was assigned to the tasks of accountant and secular agent for the Sandwich Islands mission on the basis of his experience in business. Chamberlain's duties entailed frequent travel between the islands. There was also the possibility of travel to the Society Islands or the northwest coast of North America. In such an assignment, a wife would be an encumbrance. Commissioner Rufus Anderson advised Chamberlain that he would be "more useful & quite as happy, on the whole, without a wife, than [he] would be with one. It will require an experiment of at least five years, to prove my expectations to be ill founded." Anderson further noted that "the two greatest missionaries . . . were disencumbered with domestic cares, -- I mean, the Lord Jesus Christ, & the Apostle Paul."⁵³

Three years later Chamberlain wrote Jeremiah Evarts, a member of the American Board's Prudential Committee, that although his single state might be the wish of Providence, he was "not indifferent to the subject of matrimony," and that should an appropriate young lady be found, "the Prudential Committee would decide upon the propriety of sending her."⁵⁴ By 1827 Chamberlain was restive with his enforced celibacy, and wrote Evarts that the only reason he complained so little was "a want of evidence that a change of condition would promote my usefulness as much as I have supposed it would my happiness."⁵⁵

Chamberlain was very pleased when the third missionary company arriving on March 30, 1828, included three single women. "Allow me here to express my thanks to you for having placed within my power the choice of a helper & companion,"⁵⁶ Chamberlain wrote Evarts. During the summer Chamberlain visited the Richards at Lahaina, Maui in order to relax. There Chamberlain had the "opportunity of becoming acquainted with Miss Maria Patton." The couple married September 1, 1828. At the end of that month Chamberlain wrote "Whether this change in my circumstance will be conducive . . . to my happiness & usefulness, is to be determined by future experience; but I perceive no reason yet to repent of the step which I have taken." Chamberlain suspected that he would be "more happy, and not less useful in the married state." Despite the additional responsibility, there would also be "the sweets of a friendship." Besides, Chamberlain argued, "I have felt, since providence has placed a companion within my reach, that my duty was plain to avail myself of the proffered gift."⁵⁷

After the marriage, Chamberlain found travel difficult. "O how much I want to see you," Chamberlain wrote his bride, "I never knew the value of a bosom companion till a kind providence allowed me to clasp one in my arms." Chamberlain assured his wife that his love had not lessened and trusted that Maria Chamberlain's love for her husband "had its foundation in something more lasting than outward attractions."⁵⁸

The marital state taught Chamberlain a new dimension of love. "Before I possessed a wife, I did not know what it was to love," he confided. "I thought I loved my friends. I would have denied myself to do them a service: but the fervor of my attachment was ice compared with my

attachment to the dear one . . . I am permitted to call wife."⁵⁹

Betsey Stockton found no one within the mission family who could truly alleviate her loneliness, because her isolation was due to color as well as marital state. Miss Stockton was attached to the Stewart household, but it was not an entirely satisfactory arrangement. Betsey Stockton reported that she had "not been disappointed in Mr. and Mrs. Stewart. Their kindness lays me under renewed obligations to them."⁶⁰ Three months later Miss Stockton wrote that she had learned to love the Stewarts. "My heart must be dead to every virtue when it ceases to beat with gratitude to them."⁶¹

Shortly before the Thames arrived at Honolulu, Harriet Stewart gave birth to her first child. Unable to care for it, Mrs. Stewart gave the child to Miss Stockton. "The little fellow beguiles many of my lonely hours," Miss Stockton wrote, "From the first moment that I saw the little innocent, I felt emotions that I was unacquainted with before."⁶² But even the child could not solve Betsey Stockton's sense of isolation.

After about a year in the mission field, Miss Stockton concluded that the heaviest trials of the missionary were "not in the relinquishment of those outward comforts which I once enjoyed, so much as in the want of spiritual food and Christian converse."⁶³

VI

The addition of Betsey Stockton to the second missionary company was a somewhat peculiar one.⁶⁴ Miss Stockton was submitted to the same admission procedures as any other candidate for mission, but she was not to be treated as a regular missionary. Betsey Stockton placed the American Board in a peculiar position. The American Board was hoping to

increase its fundraising efforts in the southern and western United States, the very areas which would be most offended by the thought of black missionaries. Hence the American Board made every effort to downplay Betsey Stockton's presence in the second missionary company. Newspaper coverage of the Thames' departure, for example, published lists of the missionaries and their helpers. Betsey Stockton's name came after those of the Hawaiian and Tahitian helpers.⁶⁵ Betsey Stockton's journals and letters were given little publicity and appeared primarily in the Christian Advocate published by her former owner, Ashbel Green.

The unusual circumstances surrounding Betsey Stockton's addition to the second company led to the ratification of a unique document specifying Miss Stockton's relationship to the American Board, the Stewarts and the mission family as a whole. Betsey Stockton was "to be considered as, at all times, under the entire direction and control of the American Board." With the American Board's approval, Miss Stockton would be "specifically attached to the family of the Rev. Charles S. Stewart, and as constituting a member of his family." Within the Stewart family, Miss Stockton "is to be regarded and treated neither as an equal nor as a servant — but as a humble christian friend."⁶⁶

Betsey Stockton's duties would be to relieve Mrs. Stewart of her domestic concerns. Miss Stockton would "render every service to the mission in her power," but she was "not to be called on, as of right, for any menial services, more than any other member of the mission, as this might manifestly render her life servile," and prevent Miss Stockton's employment as a teacher. If either the Stewarts or Miss Stockton chose to sever their special relationship, they were free to do so. In such a

situation, the American Board would continue to treat Miss Stockton as it did any other missionary.⁶⁷

Ashbel Green, Charles Stewart and Betsey Stockton signed the document which was ratified by Jeremiah Evarts for the American Board. The document defined Betsey Stockton as neither a servant nor an assistant missionary, yet, it allowed she and the Stewarts to serve as missionaries. Betsey Stockton had long wanted to be a missionary; Charles Stewart also felt the missionary call. But, Harriet Stewart was in poor health and could not withstand the conditions in Hawaii without assistance. Under the circumstances, it is unlikely the American Board would have accepted either the Stewarts or Miss Stockton on an individual basis. The three needed each other.

The Stewarts took great pains to treat Miss Stockton as an equal. Betsey Stockton noted that while aboard the Thames, the Stewarts shared everything with her equally. "The impression such little things [as dividing fruit into thirds] made on my mind will not be easily erased."⁶⁸

Unfortunately, the other missionaries saw Miss Stockton merely as a member of the Stewart household and treated her with the relative indifference due a domestic servant. In fact, without the written document, her position might well have been untenable. Dr. Abraham Blatchely, in particular, was open in his regard of Miss Stockton's servile station. The doctor was concerned that the Hawaiian climate in conjunction with the hardship of domestic labor not only exhausted the missionary wives, but forced husbands to take time from their labors to assist the women. Blatchely complained that the Stewarts' "colored girl"

would be useful in this regard, but the Stewarts would not share her services.⁶⁹

Blatchely also wanted to use Miss Stockton's services as a nurse, but the Stewarts replied that they would nurse the sick themselves before allowing her to do so. "No one here," sniffed Dr. Blatchely, "can suppose from appearances that [the Stewarts] ever design to attend as Nurse on their Brethren or Sisters."⁷⁰ And, in fact, Miss Stockton found that teaching her Hawaiian pupils and caring for the Stewarts occupied all her time

VII

Friendships were a much more binding relationship in the early nineteenth century than they are now, and the missionaries were particularly affected by friendship ties. The network of people supporting the cause of foreign missions was tightly knit, and those who chose the missionary life were influenced by their friendships in New England.

Several of the missionaries had been classmates. The relationship between Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston and William Goodell at Andover Theological Seminary has been mentioned previously. Charles Stewart and Artemas Bishop both graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary. Bishop wrote of his friendship with Stewart in his letter of candidacy to the American Board. Bishop stated that he was willing to serve anywhere, but was a particular friend of Charles Stewart who had already been assigned to the Sandwich Islands; Bishop would be "gratified" to be a part of the same mission company.⁷¹

At Princeton Theological Seminary Charles Stewart became friends with

the Reverend Ashbel Green, president of that institution. Green not only urged Stewart to accept the missionary call, but arranged for Betsey Stockton, his domestic servant, to join the Stewart household, so that she, too, could serve.

Elizabeth Edwards Bishop and Lucy Goodale Thurston were both graduates of Bradford Academy. The two young women, along with Lucy Goodale's sister, Persis, were raised in Marlborough, Massachusetts and stayed with the same family while they attended Bradford Academy. Artemas Bishop once commented that Mrs. Thurston and his wife were so similar in their ideas that they must have been born under the same planet.⁷²

Upon the arrival of the Thames in Honolulu, Mrs. Bishop wrote to her friend Lucy Thurston. "The anticipation of meeting in this heathen land, one with whom I have taken sweet counsel," Mrs. Bishop exclaimed to Mrs. Thurston, "is cheering indeed. I long to embrace you, to talk with you of your dear friends, and of all the way in which the Lord has led us both."⁷⁴

The Bishops' first assignment was to replace the Ruggles at Waimea on Kauai. Despite the presence of the Whitneys, Elizabeth Bishop shared her discoveries with her friend, Mrs. Thurston. "How much do we need prayer, converse, and the reciprocities of Christian friendship in this heathen land," Mrs. Bishop wrote. Expressing her misgivings, Mrs. Bishop went on to say, "I know I come short in everything. I am astonished to see how slight is the influence of mercies and trials over me."⁷⁴

Elizabeth Bishop remained at Kailua-Kona until her death in 1828. Six weeks after Mrs. Bishop died, Lucy Thurston received the news that her sister, Persis Goodale Parkhurst, had also died. "Thus the two on whom I

most relied . . . were taken from me," mourned Mrs. Thurston.⁷⁵

Family ties also influenced prospective missionaries. William Richards followed his brother, James, to Andover Theological Seminary and into the foreign mission field. Samuel Ruggles urged his prospective brother-in-law, Dr. Thomas Holman, to volunteer for the first missionary company. The doctor may have expressed misgivings, for Ruggles wrote his sister, Lucia, "I shall write to Dr. H. immediately. He cannot give back, for he has said he would go."⁷⁶ William Goodell may not have been the first to bring the cause of foreign missions to his cousin's attention, but it was he who persuaded Lucy Goodale to consider the Sandwich Islands mission in particular.

Friendships were also forged after the mission companies were formed. All the missionaries felt the close ties of their common faith and missionary cause. The knowledge that they would be culturally isolated also drew the mission family together and made any defection a heinous crime.⁷⁷ Once forged, the bonds of the mission family were not broken. Four years after returning to the United States to protect his wife's declining health, Charles Stewart wrote Levi Chamberlain, "How thankful ought we to be for any evidence that we are among the blessed few who know what the Communion of Saints means -- a communion which no distance can interrupt -- no length of separation impair. This is my consolation when I think of my brethren in the Pacific -- though absent I am beloved -- though denied the privilege of being associated still with them in labour," at the day of judgment Stewart could "look forward with joy to a participation in their test. Our prayers, our tears -- our penitence & faith are one -- our hopes -- our object & our home."⁷⁸

VIII

Regardless of their ties to parents, siblings, spouses and friends, the missionaries' greatest tie was to their religion. Their eyes were on a heavenly kingdom; their hearts filled with a selfless love for the heathen. But eyes and hearts are not sufficient motivating factors for an enterprise half way around the world. Each member of the two missionary companies to the Sandwich Islands underwent a specific conversion experience which met the criteria of Calvinist theology. The event changed their lives by making the kingdom of heaven more important than life on earth. The converting experience provided the rationale for the Sandwich Islands mission, but not the institutional structure.

The institutional history of foreign missionary work begins with the apostle Paul. With varying degrees of intensity, the church continued to spread the gospel. The New England experience with evangelism began with the Indians in 1620. It was not a particularly successful experience, but it laid a foundation others would build upon. Slowly the idea of foreign missions became a popular concern among New England Calvinists, and in 1810 they founded the American Board.

ENDNOTES

1. See Erik H. Erikson, Identity and the Life Cycle (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1959).
2. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," Signs, 1 (1975) 1-29.
3. Artemas Bishop, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
4. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, September 26, 1821; Levi Chamberlain to Joseph Chamberlain, April 16, 1823; Maria Chamberlain to Ann Patton, August 20, 1828, ML, HMCSL. Bradley, The American Frontier, op. cit., p. 159.
5. See, Andrew, Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth, op. cit., p. 111-112.
6. Ibid., pp. 113-114; Samuel Whitney to Samuel Worcester, Aug 23, 1819, ML, HMCSL; "Sketch of the life, labors and death of the Rev. Samuel Whitney," The Friend, Jan 15, 1846, Vol. IV, No. II.
7. See, Lucy G. Thurston, The Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, (1882; reprint, Honolulu: The Friend, 1934).
8. Ibid., pp. 2-3.
9. See, Miller, Fathers and Sons, op. cit., chap. 1. Miller suggests that Hiram Bingham's response to the converting experience and missionary call was less a religious commitment than a career opportunity which offered a maximum of independent action. While these may have been ancillary considerations, I believe that the religious experience exercised the greater influence on Bingham's decision to become a foreign missionary.
10. See John A. Andrew, "Betsey Stockton: Stranger in a Strange Land," Journal of Presbyterian History, 52 (Summer, 1974) : 157-166. Ashbel Green to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, September 3, 1821; Michael Osborn to Jeremiah Evarts, September 5, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
11. Alfred M. Bingham, "Sybil's Bones, A Chronicle of the Three Hiram Bingham's," Hawaiian Journal of History, 9 (1975) : 8. Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, August 31, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
12. Hiram Bingham to William Jackson, February 1821, ML, HMCSL.

13. A. Bingham, pp. 13-14; Miller, p. 27; Hiram Bingham III, "Notes on the Life of Hiram Bingham 1789-1869," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1949), p. 4.
14. Sybil Bingham, November 8, 1819, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
15. Sybil Bingham to Mr. and Mrs. Bartlett, April 8, 1822, Box 3, Folder 1, Bingham Family Papers, HMCSL.
16. Hiram Bingham to Calvin Bingham, February 1, 1820, Box 1, Folder 1, Bingham Family Papers, HMCSL.
17. Sybil Bingham, October 12, 1829, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
18. E.D.G. Prime, Forty Years in the Turkish Empire, (Boston: American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1891), pp. 54-59; Lucy Thurston, September 18, 1819, Journal (Printers copy), ML, HMCSL.
19. L. Thurston, September 21, 1819, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
20. L. Thurston, Life, p. 5.
21. Elisha Loomis to Samuel Worcester, September 16, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
22. Maria Loomis, September 27, 1820, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
23. Heman Humphrey to Eleazer Fitch, September 3, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
24. Andrew, Rebuilding, p. 131.
25. Elizabeth Bishop, September 7, 1822, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
26. Ibid., August 12, ND.
27. Artemas Bishop to Elizabeth Edwards, October 12, c.1822, ML, HMCSL.
28. Artemas Bishop to Hiram Bingham, March 5, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
29. Artemas Bishop to Rufus Anderson, December 17, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
30. Ibid.
31. Isaac Ruggles to Lucia Ruggles, February 6, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
32. Samuel Ruggles to Lucia Ruggles, March, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
33. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston to Samuel Worcester, May 11, 1822, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
34. Francis J. Halford, Nine Doctors and God, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), pp. 19-20.

35. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston to Samuel Worcester, May 11, 1822, op. cit.
36. Lucia Ruggles Holman, September 18, 1820, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
37. Thomas Holman to Prudential Committee, May 9, 1822, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
38. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston to Samuel Worcester, May 11, 1822, op. cit.
39. Thomas Holman to Samuel Worcester, November 21, 1820, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston to Samuel Worcester, May 11, 1822, op. cit. Bingham and Thurston indicated that if Mrs. Holman's ill health was the true reason the Holmans left Kailua-Kona, "which indeed she does not pretend," or if she needed the change of sea air and a pleasant locale, then the couple should have moved to Oahu where the Holmans would have been welcome.
43. Lucia Holman to Samuel Ruggles, August 1, 1820, ML, HMCSL.
44. Thomas Holman to Samuel Worcester, November 21, 1820, op. cit.
45. Lucia Holman to Samuel Ruggles, August 1, 1820, op. cit.
46. Mercy Partridge Whitney, July 23, 1822, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
47. H. St. Clair Hathaway, "Genealogy of Daniel Chamberlain," (Unpublished article, 1916) : 7-8, ML, HMCSL.
48. Bernice Judd, advisor, Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1969), p. 63.
49. Albertine Loomis, Grapes of Canaan, (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1951) p. 167.
50. Daniel Tyeeman and George Bennett to American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, August 9, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
51. Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, Samuel Whitney and Elisha Loomis to Jeremiah Evarts, January 27, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
52. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, July 30, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
Jeremiah Evarts to Levi Chamberlain, November 19, 1822, ABCFM-HEA Papers, HMCSL.

53. Rufus Anderson to Levi Chamberlain, November 10, 1822, ABCFM-HEA Papers, HMCSL.
54. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, October 13, 1825, ML, HMCSL.
55. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, February 22, 1827, ML, HMCSL.
56. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, April 10, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
57. Levi Chamberlain to Rufus Anderson, September 30, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
58. Levi Chamberlain to Maria Chamberlain, December 19, 1829, ML, HMCSL.
59. Levi Chamberlain to Maria Chamberlain, December 29, 1829, ML, HMCSL.
60. Christian Advocate, September 1823, p. 424.
61. Ibid., January 1825, p. 37.
62. Ibid., p. 39.
63. Ibid., April 1825, p. 188.
64. See: Andrew, "Betsey Stockton," op. cit. Carol S. Dodd, "Betsey Stockton: A History Student's Perspective," Educational Perspectives, 16 (March 1977) : 10-15.
65. Christian Advocate, February 1823, p. 88.
66. Ashbel Green, Charles Stewart and Betsey Stockton, October 24, 1819, Document of duties, ML, HMCSL.
67. Ibid.
68. Christian Advocate, May 1824, p. 235.
69. Abraham Blatchely to Jeremiah Evarts, June 17, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
70. Ibid.
71. Artemas Bishop to Jeremiah Evarts, December 10, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
72. L. Thurston, ND., Journal, op. cit., p. 89.
73. Elizabeth Bishop to Lucy Thurston, April 27, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
74. Elizabeth Bishop to Lucy Thurston, November 15, 1823, Ibid.
75. L. Thurston, ND., Journal, op. cit., p. 118.
76. Samuel Ruggles to Lucia Ruggles, March, 1819, ML, HMCSL.

77. See, Henry N. Wieman and Regina Wescott-Wieman, Normative Psychology of Religion, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1935), pp. 95-96, 106. The Wiemans define cultus as the primary heart of religion. The cultus develops religious symbolism by symbolizing that which is permanent, i.e., God; by providing stability and continuity; and by providing a vivid sense of the reality of God and his Kingdom.

I believe that the mission family fits into this definition of cultus. Calvinist evangelical religion had a tradition of emphasizing the permanence and reality of God and His kingdom (see chapter three). The sovereign will of God superceded all earthly endeavors, and His elect were bound together by their willingness to serve God rather than their own self-interest. These concepts were particularly strong among the mission family.

The Holmans flouted the religious and corporate unity of the mission family by their failure to adhere to its corporate direction. If the Holmans could disobey the collective decisions of the mission family with impunity, then the mission family would fail to represent God's kingdom on earth. Such a failure would bring the entire motivation of the foreign missionary enterprise into question. Consequently, the Holmans were excommunicated and removed from the mission field.

78. Charles Stewart to Levi Chamberlain, October 29, 1827, ML, HMCSL.

CHAPTER III

GOD'S SOVEREIGNTY AND MAN'S DOMINION

"For whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren. Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also glorified."
(Romans 8:29-30)

The missionaries who journeyed to the Sandwich Islands in 1820 and 1823 were the product of both a specific historical environment and a specific intellectual tradition. Calvinist theology shaped the personal religious experience of both the Puritans and their religious descendants. This theology also lent itself to an approach to missionary work which in both the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries required the same religious understanding from Indians and Hawaiians as it did from New Englanders. The beliefs the missionaries espoused had their beginnings, not in the revivals of the Second Great Awakening, nor even the First Great Awakening, but stretched back to John Calvin at Geneva in the sixteenth century. A synthesis of the development of those beliefs is necessary in order to understand the narrow intellectual and theological world view the early missionaries held when they approached their potential converts.¹

The development of Calvinist theology revolved around questions of who was saved and what the individual must do to be saved. To Calvinists, these questions shaped the relationship of man and God, man and man, man

and his environment. They were difficult questions, because ultimately the gift of salvation rested with God, and since this was so, man had no control over his destiny. This was a situation modern man could not accept. Consequently, Calvinist theology tried to balance the opposing concepts of the sovereignty of God and the powerlessness of men; the reasonable mercy of God and the participation of men in their own salvation.

There were several issues: whether works were the cause or result of salvation; whether salvation was experiential, leaving all power with God, or contractual, giving man varying amounts of control over his destiny; the role of the state in salvation, and the arrival of God's Kingdom. The answer to these issues and their evolution over time laid the foundation not only for the message proclaimed by the missionaries to the Sandwich Islanders, but also their method of proclamation.

The founder of the Reform tradition was John Calvin. Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536) synthesized Protestant thought up to that time, and established a systematic theology governing both secular and spiritual concerns. This system was implemented at Geneva providing a tangible example of a Christian society.

The Reform tradition had several basic features. The central precept was that of God's total and complete sovereignty. This brought about the logical conclusion of man's total depravity and the doctrine of double predestination, that is, that some were elected to salvation and others to damnation. This, of course, raised the problem of identifying those in the former category, designated by the term Elect. Given the situation, there was extreme concern for God's law as revealed in the Bible. It was

paramount that the visible church be "reformed" to that state described in scripture.

John Calvin's concept of predestination was at once harsher and gentler than later Puritan interpretations. According to that concept, regeneration was not a sudden and cataclysmic experience, but a gradual process of growth in grace begun at baptism and continuing throughout the individual's life. Those who experienced this growth in faith under the guidance of the church and its ministers, and who participated in the sacraments and lived an upright life could count themselves among the Elect. Calvin encouraged all those within the church to believe in their election. They had merely to wait upon God's pleasure.²

The other side of this doctrine was the insecurity the individual must feel regarding his salvation. One lived as though he were saved, but could never be sure he had entered an elected state. Since man was passive in the reception of grace, there was nothing the individual could do to improve his chances. Although Calvin taught that grace began at baptism, one could never be sure of his status before God.

Calvin also espoused a covenant theology demonstrating that predestination was not as harsh as it first appeared. God had established a Covenant of Grace with the seed of Abraham which was enacted via faith and, therefore, a personal encounter between God and his creature. The encounter was always at God's initiative, but by the Covenant of Redemption God contracted with his Son, Jesus, for the salvation of mankind. Although passive until the reception of grace which brought faith, the individual was then expected through a process of preparation, dedication and gratitude to obey God's Law. The Reformed tradition was,

therefore, an active one.

The insecurity of election could not easily be borne, particularly in areas where the Reformed were a distinct minority. The English Puritans were well aware of their position in the Church of England. In their efforts to distinguish their "purity" and uniqueness, they became obsessed with the idea that neither evangelical religion nor baptism was sufficient. There must be a tangible transition from an unregenerate state of nature to a spiritual state of grace, and it must occur before admission to the sacraments. It was, indeed, an initiation rite into the Puritan sect that lessened the opportunities for those without true conversion obtaining entrance. It marked Puritans off from their unregenerate Anglican brethren.

Conversion became a difficult process. Man no longer remained passive, but took an active part in a preparation process, increasing his chances of election. God had now bound Himself by a covenant that allowed men to use their natural gifts so they could accept God's offer of an agreement and apply the means of grace such as good works and self-discipline. These brought faith and eventual justification. Thus, faith became the active element in claiming God's mercy. Such a development provided the converted with the assurance of salvation, but it also chipped away at the absolute sovereignty of God.

This change in the criteria of conversion was crucial to the development of sixteenth century English Puritanism as a church community. Those who testified to their Elect status bound themselves to a covenant between themselves and God as a body of Visible Saints. No longer would the church be open to all as a means of grace; it was now a

disciplined community. Thus, it is clear that the Law not only improved the individual's spiritual state, but it also provided the standard to which the world must conform. Calvin's politics had been based on a recognition of political realities and the demand that these must serve religious purposes. Calvin recognized a permanent estrangement of man and God which manifested itself in the need for external controls over man. The Fall had created a creature who always struggled to dominate, and therefore, sometimes required repression to subdue. Yet, God demanded voluntary obedience. The need, then, was for church and state to work together in a Christian commonwealth, founded on the consent of conscientious men. This brought coercion and conscience together, and recognized that social control was increased if people have consented to it.

Despite the unity of commonwealth, church and state remained separate. They intersected at the point where laymen served in the government. The church member brought the church's moral tone into government as well as a sense of religious responsibility represented in the enactment of various civil laws.

Thus, civil government could contribute to grace. A citizen might first obey a law from external pressure, but after receiving grace, the law was written on his heart and coercion was no longer needed. This was the beginning of a true Christian commonwealth. Calvin's interpretation took religious reform from an individual to a community experience. This idea could be further extended, as it was in New England, to bind the entire society into external conformity with God's Law.

While the conversion itself remained a private affair between God and

the applicant, the ministerial office provided the crucial link between God and man. It was the minister who bore the witness to God's truth to all who would listen, as if they would be saved. The minister also imparted moral authority which greatly influenced the secular government through the presence of church members in magisterial offices.

Within New England society, everyone walked a close line. To do otherwise was to court disaster from both God and man. Despite the fact that each individual must meet God alone in spiritual life, he dealt with God as a member of the community in secular life. It was crucial that God should smile upon the colony, and therefore that all its citizens must adhere to the Law. Training in communal identity began during early childhood, and made the concepts of self and community inseparable. Initially, this training was through physical coercion and humiliation. Cotton Mather, however, popularized a method called "anxiety" which served to ensure not only external conformity, but the development of a hyperactive conscience and moral autonomy which led the individual to push for ever higher standards and achievements.

This unity of church and society, and strict adherence to God's word was disturbed by Anne Hutchinson and the antinomian crisis in 1637. Efforts to restore the Puritan synthesis resulted in a legalistic, contractual doctrine. This doctrine, as articulated by Giles Firmin (1614-1697) stated that once man had chosen to believe, God must save him.³

Cotton Mather (1663-1728), a grandson of John Cotton, tried to reverse this trend in The Way of Truth Laid Out and Free Grace Maintained and Improved. Mather believed in God's total sovereignty and reaffirmed

Calvin's concept of predestination. Mather taught that while the sinner may apply all his puny abilities in an effort to receive salvation, he must also recognize that God did not have to grant it, and even if God did grant salvation, the sinner still had no knowledge of his status. Christ died only for the Elect, but men must act as though he died for them all. To do otherwise was a sin. Mather preached the Gospel to all, believing that only the Elect would respond.⁴

Conversion brought further works of sanctification as a sign, so that men might know the saved by their fruits. A Christian always looked for opportunity to improve himself and others. Mather's view on works was not conducive to social control, because the Elect would always be a minority. Hence, in an effort to restore piety and moral order, Mather's later writings stressed every man's duty to God, family, and commonwealth.

As Mather turned from predestination to duty, he relied on renewal of the covenant rather than a conversion experience. All who received baptism were sealed in the covenant and, therefore, had a duty to God under ministerial guidance. The idea of the efficacy of good works became popularized with little attention to its shortcomings. Mather saw this as an instrument for renewing the piety which had been lacking since the antinomian crisis, but it was a hope rooted in externals.

The Puritans continued to suffer declension in the second and third generations. In order to resolve this crisis, Mather and other theologians turned to Genesis 17:7 to demonstrate that the covenant had been made by God with Abraham and his posterity. Puritan children belonged to the covenant through baptism and even if they showed no signs of grace, they probably were saved. Thus, baptism became the only

prerequisite for church and state participation. The unregenerate baptized could indicate their intellectual assent to the covenant allowing them to baptize their children and to vote on secular issues.

This Half-Way Covenant was a temporary compromise at best. It encouraged a legalism and a blurring of works and grace which did nothing to halt the process of declension. Without a converting experience, religion became lifeless and unappealing.

II

The Great Awakening (1740-1742) was a natural consequence of declension. There had been a few preceding revivals, primarily in Solomon Stoddard's Northampton, but the problem of declension had remained unsolved.⁵ After succeeding to Stoddard's parish, Jonathan Edwards led a revival from 1734 to 1736 which spread throughout the immediate area. Edwards was not totally sure of the cause; he had preached for some years without visible effect. Other forces had touched people's hearts. For example, Edwards reported an incident at Puscommuck, a village near Northampton.

In the April following, anno 1734, there happened a sudden and awful death of a young man in the bloom of his youth; who being violently seized with pleurisy, and taken immediately very delerious, died in about two days; which (together with what was preached publically on that occasion) much affected many young people. This was followed with another death of a young married woman, who had been considerably exercised in mind, about the salvation of her soul, before she was ill, and was in great distress, in the beginning of her illness; but seemed to have satisfying evidences of God's proving mercy to her, before her death; so that she died very full of comfort, in a most earnest and moving manner warning, and counselling others. This seemed to contribute to render solemn the spirits of many young persons; and there began evidently to appear more of a religious concern on people's minds.⁶

These Northampton revivals proved that God still worked with men

and prepared the way for a general awakening; however, there was no fiery renewal until George Whitefield traveled through New England in 1740. Whitefield's arrival coincided with a diphtheria epidemic, the economic recession brought about by the War of Jenkins' Ear in the West Indies (1739), and the general social changes brought about by growing mobility on the frontier and the new emphasis on personal rather than landed wealth. These factors had begun a crisis which the revival would relieve.

Whitefield was an immediate sensation. Whitefield's sermons were simple; his Calvinism was adaptable. Whitefield's impression of New England was that it would have a successful revival of the spirit, because "[the clergy] are more simple in their worship, less corrupt in their principles, and consequently more easily brought over to the form of sound words, into which so many of their pious ancestors were delivered."⁷

As a result of the efforts of Whitefield and other itinerant preachers, there was a revival of experiential piety, and conversion returned to its previous central position. The natural state of the unconverted was one of sleepiness. Despite regular church attendance, the unregenerate suffered from pride and the assumption that their works were acceptable to God. Thus, the first step was conviction, the sinner's realization of his sinfulness and inability until finally submitting to God's judgment. The sinner then received grace, and the reliance on Christ which changed his relationship to God and to his neighbors. Conviction occurred as a response to the revival or a sermon. Conversion occurred via Scripture which opened one's eyes to God's truth. The process was so cataclysmic and the new regenerate so aware of his former sinful state that he could only identify those who opposed the revival as

being under Satan's power.

Jonathan Edwards was the systematic theologian who not only developed the methodology of revivals and the criteria for judging conversions, but also laid the foundation of the evangelical theology which would prevail until the mid-nineteenth century. A committed Calvinist who looked to the ancestral roots, Edwards was influenced also by the Enlightenment and its use of reason, logic and sensation.

Edwards was always a devout young man with an interest in science, but as a Yale graduate at the age of seventeen, Edwards underwent a conversion which brought his knowledge of science, love of nature and reverent affection for God into a permanent and lasting union. His heart was touched after reading I Timothy 1:17, and soon after young Jonathan

walked abroad alone . . . for contemplation. And as I was walking there and looking up on the sky and clouds, there came to my mind so sweet a sense of the glorious majesty and grace of God, that I know not how to express. I seemed to see them both in a sweet conjunction; majesty and meekness joined together . . . After this my sense of divine things gradually increased, and became more and more lively, and had more of that inward sweetness. The appearance of every thing was altered; there seemed to be . . . a calm, sweet cast or appearance of divine glory, in almost every thing. God's excellency, his wisdom, his purity and love, seemed to appear in every thing; in the sun, moon and stars; in the clouds, and blue sky; in the grass, flowers, trees; in the water and all nature.

The wonder of the experience never left Edwards and is evident in all his work. Edwards was not simply a mystic who had only to seek union with God. Instead Edwards believed that such a union of God and his creature was an ongoing process, because the creature could never achieve the infinite perfection necessary to make that union complete.

As Edwards surveyed the dismal state of New England piety, he perceived that Calvin's original concepts of covenant and divine

sovereignty had been denigrated to a point of subjectivism which equated faith with salvation, with the result that man assumed the central position in religion. This comforting and ostensibly logical approach destroyed vital religion, because it pretended that the choice rested with man, not God.

Edwards' approach of theological objectivism looked to God as the source of religion and affirmed divine primacy in metaphysics, moralism and spirituality. The flaw in the original Puritan concept was that of a fluctuation in the quality of faith. It seemed that sometimes God bestowed the necessary emotional component of faith and sometimes He did not, with the resulting development of legalism. The Edwardsean concept corrected this flaw by turning to reason. Edwards was especially influenced by John Locke's An Essay Concerning Human Understanding which stated that people acquired reason and knowledge from experiences received by the senses. The mind received these sense impressions and the perception of ideas that were a part of these impressions. From this Lockean thesis Edwards derived two key concepts: first, that a man becomes what he willfully perceives himself to be; second, that since perceptions derive from the senses, man's self-perception depends on his sense of the heart. This approach remedied the problem of fluctuating faith, because the individual could now perceive whatever state of faith he wished to attain.

In order to generate the required sensations, Edwards utilized Christian speech by using the words most apt to create the sensations and the ideas attached to them within the hearts of his listeners. Such a preaching style touched the passive hearts and minds of sinners, calling

them into action and faith. Edwards emphasized God's glory and man's self-interest in his efforts to swell the ranks of God's Kingdom on earth.

Edwards joined his grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, in the parish of Northampton in 1727, and remained there after Stoddard's death. It was a fortuitous call. The Northampton congregation was accustomed to theological innovation and experienced in the phenomenon of religious revival. In addition, "Pope" Stoddard had established Northampton as the leading congregation in the Connecticut River Valley. Edwards' first four years there were uneventful. The young minister had established a modest reputation for his development of a rational Calvinism, but his parishioners did not exhibit any sort of religious fervor. In 1734, Edwards began a series of sermons directed against Arminianism.

The sermon entitled Justification by Faith Alone clearly represented the Edwardsean response to the Arminian doctrine of free will. "It is in this doctrine that the most essential difference lies between the covenant of grace and the first covenant." Arminianism "supposes that we are justified by our works It is not gospel at all; it is law: it is no covenant of grace, but of works: it is not an evangelical, but a legal doctrine."⁹

Edwards found even the suggestion of reliance on works to be preposterous. "Will it not betray a foolish, exalting opinion of ourselves, and a mean one of God," he wrote, "to have a thought of offering any thing of ours, to recommend us to the favor of being brought from wallowing, like filthy swine, in the mire of our sins, and from the enmity and misery of devils in the lowest hell, to the state of God's dear children." Rather, "We should believe in the general according to the

clear and abundant revelations of God's word that it is none of our own excellency, virtue or righteousness, that is the ground of our being received from a state of condemnation into a state of acceptance in God's sight, but only Jesus Christ, and his righteousness and worthiness, received by faith."¹⁰

These themes of sovereignty of God, dependency of man and the need for Christ's justification touched people, and Edwards was gratified by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Northampton during the years 1734 to 1736. Having unleashed the revival, Edwards immediately attempted to record and guide it. In 1737, he published Narrative of the Surprising Work of God in the Conversion of Many Hundred Souls in Northampton and Neighboring Towns and Villages, a work that not only brought Edwards notoriety, but also established guidelines for discerning those who had been genuinely affected by the Spirit.

Edwards believed that the key of religion was recognition of God's sovereignty, His total moral perfection and His right to damn or save as He pleased; these were the manifestations of God's glory. As Edwards exalted God's glory, he deprecated man; as he demonstrated God's saving power, he revealed God's graciousness, and thereby joined divine judgment with divine benevolence. These ideas became public at nearby Enfield, where Edwards preached Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God. The sermon vividly depicted man's helplessness as Edwards demonstrated the emptiness of the purely rational approach and the necessity of a passionate appeal to the senses.

Edwards' personal commitment to divine authority made him aware of the need to uphold that authority at the expense of personal gain. During the

Northampton revival, parishioners told Edwards of their new sense of God's justice and their willingness to be damned because of their unworthiness. This willingness to bear all for God's glory gave regenerates energy to oppose all who questioned their regenerate state, and to save those who remained unconverted. Edwardseans perceived that any opponent of the reviving work of the Spirit was of the devil and that when opponents encountered the regenerate, the encounter would awaken their jealousy and suspicion of the regenerates' spiritual pride. "Those that are themselves cold and dead," Edwards wrote, "and especially such as never had any experience of the power of Godliness on their own hearts, are ready to entertain such thoughts of the best Christians; which arises from a secret enmity against vital and fervent piety."¹¹

Edwards' first major theological work was A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections (1746). The treatise found religion to rest in the affections, primarily love, and that these affections were manifest in Christian practice. Edwards believed that "although to true religion there must indeed be something else besides affections; yet true religion consists so much in the affections, that there can be no true religion without them." He recognized also that "there are false affections, and there are true. A man's having such affection does not prove that he has any true religion; but if he has no affection, it proves he has no true religion."¹²

This affection, or love, of God "makes a man have desires of the honor of God, and desire to please him . . . love to God causes a man to delight in the thoughts of God, and to delight in the presence of God, and to desire conformity with God, and the enjoyment of God." Such affection led

to a spiritual understanding of God's perfection and works. The evidence of such affection and understanding was its practical exercise to conquer the corruption of men and lead them into holiness. "Christian practice . . . is the chief of all the evidence of a saving sincerity in religion . . . much to be preferred to the method of the first convictions, enlightenings, and comforts in conversion, or any immanent discoveries or exercises of grace whatsoever, that begin and end in contemplation." Religious sincerity was to place God first in one's life; godliness was to do His will. Salvation imparted the responsibility for action. The implications of this treatise were not fully exercised until the nineteenth century.¹³

As the revivals continued, conversion seemed within the reach of all and a reassertion of a church of Visible Saints did not seem unreasonable. In 1747, Edwards closed communion to all but Visible Saints, thereby depriving many members of the Sacrament. This decision was one of a series of differences between Edwards and his flock, and the congregation removed him. In 1750, Edwards accepted the call from a missionary congregation at Stockbridge.

There Edwards continued his battle against Arminianism. The treatises written at Stockbridge, however, differ from Edwards' previous efforts both in their theological profundity and future impact, exerting the greater influence on the future of American evangelism. A Careful and Strict Enquiry into the modern prevailing Notions of that Freedom of Will, Which is supposed to be essential to Moral Agency, Value and Vice, Reward and Punishment, Praise and Blame (1754) continued the attack on Arminianism begun in Religious Affections. Edwards concluded that, at

best, freedom was the opportunity to exercise the predetermined will of God without external coercion. The treatise also discussed sin and defined it less as wrongdoing than a failure to cleave to God's glory for its own sake. Sin could never be alleviated by good deeds, because it was an infinite offense made against an infinite Being.

Edwards' ideas on sin were further explored in The Great Christian Doctrine of Original Sin Defended (1758) in which he grappled with the problem of whether God's sovereignty extended to the cause of sin. Edwards concluded that God was not the source of evil. The reason for man's depravity lay with Adam's fall, because with this act man lost his initial impulse toward benevolence and replaced it with self-love. Thus, the natural unregenerate man was motivated by his own desire for happiness. The difference salvation brought was the idea that happiness lay in loving God's happiness and glory as well as one's own so that one would pursue God's will which has become one with the individual's own self-interest.

As Edwards wrote on original sin, he was also preparing a treatise On the Nature of True Virtue (1765). Published posthumously, this work and its companion, Dissertation Concerning the End for which God Created the World, were not only the culmination of Edwards' thought, but also the foundation for the continuance of revivalism in the Second Great Awakening. Consistent with his points on free will, Edwards discussed the limited abilities of the natural man. Through reason man was instructed in his duty to obey God and fulfill moral responsibilities. He intellectually appreciated divine beauty and virtue, and understood his vulnerable state before a just God. These reasonable conclusions were

worthless in terms of man's salvation, but they were a means of preparation for reasonable men. (Those unregenerate who lack in intellectual powers must have more graphic representations of the danger of their state.) Natural man, then, lived in a world of awareness and self-interest, but the sin of self-love had separated him from God and true virtue.

Regeneration brought man to a state of true virtue, i.e., a state of benevolence to Being in general. Edwards shifted divine identity from the concept of God to that of "Being in general," because the latter more clearly demonstrated the basis of piety, love to both God and man. Grace implanted such benevolent affection in the believer's heart that he now perceived the awesome beauty of divine virtue. Man now partook of God's moral beauty, working to maintain this new unity with the divine will by acting upon it. Thus, virtue not only brought man to a mystical perception of God's profound beauty, but also to a state of active work in doing God's will. This became the impetus of worldly work in terms of evangelism, abolition, temperance and other reform societies. These became not only the fruits of salvation, but also proof of one's union with God.

The phenomenon of Jonathan Edwards is crucial to our understanding of the future development of both Calvinism and its fruits. Edwards laid the Puritan synthesis to rest. That synthesis had always been a strained one as Puritans tried to walk between the spiritual and rational elements of their understanding. Changing American conditions increased the strain as the spiritual element was de-emphasized and a less pious society looked for the very legalism which had driven their founders out of the Church of

England. Edwards brought together Calvinist and Enlightenment thought to produce a synthesis of both traditions, and used this new approach to touch the sensations of the unregenerate.

The concepts which Edwards labored to establish did not come to fruition until his Stockbridge years. Then the divergent wings came together as Edwards logically and rationally presented the role of natural man in God's universe. Both intellectual and spiritual understanding were a part of the divine plan, but alone neither could conceive of that joyous union of God and the Elect, the cataclysm in which their wills became one. Out of this mystical event men would build God's Kingdom on earth. Unfortunately, such insight came to few, and Edwards' disciples, unable to truly understand his systematic theology, inadvertently altered it as they put it into practical use.

III

Edwards' efforts to establish the new paradigm were continued by his students, Samuel Hopkins and Joseph Bellamy.¹⁴ These men and their adherents wore several labels, Edwardseans, consistent Calvinists, the New Divinity. Hopkins developed the concept of "disinterested benevolence" while Bellamy wrote of "evangelical humiliation," yet their goals were the same. Both men attempted to build a complete and consistent system of practical, evangelical Calvinism around the issues of nature, the need for spiritual rebirth, the authenticity of mass conversions, the role of means in the process of regeneration, and the coming millennium. Despite the desire of the New Divinity to encourage further revival, intense metaphysical debates coupled with secular events frustrated this aspiration until spiritual and secular concerns reunited about 1790.

The New Divinity men comprised about five percent of New England's clergy. Their theological system was most appealing to young men of obscure social background, often from frontier areas where conversion experience counted for more than social standing. New Divinity theologians usually held Yale degrees, but parish ministers were typically trained at a "School for Prophets." Bellamy's school was especially popular. These schools served to transmit the lifestyle and professional values of the Edwardseans. New Divinity ministers were less interested in pastoral duties or their own personal comforts than in the need for systematic theology and preparation for the millennium.

New Divinity theology kept the kingpin of divine sovereignty and the necessity of God's punishment of sin in order to uphold moral order, but these theologians also believed in general atonement which meant that more souls would be saved than lost. They worried that the Edwardsean concept of self-interest would not have its intended effect, that people would pursue their own interests without considering God's plan. This potential problem was countered with Hopkins' concept of disinterested benevolence.

Samuel Hopkins was a product of the frontier and a Yale graduate. Hopkins wrote that he had not received a conversion experience prior to his arrival at Yale, although he had been admitted to communion at his home church and was under the impression he was saved. Fellow students, David Brainerd and Gilbert Tennent, both active in the Great Awakening, discussed the need for conversion with the young Hopkins who had also been impressed by Whitefield's preaching. One evening while at private devotions, an insecure Hopkins underwent his converting experience. "The character of Jesus Christ the Mediator came into view, and appeared such a

reality and so glorious and the way of salvation by him so wise, important and desirable, that I was astonished at myself, that I had never seen these things before, which were so plain, pleasing and desirable I was greatly affected in view of my own depravity, the sinfulness, odiousness and guilt of my character, and tears flowed in great plenty."¹⁵ The remainder of Hopkins' conversion was so gradual that he could never precisely date the event, for from that moment his focus was on Jesus, not salvation. As a result of this experience, Hopkins' concept of disinterested benevolence required that the man who is truly saved be unconcerned about salvation.

After graduation from Yale, Hopkins spent two years with Edwards before accepting a call to Housatonic (later Great Barrington) in 1743. He remained there with a sense of self-denial which also influenced his concept of disinterested benevolence. Hopkins was very close to Edwards, editing the great man's papers after his death, and was responsible for Edwards' posthumous publications. Yet despite this close association, Hopkins deviated from the spirit of Edwards.

Hopkins' first major work, An Inquiry into Promise of the Gospel (1756), described the election process. Hopkins differed with Edwards on the idea of original sin. Hopkins believed that Adam alone was responsible for his own sin, that future generations were responsible only to the extent they approved Adam's choice. Those generations demonstrated their approval by participating in sin by their own choice. Man had the choice of repentance and should be exhorted to repent, but he would not have success until he had a change of heart.

The sinner, then, was wicked and under immediate obligation to repent,

but he could not do this without regeneration, a passive acceptance of grace. Regeneration could be hoped for only through knowledge, repentance, and God's mercy; it provided the new heart that made conversion possible. The individual had no awareness of this transition until he realized a change in his thoughts and acts, a turning to God and Scripture. "There must . . . be a distinction kept up between regeneration which is the work of God in giving a new heart, and in which men are perfectly passive, and active conversion, in which men, being regenerated, turn from sin to God in the exercise of repentance towards God and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, and in consequence of which they are pardoned and received to favor and a title to eternal life."¹⁶

Thus, salvation was offered to all who seriously desired it. It must, therefore, be presented to all, so that truth could be brought out and the unconverted discern divine things. The Elect would use these means for repentance, however, the unregenerate would not be moved, with two possible results. The sinner might simply reject the Gospel out of hand, or he might try to repent, not for the love of God, but to save himself. Without real desire for change, however, the sinner would inevitably fail. This explained those people whose hearts were touched at every revival. In either case, these aware sinners were more despised by God than those sinners who were unaware of their state.

Hopkins' ideas were largely a reaction against Edwards' concepts of "true virtue" and "Being in general." Hopkins' misgivings first occurred in 1765 but his conclusions were not developed until the publication of An Inquiry into the Nature of True Holiness (1773). Hopkins' thought was influenced not only by Edwards, but by his years at Housatonic and at his

new parish, the First Congregational Church of Newport, Rhode Island, where he served from 1770 to 1803. In Newport he was confronted with "good" people who profited from the misery of the slave trade. Hopkins reacted strongly against the possibility that Newport might be a prototype for America's future. Hopkins found that Calvinist social values did not work in a changing America where communal values were rapidly evolving toward acquisitive, egocentric norms. Edwards' works were too abstract to deal with these worldly problems. Rather than spurring people to salvation and social action, they led to passive contemplation and mystic otherworldliness.

By holiness, Hopkins meant the opposite of self-love. To him, self-love was the sin which blinded the heart to moral excellence and was responsible for the world's impiety. Holiness, then, was universal, disinterested benevolence. While Edwards described benevolence as the total of God's attributes, Hopkins equated benevolence with God. So, to practice benevolence was to act in accordance with God's nature and will. Benevolence required that one love others as much as the self; only then could the individual make necessary sacrifices for the greater good.

Hopkins denied the existence of natural virtue, because it was a concept borrowed from rational philosophy that was both ethically and spiritually dangerous in its reliance on self-love. Hopkins believed people were dominated by either self-interest or virtue. If one chose to love God because he realized it was in his self-interest not to be damned, then he did not in fact love God but himself. In such a situation the individual was attempting to avoid hell, not serve God. Salvation required that the individual remain unaware of his love for God, and even

be willing to be damned in order to serve God's greater glory. Such damnation was not something for the individual to be pleased with, or even desire. It simply implied a willingness to make any sacrifice necessary for the greater good. In short, the individual should be completely indifferent to all that related to the self, even salvation. Such an idea was the opposite of the sensationalism Edwards used.

Sinners reached the state of virtue by means of "disinterested benevolence." By disinterested benevolence the sinner demonstrated his love of God and of his neighbor by losing himself in a cause higher than personal salvation. One worked for the temporal and eternal well-being of others. Thus, disinterested benevolence was more than saving souls. It was the desire to relieve suffering. It must be practiced towards all, including heathens who were perishing because Christians were failing to practice disinterested benevolence. "In the practice of the greatest self-denial a person does not divest himself of a love of happiness," Hopkins wrote, "but he places his happiness, not in his own private interest but in a good more worthy to be sought, viz., the glory of God, and the prosperity of his church and kingdom. For the sake of this he gives up the former and forgets himself."¹⁷ Disinterested benevolence provided a primary feature of the Second Great Awakening by its call to action. It was a call which complemented the millennial expectations of the evangelicals and gave the penitent a concrete opportunity to do God's work.

Joseph Bellamy also brought a greater sense of pragmatism to Edwards' work. Like Hopkins he was a Yale graduate and student of Edwards. Bellamy served as an itinerant preacher for two years during the Great

Awakening, and later established a frontier seminary at Bethlehem, Connecticut. Bellamy was more oriented towards the needs of his audience than Hopkins, and although he largely agreed with Edwards, Bellamy made certain key departures from both Edwards and Hopkins. In True Religion Delineated (1750) Bellamy found that "as to natural capacity, all mankind are capable of a perfect conformity to God's law, which requires us only to love God with all our hearts: and that our inability arises merely from the bad temper of our hearts."¹⁸ This inability was grounds for repentance. Sin itself was voluntary, a decision made in the sinner's heart. Therefore, preachers must realize that sinners can repent and exhort them to do so immediately.

Bellamy made a major departure in his discussion of election and atonement. He believed that election was not due to man's actions, nor to God's capriciousness. God was required to exercise love and act for the welfare of being. God always acted from love and the interests of his creatures rather than from his own sovereignty. So, Christ did not die only for the Elect. If that were so, God could not save other believers. Rather, Christ died for all. Once an individual repented and loved God, he was capable of loving his neighbor. Yet, to love God out of fear of damnation was selfish, and, therefore, did not lead to salvation. Bellamy wrote that regeneration was the result of an "evangelical humiliation" in which the individual became so aware of his sins that he was filled with self-loathing as he appeared before God.

The New Divinity represented a definite departure from its mentor, Jonathan Edwards. Because the New Divinity men did not appreciate the subtleties of Edwards' understanding of virtue, they attempted to remove

the sensational component in favor of a discouraging legalist logic. As the New Divinity men adjusted Edwardsean theology, Americans went on to the sensory experience of war and rumors of war (1756-1783). Such activities usually turn men's minds from religion, but the use of Puritan rhetorical imagery which at various times equated both France and Great Britain with the Anti-Christ kept religious values firmly in mind.

IV

The Second Great Awakening (1790-1840) combined sensationalism with theology, and religion with good citizenship. Calvin, Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins and the Puritan forefathers were all offered as serious reading material. The republican ideal of a virtuous citizenry working for the general good seemed compatible with the Hopkinsian aspiration of disinterested benevolence. As the political excitement of revolution diffused into the confusion of the postwar period, New Englanders turned again to religious concerns and soon identified their clerical partners in the struggle for salvation.

The first giant of the new revivalism was Timothy Dwight, a grandson of Jonathan Edwards, who had studied theology with his uncle, Jonathan Edwards the Younger. Dwight served as a chaplain during the American revolution, and became greatly concerned about the moral fiber of the new country. He believed that there was much in the contemporary situation which presaged the millennium. The revolution had been God's vengeance on Great Britain for her selfishness, and presented a new opportunity for progress, but it had brought also a new skepticism of religion which must be crushed. Dwight believed the new nation must be humble before God since its very existence was due to God's sovereignty, and that such

humility would intersect with the political need for virtue.

In 1795, Dwight preached "The True Means of Establishing Public Happiness" in response to the Whiskey Rebellion (1794). In it he asserted that freedom alone was not enough, that men could be free and still be miserable. The true aim in life must not be freedom but happiness which could only occur by way of the virtue that comes from a religious education and public worship.¹⁹ Politics could never be separated from morality and were a function of a moral society. Freedom was the reward which Americans received for their spiritual character and moral virtue. The relationship of religion and the state must be reciprocal and inseparable. Religion provided good citizens and good laws while the state supported both high moral standards and religious education in addition to setting an example through its public officials.

Dwight marked a return to the idea of free agency as God became less autocratic and more republican. God now called man to voluntary obedience, and a contractual faith by which man received grace in exchange for his trust in God. God's foreknowledge was no longer a hindrance to man's free action. In fact, Dwight suggested that such metaphysical subjects as predestination were not fit sermon topics, because they confused listeners. Dwight wanted to simplify religion. In his effort to revive experiential piety, Dwight stressed human activity and the use of means.

The two natural means to salvation were religious education and public worship, the very institutions Dwight recommended to a virtuous citizenry. These means would train the will in the proper direction. When the educator was successful in his persuasion, it was because the

Spirit enlivened educator's preaching and restored the souls, yet the institution provided the Spirit with the opportunity to touch men's hearts. Saving grace was the regular effect of a virtuous environment, and God's sovereignty was exercised as He placed man in an environment suitable or unsuitable for the growth of piety and eventual salvation. However, though God might place man in a conducive environment, man still had power to resist the Spirit. Man's submission to God came from the fear and love he might feel for a stern parent. Above all, man's submission was voluntary.

Dwight made two major departures from the New Divinity. First, he found the idea that a man must be willing to be damned if he would be saved abhorrent and asserted that God's glory rested in man's happiness. Consequently, Christians were unable to wish themselves damned since only the intense introspection of the New Divinity men. Not only did Dwight stress the fruits over the inward state of piety, he even declared that one could resist the Spirit and still do His work. Dwight conceded the importance of the inward state, but not its absolute requirement. Such an attitude would be a boon for the Benevolent Empire.²⁰

Dwight never fully relinquished the New Divinity but his modifications gave way to a new approach which blossomed in the 1820s and 1830s under the leadership of two of his students, Lyman Beecher and Nathaniel Taylor. A doer with little interest in pure theology, Beecher would stretch Dwight as far as possible before his partnership with Taylor. The joint efforts of Beecher and Taylor gave birth to the New Haven Theology and the use of "new measures." Taylor took Dwight's alterations to their natural conclusion that if man was free, God must be limited. Such a

philosophy was necessary for maximum results at a revival, and was, in part, responsible for keeping the revival fires lit through the 1840s.

Dwight is often given credit for igniting the Second Great Awakening by a three year series of sermons, Theology Explained and Defended, presented at Yale (1799-1802). This credit is in error, since Dwight's first showers of 1802 occurred fully three years after the first great wave of revivals while his students at this time were too young to hold leadership positions in the movement. The fact that several of the early revival leaders had studied with Bellamy and Edwards the Younger demonstrates that the New Divinity remained a strong force in the early nineteenth century.

Dwight's Theology, however, served to prove that orthodoxy was man's most useful system in providing happiness. Dwight used these sermons as a vehicle for harmonizing Calvinism with the new American values. Within this system revelation superseded regeneration as the source of truth. Faith in doctrine was not enough; one must also be concerned with God's law.²¹

Dwight found divine law the source of perfect happiness. As people followed that law, they became praiseworthy and God rewarded them with happiness. The purpose of divine law was God's glory and the law could be enacted only by intelligent beings. The first law was to love God which included goodwill and benevolence to all God's designs and gratitude for his kindness; violation of this law was the source of all sin.

We unite with God, and the virtuous universe in voluntarily promoting that supreme good, which by his own perfections, and their instrumentality, he has begun to accomplish.

This work is literally divine . . . an immense and eternal kingdom of virtue and happiness: all that wisdom can approve or virtue desire To choose it, is to exhibit the best of all

characters. It is to choose what God himself chooses; to act, as he acts; and to be fellow workers together with him in the glorious ediface of eternal good.²²

All had a part in God's work, and all must actively follow the two commandments of moral law, i.e., the love of God and one's neighbor. The disposition of this law was "disinterested love, or the Spirit of doing good."²³

Dwight's emphasis on the laws to love God and one's neighbor demonstrate that despite his quarrel with the New Divinity on God's sovereignty, he had no real argument with the idea of disinterested benevolence. The practical application of that concept had always been less Hopkins' idea of voluntary damnation than the idea that in loving God's creatures and creation, man loves and serves God. This latter idea rested on the importance of fruits in the establishment of God's Kingdom. It gave reality to the practice of mission and social reform. The Second Great Awakening is remembered less for its theology than its activity, because its theology required that activity.

Dwight was gratified by the fruits of this Theology at Yale and thence throughout New England. As students responded to his exhortations, Dwight tried to reduce the emotional aspect of the conversion process. He counseled young people under conviction to determine whether they were ready to enter God's service and abide by His will in all things. The path of piety was also the path of duty; religion was less an inward feeling of solitary devotion and mysticism than religious activity in daily life and a growing awareness of divine things. Dwight and the majority of the New England clergy believed that the emotionalism of the First Great Awakening must not be repeated if the movement was to have

credibility; and they were able to deflect that emotional energy into paths of social reform which would also hasten God's kingdom on earth.

The most prominent practitioner of Dwight's path of action was Lyman Beecher. Beecher arrived at Yale in 1793 presumably inclined toward religious matters despite the rationalist Yale atmosphere. During his first year the young man nearly died from scarlet fever. Dwight became president in Beecher's junior year; that same year, Beecher underwent conversion. Beecher noted that he had already chosen the ministry prior to conversion, a fact which probably bothered him. Conviction came from a chance remark of Beecher's stepmother that a passing drunk had once been under conviction. Beecher felt an impulse to pray, fell under conviction and proceeded to conversion in the classic Calvinist pattern.

My convictions of sin were in accordance with my educational belief [strict Calvinism], and were deep and distressing, to the cutting off of all self-righteous hope from native excellence, or acceptable obedience in any action, social, civil, or religious, and laid me low in an agony of self despair, at the foot stool of mercy, as unholy, totally depraved, justly condemned, and hopeless of regeneration and pardon but through²⁴ the infinite sovereign mercy of God, through the merits of Christ.

While under conviction, Beecher read Edwards' Life of Brainerd as well as Edwards' theology and tracts, but later said he was converted in spite of them. Beecher's inspiration was Dwight.²⁵ Beecher graduated in 1797, but remained at Yale another year to study theology with Dwight, under whose tutelage Beecher read Hopkins, Bellamy and Andrew Fuller, an Englishman who taught that men were morally able to repent.

Beecher, as an old man, recalled his conversion and although he clearly favored Dwight over earlier Calvinists, it is unlikely that Beecher was as free from traditional Calvinism as he implied.

Nevertheless, Dwight was a large figure in Beecher's life, perhaps because Dwight's theology diffused Beecher's inner confusion. This was a young man who had suffered continual rejection from his father.²⁶ If he were to accept the Edwardsean position on divine sovereignty, it would be difficult if not impossible to hope for acceptance and salvation. Dwight offered the choice of acceptance to Beecher. Given the choice, Beecher accepted God as he accepted his father. The difference was that God would accept Lyman Beecher as his father would not.

Beecher had received the glorious news of his salvation and accepted the duty of acting on it by spreading his experience to others. Beecher also accepted Dwight's position that religion must create virtuous and moral citizens, that the unsaved could still commit moral acts. The danger lay in becoming so concerned over one's individual salvation that the recipient failed to act upon it. "Do you not know, my friends, that you can not love, and be examining love at the same time? Some people, instead of getting evidence by running in the way of life, take a dark lantern and get down on their knees, and crowd on the boundary up and down, to make sure whether they have crossed it. If you want to make sure, run, and when you come in sight of the celestial city, and hear the songs of angels, then you'll know you're across."²⁷

Beecher believed the problem of man's acceptance by God was at the center of religion. While he continued in the Calvinist tradition of man's accountability for his sins, and the inescapable fact that man could not choose to do good without the aid of the Spirit, Beecher also declared that despite man's accountability, God would only damn those who deliberately chose sin and rebellion. An Edwardsean would find little

difference with this opinion, since without the Spirit man was incapable of choosing correctly, but Beecher found in favor of free will, and man's participation in his own salvation. Without this option revivals would be pointless, and Beecher, above all, was a revivalist. Theology was of little real use to him.²⁸ Beecher strongly advocated the use of means, and to Beecher means were closely associated with, if not indistinguishable from, morality. The self could not become active without the moral character provided by religion. This same moral/religious education brought conversion. It was but a short step to public morality for its own sake. "I believe fully that we are no longer to trust Providence, and expect that God will indicate His cause while we neglect the use of appropriate means. God never has in this manner vindicated His cause; He never will."²⁹ Rather, Beecher asserted that conversion came from passively receiving religious education and acting upon it. Beecher advised those under conviction to get enough sleep, exercise and eat a balanced diet. They were not to fast or spend time in excessive prayer and introspection, because such activities led to depression and unwholesome mental excitement. They also led to the emotional release that Beecher rejected. Beecher defined a Christian as one with a wholesome, healthy outlook on life who demonstrated his love of Christ by imitation. The Christian obeyed God both externally and in his heart, and urged others to do likewise. He did not dwell on his state of salvation but turned to vigorous action in God's service.

In retrospect, one of the Beecher children stated that Lyman Beecher used his preaching to awaken men, answer their objections to the Gospel and show them a Gospel which was not at variance with common sense so that

men could be led into an intelligent repentance.³⁰ What Beecher was doing differed little from Dwight's attack on the rationalists at Yale. Beecher took Dwight's concept of the use of means and developed it into the voluntary reform societies of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which would serve as means. Reform and revival would inspire each other. By emphasizing man's free will to choose salvation, all men could and would be saved. Such a thought not only brought hope to those who felt incapable of achieving salvation under consistent Calvinism; it also fit the hope of the new republic and its cocky belief in itself.

Beecher arrived in Litchfield, Connecticut in 1810, shortly after the Reverend Dan Huntington led a revival that had converted three hundred. The call came from the influence of Judge Tapping Reeve, a founder of the Litchfield Law School. Reeve's first wife was a granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards, and Reeve was probably inclined toward a New Divinity outlook. Beecher came to the judge's attention through the efforts of two of Beecher's former tutors at Yale, Judge Gould of the law school and Sherman, who gave Judge Reeve a copy of Beecher's sermon on "The Government of God desirable" which had a definite Hopkinsian tone. After some investigation, Reeve influenced the selection of Beecher who was happy to accept.

When Beecher arrived, he found a rural town in a state of transition. There were numerous small businesses and many citizens participated in the textile industry by carding wool at home. The law school had a growing reputation as a improvement over reading law with an established attorney. Sarah Pierce had established her Female Academy, one of the earliest opportunities for female secondary education. In short,

Litchfield was in a state of flux, and soon became a center for revival.

Beecher began preaching for a revival as soon as he arrived. He preached twice on Sundays, exhorted in the evenings and encouraged the deacons to pray for the revival. Within a year, Beecher wrote Asahel Hooker that after two or three excommunications to prove his intent of purifying the church, there were signs of an impending revival.³¹ When the revival came about 1812, it lasted four years, not only in the town of Litchfield, but throughout that part of the state.

For Beecher, successful revivals were the first step on the road to voluntary associations and the millennium. Beecher originally conceived of voluntary associations as a weapon against disestablishment, though when he was unable to prevent that, Beecher declared that disestablishment had freed the voluntary associations from government influence.³² For Beecher, the millennium would establish a society where both public opinion and law insured propriety, order and temperance, much like the early commonwealth of Massachusetts. Society could reach perfection, though human nature could not, hence the need for vigilance until the coming of the Kingdom. To this end more clergy were needed to spread the Gospel in a ratio of one clergyman per one thousand people. To this end, Beecher was active in the Charitable Society of Connecticut for the Education of Indigent, Pious Young Men for the Ministry of the Gospel, one of the earliest voluntary associations. It was but the beginning.

V

The tension of the Reformed Calvinist tradition had a profound effect on those who used its theological framework as a guide to salvation, because the sinner was essentially powerless before a righteous God.

Throughout its intellectual development orthodox Calvinism maintained an uneasy balance between a legalism which offered candidates the dubious security of a contractual relationship with God and a mysticism which could bring men to the heights of hope or the depths of despair by restoring God's seemingly capricious sovereignty. Calvin's original concept of predestination as the logical outcome of God's omnipotence had been obscured long before the New Divinity tried to restore an element of predictability to metaphysical events.

The New Divinity effort to bring God under control again limited man rather than God with the doctrine of disinterested benevolence, because that doctrine essentially denied man's instinctual nature. The love of God and its fruits were no longer sufficient as motives were brought into question. The Christian was now in a state of constant doubt. After five years as a missionary in the Sandwich Islands, Levi Chamberlain lamented, "I do not read the Scripture with the Self-application that I once did. -- I have not a quick moral sense. I have hardened my heart to the fear of God. It is my belief that [I] have not yet surrendered my heart unto God. God is not in all my thoughts."³³ Chamberlain obviously did not trust in the efficacy of means preached by Dwight and Beecher, but suffered from wandering thoughts and a lack of meditation time.

Indeed none of the missionaries demonstrated confidence in the use of means. While they supported the religious organizations of the revival, and the connection between religious education and a moral citizenry, the missionaries were inclined to view virtue as a fruit of God's grace. Their concept of religious education returned to Cotton Mather's assertion that the minister must preach to all as if all would be saved, but not with

that expectation.

The missionary enterprise, however, depended on the support of a broad spectrum of people, most of whom accepted Beecher's views on salvation. In their eyes, the missionary in the field had made the greatest possible sacrifice and his or her place in heaven was assured. Martha W. Bliss expressed this view in her letter to Elizabeth Bishop.

I feel . . . as though missionaries were those whom the Saviour delights to honor I know their station is enviable, even while I grieve for their sufferings. I trust," Martha Bliss continued, "that you live in the constant enjoyment of religion. I always feel as though the attainments of missionaries were vastly above those of common Christians. They appear much more dead to the world, & their affections more elevated.³⁴

The missionaries also had this concept of themselves, and their failure to live up to it led them to question the reality of their salvation.

Before entering the stage where one could either admire or become a missionary, however, one must undergo a converting experience, most often at a revival or prayer meeting. The act of conversion separated the candidate from his previous life for a month, a year, or a lifetime. Some converts changed their professions, others their leisure activities. All experienced a psychological phenomenon.

ENDNOTES

1. The basic sources for this general discussion of Calvinism and the early development of the Puritan tradition are: Alan Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955); William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952); Perry Miller, "Preparation for Salvation in Seventeenth Century New England," in Nature's Nation, (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press, 1967) 50-77; David D. Hall, The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972). For information on the Calvinist concept of church and state, see: Michael Walzer, The Revolution of the Saints: A Study in the Origins of Radical Politics, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1965). Source material pertaining to the theological response to the antinomian crisis may be found in: Sacvan Bercovitch, The American Jeremiad, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1978); James W. Jones, The Shattered Synthesis: New England Puritanism before the Great Awakening, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973).
2. Hall, pp. 15-16.
3. Jones, pp. 34-50.
4. Jones, pp. 75-87, 125-127.
5. Source material for the Great Awakening was taken from Howard Frederick Vos, "The Great Awakening in Connecticut," (Ph.D. dissertation, Northwestern University, 1967); Edwin Scott Gaustad, The Great Awakening in New England, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957); Alan Heimert, Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution, (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1966). For information referring specifically to Jonathan Edwards, see Clyde A. Holbrook, The Ethics of Jonathan Edwards: Morality and Aesthetics, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1973); Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards, (William Sloane Associates Inc., 1949).
6. Jonathan Edwards, "The Works of President Edwards," vol. 3, 9-23 in The Great Awakening: The Beginnings of Evangelical Pietism in America, ed. John M. Bumstead (Waltham MA: Blaisdell Publishing Company, 1970), p. 31.
7. George Whitefield quoted by Joseph Tracy, in The Great Awakening (1845; reprint, New York: Arno Press & New York Times, 1969), p. 105.

8. Jonathan Edwards quoted by Sydney E. Ahlstrom, in A Religious History of the American People, Vol. I (Garden City NY: Image Books, 1975), p. 368.
9. Edwards, "Justification by Faith Alone," in The Great Awakening: Documents Illustrating the Crisis and Its Consequences, ed. Alan Heimert and Perry Miller, (New York: Bobbs-Merril Company Inc., 1967), pp. 10-11, 13.
10. Ibid., p. 8.
11. Edwards, Thoughts on the Revival of Religion in New England and the Way in which it Ought to be Acknowledged and Promoted, (Northampton: Semeon Butler, 1819), p. 192.
12. Edwards, "A Treatise Concerning Religious Affections," in The Great Awakening Documents, pp. 518-520.
13. Ibid., pp. 254, 531-532, 535, 538.
14. Source material for the New Divinity was taken from: Frank Hugh Foster, A Genetic History of the New England Theology, (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963); Heimert, Religion and the American Mind, op. cit. For information referring more specifically to Samuel Hopkins, see: Joseph A. Conforti, "Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity: Theology, Ethics and Social Reform in Eighteenth Century New England," William & Mary Quarterly, 37 (1977): 572-589, and Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry and Reform in New England Between the Great Awakenings, (Grand Rapids: Christian University Press, 1981); Oliver Esibree, "Samuel Hopkins and His Doctrine of Benevolence," New England Quarterly, VIII (December 1935): 534-550.
15. Vos, pp. 112-113.
16. Foster, p. 135.
17. Ibid., p. 155.
18. Ibid., pp. 110-111.
19. Kenneth Silverman, Timothy Dwight, (New York: Twayne Publishers Inc., 1969), pp. 95-96.
20. The Benevolent Empire was a loosely connected group of voluntary societies which included home and foreign missions, the American Sunday School Union, American Tract Society, American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, American Colonization Society, Prison Discipline Society, General Union for Promoting Observance of the Christian Sabbath, Cent Societies, etc. Their purpose was to encourage the millennium by restoring God's moral government and spreading the Gospel utilizing clerical leadership and lay participation. These voluntary societies and associations also

served to replace the former institution of the established church (see note 32). Foreign missions would become the umbrella for all of these associations.

21. Timothy Dwight, Theology; Explained and Defended, (New Haven: T. Dwight & Sons, 1839), Vol. 3, p. 53.
22. Ibid., p. 68.
23. Ibid., p. 163.
24. Barbara Cross, ed., The Autobiography of Lyman Beecher, (Cambridge MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), Vol. 1, pp. 28-30; Lyman Beecher, Views of Theology, (Cincinnati: Truman and Smith, 1836), p. 154.
25. Cross, pp. 28-30.
26. Ibid., p. xii.
27. Ibid., p. 48.
28. Beecher's theology consisted of ten basic points: 1. Men are free agents, and therefore responsible before God. 2. Divine law requires love of God and the duties derived therefrom. 3. Our ancestors broke divine law by withholding love from God and man. 4. The penalty of the law cannot be diverted or pardoned. 5. Jesus atoned for man's sin. Therefore, God forgives men if they repent and have faith in Jesus. All men are invited to repent and have the assurance of pardon. 6. Man is kept from repentance by his obstinance. 7. God overcomes man's obstinance by way of the Spirit. 8. The Spirit is given at God's discretion, but is so associated with the means of salvation that He encourages all those who utilize the means and rejects those who do not. 9. Believers are justified by Christ's merits through their faith. 10. God exercises providential judgment and governs in accordance with His plan. He is revealed in the Trinity.
Lyman Beecher, "The Faith Once Delivered to the Saints," repr. in William G. McLoughlin, ed., The American Evangelicals 1800-1900, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1968), pp. 70-85.
29. Cross, p. 48.
30. Marie C. Caskey, "Faith and Theology in the Beecher Family," (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1974), p. 67.
31. Sidney E. Mead, Nathaniel William Taylor (1942; reprint, Archon Books, 1967), p. 78.
32. In 1818 the Congregational church in Connecticut lost its favored position as the established, i.e., state supported, church of that state a position it had enjoyed since the founding of the colony. No longer could Congregational clergy from their favored position

collect monies or dictate social mores. The voluntary associations that became the basis of the Benevolent Empire were formed in response to this "disestablishment." Massachusetts and other New England states followed Connecticut's lead in disestablishing the Congregational church.

33. Levi Chamberlain, March 24, 1828, Journal, ML, HMCSL.
34. Martha W. Bliss to Elizabeth Bishop, January 5, 1826, ML, HMCSL.

CHAPTER IV

THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

"And it came to pass, that, as I made my journey, and was come nigh unto Damascus about noon, suddenly there shone from heaven a great light round about me. And I fell unto the ground, and heard a voice saying unto me, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And I answered, Who art thou, Lord? And he said unto me, I am Jesus of Nazareth, whom thou persecutest. . . . And I said, what shall I do, Lord?"

(The Acts of the Apostles 22:6-10)

The conversion experience was the most significant event in the life of a Christian within the Reformed tradition. It segregated him or her from the rest of the world and offered the hope that the baptismal candidate was a member of God's Elect. For Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins the conversion experience was as cataclysmic and significant as it had been for their Puritan antecedents. It was only after conversion that Edwards' love toward Being in general and Hopkins' disinterested benevolence could occur, because it was the conversion which focused an individual's attention on God. A twentieth century study has continued this view, stating that after conversion, "we must seek the Kingdom of God for no other reason than the fact that it is God's Kingdom; we must love our neighbour [sic] for no other reason than he is God's child; we must forgive our brother for no other reason than that God has forgiven him."¹

A successful conversion experience leads to a complete negation of self in favor of doing God's will as it is defined by the controlling

institution. This total commitment to an ideology usually occurs during adolescence. Puritan ministers had observed that if a youth had not converted by the age of twenty he or she was unlikely to do so. Erik H. Erikson's work on the development of identity and the life cycle verifies this Puritan supposition.²

Erikson defines seven stages of life, each of which requires a developmental decision. Adolescence is the fourth and perhaps most crucial stage, because it is the stage of identity formation. During the course of adolescence the individual judges himself as he perceives the judgment others have on him. This largely unconscious process often manifests itself in peer groups. By late adolescence the individual must make a choice based on the impressions he or she has received. The decision making process can be a traumatic one which some resolve through neurotic behavior and others through participation in an ideological or religious movement. The attraction of such movements is their precise definition of good and evil, friend and foe. An effective ideology provides a youth in crisis with an identity by imparting a clear perspective of the future, uniformity, and a collective affiliation. Within the ideological movement the youth finds both freedom and discipline; adventure and tradition.

An individual's religious conversion during the early nineteenth century most often occurred under the auspices of a revival.³ The candidate became predisposed to conversion through certain external stimuli which might occur either before or during a revival. These stimuli included suggestion either through sermons or tracts, the example and experiences of others, political and social pressure, aesthetic

stimulation, nationalism, natural and social disasters, church attendance, illness and emotional crisis. Any or all of these phenomena could occur on an individual basis, but a revival was a cathartic experience within a social context that created the expectation of conviction and conversion. An effective preacher such as Lyman Beecher used these means in order to bring out his audience's emotional vulnerability as he stirred them with the reality of their sin and vulnerability before God. Then, when they were most susceptible, the minister offered the release of God's love and grace.

The extreme emotional stress of the revival causes the reversal of behavior patterns which the religiously inclined term a conversion.⁴ It places the individual in a suggestible state in which he or she may hear voices or receive visions. Revival leaders encourage the same emotional stress that an individual would experience at the death of a close friend or relative in much the same way that Jonathan Edwards' sermons came to duplicate the result of the deaths at Puscommuck. Once the individual is in a receptive state, he or she can easily accept beliefs which were once greeted with skepticism, especially if those beliefs are held by others in the crowd.

The emotional stress induced by the minister in his listeners is called conviction.⁵ The minister must convince his audience of their guilt and sin, an accusation to which adolescents are especially responsive, because they are often subject to deep conflicts that cannot be explained or controlled. Conviction provides an identifiable cause for the conflict in the concept of sin. Once the subject falls under conviction the minister encourages him or her with the promise of grace.

The subject, having already acknowledged his or her lack of self-control can more easily be persuaded to appeal to God's mercy with the resultant conversion experience freeing the individual from conflict and providing a new identity in which the individual sees his entire life in reference to God. This was what Edwards meant when he wrote of man's unity with God's moral beauty, and the necessity of acting upon the divine will in order to perceive this mystical unity.

The conversion experience alone was a sufficient assurance of salvation for the Puritans, but Lyman Beecher and other clerical leaders of the Second Great Awakening recognized the necessity of continued support for the new believer. During the era of Puritan hegemony that support had been an integral part of the social structure, but in a more secular age Beecher urged the development of voluntary reform societies to nurture the newly regenerate, and provide the means of acting upon God's will. Such group support provided the new convert with the structure that must define his or her new life.⁶ Eventually, the new believer's orientation changes and his will corresponds more completely with God's. Periods of doubt, uncertainty and aridity, however, are brought on by exhaustion and melancholy, and never cease entirely. After five years in the mission field, Levi Chamberlain could still exclaim, "Sin has still a strong power in my soul. I am far from being holy: There are so many things in me that are wrong and absurd, that I almost fear; my heart will never be right -- I am certain that it is beyond my power to make it better."⁷

II

As already indicated the Second Great Awakening was not so much a

departure as a continuation of energies set in motion in 1740, yet it took a different course. Its popularity, timing, organization and general make up were affected by the social changes of post-revolutionary America. The eighteenth century social hierarchy had collapsed. Murder, suicide and drunkenness were on the rise. There was a new competition and obsession with wealth and individuality. While the clergy and political leaders expressed confidence in the nation's future, the middle and lower classes were in disarray. Erik H. Erikson indicates that such an environmental situation can only heighten the need for ideological bonding, especially by the young.⁸ In a new republic with no past, no customs and no stable economy, in which many felt demoralized by the popularity of rationalism, communities felt an even greater need for spiritual cohesion. In such a situation the triumph of the republic owed much to the ideal of the American mission, a religious ideal that gave the nation a past and a future in terms of the sacred history of New England while making both politics and law the fulfillment of prophecy, and elevating immigrants into the chosen people.⁹

To a large extent the revivals were caused by the revolt of the individual from this new social system with its heavy demands and from an institutional religion which had grown too secure. There was a desire to take control of one's own spiritual and temporal destiny. Perhaps most disappointing in the new celebration of the individual, however, was the disturbing spectre of facing death alone. In this new world there was no one with whom the individual could share his fears. The sense of loneliness and a lack of identity had much to do with the desire of individuals to unite with others suffering the same distress. In this

sense, the revivals were spontaneous and preceded the clergy's ability to harness them. The wisdom of the clergy was their ability to perceive what was happening and provide guidance.¹⁰

The effect of social, political and economic change also altered the relationship and roles of men and women. While feminists dwell at length on the sequestering of women into the domestic world, men also suffered from their forced participation in the world of economic struggle. Men learned that in the new world of commercial capitalism one must keep personal self-interest at the forefront of his motivating factors. Morality, sentimentality or consideration for others was detrimental to economic success, and so men defined these traits as feminine and relegated them to the domestic sphere. Men soon discovered, however, that though they might not exercise those qualities, they still needed them, and must turn to women who now monopolized all nurturing qualities. Men married to receive emotional support and women for economic support, yet the marital state, though symbiotic, served to further isolate the partners into their respective spheres.¹¹

Men usually converted in response either to the social pressure of women in their life or from a genuine fear of going to hell. For men, conversion was a brief experience during which they felt guilt for specific sins and desired the relief from their remorse and assurance of heaven. It was a struggle to admit that God's power was greater than man's, but once the issue was settled, it seldom changed the course of a man's life. Such an individual would not have entertained the pre-revolutionary concepts of conversion, nor did most seriously consider a life of disinterested benevolence other than contributions to reform

societies. If conversion occurred, it must be while the subject was still a young man by which term contemporaries described a man of vigor, optimism, ideals and emotion, usually between the ages of eighteen and thirty after he had left the paternal home.¹²

In some cases, the conversion experience resulted in a young man's revulsion against business, politics or the professions as too tainted. Yet, to meet both society's and his own expectations, a young man needed a career. The burgeoning voluntary and reform associations provided men with careers that allowed them to establish organizations, set standards and lead men without compromising their ideals.¹³ Levi Chamberlain and Charles Stewart were susceptible to this phenomenon. Both gave up promising careers for the mission field where they proceeded to make themselves as indispensable and influential as they might have been in any other business or profession.

The social and religious function of women had changed dramatically by the early nineteenth century. In Puritan society women had an assigned place. They had immortal souls, were capable of reason, understood their fate, and stood equally with men as members of the Elect. Yet, they were inferior to men, as, indeed, everyone was inferior to someone and had a fixed position in the society which was necessary for its proper functioning. The fact that women could join the Elect, were equal before God, and were contributing members of society ensured them the respect of the community.

The Puritans perceived marriage as an earthly symbol of man's physical union with Christ. As man was subordinate to Christ, woman was subordinate to man. Women who failed to serve men, failed to serve God.

A woman who did not accept this situation could never be among the Elect. Thus, the concept of woman's sphere was firmly established at the beginning of the American Puritan experience.¹⁴

The First Great Awakening did not change women's place, in fact, it destroyed the inroads women had made into general society. By the late seventeenth century women had dominated church membership rolls. Women's social submission to men may have made their submission to God a more natural experience and vice versa. Edwards, though returning to the theme of equality before God, re-emphasized woman's taint from Eve. Edwards declared that men had reason and women, affections; that God had made women weaker and more fearful so that men might protect and defend them. Edwards had no place for women who were outspoken or presumptuous. Men's public sphere and women's private sphere remained separate.¹⁵

Given this situation, the idea that women lost status after the Revolution when men moved into the public economic sphere and women remained at home is questionable. In fact, women's situation may have improved when the domestic world was defined as important as the repository of affectionate values.¹⁶ However, even as society gave women a definite role, it indicated that role's unimportance, because it had no economic value, and people seldom wish to identify with that which has no value. Consequently, women began to upgrade their position. Motherhood and the nurturing of children into the values and virtues of good citizens became the epitome of social value. The home became sacred, protected, and the cult of domesticity was born, less as a gilded cage than a vocation. This cult became women's path into public life, because it gave women the right to work in all areas of social and moral

reform.¹⁷ Thomas Branagan was to exclaim, "I do, indeed, extoll the female character higher than the male, in those qualifications which ennoble human nature, and make it almost angelic."¹⁸

The uplifting of domesticity presented other problems, for domesticity, despite Catherine Beecher's later efforts, required a husband. Yet, not only was there a surplus of marriageable women, but the new individualism precluded an arranged match. Women were completely dependent on a man's whimsical decision, making their future uncertain. Alternative vocations might include work at a textile mill, or, as women gained more education, a teaching position. Both alternatives led to an uncertain economic future and the substitution of peer groups for family ties. The uncertainty of a young woman's life made her more susceptible to conversion than a young man.

The first requirement for a virtuous woman was piety. The fear of the Lord brought wisdom and understanding, not as a "slavish fear which fills the mind with gloominess and distress" but the filial fear of a child for an indulgent parent.¹⁹ More to the point, the Christian community could provide the necessary model for identity formation. Within the Christian community women found the security their world lacked. The decision for salvation also gave women a sense of control over their own lives.

Women normally underwent a painful, protracted conversion process. While a revival might turn their thoughts to serious religion, women underwent a long period of emotional conflict. The requirement that they submit to God often led to a desire to rebel against God's authority, yet, women feared the consequences of such rebellion. Their hostility was also directed against men's authority. Women underwent much guilt for

these desires and suffered in the contemplation of their sinful natures. Those under conviction found female prayer meetings the best means of conversion. Here they could express their anxieties and receive sympathy; here they found role models and security. The crisis suppressed their anger in favor of submission, but the anger remained, and was often sublimated in encouraging others to convert or in defying male authority in order to attend to religious concerns. The repressed anger also led to the continual fear of backsliding when women realized they had not truly accepted submission.²⁰ As Clarissa Lyman wrote her parents:

The most important yet the most difficult duty we are called to perform is the duty of self-denial. It is easy to profess an attachment to the Redeemer's cause. It is easy to do many things which he commands; - but to sanctify the corrupt passions of the heart, and cheerfully and unreservedly to surrender all we have to the service of Christ is a task so difficult that the grace of God alone can enable a sinner to perform it. . . . I do not consider the mere act of giving up the world as evidence of piety. It is much easier to give up the world than to give up the heart to God.²¹

IV

The event generally characterized as the Second Great Awakening is difficult to pin down, especially in the early years that concern us, because it was a mixture of grassroots spontaneity and clerical guidance; of religious piety and social dislocation. There were scattered revivals in Connecticut in 1767 with the highpoints of religious fervor in 1797-1801; 1802-1806 (Yale); 1807-1808 (Litchfield); 1812 (War of 1812); 1815-1816; 1820-1821, and 1825-1826.²² Through preaching, journals, and voluntary associations the clergy sought to guide and sustain the revival. Their lack of direct control convinced the clergy that the work was truly God's. Charles Thompson later wrote that "this revival, so quietly conducted that while in the midst of it you would hardly know, by

any outward stir, that there was a revival at all, shook the new states."²³

Indeed, the revivals were noted for their very stillness. Meetings were held in churches, schools, and homes, often segregated by sex. People behaved calmly, giving testimony of their faith in order to encourage visitors. There was virtually no itinerancy. The only major exception was the Reverend Asahel Nettleton, whose preaching was described by witnesses. Charles Thompson described Nettleton as "a remarkable man . . . for his power of producing a great excitement, without much appearance of feeling. The people do not either weep or talk away their impressions. The preacher chiefly addresses Bible truth to their consciences."²⁴

The more common form of quasi-itinerancy was "circular fasts," pioneered by Lyman Beecher in the Litchfield Association. Clergy visited villages in twos, preaching revival. They were able to maintain the excitement of itinerancy by sending word of their immanent arrival and past successes, but also by maintaining a sense of responsibility for those who responded. Benjamin Trumbull of the North Haven Church gave his opinion that while ministers did not cause the revival, they were its necessary agents, for only a well-instructed individual or congregation would be able to respond. Dwight's emphasis on religious education was echoed throughout the revival.

The awakening began in the Connecticut River Valley and spread through New England and western New York. It was most effective with people who attended church regularly. Indeed, during this early period their purpose was less to reach unbelievers than reinvigorate people already in the

church circle, by providing them with a new sense of excitement and assurance, and encouraging them to reach out to unbelievers; to prepare for the Kingdom. Among the major leaders, besides Dwight and Beecher, were Nathan Strong, of the First Church of Hartford; Charles Backus, a student of Bellamy; and Trumbull. These men were also the ones who started the journals for the publication of God's work and sat on the boards of benevolent societies. They were able to guide the revival by institution and example, but they did not lead it.

As in any revival, the major consideration was conversion, that is, the acceptance of God's sovereignty, the redemptive power of Jesus Christ, and the doctrines of the institutional church, which changed the outlook of the recipient from secular to spiritual concerns. It had evolved since the Puritans began defining the process. Charles Backus said it was difficult to tell when conversion occurred, but usually the regenerate would love God and the faithful more than themselves and would so glory in God's excellence that they would forget their own condemnation (though men would always be criminals in God's eyes). In many ways the lives of believers would not be visibly distinguished from those of others.²⁵ The conversion process was a gradual one, and sinners were given various activities to aid in their regeneration, e.g., worship, reading Scripture and prayer; the appeal was to the intellect, not the heart. Human activity must be replaced by stillness so that one could contemplate one's sins. Such stillness was often achieved only on the deathbed of the sinner or his or her friends. The disturbing quality of death often sent people into devastating introspection as they tried to integrate their inclinations with their knowledge of religion. Conversion relieved the

sinner of the guilt and powerlessness such introspection revealed, and provided the inner peace he or she craved. In 1740 this would have been enough, but by 1800 the new Christian was enjoined to press on into the Christian life, to make the outer world conform to the inner ideal.

Most converts were young; of these, most were young single women. Those raised in pious families were the most affected, perhaps because they had lived with religious anxieties a long time. Preachers also used peer pressure, the example of early deaths, or the occasion of birthdays to remark on the fleeting quality of life. These fears often remained with the converted long after their salvation should have been assured. Sybil Moseley, a member of the first missionary company to Hawaii, found her birthday to be a day of anguish rather than celebration. "For what purpose do I live," she asked, "when the close of each year finds me so much conformed to the world, and so little transformed by the renewing of my mind as the beginning! O that I had the evidence within that I was doing the work given me to do."²⁶ And, even after three years in the mission field, Elizabeth Edwards Bishop lamented, "This day [June 2, 1826] completes my twenty-eighth year. I find little satisfaction in the review of the year that is gone by. Most mercifully has the Lord dealt with me yet how few and feeble my attempts to glorify Him either by exercising pure and holy affections or by endeavouring to benefit the ignorant beings around me."²⁷

A number of journals, mostly short lived, appeared to spread the news and enthusiasm of the revival. The three of most interest to the New England revival and later missionary cause are the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine (New Divinity); the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine (New

Divinity) and the Panoplist (moderate Calvinism). The last was founded in 1805 by Jedidiah Morse to counter the liberal Monthly Anthology and Boston Book Review. While maintaining a Calvinist flavor, the Panoplist also emphasized man's role in salvation. Religious interests were allied with social conservatism. In 1808 the Panoplist merged with the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine but retained its free will outlook. Two years later Jeremiah Evarts joined the staff as editor.

Religious publications documented popular religious and secular concerns which sometimes differed from theology. Certain doctrinal truths were widely accepted: the perfection of God, the divine origin of Scripture; the Trinity; Christ's redemption; the corruption of the universe; salvation by grace; the Spirit's sanctification of the heart; justification by faith; the perpetual and moral obligation of divine Law; the Christian church; resurrection; judgment, and the ultimate joy of the righteous and misery of the wicked.²⁸ There was also some discussion of issues that separated New Divinity orthodoxy from the moderate Calvinism of Dwight and Beecher, e.g., the use and efficacy of means. However, despite their variations, both groups agreed on the essential tenets of Christian life, such as the new benevolence the sinner would feel towards all in God's creation and the regenerate's desire to help all creatures by temporal and spiritual means.

A turning point was reached with the War of 1812 which became a testing ground for those who would guide the benevolent empire. Calvinists could not help but oppose the war. As Jedidiah Morse questioned the war he brought out several points. The United States appeared to support the cause of France, a nation under control of the

Anti-christ (Napoleon); only Great Britain, whom Americans now fought, had kept this beast from dominating the world; Britain had taken the lead in spreading the Gospel; and no good could come of a war directed against God's friends. Aggressive war was contrary to the Gospel, and this war placed Americans in alliance with both the Anti-christ and the pope. If God should be so merciful as to lift this affliction from a still sinful people, Christians must work for national reform and the elimination of vice.²⁹

The unexpected peace brought a sense of urgency to reformers. Jeremiah Evarts, Lyman Beecher, and Timothy Dwight emphasized the need to elect godly men, or at least men of good moral character, to public office. More importantly, they urged Christians to act in the cause of reform of Christ's kingdom. Good citizens must think only of the universal good, and they could do so only with God's help. The clergy urged the Christian community to serve as the New Jerusalem and save society. The city on the hill was refurbished as partisan politics and the new economic liberalism were rejected, and replaced with voluntary societies. As Trumbull declared, the maintenance of religion, morality, and social stability required keeping the Sabbath, providing Bibles and religious literature to all citizens, and providing religious education for children.³⁰ Through moral reform the church would again exercise influence over the entire community as the Saints once had dominated the colony of Connecticut.

Public response, inspired by preaching and religious periodicals, was immediate. Various societies had been established, e.g., the American Tract Society (1803). Now there was steady and committed growth. The

American Education Society (1815) sponsored regenerate, but poor, young men for the ministry. The American Bible Society placed a Bible in every home. The idea that the intellectual approach was the key would prevail until Charles Finney introduced his "new measures."

Of particular significance to the missionary movement was the founding of Andover Theological Seminary in Andover, Massachusetts. Not only would the school be instrumental in training missionaries but it would also bring together the New Divinity and moderate Calvinists in Massachusetts. Jedediah Morse was instrumental in effecting the compromise; Hopkinsian doctrine was embedded in the school's creed, and Leonard Woods became the first Abbot Professor of Christian Theology. Timothy Dwight spoke at the opening ceremonies, urging that a good minister should preach undefiled doctrine in a manner which would stir people to vital piety. Though Hopkins was required reading, the school maintained close ties with Yale. The divergent wings of Calvinism came together.

V

Several of the men and women who volunteered for the mission field had received conversions which not only changed their perception of the world, but also the entire course of their respective lives. Hiram Bingham was the product of a pious household, but it was not until 1811 when the young man was twenty-two that he made a public profession of faith at the Congregational Church of Christ at Bennington, Vermont where his father served as deacon. That "spiritual season of divine searching" changed the direction of Hiram's life from farming to God's service. "God had crowned my life with undeserved mercies, he then blest me with a good constitution and good health, & with mediocrity of talents, & as I was led to believe,

had given me a desire to serve him in the gospel of his Son."³¹

Apparently, the Bingham family was accustomed to the effect of spiritual seasons; among Hiram's five brothers, two became ministers, and two, doctors.

After losing his parents at about the age of thirteen, Samuel Ruggles "began to feel that I was a dependent creature, and to reflect on the goodness of God towards me, since I was bereft of earthly parents. This led me to think upon myself and to consider my heart, which I found full of iniquity, ingratitude and guilt. About this time it pleased God in his infinite mercy and rich grace . . . to bare my will and make me choose Christ."³² The experience inspired Ruggles to seek an education, and by 1817 he had determined on a missionary career, concerned that if he was not chosen soon, he would have to go into business due to his poor financial condition. After his mother's death in 1807, Samuel Whitney "became the subject of serious reflection. Then about 18 years of age I experienced what I thought to be the Christian hope. In my 21st year I made a publick profession."³³ The experience inspired Whitney to reject shoemaking in favor of the ministry; he entered Yale in 1817 at the age of twenty-four.

Levi Chamberlain made perhaps the greatest change in lifestyle when he met Christ, for he had been a successful businessman. Levi began to think seriously about religion at age seventeen, when he was afflicted with the health problem of "raising blood." The young man concluded that "God has arrested me in the progress of evil by depriving me of health" thus demonstrating the fleeting quality of life. "God grant that I may profit by his wise dispensations."³⁴

Indeed, Chamberlain did profit. In 1817 he and Jesse Holbrook became partners in Chamberlain and Holbrook, a Boston mercantile devoted to the buying and selling of European, Indian and American products. Levi became a heavy donor to missions and other philanthropic causes. In September, 1818, Levi Chamberlain's life changed.

One morning Christ "appeared to be the centre point the grand focus where the Spirit concentrates the only visible amidst invisible," Chamberlain wrote, "I could conceive of him as standing between heaven and earth." In response to this vision, Chamberlain desired "to give up myself soul and body to [Christ] . . . to renounce all other lords, all other masters I do desire to give him my whole heart & to keep nothing back, my temporal substance is his to be used in his service."

Two days later Levi Chamberlain joined the church and recorded,

This is a day which will be eternally remembered, for on this day in the presence of God, angels and men I came forward and solemnly took upon me the vows of God & gave myself up in a public manner & had the ordinance of baptism administered & partook of the sacrament. By these solemn ordinances I have professedly become the Servant of Christ. I have pledged myself to be faithful to his course and promised never to dishonor it. I profess to have experienced a change of heart, to depend on the agency of the Spirit to carry on the work untill my sanctification be complete & untill I shall arrive to the fulness of the stature of a perfect man in Christ. And now I have put my hand to the plow & I cannot go back, henceforth the eye of the world is upon me.³⁵

Levi Chamberlain took his new commitment very seriously, and established a system to prevent the threat of a "stupid" frame of mind.

I resolve to remember my vows made when my soul was in trouble
1. Never to let a morning pass by without secret serious prayer & reading the Scripture [except when it was unavoidable] 2. Prayer & reading the Scriptures in the evening subject to the same exceptions
3. As circumstances will admit prayer & reading the Scripture seriously in the middle of the day. 4. Circumspect conduct in my walk in life 5. Never to use unprofitable words but rather words which shall be for the edification of myself & others. 6. To

keep my thoughts employed about some serious thing & occupied . . . in holy meditation 7. To examine myself frequently, if possible once a week as to the safety of my condition & the foundation of my hope.³⁶

William Chamberlain commented to his young relative "You observed to me in a letter sometime since that your views respecting religion were altered - you was never an infidel, but no doubt thought it of far less importance then it really is, or as you may now deem it to be, even the first concern."³⁷ Levi Chamberlain embarked on a year of serious prayer and soul searching with the assistance of Christian friends, confiding, "It has pleased that infinite God . . . greatly to exercise my mind about the concerns of my soul. I hope I have been enabled to see something of the evils of sin & of the desperate wickedness of my heart; to believe that the heart must be renewed by divine grace And it has pleased this same Almighty Being, at length to enable me to hope in his mercy." Chamberlain began to wonder "what will be the natural result of my attachment" to Jesus, and about his lack of spirituality and faith. At length Levi decided to give up his mercantile business to seek an education, and began a course at Andover, but was, at twenty-nine, too old to complete the full course. Chamberlain reflected that although "I once thought that I was bound by no tie to my fellow creatures stronger [than] that which obliged me to pay my just debts, and to conform to the rules of moral honesty I was brought to see . . . that I was a lost sinner . . . and was involved in the condemnation of a violated holy law . . . and finally that if I was ever saved it must be through faith in the merits & atonement of Christ, then I felt that God had a right to my services, that my fellow creatures had claims upon me."³⁸

Levi Chamberlain applied to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to serve the Indians. Instead he became the assistant to Samuel Worcester, and later joined the Second Company to the Sandwich Islands. Chamberlain did not "seek not [his] own good or glory; but the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom, I ask not for ease or long life . . . Let me spend my strength in disinterested efforts to do good."³⁹

William Richards took a more direct path to Christian commitment. He felt his first inkling of "Christian hope" in 1808 at the age of fifteen and made a public profession three years later. Richard's oldest brother, James, graduated from Williams College in 1809, completed Andover Theological Seminary in 1812, and was one of the founders of the American Board. James went on to study medicine before departing as a missionary to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) where he died in 1822.

William Richards later wrote that James had had a powerful influence on his life. William followed in his brother's footsteps in both education and vocation. Shortly after his arrival at Williams College, William wrote his father, "I have never since I commenced studying with a view to preparations for the ministry wished . . . to relinquish it. . . . It seems to me that in a stronger manner than ever I wish to devote myself to the cause of Christ."⁴⁰

Female missionaries expressed far more emotion and even desperation in their conversion experiences than their brethren. Sybil Moseley fell under conviction at the age of nineteen after losing her parents. The young woman did not believe in the efficacy of means, and wrote, "Not everyone that talks of Religion - not everyone that is less attached to the world on account of afflictions - not everyone that exhorts others to

seek the salvation of their Souls - not everyone that prays has had their Sins forgiven . . . but will be cast into outer darkness. Will not that be my doom? Am I not vainly imagining I love religion? Can the Saviour love the holy government of God, when in reality I do not?" Sybil received a converting experience, but did not fully trust her ability to repent. On January 15, 1812 she recorded "I have, in the presence of Men, of Angels, and of my Maker, entered into a most solemn and everlasting covenant to be the Lords [sic] I was enabled in some means to feel my unworthiness, and through divine grace, in some degree to rejoice in the Lord." But despite this assurance, "I wander, will ever love to wander" from God's blessings.⁴¹ Three years later, Sybil reflected on her service to God. "Oh! how little have I brought forth." To rectify this situation, Sybil expended much energy and prayer to encourage a revival at her school in western New York, but to no avail, "I leave my school without witnessing what I had anticipated."⁴²

Clarissa Lyman began to meditate on her sinful condition at the age of twelve, but for ten years was unable to renounce the world. "The possibility that the Bible might prove true often disturbed my carnal security and caused me to tremble." At sixteen, she determined "to make a more vigorous effort and if unsuccessful never to disturb myself with regard to the future." After much study and prayer, Clarissa's "understanding" was convinced and she accepted Christ as fulfilling God's Law.⁴³

Conversion changed Clarissa Lyman's life. "When I professed my faith in Christ - and my allegiance to him, I felt that I was no longer my own." After reflecting on God's grace, "I felt that no sacrifice would be

considered too great to make for the promotion of his word." She was sure that if her sacrifice was to be in the missionary field, all obstacles would disappear.⁴⁴

Harriet Tiffany did not experience conversion until she was twenty-one and deeply affected by the deaths of several friends and her own poor health. Upon conversion, Harriet dedicated herself to the cause of God. Her proclivity towards missionary work was inspired by Melville Horne's Letters on Missions.⁴⁵

VI

The theology of the Second Great Awakening with its roots in consistent Calvinism and its branches pruned by Dwight and Beecher created an atmosphere in which an individual could undergo a profound converting experience and truly change the direction of his or her life. Hiram Bingham, Charles Stewart and Levi Chamberlain provide solid examples of men who rejected secular standards of success after their conversion and applied that same energy to God's service. Samuel Ruggles, Samuel Whitney and Hiram Bingham made a commitment to education in order to prepare themselves for a professional position they would not otherwise have investigated. Only William Richards seems to have approached conversion as a natural rather than a cataclysmic event.

Death and illness was a strong motivating factor influencing conversions, if only because it forced the candidate to reflect on the fleeting quality of life, a favorite theme in evangelical preaching and literature. Sybil Mosely, Samuel Whitney, Samuel Ruggles, Lucia Ruggles, Elizabeth Edwards, Levi Chamberlain and Harriet Tiffany all suffered the loss of friends and relatives at an impressionable age. In general, most

people experienced the death of close friends and relatives far more frequently in the early nineteenth century than in the twentieth century, but familiarity with the process of death does not necessarily remove its traumatic effect on those left behind. The brevity of life often made salvation an urgent event.

The environment of religious ferment was also a factor in conversions. Charles Stewart converted at Litchfield, Connecticut, home of Lyman Beecher and a center of revivalism. Hiram Bingham converted during a spiritual season and Sybil Mosely lived in western New York, a region of intense evangelical interest. Printed sermons, religious periodicals, tracts and pious biographies would be found in most Christian homes, popularizing the Calvinist theology of salvation. The religious atmosphere was pervasive whether one was religiously inclined or not. Some of the future missionaries such as Clarissa Lyman, tried to avoid religion, others made a profession of faith which, in retrospect, may have seemed dubious, for example, Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Holman.

Only eight of the missionaries in this study provided any testimony regarding their conversion. Of these, six turned to religion as a result of emotional stress, one as an apparently natural outgrowth of a pious family, and one as a result of scriptural study. The sample is too small for any generalizations regarding the spiritual state of the first two missionary companies sent to the Sandwich Islands, but it does provide a glimpse of the kind of forces affecting the nineteen individuals who left no record of their respective conversion experiences. Without the firm commitment of faith that usually results from a converting experience, it is difficult to imagine what other powerful motivation could have

persuaded people to enter a career promising isolation, frustration and martyrdom with only the possibility of spiritual joy and a celestial crown.

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32. Samuel Ruggles to Rev. Samuel Wooster, Jan. 7, 1817, and to Jeremiah Evarts, Sept. 26, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
33. Samuel Whitney to Samuel Worcester, Aug. 23, 1819, ML, HMCSL.
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42. Ibid., Jan. 1, 1815 and Sept. 5, 1815.
43. Clarissa Richards to parents, Sept. 20, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
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CHAPTER V

HEROES AND ILLUSIONS

"Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all people. For the Lord is great, and greatly to be praised: he is to be feared above all gods. For all the gods of the nations are idols: but the Lord made the heavens."
(Psalm 96:3-5)

The foreign missionary makes the ultimate sacrifice as he or she leaves home, family and friends to spend his or her remaining life in the exile of the mission field. A missionary faces the unknown, a spiritual and temporal wilderness. The most frightening aspect of foreign mission, however, is the inevitable confrontation between the missionary and the indigenous culture.¹ The missionary's response to the new environment has much to do both with the success of the mission and with the impact Christianity will have on the indigenous culture. The response of early nineteenth century American missionaries to Hawaiian culture was shaped by the history of cultural contact between Europeans and non-Europeans, and by the Puritan missionary tradition especially among the American Indians.

A culture often defines itself less by what it is than by what it is not, just as a normal state of mind is defined as one lacking those traits perceived as abnormal.² Therefore, as early men defined their humanity they did so by using the idea of wildness to denote a subhuman category containing all the character traits the designators hoped they did not share. Later, myths developed to explain the culture's approved

values and norms. Within the Judeo-Christian tradition humanity was perceived as unified in principle, though divided in fact. The point of division was not one of physical and cultural differences, but of belief or unbelief.

During the Middle Ages the definition of "wildness" was the flaunting of the three key principles of social order. The "wild man" defied the taboos of sex which resided in the institutions of marriage and the family; sustenance which resided in the physical, social and economic institutions of the culture, and salvation which resided under the auspices of the Church. The "wild man" was to be pitied, because he enjoyed none of the privileges of these institutions, and feared for his raw physical power. By definition, the wild man was ignorant of sin, and, therefore, sinned constantly. Yet because he was ignorant, he was also innocent and this innocence would cause some to admire the freedom the wild man had in his practice of sin and the flaunting of social custom.

During the Age of Discovery (c.1400-1600), the idea of the wild man gave way to that of the noble savage, he who in his primitive splendor and purity, free of the trappings of civilization, represented a lost innocence and freedom.³ The image of noble savagery, however, did not preclude slaughter, enslavement or evangelization. If the European allowed the savage to represent innocence and harmony, his own possession of those traits became questionable. Consequently, the savage had flaws which reduced his stature. He lacked technology; he lacked the Christian faith.

Indigenous culture is disrupted at all levels of cultural contact, whether that contact is with traders, soldiers, sailors or administrators,

but it is most disrupted by contact with missionaries. As a determinant of a culture's lifestyle, religion may be the most profound influence of the human experience.⁴ Religion is such a central element of traditional culture that the terms are almost synonymous, and it is virtually impossible to separate one from the other. This is particularly true in the case of Calvinist evangelical efforts with their emphasis on literacy and western cultural mores, but in no case is it possible for an individual to change his religion without changing his attitude toward his culture and his subsequent interaction with it.

The same principle may be used to define the missionary as an atypical member of his own culture, because his commitment is derived from a conversion experience. While there is no member of a culture who is untouched by the ethical mores and social conduct prescribed by its religion, the individual who has undergone a conversion experience is more representative of those specific cultural aspects. Missionaries share certain interests with all members of their society, such as dress, an abstract sense of justice, a belief in a given type of economic system, certain eating rituals, certain taboos on bodily functions and certain sexual restraints. The missionary, however, is noted for extreme rigidity in terms of sexual conduct and justice, and he has a strict theological outlook that may not be shared by other members of his society. Missionaries are part of the subculture of the converted, perhaps its most extreme element. For the missionary is not only the means for converting the unbeliever, but also a source of inspiration and example for his own culture and subculture.⁵

Writing for Honolulu readers in 1866, William Ellis would hold up the

example of the pioneer missionaries as he reflected, "I often marked and admired their unobtrusive piety, and their persevering conscientious attention to all the great objects of their Mission, their simple style of living, the absence among them of self-seeking and self-indulgence, and their self-consecration to their sacred work."⁶ The implication that Ellis' audience would do well to emulate these selfless individuals is clear.

The Puritans had specific ideas about the need for missionary activity, and these concepts were both a natural outgrowth and a key element of their religious experience. As early as the sixteenth century, Puritan concepts of the millennium stressed that both Jews and Gentiles would be converted in the latter days and indicated that until these conversions occurred, the millennium would not take place. Christ would come after three requirements had been met: the conversion of unbelievers, the gathering of the believers within the church with Christ as the head of the church, and the rule of Christ in the state which would occur as Christian men gained office. Christ's kingdom would be established in the world as soon as a sufficient number of political states had submitted to His rule.⁷ It was with such criteria in mind that the Puritans built the city on the hill in Boston, that it might set the example of Christ's rule as it had once been set at Geneva.

On a more personal, individual level, Puritan theology also recognized man's utter loss without God's grace and the impossibility of salvation without Him as problems needing resolution. All men were the same in their need for grace, and love for the sinners dictated that efforts be made to convert them. Those who were not told of the Gospel would surely

perish, and just as surely come back in the day of judgement to accuse the lukewarm Christian who would not exert himself or herself on their behalf.

The Puritans recognized the need to evangelize the heathen. In general, they would have the greatest impact and devote most of their energies to evangelizing the cultures of American Indians and Hawaiians. The early missionary efforts of the American Board in Asia and the Middle East were far less successful. The reason for varying degrees of success may be found in the social and political structures of the cultures in question. All missionaries considered a thorough understanding of Scripture and doctrine to be the key element of a proper Calvinist conversion. Even Edwardsean sensationalism did not negate the need for a complete religious understanding as verified by a minister. Such knowledge required literacy. Calvinists were a literate subgroup of an essentially literate culture. Literacy was a part of a general education that included basic arithmetic, geography, history, the learning of approved behavioral patterns and the mastering of an "honest" trade.

In Asia and the Middle East the missionaries encountered cultures that shared many of these basic concepts, though they had definite non-Christian variations on the theme. However, among the Hawaiians and the American Indians, the missionaries encountered cultures which in no way corresponded to the Calvinist concepts of education or culture. Instead, they met the "wild man," that unpredictable creature who had to be tamed before he could be converted.

Calvinist missionaries used education to "civilize" those people they perceived as "cultural brutes." They had no appreciation of the rich oral

traditions enjoyed by both the Hawaiians and the American Indians. The missionaries' efforts to introduce literacy would change the way their converts perceived the world.⁸ The power of the spoken word would be reduced as attention shifted from the aural to the visual. The newly literate would be separated from his or her traditional society, and have the choice of either rejecting the education offered by the missionaries or assimilating into the new culture they offered.

There was some question of whether there was, in fact, a new culture for the individual to join. Missionary efforts among American Indians created separate communities of "praying Indians," rejected by both cultures with fatal results during King Philip's War (1675). In Hawaii, however, missionary efforts would touch the entire Hawaiian culture and create a society that was an amalgam of tradition and western concept.

II

The first challenge the English colonists had to face in connection with the Indians was to define who or what the Indians were and what their relationship with the colonists was. Before they ever left England, the future colonists believed that the very fact that English sea power had defeated the Spanish armada in 1588 gave the English the obligation to proselytize unbelievers to the Protestant rather than the Catholic faith.⁹ The colonial charters of Virginia, Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut all attested to this fact by making missionary work among non-Christians a primary objective of the respective colonies.

The Puritans believed that God had reduced the indigenous Indian population in order to clear a place for his Elect. Between 1616 and 1617 a plague of unknown origin removed about one-third of the Indian

population between Narragansett Bay and the Penobscot River. Such losses altered the balance of power and a series of Indian wars ensued, further thinning out the Indian population. Later, a smallpox outbreak affected the Indians near Massachusetts Bay (1633-1634).¹⁰ It was clear to the Puritans that the Indians did not enjoy God's favor.

The Pilgrims who had preceded their Calvinist brethren at Massachusetts Bay by ten years had definite ideas of whose favor the Indians did enjoy. Though aware of their obligation to bring Christianity to the heathen, the Pilgrims believed that a failure of the Indians to respond to such overtures clearly placed the natives in the enemy camp where they could be despised every bit as much as the Israelites had despised the Philistines. The Pilgrims would be fair with the Indians, but would not trust them.¹¹

The Puritans took the idea of their commitment to evangelize the Indians more seriously, and, consequently, had to reach some sort of modus operandi. Though they lacked any sort of plan, and had presented the idea more as a means of gaining their colonial charter than anything else, the problem of Indian unbelief remained, both as a religious and a legal issue.¹² The legal question was easier to solve. The courts gave the Indians protection from exploitation and forbade the purchase of Indian land without permission. The government licensed all trade with the Indians to protect them from the evils of liquor and guns. Aware of the colony's failure to embark on extensive missionary efforts, the Massachusetts Bay General Court required all Indians under its jurisdiction to attend Sunday religious instruction (1644) and set aside lands for "praying Indian" communities (1646).

The problem with this public commitment to convert the Indians was that the Puritans would have to concede that Indians were fully human. In so doing, the Puritans had to admit that they, themselves, were subject to the same uncontrollable impulses the Indians gave way to so freely. The Puritans were convinced that left to their own devices the Indians would worship the devil; at the very least, Indians were the nadir of humanity. If the European did not have to concede that these beings were the same species of men as themselves, that left three possible perceptions. The Indians might be seen as children of the human race whose passions were, as yet, unrestrained by reason. Or, the Indians might be viewed as beings whose enslavement to their passions made them little better than animals. Or, more promising, the Indians might merely be lacking the arts of western civilization.¹³

There were some hopeful signs, however. One of these was the ethnic descent of American Indians. The prevailing view was that the Indians were descendents of Noah via the Tartars and north Asians, but a vocal minority believed the Indians were the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel.¹⁴ First suggested by the Spanish Jesuits and presented in England by Samuel Purchas in 1605, the idea became popular about 1650 with the publication of the Hope of Israel by Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel and Jewes in America by Thomas Thorowgood. Both cited as evidence the similarity of customs, legends of origin, religious beliefs, dress, kinship terms, circumcision practices and linguistic similarities of the Indians and the Jews. The evidence was circumstantial at best, but it fit into the prevailing view that the Jews would be converted before the millennium. The tie of Jews and Indians was a tenuous one, but it gave impetus to those concerned with

the state of Indian souls.

Of more significance was the question of whether the Indians could be educated. The Puritans believed it was their lack of education that made the Indians so different.¹⁵ The gospel could not flourish among the Indians while they remained in such an ignorant state. It would be necessary to teach the Indians the social, cultural, moral, intellectual and religious values of Puritan society. This would be difficult to do unless the prospective converts could be isolated from the influences of their natural environment. After the Pequots and the Narragansetts were subdued (1637 and 1643, respectively), the circumstances for such an environmental experiment were auspicious.

The problems of differentness and unbelief could both be solved by isolating potential converts in separate communities. In these "praying towns" the Indians could be educated in the arts of western civilization. As they learned to live like a Europeans, the Indians would be better able to comprehend the precepts of the Christian religion. Conversion would be the final touch, assimilating the Indians into European culture and removing their more threatening aspects.

According to John Eliot, the most well-known missionary of his time, the first task of the Puritan missionary was to gather the Indians together into "civilized" life in order to provide the necessary external preparation for conversion. The Indians would learn the rudiments of western civilization through disciplined, rigorous training. The men would learn to farm, and women would learn the domestic arts. Both sexes would become literate and so broaden the gap between the praying Indians and their traditional culture. At Natick the Indians learned to build

English houses, follow English law, wear English clothing and reject Indian culture.

Indian children attended school, and were to receive a more complete education in European ways by serving in the colonists' homes. In the late 1630s several Indian children lived in Massachusetts Bay as apprentices and servants, but, on the whole, the program was not successful. Colonists were often hesitant about taking Indians into their homes, and Indian parents were loath to part from their children, even when offered clothing as an inducement.¹⁶ Interestingly, the idea of bringing indigenous children into American homes was revived in the nineteenth century by the American Board in the mission fields of India and Hawaii with similar, unfavorable results.¹⁷

The Puritans might have had greater success if they had not demanded such a change in Indian lifestyle, but the Puritans believed the Indian must undergo the same process of conversion as any Puritan, and, therefore, must understand the Bible and creed in an English context.¹⁸ The Indians were taught the virtues of submission and dependence, to shun evil and feel guilt for any association with it. Indians were taught to be passive and to follow the rules of church and society. In the "Conclusion and Orders" drawn up at Concord in 1647 several sachems condemned drunkenness, powwowing (i.e., the practice of traditional religion), lying, stealing, polygamy, enmity, the picking and eating of lice, body grease, fornication, adultery, murder, howling at funerals and wifebeating. The sachems enjoined their people to seek God, use their time well, be humble, pay their debts to the English, keep the Sabbath, wear their hair in the English fashion and pray.¹⁹ The Hawaiians would

draw similar conclusions from their missionary contact in the nineteenth century.²⁰

The methods of the Puritan missionaries would be widely imitated by their nineteenth century counterparts.²¹ The best known of the seventeenth century missionaries were the Mayhews and John Eliot. The Reverend Thomas Mayhew, Jr. began working with the Indians at Martha's Vineyard in 1642, winning his first convert the following year. Mayhew had one hundred ninety-nine converts by 1651.²² After his son died in 1657, Thomas Mayhew, Sr. continued the work. The Mayhews worked at Martha's Vineyard for five generations until 1803. They stressed conversion before civilization and did not separate believing Indians from the unbelieving. But Martha's Vineyard was isolated and the Indians did not resist the Mayhew efforts.

The Mayhews were more successful in maintaining their converts, but John Eliot was the better known missionary. Between 1643 and 1671 Eliot published eleven pamphlets to gain the interest and support of the English public for his evangelism efforts. In 1646 the Massachusetts legislature passed an act for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians. That October Eliot and three companions went to Nonantum at the invitation of one Waaubon. Eliot preached a one and one-half hour sermon and was invited to return.

Eliot established several missionary themes which would be replayed in the Hawaiian field. Eliot perceived that although the Indians were on the lowest rung of the ladder of civilization, they were also both educable and redeemable by the grace of God. Eliot told the Indians that there were only two basic differences between themselves and the English:

"First, we know, serve, and pray unto God, and they doe not; Secondly, we labour and work in building, planting, clothing ourselves . . . and they doe not."²³

Eliot worked on the basis of three principles. The first was God's sovereignty by which He drew those who had lost true knowledge into the Elect; second, preaching was the means of redemption, and third, everyone could respond to preaching. Eliot believed that once the Indian candidates had been organized into satisfactory political units, they should be joined into a church. In this he was frustrated by the Roxbury elders, and the church at Natick was not established until 1660.

Eliot also strove to preach to the Indians in their own language which was difficult, given the many dialects of Algonquian, but as he translated the Bible and wrote pamphlets the language became more standardized. Eliot did more translation work than any American missionary before the nineteenth century.

There were fourteen settlements of "praying Indians" in 1675 with a total population of three thousand six hundred (about twenty percent of the total Indian population). There were twenty-four Indian churches and these with Indian preachers.²⁴ These same Indians would be decimated by both sides during King Philip's War (1675), a particularly grisly event noted for its atrocities. During and after the war the majority of colonists subscribed to the view that all Indians should be held under the utmost suspicion, thus diminishing the appeal of missionary work among the Indians.

After the war, Cotton Mather, a commissioner for the New England Company, tried to keep the missionary spirit alive by pointing out that

until God's Kingdom arrived, people should strive to create as much of it as they could under their existing circumstances. Converting the Indians was a part of this effort. Samuel Sewall agreed, asserting that there would be no Kingdom without the conversion of the Indians. Most Puritans, however, took little interest in missionary efforts. No new impetus to mission would be felt until the First Great Awakening.

The First Great Awakening produced perhaps the best known of the American missionaries who also served as a role model for the missionary life until well into the nineteenth century. Heavily influenced by Jonathan Edwards, and immortalized by him, David Brainerd was a living example of the Edwardsean love of Being in general. Brainerd also provided an example of the missionary prototype. David Brainerd was born into a pious family. His mother was the daughter of a minister. David Brainerd's older brother, Nehemiah, was a minister as was his younger brother, John, who would replace David in the Indian mission field. The youngest brother died while studying at Yale Divinity School. Brainerd's father died when the boy was nine and his mother, when he was fourteen.

Brainerd underwent a protracted conviction/conversion experience that began while he was studying for the ministry under his brother, Nehemiah, in 1738 and did not conclude until July 12, 1739 when he was twenty-one. Yet, at no time in his life was Brainerd complacent about his salvation. Brainerd's conviction began on a "Sabbath-day Morning" as he "was walking out in some secret Duties" when it pleased God "to give me on a Sudden such a Sense of my Danger and the Wrath of God, that I stood amazed, and my former good Frames . . . all presently vanished; and from the View, that I had of my Sin and Vileness, I was much distressed all that Day,

fearing the Vengeance of God would soon overtake me; I was much dejected, and kept much alone, and sometimes begrutched [sic] the Birds and Beasts their Happiness, because they were not exposed to eternal Misery, as I evidently saw I was."²⁵ Finally, on July 12, 1739, after much distress, as Brainerd was walking in a grove "unspeakable Glory seemed to open to the View and Apprehension of my Soul: I don't mean any external Brightness . . . nor do I intend any Imagination of a Body of Light . . . or any Thing of that Nature; but it was a new inward Apprehension . . . that I had of God, such as I never had before And my Soul rejoyced with Joy unspeakable, to see such a God."²⁶

Brainerd entered Yale that year, but in 1741 he was expelled for attending a revival meeting in defiance of the rules and for alleging that a certain tutor had no more grace than a chair. While at Yale, Brainerd had counseled many students under conviction, one of whom was Samuel Hopkins.

Brainerd recorded that in April, 1742, he had begged God to forgive him for his vileness. Afterwards, Brainerd "began to find it sweet to pray; and could think of undergoing the greatest sufferings in the cause of Christ, with pleasure; and found myself willing . . . to suffer banishment from my native land, among the heathen, that I might do something for their salvation."²⁷ The following November the Society in Scotland for Propagation of Christian Knowledge accepted Brainerd as a missionary to the Indians.

It was not an easy life. In 1743 Brainerd confided to his journal, "My circumstances are such that I have no comfort of any kind, but what I have in God. I live in the most lonesome wilderness."²⁸ Two years

later Brainerd confessed that after an attack of depression, he returned to his missionary labors at "peace in my own soul; and was satisfied, that if not one of the Indians should be profited by my preaching, but they should all be damned, yet I should be accepted and rewarded as faithful."²⁹ Four months later (from June, 1745 to March, 1747) Brainerd was gratified to lead his Indians in a revival, baptizing seventy-seven the first eleven months.

Brainerd left the mission field only as a result of disease. He had suffered from tuberculosis since his college days, and his life of deprivation and hardship had also weakened his health. Brainerd spent the remaining year of his life in the Jonathan Edwards' household, nursed by Edwards' daughter, Jerusha, until his death in 1747 at the age of thirty. The couple were engaged and exposure to Brainerd's illness made Jerusha Edwards her fiancée's partner in death, if not in life.

Jonathan Edwards was deeply moved by his guest's piety and dedication to God. At Edwards' urging, Brainerd consented to the publication of his journal. The Life and Diary of David Brainerd edited by Jonathan Edwards first appeared in 1744 and gained the immediate popularity it enjoyed well into the nineteenth century. In an age and region bereft of light reading, Brainerd's story offered the chaste romance of David Brainerd and Jerusha Edwards. For those of a more theological bent, the publication clearly marked Brainerd as one fulfilling the Edwardsean ideal. Edwards commended Brainerd's life to all who would claim a relationship to God as an exemplary model of the true Christian lifestyle. "To Missionaries in particular," Edwards wrote of Brainerd, "may his example of labouring, praying, denying himself, and enduring hardness with unfainting resolution

and patience, and his faithful, vigilant, and prudent conduct in many other aspects, offered instruction."³⁰ Indeed, Dr. Leonard Woods, the Abbot Professor at Andover Theological Seminary, wrote that to neglect to read Brainerd's life was to experience a loss in the permanent advancement of the potential readers' holiness and future usefulness in the ministry. Joseph Tracy noted that Brainerd's journal and biography were extensively read, producing a deep and permanent impression on the Christian world. Alan Heimert has called Edwards' pamphlet on Brainerd the most significant essay of the 1740s, and William W. Sweet asserts that it had more to do with creating missionary interest in America than any other single event.³¹

The Life and Diary of David Brainerd fulfilled all of these roles, because it provided a flesh and blood model of Edwardsean theology and missionary success; albeit a success overshadowed by incredible hardship. But to the readers, especially youthful ones, it proved that good could overcome evil, that the pious youth could gain the love of a desirable, young woman and, of course, that the good die young. Here were no nuts and bolts descriptions of missionary pragmatism, but a glimpse into the soul of one of God's chosen. It was the epitome of Edwardsean sensationalism.

Brainerd was not the only missionary to the Indians during the First Great Awakening. Work among the Indians offered the converted another option for the expression of their love of God. John Sargeant labored in Stockbridge, Eleazer Wheelock at the Moor's Indian Charity School (later, Dartmouth) and two of Brainerd's brothers, David and John, on the Pennsylvania frontier. But these were less introspective men, or at least

less given to confiding their thoughts to published journals, and so evoked little public acclaim. Jonathan Edwards, himself, after his dismissal from Northampton, turned down the invitation of Scottish clerics to join them, choosing instead to serve the Indians at Stockbridge. Here Edwards produced his best systematic theology, though less for the Indians' edification than for that of the New Divinity men. Yet, Edwards' presence at Stockbridge clearly demonstrated his commitment to the missionary cause and provided the New Divinity men with an example of a calling where one could remain ascetic, altruistic and piously pure.

The basic theological, practical, romantic and altruistic impetus for missionary work was now in place. Eliot and Mayhew had proven that it could be done. The theology of the millennium, love of Being in general and Hopkinsian disinterested benevolence proved that it must be done. Brainerd had demonstrated who must do it. The missionary cause was a Christian duty in which all Christians had a part. However, the missionary calling was for special people whose faith and commitment set them apart as people chosen by God to serve as an example for both the heathen and their Christian brethren. The Indians were almost incidental, exotic but familiar. In 1840, as Joseph Tracy reflected on the work of the American Board in the field of Indian missions, he paid the Indians a high accolade. "The result has shown that the American Indians, compared with other heathen, have been remarkable for both readiness and ability to perceive and admit the value of both Christianity and of civilization No other savages have so readily thrown off their barbarism and become civilized men."³² Tracy suggested that any who doubted his opinion were either ignorant or coveted Indian land.

III

The opportunity of the Indian mission field was ever present, as was the growing need for home missionary work in post-revolutionary America. But while both were necessary, neither captured the public's imagination. The constant, mundane presence of these two fields lacked the romance and excitement of a great cause. The Second Great Awakening would act as a midwife for the two all-consuming causes that grew and flourished in early nineteenth century America. The one, abolition, had the advantage of environmental familiarity, but it was a familiarity that led its members into a spiritual wilderness disrupting religious and secular unity to the point of civil war.

The other great cause was foreign mission. Here was a program bringing spiritual union, an ideal none could seriously fault, an opportunity offering all levels of membership vicarious romance and excitement. Once the idea was presented to them, religious leaders understood that the cause of foreign mission would not only benefit the unbelievers and the coming of the Kingdom, but would also encourage the growth of voluntary societies that replaced the established church in Connecticut in 1818. Disinterested benevolence and its ultimate example of foreign missions would facilitate the convert's need to demonstrate the fruits of his or her conversion. Above all, "prayer and effort for the heathen [would and did excite] prayer and effort for those perishing at our own doors. The two sentiments [would and did have] a reciprocal action to invigorate each other."³³

Americans, caught up in the excitement of founding a new nation, were not the first to discover foreign mission. That distinction belonged to

the British who launched the movement with the founding of the London Missionary Society in 1795. It was not surprising that the British would develop a parallel interest in evangelism. The British were also suffering from the effects of revolution, though of a more technological nature. British clerics were aware of the need to assert Christian values in an increasingly secular society, and came to the conclusion that to save the social order they must save Christianity as the basis of society. British religious leaders turned to foreign mission with much the same needs and effect as their American cousins would. In fact, the British movement for evangelism and foreign mission was a direct outgrowth of Edwardsean theology as it had filtered through the Scottish church.³⁴

The rhetoric of English missions and the news of actual British missionary activities greatly influenced the American commitment to such a large project. London Missionary Society sermons began appearing in the United States in 1797. Copies had been sent to the Reverend Alexander McLean in Maine and were reprinted for an enthusiastic reception, especially among divinity students. Melville Horne's Letters on Mission appealed to a broader audience including Harriet Tiffany Stewart. Horne was a British chaplain at Sierra Leone, and the book consists of letters he wrote British clergymen arguing for the need of mission work at home and abroad. The Christian Researcher in Asia by the Reverend Claudius Buchanan, a Scottish Episcopalian who worked in India for twelve years, was an American bestseller during the War of 1812, and not only awakened further American interest in missionary work, but also added to the controversy over the war.³⁵

The news of actual mission fields was also widely read by the American

public. The first issue of the Panoplist which began publication in 1805 carried stories about the London Missionary Society's work in South Africa among the Hottentots, in Ceylon (Sri Lanka), in Surat (in western India) and in Tahiti as well as news of a British Baptist mission in Bengal. The first mention made of the Sandwich Islands in the Panoplist occurred in 1808. In an article reprinted from the Evangelical Magazine, the newspaper reported that in 1806 a ship's captain had informed two missionaries in Tahiti of the presence of Isaac Davis and John Young in the Sandwich Islands and the advances these men had made in civilizing the islands over the past fifteen years.³⁶ "How happy should we be to add, they have also the privilege of hearing and knowing the joyful sound of the gospel!" the editors exclaimed.³⁷

For the New Divinity men, missionary work was both the natural outgrowth of the revival and irrevocably identified as a sign of the latter days, since God's Kingdom could not come until all peoples had heard the gospel, repented, converted and lived lives of disinterested benevolence. As early as 1799, Hopkins was able to note five missionary societies, four of these were Edwardsean in outlook. Jonathan Edwards, the Younger, Benjamin Trumbull, Samuel Hopkins, Timothy Dwight and Lyman Beecher all took an active interest in the establishment and work of missionary societies.

Timothy Dwight was a founding member of the Connecticut Missionary Society in 1798, donating \$1000 to the cause. Using the London Missionary Society as a model and aware of their proximity to the American frontier, the membership of the Connecticut Missionary Society pledged themselves to Christianize the Indians and to promote Christian knowledge

among the new settlements of the frontier. Efforts to work with the Indians proved too costly, however, and were set aside in 1803 until the American Board pledged itself to the Indian field.

The Massachusetts Missionary Society began the following year with Samuel Hopkins serving as vice-president. The society was primarily concerned with reaching settlers on the frontier and sent missionaries to Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Rhode Island, Ohio and Illinois armed with Bibles and religious tracts. By 1824 the society would sponsor two hundred twenty-four full time missionaries. Such a large enterprise required funds, and the Massachusetts Missionary Society provided a model for the umbrella organization the American Board became. To publicize their work the society founded the Massachusetts Missionary Magazine in 1803 which later merged with the Panoplist. In 1802 the first Cent Society began at Boston, collecting one cent each week from its members for the missionary cause. The ladies were also enlisted into an auxiliary, the Boston Female Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge.

To provide spiritual nourishment the monthly Concert of Prayer was revitalized. The concert had begun in Scotland in 1744 and had been adopted by Jonathan Edwards with the idea that on a given day all good Christians would unite in their prayers for the revival. The concert was revived by the English Baptists in 1784, then by the London Missionary Society in 1795, and finally by the missionary societies of the United States as a day when Christians would unite their concerns for the success of the missionary cause. The Concert of Prayer would have a special significance for missionaries in the field, alleviating their sense of

isolation and frustration.

On February 3, 1823 Clarissa Richards knew that on that particular day "the Christian world are praying for us, & for that cause which we profess to have near our hearts Could they be made sensible how liable we are to sink into a state of apathy without this intelligence to invigorate our dying faith Surely they would not be cold and heartless in these petitions this evening. But . . . they would use importunity in pleading for blessings, not only on those who have devoted themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen, but, that happy day may be hastened when the kingdom of this world shall become the peaceable kingdom of our Lord."³⁸ Charles Stewart reflected that April 7, 1823 had also been the day of the Concert of Prayer. "While the burden of our petitions, . . . was 'Thy kingdom come!' the objects, and the end, of the Missionary cause rose with all their moral sublimity on our view." Stewart believed that every such service must effect the heart believing in prayer, "especially on that of the Missionary, who, however unknown, however solitary and destitute, still feels that he is included among the scattered bands for whose special blessing the followers of Christ unitedly" bend their knees and lift their hands in prayer."³⁹

The training of ministers was of great concern to the New Divinity men and the problem was especially acute in Massachusetts. In 1805 the Hollis Professorship of Divinity at Harvard College had gone to the Liberal, Henry Ware; Liberals were also appointed to four other chairs. In response, Jedidiah Morse, an Old Calvinist, facilitated the establishment of a seminary focusing on consistent Calvinism at Andover. Morse had long been active in the cause of missions among the Indians, serving in both

the Massachusetts Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians and Others of North America. Morse had also begun the Panoplist as a newspaper promoting Christian orthodoxy.

Prior to the loss of Harvard to the Liberals, other consistent Calvinists had made plans for a seminary and lined up three wealthy backers; William Bartlett, giving \$30,000; Moses Brown, giving \$10,000; and John Norris, giving \$10,000. Samuel Abbott gave \$20,000 to endow a professor of theology and left a legacy of \$100,000 to the new seminary.⁴⁰

The purpose of Andover Theological Seminary, as stated in its constitution, was to increase the "number of learned and able defenders of the Gospel of Christ as well as of orthodox, pious and zealous ministers of the New Testament."⁴¹ The faculty included Edward Dorr Griffen who also served as president, Leonard Woods as the Abbot Professor of Christian Theology, Samuel Worcester and Samuel Spring, these latter two representing the Hopkinsians. Each was college educated and a member of either a Presbyterian or a Congregational church.⁴²

The entering class of thirty-six students included Adoniram Judson and Gordon Hall. They were joined the following year by Samuel Mills and James Richards. These young men were vitally concerned with foreign missions. Andover Theological Seminary made a conscious effort to attract poor but pious youth who would have no other access to the ministry. Candidates for entry were required to have certification of good character and have completed a liberal education including the ability to use Latin and Greek. The school would provide them with an education of sound Calvinist principles, room, board and books. In this way the founders

hoped to train orthodox ministers to serve throughout the nation. During the early nineteenth century, Andover supplied the majority of pastors for the Congregational churches of Massachusetts, nearly all the missionaries serving the American Board, and many of the Presbyterian ministers serving in the middle and western states. Andover also became a leading institution in the areas of theology and biblical research.⁴³

Another institution of importance for the development of missionary interest and the training of missionaries was the Foreign Missionary School located at Cornwall in Litchfield County, Connecticut. At a meeting at Timothy Dwight's home, the founders, John Treadwell, Timothy Dwight, James Morris, Reverend Chapin, Lyman Beecher, Charles Prentice and Joseph Harvey, drew up the constitution for the school. The stated purpose of the institution was "the education . . . of heathen youths, in such a manner, as, with subsequent professional instruction, will qualify them to become useful missionaries, physicians, surgeons, schoolmasters or interpreters, and to communicate to the heathen natives such knowledge of agriculture and the arts, as may prove the means of promoting Christianity and civilization." According to the Panoplist, the students would be taught English, spelling, reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, geography and religion.⁴⁴

The school not only trained the heathen but also those who hoped to serve as missionaries. Samuel Ruggles, James Ely, Thomas Holman and two of Daniel Chamberlain's sons, Dexter and Nathan, worked at Cornwall before embarking for the Sandwich Islands. The school also had some illustrious students. The impetus for its founding had been the presence of five youths from the Sandwich Islands, one of whom was Henry Opukahaia, or

Obookiah as he was known in New England.⁴⁵

The young Hawaiians were the best known students at the school in Cornwall. They were first brought to the public's attention by the publication of a pamphlet by the American Board entitled Narrative of Five Youths of the Sandwich Islands. Four of them had been recommended to the American Board and were being taught under Board auspices. These had demonstrated signs of piety. The fifth was under no such conviction, but was the son of the king of Kauai, one of the Sandwich Islands. Thomas Hopu [Hopoo] left Hawaii in 1809, sailing aboard the Triumph with a Captain Brintnell to New Haven. After fighting in the War of 1812, Hopu returned to Connecticut, was converted at Tarringford in 1815 and baptized two years later. The Panoplist praised Hopu's known zeal, saying he burned "with ardent desire to carry the heathen glad tidings of salvation to his perishing brethren."⁴⁶ John Honolii [Honooree] arrived in New England in 1815 and within a year Hopu had assisted his Hawaiian brother in a growing awareness of sin. William Kanui [Tennoe] also showed hopeful signs of conversion and was assisted in his quest by a circle of pious females who met weekly to pray for William's conversion. Their prayers were answered at New Haven in 1815. More compelling was the case of George Kaumualii [Tamaree] whose father had sent him to America at the age of six. George also served in the War of 1812 and was in the navy when the American Board arranged for him to attend school at Cornwall. George never did convert, but in 1818 the Panoplist could assure its readers that George had "seasons of religious impressions."⁴⁷

These four youths gave flesh to the idea of foreign mission, but their presence in New England would be eclipsed by that of their fellow

Hawaiian, Henry Opukahaia who not only received the grace of a classic conversion experience, but also made the deathbed wish that missionaries be sent to bring God's grace to his countrymen. Opukahaia would become a symbol of foreign missions, not only because of his exemplary life and death but also due to the lives he touched.

Opukahaia had accompanied Thomas Hopu on the journey to New Haven. At first both boys stayed with Captain Brintnell's family. Then, Opukahaia met Timothy Dwight on one of his visits to nearby Yale College and joined his family. In 1810 Opukahaia moved on to Torrington, Connecticut where he stayed with Reverend Samuel Mills, Sr., and studied with Mill's son, Jeremiah. In 1811 Opukahaia journeyed to Andover where he stayed with Samuel Mills, Jr., then to the Bradford Academy at Litchfield where both Lucy Goodale Thurston and Elizabeth Edwards Bishop were educated. Here he boarded with Deacon Hasseltine whose daughter, Anne, later married Adoniram Judson, one of the first missionaries to India. The following year found Opukahaia in Hollis, New Hampshire, where he became ill for five weeks. About the same time the young Hawaiian was touched by the Holy Spirit. "Now the decisive proof of true conversion began to appear."⁴⁸

Opukahaia spent the winter of 1813 with James Morris at Litchfield. That same year Opukahaia requested that his friend, Edwin Dwight, who was preparing for the ministry, serve in Hawaii. When Dwight did not immediately respond, Opukahaia quoted Matthew 6:25 to him.⁴⁹

In the fall of 1814 Opukahaia appealed to the North Consociation of Litchfield County to be responsible for him. He went back to Torrington and was baptized there in 1816 at the age of twenty-four. "Mr. Mills

observes, that the account of [Opukahaia's] Christian experience . . . was highly satisfactory."⁵⁰

About 1815 the American Board took charge of Opukahaia and the other Hawaiian youths and placed them with their Foreign Mission School at Cornwall. Opukahaia went on a speaking tour with the Reverend Nathan Perkins, an agent of the American Board, to raise funds for the school. Not only were funds raised, but Perkins reported that Opukahaia did a great service for the missionary cause by demonstrating that people of color were not too ignorant to be taught. "The proof [Opukahaia] gave of talents as well as piety, carried conviction to many that the heathen had souls as well as we, and were capable of being enlightened and christianized."⁵¹ Opukahaia continued to speak to people of his love for God and desire to bring the Christian message to Hawaii. After his speaking tour, Opukahaia was at Andover for two years. He returned to the school at Litchfield in 1817 where he and Samuel Ruggles became close friends. Ruggles resolved that he would accompany Opukahaia home and work with him in the mission field. They both went to Cornwall in 1817.

Opukahaia was suddenly struck by typhus fever and died on February 17, 1818. The young Hawaiian died with his friends around him in a spirit of cheerful resignation. "I have no desire to live, if I can enjoy the presence of God, and go where Christ is."⁵² Opukahaia's only regret was that he was not permitted to evangelize the Hawaiians. Lyman Beecher preached Opukahaia's funeral sermon at the Litchfield Congregational Church, stressing that here was an occasion for a new commitment to the cause of foreign missions. Edwin Dwight, close friend of the deceased, published an edition of Memoirs of Henry Obookiah. It was a runaway

bestseller, going through fifty thousand copies in twelve editions with the proceeds going to the American Board. In September 1819 as plans were being made to send the pioneer company of missionaries to Hawaii, the editors of the Panoplist assured their readers that although Opukahaia was dead, "his prayers and supplications with many tears, for his 'poor friends, and relatives and countrymen'. . . will not be forgotten in heaven; nor must they be forgotten on earth."⁵³ And, they said, the four remaining Hawaiian youths were just as zealous in the cause of mission as their fallen comrade.

Opukahaia did more for the cause of missions in death than he ever had in life. Here was a challenge as necessary and romantic as anything David Brainerd had faced. Hiram Bingham, who never met Opukahaia, but was greatly influenced by him, later reflected in his memoirs that, "Great as were the disappointments and grief at [Opukahaia's] departure, there were consolations in the reflection that the dear youth had himself been plucked as a brand from the burning, and made a trophy of redeeming mercy; and in the hope of his timely conversion, his missionary zeal, his brief and consistent Christian life, and his affecting death, would fan the missionary spirit and hasten the promulgation of the Gospel on the shores that gave him birth."⁵⁴ Lucy Thurston and Charles Stewart both agreed that this young man's death had done more for the Hawaiians than a long life of devoted labor ever could have accomplished, because in death Opukahaia was able to arouse the church to send a mission to the Sandwich Islands.⁵⁵

There remains one other key figure for the development of the foreign missionary cause, a young man of a similar character as David Brainerd, or

so it seemed to his contemporaries, Samuel Mills, Jr. Young Mills' father, Samuel Mills, Sr., was pastor of the church at Torrington in Litchfield County, Connecticut. In 1798 young Mills was convicted by a revival at Torrington. Though three of Mills' relatives joined the church then, Mills, himself, did not experience conversion until 1801. The senior Mills had been a trustee for the Missionary Society of Connecticut. In 1806, as young Mills entered Williams College, his father embarked on a brief mission to Vermont.

When young Mills arrived at Williams College, the school was experiencing a revival. As a part of the revival Mills and several others met for prayer on Wednesdays and Saturdays. One day in August, only five arrived for the prayer meeting; Samuel Mills, James Richards, Francis Robbins, Harvy Loomis and Byron Green. The talk turned to the idea of foreign mission. Mills had been committed to the cause since his conversion. Only Loomis demurred. By 1808 these young men had formalized their association into the secret Society of Brethren.⁵⁶ Great care was taken in the selection of members. "No person shall be admitted who is under any engagement of any kind which shall be incompatible with going on a mission to the heathen."⁵⁷ Activities of the group included the circulation of sermons on the subject of missions in an effort to persuade others to support their cause.

After graduation in 1809 the Brethren scattered to take the call elsewhere. Mills enrolled at Yale, but found the students unresponsive, and, therefore, transferred to Andover. While at Yale, Mills encountered Opukahaia and was made his guardian. The Hawaiian youth made a deep impression on Mills. Writing his friend, Gordon Hall, about Opukahaia,

Mills speculated, "shall we not rather consider these South Sea islands [Hawaii] as a proper place for establishing a mission We ought not to look only to the heathen on our own continent; we ought to direct our attention to that place where we may . . . do the most good, and where the difficulties are the least."⁵⁸

The Society of Brethren was re-established at Andover in 1810; and Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott and Samuel Newell became active in the movement. The Brethren launched a public organization, the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions, in 1811 which was open to any student who had been at Andover three months and showed signs of piety and affection for missionary activity. This group would work out the best method of conducting a mission and inquire into the state of the heathen.

Mills believed there were sound reasons why the time was ripe for foreign missions. American churches were wealthy and that wealth should be spent spreading the gospel; no one could still plead ignorance concerning the foreign unbelievers, and there were other organizations caring for the home mission field. Great Britain was leading the way to missionary success, but Americans should sponsor their own enterprise.⁵⁹ When Judson considered offering his services to the London Missionary Society, Mills responded, "What! is England to support her own missionaries and ours as well . . . I do not like this dependence upon another nation, especially when they have done so much, and we nothing."⁶⁰

IV

It was Samuel Mills, Jr. and the fellow members of the Society of Brethren at Andover Theological Seminary who made the object of foreign

missions a reality. First the society met with sympathetic professors. Then, with official support, the students presented the Bradford Memorial to the General Association meeting of Massachusetts in 1810. The Brethren asserted that if there was no American organization to sponsor them, they would join the London Missionary Society. They need not have worried. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was organized under Calvinist ecumenical auspices on June 29, 1810. Five members were from Massachusetts and four from Connecticut. Their first task was to arouse public interest in the cause and support of foreign missions through the Panoplist and other appropriate publications as well as speaking tours and sermons.

The task was to draw attention to the plight of unbelievers. In May, 1810, the Panoplist urged its readers to "go to your closet; fall on your knees; and, if never before, pray for the poor heathen. Pray for the few, who have left all to carry them the news of a Savior. Pray that more missionaries may be sent forth. And whenever you have a view of Jesus, and have been weeping over the scene of his dying love; whenever your souls are melted into pious tenderness and turned to heavenly joys, Oh, forget not to pray for the poor heathen."⁶¹ Prayer would not be enough, but it was a beginning. Four months later readers were informed that their prayers were answered. Several young men of pious reputation were ready to spread the gospel anywhere in the world. Yet, they needed public support. "Shall this support be wanting? When millions are perishing for lack of knowledge, and young disciples of the Lord are waiting . . . to carry the gospel of salvation to them."⁶²

The answer was no, the unbelievers would not perish for want of public support. In 1812 the first missionary enterprise of the American Board embarked for India. Adoniram Judson, Samuel Newell, Gordon Hall, Samuel Nott and Luther Rice together with their wives began the great adventure. At their ordination sermon, Leonard Woods observed, "Christians have wanted some grand object to seize their hearts and engage all their powers The spread of the gospel and the conversion of the world constitute the very object wanted, — the common cause which ought to unite . . . the great family of christians."⁶³

Christian unity suffered a setback, however, when Judson and Rice converted to the Baptist theology on the voyage to India. But that apostasy was soon overshadowed by the sentimental memoirs of Charlotte Newall who died shortly after her arrival in the mission field and the excitement of launching a mission to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in 1814. Letters from Bombay convinced the American Board and friends of mission that "the missionary work is great, painful and arduous, and requires primitive self-devotion, invincible perseverance and bounteous liberality; but they made it appear that if the work be conducted with the true spirit, in the right manner, and with adequate means, accompanied with the promised influence and blessing of Heaven, the Gospel . . . may spread through the heathen world."⁶⁴

By 1816, however, contributions to the American Board had declined. There were several reasons including the postwar recession, the Baptist apostasy and the fact that India and Ceylon (Sri Lanka) were too remote to hold public interest.⁶⁵ The American Board sponsored the Foreign Mission School as a means of keeping the public focus on mission. That

focus was intensified with the death of Opukahaia, an unbeliever who had received Christ. "Shall the holy flame be quenched?" queried Samuel Worcester, secretary of the American Board's Prudential Committee, "Shall these dear young disciples [from Hawaii] not be allowed and encouraged to return, and publish in their native Isles the Good Tidings Shall they be sent back alone, — without means — without aid?" The Sandwich Islands were ripe "for Christian charity and Christian hope . . . kindly disposed, desirous of civilization."⁶⁶ The Sandwich Islands were exotic, but also had the familiarity of whaler and shipping contacts since the 1780s. They were foreign, but not under British control. The people were ignorant, but able to learn. The public enthusiasm for the Sandwich Islands field is reflected in the hymn William B. Tappan, a noted philanthropist, composed for the departure of the Second Company embarking for that destination. It was an enthusiasm which the fields in Asia, the Middle East and among the American Indians could not match.

Wake, Isles of the South! Your redemption is near
No longer repose in the borders of gloom;
The strength of his chosen in love will appear,
And light shall arise on the verge of the tomb,
Alleluia to the Lamb who hath purchased our pardon;
We will praise again when we pass over Jordan.

The billows that girt ye, the wild waves that roar,
The zephyrs that play where the ocean storms cease,
Shall bear the rich freight to your desolate shore,
Shall waft glad tidings of pardon and peace,
Alleluia . . .

On islands that sit in the regions of night,
The lands of despair, to oblivion a prey;
The morning will open with healing and light
The young star of Bethlehem will ripen to-day
Alleluia . . .

The altar and idol in dust overthrown,
The incense forbade that was hallowed in blood;
The priest of Melehisedee there shall atone,
And shrines of Attooi be sacred to God!
Alleluia . . .

The heathen will hasten to welcome the time,
The day-spring, the prophet, in vision once saw --
When the beams of Messiah will illumine each clime
And isles of the ocean shall wait for his law.
Alleluia . . .

And thou OBOOKIAH! now sainted above,
Will rejoice as the heralds of mission disclose;
And the prayer will be heard, that the land thou didst love,
May blossom as Sharon, and bud as the rose!
Alleluia . . . ⁶⁷

V

A mission field as fruitful as that of the Sandwich Islands was not an accidental event. Mission enterprises are composed of several basic components; the unbelievers, of course; the public perception of these people and its commitment to evangelizing them; the theology of the evangelizing group and its practical application to the missionary endeavor; and, on the cutting edge of the enterprise, the men and women willing to make the "ultimate sacrifice." The missionary is in some ways analogous to the astronaut. He or she is publicly responsible for the success or failure of the enterprise, yet is utterly dependent on the supporting efforts of hundreds of ground personnel.

The American Board built its enterprise on the intellectual component of Hopkinsian and orthodox Calvinist theology; such a foundation required foreign missionary activity. Based on the supporting evidence of praying Indians, the Foreign Mission School and Opukahaia, foreign missions seemed a reasonable enterprise. The Board encouraged the sentimentalizing of missionaries through the memoirs of David Brainerd, Charlotte Newall and

Henry Opukahaia. The American Board further compelled its audience to recognize their obligation to foreign missions. "The genuine patriot . . . and the genuine philanthropist must labor, so far as they value the prosperity of their country and the happiness of the human race, to diffuse the knowledge and influence of Christianity at home and abroad."⁶⁸

The Sandwich Islands mission field was opened at a time when all the threads of American missionary enthusiasm came together into a rich tapestry of commitment and romance. The men and women of the first two companies would design that tapestry to reveal their theological commitment and past experience, a design that would depict a new city upon a hill.

ENDNOTES

1. For a discussion of the interaction between Europeans and Pacific Islanders, see Greg Denning, Islands and Beaches (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1980).
2. See Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archaeology of an Idea," in The Wild Man Within: An Image of Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism, ed. Edward Dudley & Maximillian E. Novak (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972).
3. Henri Baudet, Paradise on Earth: Some Thoughts on European Images of Non-European Man (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965).
4. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Missions and the American Mind, with a forward by Samuel R. Hanell (Indianapolis: National Foundation Press, 1949), p. v; see G. Gordon Brown, "Missionaries and Cultural Diffusion," American Journal of Sociology 50 (November 1944), 214-219. Missionaries also differed from other Europeans and Americans due to their emphasis on education. For a discussion of the effect literacy can have on a society see, J. C. Carothers, "Culture, Psychiatry and the Written Word," Psychiatry, 22 (November 1959) : 307-320.
5. G. Gordon Brown, "Missionaries and Cultural Diffusion," op. cit., p. 214.
6. William Ellis, The American Mission in the Sandwich Islands, a Vindication and an Appeal to the Proceedings of the Reformed Catholic Mission at Honolulu (Honolulu: H.M. Whitney, 1866), p. 17.
7. Sidney H. Rooy, The Theology of Missions in the Puritan Tradition (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1965), p. 314.
8. Carothers uses the example of rural Africans to contrast the world of individual sounds with the visual world of literate Europeans. Op. cit.
9. James A. DeJong, As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions 1640-1810 (J.H. Kok N.V. Kampen, 1970), pp. 31-32.
10. Alden T. Vaughan, New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians 1620-1675 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), pp. 21-22.
11. This attitude is brought out clearly in the relationship between the Pilgrims at Plymouth and Thomas Morton whose ability to survive in the wilderness and enjoyment of a hedonistic lifestyle was a threat

to the Pilgrim concept of order. See, Michael Zuckerman, "Pilgrims in the Wilderness: Community, Modernity, and the Maypole at Merry Mount," New England Quarterly, 50 (1977) 255-277.

12. See, Peter Lloyd, "The Emergence of a Racial Prejudice Towards the Indians in Seventeenth Century New England: Some Notes on an Explanation," (Thesis, Ohio State University, 1975); Neal Emerson Salisbury, "Conquest of the 'Savage': Puritans, Puritan Missionaries, and Indians," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1972); and "Red Puritans: The 'Praying Indians' of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," William and Mary Quarterly 31 (January 1974), 27-54.
13. James Axtell, The European and the Indian: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981), p. 45.
14. Salisbury, "Conquest," pp. 130-131. During the nineteenth century there was speculation that the Pacific islanders might be the descendents of the Lost Tribes of Israel.
15. Axtell, p. 169.
16. William Kellaway, The New England Company 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (London: Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., 1961), pp. 108-109.
17. Maria Loomis expressed the disillusionment of the mission family in Hawaii when she commented that "living so near the village as we do, it is impossible to keep those [native children] in our family from their former associates. I regret very much that our situation nor the genius of the people among [whom] we dwell will not admit to taking children . . . with any hopes of success at present." September 1, 1822, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
18. Rooy, p. 223; Vaughan, p. 237.
19. Rooy, p. 188; Salisbury, "Conquest," pp. 215-216.
20. The earliest official code of laws in Hawaii was proclaimed on December 8, 1827. There were three laws prohibiting murder, theft and adultery. Three other proposed laws prohibited rum selling, prostitution and gambling; their proclamation was postponed so that people would have time to understand them. Ralph Kuykendall, The Hawaii Kingdom, Vol. I, op. cit., pp. 117-132.
21. For a discussion of Puritan methods of missionary work, see R. Pierce Beaver, "Methods of American Missions to the Indians in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Calvinist Models for Protestant Foreign Missions," Journal of Presbyterian History, 47 (1969) : 124-148.
22. Williston Walker, Ten New England Leaders (1901; reprint, New York:

- Arno Press, 1969), pp. 164-165.
23. Rooy, p. 191.
 24. Joseph Tracy, "History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions" History of the American Missions to the Heathen from their Commencement to the Present Time (Worcester: Spooner & Howland, 1840), p. 14. and DeJong, p. 46.
 25. Jonathan Edwards, The Life of Reverend David Brainerd (New York: American Tract Society, ND), p. 12.
 26. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
 27. Ibid., p. 34.
 28. Ibid., pp. 64-65.
 29. Ibid., p. 121.
 30. Ibid., pp. 356-357.
 31. Joan Jacobs Brumberg, Mission for Life: The Story of the Family of Adoniram Judson (New York: Free Press, 1980), p. 25. Tracy, pp. 23-24; Oliver Wendell Elsbree, The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America 1790-1815 (1928; reprint, Philadelphia: Porcupine Press, 1980), pp. 17-18; Erik H. Erikson, "Psychological Reality and Historical Actuality," Insight and Responsibility (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1964), p. 85.
 32. Tracy, pp. 26-27. In fact, the American Board enjoyed far more lasting success in Hawaii.
 33. Calvin Colton, History and Character of American Revivals (1832; reprint, New York: AMS Press Reprint, 1973), p. 57.
 34. See, Charles I. Foster, An Errand of Mercy: The Evangelical United Front 1790-1837 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960).
 35. William Gribben, The Churches Militant: The War of 1812 and American Religion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 42-44.
 36. Isaac Davis and John Young were two British seamen who had arrived in Hawaii aboard the Fair American and Eleanora, respectively. Davis was the sole survivor when the Fair American was attacked at Honuaula, Maui in retaliation for deeds done there by Captain Simon Metcalfe of the Eleanora. Meanwhile, the Eleanora was at anchor in Kealakeukua Bay where John Young went ashore and was detained by Kamehameha who feared that if Metcalfe learned what had happened to the Fair American, he would retaliate. Davis and Young became friends, and both worked as advisors to Kamehameha I and were treated as ali'i.

37. Panoplist, October 1808, p. 236.
38. Clarissa Lyman Richards, February 3, 1823, Journal, JC, HMSCL.
39. Charles S. Stewart, Journal, op. cit., pp. 83-84.
40. John Norris offers an interesting example of the network of New England Calvinism. Norris was a wealthy shipowner, a Hopkinsian, and a member of the congregation led by Samuel Hopkins' brother, Daniel. Norris had an interest in missionary work, possibly due to the fortune he had made in India, and was persuaded that the missionary cause would best be served by training ministers. Norris agreed to financially assist the new seminary at Andover, provided that two of the founding professors were Hopkinsians. After Norris' death, his widow gave the American Board \$30,000, enabling it to send its first missionaries to India. Figures taken from Elsbree, p. 97; see also, Lois Wendland Banner, "The Protestant Crusade: Religious Missions, Benevolence and Reform in the United States, 1790-1840" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970), pp. 165-166; and DeJong, p. 549.
41. William Warren Sweet, Religion in the Development of American Culture, op. cit., p. 678.
42. Presbyterians and Congregationalists established the Plan of Union in 1801 to facilitate missionary efforts, particularly in the home missionary field. Each denomination agreed to recognize the other's ministry and polity. Princeton, a Presbyterian seminary, also trained ministers who served the American Board, for example, Charles Stewart and Aretmas Bishop.
43. See, Henry K. Rowe, History of Andover Theological Seminary (Newton Mass: Thomas Todd Company, 1933). Andover graduates serving in the first two companies to Hawaii were Hiram Bingham, William Richards and Asa Thurston.
44. Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands (Rutland Vt: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1981), p. 58; Panoplist, February 1817, pp. 80-81.
45. Jedidiah Morse thought the ultimate answer to the problem of assimilating Indians was intermarriage. Yet, such an event indirectly caused the closure of the school in 1825. Elias Boudinot, a Cherokee, was a student at both the Foreign Mission School and Andover Theological Seminary. After Boudinot returned to Cherokee country, Harriet Gold requested permission to marry the Indian, causing great public outcry. (Gold's father was a deacon in the Cornwall church and an agent for the Foreign Mission School.) The couple married on January 17, 1825. The school was closed that year for the official reason that the heathen could best be educated by missionaries in the field. See, John R. Bodo, The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues 1812-1848 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), pp. 97-99.

46. Panoplist, November 1817, pp. 517-518; Quote: Ibid., November 1818, pp. 512-513.
47. Panoplist, November 1818, pp. 512-513.
48. Edwin Dwight, Memoirs of Henry Obookiah (1818; reprint, Honolulu: Women's Board of Missions for the Pacific Islands, 1968), pp. 31-32.
49. Ibid., pp. 33-34. "Therefore I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment?" (Mt. 6:25 KJV)
50. E. Dwight, Narrative of Five Youth from the Sandwich Islands (New York: J. Seymour, 1816), p. 10.
51. Ibid., pp. 74-75.
52. Ibid., p. 95.
53. Panoplist, September 1819, p. 229.
54. Bingham, p. 59.
55. Lucy G. Thurston, Life and Times, op. cit., p. 2.; Stewart, pp. 31-32.
56. Other members of the Brethren were John Nelson, Calvin Bushnell, Rufus Pomeroy, Samuel Ware, Edwin Dwight and Ezra Fisk. According to Ezra Fisk the Brethren was a secret organization, because its members feared the public might perceive them as fanatics, and also because of the young men's modesty. See, Thomas C. Richards, Samuel J. Mills: Missionary Pathfinder, Pioneer and Promoter (Boston: The Pilgrim Press, 1906), pp. 29-32, 38.
57. Ibid., pp. 35-36.
58. Ibid., p. 97.
59. Ibid., pp. 58-59.
60. Rowe, p. 114.
61. Panoplist, May 1810, p. 546; and, September 1811, p. 180.
62. Ibid., September 1810, p. 126.
63. Leonard Woods, A Sermon, in Pioneers in Mission, ed. R. Pierce Beaver (Grand Rapids: B. Eeerdmans Publishing Company, 1966), p. 265.
64. Panoplist, April 1816, p. 186.
65. See, John A. Andrew, Rebuilding the Christian Commonwealth op. cit.

66. Samuel Worcester, Mission to the Sandwich Islands (Boston: U. Crocker, Printer, 1819), pp. 2-3.
67. Panoplist, January 1823, p. 12.
68. Ibid., November 1812, p. 253.

CHAPTER VI

SOJOURNERS AMONG STRANGERS

"If any man come to me, and hate not his father and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple. And whosoever doth not bear his cross, and come after me, cannot be my disciple." (Luke 14:26-27)

The American Board ordained five young men as missionaries to Asia on February 6, 1812. All were graduates of Andover Theological Seminary, and it was natural that the Abbott Professor of Christian Theology, Dr. Leonard Woods, should give the sermon. Woods spoke not only to the congregation at Salem but also to American Christendom, including both supporters of mission and future missionaries. Woods' words convey the flavor of the dedication early nineteenth century New Englanders felt for the cause of mission.

Can any real Christian be a stranger to the enlarged views, the benevolent desires, and pleasing anticipations of the pious author of this Psalm [67]? It cannot surely be necessary to inform my audience that every true worshipper of God resembles him in love, and can be satisfied with nothing short of all that infinite love designs. The Christian has a heart to feel for his fellow creatures. He takes into account their temporal comfort, and endeavors to promote it; - their temporal wants and sufferings, and does what in him lies to relieve them. But, when their spiritual interest is before him; when he contemplates the value of their souls, and the prospect which the gospel opens of immortal happiness in the world to come; his bowels of compassion are moved; his tenderest affections kindled; pure and heavenly love pervades and warms his soul. He longs for the eternal felicity of his kindred and friends, of his country and the world. His hearts desire and prayer to God is, that all men may be saved, - that all human beings may forsake their evil ways, and turn to the Lord; that his kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is done in heaven. With this holy affection reigning in his heart, the fervent, devoted Christian presents himself a living sacrifice

unto God; and counts it a privilege to do and to suffer any thing for the advancement of his cause. He is ready to 'endure all things for the elect's sake, that they also may obtain the salvation, which is in Christ Jesus, with eternal glory.' In this state, no difficulty discourages; no danger alarms. The sacrifice of property and pleasure; stripes, imprisonment, and death, lose their terrors, and become more attractive, than any earthly good. He is as steady to his purpose, as resolute, active, and patient in pursuit, as the restless miser, or the ambitious conqueror. And as their desire of wealth and of conquest is insatiable and unbounded; so is his desire for the diffusion of Christian knowledge and happiness. Every degree of success attending the dispensation of the gospel, even a single instance of conversion among the weakest and meanest of mankind, yields him the purest pleasure. But this pleasure only increases desire. His enjoyment of the good already attained urges him on to the pursuit of more. The progressive enlargement of the kingdom of Christ will constantly enlarge the benevolence of his heart. While there is a nation or tribe under heaven not subdued to Christ; the enlightened, fervent Christian cannot rest. His unalterable object is, that the knowledge of the Lord may fill the earth. His heart beats high for the conversion of the world.

This, my dear brethren, is the true spirit of our holy religion. This is the affection which glows in every new born soul. ¹This is the principle which governs and animates the church of Christ.

Despite Woods' fervent words, no one's wildest projections would have suggested that any and every Christian met the qualifications of missionary service. In fact, it was often as difficult to identify those with a true missionary calling as it had been to identify the Elect of an earlier age. There were also the questions regarding the task these people should or could accomplish, what the fruits of their labor might be and what the true purpose of foreign mission was.

At first Americans looked to their British brethren for the answer, because they had grappled with the question longer. David Bogue's Objections Against a Mission to the Heathen, Stated and Considered was a popular source, mentioned by both Levi Chamberlain and Charles Stewart as material the Second Company gave particular attention to during the voyage to the Sandwich Islands. Bogue's thoughts had first been presented as a

sermon to the founders of the London Missionary Society in 1795. The sermon was reprinted by the Society of Inquiry on the Subject of Missions at Andover Theological Seminary, perhaps as late as 1811.

Bogue proclaimed from the outset that the propagation of the gospel was a duty. "[Christ] has taught us the strong obligations we are to pity those who are sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death." Paul did not ignore the idolatrous Athenians and Bogue's contemporaries could not ignore the idolatrous heathen.²

As to the qualities of a missionary, Bogue asserted that "did we but view a missionary as we ought, and as he is, with Jesus . . . at his right hand . . . and the Holy Spirit resting on him like a flame of fire, with all his powerful energies" then we would maintain hope in the face of pagan ignorance. "The rays of divine knowledge must shine forth brightly from [the missionary's] mind" and "to the light of knowledge there must be added, in a good missionary, the celestial heat of zeal; pure, ardent, persevering zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of man, must, like unextinguished fire upon the altar, burn continually within his breast, unabated by all the difficulties and discouragements." Bogue went on to state that a missionary must also add "the wisdom of the serpent to the harmlessness of the dove, the most exalted devotion, the most profound humility, unconquerable meekness, and patience under sufferings and trials."³ The reason for this zeal and perseverance could only be active benevolence for it "teaches us to do good, both to the bodies and souls of men."⁴ Bogue's exhortations had an Edwardsean flavor, and both consistent and orthodox American Calvinists approved of them. Bogue's theme was enlarged but never replaced.

A month before the formal organization of the American Board in May 1810, the Panoplist expressed "Concern for the Salvation of the Heathen." Christ had issued the Great Commission, yet Christians allowed "three fourths of the world [to] sleep the sleep of death." The article pleaded that "young men, whose souls are fired with divine love, forsake your friends and native land. Forsake all for Christ. Go into the destitute regions of the earth and spend your days in winning souls."⁵

Seven months later the Panoplist reprinted an article from the London Missionary Society discussing the motives of missionary candidates. "It is only a sincere, deep, and steady love to Christ, and a desire to promote his kingdom among men, even at the hazard of your life, and at the sacrifice of worldly ease and interest, which can form the foundation of the true Missionary character." The article said to the prospective candidate: "Do you then desire to engage in this work, from a conviction that it is your duty to devote yourself therein to the service of God? that it is the most beneficial way of employing your existence? that it is your highest wisdom to be thus consecrated to his glory? and that this is the most suitable expression of your gratitude to him?" If the candidate can answer yes to these questions, he or she would probably make a good missionary. However the article urged the candidate to consider the choice carefully. "He who puts his hand to the Missionary plough ought not to look back."⁶ Duty, benevolence, sacrifice, loneliness, danger, love of God, gratitude to Christ, and rescuing ignorant heathen; these were the constant themes of the literature on foreign mission. Mission was the great selfless act. But who would be called? How would the candidates experience the call?

Upon arrival in the mission field of Hawaii, Clarissa Lyman Richards recalled, "While in America my imagination had often portrayed scenes of the future — The humble cot on missionary ground, and all its appurtenances fancy had dressed in fairy colours — She had twined around her happy dwelling many romantic sweets, and scattered with a lavish hand the beauties of natural scenery. You will ask if the picture exists in real life. I answer no."⁷ What were the expectations of missionary life which the missionaries to Hawaii cherished before their arrival in the mission field brought them face to face with reality?

Sybil Mosely Bingham first mentioned a call to foreign mission on September 12, 1818. She had attended a meeting where she "heard the call of perishing millions" and responded, "gladly do I seek my chamber feeling that I would shut my eyes, my ears, my heart to this vain world." Sybil Mosely struggled with her decision. In December she wrote that her "hesitancy did not arise from a less willingness to pass my short life among the heathen, but from this, whether it were a sacrifice to which God called me." She left the matter with God. Less than a year later, enroute to the Sandwich Islands, she exclaimed, "I am filled with astonishment that thus thou shouldst honor me, by giving me the prospect of labouring and suffering for thee . . . in a revolted province of thy dominions." Upon further consideration, Sybil Bingham exulted, "I have felt that the advancement of Christ's kingdom was an object which weighed down every personal consideration. There have been times within the few past years, when I have found it good to seek my closet and ask GOD to send me to the heathen: - to-night I feel that I would bless his name that he has brought me thus far on my way to them; 'tho it be to suffer, yea, I

think to die."⁸ If she could have seen into the future, young Mrs. Bingham would undoubtedly have been disappointed to learn that after twenty-one years in the field, her death would be an anticlimactic one in Easthampton, Massachusetts.

Mercy Partridge Whitney was less effusive. Writing her cousin, Josiah Brewer, on February 4, 1819, Mercy Partridge commented that she had been perusing a history of missions by one Mr. Lord. "I think it well calculated to inspire a missionary spirit. I at times almost fancy myself with the dear brethren, sharing their trials, and with them encountering the difficulties and hardships of missionary life."⁹ Brewer seems to have taken his cousin's comments seriously, and found her a suitor of the same bent. In a letter of August 30, Mercy Partridge agreed that Brewer's friend could visit her, but "the subject to which you have directed my thoughts is of infinite moment For several years past I have felt an earnest desire for the salvation of my fellow men, but more particularly the poor heathen who are groping in pagan darkness." Mercy Partridge was not "insensible that the sacrifices which I must make are very great, but when I consider what Christ has done for me a worthless worm of dust, can I refuse?"¹⁰

One has the feeling that Mercy Partridge is less than excited about the mission field, that it is not the destination of choice but of duty. Writing to her brother, William Partridge, and his wife, Laura, the next month, Mercy explained, "If you have experienced the love of God . . . and have felt the worth of an immortal soul, the awful condition of man by nature, the lamentable state of the heathen world, & the need of missionary labours; I think you will not brand me with enthusiasm when I

tell you that I expect soon to engage in a mission." It is clear from Mercy Whitney's journal that though she is effusive in her piety and fervent in her concern for the souls of friends and family, the role of assistant missionary was not a comfortable one. Enroute to her station, the young woman confessed, "were I assured that this is the path selected for me by my Heavenly Father, I would rejoice in the midst of trials and privations. This consolation I for the most part enjoy. But at times, when I reflect upon the magnitude of the missionary work and my unfitness for it, I am led to doubt respecting the path of duty."¹¹

Lucy Goodale Thurston made her choice with quiet logic. "The poor heathen possess immortal natures and are perishing. Who will give them the Bible and tell them of a Savior?" Once the decision was made, Mrs. Thurston "could contemplate the subject with a tranquil mind and unmoved feelings."¹² Maria Sartwell Loomis was of the same opinion. After an emotional departure, she commented, "I still think it an honor & a privilege to engage in the great work of evangelizing the Heathen."¹³

Martha Barnes Goodrich reflected most eloquently the mixed emotions of her missionary sisters. Sailing aboard the Thames, Mrs. Goodrich felt "confident that if my heavenly Father has anything for me to do in those pagan Isles, he will carry me safely there, and enable me to accomplish it. And if he has nothing for me to do there, nor anywhere else, I know not why I should wish to live."¹⁴ Mrs. Goodrich understood that her call was to the missionary field was not an easy one. "I must be prepared for disappointment. A missionary life will . . . be peculiarly exposed to them, trouble and sorrow will in all probability attend my future life, and perhaps the only . . . consolation I shall have, will be the thought

that I am walking in the path of duty."¹⁵ Yet, in spite of her apprehension, Martha Goodrich rejoiced to be a part of the mission, that her parents had been so willing to part with her and that no obstacles had been placed in her path.¹⁶ Mrs. Goodrich believed her hardships would be as nothing compared to what Christ had done for her.

Martha Goodrich's relief that her parents had not placed obstacles in her path was real, for several of the missionaries met opposition to their call from friends and family. "I can find no such place in scripture that it is the duty of females to go," wrote an exasperated cousin, S. Howe, to Elizabeth Edwards. "I think you may do as much good here as you possibly could go to the islands of the seas."¹⁷ One of the missionary sisters, Harriet Tiffany Stewart, in effect, ran away with her husband. Sarah Shepherd, Hiram Bingham's first choice as a bride, refused the missionary's suit, because her parents would not allow her to make such a sacrifice. Bingham would later comment that "while thousands treated the self-immolation of the missionaries . . . as truly commendable, tens of thousands regarded it as foolish or fanatical or an uncalled for sacrifice of comfort, property, and life. By many, the missionaries were urged to a different course, because there was so much to be done at home, or because it would cost so much to complete the plan abroad, or because they did not think it of much importance that the heathen should ever hear the Gospel. Nearly all the early missionaries . . . were strenuously opposed by their parents, relatives and friends."¹⁸

Indeed, Charles Stewart commented with some puzzlement on the general public's astonishment that any sane person would embark on a foreign mission. As the Thames passed uninhabited Staten Island where some

sailors had been left to catch seals, Stewart mused, "I could not help but wonder at the inconsistency of those who condemn the Missionary to a heathen land as an enthusiast and a mad man, and yet look on such as these, who, for a little worldly gain, banish themselves for months and years to the most inhospitable climes, as praiseworthy examples of enterprise and hardihood."¹⁹

The question of a missionary's function was particularly acute for the women, whom the American Board classified as assistant missionaries, a seeming misnomer for women who went through such anguish to determine their respective missionary calls. Yet, in all probability, these women were less concerned with their title than their vocation, especially since only ordained ministers received the ultimate distinction of being titled "missionary."

There was some discussion as to whether women should be sent into the company of the heathen, and the American Board denied them access to some stations, such as the Middle East. In the early years, no single woman could apply, a decision with which Martha Goodrich concurred. "I should never advise a female to go alone on a foreign mission. An unmarried female must be placed in a very unpleasant situation on board a ship especially to go so long a voyage. There are many reasons why I would not be in such a situation on any account."²⁰ Once again, the American Board was guided by their more experienced English brethren. George Bruder of the London Missionary Society recommended that those chosen to be missionary wives must be "truly pious persons, of tried integrity and unblemished character; prudent, domestic, humble; not looking for great things in this world."²¹

At first women seemed to have a glorious purpose as missionaries. Reverend Jonathan Allen charged those women embarking for India in 1812 "to teach these [heathen] women, to whom your husbands have but little or no access. Go then, and do all in your power, to enlighten their minds, and bring them to the knowledge of the truth. Go . . . raise their character to the dignity of rational beings, and to the rank of Christians Teach them to realize, that they are not an inferior race . . . but stand upon a par with men. Teach them that they have immortal souls."²² Such a prospect could excite a young woman's idealism and religious zeal. It was also in keeping with the slowly emerging belief that women were the keepers of the religious flame. Samuel Ruggles, writing his sister, Lucia, to encourage her interest in the Sandwich Islands mission, pointed out that her "sex in general [was] much more forward in the pious work of diffusing spiritual knowledge among the heathen than the male." Ruggles offered no proof of this except to say that women "have ever shown much greater attachment to the Saviour than men."²³ The latter was a fact often commented on during revivals.

Times had changed since 1812. Charlotte Newell had perished upon arrival in the Asian mission field. The American Board had a greater sense of the hardship of missionary life. Yet, the Board defended its decision to send women to the Sandwich Islands. "It was not in regard to things merely temporal that Woman was designed." Nor was there any law of heaven to exclude them from "recovering the common race, lost in consequence of her being deceived who was first in the transgression." Women would help the brethren by their "assiduous attentions, their affectionate offices, their prudent suggestions, their cheering

influences [and] their unceasing prayers." Women would also show the islanders "an effective example of the purity, and dignity, and loveliness . . . the attractive and celestial excellence, which Christianity can impart to the Female Character."²⁴

Artemas Bishop, writing from the field, had a more succinct appraisal. "A missionary ought not to live here without a wife." In the Sandwich Islands a woman "need never be at a loss for business. Besides contributing to the comfort, respectability & usefulness of her husband, and superintending her family concerns, she will find ample employment in instructing the natives, especially the females, in reading, writing & sewing."²⁵ Indeed, Bishop's assessment was a true job description for the female missionary. Writing in her journal, Sybil Bingham would despair that she had so little time to study the Hawaiian language and/or the Bible. "You may wonder, sometimes, what, in this corner of the earth, I can find to be doing, if it be not laboring for the heathen."²⁶ Levi Chamberlain did not wonder. Chamberlain informed the American Board that he was "satisfied that most of the ladies . . . have too much domestic care."²⁷

Men contemplated the idea of missionary work with much the same mixture of emotions as the women. Though their testimony is less sentimental, the realization of duty and the allure of romance and adventure are evident. Asa Thurston writing the American Board of his fitness for the missionary call stated that when asked who would go to the heathen, he could only reply, "here am I Lord, send me." But he also wrote, "Often have I in imagination sat down by the cottage of the wretched pagan & endeavoured to instruct him in the principles of our holy

religion I have often seemed to see the tear start from his eye as I pointed him to 'the love of Jesus.'" Thurston was aware that "these things may appear to be the result of a vagrant imagination, but I have taken much pleasure in such thoughts arising, in part perhaps, from the expectation, that I might hereafter be conversant with such scenes."²⁸

Thurston may have waxed sentimental over his potential spiritual charges, but he reassured the Board that he did not take such a vocation lightly. It was necessary that some people must serve unbelievers and that they do so from a conviction of personal duty.²⁹ Thurston took those duties seriously, serving the remainder of his life in Hawaii.

William Richards was not unacquainted with the requirements of the missionary life. His brother, James, served with the American Board's mission in Asia. Richards declared that, "With a view to self-examination I sometimes change [places] with my brother and there found myself in sickly body in a heathen land," but, he exclaimed, "the prospect of a man's death . . . does not discourage me."³⁰

Elisha Loomis seems almost attracted by the thought of such a romantic death. "What glorious achievement was ever moved without danger?" he asked, "What if I meet with death! Could I desire to die in a more glorious way?" Indeed, he was only doing "what I feel persuaded is my duty: and am doing it cheerfully."³¹ Loomis' conversion led him to renounce the world. Soon after Loomis found his compassion "excited at the relation of cruel practices and horrid rites of the heathen nations; and tears of sympathy often stole down my cheeks while reading of the widow burnt on the funeral pile and the poor pilgrim crushed by the wheels of the bloody Juggernaut. I viewed with pleasure the numberless efforts

making to meliorate the condition of the wretched."³² It would seem apparent that Mr. Loomis was a regular reader of the Panoplist.

Artemas Bishop took a more solemn view. "I have ever viewed the office of a Missionary of Jesus as one of self-denial -- as attended with much perplexity and disappointment, & which is by no means free from peril. Still I have & do consider it as the highest & noblest undertaking ever aprised by man."²³

The decision to become a missionary had not been made lightly. Bishop was affected by Samuel Newell's death in India and in 1821 wrote his sister, Eliza, "the impression has been on my mind for more than 2 years, that it would be my duty to go on a foreign mission." The missionary candidate took special precautions to ensure that his call to mission was from God. "If after having inquired into my qualifications for a missionary life, for 2 or 3 years -- if after having made it the burden of my prayer to God for a long time to give me direction -- if after feeling that in no other situation I should be in the path of duty -- If after all this I think it my duty to go, I think it will amount to a call."³⁴

Daniel Chamberlain was unusual among his fellow missionaries. He was not a young man, but a prosperous farmer, married, the father of five. Yet, his response was the same as his younger co-worker's. Writing from the mission field, Chamberlain remembered that for some years before leaving America, he "had an ardent desire to labor for Christ among the heathen -- My mind was much occupied with the subject -- I often lamented that I had neglected while young to acquire an education But the circumstance of my being settled in life with a family of small children seemed to forbid the hope."³⁵ Why did Daniel Chamberlain uproot his

family and take them into the Wilderness? According to Eliakin Phelps, there could be "nothing that should induce [Chamberlain] to leave his present situation but a desire to do good."³⁶ Chamberlain responded to his selection with humility and a trust in God. He was at peace in Hawaii, commenting, "I have no wish to exchange my calling for any on earth."³⁷

Joseph Goodrich had begun thinking of mission after reading the Narrative of Five Heathen Youth and hoped only to be worthy of the honor.³⁸ Samuel Whitney heard the news of people destitute of the Gospel while in western New York. After some reflection, Whitney resolved to devote himself to the cause, and, "though I have not always had the same . . . feelings, yet the great object has not been forgotten."³⁹

Levi Chamberlain entertained no doubts but several frustrations regarding foreign missions. In 1826 Levi Chamberlain wrote his brother, Joseph, of his realization of the need for missions. "I clearly saw that all men of all nations, of every land and every language, stood in like need of the Gospel With these convictions, I felt it my duty to leave my native land and go to the heathen."⁴⁰ In September 1821 Levi Chamberlain requested that the American Board employ him as a teacher among the Indians. Instead, he was appointed secretary to Samuel Worcester. Though his services in this capacity were of real use to the cause of missions, Levi was frustrated with the position. "I have thought Providence had been disciplining me by a series of trials, by sickness, by teaching me how to abound & in some small degree to suffer need for a service requiring self [denial] & possibly suffering," he wrote to Jeremiah Evarts, "God only knows the occult motive of my Soul; but I do

not feel fully reconciled to the idea of giving up all expectation of going as an assistant missionary to the heathen."⁴¹ In 1822, the American Board finally sent Chamberlain to Hawaii as the secular agent for the mission.

Hiram Bingham, perhaps the best known of the missionaries to Hawaii, had much to write on the subject of his missionary call. Bingham's brother, the Reverend Amos Bingham, had brought the missionary cause to Bingham's attention before he entered Andover Theological Seminary. Bingham struggled with the problem for six years. Writing his parents in February, 1819, Bingham declared, "I love my friends -- I love my country -- I love the church at home," yet, he concluded, "these very blessings bestowed on me make it my duty to impart them to others For the opportunity to 'do good' confers the obligation to 'do good.'"⁴² The deaths of Henry Opukahaia and Samuel Mills, Jr. greatly affected Bingham. Writing Samuel Worcester, Bingham confided that on a visit to Cornwall he was deeply touched "when I saw those dear youth whom God . . . had brought from pagan lands." Young Bingham seemed to hear God say, "Who will go for us -- Obookiah is dead -- his lamented benefactor is dead other laborers are ready to press into that field -- but no educated missionary has yet volunteered." Bingham responded to the call. "Finding nothing in the circumstances of my own case, as to health, friends, engagements, or the prospect of patronage & success which would excuse me from going to the heathen," he concluded that all would be best served if he accepted the call.⁴³

Writing his memoirs thirty years later, Bingham cut through all the uncertainty of youth and the more romantic aspects of the call, stating

simply, "The object for which the missionaries felt themselves impelled to visit the Hawaiian race, was to honor God . . . and to benefit those heathen tribes, by making them acquainted with the way of life, -- to turn them from their follies and crimes, idolatries and oppressions, to the service and enjoyment of the living God . . . to give them the Bible in their own tongue, with ability to read it for themselves, -- to introduce and extend among them the more useful arts and usages of civilized and Christianized society, and to fill the habitable parts of those important islands with schools and churches, fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings."⁴⁴

Bingham's perception was askew. In the aftermath of his tumultuous years in Hawaii, the mature Bingham no longer knew the more sentimental youth. The missionaries went to the Sandwich Islands for all of these reasons, but also with the sense of fatalism and duty they learned from Calvinist theology. They felt both the a desire for adventure and the idealism of youth. And they wavered between romanticism and duty, love for the Hawaiians and fear for their own spiritual and temporal lives.

II

The commissioners of the American Board were not insensitive to the complex emotions of the members of the Pioneer Company to the Sandwich Islands. Nor were they unaware of the need to reaffirm the necessity for mission to their constituency. The ordination of Thurston and Bingham, their respective marriages, and the departure of the Pioneer Company aboard the Thaddeus offered the opportunity to focus both the missionaries and their supporters on the importance and purpose of the cause.

The Reverend Heman Humphrey delivered the ordination sermon on the

text of Joshua 13:1, "that there remaineth yet very much land to be possessed." From the vantage point of the twentieth century this passage seems to be a justification for yet another instance of the transfer of land from its indigenous owners to avaricious Europeans and Americans, but such was not Humphrey's intent. Though Humphrey began his exegesis with a comparison of Israel and the church, saying, "As the land of Canaan belonged to Israel in virtue of a divine grant, so does the world belong to the church," he went on to point out that the church's claim to the world was based on the authority of Christ, and, "the command of Christ is, Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. The most terrible and fatal of all plagues is ravaging all the heathen lands. There is no remedy but the Gospel." In this situation, "the duty of the Church is written in sunbeams. Let her read and obey."⁴⁵ By possession, Humphrey and other missionary adherents meant the spiritual ownership of the land by Christ. That this concept was tied to that of western civilization is undeniable. The missionaries' ethnocentric belief in their own culture is also undeniable. But the intent was to bring the unbelievers spiritual blessings and eternal life, not to dispossess them of their lands or contribute to the further decline of the island populations.

Turning his attention to the frontline troops of the missionary enterprise, Humphrey indulged in his own fantasy. "I can fancy that I see [the heathen], hastening down to the shore to welcome you as friends, and as bearers of those 'glad tidings of great joy;' . . . that I behold them gathered around you by hundreds, and listening with silent amazement, while you talk to them of the babe from Bethlehem: — that I see them

casting away their idols and exclaiming with one voice, your God shall be our God, your Savior shall be our Savior." Reluctantly, however, Humphrey conceded that the opposite might occur, "that the Owhyceans may meet you with dark and lowering suspicion, and turn away from your instructions with contempt."⁴⁶

Speaking on the occasion of the Bingham marriage two weeks later, the Reverend Thomas H. Gallaudet offered his own thoughts on the purpose of the mission. "This object is to bear the message of a Saviour's love to thousands of immortal souls who have never yet heard of him, and who are plunged in the lowest depths of sensuality and sin; and, also, to introduce the arts and comforts of civilized society."⁴⁷ As for those who doubted the wisdom of the enterprise or who whined that there was much to be done at home, Gallaudet reminded them that if the early church had "practiced the same cold-hearted policy . . . of keeping safe at home, and of relieving only the wretchedness which prevails in their own country, doubtless most of us . . . would now be enveloped in the thick gloom of pagan superstition and idolatry."⁴⁸

Whether the rhetoric strengthened the resolve of the first missionaries to the Sandwich Islands or whether it gave them second thoughts as to the wisdom of their actions is unknown. It was too late for faint hearts to turn away. In the words of David L. Perry who gave the final charge to the missionaries, "We have now consecrated you to God and to the heathen. You are, henceforth, dead to the world, dead to the refinements of civilized society, and the endearments of social ties in the bosom of your native land."⁴⁹ Or, to paraphrase the words of folk wisdom, the novice missionaries had made their respective cots and now

they must lie in them, with or without Clarissa Richards' hoped for "fairy colours."

Yet, later, after the glaring light of publicity had dimmed and after the missionaries had been safely deposited in the Sandwich Islands, they received a letter from Samuel Worcester, secretary of the American Board's Prudential Committee. The letter reveals what more experienced men had known and what each respective missionary privately had castigated in himself or herself. "Missionaries," wrote Worcester, "with all their high privileges and distinctions are still but poor, frail mortals like other men, and like other Christians still in the flesh in continual danger of the evil in their natures warring against the peace of their minds."⁵⁰ Indeed, the frailty of missionary resolve had already been noted by Hiram Bingham who delivered a sermon on II Timothy 3:6-7 after the missionary family affirmed the covenant in Boston.⁵¹ The Sandwich Islands offered the missionaries more than a mere personal, spiritual battle. The islands offered physical temptation and mental anguish as these young, inexperienced New England Calvinists dealt with sociological and metaphysical questions that remain unresolved.

III

The New England perception of the missionary task and its implementation were two very different things. The missionaries had first to come to grips with the reality of the native Hawaiians. To these inexperienced New Englanders, no wildman could ever be more feared; no Indian could ever be more different than these, as yet unknown, Pacific people. The New Englanders knew little about the Hawaiians except that they were unbelievers, and to any Christian an unbeliever was, ipso facto,

savage, wild, barbarous and degraded. These Calvinists saw the unbeliever as a child of the devil, a creature of darkness, an enemy of God's kingdom.

The situation would have been hopeless except for the examples of Opukahaia and Hopu. The work would be impossible except for the examples of Eliot and Brainerd. The wildman could be tamed. Writing his brother, Chester, prior to departure, Elisha Loomis stated that the people "at the Sandwich Islands are now in the lowest state of degradation, notwithstanding they are persons of good intellect."⁵² Aboard the Thaddeus Captain Blanchard, possibly playing the devil's advocate, told the missionary family that the Hawaiians were degraded, immersed in vice, and "addicted to practices too abominable to be named!"⁵³ Within sight of his new home, Loomis noted that "our anticipated labors are in a land of darkness as darkness itself. We are to reside among the heathen abandoned to every excess of wickedness. We are to witness the worship of false gods and shall be exposed to a thousand baleful influences."⁵⁴

A closer scrutiny of the Hawaiians did not assuage the New Englanders' apprehension. Upon her first encounter with the natives, Sybil Bingham's heart "failed" her. "Canoes of naked natives are alongside of our vessel O, my sisters, you cannot tell how the sight of these poor degraded creatures, both literally and spiritually naked, would affect you! I say naked. They have nothing but a narrow strip, which they term a [malo], tied around them." Samuel Whitney was shocked by such limited apparel. "Here is a picture of human depravity, without the covering of a civilized education."⁵⁵ Elisha Loomis found the Hawaiians "less disgusting in their appearance than I expected but are almost entirely

naked."⁵⁶ Nancy Ruggles could only comment that though she had long known of the "heathen," "half of their real wretchedness was never told me."⁵⁷ Daniel Chamberlain described the Hawaiians in one word, "Satanic."⁵⁸

The Hawaiians were also noisy. Lucia Ruggles Holman complained, "I have got so tired with the noise and sight of these naked creatures that I could almost wish myself as far from them as you are."⁵⁹ Mercy Whitney found that even ashore, "the incessant noise around me is tiring We hear continual yelling and screaming of natives all day as they swim or run around."⁶⁰

From the perspective of New England sensibilities, little had changed in three years. When the Thames arrived, Clarissa Richards discovered, she had "often heard of the heathen, — I had often spoken of them (perhaps with indifference) — but now I saw them wretched and degraded."⁶¹ Betsey Stockton described the appearance of the Hawaiians as "that of half man and half beast." She remembered that "when they first came on board, the sight chilled our very hearts. The ladies retired to the cabin, and burst into tears; and some of the gentlemen turned pale: my own soul sickened within me, and every nerve trembled."⁶² A few months later, after the initial shock had worn off, Miss Stockton would admit "the natives are very pleasant people." Nevertheless, "they are much dirtier than I expected to find them."⁶³ Levi Chamberlain recalled that "the first sight of the natives on my arrival affected, though it did not surprise me. I was prepared to witness new scenes —to behold ignorance, debasement & wretchedness."⁶⁴

In response to these disturbing scenes the missionaries squared their

collective shoulders and committed themselves "to the care and protection of our ever-watchful Heavenly Father, and putting ourselves into the power of strangers and pagans, untutored and destitute almost of their feeling of moral responsibility; intemperate, lewd, and thievish . . . we unhesitatingly entered on this new life among them."⁶⁵ Or, as Levi Chamberlain exulted, "I am now on heathen ground. Surrounded by rude barbarians; but though their Society is not agreeable, I rejoice that I am here To benefit them is a service which would dignify an angel, it will therefore not degrade me."⁶⁶

Initial encounters ashore only served to emphasize the vast cultural gap between the Hawaiians and the Americans. When the Bingham party went ashore to meet with Liholiho at Kailua-Kona on the big island of Hawaii, "the multitudiness, shouting, and almost naked natives, of every age, sex, and rank, swimming, floating on surfboards, sailing in canoes, sitting, lounging, standing, running like sheep, dancing, or laboring on shore, attracted our earnest attention."⁶⁷ One wonders what the Hawaiian reaction was to these serious, white men in their dark suits. Bingham provides a glimpse of the Hawaiian response to the American women who disembarked at Honolulu. The women were the object of great curiosity on the part of the natives who peered under the ladies' "projecting bonnets, laughing, shouting, trotting around with bare feet, heads and hands."⁶⁸

The first few months were difficult as the missionaries began their work. At Kailua-Kona, Hawaii Lucia Holman complained that "the fruits and vegetables and everything that these islands produce, taste heathenish."⁶⁹ In Honolulu, Sybil Bingham took a more charitable view. "We find some pleasant traits which mark the character of this poor people

in the midst of their degradations. Their pacific disposition, their mild and friendly intercourse with us and with each other give us hopes of what they will be when the love of Jesus shall fill their souls."⁷⁰ Yet, even the hopeful Mrs. Bingham experienced disappointment. Two years after her arrival, Sybil Bingham called on the queen (probably Kaahumanu) who was occupied with playing cards and gambling. "As I stood and looked upon the sable group of ignorant, unconcerned, yet precious immortals, thought of their indifference to the message of eternal mercy, and their entire devotions, not only to vain but to sensual delights, my spirit seemed to faint within me."⁷¹

A month after his arrival in 1823 Charles Stewart took a more positive view. Despite the continued signs of degradation, the first company had made great strides since their arrival. Stewart confidently concluded that "no pagan nation on earth can be better prepared for the labour of a Christian Missionary; and no herald of the cross could desire a more privileged and delightful task, than to take this people by the outstretched and beckoning hand, and lead their bewildered feet into paths of light and life, of purity and peace."⁷²

It was difficult for the missionaries to know whether they were making progress or not, but they had firmly established themselves by 1828. The leading ali'i (chiefs) favored the new Christian religion, and the people were inclined to follow their chiefs. Yet there was always the question of whether the enthusiasm for Christianity was the result of a true change of heart. In their report to the American Board in 1828, William Richards and Lorrin Andrews, a member of the Third Company arriving in 1828, were cautiously optimistic in their assessment of the state of the Hawaiians.

In heathenism, we see all that is noble and elevated in a rational

being, commingled with all that is mean, sensual and beastly. The soul that secretly aspires after immorality, can here gratify its desires, only by momentary and sensual enjoyment. In short, it so resembles chaos in its constituent parts and perfect disorganization, that none but the Almighty ⁷³ can resolve it to order. This, we believe, he has begun to do.

IV

The power of the Almighty had been displayed for the missionaries from the time of their arrival. Just as God had prepared a place for the Puritans in the wilderness of New England by thinning out the Indian population, He cleared the way for the missionaries in Hawaii two hundred years later. To their intense joy the missionaries aboard the Thaddeus learned that the public religious system of the Hawaiians had been destroyed. "How were our hearts agitated with new and various & unexpected emotions to hear the interesting intelligence, 'Tamehameha is dead' — 'the Taboos are broken' — 'The Idols are burnt' — 'The Moreahs are destroyed' — and the priesthood is abolished He who in wisdom has ordained that no flesh shall glory in his presence, has saved us from the danger of glorying in Triumph, & taught us . . . to 'stand still & see the salvation of God.'" ⁷⁴ Writing his brother, Amos, Bingham observed that these startling events "began to take place soon after the circulation of Obookiah's Memoirs, when a special spirit of united prayer was awakened in the churches of it for these lands." ⁷⁵ The editors of the Panoplist offered another explanation for the breaking of the kapu system. They suggested that Hawaiians had received news of the British missionary efforts in the Society Islands and were persuaded then that their continued idolatry was both foolish and stupid. ⁷⁶

In fact, the breaking of the kapu was the result of Hawaiian domestic politics. The growing commerce between Hawaiians and Europeans and

Americans sailing the Pacific Ocean, and particularly the sandalwood trade, had disrupted traditional Hawaiian culture, as had Kamehameha the Great's wars of unification. With the men gone for long periods of time, the women were forced to break kapu on the growing and preparation of food. The Hawaiians also observed that the foreigners broke kapu with impunity, and the infractions of the ali'i often went unpunished. Traditional religion was under strain when Kamehameha I died in 1819. At his death the king had named his son, Liholiho, as king (Kamehameha II) and his favorite wife, Ka'ahumanu, as kuhina nui, a new office with power equal to the king's. Ka'ahumanu was pleased with her new position, but frustrated since many of the major decisions were made at the sacred heiau (altar) which she, as a woman, could not enter. Ka'ahumanu, Keopuolani, the new king's mother, and Hewahewa, the high priest, began to pressure Liholiho to lift the kapu, effectively destroying the state support of traditional Hawaiian religion. In this decision they were supported by the five major chiefs and their retainers who did not want to lose their lands during the land redistribution that normally occurred at the ascent of a new king. In November Liholiho ordered a feast and pointedly ate with the women symbolizing the end of the traditional kapu system. The king then issued orders to destroy the heiaus and burn the idols.⁷⁷

Despite the lack of an official religion the Hawaiians were in no hurry to embrace a new belief system. Many still worshipped the old gods, and the ali'i had not freed themselves of one religion to become bound to another. The destruction of the state sanctioned religion, however, had simplified the missionaries' task, and they praised God for preparing the way for evangelism. It was the only sign of approval they received for

several years. Bingham would recall that as their third year among the Hawaiians was ending, the missionaries longed to see the natives "stand up . . . to praise God." However, although their main object was to save souls the evangelists were distracted by their perceived need to correct Hawaiian manners, improve their modes of dress and living, and remove what the missionaries defined as Hawaiian grossness, wretchedness and destitution. These traits must be replaced by the taste and refinement of western culture. It was a large task contributing "little or nothing in the real work of reform, and leaves the main business of inducing self-denial, repentance, humility, faith and a desire for divine and heavenly things, as difficult and distant as when you began."⁷⁸

In fact, the New England missionaries made little headway until the arrival of William Ellis from the Society Islands. Ellis, of Presbyterian background and under the sponsorship of the London Missionary Society, had been in the South Seas since 1816. Ellis, two colleagues and two chiefly Tahitians arrived in Honolulu on April 16, 1822, enroute to the Marquesas Islands, remaining until August 22. Ellis returned in February 1823 with his wife and two other Tahitian teachers. The assistance of Ellis and his party was immeasurable to the struggling Americans. He had a facility with the Tahitian language that was easily applied to Hawaiian, and communication ceased to be a major barrier. The Tahitian teachers provided the new religion with a legitimacy it had previously lacked. Not only could the Tahitians communicate directly with the Hawaiians, they also had immediate access to the chiefs. As Marshall Sahlins and Dorothy Barrere demonstrate, the Tahitian influence on the chiefs was at least as great as that of the missionaries themselves.⁷⁹

Though grateful for the assistance and distressed by Ellis' departure in 1824, the American missionaries did not place as much stress on the contribution of Ellis and still less on the Tahitians than was probably deserved. Early American efforts to touch Hawaiian hearts had limited results. While at Puuloa with Liholiho in 1823 Bingham awoke to find the young king also awake and sought to speak to him of repentance. "I called his attention to the duty of personal and decided piety, and urged the necessity of immediate repentance." But the king replied only that his wickedness was very great and that he would repent in five years.⁸⁰

The educational efforts of the missionaries, called palapala by the Hawaiians, met with considerably greater success. Liholiho had allowed the missionaries to remain for the purpose of teaching the people, and the missionaries were fully aware of the connection between literacy and the prospect of conversion. Bingham encountered a young man who asked him for a book, because of his "desire to learn, my ear, to hear, my eye to see, my hands to handle, for, from the sole of my feet to the crown of my head I love the 'palapala.'"⁸¹ William Richards saw a glimpse of light in the woman who said, "'I have become an old woman and am now very near the grave -- my heart has been hard all the days of my life and I weep when I think of my ignorance: -- I have heard that Jesus Christ can make me better & I have come to you to be taught. Give me a spelling book & learn me the palapala.'"⁸²

The situation changed in 1825 when Lord Byron returned the bodies of Liholiho and his favorite wife, Kamamalu, to Hawaii. The royal couple had gone to London and there succumbed to the measles. In the midst of national anguish and lamentations the missionaries preached on Job 1:21,

reminding the people of the fleeting quality of life.⁸³ The Calvinist perspective as articulated by Bingham was that the sudden death of the rulers was a lesson to the nation. "How impressively did divine wisdom show the vanity of the mirth and wine, the pomp and pride, the distinction and power, of which the departed ones . . . could once boast." God's message was clearly chastising the Hawaiians for putting their trust in princes.⁸⁴

In response, more than one hundred people offered themselves for baptism, including Ka'ahumanu, Kalanimoku, Kalkua, Namahana, Laanui, Kapiolani, Kapule, Kaiu, Kealiihonui and Richard Kalaaiaulu, all prominent ali'i.⁸⁵ Such interest raised the evangelists' hopes of reforming the people as daily inquiries were made on the subject of religion. Samuel Whitney's journal entry of April 5, 1826 tells of a young man who called that evening to tell him "'I am a Sinner, I greatly fear for myself. I begin to pray with trembling anxiety. You know how wicked I have been. I see it now. You used to tell me to forsake my sins and love God, but I did not care for it then, now I feel it.'" Whitney was encouraged by the young man's seeming repentance.⁸⁶

It seemed that at long last the field was ready for the harvest. The missionaries were joyful, but cautious. The Calvinist path to conversion was not an easy one. The problem of how the state of a candidate's heart could be judged and how a genuine conversion could be differentiated from mere enthusiasm became increasingly important.

V

As Hawaiians began to request baptism, a time of joy and hope also became a time of waiting and judgment. Samuel Worcester had clearly set

the standards for baptism in his instructions to the pioneer company. "If God, in his infinite grace, prosper your labors, and give you the happiness to see converts to the truth, you will proceed in regard to them, at once with charity and caution. You will allow sufficient time for trial, and for the reality of conversion to be attested by its fruits." so that the "scandal of apostasy may be prevented."⁸⁷ The Reverend David L. Perry had warned, "Be not hasty in forming your opinion of the spiritual attainments of the heathen; and do not suddenly receive them into communion with the church. One apostate may do more injury than hundreds who are without."⁸⁸

After excommunicating the Holmans and William Kanui, the missionaries were especially sensitive to the evils of apostasy. About 1821 Thomas Hopu presented one of his students, Holo, as one who had evidence of conversion. Bingham was not convinced. "It is obvious that with so brief and imperfect a knowledge of the provisions and invitations of the gospel, and of the extent and spirituality of the divine law as the people then possessed, it would be no easy matter for them or their teachers to form a well grounded opinion of the presence or absence of a work of saving grace in individual cases of seriousness." Bingham was willing to concede that "human nature is everywhere the same . . . and conversion from sin to holiness . . . must be radically the same in all cases," but he did not baptize Holo.⁸⁹ Two years later Bartimus Puaaki received baptism. Puaaki had been an attentive hearer of the gospel both at Honolulu and Lahaina for three years. Charles Stewart and William Richards both became convinced of Puaaki's sincerity and baptized him. It was the second baptism of the mission.⁹⁰

The first baptism was that of Queen Keopuolani as she lay on her deathbed at Lahaina. Stewart recorded that the king, Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimoku had requested Keopuolani's baptism "saying that it was her earnest and special desire, and that she had only that morning begged 'to be washed with water, in the name of God.' The king urged that she be baptized because "she had the true faith in her heart, had given herself to Jesus Christ long before she was sick" and she had "so earnestly requested it."⁹¹ Ellis, Richards and Stewart concurred on the dying queen's sincerity and administered the Christian rite. Keopuolani's baptism did much to aid the Christian cause, and there was a greater interest in conversion, but Levi Chamberlain cautioned the American Board that although Christ's banner had been erected, the people's hearts had not yet been won. "Little can be said confidently of the conversion of a single individual among all this people, though much may be said of the attention of some to the means of grace."⁹²

Charles Stewart expressed more confidence in the situation. "Such hopes, and such causes for high expectation, from this people, give sweetness to the Missionary Life." It was a great consolation for the laborers at the ends of the earth to know that if they had not forsaken all they held dear, "these very individuals, now so indescribably interesting, would still have been groping in the thickest shades of spiritual death."⁹³

The fact that these people had become interesting, however, did not mean they were worthy to receive baptism. In 1824 when Ka'ahumanu first requested baptism, Bingham hesitated. How terrible it would be if she later apostatized. Despite her sincerity of interest, "we dared not

authorize such a step till we had more decisive evidence that she had been born from above by the power of the Spirit of God." Plainly put, these Calvinist missionaries, like their Puritan ancestors, "had no confidence in baptismal regeneration, or the efficacy of consecrated water to wash away sin. Nor did we baptize any hearers of the Gospel, merely because they were hearers, or, as such, asked to be baptized."⁹⁴ In his memoirs Bingham defended himself from the charge that the early missionaries had been too slow, and too strict in their admission of candidates into the church by falling back on traditional Calvinist theology.

Believing that conversion brings the subjects of it not only to worship God in truth, and to love his law, but makes those kind and liberal-hearted who were before naturally and habitually covetous, and enlists oppressors in the noble business of seeking the best good of their dependents, and promotes equity in judges and rulers, and true loyalty in subjects, I was slow to invite to the Lord's table those whose lives furnished no evidence of this sort that they had been born from above. At the same time I did not suppose any new test ^{of} character, unknown to the sacred writers, ought to be set up.

Bingham was not alone in his concern. In 1826 William Richards wrote the American Board that he "had been growing particularly anxious lest the people should settle down satisfied with the more outward performance of the duties of Christianity, to the neglect of that which alone can save the soul." Those without true knowledge of God had no idea of repentance, while those cognizant of God's character prayed for the cleansing of their hearts.⁹⁶ Richards advised caution in admitting members to the church in order to avoid the spectre of apostasy, as had occurred in Tahiti. Standards became more severe in Lahaina in 1828 than in New England. Richards wrote the American Board that under orthodox rules they could have one hundred fifty church members, but they were proud that none of their fifty members had ever been disciplined.⁹⁷ The same standards

prevailed at Kailua-Kona where Asa Thurston asserted that none should be baptized until he or she was well instructed in grace and the fruits of their repentance well established. These rules must prevail even when the missionaries believed the Holy Spirit had touched an individual.⁹⁸

Such standards were well in keeping with the Calvinist theological and evangelical missionary tradition, but they did not give the Missionary Herald much news to share with the friends of mission. Bingham reported that on April 24, 1828 there were eighty-two members of the Hawaiian church, thirty-two Americans and fifty Hawaiians. Such low numbers did not justify the size and expense of the mission. Nor did they coincide with the New Haven theology or "new measures" that were changing the American approach to conversion. The third, fourth and fifth companies of missionaries arriving between 1828 and 1832, came of age in a different America from the earlier missionaries, and they had a different approach to the qualifications of conversion. By 1832 the church had admitted six hundred Hawaiians.⁹⁹

VI

Life was difficult on missionary ground. It was filled with frustrations, mental and spiritual, as the missionaries struggled to come to terms with themselves, their God and their flock. Those who remained in the field had no second thoughts as to their vocation, though some doubted their ability to do the job. On his thirty-fifth birthday, October 30, 1824, Hiram Bingham wrote his parents that "the great Lord of the harvest is still exceedingly good to me & mine. I am still happy in my family & happy in my work & encouraged with the hope that our labor will not be altogether in vain."¹⁰⁰ Samuel Whitney discovered that the

work of a missionary was hard, "but it is a work I love & in which I hope to live and die."¹⁰¹ Yet on New Year's Day, 1822, a traditional time of reflection, Whitney wrote, "Where hath been my stupid heart? What have I done for the poor heathen? . . . What bearing will my connection with them have in the Eternal world?"¹⁰²

Daniel Chamberlain, a man who seldom confided his thoughts to paper, wrote the mission church shortly before his departure, "I entered upon the work . . . with joy & trembling -- with joy that my highest wishes were gratified . . . with trembling lest I should do dishonour to the holy cause in which I had professedly engaged." Chamberlain was conscious that in many ways he had failed and asked the congregation's forgiveness, "feeling that it becomes me to lie low in the dust before God and humbly to ask for his pardoning mercy."¹⁰³

Levi Chamberlain was a man of great piety and dedication who, to his frustration, served as the secular agent for the mission because of his business experience. Writing his friend Rufus Anderson in 1825 Chamberlain reported that the mission prospered, but lamented, "I wish I could tell you that I am doing as much as I ought to help it forward." There might be those who thought missionaries were close to angels. "Alas! I feel that I am hardly a Christian; -- and so far from possessing the spirit and tempo of those holy spirits, . . . I do not even deserve to be honored as a helper to the least engaged in missionary spirit."¹⁰⁴ A year later Levi Chamberlain wrote his brother, Joseph, "Never was I more [happy], -- I would not exchange the labor, toils, privations, & sufferings of missionary life for all the wealth & honors of the world."¹⁰⁵ Though Chamberlain would often reflect on his unworthiness as a Christian and a

missionary, he had no desire to do anything else.

Nor did Chamberlain's friend and colleague, Charles Stewart. Writing to his friend Levi after six months in Hawaii, Stewart observed, "We have from our own experience learned that it is a vastly different thing to be a Missionary at home in America & be a Missionary abroad at the Sandwich Islands. How have we sustained the shock of that difference? -- In my opinion we may congratulate ourselves as being happy indeed if it had only made us more devoted."¹⁰⁶ A month later Stewart lamented that he and Chamberlain seldom saw each other. "Missionary ground I find to be far more dangerous ground than I anticipated, and, at times, I can scarce help weeping at the evils which not only creep into our hearts but which threaten to influence my actions & cover us with shame. I never knew the weakness of Christian character till I embarked in my present enterprise." Yet, Stewart hoped that what he had felt and seen had purified his missionary spirit. "I feel more willing . . . to be anything, to do anything & to suffer anything that will promote the best interests of the Mission as a body."¹⁰⁷ Several years after his departure due to Harriet Stewart's health, Charles Stewart reflected that "the happiest days I have ever known or ever expect to know on earth, were those of my residence as a missionary at the Sandwich Islands."¹⁰⁸

Many of the women were of much the same mind, despite their greater hardships. Expecting to share in the missionary enterprise, many were distressed to be so taken up with domestic concerns that they had little time to spread to the gospel. One of Sybil Bingham's first students was the Hawaiian wife of an American. "Some little seasons spent with her in unfolding the first principles of christianity, have been exceedingly

interesting. It has awakened missionary zeal when exhausting labours have smothered it."¹⁰⁹ Mercy Whitney would exclaim after explaining John 14 and 15 to one of the king's companions, "I have never felt more engaged in the Missionary work then in the short time I have spent instructing this heathen youth."¹¹⁰ Louisa Loomis asked Elizabeth Bishop, "What can be pleasanter than to labor to enlighten the dark minds of these ignorant heathen? For this people Obookiah in his dying moments, wept and prayed."¹¹¹

Pleasant as these interludes were, however, they were few. In 1824 Sybil Bingham confided her disappointment to Lucy Thurston that there was "so much apparent necessity for having so much to do with the vain world."¹¹² Six years later Mrs. Bingham wrote Fanny Gulick, "I have had occasion, many times in ten years, to quiet myself with the thought, that manual labor, when given to do in the providence of God . . . would be accepted in the good work."¹¹³ After eight years in the field, Mercy Whitney wrote Lucy Thurston that she "sometimes almost despaired of ever doing very much more for the heathen, except by example."¹¹⁴ Two years later, Mrs. Whitney wrote her sister, Maria Partridge,

I do think if I may judge from my own experience & observation, that greater degrees of grace are necessary to keep the soul in a spiritual frame & enable a person faithfully to discharge his duty, far separated from christian society, surrounded by everything appalling to the eye & sickening to the heart, than when enjoying frequent intercourse with christian friends. My views in this respect are altered materially, from what they were before I left A[merica] when imagination fancied, that the Missionary whose object was only to evangelize the heathen, & promote their spiritual welfare, could he enjoy that which it was his daily labor to propagate. But I have once & again had occasion to mourn over a cold stupid, heart, almost inactive & lifeless, in the things of religion. I do think that when a missionary is enabled to live as he ought, he experiences a joy & satisfaction which the mass of professing christians in civilized lands seldom attain.¹¹⁵

Mercy Whitney, however, thought a missionary was seldom able to live as he ought.

VII

Despite such personal disillusionment, the missionaries remained committed to the cause of spreading the gospel. In 1827 Asa Thurston and Artemas Bishop wrote a joint letter to Jeremiah Evarts stating that the discouragements of the missionary field "ought not to lessen the exertions of the friends of Jesus to furnish the heathen with the bread and water of life. How many and how great soever the obstacles which meet us in evangelizing the nations, they can never remit the obligations of Christians to furnish the world with the means of salvation."¹¹⁶

The mission field was not totally without its compensations. Writing Rufus Anderson from the station at Kawaihae in 1826, Artemas Bishop had declared, "could you but witness for one day the order, the attention, the anxious eager look and observe the starting tear that starts in the eye of the tawny sunburnt savage, and the look of hope and joy as he casts his look upwards to heaven upon hearing the terms of pardoning mercy . . . your heart would leap for joy."¹¹⁷

Life in the field, however, did affect the opinions of the missionaries regarding the basic qualifications future candidates for the office should meet. As early as 1821 Samuel Whitney observed to a young relative that in this vocation "ardent personal piety is a requisite, without this . . . he is of all men most miserable." A missionary also needed a spirit which could look danger and death in the face. He required diligence and perseverance amidst discouragement and depravity, weakness and humility amidst success and honor. "In short, one who can

become all things to all men, . . . continually look to God as the Author and finisher of his faith, with a heart full of love to God and the souls of the Heathen."¹¹⁸ The Reverend Artemas Bishop seems to have been thinking of interpersonal relationships within the mission family when he made the recommendation to the American Board in 1824 that future missionaries "must be prepared for self-denial, especially the greatest of all self-denial, a willingness to submit their opinions in every instance . . . to the voice of the mission."¹¹⁹

Writing the American Board a year later, Levi Chamberlain disclosed his advice for the entire missionary enterprise. Regarding the mission family in Hawaii there three major needs; first, a need for "a supremely devoted spirit -- a spirit of self-denial & missionary enterprise;" Secondly, a need for "more love to the heathen, & more of that spirit of prayer;" third, came the need for the "prayers of patrons, helpers & the Christian church -- and lastly, we need the means, -- the pecuniary means." Chamberlain then turned to the need for more missionaries, "laborers of the true stamp -- persons that are qualified to preach, and who are willing to suffer the loss of all things for Christ -- who are willing to become all things to all men, and . . . who are willing to be nothing."¹²⁰

"We hope," wrote James Ely, "there are many who are of the true stamp -- who are devoted to the cause and who will follow [Christ] through evil and through good report." Ely did not want the American Board to be swayed by the enthusiastic zeal of those who were influenced by the romantic picture of the missionary surrounded by adoring natives. "A true missionary who is moved by love to [Christ] and his kingdom -- who looks

on the work of propagating the gospel as self-denying work -- who calculates for perils, and hardships, privations, and disappointments -- and who girds on his armor and resolves to stand by [Christ] and his cause in dangers and deaths," was what the field needed.¹²¹

None of the missionaries who remained in the field regretted his or her acceptance of the call. Many of those who were forced by ill-health to leave the field did so with despair.¹²² Yet, all had been shocked by the great disparity between their expectations of the missionary life and the actual conditions they encountered. It was one thing to read of David Brainerd's hardships, and quite another to experience them. For many years the example of Opukahaia bore little resemblance to the behavior of his countrymen.

The missionaries put aside their illusions and grew into adulthood, but accepted the decisions of youth. For those who remained in the field, and many of those who departed, the cause of spreading the gospel remained a sacred duty. But their discoveries about the harsh realities of evangelist's life and about each other led them to offer the preceding advice as to the recruitment of future workers. These people needed to be filled with faith and zeal, but rather than perceiving the role of missionary as that of the brave martyr, the candidates must be made to realize that the missionary path was one of humility and self-denial, of thorns rather than roses. Mercy Whitney summed up this experiential understanding in a letter she wrote after eight years as a missionary on Kauai.

How many enlist in the cause with a very inadequate knowledge of themselves, or of the work before them. Far be it from me to discourage anyone who has a call to engage in a Mission, but I have sometimes thought, had I known as much of my unfitness for such a

station before I left A[merica] as I have since known, I fear I should hardly have dared to enter upon it. I say this not because I am sorry I ever gave myself to the work, or have any desire to return to my native country But O the obligations & responsibility which rest upon me! Had I not an Almighty arm to lean upon, I fear I should sink at once.¹²³

VIII

The question of missionary impact on the indigenous Hawaiians has been amply documented by those who support missionaries as a "civilizing" factor, those who decry their despoliation of indigenous culture and those who purport to take the neutral position.¹²⁴ Regardless of the discussion of the relative merits or demerits of missionary influence, however, no one doubts that the New England missionaries caused significant changes in the Hawaiian culture.

The aspects of the western civilization brought by the New England missionaries were very different from those brought by merchants, whalers and seamen from the United States and Europe. The latter had, in general, come to Hawaii in an effort to escape the very cultural mores the former were so determined to introduce. Conflict was constant and inevitable with Hiram Bingham, by virtue of his position as the head of the missionary family and his location at Honolulu, involved in almost every controversy. As news of these altercations drifted back to the United States, the American Board asked how such hostility could be directed towards the mission if its members were following their instructions to refrain from political activity. "Why should one not expect opposition from those who love darkness rather than light," Bingham defended, "whether they are externally white as the polished European or sable as the degraded Ethiopian, or swarthy as the barbarous Polynesian."¹²⁵

As for meddling in politics, the missionaries emphatically denied all

such charges. In an explanation clearly revealing its Calvinist roots, Bingham reiterated the Puritan position on the separation of church and state governing the political participation of missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. "The ministry of religion and the ministry of the state each has its duties; but each in its own order and place, and both for the glory of the same Master." The state derived its powers from God, with both rulers and subjects bound to God's will and the "chief magistrate being emphatically God's minister." Therefore, the state is a religious institution. Nevertheless, the state is not a church. While the state is organized for self-preservation, the church uses moral means to teach and illustrate the world of God.¹²⁶ In keeping with this explanation, "the Hawaiian state has had no right and has claimed no power to appoint the officers, or direct the action, or control the discipline of the church : and the church there has had no power and claimed no right to appoint the officers or control the action of the state." However, "the ministers both of the church and state should, if they would be loyal to the Divine Sovereign, concur in publishing statutes, and in inculcating the principles of truth, equity, temperance, and righteousness."¹²⁷

The mission made little headway in evangelism until Lord Byron returned the bodies of Kamehameha II and Kamamalu in 1825. The New Englanders began to preach with renewed vigor on such topics as the wages of sin, the need for repentance and the fleeting quality of life. Yet, these factors were less important for the growth of religious interest than the regency of Ka'ahumanu on behalf of the new king, Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli). Ka'ahumanu had been interested in the new religion for sometime, but her possession of two husbands disqualified her candidacy

until she sent away the younger consort, A. Kealiihonai.

Kaumualii, Ka'ahumanu's remaining husband, died in 1824 and left his holdings, not to his son, George Kaumualii whom the pioneer company had returned to Hawaii, but to Kamehameha II (Liholiho). George Kaumualii led a rebellion to secure Kauai for himself. When the Oahu chiefs inquired as to the appropriateness of crushing the rebellion, the missionaries declared the conflict to be a just war. With God on their side, the centralizing forces defeated the rebels. Shortly thereafter, in March 1825, Lord Byron arrived.¹²⁸

In June several chiefs, Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimoku among them, presented themselves for baptism. Bingham placed the group on probation. The same month the chiefs decided to patronize the palapala (i.e., missionary educational efforts) and to suppress vice. In August the chiefs formally prohibited gambling and adultery (including prostitution) and required their people to attend school and church, and to observe the Sabbath.

These restrictions caused immediate hostility among the merchants and whalers who attacked the missionaries both physically and on paper, for this blatant meddling in chiefly policy. From the missionary perspective, however, the chiefs were merely exhibiting the fruits of their probable conversions.

The fruit was sufficient for the baptism of the chiefly candidates in the early part of December, 1825. On December 12, the new church members bore more fruit as they discussed the feasibility of adopting the Ten Commandments as the national law code. There is no evidence that the missionaries suggested such a formal act, but the connection between

missionary teaching and public policy is clear. Two years later, the chiefs issued three laws prohibiting murder, theft and adultery. This marks the beginning of formal legislation in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The law code continued to develop. In a proclamation dated October 7, 1829, Kamehameha III declared, "The laws of my country prohibit murder, theft, adultery, prostitution, retailing ardent spirits at houses for selling spirits, amusements on the Sabbath day, gambling and betting on the Sabbath day, and at all times."¹²⁹

The growing association of government policy with religious instruction demonstrates the extensive cultural changes which took place in Hawaii between 1825 and 1830. It is unlikely such major changes could or would have occurred without the close association of the missionaries and the ruling chiefs.¹³⁰ The missionaries taught the chiefs the same faith they taught the commoners. Yet, they were aware that a chief was inseparable from his office, even as a magistrate was, and that a Christian chief, as a Christian magistrate, could not avoid bearing the fruits of his or her conversion in his or her capacity as a ruling chief. This is precisely the point where church and state, though separate, intersected.

No one would deny that the Calvinist missionaries irrevocably changed Hawaiian culture. The missionaries believed it was a change for the better. Twenty years after his arrival in Hawaii, Hiram Bingham could see the results of missionary toil. "A nation has been raised from blank heathenism to a rank among enlightened nations, to the enjoyment of letters and laws, of Christianity and the hope of heavenly glory."¹³¹ This accomplishment was one to encourage the continuation of the

missionary cause throughout the world. "If the American Board and its friends and laborers have not done too much for the nation in a generation past . . . those who are on the Lord's side, grateful for what God has wrought there, will be encouraged to attempt and expect the same . . . for other nations, till, in every tongue, they shall harmoniously hymn the Messiah's praise."¹³²

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88. Perry, pp. 34-35.
89. Bingham, Residence, pp. 147-148.
90. Bingham examined Puaaki as to his understanding of the Christian religion and recorded both the questions and the answers in his memoirs. These questions and answers represent quite a sophisticated understanding of both Calvinist theology and European/American philosophical concepts for one who had only been exposed to them for five years. "Why do you ask to be admitted to the church? Because I love Jesus Christ, and I love you, and desire to dwell in the fold of Christ, and join with you in eating the holy bread and drinking the holy wine. What is the holy bread? It is the body of Christ, which he gave to save sinners. Do we then eat the body of Christ? No, but we eat the bread which represents his body; and as we eat bread that our bodies may not die, so our souls love Jesus Christ, and receive him for their Savior that they may not die. What is the holy wine? It is the blood of Christ, which he poured out on Calvary, in the land of Judea, to save us sinners. Do we then drink the blood of Christ? No, but the wine represents his blood just as the holy bread represents his body, and all those who go to Christ and trust in him will have their sins washed away in his blood, and their souls saved for ever in heaven. Why do you think it more suitable that you should join the church than others? Perhaps it is not. If it is not proper, you must tell me; but I do greatly desire to dwell with you in the fold of Christ. Who do you think are proper persons to be received to the church? Those who have repented of their sins, and have obtained new hearts. What is a new heart? One that loves God and loves the Word of God, and does not love sin or sinful ways." Bingham, Residence, p. 253. (Bingham's quotation marks have been deleted.)
91. Stewart, Journal, p. 215.
92. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, June 10, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
93. Stewart, Journal, p. 263.
94. Bingham, Residence, p. 214.
95. Ibid., p. 268.
96. William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, May 5, 1825, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
98. William Richards to Rufus Anderson, May 20, 1828, ML, HMCSL.

98. Asa Thurston to unknown, December 10, 1828, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
99. Figures in Bradley, The American Frontier, op. cit., p. 145; Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, June 12, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
100. Hiram Bingham to Calvin Bingham, October 30, 1824, Bingham Family Papers, HMCSL.
101. Samuel Whitney, March 4, 1821, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
102. Samuel Whitney, January 1, 1822, Journal, ML, HMCSL.
103. Daniel & Jerusha Chamberlain to the pastors & brethren of the church of the Sandwich Islands Mission, March 7, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
104. Levi Chamberlain to Rufus Anderson, August 17, 1825, ML, HMCSL.
105. Levi Chamberlain to Joseph Chamberlain, May 8, 1826, ML, HMCSL.
106. Charles Stewart to Levi Chamberlain, November 22, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
107. Charles Stewart to Levi Chamberlain, December 28, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
108. Charles Stewart to Jeremiah Evarts, June 8, 1829, ML, HMCSL.
109. S. Bingham, July 22, 1820, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
110. M. Whitney, July, 22, 1821, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
111. Louisa Ely to Elizabeth Bishop, May 14, 1824, ML, HMCSL.
112. Sybil Bingham to Lucy Thurston, January 1824, Bingham Family Papers, HMCSL.
113. Sybil Bingham to Fanny Gulick, September 4, 1830, ML, HMCSL.
114. Mercy Whitney to Lucy Thurston, January 27, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
115. Mercy Whitney to Maria Partridge, March 24, 1830, ML, HMCSL.
116. Asa Thurston and Artemas Bishop to Jeremiah Evarts, October 10, 1827, ML, HMCSL.
117. Artemas Bishop to Rufus Anderson, November 3, 1826, ML, HMCSL.
118. Samuel Whitney to Eli Smith, December 27, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
119. Artemas Bishop to Jeremiah Evarts, January 14, 1824, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
120. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, January 8, 1825, ML, HMCSL.

121. James Ely to Jeremiah Evarts, November 23, 1826, ML, HMCSL.
122. Levi Chamberlain commented that it was difficult to decide whether a missionary "shall remain on missionary ground with certain death before [him] and a termination of all [his] usefulness" or to return to the United States where he could restore his health and labor elsewhere in the Lord's vineyard. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, September 29, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
123. Mercy Whitney to Sarah Bidwell, April 30, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
124. See, Bradley, The American Frontier in Hawaii, op. cit.; John Garrett, To Live Among the Stars: Christian Origins in Oceania, (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982); Aarne A. Koskinen, Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands, op. cit.; Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom, Vol. I, op. cit.; Chester R. Young, "American Missionary Influence on the Union of Church and State in Hawaii During the Regency of Kaahumanu," A Journal of Church and State IX (1967) 165-179.
125. Hiram Bingham to Rufus Anderson, December 28, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
126. Bingham, Residence, pp. 278-279.
127. Ibid., p. 279.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid., p. 351.
130. See, Garrett, Koskinen and Young.
131. Bingham, Residence, p. 616.
132. Ibid.

CONCLUSION

THE CALL FULFILLED

"These all died in faith, not having received the promises, but having seen them afar off, and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth."
(Hebrews 11:13)

Missionaries to the Pacific Islanders have been approached from many angles in terms of their religious affiliation, missionary institutions, and the result of their activities, but even the most sympathetic biographies have failed to look at the personal level of missionary commitment to the cause.¹ Missionaries had varying approaches to their call, determined by their theological framework, religious environment and personal experiences. Catholics, Anglicans, Methodists and a host of other denominations are represented in the Pacific Islands, but New England Calvinists represent the most structured group in terms of the life of their mission family and their success at altering Hawaiian culture.

Calvinist theology was of primary importance in determining the New England missionary's approach to his or her call. "What would the missionary of the cross do if it were not for the consolation contained in the promises of God," wrote Samuel Ruggles after two months in the Sandwich Islands, "these to him are sweet and refreshing. Without them before him, he would soon faint and die; but with them he may go to his

work and cheerfully labor and toil" among the Hawaiians.² Ruggles and others in the first two mission companies to Hawaii received those promises during the Second Great Awakening. "When we inquire into the religious history of those devoted men and women who have gone forth from the American churches as missionaries to the heathen," wrote a contemporary observer, "we generally find, that the spirit of the enlarged and aspiring enterprise was cradled in a revival."³

Indeed, the revivals of the Second Great Awakening in New England provided the necessary enthusiasm to make the cause of foreign missions an American reality. Students from Andover Theological Seminary provided the impetus and the initial recruits for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. The missionary candidates were not complacent in their faith, because their theology had warned them that only an utterly selfless love of God brought salvation, yet disinterested benevolence also compelled them to make personal sacrifices. The need to serve others caused the future missionaries to change their lifestyles. Levi Chamberlain discovered that his "conscience was continually urging [him] to go out and converse with those whom [he] supposed ignorant of the way of salvation." His partner, Jesse Holbrook, was not pleased by this turn of events. "I have been considerably opposed by my partner in reproofing profane persons in the shop -- & distributing tracts."⁴ Shortly thereafter, Chamberlain affiliated with the American Board to devote himself full time to the Lord's work. "I do not regret that I relinquished mercantile pursuits to be engaged in the cause of Missions," Chamberlain wrote his friend, Rufus Anderson, "nor do I as yet repent of any one sacrifice that I have ever made for the Redeemer."⁵

Neither orthodox nor consistent Calvinism, however, allowed a believer to be totally sure of salvation, especially if the believer for whatever reason was unable to participate in a regular quiet time of prayer and meditation on the Scriptures. The missionaries often had no free time for prayer and therefore suffered some mental distress. Betsey Stockton discovered that although she "always knew that the human heart was a sink of sin, and that [hers] was filled with it . . . [she] did not know, until now, that the sink was without bottom."⁶ Her brother missionary Levi Chamberlain suffered similar feelings of inadequacy. "Never have I experienced so great a burden of care -- never felt myself so near sinking under the load imposed upon me."⁷ Charles Stewart, a man of few words concerning his personal religious experience, was impressed with his own insignificance before God during a storm at sea. "A momentary unbelief would persuade me to think myself too unimportant an object to share in the protecting power" of God. "All the fortitude of the Christian is requisite to preserve an ordinary degree of composure, amidst the terrors of God."⁸

The Stewarts and the Richards established a station at Lahaina, Maui and were well regarded by both the mission family and the Hawaiians. Harriet Stewart's health, however, entered a decline and both Dr. Blatcheley and ships' physicians advised her removal.⁹ The Stewarts and Betsey Stockton returned to the United States in 1825. "No event in my life ever caused me more unfeigned [anxiety] & distress than my departure from you," Stewart later wrote the mission family at Honolulu, "it was difficult for me to be reconciled to a dispensation not only involved in deep darkness itself, but casting shadows of doubt on the

past."¹⁰

What these shadows were is not known, but they may have been due to the public expectation that once a missionary embarked, he or she would not return. Such had been the commitment of the missionaries, themselves. To return from the field reflected badly on both the missionary and the cause, yet fourteen returned to the United States for reasons of health. In some cases the general meeting at Honolulu was supportive and in some, it was not. It was a difficult decision. "We are far from thinking it an easy thing for a missionary to leave his work without doing injury in some way to the cause of Missions." The meeting concluded that although they had released missionaries for reasons of health, "we can never assume the responsibility of justifying any one's quitting the service or receding from his engagements with the Board & with the church."¹¹ Such a conclusion was in keeping with consistent Calvinism which in theory would question how an individual could place his or her personal health above God's call. The tone began to change after the death of Elizabeth Bishop in 1828. Hers was the first adult death of the mission family in the Sandwich Islands and the circumstances were especially stressful.

Elizabeth Edwards Bishop was a pious woman, a hardworking missionary, an exemplary wife and mother. She became ill in August, 1827 and by September was unable to supervise her household. By December her husband, Artemas Bishop, had given up all ministerial work in order to nurse the invalid. "I have been in the depths of affliction," he wrote, "lest she was about to be removed from me."¹² The invalid was in acute physical pain and mental distress, emaciated and unable to sleep since even a

falling leaf could awaken her. But there was no thought of return.¹³

"Elizabeth has no desire to return to America nor have I as long as there is any prospect of life or health at the islands. I fear that too many will already say that it is becoming fashionable for missionaries to return," commented Reverend Bishop.¹⁴ By March 1828 the sick woman had "faded, withered, fell, & vanished from our sight."¹⁵

The physical aspects of Mrs. Bishop's illness were distressing, but her spiritual state was a frightening one for her brethren and sisters. The mission family mourned Elizabeth's "departure as a beloved Christian sister, as one that felt and prayed for the cause of Christ's Kingdom on the islands and . . . because it thins our feeble ranks."¹⁶ Levi Chamberlain wrote that "her sufferings were peculiar and of such a nature as precluded the consolation usually vouchsafed to those who are truly the followers of Christ as we have abundant reason to believe our sister to be."²⁷ William Richards eulogized the deceased as "a much loved and useful member of the mission . . . always more ready to suffer herself than to see others suffer . . . a mother not only tender but faithful, -- as a missionary ready to spend and be spent, -- as a christian had many doubts and fears."¹⁸ Indeed, "Mr. Bingham told me," Mercy Whitney confided to Nancy Ruggles, "that [Elizabeth Bishop] warned others not to live as she had done, in the neglect of duty."¹⁹

Elizabeth Bishop had perhaps taken contemporary Calvinism too seriously. While others entertained doubts for a few moments, hours or even days, Bishop's doubts permeated her entire Christian life and were intensified during her last illness. "Her views of the doctrines & duties of the gospel were clear and correct," concluded Hiram Bingham, "but she

set the standard of duty so high as hardly to think it possible that she could be a christian." Bingham suggested further that Elizabeth's "views of the nature of sin, & of that holiness, without which no man can see the Lord were so clear and affecting, that few, on earth, I am persuaded could entertain the same without deep solicitude for their own personal safety."²⁰

Elizabeth Bishop remained at her station and would have been gratified to know the effect her death had on local Hawaiians. The death initially subdued a revival which had then been occurring, but Elizabeth's parting became a blessing to the work. "The loss of one so endeared to them," reported Reverend Bishop, "the recollection of the many that they had long neglected her instructions & admonitions until she was taken from them, and above all, the parting advice she bequeathed to them as the pledge of her sincerity and affection aroused them at once to a sense of their condition." The bereaved missionary reported that "the idea that [Elizabeth's] dying prayers were offered for them that they might meet her again in heaven, was a more powerful appeal to their hearts than all persuasion." The widower took much comfort in these events.²¹ Perhaps the more so, because they so clearly fit the Calvinist formula and experience. As Henry Opukahaia's death brought the missionaries to Hawaii, Elizabeth Bishop's death brought at least some Hawaiians to Christ. Such martyrdoms, however, were not to be encouraged. After the loss of their sister, the remaining missionaries were no longer ambivalent towards medical departures. "If anybody wishes to know the opinion of the brethren on this island about sending home such of our members as have failed in health, I can readily answer that deeply as we feel the loss . . .

. yet we cannot sacrifice the lives of those who are qualified to be useful . . . merely because the prejudice of many Christians in our own country is against the returning of missionaries."²²

The greater glory, of course, remained with those who lived out their lives in the missionary field -- at least in the early years. Later, as American and missionary attitudes changed, there was no longer a stigma attached to the worker's return to his or her native land. Of the twenty-seven missionaries, fifteen returned home, including the Bingham's after twenty-one years in Hawaii due to Sybil Bingham's health. As the pioneer missionaries became part of an idealized past, the cause of foreign missions fed upon their example. New missionaries were recruited for the Pacific and Asia; new generations looked up to the early nineteenth century examples of Christian life and commitment. William Ellis believed that the early years in the Sandwich Islands had irrefutably proven the benefits of the Christian religion on any nation. "It has afforded fresh encouragements to all interested or engaged in its propagation throughout the world, and has augmented the evidence already possessed, of the adaptation of Christianity to improve the condition of mankind, and its tendency to elevate their intellectual and moral character, and to ameliorate their present condition, whilst it inspires them with the hopes of immortality."²³ Such was the purpose of the first and second company of missionaries to Hawaii, a purpose defined by contemporary Calvinism, individual conversion experiences and a concept of the missionary calling formed by past experience and contemporary ideals. Charles Stewart reflected the feelings of the entire missionary family when he wrote, "It is with emotions of gratitude to God, that he has not

only given me . . . a good hope through grace of his great laboration.
And called me by his Spirit into the ministry of His Son. But, that He
has also disposed my heart to devote myself to the building up of his
Kingdom in the Pagan world."²⁴

ENDNOTES

1. Andrew, Rebuilding, op. cit.; Diane Langmore, Tamate, A King, James Chalmers in New Guinea 1877-1901, (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1974); Gavan Daws, A Dream of Islands, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1980), pp. 23-70; Loomis, Grapes of Canaan, op. cit.
2. Samuel and Nancy Ruggles, May 8, 1820, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
3. Calvin Colton, History and Character of American Revivals, (1832; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1973), pp. 194-195.
4. Levi Chamberlain, March 6, 1820, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
5. Levi Chamberlain to Rufus Anderson, November 20, 1822, ML, HMCSL
6. Christian Advocate, December 1824, p. 564.
7. Levi Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, January 9, 1824, ML, HMCSL
8. Stewart, Journal, op. cit., pp. 40-41.
9. Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, October 18, 1825, ML, HMCSL; Bingham, Residence, op. cit., p. 273. William Richards mentioned that Stewart, himself, had also suffered from a severe fever in 1823 from which he had yet to fully recover. William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
10. Charles Stewart to Missionaries Resident at the Sandwich Islands, November 20, 1829, ML, HMCSL.
11. Joint Letter of the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board, October 7, 1826, ABCFM-HEA Papers, HMCSL.
12. Artemas Bishop to Rufus Anderson, December 18, 1827, ML, HMCSL.
13. Artemas Bishop to Rufus Anderson, December 18, 1827, ML, HMCSL; Artemas Bishop to Jeremiah Evarts, March 8, 1828, ML, HMCSL; Lucy Thurston, Journal (Printer's copy), op. cit. pp. 114-115.
14. Artemas Bishop to Rufus Anderson, December 18, 1827, op. cit.
15. Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, March 12, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
16. Lorrin Andrews and William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, September 30, 1828, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.

17. Levi Chamberlain, March 3, 1828, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
18. William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, April 14, 1828, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCSL.
19. Mercy Whitney to Nancy Ruggles, April 2, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
20. Hiram Bingham to Jeremiah Evarts, March 12, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
21. Artemas Bishop to Jeremiah Evarts, January 3, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
22. Artemas Bishop to Levi Chamberlain, September 13, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
23. Stewart, Journal, op. cit., p. xv.
24. Charles Stewart, Letters of Candidacy, ML, HMCSL.

APPENDIX

THE REVEREND HIRAM BINGHAM

Born: October 30, 1879 at Bennington, Vermont
Died: November 11, 1869 at New Haven, Connecticut
Education: Middlebury College (1816)
 Andover Theological Seminary (1819)
First Company

While enroute to his mission station, Hiram Bingham reassured his parents. "You may while you live & even in your dying bed derive comfort from the reflection that in training up a numerous family for God, he has enabled you to do something towards preparing one missionary of the cross for the destitute at home and another for perishing pagans abroad."¹

MRS. SYBIL MOSELEY BINGHAM

Born: September 14, 1792 at Westfield, Massachusetts
Died: February 17, 1848 at Easthampton, Massachusetts
First Company

On her wedding day the new Mrs. Bingham confided to her journal, "I pen this date, and pause. Happy day! that joined me to the worthiest of husbands — that opened the way, plain & wide, into missionary work."²

THE REVEREND ARTEMAS BISHOP

Born: December 30, 1795 at Pompey, New York
Died: December 18, 1872 at Honolulu, Hawaii
Education: Union College (1819)
 Princeton Theological Seminary (1822)
Second Company

Enroute to the Sandwich Islands, Bishop reflected that, "So much of a pilgrim have I become that the distance of time which separates Eternity from my view seems very short; and the thought of meeting my friends there quite familiar. Much of the dread of Death, which I used to feel, is taken away in the joyful hope of greeting . . . those whom I leave here on earth."³

MRS ELIZABETH EDWARDS BISHOP

Born: June 2, 1798 at Marlborough, Massachusetts

Died: February 21, 1828 at Kailua-Kona, Hawaii
Education: Bradford Academy
Second Company

Mrs. Bishop shared some of her religious anxiety with Mrs. Louisa Ely. "Poor, weak nature trembles and faints in view of approaching trials. But all I ask is a soul truly resigned and submissive to all which my Father shall appoint. This is the burden of my prayer, and the one blessing for which I dare to look with confidence."⁴

DR. ABRAHAM BLATCHELY

Born: October 13, 1787 at East Guilford (Madison), Connecticut
Died: 1860 in Illinois
Education: Yale College
Second Company

Dr. Blatchely was never contented in Hawaii, and what little documentation he left is usually of a complaining nature. Dr. Blatchley left the mission station in 1826 for health reasons. "The climate is more debilitating than I expected," he wrote, "I have at no time been able to do but little, have been subject to frequent bilious affections which have as frequently prostrated my strength, & have at times been laid low by the fever of a tropical climate."⁵

MRS. JEMIMA MARVIN BLATCHELY

Born: March 28, 1791 at Lyme, Connecticut
Died: October 26, 1856 at East Guilford, Connecticut
Second Company

After returning to the United States, Mrs. Blatchely wrote Mrs. Nancy Ruggles, "how sad . . . is the feeling that I can no more be associated with those who are engaged in spreading the Gospel among benighted pagans, tho' at the same time I am overwhelmed with a consciousness of my own unworthiness . . . in such a service."⁶

MR. DANIEL CHAMBERLAIN

Born: March 11, 1782 at Westboro, Massachusetts
Died: February 6, 1860 at Westboro, Massachusetts
Occupation: Farmer
First Company

As the Chamberlains prepared for their departure from the Sandwich Islands Daniel Chamberlain expressed his disappointment. "But dear brethren the thoughts of leaving you -- of leaving the work which I would desire with my whole soul still to aid -- brings to mind a trail of tender feelings which my feeble pen cannot express -- cannot paint!"

MRS. JERUSHA BURNAP CHAMBERLAIN

Born: November 19, 1786 at Hopkinton, Massachusetts
Died: June 27, 1879 at Wollaston, Massachusetts
First Company

Jerusha Chamberlain left no writings. In a letter to Jeremiah Evarts, Daniel Chamberlain noted that, "Mrs. C sends her love to Mrs. Evarts & wishes to be remembered to all enquiring friends — She says she has not regretted for a moment her undertaking since she left America."⁸

MR. LEVI CHAMBERLAIN

Born: August 28, 1792 at Dover, Vermont
Died: July 29, 1849 at Honolulu, Hawaii
Occupation: Accountant and Superintendent for Secular Affairs
Second Company

According to Levi Chamberlain "Christian contentment . . . is complacency in the divine dispensations, and satisfaction with the allotments of providence, — heathen contentment is that of the sevine, exercised without thought, and upon a sated appetite."⁹

MR. JAMES ELY

Born: October 22, 1798 at Lyme, Connecticut
Died: January 20, 1890 at Thompsonville, Connecticut
Education: Foreign Mission School
Occupation: Licensed Preacher
Ordained at Honolulu, Hawaii, June 4, 1825
Second Company

"It was early my desire to be a missionary. And I think I was influenced in my decisions on this subject more from a sense of duty than from flattering prospects of care or preferment." Indeed, "I nearly despaired of doing anything for Christ. But since I have resided at Kaawaloa, God has been better to me than my fears. My service rendered has been cheerful, and I have experienced real satisfaction in making known the way of life."¹⁰

MRS. LOUISA EVEREST ELY

Born: September 8, 1793 at Cornwell, Connecticut
Died: September 15, 1848 at Cornwell, Connecticut
Second Company

"There on the black rocks of Kaawaloa, I spent some of the happiest moments of my life."¹¹

MR. JOSEPH GOODRICH

Born: July 31, 1794 at Wethersfield, Connecticut
Died: February 19, 1852 at Kewanee, Illinois
Education: Yale College
Occupation: Licensed Preacher
Ordained September 29, 1826, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii
Second Company

MRS. MARTHA BARNES GOODRICH

Born: January 8, 1801 at Southington, Connecticut
Died: November 6, 1840 at Kewanee, Illinois
Second Company

Homesickness afflicted all of the missionaries. Mrs. Goodrich confided, "Often when I think of you, it is vain that I endeavour to suppress the rising sigh, and falling tear. But I think not that it is because I am discontented and wish to return, for I am far generally happier than I deserve to be, but when I think of home, a thousand tender recollections rush into my mind, and I for a moment indulge the tears to flow silently down my cheek."¹²

DR. THOMAS HOLMAN

Born: November 26, 1793 at New Haven, Connecticut
Died: March 20, 1826 at Bridgeport, Connecticut
Education: Cherry Valley Medical School, New York
Foreign Mission School
First Company

From the day the Thaddeus set sail the Holmans were under a cloud. "The fact is," Daniel Chamberlain wrote, "I believe & I have good reason for my belief — that it was their intention to come here & stay a few years & accumulate some property & then return."¹³

MRS. LUCIA RUGGLES HOLMAN

Born: October 12, 1793 at Brookfield, Connecticut
Died: June 20, 1886 at New Milford, Connecticut
First Company

Soon after the arrival of the Thaddeus, "one of the queens, weighing at least 350, got me into her lap, & felt me from head to foot & said I must eat more to grow larger. She wanted me to take my hair down to see how long it was & then how I roll it up."¹⁴

MR. ELISHA LOOMIS

Born: December 11, 1799 at Rushville, New York
Died: August 27, 1836 at Rushville, New York
Education: Foreign Mission School
Occupation: Printer
Teacher
First Company

While under conviction, Mr. Loomis exclaimed, "When I look into myself I perceive scarcely anything but sin . . . Blessed Jesus! deliver me from the power of sin and satan."¹⁵

MRS. MARIA THERESA SARTWELL LOOMIS

Born: August 25, 1796 at Hartford, New York
Died: September 6, 1862 at Ypsilanti, Michigan
First Company

The women were distracted from their missionary work by family concerns, but occasionally the two coincided. "Yesterday I was permitted the high privilege of presenting to God in the holy ordinance of baptism, my precious little babe [Amanda], & of renewedly dedicating myself, my offspring & my all to his service."¹⁶

THE REVEREND WILLIAM RICHARDS

Born: August 22, 1793 at Plainfield, Massachusetts .
Died: November 7, 1847 at Honolulu, Hawaii
Education: Williams College (1819)
Andover Theological Seminary (1822)
Second Company

In the 1828 Report of Mission co-authored by William Richards and Lorrin Andrews the statement was made that "when we speak of what we have done, we ought to be ashamed of our moral, religious and official characters, as falling short of our engagements and your requisitions." Nevertheless, "with all our weakness and imperfections, we verily believe that God has glorified himself in bringing by our instrumentality some souls out of darkness into his marvelous light."¹⁷

MRS. CLARISSA LYMAN RICHARDS

Born: January 10, 1795 at Northampton, Massachusetts
Died: October 3, 1861 at New Haven, Connecticut
Second Company

William Richards recounted an incident when the female chief, Thekawenoke, told Clarissa Richards to make her three gowns, because it was less

trouble for the missionary to make them than for the chief's attendants. Mrs. Richards responded that "I am now here alone in feeble health -- I make my own clothes, the clothes of my family, & have no girls to assist me in it -- I have not a company of servants about me to go and come at my bidding & do all my work, but must do really all my working and much of my other work myself -- I have a number of scholars to teach everyday -- I have made you three gowns, and taught your girls to sew." The chief left in a huff.¹⁸

MR. SAMUEL RUGGLES

Born: March 9, 1795 at Brookfield, Connecticut
Died: September 6, 1871 at Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin
Education: Foreign Mission School
Occupation: Teacher/Catechist
First Company

Prior to his departure, Samuel Ruggles confided to his sister, Lucia, "The idea of going is sometimes for a moment almost insupportable, but when I think of the vast worth of souls, and the glorious cause which . . . I go to promote, all disagreeable sensations vanish."¹⁹

MRS. NANCY WELLS RUGGLES

Born: April 12, 1791 at East Windsor, Connecticut
Died: February 28, 1873 at Fort Atkinson, Wisconsin
First Company

"The idea of being left a wanderer as it were alone, in a strange land, is very trying; but I will not murmur; the Lord afflicts not willingly."²⁰

THE REVEREND CHARLES SAMUEL STEWART

Born: October 16, 1795 at Flemington, New Jersey
Died: December 14, 1870 at Cooperstown, New York
Education: Princeton College (1815)
Princeton Theological Seminary (1821)
Second Company

After the departure of Lord Byron in 1825, Charles Stewart reflected, "Nothing I have yet known on Missionary ground, causes me so deeply to feel the sacrifice of our situation, as the occasional society of such men. The lowliness of our habitation, the plainness and poverty of our table, the known and unknown inconveniences and privations of our establishment -- never rouse the recollections of mind and heart, excited by the intercourse of a week, a day, an hour, with the polished, the intelligent, the amiable, the virtuous."²¹

MRS. HARRIET BRADFORD TIFFANY STEWART

Born: June 24, 1798 at Stamford, Connecticut
Died: September 6, 1830 at Cooperstown, New York
Second Company

Always in poor health, Harriet Stewart nearly died in 1825 after the birth of her daughter, Harriet. The Reverend Stewart confided, after the danger was past, that at her darkest hour the sick woman's friends "had the highest consolation of seeing imparted to her, by her covenant with God, not only a spirit of resignation and peace, but thoughts of brightness and of joy, from a good hope through grace of entering on 'the rest that remaineth to his people.'"²²

MISS BETSEY STOCKTON

Born: c. 1798 at Princeton, New Jersey
Died: October 24, 1865 at Princeton, New Jersey
Occupation: Teacher
Second Company

"A missionary's life is very laborous but pleasant."²³

THE REVEREND ASA THURSTON

Born: October 12, 1787 at Fitchburg, Massachusetts
Died: March 11, 1868 at Honolulu, Hawaii
Education: Yale College (1816)
Andover Theological Seminary (1819)
First Company

To the despair of the missionaries Liholiho (Kamehameha II) did not express much interest in the new religion. Nevertheless, they were "not without hope that [Liholiho] will sometime exchange his rum bottle for his bible."²⁴

MRS. LUCY GOODALE THURSTON

Born: October 29, 1795 at Marlborough, Massachusetts
Died: October 13, 1876 at Honolulu, Hawaii
Education: Bradford Academy
First Company

The Thurstons served at Kailua-Kona alone after the departure of the Holmans. "Having no protection whatever against the admission of evil, I stood in my lot, strengthening myself to the inglorious work of looking after the stuff, while my husband looked after the people; and the angels looked after me."²⁵

MR. SAMUEL WHITNEY

Born: April 28, 1793 at Branford, Connecticut
Died: December 15, 1845 at Lahainaluna, Maui, Hawaii
Education: Yale College
Occupation: Teacher
Ordnained at Kailua, Hawaii, November 23, 1825
First Company

The missionaries often experienced a spiritual draining due in part to their isolation from regular Christian fellowship and also to the general fatigue of their labors. Samuel Whitney shared his spiritual emptiness with Levi Chamberlain. "I am pained to hear you complain of spiritual languor in your own heart, and wish I could say it were otherwise with me; but heart religion with me is very low, and I fear the ebb."²⁶

MRS. MERCY PARTRIDGE WHITNEY

Born: August 14, 1795 at Pittsfield, Massachusetts
Died: December 26, 1872 at Waimea, Kauai, Hawaii
First Company

It was with great personal anguish that many missionary parents decided to send their children back to the United States where they could receive an education free from island influences. "While Maria was with us, she was considerable company for me; but shall I say she has gone, & I expect to see her no more on earth? The thought indeed pains me; but still I cannot wish her back." The hearts of the bereft parents "still cling to her as the object of our affection & solicitude. Nothing but a sense of duty which we owe the child, could reconcile us to the separation."²⁷

ENDNOTES

1. Hiram Bingham to Calvin Bingham, February 26, 1819, Bingham Family Papers, Box 1, Folder 1, HMCSL. All material relating to birth and death dates and locations, and education taken from the Missionary Album, op. cit. unless otherwise noted.
2. Sybil Bingham, October 11, 1822, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
3. Artemas Bishop to an unknown woman in New York, December 20, 1822, ABCFM-Hawaii, HMCSL.
4. Elizabeth Bishop to Louisa Ely, January 13, 1825, ML, HMCSL.
5. John Andrew indicates that Dr. Blatchely did not attend college, but had attended two lecture courses at a medical school in New Haven, Connecticut. See Andrew, p. 132. Abraham Blatchely to Jeremiah Evarts, July 26, 1826, ML, HMCSL.
6. Jemima Blatchely to Nancy Ruggles, December 4, 1828, ML, HMCSL.
7. Daniel and Jerusha Chamberlain to the Pastors and Brethren of the Church of the Sandwich Islands Mission, March 7, 1823, ML, HMCSL.
8. Daniel Chamberlain to Jeremiah Evarts, October 6, 1820, ML, HMCSL.
9. Levi Chamberlain to Rufus Anderson, February 13, 1827, ML, HMCSL.
10. James Ely to Levi Chamberlain, October 3, 1825, ML, HMCSL.
11. Louisa Ely to Maria Chamberlain, October 24, 1831, ML, HMCSL.
12. Martha Goodrich, March 29, 1823, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
13. Daniel Chamberlain to Samuel Worcester, November 14, 1820, ML, HMCSL.
14. Lucia Holman, March, 1820, Journal, op. cit.
15. Elisha Loomis to Joseph Webb, n.d. (during the years 1816-1817), ML, HMCSL.
16. Maria Loomis to Nancy Ruggles, February 17, 1822, ML, HMCSL.
17. Lorrin Andrews and William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, Report of the Mission, September 30, 1828, ABCFM-Houghton, HMCSL.

18. William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, June 1, 1824, ABCFM-Houghton, HMCSL.
19. Samuel Ruggles to Lucia Ruggles (Holman), July 2, 1817, ML, HMCSL.
20. Samuel and Nancy Ruggles, November 6, 1819, Journal, JC, HMCSL.
21. Charles Stewart, May 26, 1825, Journal, op. cit.
22. Ibid., April 19, 1825.
23. Christian Advocate, May 1824, p. 232.
24. Asa Thurston to Samuel Worcester, May 4, 1821, ML, HMCSL.
25. L. Thurston, Life, op. cit., pp. 58-59.
26. Samuel Whitney to Levi Chamberlain, December 21, 1826, ML, HMCSL.
27. Mercy Whitney to Elizabeth Bishop, December 11, 1826, ML, HMCSL.

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