

**THE COLONIAL CAMPAIGN FOR ENGLISH-MEDIUM EDUCATION**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE  
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF**

**MASTER OF ARTS**

**IN**

**HAWAIIAN STUDIES**

**AUGUST 2011**

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## **Acknowledgments**

I would not be where I am today without my mother. Mama, you continue to teach me so much—the art of compassion, generosity and selflessness—all through your perfect example. Thank you for always putting your family first and for your countless sacrifices. I have always sought to make you alone proud. My bright nephew Kaeo—you constantly renew my hope for the future. J—you have always been the realist who never lets me give up and always a shining example of hard work and perseverance.

Mahalo also to my dad, grandma and pops, and the rest of my ohana, I love you all.

## **Abstract**

Foreign influence and control in Hawai‘i’s early educational history allowed for the brutal subjugation and denial of the Hawaiian language. From the arrival of foreign missionaries in 1820, Hawaiian knowledge systems, including our mother tongue, were oppressed while foreign systems and western models were empowered. From 1824 to 1896, a shift occurred in which language was used in the schools of Hawai‘i. This shift was the result of a deliberate plan to supplant the Hawaiian language with the English language, a colonial agenda that would guarantee control and conversion. Ultimately, this colonial tool to control Kānaka Maoli by degrading and making irrelevant the mother tongue was the most sinister and effective form of colonization in Hawai‘i.

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## Preface

As I stare at the blinking cursor in front of me, I realize the significance of what I am about to do. I, along with other Kanaka Maoli<sup>1</sup> scholars, am attempting to take part in re-righting<sup>2</sup> our own histories. Especially since the “Hawaiian Renaissance,”<sup>3</sup> we

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<sup>1</sup> In this text, I am using Kanaka Maoli to reference maoli, which means native, indigenous, aborigine, genuine, Kanaka maoli, Hawaiian native. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 240. Full-blooded Hawaiian person. *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>2</sup> “A critical aspect of the struggle for self-determination has involved questions relating to our history as indigenous peoples and a critique of how we, as the Other, have been represented or excluded from various accounts. Every issue has been approached by indigenous peoples with a view to rewriting and re-righting our position in history. Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not simply about giving an oral account or a genealogical naming of the land and the events which raged over it, but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying. The sense of history conveyed by these approaches is not the same thing as the discipline of history, and so our accounts collide, crash into each other.” Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books Ltd, 1999), 28. “Part of the project of this book is ‘researching back’ or ‘talking back’, that characterizes much of the post-colonial or anti-colonial literature. It has involved a ‘knowingness of the colonizer’ and a recovery of ourselves, an analysis of colonialism, and a struggle for self-determination.” *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>3</sup> A phrase used to refer to a historical time period in Hawaiian history beginning around the 1970’s that led to the re-awakening of Hawaiian consciousness. The term “Hawaiian Renaissance” was coined because of the series of events that occurred during this time. Some of these events included the revival of the Hawaiian language and its establishment as an official language of the state of Hawai‘i, a series of land struggles, including the Kalama Valley struggle, the revival of the seafaring heritage with the Hōkūle‘a, as well as a series of other events that served as a catalyst for Hawaiian consciousness. Nevertheless, there were other catalysts prior to the 1970’s that were responsible for the re-awakening of Hawaiian consciousness. However, the 1970’s has been considered the benchmark and thus prompted the phrase to be coined. “Since 1970, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, or the Hawaiian language, has undergone a tremendous revival... Along with the flowering of the Hawaiian language has come a flowering of Hawaiian dance.” Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 142. “Kōkua Hawai‘i (‘Help Hawai‘i’), some three dozen non-violent protesters were arrested for trespassing on private land on May 11, 1971, as they sat atop the last unbulldozed house in rural Kalama Valley on the Hawaiian island of O‘ahu. They were well aware that, in the words of one of their young leaders, Linton Park, ‘Hawaiian history was being made’ by the very act of their resistance. What they could not know was that their collective effort to preserve the land rights of local people in that dry, 250-acre valley on O‘ahu’s east end would be remembered long after as the spark that ignited the modern Hawaiian Movement, an ongoing series of land struggles throughout the decade of the seventies that was destined to change the consciousness of Hawai‘i’s people, especially her native people.” Haunani-Kay Trask, “The Birth of the Modern Hawaiian Movement: Kalama Valley, O‘ahu,” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, no. 21 (1987): 126. “What began in 1973 as a scientific experiment to build a replica of a traditional voyaging canoe for a one-time sail to Tahiti, became an important catalyst for a generation of cultural renewal and a symbol of the richness of Hawaiian culture and of a seafaring heritage which links together all of the peoples of Polynesia.” Nainoa Thompson, “Voyaging and the Revival of Culture and Heritage,” *Polynesian Voyaging Society*, [http://pvs.kcc.hawaii.edu/ike/intro\\_ike.html](http://pvs.kcc.hawaii.edu/ike/intro_ike.html).

attempt to reclaim a critical level of understanding in our histories that are so often re-interpreted and re-written from an outside<sup>4</sup> perspective. It is an important enterprise to examine how and why that understanding became less widely known and understood in the first place. Why has much of our traditional histories and knowledge become obscured? Why are we in historical ‘revitalization’<sup>5</sup> mode, trying to revive what, over the years, has become less widely understood? How and why has a substantial shift of

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<sup>4</sup> “It appalls us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce... This collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West, and then, through the eyes of the West, back to those who have been colonized.” Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 1. Smith talks about the danger in “others” writing our indigenous histories. Smith cites a talk by Patricia Grace in which she talks about how “Books Are Dangerous” because “(1) They do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity; (2) when they tell us only about others they are saying that we do not exist; (3) they may be writing about us but are writing things which are untrue; and (4) they are writing about us but saying negative and insensitive things which tell us that we are not good.” Ibid, 35. “There are problems, too, when we do see ourselves but can barely recognize ourselves through the representation.” Ibid, 35. “Indigenous peoples want to tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes.” Smith, 28. “Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interest does it serve? Who will benefit from it? Who has designed its questions and framed its scope? Who will carry it out? Who will write it up? How will its results be disseminated?” Smith, 10. There exists a plethora of “Hawaiian histories” written from this “outsider” standpoint that lacks Hawaiian perspective and value. When written from this “outsider” standpoint, Hawaiians do not own the stories, nor does it serve our interest. We also do not benefit from these histories and it was designed and implemented to fulfill self-serving interests of others. Often, these histories also do not reinforce our values, actions, customs, culture and identity. These histories often tell lies or manipulated truths about our people and often include negative or insensitive things about our people, culture and way of life. In this text, examples of histories written from the “outside” include, but are not limited to: Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1849), 157.; Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1909).; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 1, 1778-1854 Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1938).; Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> In this text the state of being in ‘revitalization’ mode refers to the attempt to revive or prompt the rebirth of aspects of Hawaiian history that, over the years, became less widely known and understood. This is not to suggest that these aspects of history have been reinvented. Alternatively, these historical elements have been reclaimed through the process of researching and gaining insight into the past. Colonization played an integral role in distancing Kanaka Maoli from these histories, making them less widely known over time. Additionally, many ‘outside’ perspectives, as reflected above, have left their mark in proliferating skewed histories, complete with biases and colonial agendas. The processes of ‘revitalization’ and ‘re-righting’ attempts to undo these harmful side effects of colonization by bringing back the true histories of Kanaka Maoli, from a Kanaka Maoli perspective. “Of course, the cultural revitalization that Hawaiians are now experiencing and transmitting to their children is as much a repudiation of colonization by so-called Western civilization in its American form as it is a reclamation of our own past and our ways of life.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 142.



language in education occurred for Kānaka Maoli? What did this shift symbolize or reflect for the Kānaka Maoli?

This text seeks to clarify the language use shift in the common<sup>6</sup> and independent<sup>7</sup> schools in Hawai‘i from 1824 to 1896. It is one involving a colonial agenda and bureaucratic policy that ultimately led to a pre-dominantly English medium education system. This text seeks to understand the times of our ancestors in the hopes that it will be useful in understanding current educational models and indicators and the significance it may have for the future of our ‘ōpio.<sup>8</sup>

This case study focuses on the shift from Hawaiian to the English language in an educational and societal context. This shift represented a manipulative colonial campaign that intended to make the Hawaiian language irrelevant. In order to better understand a historical time period that has long since transpired, I will use a compilation of primary

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<sup>6</sup> “Every Hawaiian child had the privilege of attending a common school and of learning to read, write and cipher, with other elementary branches, 164 days... whatever may be said of our Hawaiian education, surely none can complain that it is too expensive. It is unusual, we believe, for Government to sustain the entire expense of educating the masses of the people through common schools; but such is the fact on these Islands... a necessity is imposed, therefore, upon the Government of raising a revenue adequate to the entire support of the common schools.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1850), 21.

<sup>7</sup> Independent schools are sometimes referred to as select schools or private schools, for the most part not supported by the Government, except the Royal School, and later other schools, as appropriated by the Hawaiian Legislature. From 1848-1849, examples of such schools and their locations include Boarding and Manual Labor School Hilo, Family Boarding School Kohala, Lahainaluna, Wailuku, Boarding and Manual Labor School Wailuku, Mission School Punahou, Royal Select School Honolulu, Charity School Honolulu, Honolulu, Ahuimanu, and “three other English Schools, embracing some 70 scholars, and composed mostly of native children.” Ibid., 33. “With the exception of the Royal School, none of these select schools, in which instruction is given solely in the English language, are supported by government.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1850* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1851), 15.

<sup>8</sup> Youth, juvenile, youngster. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 292.

sources such as: Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education Reports<sup>9</sup> and Hawaiian language newspaper articles, commentaries, and reports.

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<sup>9</sup> These documents are inclusive of the following titles: *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, *Report of the Minister of Public Education*, *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*, *Report of the President of the Board of Education*, and *Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao*. The perspective of the foreign advisors and ministers that held positions in the Board of Education at the time skews many of these documents. So although these are primary sources, they often include rhetoric that supports the colonial agenda, as will be detailed in this text.

## Introduction

Indigenous history and society is forever changed by colonialism<sup>1</sup> and continues in this alleged ‘post-colonial’<sup>2</sup> world. Colonialism brings with it western<sup>3</sup> land tenure, capitalism, consumption, racism, social hierarchies, and much more.<sup>4</sup> These colonial facets create contexts and a basis for re-defining various aspects of indigenous society. Indigenous peoples are forced into a new context dictated by colonialism and other western values and ideals.<sup>5</sup>

According to Linda Tuhiwai Smith, the terms colonialism and imperialism<sup>6</sup> are interconnected, but more substantially, “colonialism is but one expression of

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<sup>1</sup> “Colonialism/Colonialist: Behaviors, ideologies, and economies that enforce the exploitation of Native people in the colonies.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 251.

<sup>2</sup> Postcolonial literature and postcolonialism is a body of knowledge, writing and discourse that critiques and reacts to colonialism. Although the critique of colonialism makes this discourse beneficial (and in many ways, our indigenous re-writing and re-righting of history follows this definition), the use of the term “post” in post-colonial infers that the colonial period is over. However, this is a fallacy, hence the use of the term “alleged.” This is a fallacy because modern realities are so far removed from traditional ways of living and knowing, which suggests that the colonial period is far from over. In Hawai‘i, we are still in the midst of a colonial period—our colonizer still controls us and profits from our exploitation (tourism industry, land dispossession, political and economic control, etc.). “Post-colonial discussions have also stirred some indigenous resistance... to the idea that colonialism is over, finished business. This is best articulated by Aborigine activist Bobbi Sykes, who asked at an academic conference on post-colonialism, ‘What? Post-colonialism? Have they left?’” Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 24. Roberta “Bobbi” Sykes is most notably a poet, with publications such as *Eclipse*, (Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press, 1996) and *Snake Cradle*, (Sydney, Australia: Alen & Unwin, 1997).

<sup>3</sup> Throughout this text there is a purposeful use of the lowercase *w* represented in this term to re-right the active violence on Kānaka Maoli. The word English is capitalized in this text, not to give power to it, but just in uniform with how it is standard to capitalize other languages, like Spanish and French.

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion, see: Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).; and Trask, *From a Native Daughter*.

<sup>5</sup> For a discussion, see: Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*.

<sup>6</sup> “Imperialism: A total system of foreign power in which another culture, people, and way of life penetrate, transform, and come to define the colonized society. The function and purpose of imperialism is exploitation of the colony. Using this definition, Hawai‘i is a colony of the United States.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 251.

imperialism.”<sup>7</sup> She describes imperialism as an expression of four different discourses: economic expansion; an idea or spirit with many forms of realization; a discursive field of knowledge; and the subjugation of ‘others.’<sup>8</sup> Specific concentration on the first three discourses of imperialism often fails to provide a complete picture of the destructive impact left in the wake of it. The story of imperialism is told around the world as Native peoples continue to feel and live with its devastation. Signs of a post-imperial or post-colonial existence are too few and far between, as modern realities are overwhelmed with images of a western life so distantly removed from indigenous reality and ways of knowing.

To create and sustain the devastating impacts that are sought through the subjugation of others, it is imperative that an imperialistic agenda utilize hierarchy as a tool. Hierarchy is defined as “a systematic classification of individuals based on a level or standard.”<sup>9</sup> Hierarchies allow for the establishment of a stratified system that warrants a certain group to be placed higher than another group. These hierarchies become effective colonial tools because it often leads the colonized to internalize his/her ‘worthlessness,’ influenced by the imposed hierarchies.

The use of hierarchy often produces a tragic result—an empowering of one group and the denial and oppression of another group.<sup>10</sup> This system, when stratified based on Eurocentric notions, guarantees the establishment of deference for the Eurocentric value,

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<sup>7</sup> Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 21.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>9</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2008, s.v. “Hierarchy,” <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/hierarchy> (December 8, 2008).

<sup>10</sup> Although traditional Hawaiian society included hierarchical rankings, this text does not focus on these hierarchies, but instead is concerned with hierarchies created and sustained by Eurocentric notions, or ideas and values imposed by the colonizer.

and contempt for the disparate.<sup>11</sup> Any time an idea or value is exalted at the expense of another, there is a possibility of a hierarchy being established. In his book *The Colonizer's Model of the World*, James Morris Blaut's main contention is to invalidate the most prevailing beliefs of world history:

This belief is the notion that European civilization—'The West'—has had some unique historical advantage, some special quality of race or culture or environment or mind or spirit, which gives this human community a permanent superiority over all other communities, at all times in history and down to the present.<sup>12</sup>

There are limitless areas to which a hierarchical system could be applied by one group at the expense of another group. These hierarchies range from stratified religious, intellectual, social, economic, moral and language constructs that define and distinguish exceptional from dire existences. Capitalism establishes values and notions that thereby create hierarchies determining which countries are third world and in desperate need of the glories and riches of free enterprise.<sup>13</sup> Hollywood creates hierarchies that dictate notions of beauty—stratifying individuals based on a set standard.<sup>14</sup> Christian religion establishes hierarchies that necessitate missionaries to “uplift” others around the world

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<sup>11</sup> Where deference for the Eurocentric values would include democracy, Christianity, and other western values, the contempt for the disparate would include the values that are antithetical (communal existence, land-based belief systems, etc.).

<sup>12</sup> James Morris Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: The Guilford Press, 1993), 1.

<sup>13</sup> "The origin of the hierarchy is the story of emergent capitalism and colonialism—the "rise of the West" and the subjugation of the rest." Terry Boswell and Christopher K. Chase-Dunn, *The Spiral of Capitalism and Socialism* (Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2000), 26.

<sup>14</sup> In much of the history of Hollywood, beauty was defined and dictated by "the persistence of whiteness" and required a conforming and tailoring to "idealized notions of screen beauty." Daniel Bernardi, *The Persistence of Whiteness: Race and Contemporary Hollywood Cinema* (Routledge, 2008), 174.

who are deemed savage non-believers.<sup>15</sup> The very idea of a mission—whether it is one of religion, conquest, militarism, spread of democracy, or capitalism—points out the preconceived notions of missionaries. The missionary’s steadfast belief in their own hierarchy—that of course puts themselves at the pinnacle—too often leads to subsequent devaluing of everything different. In other words, missionary’s ideas and values are often expressed through their established hierarchies, which not only warrant and legitimize their ideas and values, but also subjugate and devalue alternative ways of knowing, understanding, and existing in the world.

Throughout indigenous histories, much of colonial agendas involve the establishment of hierarchies that allow the violence of colonialism to wholly manifest itself.<sup>16</sup> The dangers of hierarchies arise when the stratification is created from the *outside* and involves a psychological violence that works its way *inside* to the core of the individuals being stratified. This danger is seen when the hierarchies imposed by the colonialist leads to the “other” internalizing his/her “worthlessness,” as dictated by the learned ranking.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> "Equally important was the need to explain progress in ways that accorded with religion. This was done by seeing God's guidance of (European) history, and by conceptualizing progressive innovations as being products of the European mind or spirit and thus ultimately products of the Christian soul." Blaut, *Colonizer's Model of the World*, 19.

<sup>16</sup> Colonial agendas often impose hierarchies such as those valuing an introduced over the colonized religion, an introduced over the indigenous language, an introduced over the existing government or political structure, or an introduced (capitalism) over the existing economic structure. In his book *Orientalism*, Edward Said makes a similar argument that the West stereotypes the East as weak and feminine, while self-glorifying the West as strong and masculine. For more information, see: Edward Said, *Orientalism* (Vintage Books, 1979); Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (Beacon Press, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> Learned ranking here refers to the hierarchical structures or rankings taught by the colonizer, and learned by the colonized. The colonized do not inherently consider themselves (or their community, language, culture) to be inferior or worthless. Instead, this understanding or ranking is taught by the colonizer and may be internalized by the colonized. For more information, see: Said, *Orientalism*; Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized*.

Critiques of hierarchies are necessary in order to understand ulterior motives and vested interests of those who construct the hierarchies and the subsequent realities of those who are victimized by them. These critiques are necessary to clearly understand colonialist game plans and how these are manifested further by neo-colonialism<sup>18</sup> through mediums such as transnational<sup>19</sup> corporations and globalization.<sup>20</sup> Many transnational corporations are akin to the colonial agenda of a colonizer. That is, many transnational corporations that are primarily motivated by self-serving interests (like large profits) will exploit the people and resources of the “colonized” nation to see its profits soar.

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<sup>18</sup> When I refer to neo-colonialism, I am speaking about the systems and mechanisms in place that continue to assert a colonial ideology. Many of these systems and mechanisms that were first introduced during initial conquest/colonization (i.e., western governance, religion, commerce, etc.) continue to influence the land and people of the colonized. “I have defined neocolonialism as the experience of oppression at a stage that is nominally identified as independent or autonomous. I use nominally to underscore the reality that independence from the colonial power is legal but not economic. Some examples of neocolonialism include the control by multinational corporations of former colonies.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 102. Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2009, s.v. “Neocolonialism,” The economic and political policies by which a great power indirectly maintains or extends its influence over other areas or people, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/neocolonialism> (January 11, 2009). It is interesting that even Merriam-Webster applies hierarchical structures in its supposedly unbiased business. The term “great power” in the definition of neocolonialism suggests that the continued maintenance and extension of influence by economic and political policies is necessary and almost inevitable because of its “greatness.” This is yet another example of the dangers of these hierarchical structures, because it assumes a superior and inferior power. “As long as imperialism exists, it will, by definition, exert its domination over other countries. Today that domination is called neocolonialism.” Ernesto Guevara, *Che Guevara Speaks: Selected Speeches and Writings* (Merit Publishers, 1867), 112.

Overall, neocolonialism provides the continued influence and control over a people and place, to assure the success of the indoctrination. This is a significant threat to attempts by Kānaka Maoli to reclaim their traditional histories and stories. As mentioned earlier, we are still in the midst of a colonial period because we continue to be controlled and exploited by colonial forces. The original missionaries may have left, but their churches remain and continue to exert control and power. Foreign capitalism came in the form of the whaling, pineapple and sugar industries, but remain in Hawai‘i now as commercial real estate for international investors, and the large tourism industry. Neocolonialism is alive and well in Hawai‘i.

<sup>19</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2010, s.v. “Transnational,” Extending or going beyond national boundaries <transnational corporations>, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/transnational> (March 24, 2010).

<sup>20</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2009, s.v. “Globalization,” The act or progress of globalizing, the state of being globalized; especially the development of an increasingly integrated global economy marked especially by free trade, free flow of capital, and the tapping of cheaper foreign labor markets, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/globalization> (January 11, 2009). “While there have already been examples of the conquest of, and domination over, large stretches of the world (such as the Roman Empire or the colonial expansion of the West), in our era globalization has made the globe itself, in its quasi-entirety, the relevant space of the new links that relate its various parts to each other.” Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Yitzhak Sternberg, *Identity, Culture and Globalization* (Boston: Brill, 2002), 7.

This text seeks to explain how established hierarchies and other colonial and imperial agendas were applied to the use and disuse of language--especially the language used in the common and independent schools, or in an educational context, in Hawai‘i from 1824<sup>21</sup> until 1896. During this particular time period, a shift occurred in which language was used in the schools of Hawai‘i: what started as an *almost*<sup>22</sup> exclusively Hawaiian language common school system,<sup>23</sup> eventually became a dominant English

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<sup>21</sup> “The classes first formed, in 1820 and 1821, were taught in the English language, the textbooks being Webster’s spelling book, Watts’s catechism, and the English Bible. Up to the end of 1821 the total number of Hawaiians who had received instruction in the schools probably did not exceed two hundred. But conditions changed greatly after printing was begun in the Hawaiian language and the people were able to see their own words in print. Learning to read was then comparatively easy and the chiefs began to take a more lively interest in the matter for themselves and to show a more liberal attitude toward popular education. But it was not until 1824 that they manifested a general and effective interest in the establishment and maintenance of schools for the common people. In April, 1824, a meeting was held in Honolulu, at which many of the highest chiefs, including the queen regent and the prime minister, ‘declared their determination to adhere to the instructions of the missionaries, to attend to learning, observe the Sabbath, worship God, and obey his law, and have all their people instructed.’ Similar reports came from all parts of the kingdom, and after this time the ruling chiefs, with only minor and temporary exceptions, gave hearty support to the cause of education. The result was a rapid increase in the number both of schools and of pupils. By the end of 1824 the number of pupils had risen to more than 2000. Four years later it was placed at 37,000; while in the fall of 1831 the number of common schools throughout the kingdom was about 1100, and the number of pupils about 52,000, approximately two fifths of the entire population.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, Volume 1, 1778-1854* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1938), 106.

<sup>22</sup> There is evidence of Hawaiians learning (although not in a formal school system) English even prior to the arrival of missionaries and their early schools in 1820. “Before the coming of the missionaries some of our people had gone to foreign lands and to Tahiti and learned to read and write and to speak English. Such women as ‘Umiokalani and Ponunu came home with a knowledge of writing. Some of our boys learned English in America. Here in Hawai‘i some chiefs had been taught English and could speak and read it. Ke-aka-kilohi, the son of Ka-lolo-ahi-lani and Ke‘e-au-moku, was one; others were Ka-hekili Ke‘e-au-moku, Ka-lua-i-Kona-hale Kua-kini, and Ka-umu-ali‘i, the ruling chief of Kauai and his son Kamahole-lani.” Samuel M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 244. “Henry ‘Opukaha‘ia, William Kanui, Thomas Hopu, William Kamoho‘ula, Pa‘ulali‘ili‘i, Honoli‘i, Kalimahauna, ‘Ukalimoa, Palu, and Kala‘aulana, all were educated in American without paying for their education.” *Ibid.*, 245.

<sup>23</sup> “The first schools on these Islands, were taught by the American Missionaries, and the English language was used exclusively...As soon as their foreign teachers had acquired the native language and printed a few primary lessons in it, they commenced communicating instruction through that medium, and found it a much more direct, rapid, and successful method of reaching the native mind.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1852), 45. “Common schools were conducted in Hawaiian, and...were part of the project of transforming Kanaka Maoli into common laborers.” Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 46. “All the schools in the kingdom could be divided into two main categories: (1) common schools and (2) select schools. The common schools were the free public schools maintained by the government, whose object was ‘to instruct



school system less than 72 years later.<sup>24</sup> Significantly, this shift in the language use of the school system did not occur in a vacuum, but rather was greatly influenced by the greater societal shift in language use.

This language use shift, from Hawaiian to English, is telling of another alteration. According to Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, “The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people’s definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe.”<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the language use shift in Hawai‘i’s schools, and the larger society, caused a redefining of the natural and social environment in the islands.

Prior to colonialism, indigenous peoples told their own stories and were accountable for their own oral histories.<sup>26</sup> Stories and histories were created and perpetuated by people within communities, assuring that outsiders did not compromise the integrity of the stories. Kanaka Maoli society was based on a thriving oral culture:

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the children of the nation in good morals, and in the rudiments of reading, writing, geography, arithmetic, and of other kindred elementary branches.’ They were taught in the Hawaiian language by native Hawaiian teachers and afforded the only educational opportunity available to the great majority of the children of the nation. Select schools, besides being, as the term implied, of better quality than the common schools, had various special objectives: to qualify their students for positions above the level of the common laborer, to teach them the English language, to supply teachers for the public schools, to train girls to be good housewives and mothers. In most of the select schools, English was the medium of instruction and a tuition fee was charged.” Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 2, 1854-1874* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1953), 109.

<sup>24</sup> During this time, there were significant social, political and economic changes occurring in Hawai‘i, such as the shift to a constitutional monarchy, introduction of western religion, land tenure, capitalism, and western diseases. For a discussion, see: Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires* and Jon Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

<sup>25</sup> Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Kenya: East African Educational Publishers, 1981), 4.

<sup>26</sup> “For many indigenous writers [oral] stories are ways of passing down the beliefs and values of a culture in the hope that the new generations will treasure them and pass the story down further. The story and the story teller both serve to connect the past with the future, one generation with the other, the land with the people and the people with the story.” Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 145.

everyday people carried stories, traditions, historical accounts and genealogies through time. These orators and the society itself guaranteed the perpetuation of those histories into future generations. Therefore, the history of our people was perpetuated by our own mo‘olelo,<sup>27</sup> uncompromised by outsider influence.<sup>28</sup> The wave of colonization brought detrimental challenges to the Kanaka Maoli, who descend from an oral culture, and all the stories, histories, and knowledges embedded in it. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains, “the negation of indigenous views of history was a critical part of asserting colonial ideology, partly because such views were regarded as clearly “primitive” and “incorrect” and mostly because they challenged and resisted the mission of colonization.”<sup>29</sup> Thus, colonization threatens the survival of ancestral histories by voiding and making irrelevant the stories themselves and methods of perpetuating a vast array of cultural knowledge and wisdom.

Ngũgĩ wa Thiong‘o describes colonialism as a double punch, including both physical and psychological violence. Ngũgĩ contends that the “psychological violence of

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<sup>27</sup> “In traditional times, the telling of any Hawaiian history began properly with traditional beginnings. A mo‘olelo (history) would begin with the hero’s immediate antecedents or several generations further back along the ancestral lineage...When recounting a history in Hawaiian terms it is, therefore, important to examine the beginnings of and the relatedness of the players. These genealogical relationships form the parameters of cultural patterns inherently reproduced in Hawaiian history. They reveal the Hawaiian orientation to the world about us, in particular, to Land and control of the Land.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 1-3. For Kanaka Maoli, mo‘olelo and history are the same. Mo‘olelo is a fluid term referring to almost every dimension of society and existence. These dimensions, when combined, accounted for a holistic history, told through the lens and framework of the people themselves, unspoiled by misinterpretation from the outside (the colonizer). “Most indigenous peoples and their communities do not differentiate scientific or ‘proper’ research from the forms of amateur collecting, journalistic approaches, film making or other ways of ‘taking’ indigenous knowledge that have occurred so casually over the centuries.” Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies*, 3. “These contested accounts are stored within genealogies, within the landscape, within weavings and carvings, even within the personal names that many people carried. The means by which these histories were stored was through their systems of knowledge. Many of these systems have been reclassified as oral traditions rather than histories.” Ibid., 33.

<sup>28</sup> “Under colonialism indigenous peoples have struggled against a western view of history and yet been complicit with that view. We have often allowed our ‘histories’ to be told and have then become outsiders as we heard them being retold.” Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 29.

the classroom” occurs when mental control is achieved through the alienation of the Native children from their Native identity, the subsequent replacement of the Native language with that of the colonizer’s, and the establishment of a colonial framework from which Native people would then perceive the world. Along with this imposed framework, the Native is indoctrinated to believe his/her own alleged barbarism, as dictated by the colonizers, and starts to distance himself/herself from his/her culture.

The physical violence of colonization or imperialism<sup>30</sup> is over-shadowed by the much more successful psychological violence evident in the colonial schooling of Native children and peoples. The physical violence of colonization’s battlefield is far-reaching, as the wounds never heal. Physical spaces, people and landscapes are forever changed by the impact of colonization. Nevertheless, the psychological violence only adds to these wounds. Ngũgĩ states that the real and physical violence of colonialism is replaced with the chalkboard—the mental violence of the classroom or the colonial schooling that makes the indoctrination permanent and last for centuries to come. Humiliation plays a large part in this psychological violence of colonization by creating negative associations with a people’s language, religion, culture and traditions. The ultimate aim of colonialism, according to Ngũgĩ, is what he terms the “cultural bomb”:

The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people’s belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement

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<sup>30</sup> “The concepts of imperialism and colonialism are crucial ones which are used across a range of disciplines, often with meaning which are taken for granted. The two terms are interconnected and what is generally agreed upon is that colonialism is but one expression of imperialism.” Ibid., 21.

and makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland.<sup>31</sup>

When its effects are combined, the physical and psychological violence of colonization leaves nasty scars<sup>32</sup> on the colonized. The physical violence makes the people, place, and things about a place look, feel, taste, and smell different than it was originally. The psychological violence attempts to change the way a people view themselves and their surroundings. Thus, the effect of these two types of violence coming together often leads to a wake of devastation on the colonized, and in most cases, it also leads to assimilation, where the colonized becomes the colonizer.

According to Ngũgĩ, a ban on language is the manifestation of a cultural bomb. The prohibition of a language in a context where only that language is spoken and known would be the equivalent of cultural genocide—the intent to destroy the identity, traditions, religion and history of a group of people. Should the result of this cultural assault lead to the murder of that language, and therefore, the murdering of those identities, traditions, religion and histories of that group, it would, indeed, be the ultimate silencing of a people, and therefore, the ultimate aim of colonialism and purpose of indoctrination. In Hawai‘i, a cultural bomb is translated into indoctrination through education.

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<sup>31</sup> Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Some may perceive a scar as a mark signifying some healing has occurred. Ultimately, though, it's a mark of injury that has occurred, and sometimes a constant reminder of the mental and/or physical pain of injury. The image offered here is one of colonization (the significant injury) leaving behind irreparable injury that will always linger. No matter how much time passes, the scar remains, a stark reminder that complete healing is impossible; the damage is done.

## Contemporary Ethnographies

On January 17, 1893, a group of businessmen, in conspiracy with United States diplomatic and military leaders, attempted to overthrow the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> Despite their lack of public support, the group was successful in their attempt to remove Queen Lili‘uokalani from her seat of power with the landing of United States marines.<sup>34</sup>

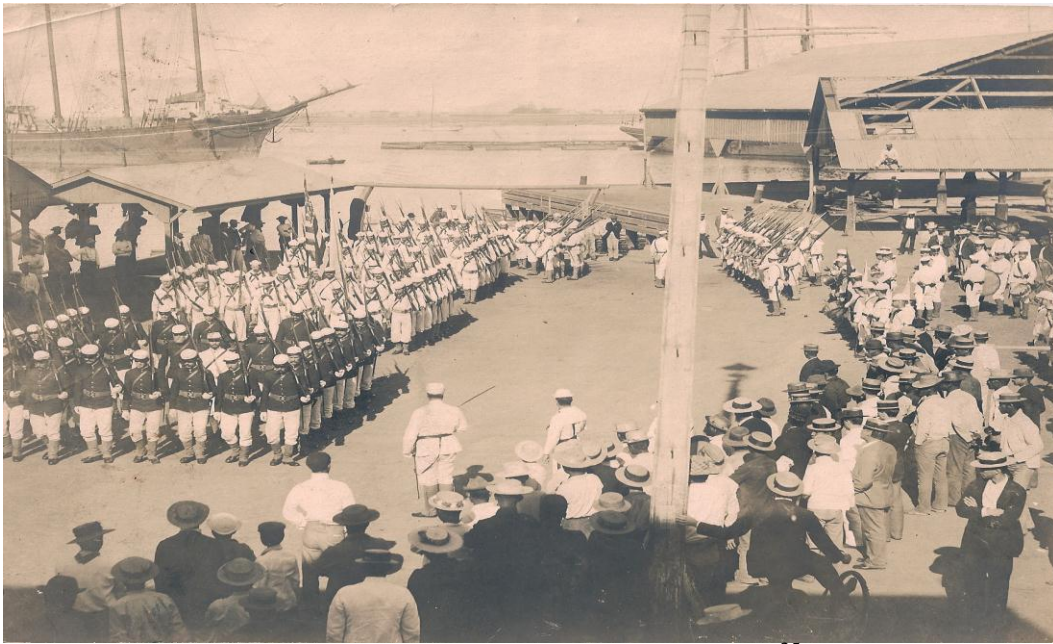


Figure 1: Landing of Marines & Sailors from U.S.S. Boston<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Both the Declaration of Rights of 1839 and the Constitution of 1840 establishes the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom. “Until the promulgation of the constitution of 1840, the form of government was not officially defined and it was difficult, at any moment, to give a clear explanation of it because it was constantly changing.” Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 2, 1854-1874*, 156. “Mahune and Jonah Kapena, a clerk in the first legislature of 1842, assisted Richards in the composing of the Rights and Laws of 1839, the document that paved the way for constitutional government and private ownership of land.” Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 24.

<sup>34</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 3, 1874-1893* (Honolulu: The University of Hawai‘i Press, 1967), 595.

<sup>35</sup> Source: *Landing of Marines & Sailors from U.S.S. Boston, Jan. 17, 1893* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1893), PP 36-3-003.

Although their annexation efforts were not immediately realized, this group continued to illegally occupy the seat of power. On July 4, 1894, the group declared themselves the Republic of Hawai‘i.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 2: Committee of Safety<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> “Four years lapsed since the overthrow before Cleveland’s presidential successor, William McKinley, entered into a second treaty of cession with the same individuals who participated in the illegal overthrow with the U.S. Legation in 1893, and were now calling themselves the Republic of Hawai‘i.” David Keanu Sai, “A Slippery Path towards Hawaiian Indigeneity: An Alaysis and Comparison between Hawaiian State Sovereignty and Hawaiian Indigeneity and its use and practice in Hawaii today,” *Journal of Law and Social Challenges* 10 (2008): 74.

<sup>37</sup> Source: *Committee of Safety Provisional Gov’t-1893* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1893), PP 36-3-0005. Center: Henry E. Cooper, Chairman. Clockwise from left: W.C. Wilder, Andrew Brown, Theodore F. Lansing, Henry Waterhouse, Lorrin A. Thurston, Ed. Suhr, F.W. McChesney, John Emmeluth, Wm. R. Castle, Wm. O. Smith, J.G. McCandless, C. Bolte.

In 1896, the Republic of Hawai‘i published its infamous law that is often considered the point that marks a watershed moment in Hawaiian language policies:

Ma Ke Kauoha: Kanawai 57, Pauku 30 (Official Decree: Act 57, Section 30)

Pauku 30. O ka olelo Beretania no ka mea e a‘o ia ai iloko o na kula Aupuni a me na kula kuokoa apau. Eia nae, ma na wahi i makemakeia ae e a‘o ia kekahi olelo e ae mawaho ae o ka Olelo Beretania, ua hiki no e hoomanaia ia a‘o ana e ka Oihana mamuli o kona mau rula pono, na rula paha o ke kula, a i ole ia, mamuli o ke kauoha maoli ana pela. O kekahi mau kula i hooko ole e like me na mea i hoakakaia ma keia Pauku aole no lakou e ikeia a hoomaopopoia paha e ka Oihana.<sup>38</sup>

The English version of the law:

The English language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department.<sup>39</sup>

This law is significant because it allows for the regulation of language medium education. Prior to this law, there were both Hawaiian-medium and English-medium schools supported by the government. From this point on, however, English would be the only medium used in publicly supported schools. This new regulation marks a

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<sup>38</sup> “Ma Ke Kauoha, Kanawai 57, Pauku 30,” *Nupepa Kuokoa*, Iulai 10, 1896, 5. I could not locate one source that had both the Hawaiian version and the English version of this law. Therefore, I include here the Hawaiian version, as was translated from the official law that was written in English. This particular Nūpepa Kū‘okoa article included many laws from the 1896 session, of which the Kanawai 57, Pauku 30, was just a section of the entire article. Nevertheless, I compared the Hawaiian version (from the newspaper) and the English version (from the archival sources), and the two expressed identical thoughts, to produce an accurate translation.

<sup>39</sup> Republic of Hawai‘i, *Act of June 8, 1896, ch. 57, sec. 30: Haw. Comp. Laws*, 1896 (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1897). Also cited verbatim in *Laws of the Republic of Hawaii, Passed by the Legislature at Its Session, 1896* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company’s Print, 1896), 189.

watershed moment in the colonial agenda in Hawai‘i, as it cemented the colonial agenda of replacing the Hawaiian language with English. Nevertheless, as this text will demonstrate, this 1896 law was one of the final pieces to the colonial puzzle, a puzzle that was started years earlier. Understanding when this puzzle was first started is integral to the work of this text, as it helps to debunk an ongoing myth in contemporary Hawaiian history.

A persistent accentuation of contemporary Hawaiian history is that 1896 marked the year of the near-death of the Hawaiian language in Hawai‘i’s schools. The word accentuation is used here to describe how the sheer focus of the 1896 law as the official ban of the Hawaiian language directs attention away from the other campaigns to ban the Hawaiian language in Hawai‘i’s schools. Although the 1896 law did, in fact, attempt to control or ban the Hawaiian language, what is argued here is that the just-as-devastating ban or attempt to control the Hawaiian language had already been implemented by Board of Education officials. There are several possible explanations for this emphasis. First, it is one of the few laws that so blatantly and forcefully calls for the control of the language medium in the schools. Second, stories of the implementation of this law involve our kūpuna being punished for speaking Hawaiian. Combined, these contribute to the powerful accentuation that the 1896 law single-handedly banned the Hawaiian language. This emphasis is further intensified by several contemporary interpretations, which often focuses on the law as the “ban” on the Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Included here are a few contemporary interpretations (not historical accounts) of the 1896 law. This list is not meant to be exhaustive, but rather, it is meant to showcase a few examples of scholars who have described the effects of the 1896 law. These interpretations are not included here to show their fault or inadequacies, but rather, to demonstrate examples of the emphasis that the 1896 law was the “ban” of the



The 1896 law was the ultimate repressive policy that restricted the use of the Hawaiian language as a publically recognized medium of instruction in the school systems. Nevertheless, such demonization of the law as the only repressive language policy during the time is inappropriate, because it desensitizes the manipulative colonial campaign that intended to make the Hawaiian language irrelevant. Instead, what is argued in this text is that the ban on the Hawaiian language as a medium of instruction in schools did not happen in a vacuum in 1896. Alternatively, it was a campaign that evolved over the course of decades from 1824 until the implementation of this law in 1896.

This campaign was a gradual and deliberate process that sought to make the Hawaiian language irrelevant, and the English language appear to be the inevitable tool that would guarantee success for the Hawaiian Kingdom and people. This work demonstrates that this campaign was the ultimate attempt to ban the Hawaiian language

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Hawaiian language is not a complete picture. The complete picture, that this text attempts to show, was a gradual and deliberate campaign that started decades earlier.

“The banning of Hawaiian occurred in 1896, three years after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom by American businessmen with the complicity of the United States by the U.S. military. Since then, the western linguistic and linguistic genocide carried out as part of the colonization of the Hawaiian people by the United States and American business interests has had profound effects on the Hawaiian family and community. Many Hawaiians today still suffer under the belief that prosperity will only occur with the abandonment of Hawaiian.” Sam No‘eau Warner, “Hawaiian Language Regeneration: Planning for Intergenerational Use of Hawaiian Beyond the School,” *Sociopolitical Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning in the USA*, Edited by Thom Huebner and Kathryn Anne Davis, John Benjamins Publishing Company (1999): 314.

“Following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the Hawaiian language was banned from all governmental activities, including public education. This ban marked the beginning of a decline in the number of Hawaiian speakers.” Lois A. Yamauchi, Jo-Anne Lau-Smith and Rebecca J.I. Luning, “Family Involvement in a Hawaiian Language Immersion Program,” *The School Community Journal* 18, no. 1 (2008): 39.

“In 1896, the Hawaiian language was banned in the public schools and English became the official medium of instruction.” Lois A. Yamauchi, Andrea K. Ceppi and Jo-Anne Lau-Smith, “Sociohistorical Influences on the Development of Papahana Kaiapuni, the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program,” *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk* 4, no. 1 (1999): 30.

as both the medium of instruction in schools, as well as eventually eliminate the Hawaiian language in the rest of society. This process was necessary to make colonization and indoctrination permanent.

Paul Nahoia Lucas acknowledges that the 1896 law requires that “English be the medium of instruction in all public and private schools.”<sup>41</sup> Nevertheless, he argues, the intentions of the law were to campaign for the increased use of English in the school systems, and eventually throughout society, as reflected in missionary testimony:

Six months before the 1896 law took effect, the Reverend McArthur revealed the motives underlying the enactment of the law: ‘The English language will be taught in all the public schools. For a time all former methods of mission work have been disarranged; but now there will be adjustments to new conditions...*The present generation will generally know English; the next generation will know little else.*<sup>42</sup> Here is an element of vast power in many ways. With this knowledge of English will go into the young American republican and Christian ideas; and as this knowledge goes in, kahunaism, fetishism and heathenism generally will largely go out.’<sup>43</sup>

This testimony illustrates a chilling concept: the control of language in the school system to achieve a larger and far more pervasive control. By controlling the language of the classroom, there was the almost inevitable control of the language of society in the next generation. Ultimately, then, the goal was never just English-medium education, it was English-medium education as a way to guarantee an English-medium society.

Lucas continues to describe the oppressive campaign against the use of Hawaiian following the 1896 law, which includes “accounts in the Hawaiian community of

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<sup>41</sup> Paul F. Nahoia Lucas, "E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," 9.

<sup>42</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>43</sup> Lucas, "E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine: Hawaiian Language Policy and the Courts," 8. Emphasis added.

Hawaiian children being punished for speaking Hawaiian in school.”<sup>44</sup> According to Sam No‘eau Warner, “Some Hawaiians educated during this period recall being physically punished or humiliated<sup>45</sup> for speaking Hawaiian in school.”<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, this oppressive campaign to supplant the Hawaiian language with English did not start in 1896, but originated in the school system much earlier. This study brings elements of this campaign to the surface in an attempt to examine historical dimensions that contributed to the language shift from a predominantly Hawaiian to an English medium school system between 1824 through 1896.

In the article “Prospects for the Survival of the Navajo Language: A Reconsideration,” author Bernard Spolsky writes:

A study 25 years ago of prospects for the survival of Navajo placed most of the blame for the spread of English on increasing access to schools. Reconsidering that evidence and recent developments, the central role of the introduction of Western schooling is seen still to be highly relevant. But other factors have worked through the school, the major effect of which has been the ideological

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>45</sup> There are many accounts by Hawaiian elders who talk about being punished in school for speaking Hawaiian. However, only one of these accounts is included here, as it is not the focus of this work. For more information, see: Ka Leo Hawai‘i video tapes interviewing the following elders: Sarah Nakoa (HV24.12, October 25, 1972), Ida Naone (HV 24.13, November 1, 1972), Joseph Iokepa Puepue Venuke Makaai (HV 24.16, November 21, 1972), Mary Kaleikoa (HV 24.17, November 28, 1972), Rose Poaha (HV 24.22, February 13, 1973), Lilia Hale (HV 24.23, March 20, 1973), Annie Lehua Kanahela (HV 24.55A, February 17, 1974), Leilehua Sap (HV 24.61A, March 3, 1974). Mahalo nui Maya Saffery (Kawaihuelani, UH Mānoa) for her assistance in compiling this list.

“I ko‘u wā, e ho‘omaopopo ea ka wala‘au ana, i kama‘ilio ana, a‘ohe ‘ōlelo ‘ē a‘e. ‘O ka ‘ōlelo makuahine wale nō. Ka‘u olelo no ia, piha nā makahiki ‘eono i ko‘u hele ana i ke kula, namu mele ke kumu ia‘u. Kahea mele i ka pāpā inoa, a kahea mele ‘o ia i ko‘u inoa, ‘a‘ole kula wau i maopopo no ka mea ‘o ia ka wā mua i lohe i ko‘u inoa, eia ka inoa haole kou, he inoa Hawai‘i wale no ka‘u i maa. No ko‘u ‘eā ‘ole aku iāiā, pa‘i maila ‘o ia i ko‘u helehelena.” Sarah Nakoa (HV24.12, October 25, 1972)

Translation: In my time, we knew how to speak, to converse, there was no other language. There was only the mother language. When I turned six and went to school, the teacher spoke English to me. She called the forbidden name, she called my name, I did not understand because that was the first time I heard my name, “that is the English name for you,” only my Hawaiian name is what I was accustomed to. Because of my lack of refrain to her, she slapped my face.

<sup>46</sup> Warner, “The Movement to Revitalize Hawaiian Language and Culture,” 135.

acceptance of English. Vernacular literacy, tradition or introduced religion, and political structure all have failed to establish a counterforce. Economic changes also led to new living patterns that, together with improved communication, broke down isolation and supported the threat to the survival of language. This study confirms the importance of seeing language and education in the full social, cultural, religious, and political context recognized by educational anthropology.<sup>47</sup>

Where past studies focused most blame for the demise of the Navajo language on the introduction of western schooling and the English language in the Navajo community, recent reconsiderations have found that other factors carry fault as well. What is suggested here is that the likelihood of the survival of an indigenous tongue, in this case Navajo, is severely compromised by an “ideological acceptance of English.” This ideological acceptance of English was not solely the case with the Navajo people, but also with many other groups who came into contact with the foreign language. Such an argument can be made in the case of Hawai‘i as well.

According to Ngũgĩ, language to a group of people is more than just a tool of communication. Language holds a much more important role as a carrier of culture. This role is not taken lightly, but instead held in important regard:

Culture embodies those moral, ethical and aesthetic values, the set of spiritual eyeglasses, through which they come to view themselves and their place in the universe. Values are the basis of a people’s identity, their sense of particularity as members of the human race. All this is carried by language. Language as culture is the collective memory bank of a people’s experience in history. Culture is almost indistinguishable from the language that makes possible its genesis, growth, banking, articulation and indeed its

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<sup>47</sup> Bernard Spolsky, “Prospects for the Survival of the Navajo Language: A Reconsideration,” *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, no. 33 (2002): 139.

transmission from one generation to the next.<sup>48</sup>

Considering the significant tie a mother tongue has to its people, the displacing of a language is an extremely personal attack. Therefore, when an attempt is made to displace a language, people often push back. As linguist scholar James Crawford explains, “the external forces that are often blamed, especially direct attempts to suppress a language, cannot alone<sup>49</sup> be responsible, for the simple reason that people resist. Language is the ultimate consensual institution. Displacing a community’s vernacular is equivalent to displacing its deepest systems of belief.”<sup>50</sup> The dispossession of a language does not occur in a societal vacuum because individuals do not easily surrender<sup>51</sup> their language—an equivalent of surrendering their identity, values, and beliefs. The dispossession of a language occurs in a very complex setting and usually over a long period of time.<sup>52</sup>

The Republic of Hawai‘i’s 1896 law establishing the English language as the only publicly recognized school language is sometimes cited as the main “ban” of the Hawaiian language. Although it reeks of the pestilence usually found in colonial-imposed agendas, this law was not the only ban that led to the near-demise of the use of the Hawaiian language.

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<sup>48</sup> Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 15.

<sup>49</sup> Without a doubt, external forces have an effect on the suppression of language. For example, mainstream society (or language of business, language of government, etc.) may effect the adoption of a certain language. Nevertheless, these external forces, according to James Crawford, cannot alone be responsible.

<sup>50</sup> James Crawford, “Seven Hypotheses on Language Loss: Causes and Cures,” *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*, Center for Excellence in Education, Northern Arizona University (2007): 47.

<sup>51</sup> In other words, people do not stop using their mother tongue easily and without resisting.

<sup>52</sup> Because, as James Crawford suggests, people don’t easily surrender their language, an attempt to dispossess a language is an arduous one. As this text will demonstrate, this attempt in Hawai‘i occurred over a significant length of time, not just with a simple passing of a law.

Without a doubt, this law had a significant impact on the language politics of the time, and would continue to have impact into the future. Laws are the expression of government's attitudes and notions towards a particular thing. Juan Perea points out the various uses of language as a symbol for identity, culture, and a sense of belonging to a group. He addresses how "language is both our principal means of communication and a social symbol, malleable and capable of manipulation for the achievement of social or political goals."<sup>53</sup> Perea is adamant that governments convey their attitudes about culture and ethnicity through its language policies. By setting guidelines for language, the government is also setting guidelines for race, ethnicity, and culture. The laws created by government are not only an expression of its attitudes, notions and ideology, but also a reflection of how they view themselves in relation to other people around them and in the world. Therefore, the 1896 Republic of Hawai'i law reflects the Republic's stance against any language except English as a medium in the classroom. This law helps us understand how the Republic of Hawai'i viewed not only the English language, but also all the other languages excluded when English was selected as the only suitable language medium of the classroom.<sup>54</sup>

Considering the significant connection language has to the identity, culture and society of a group of people, the legalizing of an introduced language at the expense of the Native tongue is equivalent to the devaluing and illegalization of the Native group's

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<sup>53</sup> Juan F Perea, "Demography and Distrust: An Essay on American Languages, Cultural Pluralism, and Official English," *Minnesota Law Review* 77 (1992-1993): 350.

<sup>54</sup> This not only reflects the Republic of Hawai'i's view of language, but also is a reflection of the government itself. At this time, more haole had control over the government, and therefore dictated not only what language would be used exclusively in the school systems, but also dictated almost every other aspect of society, including education overall. The government's attempts to create boundaries, definitions and guidelines are testament to their colonialist notions to control society. Nevertheless, this is not the focus of this text.

identity, culture, and society. However, was the Republic's 1896 law the ban of the Hawaiian language that also helped support the increase of the English language?<sup>55</sup> Or is this situation a little more complex?

Despite the questions that exist, an un-disputed shift from the sole use of the Hawaiian language to a near eradication or “replacement” by the English language in the classrooms did occur between 1824 and 1896. With that substitution came the replacement of histories that were passed down orally, Kanaka Maoli identities, traditions, as well as ways of knowing and relating to the world, were all contained in the language itself. By 1983, “Hawaiian language speaking children under the age of 18 numbered less than fifty. The demise of the Hawaiian language was imminent.”<sup>56</sup> What happened in the years in between, from the missionary's arrival in 1820 to the early 1980s in terms of the Hawaiian language and its widespread use, is a very complex issue.

This text will document a decline in the widespread use of the Hawaiian language in the school system in Hawai'i. Although there can be no concrete causal relationships built between what specifically influenced this trend,<sup>57</sup> this text will present some discussions on the topic from Hawaiian language newspapers of the time. Such discussions are varied, but touch on topics such as the ideological acceptance of English

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<sup>55</sup> This follows the discourse of the contemporary histories presented earlier. These are contemporary interpretations of the 1896 law. No historical interpretations are included here. In other parts of this text, historical interpretations of the change witnessed prior to the 1896 law are included. J.H. Kanepuu, Beni, Kauakanilehua, and G.W.K. Manuokekula are some of the authors included in later parts of this text.

<sup>56</sup> ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, *History & Timeline*, [http://www.ahapunaleo.org/eng/about/about\\_history.html](http://www.ahapunaleo.org/eng/about/about_history.html). “And by 1983, there were fewer than 50 children under the age of 18 who spoke Hawaiian fluently.” William Wilson and Kauanoē Kamanā, “For the Interest of the Hawaiians Themselves’: Reclaiming the Benefits of Hawaiian-Medium Education,” *Hūlili Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being*, no. 3 (2006): 154.

<sup>57</sup> In other words, it is difficult to prove direct causality, i.e., a certain event independently and exclusively caused something else to happen. In most instances, many factors or events will cause a trend or another event to happen.

and its perceived promise as the language of business and the future of Hawai‘i. Other newspaper discussions pose the question whether the Hawaiian language would be sufficient for the Hawaiian people and its nation to thrive in a changing world influenced by the west. There are others who write to the newspapers and warn about the threat of the English language on the mother tongue of the Kanaka Maoli. Collectively, these varied discussions create a dialogue that questions the appropriate language used in the schools and in society overall.

Furthermore, these issues deserve significant attention as it provides a better understanding of how our ancestors faced and embraced the major challenges and changes in the 1800s. Today, Kānaka Maoli face unique challenges and our history is so full of guides to help us with modern challenges. As Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa explains:

It is interesting to note that in Hawaiian, the past is referred to as Ka wā mamua, or ‘the time in front or before.’ Whereas the future, when thought of at all, is Ka wā mahope, or ‘the time which comes after or behind.’ It is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present-day dilemmas.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 22.



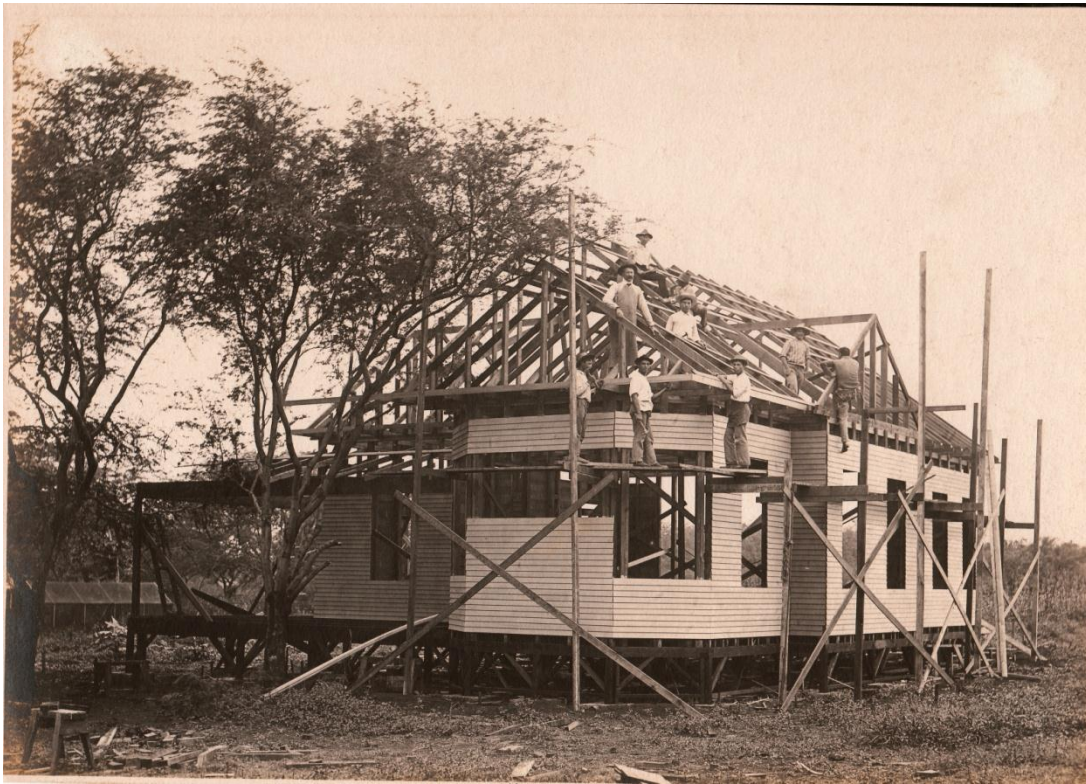


Figure 3: Kamehameha Schools, 1902<sup>59</sup>

### A Framework

Ngũgĩ’s definition of a cultural bomb is the establishment of colonial values that effectively distance the colonized from their culture, including their traditions, language and identity. However, one of Ngũgĩ’s major premises is that the most effective aspect of colonialism is its ability to manipulate and control through the suppression of language.

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<sup>59</sup> Source: *Schools-Kamehameha* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1902), PP 100-1.037. This picture documents the framework being done in the construction of a new building for the Kamehameha Schools. This picture is included here in this text as a precursor for a section entitled “A Framework,” which is not only a play on words, but reiterates the building and construction of the mechanisms that encourage a western education system. This title of this section is fitting because the construction of a school house is very symbolic and ironic. Such construction not only involves the building and construction of the physical space of western teaching and learning, but it also becomes the framework, or the template, for the political mechanisms (government policy, etc.) in support of western teaching and learning. Although the picture is undated, it was with other Kamehameha Schools’ pictures with a date of 1902. A more appropriate picture may have been the construction of a “public” or government school building taken at an earlier date, but this was the earliest one I could locate. Pictures pre-dating 1900 are few, especially of school houses or students.

The colonizers' method of manipulation and control upon the colonized embeds the hierarchical system that glorifies the colonizer and vilifies the colonized:

We have already seen what any colonial system does: impose its tongue on the subject races, and then downgrade the vernacular tongues of the people. By so doing they make the acquisition of their tongue a status symbol; anyone who learns it begins to despise the peasant majority and their barbaric tongues. By acquiring the thought-processes and values of this adopted tongue, he becomes alienated from the values of his mother tongue, or from the language of the masses. Language after all is a carrier of values fashioned by a people over a period of time.<sup>60</sup>

Given Ngũgĩ's perspective, the lengthy and complex process of a language shift through education effectively distances the Kanaka Maoli from their language, traditions, identity and culture. The process involves coordinated efforts that degrade the Native tongue (and simultaneously the people and culture overall), praise the introduced language (and people and culture), as well as cement a new introduced way of life that is promoted as the superior existence. This colonial process does not occur overnight, but rather is a gradual development. Ngũgĩ's quote provides the framework for this text by demonstrating the integral role of the highly foreign-influenced education system in Hawai'i's colonial system.

Each of the following sections uses the word "mission" in its title. The use of this term is a framework to describe the different missions of the colonial and educational system.

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<sup>60</sup> Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72.

## Mission: Imposition

“Impose its tongue on the subject races”<sup>61</sup>

Integral to the colonial process are manipulation, control, and the imposition of foreign installations: a new form of governance, religion, education, and language. The imposition of these foreign installations started with the arrival of foreigners in 1778, and resulted in far-reaching devastation.

By 1810, the high chief Kamehameha, of the Island of Hawai‘i, had successfully united all the islands, except Kaua‘i, under his rule. With the help of some of his advisors, he would now be responsible for the general welfare of his people and his nation. According to Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, “Since the time of Kamehameha I<sup>62</sup> until the time of Lili‘uokalani (1891-1893), our mō‘ī<sup>63</sup> have tried to be pono,<sup>64</sup> in caring for the land and for the life of the people. They were faced, however, with many new problems brought by the haole<sup>65</sup> for which there were no ancestral solutions.”<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Ngūgī, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it highlights the attempt by colonizers to impose their language upon the colonized. This campaign was an integral part of affirming a colonial education.

<sup>62</sup> Chiefs prior to (and after) Kamehameha I also constantly tried to be pono, but the new problems brought by foreigners were heightened during Kamehameha I's reign (and after), which made "being pono" a new challenge with all the new and different problems that needed to be addressed. According to Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, "In historical times, the ‘Aikapu (sacred eating) endowed the Ali‘i Nui with the mana necessary to confront foreigners on an equal basis. Beginning with Cook's visit in 1778, the Hawaiian sense of pono, which was ensured by strict adherence to the ‘Aikapu, was under continual attack by foreigners. Westerners ridiculed Hawaiian religious beliefs as mere superstition and, by extension, denigrated the whole of Hawaiian society." Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 39.

<sup>63</sup> King, sovereign, monarch, majesty, ruler. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 251. Although mō‘ī specifically is cited here, other ali‘i, not just the mō‘ī, felt the pressure in trying to remain pono despite changing times. This work will document some of these ali‘i.

<sup>64</sup> Goodness, uprightness, morality, moral qualities, correct or proper procedure, excellence, well-being, prosperity, welfare, benefit, behalf. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 340.

<sup>65</sup> White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 58.

One of the greatest of these problems were the countless diseases, such as venereal diseases like Syphilis and Gonorrhea, Measles, Influenza, Small Pox and Whooping Cough, that caused an extreme population decline of Kanaka Maoli.<sup>67</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa contends that a population collapse of approximately 80% occurred within the first 45 years of contact with foreigners.<sup>68</sup> She further argues that this population collapse had far reaching effects on the morale of the Kānaka Maoli, leading us to question the power of our religion and belief system compared to that of the haole. Other problems Hawaiian ali‘i<sup>69</sup> faced were the changes brought by the introduction of a market society in the islands with the arrival of foreign merchants, who introduced, among other things, the sandalwood trade and the whaling industry.

After Kamehameha’s death in 1819, Ka‘ahumanu becomes Kuhina Nui<sup>70</sup> to Liholiho.<sup>71</sup> The ultimate moral and penal code and guide for political and religious

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<sup>66</sup> Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, “A Synopsis of Traditional Hawaiian Culture, The Events Leading to the 1887 Bayonet Constitution and the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Government (0 AD- 1898),” (1995).

<sup>67</sup> “Venereal disease and tuberculosis introduced by Cook’s men in 1778; an epidemic in 1803 similar to typhoid fever; and diseases usually considered childhood complaints, such as measles, mumps, and whooping cough, from which Hawaiians died because they had no previous exposure nor immunity.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 140. “1848-1849, had been marked by a series of epidemics—influenza, measles, mumps and whooping cough—which reduced the population by another five thousand and carried off six of the thirty-four Ali‘i Nui and kaukau ali‘i.” Ibid., 299. For more discussion, see: David Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai‘i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Science Research Institute, 1989).; and Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 3.

<sup>68</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa projects a Kanaka Maoli population of 800,000 in 1778; and in the year 1823, a Kanaka Maoli population of 134,925. Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 141. See Table 4.

<sup>69</sup> Chief, chiefess, officer, ruler, monarch. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 20.

<sup>70</sup> Powerful officer in the days of the monarchy. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 173. “In his kauoha, Kamehameha divided the kingdom traditionally in two ways: to Liholiho he left the aupuni, and to Kekuaokalani, his brother’s son, he left his war Akua, Kūkā‘ilimoku. To Ka‘ahumanu he left the office of Kuhina Nui or Chief Counselor, the same position held by her father, Ke‘eaumoku. Ten days after Kamehameha’s death, at the council of Chiefs, it was Ka‘ahumanu who invested Liholiho by announcing ‘O heavenly one! I speak to you the commands (kauoha) of your grandfather (Kamehameha). Here are your chiefs; here are the people of your ancestors; here are your guns; here are your lands. But we two

structure—the ‘aikapu<sup>72</sup>—is abolished during this year. Months of chaos are followed by the *convenient*<sup>73</sup> arrival of the American Calvinist missionaries in March 1820.<sup>74</sup> The word convenient is sarcastically used here because Christian missionaries arrive during a time when the ‘Aikapu had recently been abolished and it was still a time of religious uncertainty. Nevertheless, this was a most opportune time for missionaries.

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shall share the rule over the land.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 73.

<sup>71</sup> Also known as Kamehameha II.

<sup>72</sup> To eat under taboo; to observe eating taboos. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 10. “The traditional religion known as the ‘Aikapu supported and edified every aspect of the political structure and further defined the relationship between Ali‘i and maka‘āinana. The entire society could only function properly when the ‘Aikapu restriction on men and women eating together was strictly observed by the Ali‘i Nui; the personal kapu of the Ali‘i Nui were maintained to preserve the distance between Ali‘i Nui and maka‘āinana; and the kahuna agreed that the Mō‘ī was pono. In historical times, the ‘Aikapu endowed the Ali‘i Nui with the mana necessary to confront foreigners on an equal basis. Beginning with Cook’s visit in 1778, the Hawaiian sense of pono, which was ensured by strict adherence to the ‘Aikapu, was under continual attack by foreigners. Westerners ridiculed Hawaiian religious beliefs as mere superstition and, by extension, denigrated the whole of Hawaiian society.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 39. For a discussion about the ‘aikapu, see: Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 33-36, 39.

<sup>73</sup> “Unfortunately for the Hawaiian race, in March 1820, just five months after the breaking of the ‘Aikapu, American Calvinist missionaries, led by Hiram Bingham, arrived in Hawai‘i to present a new religion to the Ali‘i Nui. It was an unfortunate event because their precipitous arrival did not allow enough time for a new Hawaiian religion to emerge, one more appropriate to Hawaiian culture and to the changing times.” Ibid., 138. “When the missionaries sailed from Boston in the brig Thaddeus, October 23, 1819, they were ignorant to the death of Kamehameha and the accession of Liholiho to the throne. The date of their departure was a fortnight before the overthrow of the kapu system and they were unaware of that revolution until their arrival off the coast of Hawaii on March 30, 1820. When they learned of the downfall of the idolatrous system, it was to them a convincing evidence of the favor of God, who had thus prepared the way for their mission.” Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 102.

<sup>74</sup> The arrival of these missionaries did not happen by chance. Henry ‘Ōpukaha‘ia and other Hawaiians who went to the United States became a significant source of influence for Christian missionaries to establish a Christian mission in Hawai‘i. “Providence directed to the United States some Hawaiian youth, Opukahaia, (Obookiah,) and others; and awakened in Christians the thought of sending to these islands the gospel of Jesus. Look at Opukahaia, sitting down and weeping on the threshold of the College buildings at New-Haven, till taken under the care of a Dwight and a Samuel J. Mills. Follow him through his interesting but short history, and observe the feelings awakened by him in behalf of his countrymen...Opukahaia went to sea, just as many of his countrymen did then and as hundreds do now, with no views other than those that usually actuate sailors. On his arrival in New Haven (1809), he resided awhile with Captain Brintnal, the master of the ship in which he sailed.” Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 139. S.J. Mills, one of the men who took care of Henry ‘Ōpukaha‘ia when he stayed in New Haven, wrote to a friend, Gordon Hall, about Henry ‘Ōpukaha‘ia and the prospect of sending a Christian mission to Hawai‘i: “What does this mean? Do you understand it? Shall he be sent back unsupported to attempt to reclaim his countrymen? Shall we not rather consider those southern islands a proper place for the establishment of a mission?” Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 140. Other Hawaiians being educated in New England at Cornwall School included Thomas Hopu, William Kanui and John Honolii. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 31.

The arrival of American missionaries from New England marks another era of western imposition on Kānaka Maoli. According to Maenette Benham and Ronald Heck, “The first missionaries included two clergymen, a doctor, a farmer, a printer, two teachers, seven wives, five children, and three Native Hawaiians who had been educated in New England. They brought fundamental tools to promulgate change in Hawai‘i’s governing system, that is, formal Western education methods and a Calvinistic curriculum.”<sup>75</sup>

Early education in Hawai‘i, therefore, was a deliberate marriage of western education and Christianity, where teaching and learning supported the conversion of the masses. According to Kuykendall, “In the early years the school books and school exercises were nearly all of a religious character; the primary purpose of the mission press was to make the Bible and religious books available to the people.”<sup>76</sup> Kamakau describes the subjects taught in the early schools:

The subjects taught were spelling in unison; reciting syllables of two letters; reciting a refusal to keep wooden gods; names of lands, names of months; a recitation relating the emotion of the people over the death of a king in a foreign land; portions of the books of Matthew, Psalms, Acts of the Apostles, and Luke; questions relating to God; the Ten Commandments; questions prepared for the exhibition; the desire of the rulers proclaimed at Honuakaha; the first hymn about ‘Opukaha‘ia; and the arithmetical process of adding, multiplication tables, division, and fractions....All the old chiefs, even those who were toothless, recited from memory certain questions and answers and the commandments of God given on Mount Sinai.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Maenette K.P. Benham and Ronald H. Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai‘i: The Silencing of Native Voices* (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers, 1998), 42.

<sup>76</sup> Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 102.

<sup>77</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 270-271.

Language is one of the first marks of missionary imposition on our lāhui.<sup>78</sup> In his book *A History of the Sandwich Islands*,<sup>79</sup> Sheldon Dibble<sup>80</sup> describes the language, religion, traditions, intellect and way of life of the Kānaka Maoli as barbaric and rude when missionaries arrived in the islands. He further remarks on the failed attempts to train Kanaka Maoli youth as interpreters, and the necessity of the missionaries to learn the Hawaiian language as a way to impose their religion on the lāhui and people:

Of course they were obliged to learn the language entirely by the ear--to collect the articulate sounds--to fix upon signs or letters to express those sounds and thus proceed from step to step to reduce a barbarous tongue to a written language. *It is a toilsome work to be obliged to substitute any foreign language for one's mother tongue, and most of all an unwritten language and one wretchedly deficient in terms to express the ideas of an intelligent and religious mind.*<sup>81</sup> It was a toilsome work indeed--a work not of months only but of years. And those were long years to the missionaries, for they were panting to engage in the direct work of proclaiming the news of salvation to the multitudes of heathen whom they saw rapidly dying about them in all their ignorance and sin.<sup>82</sup>

Dibble's remarks are not uncommon, but similar to those of the early missionaries to the islands. These remarks include hierarchies that value the imposed English language being literate and supposedly superior to that of the oral and "barbarous" Hawaiian language. Other hierarchies established and noted include that of the superior

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<sup>78</sup> Nation, race, tribe, people, nationality. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 190.

<sup>79</sup> Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*.

<sup>80</sup> "The Rev. S. Dibble (Dibela) and his wife were stationed at Hilo, Hawaii, and in 1835 moved to Lahainaluna, where they remained until Mr. Dibble's death in 1844." Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 304.

<sup>81</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>82</sup> Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 173.

Christian over the “heathen” Hawaiian religion that brings with it “ignorance and sin.”<sup>83</sup> Combined, these hierarchies are testament to the missionary’s racist<sup>84</sup> and demeaning preconceived notions of the Hawaiian language, religion and existence. Dibble admits that the toilsome work of the mission’s attempt to solidify the Hawaiian alphabet had its redemption: the “direct work of proclaiming the news of salvation to the multitudes of heathen.”<sup>85</sup> Therefore, the Christian mission invests significant efforts in the work of palapala<sup>86</sup> as a way of successfully spreading the “news of salvation.”

Dibble notes that while the missionaries were learning the Hawaiian language, other attempts were made to teach (or impose) the English language to select scholars at various locations in the islands.<sup>87</sup> Although successful in some instances, for the most part, such attempts are not continued for various reasons:

One reason was that females of the schools, when a little improved in manner and dress and taught a little English, were beset by a certain class of foreigners with temptations and allurements which in not a few instances proved successful and ruinous. But more especially was this class of schools discontinued on account of the necessity, which

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Dibble’s remarks are racist because he attributes negative characteristics (ignorance, sin, barbaric) to Hawaiians in general. Dibble is not remarking on a few Hawaiian individuals, but he is speaking for all Hawaiians. Furthermore, when he makes reference to “ignorance” and “sin,” he does not site specific examples, so he is suggesting complete ignorance and sin, rather than instances of ignorance (i.e., ignorance of Christian religious practices or ignorance of western land tenure) or instances of sin (i.e., murder, etc.). At the same time, missionaries are portrayed in a positive manner. The discrimination points out differences between two different groups of people, according to Dibble. Therefore, Dibble’s comments are racist because he discriminates based on generalizations of racial differences.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Document of any kind, bill, deed, warrant, certificate, policy, letter, tract, writ, diploma, manuscript; writing of any kind, literature; printing on tapa or paper; formerly the Scriptures or learning in general; to write, send a written message. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 309.

<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, Dibble does not provide specific names and locations of these scholars that are taught the English language. “The classes first formed, in 1820 and 1821, were taught in the English language, the textbooks being Webster’s spelling book, Watss’s catechism, and the English Bible.” Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 106.



was continually becoming more and more urgent, to give the whole attention to the native tongue and to efforts of a general kind among the multitude. At that period there were too few laborers in a field so open and wide to admit of giving the care, time and strength which schools of a select character necessarily require.<sup>88</sup>

In other words, one reason that teaching the English language was discontinued was because when females learned it, according to Dibble, they would thereby improve themselves both in manner and dress, and thus make themselves very attractive to foreigners. This justification implies that the women would not be attractive if they did not learn English, suggesting that only English and not Hawaiian is desirable.



Figure 4: The First Graduating Class of the Kamehameha School for Girls, 1897<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 174.

<sup>89</sup> Source: *The First Graduating Class of the Kamehameha School for Girls* (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Archives, 1897), <http://kapalama.ksbe.edu/archives/FirstYears/ksg1897.php>. Although Dibble's commentary about women learning English is made in 1843, the picture provided here was taken in 1897. Despite the significant difference in time, this picture is the earliest I could find of all women taking a school picture with very western style clothing and mannerisms, and is still a fitting example of the sentiments made in Dibble's quote.

This figure offers a rare portrayal of the first female graduating class of the Kamehameha School for Girls in 1897. This photo is extremely interesting in light of Dibble's commentary on the appeal and improved "manner and dress" of Hawaiian women who learn English. The women portrayed in this photo demonstrate exceptionally refined manner and dress, as evidenced by their stance, demeanor and clothing. The women's appearance bears a striking resemblance to the attractiveness that Dibble talks about as being "ruinous" and inevitable should women learn English and start to adopt such western traits.

With a slight shift in focus from teaching Kānaka Maoli the English language,<sup>90</sup> missionaries began to impose a written Hawaiian language to aid their own efforts in converting the masses.<sup>91</sup> kuualoha hoomanawanui suggests that, "By inventing a Hawaiian alphabet, the missionaries were able to teach Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) reading and writing."<sup>92</sup> In January 1822, the first printing<sup>93</sup> of the Hawaiian language<sup>94</sup> took place, and within a month "epistolary correspondence, thus commenced in that language, suddenly opened to the chiefs and people a new source of pleasure and

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<sup>90</sup> "The first schools on these Islands, were taught by the American Missionaries, and the English language was used exclusively...As soon as their foreign teachers had acquired the native language and printed a few primary lessons in it, they commenced communicating instruction through that medium, and found it a much more direct, rapid, and successful method of reaching the native mind." Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851* (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, 1852), 45.

<sup>91</sup> "Three principal means were to be used: preaching, teaching, and printing; but evangelism (preaching and religious instruction) was the primary function of the mission." Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 102.

<sup>92</sup> kuualoha hoomanawanui, "Ha, Mana, Leo (Breath, Spirit, Voice): Kanaka Maoli Empowerment through Literature," *The American Indian Quarterly* 28, no. 1 & 2, (Winter/Spring 2004): 86.

<sup>93</sup> "On the first Monday in January 1822, nineteen months from the commencement of the mission, the art of printing was introduced into the islands. The sheet printed was the first 8 pages of a Hawaiian spelling book. The number of copies was 500." Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 179.

<sup>94</sup> Although this was the first printing of the Hawaiian language, it was largely based on the missionary's understanding and interpretation of the language, as the work was done by the Christian mission.

advantage, of which hundreds soon availed themselves.”<sup>95</sup> Kānaka Maoli were intrigued by this new-found literacy and ability to record oral traditions, preserve songs, stories, and genealogies of the past.<sup>96</sup> Nevertheless, the western introduction of reading and writing provided missionaries the opportunity to manipulate and control<sup>97</sup> through print.

American Calvinist missionaries saw the lack of a written language as an advantage for their religious conquests in the islands. According to Dibble, the “toilsome work” of teaching palapala<sup>98</sup> would eventually pay off as it was a way to “engage in the direct work of proclaiming the news of salvation to the multitudes of heathen.”<sup>99</sup> In this way, Dibble admits that the imposition of palapala was necessary in proclaiming and extending Christianity to the masses. Thus commenced what would become an organized and deliberate plan to employ the teaching, learning, and use of language as a

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<sup>95</sup> Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 157.

<sup>96</sup> “Native Hawaiians quickly and eagerly adopted literacy and the printed page.” Helen G. Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), 16.

<sup>97</sup> By introducing print in Hawai‘i and leading the print industry for years, the Christian mission was able to control the materials that were printed. Therefore, they were able to control what information was distributed and digested by the readers. Additionally, because these materials were also the primary teaching materials, they were also able to control and manipulate the messages conveyed when teachers used these curriculum to teach their students. “By 1822, the mission equipment was producing educational, commercial, religious, and government materials at the rate of 100 single sheets an hour. . . . Print technology when introduced into oral cultures either overwhelms them or drives them into pockets of resistance. In Hawai‘i, an oral, memory-based traditional culture, a culture that had thrived in isolation and in balance with nature for more than a thousand years, was rapidly displaced by codified laws, constitutions, and newspapers.” *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>98</sup> The term palapala, used to describe reading and writing, was adopted early on. Bingham includes a transcription of a letter from Liholiho to the king of Huahine, one of the Society Islands: “We are now learning the palapala. When I become skillful in learning I will then go and visit you. Rihoriho, Tamehameha 2d.” Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 172. Bingham also provides other examples, such as a letter from Ka‘ahumanu to Kamāmalu where she says “We are much pleased to learn the palapala.” *Ibid.* Dibble also makes reference to the term palapala in his book: “Some one from those islands (Society Islands) told Kamehameha that Pomare, the king, had teachers at his islands, that he had made a great change in his worship and was learning the palapala (to read and to write). Kamehameha replied, rather in a way of unbelief, ‘Why then has he not sent a palapala to me?’” Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 121.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 173.

colonial tool of control and manipulation. With the further development of printing, such control and manipulation would expand. The missionaries controlled the early printing presses in Hawai‘i, thus missionary discourse was able to dominate the available print material. Such limited print was concurrently used as teaching material, which led to the control and manipulation through the availability, or lack thereof, of print in the Islands.

Helen Chapin argues:

It is print that has enabled imperialism to spread its power across continents and oceans. The imposition of print upon the Hawaiian Islands coincided with the rise of America as an imperialist Pacific power. American-style newspapers were a major contributor to this expansion.<sup>100</sup>

Thus, the imposition of a controlled print system was an integral part of asserting power and eventually maintaining control. In Hawai‘i, print was introduced by missionaries and maintained by them during the early years when reading and writing was introduced to the greater public. Furthermore, because the missionaries controlled the printing presses, they also controlled the material that was printed and used as teaching aids in the schools. Thus, early teaching materials are overwhelmingly religious in nature.<sup>101</sup> According to Kuykendall, “In the early years the school books and school

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<sup>100</sup> Chapin, *Shaping History*, 15.

<sup>101</sup> “The subjects taught were spelling in unison; reciting syllables of two letters; reciting a refusal to keep wooden gods; names of lands, names of months; a recitation relating the emotion of the people over the death of a king in a foreign land; portions of the books of Matthew, Psalms, Acts of the Apostles, and Luke; questions relating to God; the Ten Commandments; questions prepared for the exhibition; the desire of the rulers proclaimed at Honuakaha; the first hymn about ‘Opukaha‘ia; and the arithmetical process of adding, multiplication tables, division, and fractions....All the old chiefs, even those who were toothless, recited from memory certain questions and answers and the commandments of God given on Mount Sinai.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 270-271.

exercises were nearly all of a religious character; the primary purpose of the mission press was to make the Bible and religious books available to the people.”<sup>102</sup>

Aloha ali‘i, or love and respect for the chiefs, was a value held in high regard in Kanaka Maoli society. The ali‘i nui<sup>103</sup> were considered gods who roamed the earth.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, their actions and beliefs had significant influence on the rest of Kanaka Maoli society. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa has offered that:

In the Hawaiian way of thinking, all directives in society emanate from the Akua, who on earth are represented by the Ali‘i Nui, those Gods visible to humans. The role of Ali‘i Nui, as mediators between the divine and human, was to placate and manipulate those more dangerous and unseen Akua whose powers regulated the earth and all the awesome forces of nature. In Polynesia, proximity to the Akua could mean death, and it was the duty of the Ali‘i Nui to ho‘omalū<sup>105</sup> the maka‘āinana from unnecessary death. From this standpoint, Ali‘i Nui were the protectors of the maka‘āinana, sheltering them from terrible unseen forces.<sup>106</sup>

Not only were ali‘i responsible for protecting maka‘āinana<sup>107</sup> from terrible unforeseen forces, but they also represented Akua<sup>108</sup> on earth, and therefore their actions

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<sup>102</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 106.

<sup>103</sup> High chief. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 20.

<sup>104</sup> The social hierarchy described here refers to the way Hawaiian society has been organized hundreds of years before contact. These social hierarchies differ greatly from the externally imposed hierarchies discussed earlier in this text. Hierarchies imposed by the outside, as a way to demean and create complexes of inferiority, are significantly different from societal structures created and maintained within cultures. In many ways, the organization of Hawaiian society was deeply tied to identity, religion and politics. For more information see Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 45-49.

<sup>105</sup> Malu, Shade, shelter, protection, peace, control, strength. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 233.

<sup>106</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 26.

<sup>107</sup> Commoner, populace, people in general. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 224.

<sup>108</sup> God, goddess, spirit. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 15.

set an example for the rest of Kanaka Maoli society. Some of these parallels are explained through ‘ōlelo no‘eau:<sup>109</sup>

O ke ali‘i wale no ka‘u makemake.  
My desire is only for the chief.  
An expression of loyalty and affection for ones chief, used in chants of praise.<sup>110</sup>

Ma kāhi o ka makani e pā ai, malaila ka uwahi e hina ai.  
Where the wind blows, there the smoke falls.  
Where the chief commands, the subjects go.<sup>111</sup>

Hele no ke ali‘i; hele no ke kanaka.  
Where the chief goes, his attendant goes.<sup>112</sup>

‘Ike no ke ali‘i i kona kanaka, a ua ‘ike no ke kanaka i kona ali‘i.  
The chief knows his servant; the servant knows his chief.  
Outsiders do not understand our relationships to our chiefs, and we do not care to discuss it with them.<sup>113</sup>

E ‘ōpū ali‘i.  
Have the heart of a chief.  
Have the kindness, generosity, and even temper of a chief.<sup>114</sup>

These ‘ōlelo no‘eau help explain the deep understandings of the value of aloha ali‘i.

These ‘ōlelo no‘eau speak about deep love, admiration and respect for their chiefs. The ‘ōlelo no‘eau “‘ike no ke ali‘i i kona kanaka” talks about how the chief understands his people, and has their best intention in mind. Fittingly, then, “hele no ke ali‘i; hele no ke kanaka,” or where the chief goes, the people follow. Because the chief has the best

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<sup>109</sup> Proverb, wise saying, traditional saying. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 284.

<sup>110</sup> Mary Kawena Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No ‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 268.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 45.

interest of his people in mind, the people will trust in their chiefs and go where the chief goes. This value speaks of a special reciprocal relationship where both chief and commoner understand and respect each other.

Writing about the missionary's urgings for high ranking chiefs and other dignitaries to attend Christian services conducted in both the English and Hawaiian languages, Hiram Bingham reported that Liholiho, Ke'eumoku,<sup>115</sup> Kuakini, Kalanimōkū, Boki, Kamāmalu, and other ali'i were all extended invitations. On certain occasions, Liholiho and Ke'eumoku took up the invitations, while others would also attend services later. Hiram Bingham remarked on an alleged comment Liholiho made in 1822 after attending a Christian service:

Attending once, about this time, our morning family worship, he said in English phrase, "Jehovah—he's good--I like him--the devil I no like."<sup>116</sup>

Liholiho's comment reflects the early exposure of Christianity and English to high chiefs. Liholiho, the paramount chief of the islands at the time, demonstrated his early aptitude for the English language, as well as his exposure to Christianity.<sup>117</sup> It is difficult to gauge the extent of the influence this exposure to Christianity had (or lack thereof) on Liholiho, and other ali'i for that matter. Although they attended Christian services, this may or may not have been reflective of any influence on the ali'i. Traditionally, Kānaka Maoli were not monotheistic, so although they may have attended Christian services, and maybe

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<sup>115</sup> Ke'eumokupapaiahehe, one of the four Kona uncles. Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 58.

<sup>116</sup> Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 158.

<sup>117</sup> Although I have not found other citations of this alleged statement by Liholiho, it is in line with other statements by other ali'i at the time. Kamakau talks about a council of chiefs "where were gathered chiefs, commoners, and foreigners to discuss financial matters." At this meeting, Kekau'onohi "spoke of the goodness of God, of guarding what was good and forsaking what was evil, of not worshiping other gods; Jehovah alone was the one true God. Kina'u spoke in the same way." Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 300.

even accepted parts of the religion, it does not mean they could not accept the Christian god along with the countless Hawaiian akua. Thus, Liholiho's Christian service attendance is cited here, as an "exposure" to Christianity, rather than Christian "influence," as the extent of the exposure causing influence is difficult to gauge.<sup>118</sup>

Ke'eumoku was another early chief to accept an invitation to attend Christian services. From his frequent interaction with foreigners, Ke'eumoku gained a basic understanding of the reading and writing in the English language, and was sometimes sought by missionaries to assist with their learning of the Hawaiian language.<sup>119</sup>

Although Ke'eumoku was one of the first ali'i to start learning how to read and write in English, many ali'i soon followed. Initially hesitant about the missionary's attempt to sway her with palapala, Ka'ahumanu eventually considered the enterprise, and by August 1822, was writing letters to Kamāmalu and others:

We are much pleased to learn the palapala. By and by, perhaps, we shall be akamai, skilled or wise.<sup>120</sup>

Bingham's re-presentation of Ka'ahumanu's voice shows signs of the hierarchies that may have been engrained in those learning palapala. Ka'ahumanu allegedly suggests that by learning reading and writing, they *perhaps* will be skilled or wise. This not only

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<sup>118</sup> My argument about Liholiho's quote here is two-fold. First, Liholiho's statement shows that he was exposed to Christianity. Secondly, Hiram Bingham publicizes Liholiho's exposure by publishing his (alleged) statement. Bingham publicizes Liholiho's statement to make sure others know that the chiefs are engaging in Christianity, hoping such knowledge will influence others to follow suit.

<sup>119</sup> "Here in Hawaii some chiefs had been taught English and could speak and read it. Keakakilohi, the son of Kaloloahilani and Ke'eumoku, was one; others were Kahekili Ke'eumoku, Kaluaikonahale Kuakini, and Kaumuali'i, the ruling chief of Kauai and his son Kamaholelani." Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 244-245. "The missionaries, therefore, before they had acquired the Hawaiian tongue, naturally went to him more than to others, and made frequent efforts to make known to him in really broken English the great truths of the gospel. He was moreover a more thoughtful chief than many others." Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands*, 161.

<sup>120</sup> Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 172. I did not find this quote in any other primary source material. The assumption here is that Bingham is providing an accurate and truthful account of this August 1822 letter from Ka'ahumanu to Kamāmalu.



suggests that they are not skilled or wise at the time, but also that it is only a possibility that palapala will make them skilled or wise.<sup>121</sup>

In 1826, Hiram Bingham would accompany Ka‘ahumanu on a month-long tour of O‘ahu to talk with people, where Bingham would afford himself the opportunity to preach on the glories of Christianity.<sup>122</sup> Ka‘ahumanu became an advocate for Christianity by bringing Bingham along with her to share the word with her people.

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<sup>121</sup> Ka‘ahumanu could also be referring to being akamai, or skilled or wise, in doing palapala, such as showing aptitude in reading and writing, rather than showing competence (being skilled or wise) in general.

<sup>122</sup> “In July and August, 1826...the queen, having matured her plan to gain more than had been lost by the infraction of the tabu, accomplished the tour of Oahu, and had opportunity in the course of a month, to see and address in person, a large part of the population of the island, giving her teachers opportunity to do the same. Her sister, Lydia Namahana, with her husband, Gideon Laanui, accompanied her. Availing myself of the facilities thus afforded for our work, I made the tour with them, employing a month to good advantage, giving my attention chiefly to preaching, and the care and establishment of schools, and reading the Scriptures. Having completed a translation of the Gospel according to Matthew, I took it with me, daily reading portions of it to the people, and completing the reading thus during the tour...Our company, consisting of 200 to 300 persons, possessed, in fact, the character of a peripatetic or traveling school. Numbers carried their books, and some fifty of them carried their slates and pencils. Those who were able, endeavored to write down the text of every sermon they heard, and to commit it to memory, and sometimes the prominent thoughts, an exercise more needful before than after the publication of the Scriptures among them. Some of the more forward, receiving daily instruction as we traveled on, put their acquisitions to use, and at different places urged on the inhabitants the importance of repentance and reform.” Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 294.

“Ka‘ahumanu worked constantly to educate the people, assisted by Kalanimoku, Kekuaipi‘ia Namahana, and others. In 1825 she made her first trip around the island holding meetings, exhorting the people, and teaching the Lord’s prayer and the confession of sin. The people were taught to go into secret places and there offer up supplication to God; they were taught of God in the heavens and of the Trinity and urged to confer with Mr. Bingham and Mr. Chamberlain (Kamalani) who accompanied [Ka‘ahumanu] on this trip.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 275.



Figure 5: The Queen at Waimea, Oahu, recommending Christianity<sup>123</sup>

Unfortunately, Ka‘ahumanu was just one of the many other ali‘i that missionaries would target for their linguistic conversion attempts. Keōpūolani, the sacred wife of Kamehameha, was another example of an early ali‘i to be introduced to Christianity and its western education in the form of reading and writing. Keōpūolani was the daughter of Keku‘iapoiwa and was Kamehameha’s niece “and of so high a tabu that he had to take off his malo before he came into her presence, but he desired above everything to have children of the highest rank.”<sup>124</sup> Kamakau notes that when Keōpūolani accepted “the Christian faith and way of life, the chiefs in Lahaina immediately left off drinking and

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<sup>123</sup> Source: *The Queen at Waimea, Oahu, recommending Christianity* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives), Neg. #17,909, Early Voyage Prints of the Hawaiian Islands 1778-1857, Volume 3, 1826-1857, REF 779.9969 H26 V.3. Original published in *Ibid.*, 295. It is not my intention to showcase this picture as an accurate record of a historical event. Instead, this figure is included to show how foreigners misrepresent historical events and portrays Kanaka Maoli as barbaric in contrast to the elite and intelligent missionary and other foreigners. Although there is no artist acknowledged in this print (I assume that it might be Bingham), Bingham includes this picture in his publishing to support his motive and self-interest. The picture does an effective job of showcasing Kānaka Maoli the way Bingham wants them presented: attentive to his teachings, with Ka‘ahumanu sitting close, being an advocate for his Christian teachings and the written word (his Bible in his left hand).

<sup>124</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 208.

gathered about Tau‘a and Ka‘aumoku<sup>125</sup> to hear the new teaching. Great numbers became true worshipers of the Lord and many took up reading and writing.”<sup>126</sup> Keōpūolani was initially only interested in the western practice of palapala and did not devote herself to Christian instruction until August 1822.<sup>127</sup> Upon her deathbed on September 16, 1823, she was given a Christian baptism.<sup>128</sup> Keōpūolani also had a Christian funeral and burial, during which “the people were attentive, and the chiefs listened with signs of deep interest.”<sup>129</sup> Keōpūolani’s baptism, funeral and burial helped create the illusion of conversion, and considering the high rank, deep respect and value of aloha ali‘i Keōpūolani commanded of both chiefs and commoners alike, Keōpūolani’s

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<sup>125</sup> “On the 4<sup>th</sup> of February, 1823, the Rev. Mr. Ellis and family from the Society Islands, as had been expected, arrived at Honolulu on board a small vessel, the *Active*, Richard Charlton master, and were kindly welcomed both by the missionaries and the rulers. They were accompanied by three Tahitian teachers, Kuke, and Taua, having their wives with them, and Taamotu, an unmarried female.” Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 181.

<sup>126</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 262.

<sup>127</sup> William Richards to Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1825, in *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1825).

“The first important conversion among the Ali‘i Nui was that of Keōpūolani in 1823. The event coincided with the arrival of the English missionary Rev. William Ellis in February 1823. Ellis brought with him three Tahitian teachers, Tute (or Kuke), Tauā, and Ta‘amotu, from the Society Islands. As we Hawaiians have for centuries celebrated an ancestral link with Tahiti in our poetry and literature, Keōpūolani was naturally intrigued by these Tahitians and took them into her household in Lāhainā, her favorite residence. The Tahitians succeeded where the American Calvinists had failed, and Keōpūolani become a follower of Iesu Kristo.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 143.

<sup>128</sup> “Having two husbands, she then renounced the junior, Kalanimōkū, and kept only Hoapili, in order to comply with Christian customs. The Calvinists did not find this sufficient proof of belief, however, and denied her a baptism. . . . Because Liholiho, Ka‘ahumanu, and Kalanimōkū had pleaded with him, Rev. Ellis (an English Methodist, not an American Calvinist) baptized Keōpūolani after she fell into her last coma. . . . Unfortunately, by Keōpūolani’s conversion, Christianity became an acceptable religion for Hawaiians, and the seed of self-doubt about the worth of Hawaiian culture was planted in the Hawaiian breast.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 143-144. The American Calvinists were the first to arrive in March 1820. “That these missionaries were not merely Christians but Calvinists was nothing short of a tragedy, because their capitalist tendencies and sexually repressive philosophy was so antithetical to the Hawaiian celebration of life.” *Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>129</sup> *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands*, 67.

illusion of conversion and embracing of palapala<sup>130</sup> was consequential and relevant to the rest of Kanaka Maoli society. Her high status and apparent conversion turned out to have political consequence among fellow ali‘i and maka‘āinana,<sup>131</sup> as her actions were the epitome of cultural leadership during her time. Keōpūolani’s Christian baptism and funeral does not mean she was converted to Christianity. However, the perception of conversion (a Christian baptism and funeral) by ali‘i and others in Kanaka Maoli society set a significant precedent.<sup>132</sup> Whether Keōpūolani really was converted, or whether she took the Christian sacraments for political reasons, there was a perception of conversion, as others saw her receiving the sacraments (Christian baptism and funeral). Others witnessed these acts of conversion, while not all may have understood if there were other intentions behind those acts. This perception of conversion had consequence because of her high status, influencing others in society to follow her lead.

Keōpūolani entrusts to William Richards the roles of foster father, teacher and preacher to her children Nāhi‘ena‘ena and Kauikeaouli (who would later reign as Kamehameha III) after her death. By investing William Richards with the sacred role of kahu<sup>133</sup> over her high-ranking children, Keōpūolani secures for him a seat of

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<sup>130</sup> “Rev. William Ellis, an English missionary of the London Society, arrived from Tahiti bringing several Christian Tahitians, Ka‘aumoku...and Tau‘a...These Keopuolani took as her teachers. They taught her to read and write, held religious services morning and evening, offered a blessing at meals, and taught the word of God to the household.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 262.

<sup>131</sup> The argument here is that she did influence others in society, while not necessarily intending to do so.

<sup>132</sup> “In her mind, this was the way to Ola Hou; this was the way to the salvation of the Hawaiian race, for Hawaiians did not distinguish between the spiritual and physical salvation of the race. To Hawaiians, and to the missionaries, they were one and the same. Keōpūolani’s death and her conversion had a profound effect on the Ali‘i Nui. She had shown them a new way to be pono. Her husbands, Hoapili and Kalanimōkū, became devout Christians in her honor, while the other Ali‘i began to give it serious thought.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 145.

<sup>133</sup> Honored attendant, guardian. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 113.

unprecedented authority and significance.<sup>134</sup> This acquired role gave power to Richards, who would later hold powerful roles in Kanaka Maoli government under Kamehameha II's reign. Richards later would become the first Minister of Public Instruction in the Hawaiian Kingdom.



Figure 6: Lamentation on the Death of Keōpūolani<sup>135</sup>

With Keōpūolani leading the way, by February 1824, other ali'i nui also begins to learn palapala:

We made our customary visit to the chiefs, and found them, with one exception, busily engaged in their studies. The queens and princess were writing at their desks, and their favorites and

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<sup>134</sup> Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 144.

<sup>135</sup> Source: *Lamentation on the Death of Queen Keopuolani* (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives), Neg. #17,917, Early Voyage Prints of the Hawaiian Islands 1778-1857, Volume 2, 1819-1825, REF 779.9969 H26 V.2. Original: Published by Fisher Son & Co. Caxton London, April 1828. It is not my intention to showcase this picture as an accurate record of a historical event. Instead, this figure is included to show how foreigners misrepresent historical events and portrays Kanaka Maoli as barbaric in contrast to the elite and intelligent missionary and other foreigners. Unfortunately, there is no artist listed for this picture. However, a quick analysis of this painting shows that the artist portrays Kānaka Maoli from a colonial lens. The Kānaka Maoli in this picture are depicted as the stereotypical savage reacting to loss. In Kanaka Maoli society, death is marked by a kanikau ("dirge, lamentation, chant of mourning, lament; to chant, wail, mourn"). Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 129. Kanikau are known to involve more physical reactions to such significant loss. This portrayal of this kanikau is in appropriate, as if the kanikau is savage, rather than a sincere homage to such great loss.

attendants, seated on the mats around them, were equally engaged with their slates and spelling books. The chiefs have lately, for the first time, manifested a special desire to have their immediate followers instructed. Indeed, till within a few weeks, they have themselves claimed the exclusive benefit of our instructions. But now they expressly declare their intentions to have all their subjects enlightened by the palapala, and have accordingly made application for books to distribute among them.

In consequence of this spirit, we have to-day been permitted to establish a large and regular school among their domestics and dependents. We have always had several scholars at the establishments of different chiefs, amounting in the whole perhaps to fifty individuals, under regular tuition; and Mrs. Richards, H--, and B--, besides instructing the boys in our families in their own language, have daily taught a few persons in English at our houses.<sup>136</sup>

Bingham describes “customary visits” to the chiefs, implying a deliberate attempt to repeatedly visit the chiefs to teach and convert. Moreover, though, these visits are obviously welcomed, as one cannot just demand unwanted visits of the chiefs. The teaching of palapala to ali‘i paves the way to teach the entire households of the ali‘i. According to Bingham, the missionary assignment grows larger, as the chiefs push for the establishment of schools for the greater public. The dual imposition of palapala and Christianity makes significant gains in the early 1820s, starting with the conversion of the ali‘i. With the approval of ali‘i like Ka‘ahumanu, missionaries are able to continue their imposition, which allows them to continue to promote their discourse that successfully advocates for Christianity and the glories of the west, while simultaneously demeaning Kanaka Maoli way of life.

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<sup>136</sup> Charles Samuel Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands, During the Years 1823, 1824 and 1825* (New York: John P. Haven, 1828), 27.

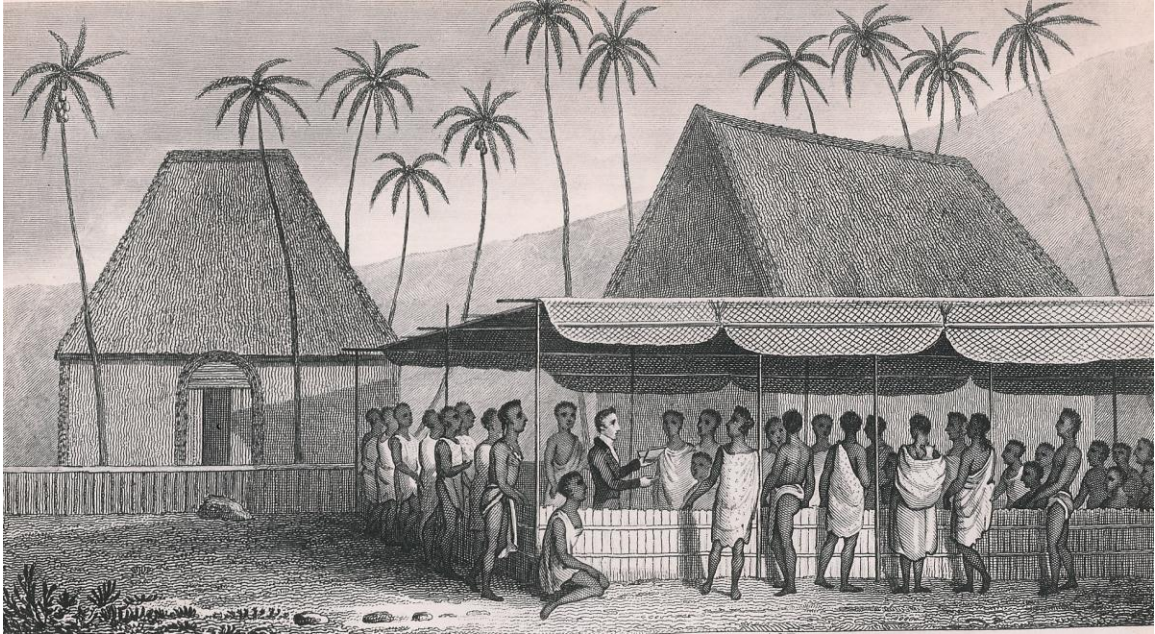


Figure 7: A Missionary Preaching to the Natives, pre-1825<sup>137</sup>

The imposition of western education, palapala and Christianity in the Hawaiian Kingdom involved a delicate mixture of western pressure, influence and control, coupled with, as Jon Osorio has argued, “the destruction of Native self-confidence in their own institutions.”<sup>138</sup> William Richards, as was the case with other haole that followed in his footsteps, secured positions of unprecedented authority and influence in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Their influence was unprecedented because they had gained the endorsement of many ali‘i, which allowed their haole ideologies to be implemented in the political realm. Nonetheless, the western imposition that took place in the realms of education, religion, politics and language involved more than just the foreign pressure and influence.

Another menacing threat assisted western imposition in the Hawaiian Kingdom: the

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<sup>137</sup> Source: *A Missionary Preaching to the Natives, under a Skreen of platted Cocoa-nut leaves at Kairua* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives), Neg. #17,721, Early Voyage Prints of the Hawaiian Islands 1778-1857, Volume 2, 1819-1825, REF 779.9969 H26 V.2. Original London: Published by H. Fisher, Son & P. Jackson. March 31, 1826. T. Dixo. It is not my intention to showcase this picture as an accurate record of a historical event. This painting shows a missionary preaching to a group of Kānaka Maoli, who are all listening on attentively, seemingly moved by his words. This may or may not have been an appropriate representation of this historical event, but such was the picture portrayed by the artist.

<sup>138</sup> Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 13.

deteriorating Kanaka Maoli self-confidence and subsequent planting of the seeds of Kanaka Maoli self-doubt.



## Mission: Degradation

“Downgrade the vernacular tongues of the people”<sup>139</sup>

Colonizers’ method of manipulation and control embeds a hierarchical system that glorifies the colonizer and vilifies the colonized. This form of degradation injures the confidence of Kanaka Maoli, and allows for the full horror of colonization to manifest itself.

In the 1830s, *Ka Lama Hawaii* is one of only two newspapers in the islands, with *Ke Kumu* being the other.<sup>140</sup> Written expressions in popular media during this time monopolizes written ideas and helps to lay the foundation of how Kanaka Maoli will come to perceptualize and define indigenous and western ways of knowing. This in turn, helps to formulate ideas and attitudes toward formalized educational model in Hawai‘i. An 1834 article in *Ka Lama Hawaii* entitled “No Na Kula ma Amerika Hui Pu Ia”<sup>141</sup> states:

He nui wale ke ano o na kula ma Amerika. Ua kau no ke kanawai no ke kula.

Ina noho wale kekahi kulanakauhale, aole kula, alaila, hewa ia kulanakauhale, a nui loa ka uku, ke uku aku i na’lii [sic]. Eia ke kumu oia kanawai. Manao na’lii [sic], o ka naauao ka mea e pono ai ka aina. Ina naaupo na kanaka aole malu pono ia wahi.<sup>142</sup>

Translation:

Schools are very important in America. A law was established concerning the school.

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<sup>139</sup> Ngūgī, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers to degrade and vilify the mother tongue of a people. This campaign was an integral part of affirming a colonial education, and supplanting the mother tongue with the colonizer’s tongue.

<sup>140</sup> Chapin, *Shaping History*, 16.

<sup>141</sup> “No Na Kula ma Amerika Huipuia,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, Mei 9, 1834.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid.

If there exists a town, with no school, therefore, said town is in violation, and great is the fine, to be paid to the authorities. Here is the reason for such law. The authorities thought, knowledge is the virtuous thing of the land. If the people are ignorant said place is not protected.

As a testament to its astute value, an American school system secures and proclaims its superiority with an enforceable mandate that penalizes violators who do not conform. The idea is that knowledge, virtue, and protection is only guaranteed when a particular society invests in an American educational system. It only gives merit to the western educational concept that houses knowledge in a classroom. With the western educational system at the pinnacle, these ideas stage a hierarchy that undermines Kanaka Maoli knowledge and its people. Ingestion of this seed of self-doubt into the mind set and na‘au<sup>143</sup> of the Kanaka Maoli is fortified when the foreign element is showcased as the way to salvation and all that is good. Any lack or refusal to meet the standards of a western educational system relegates a grim future. The campaign and formalization of a western educational system becomes a primary concern.

In 1838, Kauikeaouli called upon William Richards to serve the Hawaiian Kingdom full-time “at a salary of \$600 a year to be their chaplain and interpreter, and teacher of political economy, law, and the science of government.”<sup>144</sup> It is extremely interesting to consider William Richards’ governmental appointment in light of the fact that he was the foster father to the reigning monarch. It may bring up questions regarding Richards’ qualifications for such an appointment and the validity of his influence.

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<sup>143</sup> Intestines, bowels, guts; mind, heart, affections; of the heart or mind; mood, temper, feelings. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 257.

<sup>144</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 174.

Perhaps if Richards had not been assigned to Keōpūolani back in 1823,<sup>145</sup> he may not have grown to be viewed in such high esteem.

While Richards gets comfortable in his new role in the government, there are urgings by foreigners and some Kanaka Maoli (most of whom attended Lahainaluna) for the integration of western law into the Kingdom. According to Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Richards and other haole taught on the promise of the paths to foreign mana,<sup>146</sup> which included western religion, law, and land tenure.<sup>147</sup> With the path of Christianity already started, the promise of western law and land tenure securing the desired foreign mana would soon be tested. The Kingdom instituted the Declaration of Rights and the Kingdom’s first constitution in 1839 and 1840, respectively. William Richards wrote the two documents with assistance from Lahainaluna students:<sup>148</sup>

A writer, believed to be William Richards, stated in the *Hawaiian Spectator* that among the influences leading to the declaration of rights ‘not the least...is believed to have been the articles published in the Kumu Hawaii [Hawaiian teacher], written...mostly by the graduates and undergraduates of the seminary’ or high school at Lahainaluna. Although the missionaries were by their instructions strictly

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<sup>145</sup> “About the last of May (1823), she (Keōpūolani) made known to the mission her intention of taking up her permanent residence at Lahaina, in Maui, her native island. Keopuolani specially requested, as did also the king and chiefs, that missionaries might accompany her. As Lahaina had been previously selected for a missionary station, the missionaries were happy to commence their labors there under such auspices. Messrs. Richards and Stewart therefore accompanied her, resided near her, enjoyed her patronage, and had the privilege of instructing her until her decease.” William Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1825), 22.

<sup>146</sup> Supernatural or divine power, miraculous power; a powerful nation, authority. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 235.

<sup>147</sup> Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 174.

<sup>148</sup> “It was William Richards who drew up the constitution, and the king selected Boas Mahune to represent him and Jonah Kapena to represent Kina‘u in drawing it up.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 370. “The kumukānāwai (constitution; literally, foundational law) was composed and drafted by William Richards, with Lāhaināluna graduate Boas Mahune merely assisting. Still, the editorial was not meant to praise Mahune. It was trying to make several important points: first, about the importance of Western education, the second, that there was nothing inherently superior about ‘the rulers’ that could not be outstripped by lesser ranks armed with that Western education.” Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 16.

enjoined to withhold themselves ‘entirely from all interference and intermeddling with the political affairs and party concerns of the nation,’ it was not easy for men steeped in New England traditions to observe in silence the undemocratic character of the Hawaiian political system and the abuses to which it was susceptible, and in view of the constant and urgent appeals to them by the chiefs, it was impossible for them to avoid altogether the giving of information and advice on political matters.<sup>149</sup>

According to this statement, articles published in the *Kumu Hawaii* influenced the drafting of the Declaration of Rights.<sup>150</sup> Although missionaries were instructed to not intervene in the political arena of the Kingdom, “it was not easy for men steeped in New England traditions to observe in silence the undemocratic character of the Hawaiian political system.”<sup>151</sup> In other words, the missionaries were apparently ordered<sup>152</sup> not to intervene in the politics of the Hawaiian Kingdom. However, this analysis provided by Kuykendall attempts to emancipate missionaries from the fact that they disregarded this order and often intentionally involved themselves<sup>153</sup> in domestic affairs. This analysis did not criticize missionaries for failing to heed their mandate of non-involvement, but rather, it puts the blame on the “undemocratic character of the Hawaiian political

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<sup>149</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 158.

<sup>150</sup> “In this year (1831) the High School at Lahainaluna was founded, with pupils selected from all over the islands. The chiefs sent their own people to this school in order to train them as teachers. They were all eager for education.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 304.

<sup>151</sup> Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 158.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 158. Unfortunately, no other collaborative evidence, including the original order, is represented here.

<sup>153</sup> “When taken to task for political intervention in Hawaiian affairs by other foreigners unfriendly to the mission, Bingham agreed that in theory there should be separation of church and state, but ‘The State, deriving all its powers from God, both rulers and subjects being bound to do God’s will, and its chief magistrate being emphatically God’s minister, ought to be, and in an important sense is, a religious institution.’” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 156.

system,” and portrays the missionaries as martyrs for refusing to deal with such a seemingly oppressive situation.<sup>154</sup>

The implementation of the 1839 Declaration of Rights and subsequent 1840 Constitution of Hawai‘i set a significant political precedent and is testament to the advancements of western impositions in the Hawaiian political arena.<sup>155</sup> The 1839 Declaration of Rights recreates and redefines the Kanaka Maoli societal structure. Kanaka Maoli societal structure and rank was best represented by an isosceles triangle with the Akua at the top, followed by the mō‘ī, the kaukau ali‘i<sup>156</sup> and kahuna,<sup>157</sup> followed by the numerous commoners at the bottom.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Emphasis added. Kuykendall provides the perspective that the Hawaiian political system was undemocratic and makes it appear to the reader that missionaries refused to deal with such an oppressive situation, so refused to obey their orders of non-intervention. Their intervention becomes commendable by analyzing it in such a light. It is not clear if this is Kuykendall’s perspective, or if he is reporting the perspective of missionaries of the time.

<sup>155</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom, *Kumu Kanawai, a me Na Kanawai o Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, Ua Kauia i ke Kau ia Kamehameha III*, 1839 (Hawai‘i State Archives, 1839).

<sup>156</sup> Class of chiefs of lesser rank than the high chief, the father a high chief and the mother of lower rank but not a commoner. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 135.

<sup>157</sup> Priest, sorcerer, magician, wizard, minister, expert in any profession. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 114.

<sup>158</sup> See Kame‘eleihiwa. *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 46. Figure 3: Traditional Hawaiian Society.

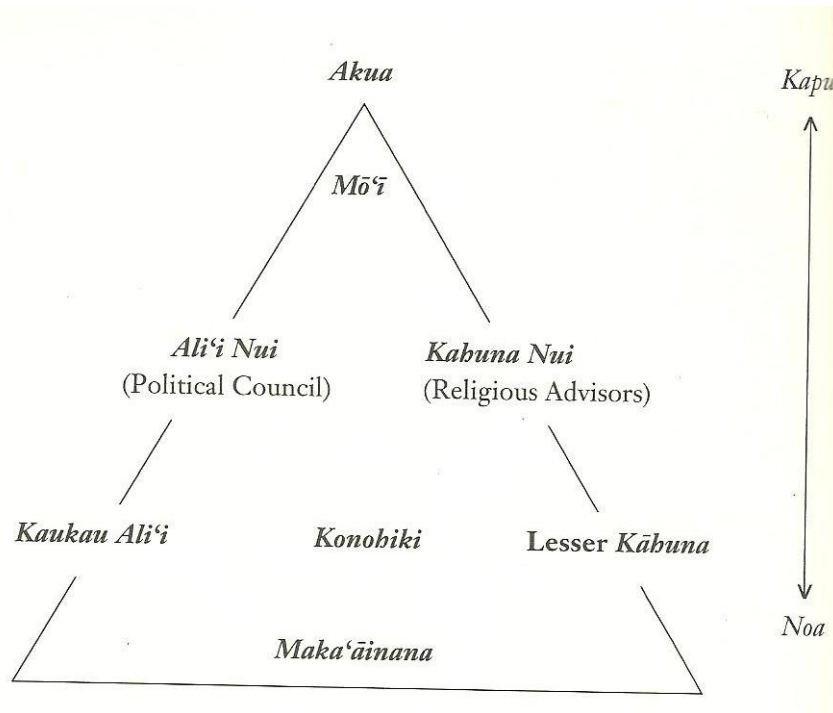


Figure 8: Traditional Hawaiian Society<sup>159</sup>

The Declaration of Rights collapses this triangle<sup>160</sup> by supposedly<sup>161</sup> giving universal rights,<sup>162</sup> as recognized through a western-style declaration, to all men

<sup>159</sup> Source: *Traditional Hawaiian Society* (Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 46.)

<sup>160</sup> It is collapsed to an obtuse triangle, where one of the angles is greater than 90 degrees, thereby making the longest side on the bottom.

<sup>161</sup> The use of the term “supposedly” highlights the fact that the Declaration in theory gave universal rights to all men, but as history would later manifest itself, universal rights was not guaranteed through this document, and in fact, would be challenged throughout history. The Declaration of Rights and the Constitution did not set up an ideal society and free people from the supposed injustices of the past. “In old days people...were heavily burdened by labor performed for chiefs, landlords, and land agents. But although the work was hard, that today (after the Declaration of Rights and Constitution) is even more so when families are broken up and one must even leave his bones among strangers. In the old days, the people did not work steadily at hard labor but at several years’ interval, because it was easier then to get food from the fishponds, coconut groves, and taro patches. Hogs grew so fat that the eyelids drooped, bananas dropped off at a touch, sugarcane grew so tall that it leaned over, sweet potatoes crowded each hill...Labor done in the patch of the chief was a rental paid for the use of the land and everyone was benefited thereby. Today the working man labors like a cart-hauling ox that gets a kick in the buttocks...He gets a bit of money for his toil; in the house where he labors there are no blood kin, no parents, no relatives-in-law, just a little corner for himself.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 372.

regardless of his or her rank. This is not to say that maka‘āinana did not have rights prior to the 1839 Declaration of Rights.<sup>163</sup> However, this document formally acknowledged and redefined these rights in a very western and Christian manner (based on western law and with Christian verbiage).<sup>164</sup> In a society where separation of church and state does not exist, these foreign institutions would have incredible repercussions society-wide. The impositions of western law into Kingdom politics would forever change the government, by implanting foreign elements for Kanaka Maoli ones.<sup>165</sup> Part of the reason for the success of such impositions is that the Hawaiian Kingdom constantly sought ways to prove its political astuteness in the midst of growing foreign influence and later political uncertainty. These changes in the political arena were coupled by an imposition of a western educational system in the Kingdom.

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<sup>162</sup> “God hath made of one blood all nations of men, to dwell on the face of the earth in unity and blessedness. God has also bestowed certain rights alike on all men, and all chiefs, and all people of all lands.” Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 160.

<sup>163</sup> “The care and support of the common people by the chiefs were held in old days when there was no law; and that regard has been handed down in the hearts of the people and cannot be displaced until their offspring go to live in other lands and under other governments.” Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 371.

<sup>164</sup> There are elements of this document that have Hawaiian perspectives and concepts too, although maybe not intentional. Perhaps the addition of such perspectives made this document easier for ali‘i and others to accept. Nevertheless, this topic is not the focus of this text. Instead, the brief introduction of this document is meant to provide an example of foreign installations in the Kingdom, which had significant influence on Hawaiian society. Additionally, the adoption of some of these foreign impositions may have also “made sense” and followed the relationship between ali‘i and maka‘āinana. Nevertheless, this topic is not the focus of this text.

<sup>165</sup> New governmental positions and departments replaced historical positions; creation of new departments like the national Treasury Board in 1842 (Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, Vol 1, 232); development of a new court system and judiciary (Ibid., 240); constitutions, treaties, and other laws that govern (Ibid., 153-268).



Figure 9: Kauikeaouli<sup>166</sup>

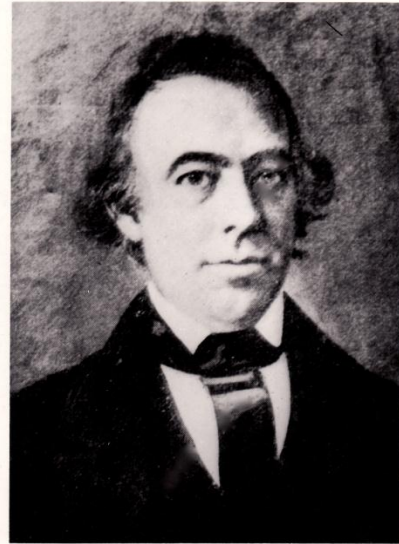


Figure 10: William Richards<sup>167</sup>

The institutionalization of western values within the Kingdom continued as the adoption of a western educational system was formalized. Kauikeaouli's reign as Kamehameha III was noted as an era of education, as noted in his famous saying: "He aupuni palapala ko'u; o ke kanaka pono 'o ia ko'u kanaka."<sup>168</sup> These words were fast put into motion, as the Royal School and "Kanawai Hooponopono Kula"<sup>169</sup> soon followed:

O ke kula i pili nui ia oukou i na'lii; oia ke kula Alii ma Honolulu...Ua manao mua ia ka hookumu ana iloko o lakou, i ka manao ana i ka pono, a me ka manao i ke Akua, no ka mea maloko o laila ka pomaikai o na haumana, e hiki mai ana ma keia hope aku ma Hawaii nei. Eia ka lua o ka manao, o kea o aku ia lakou ma ka olelo Enelani...*A loa mai ia lakou kekahi mau makahiki hou, a kuoo, a hookumu paaia ka pono me ka makau i ke Akua iloko o ko lakou naau, alaila, aole e nele ke aupuni i ka mea i makemake nui ia, a me na'lii e pono ai. Aia ke waiho la imua o lakou ka ike hohonu, a me ka Letera a pau o ka olelo Enelani i mea e pono ai, a i mea e lealea ai lakou. Aia ke kau nei imua o ko lakou alo ka mea hooikaika mau ia lakou i ka imi akamai, a me ke kupaa ma na mea*

<sup>166</sup> Source: *Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli)* (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives), #16,363.

<sup>167</sup> Source: *William Richards* (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives), PP 78-1.013, #21,478, Neg HMCS.

<sup>168</sup> "Mine is the kingdom of education; the righteous man is my man. Uttered by Kamehameha III." Pukui, *Ōlelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs & Poetical Sayings*, 64.

<sup>169</sup> "Kanawai Hooponopono Kula," *Ka Lama Hawaii*, Ianuali 1, 1841.



*e hanohano ai, oia ka makemake o keia aina, a malaila e pau ai ko ke aupuni hemahema.*

Translation

The school most associated with you the chiefs, that is the Chief's school at Honolulu... The first thing you learn when you start there, is the concept of righteousness, and the understanding of God, because it is these things that will bless the students, that has come to Hawaii. This is the second thing, the teaching to them in the English language... *And they progressed in years, and dignified, and the fear of God was deeply engrained in their hearts, so that the Kingdom did not lose what was greatly desired, and proper for the chiefs. The profound knowledge was laid down in front of them, and the Letera (actual letters of the alphabet) the English language being the proper thing, and a thing of amusement for them. It was put in front of them the thing that would continue to strengthen them in their search for wisdom, and their steadfastness in things that perpetuate prestige, such is the desire of this land, and there is the ending of the Kingdom's incompetencies.*<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> S.M. Kamakau, "Ka Moololo Hawaii: No Ka Noho Alii Ana O Kauikeaouli Maluna O Ke Aupuni, A Ua Kapaia o Kamehameha III," *Ke Au Okoa*, Iulai 15, 1869, 1. This is an example of why it is important to go to the Hawaiian text. There is a small discrepancy in the Ruling Chiefs version (Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 405) and the Ke Au Okoa newspaper version in Hawaiian. The Hawaiian version included here contains more examples of the influence of the missionary discourse promoting the English language as the "proper thing."

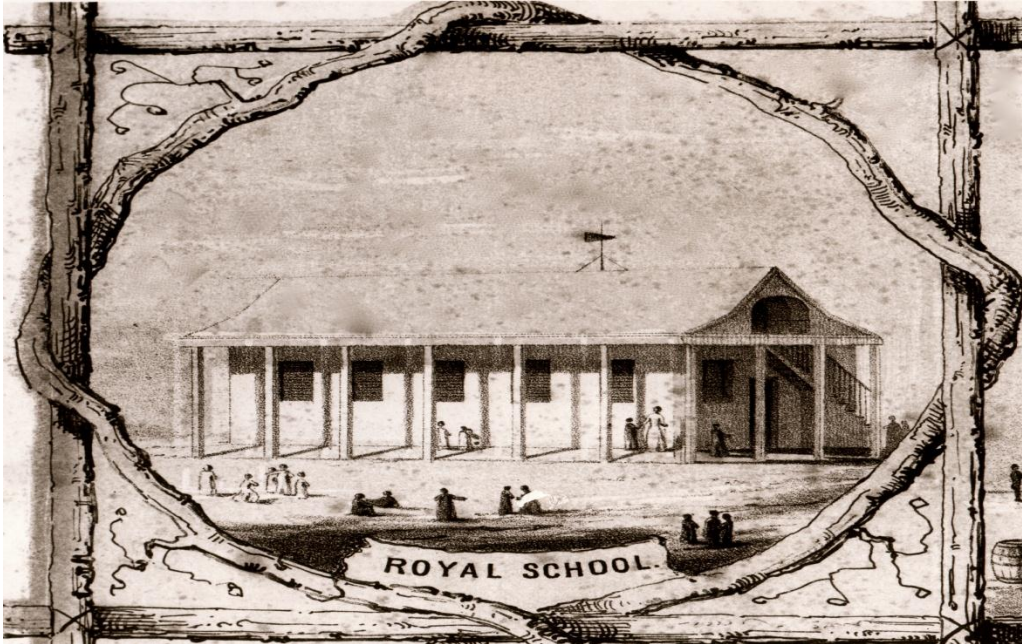


Figure 11: Royal School<sup>171</sup>

Kamakau alludes to the colonizer’s goals of linking Christianity and the teaching of English to chiefs at the Royal School, and further illustrates the continued attempt to oppress through the establishment of hierarchies. Interestingly, these two goals are deemed integral to “what was greatly desired, and proper for the chiefs.” The assumption here is that instruction in the English language makes chiefs wise, and god-fearing makes them virtuous. Additionally, the English language is described as the thing that would “strengthen them in their search for wisdom” and would end the Kingdom’s incompetence.

On October 15, 1840, Kamehameha III signed the “Kanawai Hooponopono Kula”<sup>172</sup> which formally established the public education system and compulsory education in the

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<sup>171</sup> Source: *Old Royal School* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives), PP 101-2.013, #22,541. This artist interestingly draws a thorny border around the Royal School in this print, which almost provides a foreign lens to view the school. This lens provides a foreign perspective on the school, most appropriate for the conversations provided here on the mission of the school.

<sup>172</sup> Kānāwai, Law, code, rule, statute, act, regulation. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 127. Ho‘oponopono, To put to rights; to put in order or shape, correct, revise, adjust, amend, regulate, arrange. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 341. Kula, School, academy. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian*

Kingdom, requiring all children over the age of fifteen to attend school. The newspaper *Ka Lama Hawaii* printed this school law, and in its introduction is the following: “Ina aole e aoia na kamalii, e mau loa no ka naaupo,”<sup>173</sup> (If the children are not taught, ignorance will continue).<sup>174</sup> These sentiments reflect a belief that (1) ignorance exists without western education, and (2) that western education will redeem Kānaka Maoli and end their ignorance. Such is the degradation of the Kanaka Maoli self, its institution in education, and the subsequent proliferation of the glories of the foreign institution of western education.

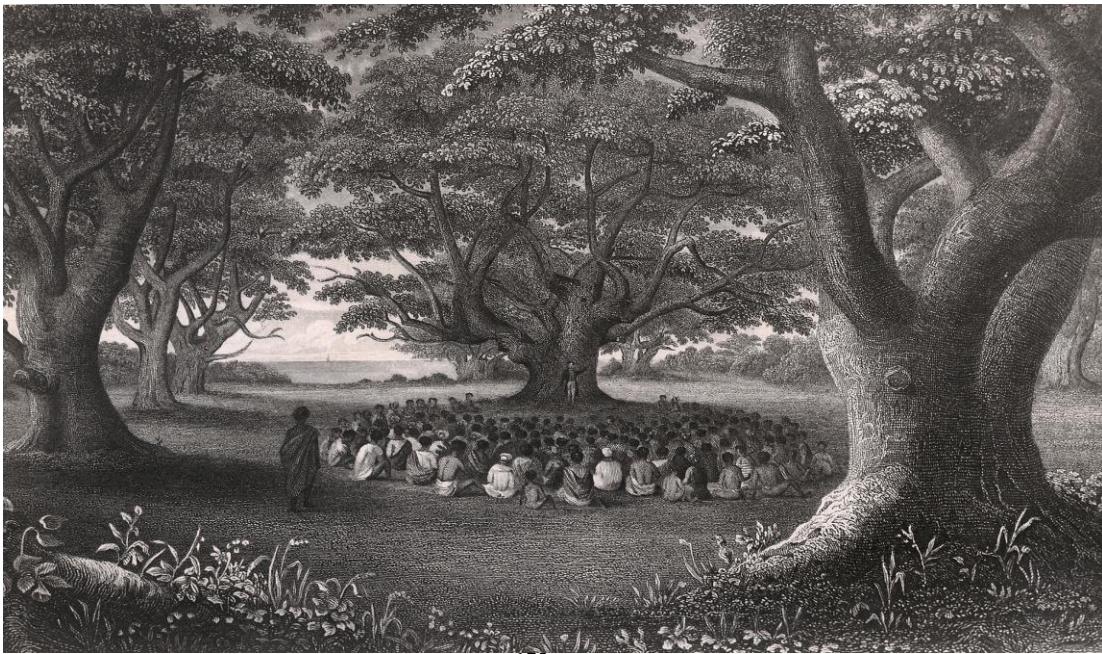


Figure 12: Grove of Tutui Trees, Kauai<sup>175</sup>

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*Dictionary*, 178. Kānāwai Ho‘oponopono Kula, therefore, would refer to a law regulating schools.

<sup>173</sup> “Kanawai Hoooponopono Kula,” *Ka Lama Hawaii*, Ianuali 1, 1841.

<sup>174</sup> To view the entire “Kanawai Hoooponopono Kula,” see Appendix 2.

<sup>175</sup> Source: A.T. Agate, *Grove of tutui trees, Kauai* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives), Neg. #17,739, Early Voyage Prints of the Hawaiian Islands 1778-1857, Volume 3, 1826-1857, REF 779.9969 H26 V.3. It is not my intention to showcase this picture as an accurate record of a historical event. Instead, this figure is included to show how foreigners misrepresent historical events and portrays foreigners as the person at the “pulpit,” educating the savages. A quick analysis of this painting shows a missionary preaching to a group of Kānaka Maoli, who are all listening on attentively, seemingly moved by his words. Additionally, the Kānaka Maoli are seated below him, suggesting they are less respected than the foreigner.

According to the “Kanawai Hooponopono Kula,” 1839 and 1840 were very productive years for imposition in Hawai‘i, as they included two significant colonial establishments in Hawai‘i: the implementation of western law and western education. These new institutions were largely the result of missionary and other foreign influence, in the political arena in Hawai‘i as well as other arenas. For example, missionary-imposed hierarchies resulted in the decline of Kanaka Maoli morale in Kanaka Maoli establishments.<sup>176</sup> Missionary and other foreign presence, coupled with the enormous change of the early 1800s, forced many Kānaka Maoli, both ali‘i and maka‘āinana alike, to reconsider their attitudes on pono in various contexts (politics, religion, and education to name a few).<sup>177</sup>

In an 1843 *Ka Nonanona* article “To the House of Representatives of the United States,” a commentary is made regarding Hawai‘i as “Just emerging from a state of barbarism, the Government of the Islands is as yet feeble; but its dispositions appear to be just and pacific,<sup>178</sup> and it seems anxious to improve the condition of its people by the introduction of knowledge, of religious and moral institutions, means of education, and

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<sup>176</sup> Examples of missionary-imposed hierarchies include: perceptions of appropriate dress and attire; perceptions and attitudes towards sexual orientation and sex in general (including preference for monogamy, heterosexuality, and deference toward incest). These were missionary-imposed hierarchies because these were not perceptions and attitudes of Kānaka Maoli, but of missionaries. When missionaries came and settled here, they advocated for their own perceptions, attitudes, and establishments, and imposed it on Kānaka Maoli, attempting to make them believe them to be true. These imposed hierarchies resulted in the decline of Kanaka Maoli morale, by making them feel guilty for their own actions that did not “live up” or meet missionary-imposed standards. For example, Kānaka Maoli living in punalua relationships (spouses sharing a spouse and raising children together; a Kanaka Maoli establishment) are made to feel inferior and committing a sin because missionaries deemed these types of relationships not pure or sinful. A famous example is the love affair between Kauikeaouli and his sister Nāhi‘ena‘ena, which was plagued by Christian guilt. For a discussion, see Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 161-165.

<sup>177</sup> For a discussion, see Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 67-93, 137-167, 169-198.

<sup>178</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2008, s.v. “Pacific,” Having a soothing appearance or effect, mild of temper, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pacific> (9 December 2008).

the arts of civilized life.”<sup>179</sup> The implication here is that the government’s dispositions “appear to be just and pacific,” almost suggesting the government malleable, and easily swayed to missionary imposition of western knowledge, religion, education, and “the arts of civilized life.” Such discourse carries forth the colonial agenda by demeaning and disengaging from ancestral knowledge. Kingdom *Reports of the Minister of Public Instruction* of the time echoes this same discourse of the necessity of improving the educational system for the benefit of the quest of Kānaka Maoli towards the “civilized life.”<sup>180</sup> By setting up the hierarchies that demean the Kanaka Maoli way of life (including political structure, language, and education) the western systems (western law, English language, Christianity, and western educational systems), appear to be the necessary salvation.

By the mid-1840s, there existed public unrest by both foreigners and Kānaka Maoli alike about the appointments of many foreigners to various positions in the Kingdom. In an 1845 complaint, several Kānaka Maoli expressed disgruntlement about foreigners taking over many of the political and economic arenas, and being allowed to take an oath of allegiance as Hawaiian nationals.<sup>181</sup> The appointment of foreigners, like

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<sup>179</sup> “To the House of Representatives of the United States,” *Ka Nonanona*, Iulai 4, 1843.

<sup>180</sup> For a discussion, see: *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1850, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1852, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1853, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1854, Report of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1855, Biennial Report of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1856-1857.*

<sup>181</sup> “Our King and Sovereign Kamehameha, have compassion upon us, and deliver your people from this approaching perilous condition, if many foreigners be introduced into this Kingdom. If the introduction of foreigners into this kingdom could be deferred for ten years perhaps, and we could have places given us suitable for cultivating and pasturing cattle, by that time some of our embarrassments might be removed, and it might be proper to introduce foreigners into the kingdom. But if many foreigners are introduced into the kingdom at this time, this will be our end; we shall be the servants of the foreigners.” Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 197. “We do not wish foreigners to take the oath of allegiance and become Hawaiian subjects.” “A Petition to Your Gracious Majesty, Kamehameha III, and to All Your

Richards, to these high positions in government only intensified these sentiments in later years.<sup>182</sup> These sentiments of unrest refreshingly push back against the constant missionary discourse demeaning Kanaka Maoli way of life.

Prescribing to the same discourse, William Richards, in the 1846 *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*,<sup>183</sup> explains:

Wealth is appreciated--power is sought after, and valued. *The inhabitants of our islands are not sufficiently aware that poverty, weakness and destitution of the comforts of life are the sure and certain companions of ignorance.*<sup>184</sup> No nation was ever wealthy, no nation was ever powerful, no nation was ever well supplied with the blessings of life, without education. This was true in ancient times--it is true still--it will always remain true.<sup>185</sup>

Richards argues that education (a formal western education) is a requirement for the success of a nation, specifically to bring wealth, power and “the blessings of life.” While this statement justifies and explains the missionary prescription for a formalized western educational system, it simultaneously vilifies ancestral knowledge systems and society, by equating it to “companions of ignorance.” In other words, William Richards asserts

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Chiefs in Council Assembled,” *The Friend*, August 1845. Translated from the *Elele*, for the Friend.

<sup>182</sup> “Fear of foreigners was only one of the reasons the Maka‘āinana petitioned the government. They also used the occasion to remind the king that they belonged to him. In another petition from Lāna‘i, said to have been signed by three hundred people, the Maka‘āinana told the Mō‘ī that neither the size nor the wealth of the nation mattered as long as the nation was theirs: ‘Below is what we desire (1) For the independence of the Hawaiian government; (2) Refuse the foreigners appointed as ministers for the Hawaiian Government; (3) We do not want foreigners sworn in as citizens for Hawaii...(7) Do not be afraid of our petition for you are our father.; (8) Do not have any fear--because your Government is not very rich, of your own people.; (9) We do not want you to open doors for the coming in of foreigners.’” Kingdom of Hawai‘i, 1845, Foreign Office and Executive, Privy Council Minutes, Appendix O. Gerrit Judd was secretary. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 31.

<sup>183</sup> The *Reports of the Minister of Public Instruction* and the *Reports of the President of the Board of Education* were available both in Hawaiian and English. The reports used in this text are the English versions, unless specified otherwise.

<sup>184</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>185</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction: Read Before His Majesty to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1846* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1847), 8.

that if Kānaka Maoli continue down the current path (what Richards describes as “companions of ignorance”), poverty, weakness, and destitute will follow. Although he does not say it directly, Richards implies that that path is the “Kānaka Maoli” path, that path of non-intervention. However, if western education intervenes, then the Hawaiian nation may become wealthy, powerful, and well supplied with the blessings of life. The degradation of Kanaka Maoli ancestral knowledge, as well as society as a whole is thrown into an abyss of chaos (“poverty, weakness, destitution”).

Echoing Ngūgĩ wa Thiong’o’s work, a colonial education is necessary to impose a new world order upon the colonized. It makes colonization permanent and effective by cementing western ideas and values into the minds and hearts of the people. Part of the agenda of the establishment of a colonial education is the propaganda that makes it appear necessary. This propaganda involves the affirmation of “their past as one wasteland of non-achievement.”<sup>186</sup> Unfortunately, the colonial history of Hawai‘i is not spared from this destructive propaganda and its colonial education.

An integral part of creating and sustaining a colonial education system was to maintain foreign influence and control in the school system. During Kamehameha III’s reign, the position of Minister of Public Instruction was created. On April 13, 1846, William Richards was appointed as the first minister to serve in this capacity.<sup>187</sup> William Richards was a very beloved minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom, a country he served, in many capacities, until his death on November 7, 1847.<sup>188</sup> In the introductory paragraphs of the 1847 *Report of the Minister of the Interior Acting Provisionally as Minister of*

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<sup>186</sup> Ngūgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 3.

<sup>187</sup> Hawai‘i State Archives, *William Richards: Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).

<sup>188</sup> *Ibid.*

*Public Instruction*,<sup>189</sup> the death of William Richards was mourned as he was described as “a good man, a man of spotless integrity....a tried friend of our Nation, to whose interests he had been devoted for 24 years.”<sup>190</sup>

It would be an understatement to say that William Richards secured for himself a position of much influence and discernment in the Kingdom affairs. As the first Minister of Public Instruction, William Richards became the first of many administrators to run an educational department that would be dominated and guided by foreign influence. After William Richards death,<sup>191</sup> Richard Armstrong, often referred to as Limaikaika, was appointed as the second Minister of Public Instruction to the Hawaiian Kingdom on December 6, 1847. He later became the President of the Board of Education in 1855, and served in that capacity until September 23, 1860.<sup>192</sup>

The formalization of a western educational system flourished under the administration of foreign advisers. Nevertheless, the continued appointment of foreign advisers to lead the Hawaiian nation carried forth the colonial agenda by selecting foreign advice and influence over Kanaka Maoli systems and institutions. While the Kingdom’s schools grew, so did the imposition of the foreign institution called education, as well as the degradation of the Kanaka Maoli institutions that were supplanted with this new

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<sup>189</sup> John Young II (Keoni Ana) was the Minister of the Interior from February 7, 1846 until June 6, 1857. Hawai‘i State Archives, *John Young: Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).

<sup>190</sup> William Richards was “a good man, a man of spotless integrity, of open disinterestedness and a tried friend of our Nation, to whose interests he had been devoted for 24 years, 9 of which were spent in the service of His Majesty. To him our nation owes much, and I can truly say, no man was more extensively and sincerely beloved by our people than he.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of the Interior Acting Provisionally as Minister of Public Instruction, 1847* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1848), 1.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Prior to his post as Minister of Public Instruction, Richard Armstrong was a missionary and teacher at Lahainaluna. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Richard Armstrong: Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).



institution. In many ways the school system in the Kingdom became a foreign institution because the administration was mostly foreigners (William Richards, Limaikaika). These foreign administrators advocated for their form of education, which included the integration of the English language.

By 1847 the school system in the Kingdom had grown significantly:

The number of youth in all the schools on the Islands may be safely estimated at 20,000; and it is believed that in no year since the introduction of Christianity, has the cause of national education advanced more steadily and surely, not to say rapidly, than during the past year.<sup>193</sup>

The same report details the different English language schools in existence at the time, two of which include schools “for white children exclusively”—Punahou School with 33 pupils and “the other in Honolulu containing 16 pupils... Besides these there are three other schools in Honolulu, one in Lahaina, in which the English language is exclusively taught to white, half-caste, and Native children... In all not far short of 200 children are now being taught in the English language, in the schools just mentioned.”<sup>194</sup> Thus, according to the 1847 Report, only about 200 children of the total estimated 20,000 pupils of the time or 1 percent of the total student population is enrolled in an English-medium school, of which the government funds none.

The very introduction of an English language education in the Islands “exclusively taught to white, half-caste, and Native children,” implies the inadequacy of the established Hawaiian-medium institutions. This quote also implies an exclusiveness of this form of education, implying its superiority over the alternative form of education,

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<sup>193</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of the Interior Acting Provisionally as Minister of Public Instruction, 1847*, 3.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

the common schools. Furthermore, it lists “white, half-caste, and Native children” in an order that suggests a priority and superiority for white children, then half-caste children, and lastly, Native children. Although English language education is still a very small minority of the total educational system, this new institution eventually becomes a threat to Hawaiian medium education, through the continued efforts of key haole advisers in the educational system that work to ensure that an English language education is an inevitability for Kānaka Maoli.

The installation of a colonial education in the Kingdom requires the successful manipulation and control achieved by glorifying the colonizer and vilifying the colonized. This degradation tests the confidence of Kānaka Maoli in their own institutions by encouraging and promoting a formalized western educational system, leadership by foreign advisors, and the introduction and proliferation of an English language education.<sup>195</sup> While the formalization of this new educational system, foreign leadership, and English language education starts to thrive, the Kanaka Maoli counterparts starts to falter, which allows the continued acquisition of foreign institutions to mature. This would have a devastating impact, as it allows the full horror of colonization to manifest itself.

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<sup>195</sup> In other words, the encouragement and promotion of a formalized western education system, leadership by foreign advisors, and the introduction and proliferation of an English language education degrades the Kanaka Maoli institutions such as the common Hawaiian language education. Furthermore, the appointment of foreign advisors implies a superiority of foreigners over the inferior Kanaka Maoli alternative.

## Mission: Acquisition

“Acquisition of their tongue [as] a status symbol.”<sup>196</sup>

The *Report of the Minister of Public Education* for the years 1848-1849 by Richard Armstrong details the statistics and state of the common and select schools. There were a total of 15,620 Kānaka Maoli in the common schools, where 7,874 were reported as readers and 4,976 as writers of the Hawaiian language.<sup>197</sup> The report further detailed that “the number of youth acquiring an education in the English language and some of them in the higher branches, was 236, and at a cost to the supporters of the schools of say \$5,000.”<sup>198</sup> Of the 236 students in these English language schools, 151 were pure or part Kanaka Maoli, accounting for 64% of the total English school enrollment. Armstrong remarked that two other English language schools, attended mostly by pure and “half castes,” did not provide reports to the Department of Public Instruction. Therefore, those schools’ statistics were not included in these figures.

Armstrong further contended:

It is scarcely necessary to remark that these schools in which instruction is given entire in the English language, are on the increase and should be cherished by every friend of education. *The more rapidly, excessively and thoroughly the entire rising generation on the Island acquire the English language which for many years past has been the language of business, throughout the group, the greater will be the prospect of their advancement with the progress of things around them, and the greater probability their being prepared to act their part in the affairs of the nation of which they compose a part.*

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<sup>196</sup> Ngūgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers to market the colonizers’ language as a status symbol. This campaign was an integral part of affirming a colonial education.

<sup>197</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849*, 1.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

Instruction in the English language is expensive, it is true; what is requisite to support one English school will support ten Hawaiian. No natives are found competent to impart instruction in English; and foreigners of good character and suitable qualifications who are willing at the present time to engage in a work so tedious and self-denying are low. But the facilities for acquiring wealth have also been increased, and with them a desire in the native community to support English schools; in some places very earnest and decided. This should be hailed as a good omen; it is evidence of a deorted [sic] progress and with a helping hand from Government, where needed, it may be expected that English literature will advance and *ere long English schools will be found in all parts of the land.*<sup>199</sup>

There are several parts of Armstrong's report that deserve analysis. First, Armstrong argues on the necessity of the "entire rising generation on the Island (to) acquire the English language."<sup>200</sup> Armstrong claims that if the entire rising generation learns English, they will increase their prospect of advancement and preparation to serve the affairs of the nation. Had Armstrong been confident in the Hawaiian language and held it in high regard, he would not need to make the case for the next generation to learn another language. Instead, he argues for the English language that will improve their prospect of "advancement with the progress of things around them."<sup>201</sup> Thus, the Hawaiian language will not provide such prospects of advancement, and therefore not as advanced as English. To argue of the necessity of the entire generation to take up the English language is testament to his contention that English is a worthy requirement and superior to the Hawaiian language.

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<sup>199</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849*, 27. Emphasis added.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

Secondly, he contends that English language acquisition is necessary to prepare Kānaka Maoli “to act their part in the affairs of the nation of which they compose a part.”<sup>202</sup> Armstrong’s premise that a Kanaka Maoli would not be well-suited or prepared to guide national affairs without being versed in the English language is an example of the propaganda<sup>203</sup> deemed necessary to propagate a colonial education. Additionally, Armstrong argues that no Kanaka Maoli is “competent” to teach English, which requires a tedious and self-denying person. His argument is demeaning because it portrays Kānaka Maoli as incapable of teaching English. Instead of recognizing a need for Native teachers and making a plan to increase the number of teachers trained to teach English, Armstrong almost dismisses the very idea that Kānaka Maoli are capable altogether by the sweeping generalization that no Kanaka Maoli is competent for such teaching.

Furthermore, Armstrong also contends that there is a genuine and “earnest” interest in the Kanaka Maoli community to support English language schools. Although this claim is also unsupported, it is included to attempt to show that some communities view the acquisition of the English language as a positive achievement. Overall, Armstrong repeatedly makes many unsupported proclamations that support his cause and simultaneously degrades Kānaka Maoli. The deliberate inclusion of such statements may be considered propaganda as he creates a series of claims compiled together as a campaign for English language education.

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<sup>202</sup> Ibid.

<sup>203</sup> Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2010, s.v. “Propaganda,” Ideas, facts, or allegations spread deliberately to further one’s cause or to damage an opposing cause, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/propaganda> (November 2, 2010). Armstrong’s comments here are defined as propaganda because his statements are without proof, and simply allegations. Additionally, these allegations are broadcast by Armstrong to support his cause supporting English language education. While supporting his cause, these statements simultaneously demean and damage the opposing cause by depicting Kānaka Maoli as incapable of teaching.

Additionally, Armstrong's quote suggests that English education will thrive in the islands, if it receives help from the government. Armstrong's contention here is that (1) government should support such an education, and (2) it would be a good thing for English schools to be "found in all parts of the land."<sup>204</sup> He contends that some Kānaka Maoli have a great desire to support English schools, which "should be hailed as a good omen."<sup>205</sup> Again, Armstrong is attempting to make the case that many view the English language as a positive achievement. Essentially, Armstrong does this to establish the idea that English is a status symbol: learning English is something desired both in the world of business and in many native communities. Armstrong not only suggests that English schools are just, appropriate, and good, but he also makes the case for the government to support them, for the benefit of the lāhui, so that Kānaka Maoli may "act their part in the affairs of the nation."<sup>206</sup>

Part of this propaganda also involves the devaluing of that which is Kanaka Maoli, in this case the Hawaiian language, and the subsequent valuing of that which is foreign, the English language. Armstrong's premise here suggests the impossibility of prosperity for the nation and individual advancement without embracing the English language. In other words, not only is Armstrong suggesting the English language as the key to success, but that the Hawaiian language almost assures failure on the part of those who refuse to sway from it. Armstrong's urgings strive to make the English language appear to be inevitable in the society of a developing nation. These same urgings also endeavor to make the Hawaiian language appear to be the incredible anchor that will drag

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<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

Kanaka Maoli into the obscurities of society, by implying its connection to ignorance and incapacity.

The 1848-1849 Report contends that the English language is already being used to some extent as a language of business in the islands.<sup>207</sup> The continued argument for the exclusive use of the English language attempts to correlate only English as a suitable language in a business setting. Subsequently, associations of value and enterprise continue to be assigned to the English language, and Armstrong's notions are designed to proliferate such value.

Despite the cost for an English education at the time, Armstrong is persistent in marketing the importance of an English education. His other remarks overwhelmingly mention the indolence of the Kānaka Maoli,<sup>208</sup> and how imperative it is to invest in an English education. He provides assurance that such an education would lift the entire race into civility. Armstrong's remarks promise the legislature that this is not just his desire for the Kingdom, but it is also the desire, in some places a strong and committed desire, of the common people to take this route and be learned in the branches of English, primarily because it is one of the "facilities for acquiring wealth."<sup>209</sup> Thus, Armstrong

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<sup>207</sup> The Report does not explain to what extent the English language is used in business settings (whether it is used exclusively or only in some situations). Nevertheless, the Report does state that it is being used to some extent in business settings.

<sup>208</sup> "When parents are indolent and do not appreciate industry, as is unhappily too much the case here, the work of training their children to the love of labor is doubly difficult and must necessarily be slow." Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849*, 24. Richard Armstrong's commentary about the indolence of the Hawaiian race is not uncommon from other missionary's judgment on the Kanaka Maoli and their capacities. Other missionary writers including, but not limited to-- Hiram Bingham, Sheldon Dibble and Ralph Kuykendall-- share such judgment in their writings. For more information, see: Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands*, Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* and Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*.

<sup>209</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849*, 27. Armstrong interprets that the common people think that being able to speak English may lead to the acquisition of wealth, perhaps by securing higher paying jobs. This interpretation is

attempts to connect and show causality between prosperous business ventures and the English language. These statements endeavor to give merit and support for the English language.

There are many factors that led to the increase in English language school enrollment. Some of these factors included the degradation of the Hawaiian language as inadequate and unable to secure wealth and power for Kānaka Maoli and the lāhui. Additionally, William Richards, Richard Armstrong, and others would often praise and give value to the English language. Their praise and assignment of such value was fundamental in supporting an English language education. Such an education was given merit as the apparent language of business in the islands, as a tool for survival in an ever-changing world, and a means for “acquiring wealth” as it was perceived as being helpful in securing high paying jobs. Overall, the propaganda for an English language education was achieved by playing on the “indolence” of the Kānaka Maoli and ancestral lifestyle, as well as exalting western civilization, its religion, language and educational system. This propaganda built the case for this new English education system. Ultimately, this propaganda contributed to the significant growth of this new English education system in the coming years.

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Armstrong’s belief or assumption, and not necessarily that of the common people. However, this concept of “wealth” is based in a foreign context, one that did not exist in “communal” cultures, like that of Kanaka Maoli society prior to western contact. For more discussion, see Haunani-Kay Trask, “Cultures in Collision: Hawaii and England, 1778,” *Pacific Studies*, no. 1 (1983): 91.



## Mission: Civilizing

“Anyone who learns [the imposed tongue] begins to despise the peasant majority and their barbaric tongues.”<sup>210</sup>

The *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*<sup>211</sup> for the year 1850 reflected a large increase in the number of English language students. This increase made Armstrong’s previous statement “ere long English schools will be found in all parts of the land”<sup>212</sup> appear to be a premonition of calculated design and purpose. While there were only 200 English language scholars in 1848 and 236 in 1849, there were 438 in 1850.<sup>213</sup> Thus, from 1848 to 1850, the number of English language scholars in the Kingdom doubled.

Armstrong noted in the 1850 report that “none of the select schools, where the English language is the main medium of instruction, were supported by the government, with the exception of the Royal School.”<sup>214</sup> Although it varied by school, most select

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<sup>210</sup> Ngūgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers to degrade the mother language while promoting the introduced language. This degradation became internalized by the colonized, which therefore was an integral part of affirming a colonial education.

<sup>211</sup> Richard Armstrong served as the Minister of Public Instruction from December 6, 1847 until July 1, 1855. “By an Act approved May 7, 1855 the office of Minister (of Public Instruction) was abolished and a Board of Education consisting of a President and two Directors established, called the Department of Public Instruction.” Armstrong went on to serve as President of the Board of Education from July 1, 1855 until September 23, 1860. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Richard Armstrong: Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).

<sup>212</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1848-1849*, 27.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, 32-34. The report does explain, “neither white nor half-caste children any where attend the public schools taught by natives.” *Ibid.* However, it is not clear how many of the 438 English language scholars are Kanaka Maoli and how many are non-Native.

<sup>214</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1850*, 15.

schools charged a tuition fee.<sup>215</sup> Nevertheless, Armstrong would continue to advocate for more financial backing from the government to support English language education.

Armstrong also urged the legislature<sup>216</sup> to consider the education of “white and half-caste children” in addition to the “natives who wish to acquire the English language.”<sup>217</sup> Armstrong’s urgings for the increase in English language schools for the haole population come with special suggestions on how to finance these possible endeavors, such as a special tax upon the “white” population.<sup>218</sup> He mentioned how the legislature’s neglect of this special population will be an utter ignorance on the part of such an important group of people. Armstrong continued:

If any object to such a tax, let him consider which he will prefer, to pay a light school tax now, even though he may not be directly benefited thereby in the least, or a heavy and, perhaps a crushing tax by and by, to support prisons; poor houses, police officers, or perhaps, even a standing

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<sup>215</sup> “In most of the select schools, English was the medium of instruction and a tuition fee was charged.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 2*, 110.

<sup>216</sup> The term “legislature” was a new one in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The organization of the government changed significantly from 1820 on. For a simple clarification on this timeline and the use of the term legislature, the quote below describes the growing role of a council of chiefs from 1825 to 1838. The term legislature becomes increasingly popular after 1838 and into the 1840s and 1850s. “In 1825 the council of chiefs settled the succession to the throne and provided for the continuance of the regency. After 1835 we find various laws enacted by the king in council with his chiefs, though they were not yet technically called a ‘legislative council.’ In some laws appears the phrase, ‘I with my chiefs,’ have enacted so and so. One law of 1838 begins with the clause, ‘Be it enacted by the King and Chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, in council assembled.’ At the same time the higher chiefs continued to constitute and advisory council. By 1838, therefore, we find the powers of the national government to be, in actual practice, divided between three agencies, the king, the kuhina nui, and the council of chiefs.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 1*, 157.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>218</sup> “I venture, therefore, to suggest to the Legislature, the enactment of a law, to provide for the education of the white and half-caste children, by special tax upon the white population, to be under the control, however, of a board or boards of trustees elected by themselves, only accounting annually, to the King’s government for the funds they may receive.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1850*, 16.

army, to say nothing of the ten thousand annoyances of living in an ignorant, vicious, and degraded community.<sup>219</sup>

To financially support these schools, Armstrong suggests taxing the white population.<sup>220</sup> As part of his reasoning for such tax, he implies that should the tax not be supported for this cause, society will crumble. Instead, he claims, we would be left with an “ignorant, vicious, and degraded community” without an English education for “this most important class of children.” His implications are that without English, society will fail, and instead of paying a small tax to support English schools, they would be left with paying heavy taxes to support social programs to help the inevitably doomed society. These remarks are heavily scented with the overarching theme of “civilizing,” by creating the propaganda suggesting the native tongue to be barbaric and incapable of assuring the success of the society.

In a latter section of the same 1850 *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, Armstrong notes a diminution of the number of scholars in the common schools, which “is mainly accounted for by the increased number that left those schools to join the select schools, for the purpose of learning the English language;<sup>221</sup> and not by an actual

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<sup>219</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, Read in Presence of the King to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1850* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1851), 16.

<sup>220</sup> Kuykendall further describes the details of this law that Armstrong supported: “The act required male foreign residents and those of foreign parentage residing in or doing business in Honolulu to pay a special school tax of three dollars if they had no children of school age, or five dollars if they had such children; the avails of this tax to be used in providing schools for the children of such foreigners.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 1*, 363.

<sup>221</sup> Armstrong does not provide solid evidence supporting this claim that students leave the common schools and join the select schools “for the purpose of learning English.”

decrease in the number of children on the Islands, of a suitable age to attend school.”<sup>222</sup>

Armstrong’s approach is best summarized in his closing remarks of his 1850 report:<sup>223</sup>

To the native race, the education of the young is a matter of incalculable importance. Here is their last and best hope of prosperity and even of existence as a race. *Neglect this, and the last ray of hope for the Hawaiian people will have perished.* Of what will their land titles, their codes of law, their rights as freemen, avail them, if darkness, both mental and spiritual, envelops the land, and gross darkness, the people. They will not understand their rights, much less able to defend them. While their ignorance will exclude them from these halls of legislation, from our branches of justice, from every department of their own government, their vices and consequent degradation, will sink them as a people, to an ignominious grave, and give their places to another and more intelligent race. *Let the work of educating the entire native race, then, be prosecuted with untiring energy; let it be one of the first objects of the government, and let the present Legislature bestow upon it the most earnest and profound consideration.*<sup>224</sup>

It is important to note that at this time, a large portion of the population was literate in the Hawaiian language. In the *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction* of 1851, Armstrong notes “at the present time, there are but a few countries, if any in the world, where a greater proportion of the people can read and write in their own language.”<sup>225</sup> It is important, therefore, to consider Armstrong’s remarks about the education of youth as “incalculable importance,” and “neglect this, and the last ray of

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<sup>222</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, Read in Presence of the King to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1850*, 19.

<sup>223</sup> These are the commentary and interpretations provided by Richard Armstrong, Minister of Public Instruction, and do not necessarily reflect accurate notions held by Kanaka Maoli themselves. Nevertheless, Armstrong’s commentary is provided here, and throughout this text, to emphasize the opinion of the key foreign advisors to understand how their notions could have influenced others, especially educational administration.

<sup>224</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, Read in Presence of the King to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1850*, 25.

<sup>225</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851*, 45.

hope for the Hawaiian people will have perished.”<sup>226</sup> The remarks here are not only condescending, but also confrontational. Armstrong’s urgings take on a new dynamic, as it is more threatening and almost demands attention through fear and intimidation. His words are influential because of the fear in the possibility of its validity (although it is not at all valid). The fear instigated by such a verbal threat is an important dynamic that may be a significant contributing factor to the increased “interest” on the part of Kanaka Maoli parents and families to consider an English language education for their children. So what may appear to be a choice for Kanaka Maoli families and parents to send their children to the school of their choosing—Hawaiian or English language schools—may actually be far from a democratic selection. Instead, carefully maneuvered political ploys could be at work here using various tactics to make the *choice* something less noble than democratic. Tactics like intimidation, fear and manipulation can easily sway a vote over time, by methodically advocating for the champion of the English language educational path over that of the Hawaiian. Although the individuals themselves, in this case the Kanaka Maoli families and communities, make the ultimate decision or *choice*, these covert tactics easily make such a selection a weighted and unmerited one.

By 1851, education was compulsory for all children between the ages of four and fourteen, with parents “at liberty to choose to what school they will send their children.”<sup>227</sup> Compulsory education for the youth of Hawai‘i suggested the perceived importance and value placed on education by the government. Thus, Armstrong could not be suggesting the government’s neglect of the importance of education. However, what Armstrong was ultimately alluding to was the incalculable importance of an *English*

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<sup>226</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>227</sup> Ibid., 25.

medium education. Neglect of an English medium education was what Armstrong warns would be the demise of Kānaka Maoli, because without such education, they will be excluded from their own political and economical rights. Furthermore, through his warning, Armstrong proliferated his colonial agenda by justifying the survival and flourishing of the English language. Armstrong continued his plea to the legislature:

*But it must be evident to every reflecting mind, that the English language, which has been, for many years, chiefly the business language of the Islands, must, eventually, become the language of the natives; and natives who shall be ignorant of it, must labor under an immense disadvantage.*<sup>228</sup> Every native who holds an office, or attempts to do business on the Islands, especially near the white settlements, is embarrassed, at every step, for want of a knowledge of the English language. Embarrassment is felt, too, in every member of the government, from the want of persons well acquainted with both the Hawaiian and English languages, and this difficulty is increasing, from year to year, as the white population increases in numbers, wealth, and importance.<sup>229</sup>

Armstrong's commentary exudes of a pestilence usually found in that of carefully planned colonial agendas. The emphases here were several: the inevitability of English as the main language of the Kanaka Maoli population, the societal deficiency of the Hawaiian language, and the merit of the English language. Blaut's theories<sup>230</sup> on the prevailing Eurocentric notions of superiority rang through in Armstrong's unwavering belief of the inevitability of the domination of the English language in the islands, as if its

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<sup>228</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>229</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction*, 1851, 45.

<sup>230</sup> "Europe eternally advances, progresses, modernizes. The rest of the world advances more sluggishly, or stagnates: it is 'traditional society.' Therefore, the world has a permanent geographical center and a permanent periphery: an Inside and an Outside. Inside leads, Outside lags. Inside innovates, Outside imitates." Blaut, *Colonizer's Model of the World*, 1.

success as the language of business and the masses have already been cemented, and there was no possibility of such a successful future being established by any other language. Another of Armstrong's objectives was to accentuate his theory on the inefficiency of the Hawaiian language as a capable tool. He aimed to convince that success lies in the English language, and unavoidable failure in that of the Hawaiian language. Lastly, his convictions intended to further add value to the ever-increasing perception of the English language as that inevitable tool that equips societies with wealth and knowledge. In all, these emphases<sup>231</sup> enhanced and supported the propagation of the English language while simultaneously subverting the Hawaiian language.

Armstrong's proposed game plan to remedy the apparent problem of Kānaka Maoli being excluded from their society was explained to the Legislature:

*I am prepared, therefore, to urge upon the Legislature the importance of making some further provision for aiding our Hawaiian youth, in acquiring a knowledge of the English language, and thus enabling them, not only to maintaining their position among the white race, but to enjoy treasures of knowledge, which now lie entirely beyond their reach. It will be a work of time and expense, I am aware. In order to succeed, it will be necessary to commence young and persevere for a long term of years. No adult native ever has, or ever will, fully conquer the difficulties of the English language. Foreigners must be employed as teachers at first, and, hence, the expense must be heavy upon the nation until a sufficient number have become qualified to teach others; when the main difficulty will be over.*<sup>232</sup>

Armstrong's philosophy was paralleled to what Haunani-Kay Trask describes as "intellectual colonialism," where Hawaiians are but "the backdrop for history: we do not

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<sup>231</sup> Armstrong does not provide any proof to substantiate his claims here. However, substantiated or not, they may have been effective in supporting his propagation of English language education.

<sup>232</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851*, 45-46. Emphasis added.

make our own history; we merely watch as others concoct a history for us.”<sup>233</sup> Instead of haoles solidifying a position among Hawaiians, Armstrong suggested that Hawaiians must maintain “their position among the white race.”<sup>234</sup> Again reeking of colonial pestilence, Armstrong fearlessly positions Kānaka Maoli as an inferior and barbaric race to that of the “white race.” His aim seemed to meticulously undermine the Hawaiian and at the same time applaud and give vitality to the English language. Armstrong insisted on the necessity of employing foreigners to teach the English language. He argued that this was imperative because he believed that Natives would never be able to successfully master the English language. Thus, he perceived both the Hawaiian language *and* Kānaka Maoli to be inadequate and incapable of successfully enriching and providing vitality to a flourishing society. Overall, the intention was to undermine both the Hawaiian language and people and supplant the supposed glories and redemption of the English language. Then, there would come a time when “the main difficulty will be over”<sup>235</sup> and the colonized can further colonize themselves and each other.<sup>236</sup>

Armstrong’s *Report of the Minister of Public Education* for the following year, 1852, involved a similar urging of the Legislature coupled with his assertion that

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<sup>233</sup> Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 124.

<sup>234</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851*, 45-46.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> “One group colonized the spirit; the other, the mind. Frantz Fanon had been right, but not just about Africans. He had been right about the bondage of my own people: ‘By a kind of perverted logic, [colonialism] turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it.’ The first step in the colonizing process, Fanon had written, was the deculturation of a people. What better way to take our culture than to remake our image? A rich historical past became small and ignorant in the hands of Westerners. And we suffered a damaged sense of people and culture because of this distortion.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 114.



“students have a very strong desire”<sup>237</sup> to acquire a knowledge of the English language. This is reaffirmed in the 1853 *Report of the Minister of Public Education* when Armstrong listed reasons for further integration of English into the school system: (1) “it is practicable,”<sup>238</sup> (2) “the desire for it among the natives is very strong, almost universal,”<sup>239</sup> (3) “the English language is already, to a very great extent, the business language of the Islands, and a knowledge of it is becoming more and more indispensable, to the native, to enable him to cope with the white man,”<sup>240</sup> and (4) “although a difficult language to master,”<sup>241</sup> the English language will provide the Native “the mental vigor, discipline, confidence and self-respect...coupled with the advantages arising from the boundless fields of knowledge thus opened to the native mind in English literature, will insure [sic] a rich return to all who persevere until success is attained, as well as to the State.”<sup>242</sup> Armstrong’s constant urgings over the years bears the familiar strains of racism and the lingering missionary-like paternalistic racism<sup>243</sup> to help remedy the plights of the Native race, in this case the ignorance of the English language.

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<sup>237</sup> As the case of many of his other affirmations, Richard Armstrong does not provide any evidence of why he believes “students have a very strong desire” to learn the English language. This statement is included in the section of the Report detailing the Select Schools in the Islands, specifically at The Seminary at Lahainaluna. In other Reports, Armstrong mentions community concerns published in the newspapers, although not citing any in particular, as well as letters he personally receives as Minister of Public Instruction. Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1852* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1853), 58.

<sup>238</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1853*, (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1854) 12.

<sup>239</sup> Ibid.

<sup>240</sup> Ibid.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid.

<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>243</sup> “The term paternalistic racism describes the position in which the dominant whites imagined themselves during the plantation era. There were, as we have seen, two different versions of paternalistic racism, one

Although Armstrong's insistence to the Legislature for increased education in the English language was fanatical and violent at times,<sup>244</sup> his fixation was increasingly supported by the continued shift in school enrollment numbers. Nevertheless, these school enrollment numbers were not subjective and without influencing variables. Other possible variables such as lack of equal compensation for Kanaka Maoli common school teachers may have also been contributing factors that help explain the shift in enrollment from Hawaiian to English language schools.<sup>245</sup>

Armstrong's relentless urgings to the Legislature continued in the 1854 *Report of the Minister of Public Education*:

I am aware that our common schools are spoken of disparagingly by some, who would even abolish them altogether, and expend the entire school revenue on English schools for natives. Of the latter I shall speak in another place. *It is hardly possible to over-estimate their importance to the native race;*<sup>246</sup> but in my humble opinion it would be a most serious national calamity to carry them on to the detriment of the common free schools. To supply the 11,781 children now in these schools with proper instruction in the English language would require almost if not the entire revenue of the King's government. The thing is out of question. The nation is not prepared for it. To change the language of any people, *especially to introduce*

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for Native Hawaiians, which envisioned them as childlike, benign, and foolish but not threatening, and one for plantation laborers, who needed authority to hold them in check because they lacked the self-restraint and self-control found among other races, such as the whites." Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 139.

<sup>244</sup> Armstrong relentlessly fights for the English cause, often at the expense of the Kanaka Maoli. His support of the English language education campaign often comes with the price of violently degrading that of the Hawaiian, including both the Hawaiian language and people.

<sup>245</sup> It appears that the salaries paid to teachers were very subjective. "Teacher's Wages: These are graduated by the intelligence, aptness to teach, good moral character, and perseverance of the individual, in each case, and at stated periods, monthly or quarterly, the teachers receive orders on the school treasurer or tax collector of the district, for their pay. The inspector, with the consent of the trustee, determines the amount of wages in each case, with a limit fixed by the Privy Council." Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851*, 35.

<sup>246</sup> Emphasis added.

*a language so difficult for the Hawaiian as the English, must necessarily be a work of time, labor and expense. But while this tedious up hill process is going on, let every Hawaiian youth be taught at least to read and write his own language which however barbarous to civilized ears, is full of sweetness and melody to his.*<sup>247</sup>

Armstrong's plea took on a civilizing tone when he talked about the Hawaiian language being "barbarous to civilized ears." These references allude to the mission of civilizing in the attempt to paint the Hawaiian language as a despised and barbaric tongue.

Conversely, the English language was portrayed simultaneously as a superior language "so difficult for the Hawaiian,"<sup>248</sup> implying a sense of prestige to master.

Seemingly in support of a few of Armstrong's urgings, the Legislature implemented a new act on August 10, 1854<sup>249</sup> from which "twelve (English) schools (for Natives) have been organized."<sup>250</sup> This act projected "a provision...for the introduction of the English language to the natives, which bids fair to produce a revolution in time in the language of the nation, and do more for the civilization of the native race, than all our other schools besides."<sup>251</sup> According to Armstrong, the Act resulted in "a new era in our educational history, and creates more hope to our ultimate success in preparing the native race to meet the white man on something like terms of equality, than any we have ever

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<sup>247</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Education, "Report of the Minister of Public Education, 1854," (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, 1855), 4. Emphasis added.

<sup>248</sup> Ibid.

<sup>249</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>250</sup> These "English Schools for Natives" included schools located at Kailua (teacher, A. Thurston), Hilo (D. B. Lyman and Assistants), Lahaina (Mrs. Spear), Molokai (C.B. Andrews), Manoa (Bryan), Honolulu (C. Kittridge), Nuuanu (Mrs. Smith), Ewa (A. Bishop), Kaneohe (H.K. Parker), Koloa (Miss Knapp), Lihue (Mr. Merrill), and one in Waialua. These are in addition to the Seminary at Lahainaluna, "as it does not come under the act of Aug. 10, for English schools," as well as another school where "instruction in English is regularly given in Mr. Wilcox's school at Waioli, Kauai," as well as the Royal School. Ibid.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 20.

been before permitted to entertain.”<sup>252</sup> The same hierarchical arrogance pervaded, in concert with Legislative directives in sync with his previous and relentless urgings. Armstrong continued, “the progress of English language schools, under the new act, has been quite equal if not greater, than the highest expectations of its friends, and if an adequate appropriation shall be made for the object at the present session, there is no doubt that still greater will be made, during the present year.”<sup>253</sup> This act set forth an important precedent that the government would support a portion of English language select schools. It allowed for various select schools to receive grants to assist with students’ tuition costs. As a result of the government financial backing, the enrollment numbers quickly increased in the English select schools. In the past, only the government’s common or free schools was financially supported by the government, which meant that should parents and families decide to send their children to select English language schools, they would need to have the financial means to do so.

After the 1854 Act, there were 15 select schools<sup>254</sup> supported wholly or in part by the government, with a total enrollment of 600 Native scholars<sup>255</sup> learning the English language in 1854.<sup>256</sup> Although a definite increase in English language school attendance, the majority of the school population was attending the common free Native schools.

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid., 7.

<sup>253</sup> Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> In addition to the twelve English Schools for Natives established by the act of August 10, 1854, other English schools include the Seminary at Lahainaluna, as well as another school where “instruction in English is regularly given in Mr. Wilcox’s school at Waioli, Kauai,” as well as the Royal School.

<sup>255</sup> It is not clear in this Report, however, if these 600 scholars learning the English language comprises all such students in the Kingdom, or if this was the figure for just those Kanaka Maoli scholars of English that are enrolled in English language schools supported by the government, and perhaps there are more Kanaka Maoli students learning the English language at that time who were attending schools still not supported by the government.

<sup>256</sup> Ibid., 17.

During the same year, there were 412 free schools comprising of 11,782 scholars.

Therefore, although enrollment increases were occurring, the free common schools still held a strong foothold in overall school attendance.

According to Paul Nāhoa Lucas, the establishment of government-run English schools in 1854 marked a watershed moment in the history of English language education in Hawai‘i. After 1854, the government subsidized this type of education, which made it more appealing to families.

*By 1854, government-run English schools were effectively competing with the Hawaiian-medium schools.<sup>257</sup> Hawaiian-medium schools, which held the promise for educating Hawaiians in their native language and developing them as competent bilingual speakers, suffered. Appropriations given English-medium schools as well as salaries paid to teachers were considerably higher. Loss of pupils to English-speaking schools meant a loss of jobs for many Hawaiian teachers and increased job opportunities for the English-speaking community.<sup>258</sup>*

The appropriations given to English medium schools would forever change the dynamic of the school system in Hawai‘i. The English medium schools would no longer be an elitist option as the government gave subsidies to offset the costs to run these schools. Furthermore, these appropriations played an integral role in English medium schools gaining popularity, as English medium school enrollment soared in the upcoming years. The growing English medium school enrollment also led to a trend that made Hawaiian teachers in the Hawaiian medium schools obsolete and ushered in the larger job market for English medium teachers. The higher-paid English medium teacher salaries

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<sup>257</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>258</sup> Lucas, “E Ola Mau Kākou I Ka ‘Ōlelo Makuahine,” 5.

also supported this trend through the unfair and uneven merit afforded English medium teachers over that of Hawaiian medium teachers.<sup>259</sup>

The year 1854 was also marked by the death of the beloved ali‘i Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III. Kamakau recounts the life and reign of Kauikeaouli as one of significant educational triumphs:

At the office of the Hawaiian government they find books from the first pi-a-pa primer to books large and small, the Bible, and newspaper files beginning with the Lama Hawaii and the Kumu Hawaii and ending with the Au ‘Oko‘a and the Ku‘oko‘a. Books for education, books of laws from the beginning to the present time. The office has a quantity of Hawaiian manuscripts. The men interested in education look at each other and say, "This cannibal island is ahead in literacy; and the enlightened countries of Europe are behind it!" Hawaii is a country with a constitution, with laws and bylaws; its throne is established by constitutional authority. Most of the European countries are still ruled by the power of the king and nobles alone. Hawaii is ahead of them.<sup>260</sup>

Kamakau’s remarks fit well with the theme of civilizing. Hawai‘i was portrayed as a progressive nation because of all of its western attributes, including its education system and political structure. Nevertheless, an element of contempt for Hawaiian lies in the reference to “cannibal island.” Thus, Hawai‘i was progressive because of the introduction of all these western elements, such as literacy and print and the constitution. Hawai‘i’s innate characteristics do not contribute to progress (in fact, those are still scorned as barbaric, “cannibal island”). Rather, Hawai‘i is great because of the imposed and accepted elements of colonial prowess, or so the colonial story goes.

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<sup>259</sup> Although I do not provide specific examples of the differences in salaries paid to teachers, it is clear that, in general, the salaries paid to teachers were very subjective. “Teacher’s Wages: These are graduated by the intelligence, aptness to teach, good moral character, and perseverance of the individual, in each case, and at stated periods, monthly or quarterly, the teachers receive orders on the school treasurer or tax collector of the district, for their pay. The inspector, with the consent of the trustee, determines the amount of wages in each case, with a limit fixed by the Privy Council.” Hawaiian Kingdom Department of Public Instruction, *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, 1851*, 35.

<sup>260</sup> Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 420.

The shift of students from Hawaiian to English medium schools continued on in the following year. The 1855 *Report of the President of the Board of Education* illustrated the impact of the 1854 Act on the increase of English language school enrollment:

It will be observed that the number of free schools in 1855 was less by 49 than in 1854. *This is owing to the policy of the school inspectors, who have been instructed to combine as many of the smaller schools as possible, in order to economize the funds, and keep them in operation a longer time during the year; and also, to the increase of English schools.*<sup>261</sup> But the number of scholars in the free schools has only decreased by 165, while a somewhat larger number has left them to enter the English schools for natives.<sup>262</sup>

This report documented a few shifts occurring: the closing and subsequent merging of smaller common schools, the increase of English language schools, as well as a number of students leaving the common schools to “enter the English schools for natives.”<sup>263</sup> These three shifts were significant gains for the colonial agenda in the educational system, because all have the same result of suppressing the Hawaiian and exalting the English language and western education system. According to Kuykendall, the school closures were done only to “organize the schools on a strictly territorial and not on a sectarian basis, combining small schools without regard to the religious beliefs of the pupils.”<sup>264</sup> As an apparent remedy to economize funds, 49 common schools were

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<sup>261</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>262</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, *Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1855* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1856), 3.

<sup>263</sup> Ibid.

<sup>264</sup> “The sectarian character of the government common schools was a natural consequence of their historical origin. But with the lapse of time, altered conditions pointed to the desirability of organizing them on some other than a sectarian basis. As the population decreased, there came to be many small

shut down between 1854 and 1855 by combining smaller schools. The supposed cost savings incurred by these mergers enabled the combined schools to be open for a longer time during the year. This policy was meant to justify the school closures, by providing a benefit of longer academic years in place of the inconvenience to those affected by this policy. The colonial agenda realized significant gains here, as the closures of 49 common schools were successfully partnered with the increase of English language schools. Furthermore, the “smaller schools”<sup>265</sup> targeted for closure were undoubtedly rural schools in the peripheries comprising of primarily Kanaka Maoli communities.

The shift of students leaving the common schools and entering the English schools was testament to some realized success<sup>266</sup> of the colonial agenda in the islands. Furthermore, the Legislature’s approval of the 1854 Act helped make an English language education a viable educational choice, not just an elitist option for those with the money that could afford other than a common school education.<sup>267</sup> The statistics showing a shift of scholars leaving the common schools and entering the English schools was evidence that this option became a feasible option for many students, or an option

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schools; in some places there were small Protestant and small Catholic schools near together; economy dictated a consolidation of such schools.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 1*, 359.

<sup>265</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, *Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1855*, 3.

<sup>266</sup> The imposition and adoption of an English language education was a primary goal for the colonial agenda in the Islands. Thus, the shift of students leaving the Hawaiian common schools and entering the English language schools was undoubtedly a sign of success for the colonial agenda.

<sup>267</sup> It is difficult to gauge the degree to which Government provides appropriations to certain schools, and what tuition, if any, is required of the different schools. “The interest of parents in the work is reported as unabated. Where the payments have been weekly, in small amounts, say 25 cents for each scholar, there has been least difficulty in collecting.” *Ibid.*, 13.



worth the additional payment.<sup>268</sup> While the common schools still had the majority of enrollment, the English language figures were on the rise, indicating it increasingly became a more favored option. In the year 1855, there were 847 Kanaka Maoli youth instructed in the English language, which included the various select schools now supported by the government: sixteen English schools for Kānaka Maoli on several different islands; Lahainaluna Seminary; the Royal School; and the Town School of Honolulu.<sup>269</sup>

The *Report of the President of the Board of Education*<sup>270</sup> for the years 1856-1857 conveyed a continual decrease in the number of scholars in the common schools:

*The tendency too has been to leave the free schools,<sup>271</sup>  
where the children receive only elementary instruction in*

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<sup>268</sup> “But the number of scholars in the free schools has only decreased by 165, while a somewhat larger number has left them to enter the English schools for natives.” Ibid. “The whole number of native youth, more or less, instructed in the English language in 1855...including the pupils of those Seminaries (Lahainaluna and Hilo) who are daily taught English in connection with other studies, there were about 847.” Ibid. “The Legislature will easily perceive the reason, and they will do it with pleasure, why the receipts from the school-tax so far exceeded those of the previous year. It was simply owing to the beneficial operation of the act of the last Legislature, requiring an enumeration of all persons and property liable to taxation, previous to collection (\$2 school-tax in 1855).” Ibid., 2.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., 13.

<sup>270</sup> “The king, however, approved a reorganization of the department of public instruction which was effected by an act of the legislature in the spring of 1855. The new scheme was discussed in advance both in the privy council and in the cabinet, and the act was drafted by Armstrong; it was in accord with his desire to be free of general governmental responsibilities so that he could devote his whole time to the schools; and it was believed to be favored by the king as a means of removing American missionary influence from the inner circle of the government; it also met in part the criticism of the school system that had been loudly voiced by Abraham Fornander and others. In brief, the act of 1855 empowered the king to abolish the ministry of public instruction and to substitute for it a Board of Education consisting of a president and two other directors, which board was to have the entire charge and control of the department of public instruction; the president of the board was to discharge the duties previously assigned to the minister of public instruction and to report to the legislature through the minister of the interior.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 2, 1854-1874 Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1953), 106.

<sup>271</sup> Armstrong does not mention how the Board of Education tracks student enrollment, and therefore, certain data variables are unknown, such as: are graduation rates taken into account (if a student completes or finishes school, rather than no longer attending, or does that lend itself to ‘decreases,’ like those reflected in the common schools), or if students who are first-time students and never attended school previously (does that lend itself to ‘increases’ like those reflected in the English select schools)? Armstrong does not provide evidence backing his premise “the tendency too has been to leave the free schools,” and therefore,

*the native language, and enter the select schools where they can learn English, and have superior advantages; and this has been the tendency in the right direction,<sup>272</sup> where they have steadily persevered in pursuit of a higher education.<sup>273</sup>*

Armstrong was obviously basking in his glory here at the realized success of the colonial agenda that he helped implement. Amidst his success at both establishing an English language education as an option and convincing some of the viability of that choice, he continued to promote his colonial agenda by further accentuating the superiority of an English language education option. These urgings included more condescending and hierarchical verbiage on the “superior advantages”<sup>274</sup> of learning English, which will lead the learners “in the right direction.”<sup>275</sup> Although some success has been realized on his home front, a critical mass still lay in the common schools.

An integral dimension of affirming the colonial agenda was the mission of civilizing.<sup>276</sup> Armstrong’s Board of Education reports from 1850 to 1857 document a deliberate campaign calling for an English language education. This campaign frequently, and often times effectively, sought to degrade the Hawaiian language and

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it is not certain if the factors listed here were taken into account in the Board of Education’s enrollment figures.

<sup>272</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>273</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, *Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1856-1857* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1858), 4.

<sup>274</sup> Ibid.

<sup>275</sup> Ibid.

<sup>276</sup> “Anyone who learns [the imposed tongue] begins to despise the peasant majority and their barbaric tongues.” Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers to degrade the mother language while promoting the introduced language. This degradation became internalized by the colonized, which therefore was an integral part of affirming a colonial education.

portray the English language as a tool of survival that would guarantee a thriving future for its speakers. In 1854, the Legislature approved, at Armstrong's persistent urgings, a significant act that would provide for a separate category of "English Schools for Natives", or schools that received appropriations from the government. Although these schools still required a contribution from families, the option of an English language education became more democratic, and therefore, a more realistic option for Kanaka Maoli families. Although it would be later modified, this watershed act would become yet another milestone that enabled English language education to continue to gain a foothold in Hawai'i.

### **Mission: Indoctrination**

“Acquiring the thought-processes and values of this adopted tongue.”<sup>277</sup>

In 1856, there were in operation “seventeen English schools for natives—four on Hawaii, three on Maui, one on Molokai, seven on Oahu, and two on Kauai—embracing 758 scholars; of those reported 550 were boys; and 180 were girls.”<sup>278</sup> These statistics demonstrate an apparent decrease from previous years. According to Armstrong, “It was simply for the want of means to support them, and in some cases a decline of interest on the part of the parents... But the principal cause was the failure on the part of parents to pay their proportion, as the law requires.”<sup>279</sup> Interestingly, Armstrong does not provide any statistics on earnings or wages of families, and any proof of “the failure on the part of parents to pay their proportion.” Nevertheless, he used this as a basis to convince the Legislature that government support would be best used for “a few English schools for natives, well supported and well taught by well qualified masters, than many only half-sustained, and consequently poorly taught.”<sup>280</sup> It was also suggested that a “direct aim should be to raise up a class of natives to teach the English language to their own people. To teach the nation by the employment of foreigners only, would be altogether too expensive, and in fact, impracticable [sic]; but it may be done, and well done, through

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<sup>277</sup> Ngũgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers indoctrinate the colonized. When the colonized is indoctrinated, they begin to adopt values of the colonizer, and thus play a vital role in the colonization process. When the colonized becomes the colonizer, they further aid in the success of colonization because the colonized community internalizes the once-foreign values.

<sup>278</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, *Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1856-1857*, 16.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>280</sup> *Ibid.*

natives.”<sup>281</sup> It is evident in these reports that well suited and well-qualified English language teachers are difficult to come by, and expensive to employ. It was the hope of the Legislature and the President of the Board of Education (Richard Armstrong) that this problem will be solved in the future upon adequate investment in several English schools (such as the Royal School) to train Kānaka Maoli to assume English teaching positions. This proposed<sup>282</sup> future employment of Kānaka Maoli to assume roles at the current time held by only foreigners, will make English education much more financially feasible than it was up to the time of this Report.

The sustainability of an English language education in the islands, according to Armstrong, lies in the successful training and succession of future generations of Kanaka Maoli teachers to assume roles currently held by foreigners. This English language education sustainability appears to be an all-around crowd pleaser: the government should be happy because this means that such an education would be financially feasible to the lāhui. However, more importantly, when such sustainability is reached, the colonial agenda that Armstrong has been working so tirelessly to implement and support, will finally become independent, successful, and permanent, because, the colonized, not the colonizer, will continue to make the colonization permanent.

In the *Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature* for the years 1856 and 1857, Richard Armstrong, who, in previous reports, encouraged the Legislature to highly consider the support of the English language in the schools to ensure the survival and flourishing of Kanaka Maoli, now recounts the

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<sup>281</sup> Ibid, 17-18.

<sup>282</sup> The use of the term ‘proposed’ refers to the fact that many missionary and non-Native families often went on to train their own children, rather than Kanaka Maoli children, to assume various positions in the Kingdom.

impossibility of all schools introducing the English language into their curriculum for economical reasons:

*Were the means at our command, it would be an unspeakable blessing to have every native child placed in a good English school, and kept there until it had acquired a thorough knowledge of what is now, in fact, to a great extent, the business language of the Islands, and which would open to its mind new and exhaustless treasures of moral and intellectual wealth.*<sup>283</sup> But such is not the fact. The means are not at our disposal. The entire revenue of the kingdom would scarcely more than supply the youth of the nation with good instruction in the English language; and the entire school revenue would not more than support through the year, fifty well conducted English schools taught by suitable foreign masters; and these could not do justice to more than two thousand children allowing forty to a school. From five to ten years in schools, is required to give a native child even a tolerable knowledge of English; and what in the mean time would become of the more than seven thousand children that must be left without any government provision whatever, for their education?

The idea, therefore, of abandoning all instruction in the native language in the schools, and confining our educational efforts to the introduction of the English language among the natives, however well it may answer for newspaper talk, will not be entertained by any sober minded man, much less by grave and wise legislators, under existing circumstances. The language of a nation is a part of its very being and never was and never will be changed except by gradual process. That of Hawaiians is no exception to the general rule.<sup>284</sup>

Armstrong suggested that if it were financially possible, the Board of Education would see to it that every Kanaka Maoli child would be taught the English language.

Also included here is more hierarchical commentary about the English language being necessary to open up minds to “new and exhaustless treasures of moral and intellectual

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<sup>283</sup> Emphasis added.

<sup>284</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Hawaiian Legislature, 1856-1857,” 11.

wealth,<sup>285</sup> which also suggested that the Hawaiian language was not capable of doing the same. Armstrong also noted here that the idea of abandoning all instruction in the Hawaiian language as a policy that “may answer for newspaper talk,”<sup>286</sup> implying that such a policy had been suggested or called for by some individuals writing in the newspaper. However, Armstrong does not give any more explanation to the people calling for it, nor does he give reference to those apparent suggestions. Lastly, he ended with “the language of a nation is a part of its very being and never was and never will be changed except by gradual process. That of Hawaiians is no exception to the general rule.”<sup>287</sup> This chilling statement may confirm that Armstrong understood the significant tie language had to the essence and identity of a people, especially that of Kānaka Maoli. In the same sentence, however, he confirmed that such language “will never be changed *except by gradual process.*”<sup>288</sup> That gradual process was the colonial agenda that he had been meticulously implementing and maintaining since the start of his career in the Board of Education. This statement affirmed that that gradual process was, indeed, his game plan and confirmation that the Hawaiian language will be changed, not yet, but eventually.

Armstrong’s haunting predictions started to take root in a testimony in the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, on March 26, 1856, that published a criticism about the lack of girls in English language schools on the island of O‘ahu. The complaint was laced with details as to the student ratio between male and females in the English language

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> Ibid.

<sup>287</sup> Ibid.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid.

schools. Specifically, a reason as to why the female students need to learn English was then argued:

He manao hoohalahala ko‘u no na kaikamahine Hawaii. No keaha? Me keia: Iloko o na kula haole, aole kaikamahine, he keiki kane wale no ka nui. Iloko o ke kula haole Beretania ma Lahaina, he 49 haumana. Ua 39 keiki kane, 9 kaikamahine! [sic] Iloko o ke kula haole ma Ewa, ua 11 keikikane, 4 kaikamahine! Iloko o ke kula haole o Waiialua ua 38 keikikane, 15 kaikamahine. Iloko o ke kula haole ma Kaneohe, ua 64 keikikane, 19 kaikamahine, Pela wale no na kula haole a pau.

No ke aha keia? He mea ole na kaikamahine? He holoholona wale no anei? Aole loa pela ka manao o ke poe naauao. Aole loa no. Aia maikai na wahine, ike, akamai; naauao na wahine, alaila, naauao na kanaka a pau. No ka mea, na na makuahine e ao i na keiki. Ina hoi ike na wahine Hawaii i ka olelo Beretania, o ka ike koke no ia o na kamalii, a kamaaina koke ia olelo ma Hawaii nei. Ma ka ike o na kane wale no, aole pono; aole loa i na keiki, aole noho nui na kane maloko o ka hale, e ao i na keiki; hele lakou io a ia nei. O na makuahine ka poe launa nui me na keiki, a kamakamailio me lakou i kela la keia la. Ina hoi akamai na makuawahine i ka olelo Beretania, aole anei na keiki a lakou? Aole nele.

Ina nae pela ka noonoo o na makuahine i keia mea, manao nui na makuahine i na keiki kane, e ike i ka olelo haole, a loa ka hana a ke aupuni, lilo i poe loio, akamai i ka imi waiwai, a pela aku. Aole hoi e loa ia mau mea i na kaikamahine, a i ko lakou manao, ua aneane makehewa ke aoia na kaikamahine i ka olelo Beretania. Kuhihewa! Naaupo! E ao nui ia na kaikamahine e like me na keikikane, alaila, kamaaina koke keia olelo momona ma Hawaii nei.<sup>289</sup>

Translation:

I have a criticism regarding the Hawaiian girls. Why? For this: In the haole schools, there are no girls, the majority is only boys. In the English school at Lahaina, there are 49 students. Of which 39 are boys and 9 are girls! [sic] In the English school at ‘Ewa, there are 11 boys, 4 girls! In the English school of Waiialua, there are 38 boys, 15 girls. In

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<sup>289</sup> "Na Kaikamahine Hawaii," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, March 26, 1856, 4.



the English school at Kāneʻohe, there are 64 boys, 19 girls. That is how it is in all the English schools.

Why is this so? Are girls nothing? Are they animals? That is not the thought of the wise people. It is definitely not. Only when the women are good, knowledgeable, smart; intelligent, then, all people are intelligent. Because, it is the mothers who teach the children. If the Hawaiian women know the English language, such understanding quickly follows with the children, and such language becomes quickly familiar in Hawaiʻi. The knowledge of only the men, it is not righteous; the children do not receive, the men do not stay long in the house and teach the children; they just go. It is the mothers who associate with the children, and converse with them everyday. If the mothers are adept in the English language, wouldn't it be so with their children? They will not lack.

Furthermore, such were the thoughts of the parents, the parents expect that the boys learn the English language and secure government positions, become lawyers, and wise in acquiring wealth, and so forth. And perhaps not want these same things for the girls, and in their thoughts, it is nearly useless to teach the girls the English language. Wrong! Ignorant! This should be taught to both the girls and the boys, so that this rich language will soon be familiar in Hawaiʻi.

This article expressed the value of having equal gender access to an English language education. Interestingly, this author was an advocate for English language education (a colonial indoctrination), but he also promoted a Kanaka Maoli worldview of gender equality. The author's value system showed duality, by embracing an indoctrinated view toward language education, but also a Kanaka Maoli stance toward gender equality in education. Although this letter expressed a real criticism and concern for the inclusion of females in English language education, it was but one example and cannot speak for all.<sup>290</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> Ultimately, no narrative or group of enrollment numbers can accurately and definitively portray the attitudes of community members toward the Hawaiian and English language medium educational options

In the 1860 *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*, Richard Armstrong reports the “whole number of native youths learning the English language, during more or less of the time, by estimation, 804.”<sup>291</sup> This enrollment represented a six percent increase in total enrollment within a four-year period, a modest but nevertheless certain gain. It is important to note that a new President of the Board of Education, Mataio Kekūānao‘a, was appointed on September 26, 1860 to take the place of the late Rev. Richard Armstrong.<sup>292</sup> Mataio Kekūānao‘a served as President of the Board of Education until 1868.<sup>293</sup>

The attempt to indoctrinate the colonized was what Ngūgĩ described as “acquiring the thought-processes and values of this adopted tongue.”<sup>294</sup> Armstrong’s ideas to train Kānaka Maoli as future teachers of the English language effectively portrayed this very deep and devastating process of colonization. Indoctrination was so effective because the colonized can then become colonizers themselves, leaving an open playground for the colonized to bicker among themselves, and ultimately colonize each other. This is what was witnessed in the newspaper articles of *Ka Hae Hawaii* on March 26, 1856, which demonstrated an indoctrinated viewpoint where the author had acquired the values of the English language, and thus advocated for English language education for both males and females. As documented in other sections of this text, the Hawaiian newspapers were

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available during this time. However, humble attempts can be made to document authentic narrative school enrollment statistics.

<sup>291</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1860, 1858-1859” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1860), 18.

<sup>292</sup> Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).

<sup>293</sup> Ibid.

<sup>294</sup> Ngūgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72.

often filled with conflicting viewpoints. These oppositional stances were often welcomed in the newspapers, where it created a rich playground where Kānaka Maoli challenged each other and different points of views. Importantly, this atmosphere differed greatly from the condescending and alienating environment created by Armstrong and others campaigning for English language education.

## Mission: Alienation

“Alienation from the values of his mother tongue.”<sup>295</sup>

In a speech made by Kamehameha IV Alexander Liholiho in 1862, after consultation with the president of the Board of Education, the ali‘i describes his thoughts about the government schools:

Ua hoike mai ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaaauao i ke ano o ka noho ana o na kula me na kula kiekie i keia manawa i hala ae nei. Ua hoopuka aku no au ma mua ia oukou i ko‘u manaio, he mea nui ka hoololi ana o na kula Hawaii a pau i mau kula olelo Beretania, a ke waiho hou ia‘ku nei ia manaio imua o oukou, a e hui pu ia hoi me ia, ka noonoo ana no ka hoopii ana mai i ke kiekie o na mea e ao ia nei ma na kula Aupuni. E loaia paha keia pomaikai ma ka hapai ana i ona mau kula ao kumu, kahi o na kumu e ao ia‘i iloko o na mahina hoomaha o na kula, aka, ua oi loa aku ka pono o ka hui ana o keia me ke ao ia ana o ka olelo Beretania iloko o na kula aupuni a pau. Ua minamina au, aole i holo imua ka hapai ana i na kula hanai kaikamahine. He mea nui loa keia i ko‘u manaio, a ke kauoha ia‘ku nei oukou e noonoo i na mea e holo lea ai ko‘u mau manaio e like me ka mea i hai ia‘ku ia oukou mamua. Oiai kakou e kamailio ana no keia ano kula, he kupono paha ia‘u i keia la, ma ko‘u ano makua nui o ka lahuikanaka, ke aloha aku i na mea a pau i hooikaika a i kokua hoi i na wahi kula kakaikahi e noho mai nei i keia manawa. Aole e nele ko oukou hui mai me au i ka uwe ana no kekahi hakahaka ana iho iloko o ke Aupuni a me ka mana hoonaaauao, ma ka make ana iho nei o ka Rev. Dr. R. Armstrong, ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaaauao.<sup>296</sup>

Translation:

The President of the Board of Education has shown the present state of schools and higher branches of schools. I expressed my thoughts earlier to you all, the transformation of all Hawaiian schools to English language schools is very

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<sup>295</sup> Ngūgĩ, *Decolonising the Mind*, 72. This quote is included here because it explains the attempt by colonizers to eradicate the mother language and ultimately alienate the colonized from the values of their culture, which is embedded in their mother tongue. This alienation was an integral part of affirming a colonial education.

<sup>296</sup> “Haiolelo a ka Moi,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 3, 1862.

important, and this thought is placed before you again and combining with that, the idea to promote the status of things taught at the government schools. Perhaps this blessing rests in the obtaining of teacher training schools, a place where teachers can train on their school break months, but it is more appropriate to combine this with the teaching of the English language in all government schools. (I regret that the female boarding schools haven't prospered.) In my opinion, these are important, and my command to you is to consider the things that will make my thoughts successful like the things I mentioned previously. While we talk about this type of school, it is perhaps necessary for me, today, in my role as guardian of the nation, to aloha all the people who worked hard and helped the few schools remaining now. Our meeting to lament the vacancy of our Kingdom and the educational branch, with the passing of the Rev. Dr. R. Armstrong, the President of the Board of Education, will come to pass.

An important line in this speech is:

Ua hoopuka aku no au ma mua ia oukou i ko'u manao, he mea nui ka hoololi ana o na kula Hawaii a pau i mau kula olelo Beretania, a ke waiho hou ia'ku nei ia manao imua o oukou, a e hui pu ia hoi me ia, ka noonoo ana no ka hoopii ana mai i ke kiekie o na mea e ao ia nei ma na kula Aupuni

I say my thoughts before you all, the transformation of all Hawaiian schools to English language schools is very important, and this thought is placed before you again and combining with that the idea to promote the status of the things taught at the government schools.

The intent of Kamehameha IV to transform the language medium of the schools of the time is also a testament to another transformation occurring: the paradigm shift of valuing English language schools, maybe not initially or intentionally, at the expense of Hawaiian language schools, but definitely with such effect. According to Lilikalā Kame'elehiwa, preserving pono was one of the most vital roles that ali'i played in Kanaka Maoli society, for it was the glue that held society together. Maka'āinana looked

to their chiefs to preserve pono and constantly seek the righteous paths for the lāhui. Therefore, amidst a rapidly changing society, the support of the English language in the school systems may have been what was considered pono, as it could have been viewed as survival for Kanaka Maoli in the future.

On October 30, 1862, an author by the name of Beni<sup>297</sup> published an article “Kumu Manao Pili i Na Kula” in *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika*. He addressed the issue of English language schools in the Kingdom. Beni’s article presented here was the first of a collection of responses to the issue of English language schools in the Kingdom. This issue is ferociously discussed in various Hawaiian language newspapers of the time.

Ua pono no ke kukulu ana i na kula haole ma kela wahi  
keia wahi o keia pae moku, no ka mea, oia ka mea i nui ai  
ka naauao, a e pomaikai ai keia pae aina i na kula haole; ina  
aole kula haole, e mau no ka naauapo o na keiki. Aole anei  
o ka naauao ka mea nui i makemake ia e na kanaka? Oia  
no.<sup>298</sup>

Ke ninau mua mai nei kuu hoa, ‘He naauao no anei na kula  
haole?’ Ae, he naauao maoli no, aole he naauapo; ina e  
hoole mai oe e ua hoa nei, alaila, e kapa aku no wau ia oe, o  
Waawaaikinaaupo. A ina pela, alaila, he mea no oe e  
hoopouli ana i keia lahui, no ka mea, ke olelo mai nei oe,  
‘Aohe pono o na kula haole, he hoopau dala, he nui ka lilo  
o ke Aupuni. ‘Kai no paha o kau dala ke pau ana, ke i hou  
mai nei oe, ‘He pilikia ke Aupuni, pilikia na makua.’

Ea! O ko laila pane no ia, a eia mai koonei pane kupono ia  
oe. Aole he poho, aole no he hoopau dala, aka, he hoonui  
naauao, he kumu no ka waiwai, a he ike pohihi ole ka mea  
e loa mai ana; aole paha he hoopoho dala e like me kau e  
ohikau mai nei, no ka mea, he mea nui ka ike, a me ka

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<sup>297</sup> In other articles written in response to Beni’s article, many refer to him as “Beni Kaulainamoku.” J.A.K. Kauakanilehua, “Olelo pane ia B. Kaulainamoku,” *Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 22, 1863. In this article, J.A.K. Kauakinlehua refers to him as “moopuna a Hawawa, keiki a Hemahema,” or “grandchild of the incompetent/unskilled, child of the unskilled/ignorant.”

<sup>298</sup> One paragraph is purposefully omitted here, between the “ua pono” and “ke ninau mua mai” paragraphs presented here.

naauao, a he mea kaulana nui no ia ma na Aupuni naauao a pau o ka honua nei.

Ekolu o'u manao ma ka noonoo ana iho i keia hoololi hou ia ana o na kula Apana, i mau kula haole. O ka mua; o ka nui o ka ike i loa mai i keia lahui Hawaii. O ka lua; o ka nui o ka waiwai i loa mai i keia lahui kanaka. O ke kolu; o ka pomaikai i ka loa ana mai o keia olelo hou, oia hoi ka olelo Beritania, i loa i kekahi hapakolu o keia lahui kanaka. O ka nui o ka ike e loa mai ana i na kula Apana Hawaii, he ike io anei ia? Ae no hoi, ke ike io hoi? Ea! O ka ike omilumilu i na kula Apana Hawaii, he ike lapuwale wale no ia, a heaha la ia imua o ka ike ana i ka olelo Beritania? Ke i mai nei na kaikamahine o ke Kaona, 'Opala ia mea.'<sup>299</sup>

Translation:

The establishment of English schools in each and every place in these Islands is necessary, because, it is the thing that increased the knowledge, and that will bless these islands with English schools; if there are no English schools, the ignorance of the children will continue. Is not knowledge the main thing desired of the people? Indeed it is.

My friend first poses the question, 'Are the English schools knowledgeable?' Yes, it is truly educational, it is not ignorant; if you deny it that aforementioned friend, I will call you Waawaaikinaupo (ignorant). And if such is so, then, you are a thing that makes this race ignorant, because, you say, 'The English schools are not righteous, it is a waste of money, it expends a lot of the Kingdom's funds.' Perhaps if your money becomes exhausted, you will again say 'The government is a problem, the parents are troubled.'

That is their response, the one here correctly answers you. It is not a waste, it is not a waste of money, but an increasing of knowledge, the foundation for wealth, and the thing that is going to be obtained is unobscured knowledge; it is perhaps not a waste of money like your gossip suggests, because intellect and knowledge is important, and it (the English language and knowledge) is a very famous thing in all the intelligent countries of the world.

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<sup>299</sup> Beni, "Kumu Manao Pili i Na Kula," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, October 30, 1862.

I have three ideas about this new shift of the common schools to English schools. The first, is the wealth of knowledge this nation has gained. The second, the immense wealth that was gotten by this race. The third, is the blessing it is to have this new language, the British language, that is understood by one-third of this race. The majority of the intellect gained in common schools, is it true knowledge? Yes, it is true knowledge? The insignificant knowledge of the common schools, it is only worthless knowledge, and what is it (when presented) before the knowledge of the English language? The girls of the town say 'It is rubbish.'

The author of this article, Beni, was supportive of English language education and provided several reasons supporting his stance. Some of these reasons include the idea that the English language was the foundation for wealth. He also mentioned that the English language was important around the world and therefore should be adopted in the Islands as well. The foundation of his stance, however, was based on the idea that English schools provide the necessary knowledge to the rising generation. Interestingly, he suggested that without these English schools, ignorance would continue. In other words, ignorance existed at the time because of the lack of sufficient English schools. This viewpoint simultaneously promoted the English language while attempting to alienate the rising generation from its mother tongue.

Both the content and tone of this article was extremely suggestive of the possible tensions occurring with regard to the establishment and proliferation of English language schools. Although obviously pro-English language, the author seemed to be engaging in a debate, as if his position may not be shared by his entire audience. The author commented on the worth of an English language education, addressing those who feel such an education is a "waste of money." Beni also spoke to those who doubt the intellectual rigor of English language schools by denouncing the educational merit found



in the Hawaiian common schools. The entire article seems to reflect a very real battleground that exists in the hearts and minds of the people of this time: tormented by choosing to support the Hawaiian language medium common schools, or the new wave and world order of the English language schools, the increasingly advertised tool of survival. Ngūgī described this mental battleground as the foremost endeavor of the colonial agenda. Although the war was far from over, there were visible signs that the Hawaiian language has sustained hard blows, as people started to doubt whether the mother tongue was still relevant and had the brawn to face the changing world that lie ahead.

Beni wrote another article in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* on November 13, 1862 entitled “Kumu Manao Alua No Na Kula:”

No laila, ke olelo nei au, ua oi aku ka pono, a me ka pomaikai o keia lahui kanaka, ina e hoololi nui ia na kula apana Hawaii, mau kula haole wale no, alaila, e ike auanei kakou mahope, iwaena o ka kakou poe keiki aku, e pii ana keia lahui kanaka iluna, aole hoi emi iho ilalo.<sup>300</sup>

Translation:

Therefore, I tell you, it is more appropriate and a greater blessing to this nation if we change the common Hawaiian schools to only English schools, then therefore, we will soon see, amongst because of our children, the rise of our nation upward, and not downward.

In this article, Beni completely denounced common Hawaiian schools, suggesting it will drag the nation downward. Instead, Beni suggested that the English schools to be more appropriate and a greater blessing that would benefit the nation. Thus, Beni calls for an embracement of the English language because of his belief that such an acceptance would guarantee a successful future for the nation.

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<sup>300</sup> Beni, "Kumu Manao Alua No Na Kula," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, November 13, 1862, 3.

On February 21, 1863, an author by the name of Kauakanilehua<sup>301</sup> from Hilo wrote a response to Beni's question of whether the changing of the common Hawaiian schools was beneficial:

Eia nae, aole au i manao e ahewa, a apono ole i ka pono o ke ao ana o keia lahui, a i ole ia, o kekahi hapa paha o keia lahui ma ka olelo Beritania, e like me ka mea i lawa i ka makaukau, aole me ka akena wale, a me ka manao piikoi wale aku hoi i ka hanohano, a me ka nui o ka waiwai, e like me ka Beni e olelo nei.

No ka mea, aole paha i nele ke aupuni i ka noonoo, e hiki ai ke kukulu i mau kula haole ma kahi pono i manaolia, mai kela pea a keia pea o keia lahui.

Aka, i kuu manao, o na kula hapa i ku ma kela wahi keia wahi o keia Aupuni, ua lawa ia e like me ka nui o ka dala e malamaia i ka pono oia mau kula.

Aole like me ka Beni, e hoopauia na kula apana apau, wahi ana, o ka ike i ka loa ma na kula apana, he ike lapuwale wale iho noia.<sup>302</sup>

#### Translation

However, I didn't think to condemn and not approve the benefit of the learning of this nation or a part of this nation in the English language, to get a sufficient preparation, not just acting, and the thoughts of aspiring to a high rank, and the many riches, like Beni claims.

Because, the nation is not deprived of intellect, with which to establish English schools, in appropriate places, from that boundary to this boundary of this nation.

But, in my opinion, bi-lingual schools in each and every place of this Kingdom, it is enough like the majority of the money that maintains the well-being of such schools.

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<sup>301</sup> There seems to have been an ongoing debate between Beni and Kauakanilehua for some time, and taking place in different newspapers. Examples of other responses by Kauakanilehua include: J.A.K. Kauakanilehua, "Olelo pane ia B. Kaulainamoku," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 22, 1863.

<sup>302</sup> Kauakanilehua, "He Olelo Pane Ia Beni, No Kekahi Manao Pili i Na Kula," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Pepeluali 21, 1863, 3.

Unlike Beni, who suggests discontinuing all common Hawaiian schools, according to him, the knowledge received from the common Hawaiian schools, is worthless.

Kauakanilehua, while not disproving of English language schools, suggested the establishment of bi-lingual education. Kauakanilehua did not agree to the discontinuation of common Hawaiian schools and Beni's idea that the common Hawaiian schools taught worthless knowledge. Overall, this author had a somewhat neutral stance, neither advocating for the abolishment of Hawaiian common schools, or the complete dominance of English medium education.

G.W.K. Manuokekula wrote a response in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on September 5, 1863 to the debate going on between S.W.B. Kaulainamoku (Beni) and J.A.K.

Kauakanilehua:

Ua halawai mau mai me ko'u mau aniani ike na olelo kue pinepine a na aoao kue elua, oia hoi o S.W.B. Kaulainamoku, ame J.A.K. Kauakanilehua, no kela kumu manao e pili ana no na kula i kukulu ia e S.W.B.K. ma ka Helu 3 o ka Buke 2 o ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, e ninau ana, 'He pono anei ke hoololi na kula apana e ao ana ma ka olelo Hawaii a i mau kula Beritania; a ua hai iho no oia i ka haina he pono ke hoololi.'

Akahi. O ka olelo pono i keia lahuikanaka kela lahuikanaka, o ke aha la ia o ka lahuikanaka?

Alua. Ina i pau ka olelo pono i ka lahuikanaka, o ke aha ana ia o ka lahuikanaka?<sup>303</sup>

Translation:

I have continually seen the frequent objections of the two opposing sides, S.W.B. Kaulainamoku and J.A.K. Kauakanilehua, concerning the topic about the schools raised by S.W.B.K. in the Helu 3 of the second book of the Hoku o ka Pakipika, which asks, 'Is it right to transform the common schools that teach in the Hawaiian language to

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<sup>303</sup> G.W.K. Manuokekula, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 5, 1863, 3.

English schools; and he said the answer, it needs to be changed.

One. The true language of any nation (of people) what is it to that nation?

Two. If the true language of this nation becomes extinct, what is it to the nation?

Manuokekula brought up the argument that language and the identity of its people were closely interconnected. He attempted to make the point that there was a bigger issue than the transformation of Hawaiian language to English schools. With that transformation, he argued, the language of the people and nation could become extinct, which could have even more far-reaching consequences for the nation and people as a whole.

An article entitled “Ke Au Okoa” on May 8, 1865<sup>304</sup> also speaks about the continued tension about the use and disuse of both the Hawaiian and English languages:

Aole no hoi ia makou wale na kupa o keia aina ia oukou no hoi kekahi e ua makamaka ili keokeo i walea i ka hoinaunau ma ka makou olelo, a pela no hoi oukou ka poe nana i kukulu mai ka ohe hoonui o ka ike i keia lahui, a pela na kumu, na haumana, na kahu o na Ekalesia, mai manao hoino oukou, e like me ia ia 'Hoku o ka Pakipika,' aole he hana pono ia, eia ka pono, e lawe like, a e kau ia ia maluna e ko kakou mau poohiwi akau, i like ai me ke koa kiai e paahana i kana pu kaupooihiwi ma ka Hale Alii Iolani, ka haule ole ma kona aoao.

Eia hoi kekahi, o ka makamua paha keia o ko‘u ike ana i ka hoopuka ia ana o ka Nupepa Aupuni ma ka olelo Hawaii, a he mea nani ia no ko kakou mau poo. Aka, ma ka olelo Beritania ua hoopuka ia ka Nupepa Polunesia. Heaha kou waiwai o ke kanaka Hawaii ike ole i ka olelo haole, a pela oe e ka wahine, a me ke keikikane a kaikamahine hoi; ina o ka Nupepa Polunesia? Eia no ka haina kupono, aohe waiwai, aohe pomaikai, i loa ika ika kakou. Ano, ua puka ia ka Nupepa o kou Aupuni, ma kau olelo no, he olelo pakake ole, a luhi ole i ka namunamu iho, me ka hoomaopopo ana i

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<sup>304</sup> “Ke Au Okoa,” *Ke Au Okoa*, Mei 8, 1865, 3.

ke ano, a he hiki ia oe ke weheakea i kou manao ma keia Nupepa 'Ke Au Okoa,' ina nae hoi he mau manao kupono i ka pomaikai o ke Aupuni a me ka lahui. Aole pono ia oe e ke kanaka Hawaii i loa ka ike e nele i keia mea he Nupepa, a pela oe ina he Lahaina a pela aku; o ka mahuahua ana o na Nupepa he mea hookiekie ae i ka lahui Hawaii nei, a hoonaaauao i kela me keia e lawe ana i ka Nupepa, a he pomaikai no kakou.

Translation:

We are not the only citizens of this land, you are another the white skinned friend that has come accustomed to the pleasantries of our language, and that is such with you, the people who established this body of knowledge of this nation, and such is with the teachers, the students, the church ministers, they don't maliciously think like those of 'Hoku o ka Pakipika,' it is not a virtuous work, here is the right thing to do, to bring and place above our right shoulders, similar to the military guard that industriously maintains his shoulder rifle at Iolani Palace, never falling from his side.

However,-this is the first time I have seen a National Newspaper in the Hawaiian language, and it is a beautiful thing to behold. But, the Polynesian Newspaper was published in the English language. What is its benefit to the Hawaiians that do not understand the English language, as well as you the women, and the boys and girls; such is so with the Polynesian Newspaper? Here is the right response, no worth, no benefit, we have gained little. Now, the newspaper of your nation has been published in your language, not a gibberish language, and not tired from the grumbling, with the understanding of the type, and you can fully explain your thought in this newspaper 'Ke Au Okoa,' if there are righteous thoughts in the blessing of the Kingdom and the nation. You, the Hawaiian people, who should not lack knowledge of this thing known as a newspaper, that is so if you were from Lahaina or elsewhere; the increasing of the newspapers, it is an elevation of the nation of Hawaii, and educate everybody who is subscribing to the newspaper, and it is a blessing for us all.

Similar to the concerns voiced by Manuokekula, the article “Ke Au Okoa,” spoke on the importance of preserving the Hawaiian language in the newspapers. The author addresses the Polynesian newspaper, which is published in the English language: “What is its benefit to the Hawaiians that do not understand the Hawaiian language?” The author contends that although circulated newspapers were beneficial for the nation because of the new knowledge that it brought, it was of little merit if it was in English, because those who do not understand English would not benefit.

Interestingly, on the school system front, English language school enrollment gains paved the way for future increases in English newspaper readership. According to the *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*<sup>305</sup> covering the years 1864-1866, there were approximately 976 students obtaining an English language education, and approximately 7,367 obtaining a Hawaiian language education in the Common Schools.<sup>306</sup> These figures show that 11.7% of the total student population was obtaining an English language education. In the same report, some 29 schools throughout the islands are listed as English language schools. Therefore, the English language educational path was gaining momentum, as evidenced in its increased student enrollment from previous years. With its gaining momentum, the English language and schools became a perceived threat to the continued existence of Kānaka Maoli, ‘ōlelo

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<sup>305</sup> The May 7, 1855 Act (which abolished the office of Minister of Public Instruction and established a Board of Education consisting of a President and two Directors, called the Department of Public Instruction) “was repealed by an Act approved Jan. 10, 1865 creating a Bureau of Public Instruction to be called the Board of Education to consist of five members, the President to be appointed by the King.” Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008* (Honolulu, 2008).

<sup>306</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1866, 1864-1866” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1866), 1-7.

Hawai‘i, and lāhui. This perceived threat most likely sparked the increased newspaper contributions on this topic.

On March 7, 1868, an article entitled “Kapu ka olelo Hawaii ma Lahainaluna” appeared in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. This is a glimpse at possible tensions arising from the increased use of the English language by Kanaka Maoli youth:

Aloha ino na keiki i hoonele ia i ka waiu o ka makuahine, a i hanai ia i ka waiu bipi wale no. E wiwi auanei lakou, no ka mea, o ka ai a ke Akua i hoomakaukau ai no lakou, ua oi ka pono ma mua o na ai e ae a pau loa. Aloha wale na kanaka opio i hoonele loa ia ke kamaio ana ma ka olelo a ko lakou mau makua. He aha hoi keia hooikaika ino ana e loa ka olelo haole? I mea...(illegible)...e hoomakaukau ai ia lakou iho e lilo i poe Amerika i ka wa e hui aku ai o Hawaii nei i moku aina no Amerika Huipua e like me ia e wawa wale ia nei? O ka manao anei ia o ko Lahainaluna?

Eia ko makou manao. Mai hoowahawaha kakou i ka olelo mikomiko, ka olelo pahee, ka olelo nani o ke one hanau o kakou.

E ao keia mau haumana o Lahainaluna e namu pakake nei o loa ole aku ia lakou ke kulana naauao o na haumana mua o Lahainaluna, a komo ole lakou ma ka heluna o Rev. M. Kuaea, S.M. Kamakau, S.P. Kalama a me ko lakou mau hoa kaulana o kanaka Hawaii naauao.<sup>307</sup>

Translation:

It is unfortunate for the children that are deprived of the milk of their mothers, and is fed only cow's milk. They will definitely become emaciated, because, the food God prepared for them is more beneficial than all of the other foods. Beloved are the young people who have been deprived their conversations in the language of their parents. What is this unfortunate strengthening to obtain the English language? ...(Illegible)...to prepare themselves to become Americans when Hawaii joins the United States of America, just like the current rumors say? Are these the thoughts of Lahainaluna?

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<sup>307</sup> “Kapu ka Olelo Hawaii ma Lahainaluna,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Malaki 7, 1868, 2.

Here are our thoughts. We should not treat with contempt our conversational language, our fluent language, the beautiful language of our birth land.

These Lahainaluna students who are speaking this gibberish should learn (Hawaiian) or they will not gain the scholarly ranks of the previous students of Lahainaluna, and they do not enter the ranks of Rev. M. Kuaea, S.M. Kamakau, S.P. Kalama and their fellow Hawaiian scholar colleagues.

The frequent newspaper discussions by various Kanaka Maoli contributors deserve analysis. The mere frequency (as well as passion on the topic) of the discussion on Kanaka Maoli youth learning the English language was testament to the simple fact that such colonial learning was occurring, and perhaps at significant rates that warrant such attention to the cause. Although concrete evidence of the “interest” to learn English was modest and speculated at that, the frequency of newspaper challenges and conversations around the topic suggest the heightened level of importance and significance attributed to the topic. Such elevated interest of the topic suggest possible repercussions society foresees as a result of this growing shift of English language school enrollment. The threat of the English language and colonial education deepened in this Lahainaluna article, as its warnings extended to the ideas of nationhood and sovereignty. The author warned that the English language and western education, such as that of Lahainaluna, had gone so far as to remove Kānaka Maoli from the ‘āina and lāhui, and would prepare for an *inevitable merger* with the United States. This unsettling premonition was coupled with the author’s disgracing of the scholarly capabilities of the students of Lahainaluna as he compares them to, what he considered true scholars, “Rev. M. Kauea, S.M. Kamakau, S.P. Kalama and their fellow Hawaiian scholar colleagues,”



Kānaka Maoli who embraced palapala and were remarkable scholars, but still held fast to their mother tongue.

In the *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education* for the years 1870-1872,<sup>308</sup> there were approximately 2,013 pupils in English language schools, comprising of independent schools and schools aided by the government.<sup>309</sup> According to the report, the English language was the medium of instruction in “all the schools in the kingdom other than the common schools.”<sup>310</sup> With a common school enrollment at 6,274, and a total Kingdom student enrollment of 8,287, approximately 24% of the total Kingdom student population was enrolled in an English language school. In the next *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*<sup>311</sup> two years later (1874), there are 2,233 English language scholars within the entire total enrollment of 7,755.<sup>312</sup> This translates to 29% of the total Kingdom student population who were enrolled in an English language school.<sup>313</sup>

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<sup>308</sup> W.P. Kamakau served as President of the Board of Education from February 8, 1869 until Charles Reed Bishop replaced him on February 23, 1874. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008*.

<sup>309</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1872, 1870-1872” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1872), 1-15.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>311</sup> Charles Reed Bishop is appointed President of the Board of Education on February 23, 1874 and serves in that capacity until Walter M. Gibson replaces him on February 19, 1883. However, Charles Reed Bishop will return as President of the Board of Education for another term starting July 7, 1887. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008*.

<sup>312</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1874, 1872-1874” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1874), 2.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*

This increase of the English language educational path enjoyed a significant spurt: growing by approximately 17% in an eight-year time period, from 1864 until 1874.<sup>314</sup> Although still a relatively gradual increase, the growth was nevertheless consistent. This continual escalation benefited from the prevailing influence of the colonial seeds of threat, fear, intimidation, and self-doubt that had been planted years prior and nourished by the same foreign educational administration. In addition, also working in favor of the English language educational path were the ideas of redemption, survival and prosperity that have been equated to the salvation that lies in the English language. With all these aspects working together, the English language continued to enjoy the unrelenting growth.

In the *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education* for the years 1874-1876, J. Mott Smith<sup>315</sup> commented to the Legislature that “the desire of parents that their children may be instructed in the English language continues unabated, and the Board through your appropriation for the support of Hawaiian and English Schools are doing all in their power to satisfy this desire.”<sup>316</sup> According to the same report, there were approximately 1,886 English language students, compared to some 4,799 in the common Hawaiian schools, which “are still the Schools where the great majority of the

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<sup>314</sup> According to the *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education* covering the years 1864-1866, there were approximately 976 students obtaining an English language education, and approximately 7,367 obtaining a Hawaiian language education in the Common Schools. These figures show that 11.7% of the total student population was obtaining an English language education. Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1866, 1864-1866” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1866), 1-7. In 1874, the percentage attending an English language school was 29%, and in 1866 the percentage was 11.7%. Therefore, the change in that eight-year period (1866 to 1874) was 17.3%.

<sup>315</sup> J. Mott Smith is Vice-President, pro tem, at the time of this publication, but Charles Reed Bishop is acting President of the Board of Education. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008*.

<sup>316</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1876, 1874-1876” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1876), 15.

children receive instruction.”<sup>317</sup> It is important to note that only about 1,117 of the 1,886 students receiving an English language education were in schools that were supported by the government. Nevertheless, the English language schools were definitely creating a foothold, by comprising 28% of the total education in the islands.<sup>318</sup>

In the 1878 *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*, of the 6,991 students in the Kingdom, only 4,313 are in Common Schools, and 2,678 were in English language schools where English language scholars comprise 38% of the total Kingdom student population.<sup>319</sup> The same report summarized the state of the common schools as not “characterized by that efficiency which the friends of education and general improvement would have desired.”<sup>320</sup> The declining prominence of the common schools was attributed to “the difficulty of procuring competent teachers; the indifference of parents to the interests of the Common Schools;”<sup>321</sup> the withdrawal of children from such schools; the sometimes inconvenient locations of the schools; and lack of supervision at some of the common schools. The report goes on to discuss the attempts of the Board to make the common schools more attractive to the public, by attempting to

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<sup>317</sup> Ibid., 1-17.

<sup>318</sup> It is important to note that overall student population decreased substantially from 1870-1876. In the 1870-72 report, there were a total of 8,287 students; in the 1872-74 report, there were 7,755 students; and in the 1874-76 report, there were a total of 6,685 students. During this time period, therefore, there was a decrease in 1,602 overall students enrolled in the Kingdom schools. Nevertheless, this is not the focus of this work to document the reasons for this decrease.

<sup>319</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1878, 1876-1878” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1878), 3.

<sup>320</sup> Ibid.

<sup>321</sup> Ibid. As in other quotes from reports of the Board of Education, this assessment is without justification or proof. It is not made clear in this report how difficult (and to what extent) procuring “competent teachers” was, their definition of “competent teachers”, or the “indifference” of parents in the affairs of the common schools.

introduce the English language into the common schools, as “the popular demand is for English.”<sup>322</sup>

Therefore, in an attempt to make the common schools “more attractive” and to regain the confidence of parents, pupils and the mass public in the common schools, the Board sought to fully introduce the English language into the common schools. However, it was still the case that the Board argued of the financial impossibility, at such time, of making such a complete conversion. Although the percentage of English language schools had exploded<sup>323</sup> within those years, the common schools still comprised the majority of the Kingdom educational system. The Board argued that until a future time when “more natives are available as teachers in English,” would the “popular demand for English” be satisfied, as the current “expense of such teaching will be too great to be generally afforded.”<sup>324</sup>

An article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* on March 8, 1879 described the prevalent use of the English language during the time. According to the author,<sup>325</sup>

E lilo ana ka olelo haole i olelo makuahine no keia pae aina. E lilo ana ka olelo Hawaii i mea poina a e pani ia no ka olelo Enelani ma kona wahi. Aohe ia he mea hewa; no ka mea, ua lawa ka olelo Hawaii no na wa i hala ae mahope, aka, aole i loa iloko ona na hoolawa ana i na noonoo a me na lawelawe ana o ka manao e ko pono ai na makemake o ka poe noonoo ma na kulana kiekie o ka ike a me ka holomua. O ka malo a me ka pau na aahu iloko o na

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<sup>322</sup> Ibid., 4. No justification or proof for the “popular demand” for English is given or explained.

<sup>323</sup> This “explosion” again was the result of the influence of different variables, such as the perceived value of English as a “means of acquiring wealth,” as a tool of survival, etc., as well as other likely variables, such as the location and convenience of the schools in the various districts.

<sup>324</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1878, 1876-1878,” 4.

<sup>325</sup> There was no author listed for this article, and therefore no information on the author was available. Additionally, no justification or proof for the author’s claims was included in the article.

kau kahiko loa, aka ano, aole lawa pono ia aahu, oiai ua kieke ae ka lahui iluna. O na aahu kahiko o na lahui olelo Enelani a me na ano hale o lakou iloko o na kau kahiko loa, aole kupono no keia wa, no ka mea, ua holo ia mau lahui imua a ua haalele ia mau kulana kahiko. Pela ko kakou nei olelo Hawaii. Ina e holo ana ka lahui imua e haalele ia ana ka olelo kahiko, no ka mea, aole i lawa ia no na lawelawe ana o keia wa a me ko keia mua aku.<sup>326</sup>

Translation:

The English language is going to become a mother tongue of this land. The Hawaiian language will become a forgotten thing and English will take its place. This is not a bad thing, because, the Hawaiian language is sufficient for the past, but, it doesn't have the ability to supply the thoughts to completely fulfill the demands of the wise people. The loincloth and the skirt were clothing of the old times, but now, such clothing isn't enough, since the nation was elevated. The ancient clothing of the English speaking nations, and their ancient home designs, they are not appropriate now, because, such nations have gone forward and have departed from the old ranks. Such is so with the Hawaiian language. If the nation is going forward, the old language is going to be left behind, because it is not sufficient for conducting business<sup>327</sup> and carrying things out now and in the future.

The 1879 article reflected a subtle and sick excitement of what is viewed, by the author, as the inevitable shift from the use of the Hawaiian language to the prevalent and widespread use of the English language. Other less subtle implications are made which include those dealing with the irrelevancy found in the Hawaiian language, and the apparent inability to prosper without the English language. With these implications, the Hawaiian language continued to receive the negative connotations associated with its

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<sup>326</sup> *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 8, 1879, 2.

<sup>327</sup> This refers to the foreign business brought to the islands; this justification of the English language supporting this business is used time and time again in the campaign for English.

hoped-for-demise, a demise that is not so far off, considering its extremely weakened Hawaiian language school enrollment statistics of the time.

Like other authors promoting the introduced language, the author of this article viewed the English language as a language of power, and if it mentions it at all, does not seem bothered by the possibility of the loss of the Hawaiian language at the expense of the increased English language. Instead, the tone of this article was tied with hope rather than disdain, viewing the replacement of the Hawaiian with the English language as a step in the right direction. The author compared the substitution with examples of progress in other countries, and suggested that the embracement of the English language in the islands would be the fruitful and progressive step forward to civilization and enlightenment. Overall, this article was a perfect example of the colonial agenda propaganda: false and demeaning statements about Kanaka Maoli incapacities, and the insistence on the western system as superior and necessary for future success. To add insult to injury, the article was written in the Hawaiian language, which was incredibly hypocritical and demeaning. The author's logic was extremely hypocritical because he demeaned the Hawaiian language, while he used the language to make his arguments against it. Additionally, he praised the English language as an enlightened language, but writes about it in the supposed "uncivilized" language. This puzzling incidence fit the theme of alienation very well. The author, very indoctrinated by the supposed value of the English language, had become alienated from the values of the Hawaiian language.

By 1880 as reflected in the *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*, there were a total of 7,164 students in the Kingdom. Of that total, 6,612 were categorized as Kanaka Maoli or part-Kanaka Maoli, or 92% of the total student

population. It is reported that, 4,078 were in Government Common Schools, and the remaining 3,086 were instructed in the English language. With respect to the total student population, 43% were English language scholars.<sup>328</sup> This data unfortunately supported some of the opinions of the author of the March 1879 *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* article, showing a continued shift in English language school enrollment. While the common schools still educated the majority of the overall student population, an English language education was increasingly becoming a more seriously considered *option*, evidenced by the increase in English language school enrollment.

The 1884 *Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao*<sup>329</sup> marked a note-worthy turning-point in the Kingdom's educational history. In this report, the number of English scholars, for the first time in history, represented the majority of total student population. There were a total of 8,723 students in the Kingdom, and only 2,841 of which were in Common Schools. The rest, or 5,882 scholars were instructed in the English language.<sup>330</sup> Therefore, 67% of the students in the entire Kingdom were English language students. The same report documented the nationality of the pupils in the schools, noting that 7,071 were either pure or part Kanaka Maoli, or 81% of the total student population. These numbers were further testament to the

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<sup>328</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to the Legislature of 1880, 1878-1880," (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, 1880), 1-2.

<sup>329</sup> Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education.

<sup>330</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, "Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao i ka Ahaolelo o Ka Makahiki 1884, 1882-1884" (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, 1884), 5.

substantial shift occurring in the schools, with English language schools educating a majority of the Kingdom school population.<sup>331</sup>

By 1886, as reflected in the *Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao*,<sup>332</sup> there are only 2,018 of the total 9,016 Kingdom students enrolled in the Common Schools. Therefore, the remaining 6,998 students are in English language schools, which comprises of 78% of the total Kingdom student population.<sup>333</sup> During the same year, there are 6,923 Kanaka Maoli and part-Kanaka Maoli students, or 77% of the total student population. Although the percentage of Kanaka Maoli students in the school system is decreasing, they still make up a strong majority of the student population.<sup>334</sup>

The Kamehameha Schools was established the next year, 1887, by the will of Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the granddaughter and last heir of Kamehameha I.

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<sup>331</sup> Ultimately, these enrollment numbers just report how many students attend a particular kind of school. Nevertheless, there is no assessment made on the worth or merit of these schools, just merely a representation of enrollment. This report does not imply that such school enrollment “proves” that such an educational option is wonderful or fulfilling.

<sup>332</sup> W.M. Gibson served as President of the Board of Education from February 19, 1883 until his replacement by Charles Reed Bishop on July 7, 1887. Hawai‘i State Archives, *Public Instruction (Board of Education): Government Office Holders, 2008*. The reports of the Board of Education were available in both Hawaiian and English. For this particular year, I only had access to the Hawaiian version.

<sup>333</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, *Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao i ka Ahaolelo o Ka Makahiki 1886, 1884-1886*, (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1886), 27.

<sup>334</sup> The ethnicity composition of the schools continued to change, most likely due to the increase in immigration. The majority of students were Kanaka Maoli, meaning that the increase in English language scholars was not just because of the increase in non-Kanaka Maoli students, but also due to Kanaka Maoli students leaving the common schools for English schools.





Figure 13: Bernice Pauahi Bishop<sup>335</sup>

According to the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, “The new Kamehameha Schools is to follow the same English-Only model used for American Indian boarding schools complete with military uniforms... Any use of the traditional languages were strictly punished. The first class of students selected for the Kamehameha Schools stages a total walk out when told they are not to use Hawaiian on campus.”<sup>336</sup> The establishment of this private school, whose main objective was to educate Kanaka Maoli children with a primarily English-only educational model, was significant because it was proof of the influence and proliferation of an English language education for Kānaka Maoli. This increasingly favorable language education option continued to make an impression both in independent schools, like the Kamehameha Schools, as well as in the Common Schools.

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<sup>335</sup> Source: *Bernice Pauahi Bishop* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives), Neg # P.C. 141B.

<sup>336</sup> “A Timeline of Revitalization,” ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, [www.ahapunanaleo.org](http://www.ahapunanaleo.org) (2008).



Figure 14: The First Graduating Class of the Kamehameha School for Boys, 1891<sup>337</sup>

According to the *Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o Ka Papa Hoonaauao*,<sup>338</sup> in 1888, there were only 1,370 students in the Common Schools. Students in English language schools numbered 7,400, or 84% of the total Kingdom student population.<sup>339</sup> At the same time, however, the proportion of Kanaka Maoli students to the total student population continued to decrease. In 1888, only 6,567 of the total 8,770 student population were Kanaka Maoli, which comprised 75% of the total

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<sup>337</sup> Source: *The First Graduating Class of the Kamehameha School for Boys, 1891* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Archives), <http://kapalama.ksbe.edu/archives/FirstYears/ksb1891.php>. This photo is included here to show the first graduating class of an independent school for Kanaka Maoli children. This photo is meant to demonstrate the obviously western educational model, apparent in their dress. Additionally, as mentioned in the text above, the Kamehameha Schools employed an English-only educational model, choosing to educate their Kanaka Maoli students exclusively in the English language. Figure 4, included earlier in this text, portrays the first graduating class of women from the Kamehameha Schools in 1897.

<sup>338</sup> The reports of the Board of Education were available in both Hawaiian and English. For this particular year, I only had access to the Hawaiian version.

<sup>339</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, “Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao i ka Ahaolelo o Ka Makahiki 1888, 1886-1888,” (Honolulu: Hawai‘i State Archives, 1888), 9.

Kingdom student population.<sup>340</sup> So, although the student proportion was somewhat deflated, Kanaka Maoli students continued to make up the majority of students in the Kingdom, and English language schools still had a foothold on the main educational system in the nation.

In 1890 there were only 768 students remaining in the Common Schools.<sup>341</sup> The rest of the Kingdom's student population, some 9,238 or 92%, were enrolled in English language schools. Therefore, by 1890, only 8% of all students in the Kingdom were enrolled in Hawaiian common schools. In terms of the ethnic background of the students during the same year, 7,172 of the students were Kanaka Maoli, which translates to 72% of the total student population.

According to the *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual's* "School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands," there were a total of 10,006 pupils in 1890.<sup>342</sup> Of these students, 7,172 were Hawaiian or "Half-caste Hawaiian."<sup>343</sup> These 10,006 pupils were categorized as attending one of three types of schools: Government Native Schools (common schools), Government English Schools (English schools supported by the government), or

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<sup>340</sup> The decline in Kanaka Maoli students to overall student population is, in part, a factor of the overall Kingdom population change, the result of waves of foreigners, and their families, moving to the islands for business and other ventures. However, this is just an assumption with no proof or justification for this. Nevertheless, it is difficult to prove causality between these factors and the declining Kanaka Maoli population overall, and student population.

<sup>341</sup> Hawaiian Kingdom Board of Education, "Palapala Hoike no Na Makahiki Elua a Ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaaauao i ka Ahaolelo o Ka Makahiki 1890, 1888-1890," (Honolulu: Hawai'i State Archives, 1890), 15.

<sup>342</sup> Thos G. Thrum, "Nationality of Pupils, 1888 and 1890, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education," *Hawaiian Annual* (Boston: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1892).

<sup>343</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

Independent Schools.<sup>344</sup> Of the 10,006 pupils, 72% of which were Kanaka Maoli or part-Kanaka Maoli, only 768 pupils were enrolled in the Government Native Schools, while 6,575 were enrolled in Government English Schools, and 2,663 were enrolled in Independent Schools.

Although the report does not provide the exact number of students by their ethnicity in each school, only 7.7% of the total student population attended a Government Native School in 1890. It was a time filled with political instability and foreign pressure, but still a few years before the overthrow and any Republic-initiated legislation.<sup>345</sup> These statistics illustrated that, in 1890, only a small minority of the population was enrolled in Government Native Schools, with the Hawaiian language as the medium of education. The majority of the population was enrolled in Government English schools, some 66% of the student population; and another 27% of the student population was enrolled in Independent Schools.<sup>346</sup> Another report published in 1890 indicated that Kanaka Maoli and part-Kanaka Maoli teachers held exactly half of the positions in government schools, 116 of the total 232.<sup>347</sup>

Similar school statistics in the same *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual* reflected a decline in the number of students at Government Native Schools and a subsequent rise in

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<sup>344</sup> Thos. G. Thrum, "Number of Schools, Class, Etc. 1890, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education," *Hawaiian Annual* (Boston: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1892).

<sup>345</sup> "In the summer of 1887 a small group of haole (white) men, fired by a tempestuous meeting of their organization, the Hawaiian League...carried with them a hastily composed document that came to be known as the Bayonet Constitution, which they forced the king [David Kalākaua] to sign and by so doing effectively surrendered his executive functions within the government to them." Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 1.

<sup>346</sup> Some of the Independent Schools of the time included Punahou School, which commenced on July 11, 1842; the Kamehameha Schools, as well as some other private and religious educational institutions. "Ke Kula ma ka Punahou," *Ka Nonanona*, July 19, 1842.

<sup>347</sup> Thos. G. Thrum, "Nationality of Teachers in Government Schools, 1890, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands From Reports of the Board of Education," *Hawaiian Annual* (Boston: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1892).

the number of students at Government English Schools. According to an identical statistical report by the Board of Education just four years prior (1886), there were a total of 9,016 total students in the Kingdom. The report conveyed that 5,881 were Kanaka Maoli and an additional 1,042 "Half-caste Hawaiian" for a total of 6,923, or 77% of the entire student population.<sup>348</sup> Of the 9,016 total students enrolled in schools, 2,018 or 22% were in Government Native Schools; 2,584 or 29% were in Independent Schools, while 4,414 or 49% of the total student population were in Government English Schools. The following chart plots the school statistics from 1886, 1888 and 1890 for comparison.

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<sup>348</sup> Thos G. Thrum, "Nationality of Pupils, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1887* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1886).

**Table 1: Comparison of School Statistics, 1886, 1888 and 1890**

|                                              | 1886 <sup>349</sup> | 1888 <sup>350</sup> | 1890 <sup>351</sup> |
|----------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Total Student Population                     | 9,016               | 8,770               | 10,006              |
| Total Hawaiian Students                      | 6,923               | 6,567               | 7,172               |
| Hawaiians                                    | 5,881               | 5,320               | 5,599               |
| “Half-case Hawaiians”                        | 1,042               | 1,247               | 1,573               |
| % of Total Student Population                | 76.8%               | 74.8%               | 71.7%               |
| Number of <i>Government Native Schools</i>   | 77                  | 63                  | 36                  |
| Number of Teachers                           | 77                  | 64                  | 37                  |
| Number of Pupils on Hawaii                   | 818                 | 554                 | 395                 |
| Number of Pupils on Oahu                     | 464                 | 359                 | 121                 |
| Number of Pupils on Maui                     | 324                 | 177                 | 18                  |
| Number of Pupils on Kauai                    | 223                 | 183                 | 130                 |
| Number of Pupils on Molokai                  | 154                 | 97                  | 104                 |
| Number of Pupils on Lanai                    | 35                  | Incl. w/ Maui       | Incl. w/ Maui       |
| Total Pupils in <i>Govt. Native Schools</i>  | 2,018               | 1,370               | 768                 |
| % of Total Student Population                | 22.4%               | 15.6%               | 7.7%                |
| Number of <i>Government English Schools</i>  | 54                  | 69                  | 94                  |
| Number of Teachers                           | 121                 | 146                 | 193                 |
| Number of Pupils on Hawaii                   | 1,559               | 1,638               | 2,014               |
| Number of Pupils on Oahu                     | 1,033               | 1,068               | 1,752               |
| Number of Pupils on Maui                     | 1,060               | 1,200               | 1,732               |
| Number of Pupils on Kauai                    | 665                 | 709                 | 844                 |
| Number of Pupils on Molokai                  | 97                  | 157                 | 233                 |
| Number of Pupils on Lanai                    | 0                   | Incl. w/ Maui       | Incl. w/ Maui       |
| Total Pupils in <i>Govt. English Schools</i> | 4,414               | 4,772               | 6,575               |
| % of Total Student Population                | 48.9%               | 54.4%               | 65.7%               |
| Number of <i>Independent Schools</i>         | 41                  | 47                  | 48                  |
| Number of Teachers                           | 102                 | 50                  | 136                 |
| Number of Pupils on Hawaii                   | 598                 | 581                 | 506                 |
| Number of Pupils on Oahu                     | 1,475               | 1,476               | 1,667               |
| Number of Pupils on Maui                     | 374                 | 461                 | 361                 |
| Number of Pupils on Kauai                    | 137                 | 110                 | 129                 |
| Number of Pupils on Molokai                  | 0                   | 0                   | 0                   |
| Number of Pupils on Lanai                    | 0                   | Incl. w/ Maui       | Incl. w/ Maui       |
| Total Pupils in <i>Independent Schools</i>   | 2,584               | 2,628               | 2,663               |
| % of Total Student Population                | 28.7%               | 30.0%               | 26.6%               |

<sup>349</sup> Thos. G. Thrum, “Nationality of Pupils,” School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education,” *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1887* (Honolulu: Press Publishing, 1886).

<sup>350</sup> Thos. G. Thrum, “Nationality of Pupils, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education,” *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1889* (Honolulu: Press Publishing, 1888).

<sup>351</sup> Thos. G. Thrum, “Nationality of Pupils, 1888 and 1890, School Statistics, Hawaiian Islands, From Reports of the Board of Education,” *Hawaiian Annual* (Boston: A.C. McClurg & Co., 1892).

During the course of the four years from 1886 to 1890, the Government Native Schools (common schools) enrollment decreased by 14.7%. By 1890, only 7.7% of the total student population was attending common schools, conducted in the Hawaiian language.

The early 1890s was filled with significant political upheaval. On January 17, 1893, a group of businessmen, in conspiracy with United States diplomatic and military leaders, attempted to overthrow the constitutional government of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Despite their lack of public support, the group was successful in their attempts to remove Queen Lili'uokalani from her seat of power, with the help of the landing of United States Marines.<sup>352</sup>

Although their United States annexation efforts were not immediately realized, this group continued to illegally occupy the seat of power, and on July 4, 1894, declared themselves the Republic of Hawai'i. In 1896, the Republic of Hawai'i published its infamous law that is often considered the official ban on the Hawaiian language:

Figure 1: Ma Ke Kauoha: Kanawai 57, Pauku 30 (Official Decree: Act 57, Section 30)

Pauku 30. O ka olelo Beretania no ka mea e a'o ia ai iloko o na kula Aupuni a me na kula kuokoa apau. Eia nae, ma na wahi i makemakeia ae e a'o ia kekahi olelo e ae mawaho ae o ka Olelo Beretania, ua hiki no e hoomanaia ia a'o ana e ka Oihana mamuli o kona mau rula pono, na rula paha o ke kula, a i ole ia, mamuli o ke kauoha maoli ana pela. O kekahi mau kula i hooko ole e like me na mea i hoakakaia

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<sup>352</sup> “The proximate cause of the Revolution of January 17, 1893, was the attempt by Queen Liliuokalani on the previous Saturday afternoon, January 14, to promulgate a new constitution which she had prepared.” Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 3, 1874-1893 The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967), 582. “Judge Hartwell sent word to Captain Wiltse (U.S.S. Boston) about the queen's intention regarding the constitution, a message that caused Wiltse to make preliminary arrangements for landing a military force if it should be needed to protect American lives and property.” Ibid., 584. This statement was used to justify the illegal overthrow, to suggest that American lives were in jeopardy.

ma keia Pauku aole no lakou e ikeia a hoomaopopoia paha  
e ka Oihana.<sup>353</sup>

Translation: Section 30. The English language shall be the language medium in all government and independent schools. However, in places that wish to teach a language other than the English language, it can be authorized by a Department, the Superintendents of the schools, or by a law. Regarding the schools that disobey the things clarified in this section, they will not be recognized by the Department.

This law, as this text has demonstrated, was the final piece in a long and gradual colonial process that attempted to supplant the Hawaiian language and impose the use of the English language in Hawai'i's schools in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>353</sup> "Ma Ke Kauoha, Kanawai 57, Pauku 30," *Nupepa Kuokoa*, Iulai 10, 1896, 5.



## Conclusion

Foreign influence and control in Hawai‘i’s early educational history allowed for the brutal subjugation and denial of the Hawaiian language. From the arrival of foreign missionaries in 1820, Hawaiian knowledge systems, including our mother tongue, were oppressed while foreign systems and western models were empowered. This hierarchy allowed for English to gain superiority, which would continue through the increasingly effective foreign presence and influence in the Hawaiian Kingdom. This foreign influence would be an effective tool of manipulation and control that would ultimately allow for the violence of colonialism to wholly manifest itself.

Language is inherently tied to culture, identity and existence of a people because it is the way in which people come to view, express, and sustain themselves and their histories from generation to generation. The intent to control, manipulate, or destroy language is a cultural genocide—the institutionalized program to destroy the identity, traditions, religion and history of a group of people. From 1824 to 1896, a shift occurred in which language was used in the schools of Hawai‘i. In 1824, Kānaka Maoli learned to read and write in their own language. By 1896, Kānaka Maoli were educated almost entirely in the imposed language of their colonizers. This shift was the result of a deliberate plan to supplant the Hawaiian language with the English language, a colonial agenda that would guarantee control and conversion. Ultimately, this colonial tool to control Kānaka Maoli by degrading and making irrelevant the mother tongue was the most sinister and effective form of colonization in Hawai‘i.

The Republic of Hawai‘i’s 1896 language law was, indeed, a firm colonial tool used to cement the English language as the official language in the school systems.

However, the establishment of English as the dominant language in the schools had previously been set in motion, as the Kingdom's school enrollment numbers presented in this text have demonstrated. School officials such as William Richards and Richard Armstrong played instrumental roles in influencing the adoption of a western-style education, and eventually an English language education. These options were marketed to the Legislature, and public at large, as imperative tools to a promising and successful future for the nation and her people. While encouraging a western-style and English language education, the Hawaiian counterparts were degraded, which were presented as ignorant and incapable. Various writings were published in the newspapers that warned of the threat of the English language education on the mother tongue and its connection to identity and sovereignty. Nevertheless, the foreign influence and control in the Kingdom and its presence in the rest of Hawai'i society continued to market its promise as the inevitable path toward success and prosperity. English language school enrollment continued to rise to a point where, in 1890, common school (Hawaiian language medium school) enrollment was less than 10% of total Kingdom school enrollment.

Thus, the 1896 law was the program that cemented, rather than created, the overwhelming dispossession of the Hawaiian language in the school systems. The 1896 law occurred at the tail end of the dispossession. The language shift that occurred in Hawai'i's schools was a gradual one that started over seven decades earlier. During that time, the common school enrollment gradually declined while the English language school enrollment gradually increased. This language shift was very complex, with many contributors playing different roles. Over this time period, there was a sequence of events that created an opportunity for the English language to thrive, and often at the

expense of Hawaiian. In the business realm, English continued to gain a foothold as the language of trade, often making the case for the “necessary” acquisition of English. In the courts, English, over time, became the language of the courts, as all things Hawaiian had to be translated into the English language, as it was argued that it was the language of clarity. In the dominion of politics, most Hawaiian ali‘i were well versed in the English language, a shining example that did not go unnoticed by the rest of Kanaka Maoli society.

Although the first decade of the public education system in Hawai‘i was dominated (99%) by Hawaiian-medium instruction, many foreign educational officials, like Armstrong, began planting the seed of the necessity of the English language. This seed would eventually grow, slowly at first, and ferociously later, nourished by many elements and reacting to different changes in the political, social and economic climate of the times. By 1890, approximately 92% of all students in the Kingdom’s educational system received an English language education. Despite the moral inappropriateness of government institutionalizing one language at the expense of another (as it did with the 1896 language law), the Hawaiian language common schools already sported extremely low enrollment levels. The premise and conclusions of this thesis are merely that the use of the Hawaiian language in the school system in Hawai‘i from 1824 until the 1896 ‘language law,’ declined tremendously, and the English language during the same time flourished. A premise not made here is that the English language was chosen over the Hawaiian language, because this thesis just focused on the use and disuse of two particular languages in the Kingdom’s schools.

As a Kanaka Maoli, I have beautiful visions of what the future holds for our lāhui. A large part of this vision relies on the understanding of how we arrived at the place we are now, so we can make the best decision toward future destinations. Our ancestors have taught us that we must do what is pono, and all else will fall into place. I am confident in their principle, and I hope I have done them justice. Our work today is not just the summation of those who have come before us, but it is the beginning of those who come after us. To those who come after me, I hope I have left you in a good place from which to pick up.

Any errors, misinterpretations and brazenness to our lāhui are completely my own and absolutely unintentional.

That which is above will come down  
That which is below will rise up  
The islands will come together  
The walls will stand

E iho ana o luna  
E pi‘i ana o lalo  
E hui ana nā moku  
E kū ana ka paia<sup>354</sup>

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<sup>354</sup> “The mele now presented... is said to have been the joint composition of the high chief Keiki-o-ewa of Kauai, at one time the kahu of Prince Moses, and of Kapihe, a distinguished poet—haku mele—and prophet. (To Kapihe is described the prophetic and oracular utterance, E iho ana o luna, e pii ana o lalo; e ku ana ka paia, e moe ana kaula, e kau ana kau-huhu—o lani iluna, o honua ilalo—‘The high shall be brought low, the lowly uplifted; the defenses shall stand; the prophet shall lie low; the mountain walls shall abide—heaven above, earth beneath.’)” Nathaniel Bright Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Government Printing Office, 1909), 111. Versions of this mele received today are often presented with the line “E hui ana nā moku.” However, no citation or reference for this version is available.

Appendix: Kanawai Hooponopono Kula  
Ka Lama Hawaii. Buke 2, Helu 1. 1 Ianuali 1841.

O ka naauao, a me ka ike, oia ke kumu e pono ai ke aupuni. Aole e malu maikai ka aina, aole hoi e kuapapanui, ke ao ole ia na kanaka ma ka palapala, a me na mea e pono ai.

Ina aole e aoia na kamalii, e mau loa no ka naaupo, pono ole na keiki alii, a pono ole na keiki a pau, nolaila, ua kauia keia kanawai.

1 Ina e noho ana kekahi poe kanaka mea keiki, ua umikumamalima keiki a keu aku paha, he poe keiki pono ke hele i ke kula, a ua noho lakou ma kahi kokoke, ma ke kulanakauhale hookahi paha, a i ole ia, ma ke ahupuaa hookahi paha, pono ia lakou e imi i kumu kula no lakou. Penei hoi lakou e hana'i. E akoakoa na makuakane o lakou, a e koho i mau mea ekolu o lakou, i lunakula no ia wahi. Ina uuku iho na kamalii o kekahi kulanakauhale i ka umikumamalima, alaila, e hui ko lakou poe makua, me kekahi poe e ae e kokoke ana.

2 Alaila, e hele kela poe luna i kekahi kumu misionari kokoke, a e imi pu lakou i kumu kula no ia wahi. Ina uuku na kamalii, hookahi no kumu, ina mahuahua na kamalii elua no kumu, a i nui loa na keiki, ekolu kumu a keu aku paha, aia no ia lakou, e like me ko lakou mana like ana.

3 A loa ke kumu, alaila, e olelo pu lakou i ka uku, o ka misionari o ia wahi, o ke kumu, a me na lunakula a holo ka olelo no ka uku, alaila, aia no i na lunakula ka auhau aku i na kanaka e like me ko lakou ike ana he mea e pono ai ke kumu, a o na kumu paha o ia wahi. Penei hoi e hana'i na lunakula. E huli lakou i pauku aina kaawale, aole i mahiia, a e hele lakou i ke konohiki o ia wahi, a hoike aku ia ia, alaila, e lilo ia wahi i ke alii, i mea e pono ai ke kumukula.

4 Penei e mahiia'i ua aina la. ekolu la paahao o ke alii nui e lilo i ke kumu, maloko o ka makahiki hookahi, ekolu hoi la o na konohiki, a ekolu la o na makainana, a, aia no i ke kumu ka olelo no ka hana maluna o ua aina la.

Eia kekahi, i na la hana ma ka aina o ke kumu, a i ka hale kula paha, he hana ia e pau loa na kuewa a me na hoopili wale i ka uku i hapaha, ke hele ole lakou ia hana.

O na keiki kane maloko o ke kula, o lakou kekahi e hana i ka hana a ke kumu, eono hora i ka hebedoma hookahi. Aole nae na keiki uuku loa, o na keiki malalo o na makahiki ewalau, aole lakou e hana, aole hoi na keiki maimai.

5 Eia kekahi uku no na kumukula. Aole lakou e hele i ka paahao, a me ka hana a pau a na'lii, a me na konohiki. Aole hoi lakou e hookupu kala o ke kino, i ko lakou wa e malama ana i ke kula. Pela no hoi ka lakou wahine, a pau ko lakou wa malama i ke kula, alaila, hookupu no lakou e like me na kanaka a pau. Ina loa ole ka aina, alaila, e imi pu na lunakula a me ka misionari, a akaka ia lakou kahi e loa mai ai ka uku pono, alaila, na na luna e auhau aku na kanaka, a me na konohiki, a me na lii, e like me ka pono a lakou i imi ai, i kokua like na mea a pau i ka naauao.

6 Aole pono ke uku like ia na kumu a pau. O ke kumu akamai loa a ikaika loa ka hana ana, a nui kana poe haumana, pono e uku nui ia oia. A o ka mea i emi mai kona akamai, a me ka ikaika o kana hana ana, e emi pu no me kona uku. Aole nae i kapaia kekahi i kumu ma keia kanawai, ke loa ole ia ia ka palapala kumu, mai na kumu mai o ke Kulanui o Lahainaluna, a i ole ia mai na Kahukula mai paha.

7 Ina ike aku na lunakula ua nui ka waiwai o ka aina a ke alii i haawi ai i ke

kumukula, ua oi aku mamua o ka lakou i olelo pu ai me ke kumu, alaila, e malama no lakou ia waiwai, i mea uku i kekahi kula, e like me ka olelo malalo iho.

8 Ma na wahi a pau loa i hemahema na kamalii no ka pono ole o na hale kula, e olelo aku no na lunakula o ia wahi i na kanaka, a e hana no lakou i hale kula e like me ka olelo a na luna. Aole e hana ka paahao, no ka mea, aole ia he hana i pili i na 'lii wale no, he hana ia e pono like ai na makaainana, a me na 'lii. Ina hele ole kekahi i ka hana i ka wa a na kumukula e olelo ai, e uku no ia, e like me ka mea hele ole i ka paahao.

9 Eia na kamalii kupono i ke kula, o na kamalii eha makahiki mai ka hanau ana, a maluna ae olaila a hiki i ka umikumamaha makahiki. A ina he keiki ka kekahi kanaka i kupono i ke kula, aole i hiki i ka walu o kona makahiki mai kona hanau ana, aole hoi i hoouna mau kona makua ia ia i ke kula, alaila, e hana kela makua i eiwa la hou maloko o ka makahiki, ma ka aina o ke kumu. Oia ka uku o ka poe hoonaupo i ka lakou poe keiki.

Aka, ina he keiki nui, ua hala ka walu o kona mau makahiki, a hele ole i ke kula, alaila, e hana no kela keiki i ka hana a ke kumu i elua la maloko o ka hebedoma. Oia ka uku o na keiki molowa i ka hele i ke kula. Aole nae e kula i na la a pau o ka hebedoma. Elima la kula, he la hoomaha ka la hoomalolo.

10 E noho malie no na kamalii iloko o ke kula me ka hoolohe i ka ke kumu. Aka, ina i kolohe kekahi kamalii e pono no i ke kumu ke ao aku me ka hoopai maikai aku ia ia, aole hoopai hewa. Ina i pilikia ke kumu no ka malu ole o ke kula a no ke kolohe nui o kekahi kamalii paha, alaila, e imi pu ke kumu me na luna kula, a e hana e like me ko lakou manao like ana.

Aole pono i na keiki ke hele nui ma kahi e i ka manawa kula. I ka wa hoomaha, alaila hele, a kula hou, alaila hoi mai. Aka, ina i pilikia nui keiki no kona makua paha, no ka mai o kekahi hoahanau paha, pono no ka hele, me ka lohe nae o ke kumu.

Aole nae e pono i na kumu ke paa aku i na haumana i manao e mare, aole hoi i na haumana i hele e noho loa ma kahi e me ka makua, aka, i ka wa e hele ai lakou, e komo hou no iloko o kekahi kula.

11 Ina pono ole ka hana ana a ke kumu, ua molowa paha, ua kolohe paha, alaila, e hookolokoloia kela kumu, na na lunakula a me ka misionari o ia wahi e hookolokolo ia ia. Aia no ia lakou ka olelo nona. Ina, manao lakou e hoemi i kona uku, a manao lakou e pau kona noho kumu ana, aia no ia lakou.

A hiki i ka manawa e hewa i kekahi kumu, a make paha, alaila, hoi aku kona aina, a me kona hale, a me kona pa i ke alii, a na na lunakula e malama, a na lakou e haawi i ke kumu hou.

12 Eia kekahi hana a na lunakula, o ka paipai i na makua, ma na mea e naauao ai ka lakou poe keiki; a o lakou kekahi e hooikaika i na keiki e hele i ke kula, a e ao nui i ka palapala. A e kokua no hoi lakou i ke kumu ma na mea e pono ai ke kula. E hana wale hoi na lunakula, aole lakou e ukuia, no ka mea, he wahi hana uuku ka lakou, aka, i ka wa e hele ai na kanaka a pau e hana ma ka aina i haawii i ke kumu, aole lakou e hele, oia kahi uku iki no ka lakou hana.

13 I kela makahiki i keia makahiki e waeia kekahi mau kanaka akamai, i Kahukula, penei, hookahi ma Hawaii, hookahi ma Maui, hookahi ma Molokai a me Lanai, hookahi ma Oahu, hookahi ma Kauai, a hookahi hoi luna maluna o lakou. Na na 'lii no e wae i ko lakou akoakoa ana i kela makahiki i keiamakahiki. O lakou hoi ka poe kahu kula no ka makahiki.

14 Eia hoi ka hana a na kahukula, e hele no ke kahu o Hawaii e nana, a e ao a e paipai i na kumu a pau, a me na haumana, a e imi hoi i mea e pono ai na kula a pau. E olelo pu no hoi lakou me na kumu a me ke kiaaina, i ka hemahema o na kula, a me ka mea e pau ai. A pela no ke kahu o ko Maui mau kula, a pela no hoi ke kahu o Molokai, a me ke kahu o Oahu, a me ke kahu o Kauai, a e hoike lakou i ko lakou luna i na mea a lakou i ike ai me na mea a lakou i hana'i. A na ka luna no e hoike i na'lii i ko lakou manawa e halawai ai. Eia hoi ko lakou uku. I ka wa e hele ai lakou e ike i na kula, e malama na konohiki ia lakou i ka ai a me na mea e pono ai. A e uku maoli ia lakou he 25 dala, maloko o ka waiwai o ke aupuni, aole ke dala maoli

15 Eia kekahi, o na haumana i hele i ke Kulanui ma Lahainaluna ua kaawale lakou i ka hookupu dala a me na la hana a pau o na'lii, a o na haumana a pau i hele mau i ke kula, e ao i ka palapala aina, a me ka helu, a me na mea e ae i ao nui ia ma na kula o na lunakula, aole e hele kela poe haumana i ka paahao o ke alii nui, a me ko na na konohiki, a hiki i ka umikumamawalu o ko lakou mau makahiki.

16 Ua paa no keia kanawai no keia manawa, aka, i ka wa e halawai ai na'lii me ka poe i kohoia, ina manao lakou e hoole i kekahi hua, a e hookomo hou paha, aia no i ko lakou manao.

Ina kukalaia keia kanawai ma kekahi kulanakauhale, a ma kekahi aina paha, o ka la e kukalaia'i, oia ka la e kau ai ma ia wahi a i kukala ole ia, o ka la mua o Ianuari, 1841 oia ka la e kau ai ma na wahi a pau loa ma Hawaii nei.

Ua hanaia e na'lii o Hawaii nei, ma Lahaina Maui, i keia la umikumamalima o Okatoba i ka makahiki o ko kakou Haku 1840.

KAMEHAMEHA III.

KEKAULUOHI.

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