

A STUDY OF THE MISSIONARY EFFORT  
TO CIVILIZE THE HAWAIIAN COMMONER

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## I. THE MISSIONARY HISTORIANS

For one to gain a complete understanding of the history of a nation like Hawaii, one would hope to learn about its people, especially the common people. History has not been kind to the maka'ainana (commoners) of Hawaii. Historical accounts of Hawaii are laden with voluminous accounts of the ali'i (ruling class). As Hawaii transformed from an absolute monarchy of Kamehameha I into a more complex constitutional monarchy, foreigners began to play a major role in the decisions of the fledgling nation. Their chapter in Hawaiian history is also told in depth, complete with the overthrow of the monarchy and the annexation of Hawaii to the United States. From that time on, Hawaii became involved in a unique process of Americanization of a polyglot community. But what happened to the history of the Hawaiian common people? Why is their story so absent in the annals of Hawaii's past? These questions were partially dealt with by some historians. The graduates of Lahainaluna Seminary, a Protestant college that educated the most scholarly of the Hawaiian community in the mid-nineteenth century, undertook a project to record history from oral accounts taken from elderly informants throughout the island chain. Led by David Malo and Samuel Kamakau, these native historians hurried to gather up this information before

these elder voices were quieted forever. Later in the century, Judge Abraham Fornander, the Hawaiiana collaborator, laid down an immense history of pre-Captain Cook Hawaii through the enlistment of Hawaiian recorders. Their works are filled with anecdotes on the culture of the common people. Unfortunately, again, the majority of their history is commentary on the ali'i class. In addition, modern anthropologists have ably combined the sketches of ancient historians and the archaeological findings of Hawaii and derived a cultural simulation of the ancient life of the maka'ainana. Unless more documents on ancient Hawaii or archaeological findings are discovered, we may already have exhausted the history of the pre-Captain Cook Hawaiians.

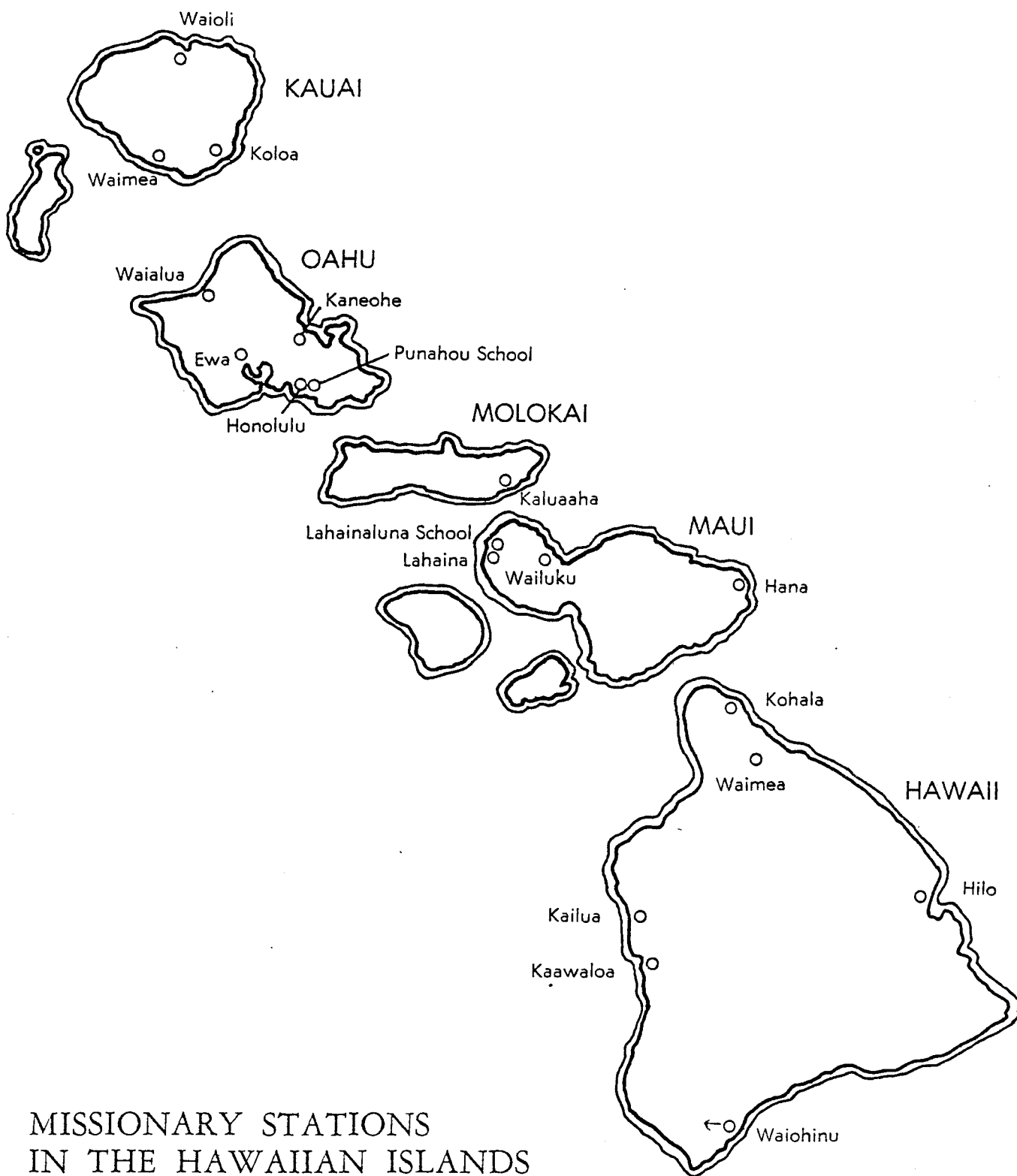
Mary Pukui and E. Craighill Handy were the next to undertake a comprehensive study of the Hawaiian commoner. Working under the auspices of the Bishop Museum, they traveled to the remote district of Ka'u on the Big Island of Hawaii and interviewed Hawaiian families, particularly elderly people of the area. Their research, which was finally published as The Polynesian Family System in Ka'u Hawaii, is a classic in Hawaiian social studies and lore. No other work depicts the life of the Hawaiian commoner more comprehensively than this study. Unfortunately, their research was not undertaken until 1935. Even their oldest informants could only have lived as early as the 1860's.

Therefore, Pukui and Handy's work could only have accurately represented Hawaiian life in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Fornander, Malo, and their contemporaries gave us a glimpse of Hawaii prior to Cook's discovery, but there is no composite material published on the life of the Hawaiian commoner in the interim period from 1778 to approximately 1860.

This writer has attempted to research this gap in history and seek some clues to the life of the maka'ainana. From 1778 to the 1830's there were many explorers, traders, and other observers traveling through the islands. Many of them recorded observations of Hawaii and its people. Again, the ali'i received the most attention. But these foreigners did comment on the commoners. Unfortunately, their comments were often detached and unspecific in content, which precluded any in-depth study of the people. This writer has surveyed a sampling of their accounts and will comment on them later in this paper.

An era that proved more fruitful was the period from approximately 1830 to 1860 -- a time when the missionary influence was at its apex in Hawaii. In spite of all the controversy centered around the efficacy of the mission in Hawaii, no one can deny that the missionaries were prolific recorders of history. The first company came to Hawaii from Boston in 1820, led by the archetypal Reverend Hiram Bingham. While some of the missionaries began establishing a mission

center in Honolulu, others dispersed themselves to other districts in the islands where they organized new mission stations. Eventually sixteen stations were established all along the island chain. (See map on page 4a.) These out-stations reported at least once every two years to the Sandwich Island Mission (SIM) in Honolulu, which was an extension of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) headquartered in Boston. These reports have proven to be a treasure of commentary on the Hawaiian commoner. They were started approximately in 1830 and were terminated in 1863 or just after [when] the SIM broke its ties with the ABCFM and Hawaii was established as an independent mission under the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). These stations were situated near village sites on the outer islands like Hilo, Hawaii, Hana, Maui, and Waimea, Kauai, to name a few. These missionaries immersed themselves in the village life of the commoner and attempted to bring the word of God to these heathens as well as educate and civilize them. No other recorders of history had had such close contact with the commoners. Their reports were primarily interested in the religious and educational advancement of their parishioners, two subjects which are certainly worthy of research, but are not within the focus of this paper. The portion that is pertinent to this study is the comments made on the "progress of civilization" or "temporal conditions" of the people, which often comprised



the concluding remarks of a report. Yet these closing statements were full of descriptions of the conditions, activities, and behavior of the people that gave one at least a glimpse of the daily existence of the Hawaiian people. These reports were continued after 1863, but were more statistical in content and less comprehensive in their accounts of the people. Time did not allow the writer to pursue these records. A few additional missionary sources will be utilized in this study, but this writer's research was not in any way exhaustive of the entire library of mission sources covering this period.

The reader must remember that these missionary impressions, characterizations, and descriptions were thoroughly influenced by the religious convictions of these men. Their religious bias and condescending commentary were readily apparent in their reports. Some missionaries were of course, more righteous and concurrently less objective and their stilted reporting reflected this. Yet the missionary had the most rigid set of rules for any sect of society at that time. The freer and open society of the Hawaiians was culturally distant from the cloistered surroundings of New England's Puritanical society. It was a shock for the missionaries to witness this savage society and its often <sup>Sp</sup> [resisistant] attempts to become civilized. The missionary lived so close to the Hawaiian that his reports, regardless of their frequent bias discolorations, were the most direct

evidence of Hawaiian village life yet unveiled.

As mentioned previously, an attempt was made to canvass a portion of the observations of earlier witnesses. In spite of the lack of detail in these earlier reports, their commentary often did reflect striking similarities with the missionary literature. Therefore, these accounts will be compared to the station reports at the conclusion of the paper.

The focus of this study, however, will be to organize and delineate the relevant commentary of the mission reports that will give us a clearer picture of the maka'ainana in the mid-nineteenth century, or, more specifically, from 1830 to 1863. As we will see, these were frightening times for the Hawaiian people, when their culture was being radically transformed. We will view this transition in Hawaiian life through the discerning eye of the missionary who literally lived and died among the Hawaiians.

## II. THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The missionary story in Hawaii actually began amidst another revival period in Puritan New England. After the Great Awakening of the early eighteenth century, numerous secondary revivals sprang up around the thirteen colonies in the early 1800's, perpetuating the formation of mission societies. Some ardent revivalists, led by Samuel Mills of Andover Seminary, conceived of the idea that God's word should be sent to heathen countries overseas, but as yet there was no mechanism to sponsor such a bold project. They approached the General Association of Massachusetts to inquire where they might gain support for such an endeavor, and the body immediately answered their request by forming the ABCFM to organize this project. In 1812, it sent its first missionaries abroad to India and Ceylon. At approximately the same time, some Hawaiian travelers had stumbled into New England and were swept up in the religious fervor and became ardent converts at the Cornwall Seminary in Connecticut. Led by Henry Opukahaia and Thomas Mopu, they planned to spread the word of God to their benighted countrymen. Unfortunately, Henry Opukahaia suddenly died of typhus, but his heroic spirit grasped the hearts of New England Puritans and a concentrated effort arose to make the Sandwich Island Mission a reality. Led by Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, the first company of the SIM left Boston;

five arduous months later they landed in Honolulu in 1820.  
(Smith, 1956, 22-26)

Establishing the mission in Hawaii was no easy task. The path had been made considerably smoother with the abolition of the kapu system and the systematic destruction of the ancient images and heiaus. Convincing the ali'i of their Christian designs for the country was going to be difficult and the top priority of the fledgling mission. The reigning monarch, Kamehameha II, Liholiho, never did fully embrace Christianity and at best, just tolerated <sup>missionary</sup> their presence as long as it didn't interfere with his government and social activities. Anyway, he was pre-occupied with his impending trip to England, an undertaking that cost him and Queen Kamamalu their lives. The dowager queen, Kaahumanu, wielded considerable power in the kingdom and she, too, was cool to the first advances of the missionaries. After being nursed back to health by Hiram Bingham's wife, Sybil, following a debilitating sickness, Kaahumanu became more receptive to the missionary desires. When her power was increased with the death of Liholiho and the anointing of the young Kauikeouli as Kamehameha III, a new atmosphere of religiosity permeated the Kingdom. And, while the Honolulu mission was becoming more stabilized, <sup>other</sup> more outlying stations were being established with the arrival of the second and third companies of missionaries.

By the 1830's there was still no indication that

the missionary had been successful in convincing the majority of the kingdom about the path of righteousness. Not until the great evangelist, Titus Coan, began inciting the heathen souls of the Hilo and Puna districts to beg for enlightenment, was there any mass movement toward Christianity. In 1837 he associated the devastating tidal wave at Hilo with the voice of God, and as many as 10,000 people at a time gathered at his meetings to ask for the Lord's protection. This wave of conversion spread to the neighboring station of Waimea and soon reverberated throughout the island chain.

Never again would the mission be lacking in influence nor membership in the Hawaiian kingdom. In fact, so successful had the mission become, that the ABCFM started procedures to establish the SIM as an independent church. In 1854, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was formed to serve the many functions of the wide-ranging Protestant organization which consisted of 16 stations throughout Hawaii. In 1863, the ABCFM finally broke its organizational ties with the SIM, which coincided with the acceptance of native clergymen in the HEA.

This brief history of the mission was the religious framework that chartered the establishment of Protestantism in Hawaii in the mid-nineteenth century. The societal changes during this period were even more cataclysmic to the lives of the Hawaiian villager. The new land policy

was the single most democratizing enactment adopted during the kingdom's tenure. With the establishment of the Great Mahele in 1848, 30,000 acres were set aside for the commoner to claim. This was a small portion compared to the two and one-half million acres reserved for the king and konohikis (land managers), yet it did allow the maka'ainana to become landowners with fee title, a concept totally unknown to them until then. Land ownership instilled in a few of the natives a spirit of industry, and also served to ease the yoke of oppression by the ali'i and the konohikis. Whereas the land policy may have given the Hawaiian commoner a new lease on life, there were other events that were destroying life.

Foreign traders, merchants, and whalers frequented and often took up residence in the islands, noted for its abundance of food and water. This business entourage found its home in the growing communities of Honolulu and Lahaina. Akin to these bustling business centers was the frolicking atmosphere of the rum and dance houses. The gay pleasures of these towns were far more interesting than the drudgery of the rustic Hawaiian village; and consequently, many natives gravitated to these urban centers. This exodus led to the disintegration of the families and farms in the outlying districts. The associated venereal disease of these centers of pleasure took their toll on the present and future population with the resulting death and barrenness of many young Hawaiian women.

There were more diseases introduced than the venereal variety, and these, more than anything else, perpetuated an almost total extinction of the culture and population of the Hawaiian race. Population estimates reveal approximately 300,000 Hawaiians existing at Cook's arrival, 85,000 in 1853, and only 35,000 at the end of the nineteenth century. The most devastating epidemics occurring during the time period of this paper was the measles in 1848, the influenza in 1849, and the small pox in 1853. It was no easy task for the missionary to evangelize, educate, and civilize the Hawaiian while they were dying off in astonishing numbers. And, the Hawaiians were often reluctant to be saved by a civilization which was responsible for their decimation.

This, then was the religious and societal conditions that prevailed during the course of this study where the writer will investigate the records of the missionaries on the progress of civilization of the Hawaiian people.

### III. THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION

Most of the missionary reports utilized this heading as a closing chapter to their reports to the SIM in Honolulu. The comments associated with this section of their reports related to the secular conditions and activities of the people, exclusive of their religious and also their educational progress. Frequently, they would further break down this section with additional categories that were either implied or specifically labeled. One such category was delineated as "temporal conditions" of the people, referring to the degree of progress of the domestic habits and surroundings of the people. Another section was the moral behavior of the people, which was always under close scrutiny by the missionary. A third category was the degree of benevolence displayed by the people for the pastor and the church. As the evidence will show, this section dealt with much more than just how much the people contributed to the church coffers. And finally, the missionaries commented frequently on heathen practices, which was always an indication of the people's resistance to break from the past and embrace a more civilized existence. All of these categories were regarded as barometers of civilization of the people in these outlying districts. By inspecting each area in detail, we can avail ourselves of some clues of the life of the maka'ainana in that period.

Temporal Conditions of the People: This section refers to either the improvement or the lack of progress of the domestic habits and surroundings of the Hawaiians as viewed by the missionaries. There was extensive commentary on the overview of temporal conditions and these general observations will be covered first.

One of the first impressions the missionaries gave us of the squalid state of the people in the earliest days of the mission is from the records of the prolific recorder, Lorenzo Lyons. Commenting on the Waimea station in 1837, he states, "It has often been reported that the people as a general thing were but little elevated in their habits of living above the brute creation. Their houses are nothing but the rudest hovels . . . ." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1837, 1) The recordings soon changed to a more optimistic tone regarding the people's condition. In 1841, W. P. Alexander enthusiastically noted that, "In a civil point of view, the people of our station, are undergoing a rapid change. Though greatly secluded still the enterprise which is moving the nations of the Earth has extended its influence to them. The whole aspect of society is undergoing a rapid transformation." (Waioli, 1841, 1) The natives' worldliness and progress continued to improve and was detected in other stations. Titus Coan of Hilo observed that "Great numbers of the people and especially those about the station are fast increasing the social comforts

of life. Dwellings are being improved, commerce increases, and clothing, utensils, furniture, and other conveniences are accumulating." (Hilo, 1846, 2) Reverend Asa Thurston was more reserved in his outlook, yet still positive about the people's steady progress toward civilization, which he noted in 1853: "Throughout our field there is evidence of a slow onward progress. There is nothing startling in the appearance of things, but still some indications of advancement, some waking up, some growing towards a state of manhood." (Kailua, 1853, 1-2) Some voices quickly became less optimistic. Coan noted that progress was stymied due to the devastating effects of diseases. "The pestilence which has swept over the land, & the great, the almost continuous & unparalled rains which have flooded the earth through the winter, have left the people little time or ability to improve their temporal condition." (Hilo, 1849, 5) Benjamin Parker of Kaneohe acidly recorded that the epidemics would teach the Hawaiians a lesson: "I have some hope that the sickness and suffering of the last year will effectually teach them some things about the necessity of civilized conveniences and civilized habits which they have been slow to learn heretofore." (Kaneohe, 1849, 2)

Other missionaries attribute the slowdown in progress to the extravagance of the people. The Reverend Samuel Dwight of the Molokai station blames it on the inability of

the Hawaiians to judiciously utilize the credit system. He states that "Within sight of our door are 5 stores where goods have during the year past or most of it been obtained on credit -- which has made it extremely easy even for penny-less (!) natives to make purchases which they would have well dispensed with had cash only been demanded. So far as our experience goes the credit system has been a curse instead of a blessing to this people, and has retarded social improvement instead of increasing it." (Kaluaaha #2,1851,62) The slight affluence of the times had been more of a detriment than a boon to progress, as evidenced by Thurston's comment: "There is more money in circulation; but few however know how to make right use of it. Most of it goes for clothing too expensive for their means." (Kailua, 1851,4)

The missionaries were more specific in their comments referring to the conditions and activities regarding the peoples' homes. The earliest reports describe the primitive construction of their huts, probably having no influence whatsoever from western architecture. Lyons elaborates on the entrances to those "rudest hovels" previously mentioned. "These are entered by one door not three feet high. This is often an open door. If the occupants wish to leave they close this passage way with a brush or a mat -- or some such like track. Now and then a kind of a door rudely made of rude materials will be found --". (Waimea, Hawaii, 1837,1)

On a tour of Molokai in 1835, the Reverend Hiram Bingham further described these primitive abodes as "not more than two or three times as large as a common bedstead, being from seven to nine feet square on the ground, and no taller than to allow a man of ordinary stature to stand erect under the ridge pole." (Bingham, 1848, 467)

The most common criticism of the interior of native houses was the lack of partitions or compartments where the family members could retain a sense of decency and privacy. Lyons first cited this characteristic in 1837 as he visited some simple dwellings: "Night comes on -- men, women, and children, the married and unmarried lie down to sleep -- a single mat on the ground is perhaps the only sleeping place -- no partions [partitions] to divide a part from the rest -- In this respect all things are common --". (Waimea, Hawaii, 1837,1-2) The lack of partitions contributed to unvirtuous tendencies and relaxation of religious habits. The Reverend Green admitted that crowded quarters were "exceedingly unfavorable to the formation and strengthening of virtuous habits, but exceedingly favorable to the development of vicious propensities." (Wyllie, 1848,31) Elias Bond of the Kohala station added despondently that "not the slightest opportunity of privacy for a word or a prayer or any act in the performance of which nature itself dictates & craves seclusion from the common gaze. Hence comes the early corruption of Hawaiian children & hence too

the mournful fad amongst our church members, the habit of private devotions is a thing nearly or quite unknown."

(Kohala, 1860-61, 11-12) The missionaries may have been overly sensitive on this subject of partitions. It was culturally characteristic of Polynesian societies to have communal living quarters. This is just one of the many instances of the missionary's inability to understand or respect the cultural traits of the natives. But some of the houses did adopt partitions after a time as Bingham recorded that "Within a year many habitations, more comfortable, were built, having separate sleeping apartments . . . ." (Bingham, 1848, 467) There were other signs of improved dwellings, too. More spacious houses with windows were noted by Samuel Dwight on Molokai. "The houses lately constructed by the people are larger, more commodious, better furnished with doors, windows & other conveniences, than those of former days." (Kaluaaha #2, 1849-51, 48) Lanais and gardens were two of the more noteworthy improvements that added to the comfort and beauty of the villages and their inhabitants. In Ka'u Reverend John D. Paris remarked that "there is some improvement in the structure of houses with lanais (verandahs) & apartments. Enclosed yards and gardens in some instances add greatly to comfort & cleanliness. (Waiohinu, 1848, 7-8) Titus Coan reflected on this subject, saying that "Twenty years ago we had but one framed house in Hilo,

now we have some 40 or 50. Verandahs were then a comfort unknown to our people, now no one builds without this appendage. Our village was then without form, a wilderness of weeds, wild grass & bushes; now it begins to show the outline of order & improvement in streets, side-walks -- fences, gardens & cultivated trees." (Hilo, 1855, 2)

Due to the imitation of and coaxing by the missionaries, the natives made an attempt to furnish these humble houses with western furniture. Lorenzo Lyons pleasantly contemplated the improved interiors of native houses. "You must enter also some of the native houses, where you will find a decent seat, perhaps an armchair, a table, a chest . . . ." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1848, 24-25) And Reverend Coan was also mindful of the progress the people had achieved in articles of comfort. He noted that "Once the calabash, the stone pestle, the pai-board & a few mats were all the furniture the native afforded. Now the neat dwelling presents its chairs, tables, sofas, desk, its \$40 bedstead, its hangings, its culinary & table furniture & a hundred other little comforts unknown to a former generation." (Hilo, 1855,2) But acquiring these articles and maintaining them were often two different matters. Lyons remarked that after owning these creature comforts for a while, they soon fell into disrepair. "Tables & seats fell to pieces (!) & there were no nails to be had to repair them." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1854, 11-12) Elias Bond harshly remarked, which he

often did, about the impracticality as well as incongruousness of owning these pieces of furniture that "Evidently a \$40 bedstead occupying one third or more of the entire space in the small & low thatched house & standing upon the earthen floor -- an object to be looked at & never used by the inmates -- is far from adding to the comforts of the household. The same is true of nice & expensive tables or settees & other similar articles of furniture which merely cumber the houses of the more ambitious of the people." (Kohala, 1860-61, 11-12)

Not only was furniture a sign of civilization, but also cooking and eating utensils, as well as the habits of eating itself. The Hawaiians again attempted to imitate the habits and articles of the missionaries with varying degrees of success. Some of the positive signs of improvement included Lyons observation in 1848, when upon entering a typical Hawaiian abode, one might find "a tea kettle, iron pot & frying pan -- & if it should chance to be the proper time -- you might see the husband -- & perhaps the wife & children -- all taking their meal a la America, & if you please you may join with them in their bowl of tea & dish of fried poi." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1848, 24-25)

Reverend Baldwin of Lahaina enumerated the progress of the people in western habits. He stated, "As near as can be recollected, about 300 families at Lahaina eat at the table in the style of civilized people. Within a little more

than a year, we have been invited to one dinner by natives, where about 200 sat down & ate at their own tables; to a second, where 80 at at their own tables; at a third 200 sat at their own tables; at a fourth there were about 150 & at the fifth we sat down with 350 . . . & their cooking was generally well done & a portion of it in European style." (Lahaina, 1846, 9-10) The primitive method for eating was partaking in common from a large calabash as Lyons depicted in the early days of the mission, when "the great calabash is placed in the midst of out of which all eat in unison -- one hand after another enters the dish first & then to the mouth & so on till all are filled . . . ." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1837, 2) Some communities never gave up this native custom as late as 1860 in neighboring Kohala, Elias Bond remarked that "we find the common calabash still the universal family dish & fingers, guiltless of unnecessary contact with water, for the most part -- everywhere serve in lieu of knives & forks . . . ." (Kohala, 1860-61, 11-12) The previously mentioned problem of maintenance also took its toll on kitchen utensils. Again Lyons sadly notes that "Tumblers, bowls & plates were broken carelessly -- accidentally or in a fit of anger & no stores were near to apply for a new supply -- knives, forks & spoons became so rusty as to be unusable -- wives found it too much trouble to keep things in order; & besides the females & children preferred the old system." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1854, 11-12)

Other domestic habits were also indications of the improvement or lack of progress of "temporal conditions". Attention to children was a frequently observed characteristic and all but one recording revealed that the missionaries were dismayed at the lack of control the natives had over their children. Only Reverend Asa Thurston's remarks hinted of any hope for the improvement of family care. Thurston cautiously states: that "It is encouraging however to witness a gradual improvement in this respect. Young parents do much better than their fathers before them. Many generations must, however, pass away before family government can be anything like what it ought to be." (Kailua, 1837, 4-5) Futility was the tone of most of the remarks pertaining to child care. Lack of restraint was a common fault as noticed by Emerson in Waialua: "Children are disobedient to their parents: parents neglect their children, & allow them to run at large with little or no restraint. (Waialua, 1856, 3) And Reverend Shipman of Ka'u gives even further emphasis in his statement in 1861: "Our youth have no wholesome family culture, & but few restraints. They acknowledge no parental authority & know but little if any respect to parents." (Waiohinu, 1861, 6-7) In their criticisms of Hawaiian family care, the missionaries may not have fully understood the customs of the natives. They condemned the Hawaiians for the abominable act of giving away their children. Emerson noted this practice at

Waialua: "Some parents, after solemnly promising to train up their children for the Lord, put them into other hands to get rid of the trouble of taking care of them." (Waialua, 1856.) Shipman also observed that "the difficulty of inducing parents to keep their own children & to train them up in a Christian manner still exists." (Waiohinu, 1861, 6) If we are to give any credence to Pukui and Handy's work, we might assume that the adoptive practice of hanai and ho'okama, where a child is fostered by another family for love or economic necessity, may have existed in the mid-nineteenth century. (Pukui & Handy, 1972, 72-73) The missionaries may have been a little harsh in their condemnation of what may have been a universal custom of adoption, which even exists in Hawaii today.

The Hawaiian people were more successful in adapting to the dress of the westerners. In many instances they may have even gone to excess in their procurement of western finery. Some missionaries marveled at the ease with which the Hawaiian cast aside his tapa clothing for European wear. In 1843 Reverend Paris noticed that "the mamaka [mamaki] tapa is fast being laid aside for cloth made up in European style, & there is probably 10 garments where there was one 18 months ago. The increase in the no. of hats worn by the females in the last six months is more than 100 to one." (Waiohinu, 1843, 6) Titus Coan comments on the difference twenty years makes on their dress. "Then the malo, the pau

& the Nihei told the wardrobe of the male & female -- a full suit of European fabric being rarely or never seen in a congregation of 5000. Now all, or nearly all, are comfortable, decently, & many richly clad in the manufactures of all civilized nations." (Hilo, 1855, 2) If there was a criticism in their adaptation of western dress, it was the extravagance of their purchases and habits. The Reverend Baldwin was dismayed at their over-indulgence with fine fabrics. He observed that, "The calicos & silks & satins of the natives (of which they have too many, not too few) swallow up much of their means, which ought to be laid out in making good houses, educating their children, or in the cause of Benevolence." (Lahaina, 1848, 9-10) The Reverend John Poque of the Kealakekua mission noticed the unabashed desire of his parishioners to exhibit their new finery.

". . . the great majority prefer to make a show by putting all that they can earn upon their backs. Hence our congregations on the Sabbath are well clothed. . . ."

(Kealakekua, 1851, 2) The Reverend Paris humorously quipped at the sometimes ludicrous excess of the women of his parish. "Our ladies almost to a man of them, all wear from two to 4 dresses at the same time . . . ." (Lahaina, 1848, 7-8) One can grasp the extent of the natives adaptation of western dress by the enumeration of articles of clothing that Lorenzo Lyons viewed at a church meeting. He stated that "You must attend our intemperance celebrations,

where you can see both variety & uniformity, men, women & children, well-clothed, hats, caps, bonnets, shoes & stockings, broadcloth coats, tight dresses, silk shawls, gentlemen & ladies in procession, locked arm in arm, displaying their umbrellas, white gloves, flying banners, &c . . . ." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1848, 24-25)

Domestic training had to be reinforced and practiced to become effective and the missionaries ensured its importance by organizing weekly meetings designed to teach these civilized habits. The Molokai station appeared to be the most industrious group dedicated to this cause as evidenced by the Reverend Hitchcock's comment in 1840: "The maternal and benevolent association has been vigour(s)ly sustained during the year under the superintendence of the ladies of the station. It numbers 150 members who have done credit to the society by the readiness with which they have contributed to the relief of the poor, the attention they have given to the sick, and the improvement they have made in the knowledge and practice of the duties of their sex." (Kaluaaha #2, 1840, 5) The men were not to be denied their weekly meetings either, as Hitchcock remarked in 1842: "A meeting for fathers has also been established, and consists of a large number of male adults who by becoming members of the meeting obligate themselves to more care in training up and providing for their families." (Kaluaaha #2, 1842, 17) Some meetings were designed to

alleviate a specific problem. In Lahaina, Reverend Baldwin urgently organized a meeting to discuss the merits of family planning. He states that "Hawaiian parents are more ignorant of the economy of the human body even, than they are of proper moral training. When I found some of the grossest errors, on this subject, prevailing among the people, I called a meeting of parents to correct them. We afterwards held several similar meetings, in which various matters were discussed with some advantage, I trust, to the people." (Lahaina, 1860, 2-3) Several meetings were formed to allow the parishioners an opportunity to pool their resources and contribute to the needs of the church. One typical Christian gathering was described by the Reverend J. W. Smith of Koloa, Kauai: "A prortion (!) of the female members of the congregation have formed themselves in a Ladies Sewing Society & meet weekly for sewing, & the avails of their labor being another tributary to the building fund." (Koloa, 1858, 2)

Moral Behavior: The moral standards of the natives had always been a delicate subject with the missionaries ever since Bingham and company set eyes upon the thinly clad savages, that greeted them on their arrival in Hawaii. From their first contact the missionaries immediately concluded that the freer life of the Hawaiians indicated their severe moral degradation, which is not a surprising impression, considering the rigid social background of these pious

men. Ironically, the areas where the natives displayed the most frequent moral failing was in their contact and exposure to the immoral habits of the other foreigners in Hawaii. The evil influence of the whalers and traders upon the Hawaiians was a constant concern of the missionary. The missionary records will bear that the vices of the people were attributed to their native customs as well as being a direct result of their contact with the haole. Regardless of which society is to blame for the moral behavior of the people, the subject was a constant preoccupation of the missionaries as reflected in their writings.

Most of the records stated that adultery was a problem within the parishes. These comments were frequent, yet never specific and therefore will not receive much attention in this study. It was, however, a matter of constant concern to the pastors, especially when it infiltrated their church. The Reverend Andrews of Molokai depressingly noted that, "I have had occasion to go often during the past year & stay at out places on the island, have had my heart pained in ferreting out this hewa [evil], & having it show itself even in church lunas. Sometimes I think there is no principle among them. All is outside show." (Kaluaaha #2, 1853-54, 76-77)

The comments on drinking or intemperance were more vivid in their content. To the missionaries, there was absolutely no place for drinking among Christians. Yet, fer-

menting materials were abundant and temptation was not easily overcome. As early as 1835, Reverend Parker observed the existence of rum distilleries. He wrote that, "The use of the native rum has made the condition of great part of the population exceedingly wretched. Five or six distilleries have been employed almost the whole year to distill the tea (!) root." (Kaneohe, 1835, 2) The raw materials for intoxicating potions were limitless, as the Reverend Forbes noted on Molokai: "The prickly pear, watermelon, ti root, all contributed to the liquors which our "civilised" & Christianised Hawaiians of Molokai imbibed." (Kaluaaha #2, 1860-61, 98) Reverend Alexander noticed a few more along with the traditional materials. He stated that, "sometimes they get cologne or brandied peaches from merchants nearer home, sometimes they resort to fermented potatoes & ti or to their ancient drug, the awa." (Wailuku, 1858, 1) What especially infuriated the missionaries was the sliding of steadfast church members into the ranks of the drunkards. On Maui, Reverend Conde despondently wrote in 1852 that, "For sometime drunkenness, as far as Hawaiians were concerned, was confined to non-professors. Afterwards members of the church yielded (!) to the temptation." He adds, "Natives often obtain intoxicating beverages and sometimes they were found drunk conducting in a most shameful manner. Several church members were of the number." (Wailuku, 1852, 5) One pastor interestingly re-

marked about the relative docility Hawaiians expressed after drinking. He observed in 1841: "With respect to intoxicated natives they have kept themselves very quiet while in that state & but little evil has seemingly arisen from their inebriation . . . ." (Waimea, Hawaii, 1841.)

There were, however, instances of rowdiness, especially when the king was in the area. Kamehameha III should be complimented for his efforts to travel among his people. He was a notorious drinker, however, and lured the local inhabitants into drinking sessions whenever he visited their villages. Reverend Rowell wrote about this uncontrollable behavior of his people: "About the time also, that the King was on Kauai, there was no small rage for Awa planting & awa drinking, & multitudes were drawn into the vortex of drunkenness, some ch. members not excepted." (Waioli, 1844, 2) Elias Bond was even more disgusted with the debauching influence of the king's visit. He wrote that, "The King, two young chiefs & their worthy companion -- it must be acknowledged -- spared no pains to set before the people of the district the advantages of rum drinking & the most unblushing beastly licentiousness." He continues, "Together, they constituted a living nuisance -- a moving pestilence, defiling & destroying every good thing in their march." (Kohala, 1851, ]-3)

The missionaries were not ones to sit idly by while their church membership was being diminished by the rum

bottle. Besides pressuring the local magistrates to prosecute and fine the offenders, they originated temperance societies to further their cause. Lorenzo Lyons eagerly noted that: "There are united in this effort some 3000 temperance soldiers in my field including men - women & children. We have temperance meetings & anniversaries of our Temperance Societies, -- on wh occasions, --- temperance songs are sung, & temperance prayers offered, & temperance addresses delivered." (Waimea, 1848, 2)

Some missionaries made efforts to ensure children would be indoctrinated in the merits of temperance. The Reverend Hitchcock of Molokai wrote to Honolulu: "It is known to the brethren all the children of Molokai of suitable age to attend school are banded together in a juvenile temperance society in which the pledge to abstain wholly and forever from all intoxicating drink . . . ." (Kaluaaha #2, 1847-48, 3)

Drinking was not the only vice the missionary fought against. The use of tobacco was also outlawed from the church, yet church members smoked frequently, in spite of their hollow vows to refrain. The Reverend Andrews wrote on Molokai: "The disclosures showed that one quarter, & in some villages one half of the members of the church secretly smoked tobacco." He adds that, "The very day that they vowed to the Lord, 'aole makou e puhi hou i kabaka' [we will not smoke tobacco again], they returned

and deliberately smoked." (Kaluaaha #2, 1854-55, 1) What made it more frustrating is the use of tobacco was embraced by the Catholic priests who were constantly vying with the Protestant mission for church members. The Reverend Henry Kinney of Ka'u noticed this affiliation. He commented that, ". . . we have made efforts to stay the progress of this evil, but with partial success, they being surrounded by hosts of papists, whose most conspicuous bage [badge ?] is the tobacco pipe." (Waiohinu, 1851, 4)

Gambling was another activity which proved to be an obstacle in the path of righteousness. As histories of Hawaii point out, gambling was at least a favorite practice of the ali'i of ancient times. Reverend Alexander describes how this frivolous practice had tarnished some of his parishioners. He wrote that: "Many spend whole nights of feverish excitement under the fascination of the cards. Five of our church members, have been seduced by its charms & wandered from us. As is common in other countries, gambling fraternizes with other vices and drags them in its train." (Wailuku, 1858, 1)

The missionaries were again guilty of irrational judgment when they stringently condemned the practice of hula. Ancient and modern histories of Hawaii are replete with descriptions of Hawaiian dance and song. Every culture had its recreational art forms, and the hula was akin to

Hawaiian custom as logically as the Virginia reel was associated with the southern U. S. Yet the missionaries stamped anything connected with ancient custom or religion as idolatrous or immoral activity and demanded its removal. The Reverend Smith was astonished at the longevity of the hulas that he observed when he first arrived at the Ewa station. He recorded that: "One thing that particularly amazed us for several months was their perpetual hulas, accompanied by howlings & intonations apparently unearthly & inhuman." The ali'i of the district were soon persuaded to halt the practice. Smith adds that: "These continued until the tabu of the chiefs was soon published about the first of Jan. Since that time, there have been no hula's in our vicinity." (Ewa, 1835, 1-2) The missionaries were never quite successful in eradicating this "sin of the land" (Wailuku, 1858, 1) and the practice would incessantly crop up. Reverend Parker grudgingly witnessed the wide-spread revival of the hula and the subsequent falling off of church loyalty. He wrote that: "Several reasons might be assigned for this diminished interest, but prominent among them is the reviving of the old system of heathenish hulas. They appear to be established in almost every land in the district. They are attended by great numbers both of parents and children, church members as well as those out of the church. There are schools for instructing the children and youth in the native song and

dance." (Kaneohe, 1858, 1)

Benevolence; The Hawaiians never measured up to the strict standards of moral behavior set down by the missionaries. Any attempt to enjoy to any degree the pleasures of life, whether it be the hula, or gambling, or participating in games, was met with severe censure by their pastors. Awa drinking, hula, and surfing were among some of the recreational activities that were deeply entrenched in Hawaiian culture and to expect the people to erase them from their lives was probably asking too much. There was, however, a trait of the Hawaiians that did meet with missionary approval. The benevolence the people expressed toward the church and people in general was an admirable characteristic. The people may have been unsuccessful in meeting the standards of moral behavior, but they certainly approached the heights of righteousness in their benevolence for others.

What was a remarkable discovery for the missionary was that, in spite of the Hawaiians' entrenched destitution, they still had it in their hearts to give to the church. Reverend John Paris observed this heroic trait during a famine in Ka'u as he described how "nearly the whole population has subsisted on the fern & kii [ki or ti] roots. Sickness, drought, famine, & fire have all followed one on the heels of the other.

Still our people have done something, & many of them done what they could. "Their deep poverty hath abounded

unto the riches of liberality. For to their power I bear record, yea, & beyond their power they were willing of themselves," to bestow of their substance for the house of the Lord.: (Waiohinu, 1847, 7) The Reverend John Pogue of Wailuku recorded the same generosity in his parish: "Notwithstanding their deep poverty they give very liberally for the erection of houses of public worship & for the support and spread of the gospel." (Wailuku, 1861, 1) Their generosity extended beyond the shores of Hawaii. Reverend Andrews records a remarkable story about the benevolent contributions raised for the Micronesian mission. He reports that: "When Kekela came & presented Micronesia & it's (!) mission to us, it so stirred up the interest of the people that, although I was absent, a special contribution of 96 dollars & a quantity of clothing was given for that mission. When a certain luna brought me the Micronesian gift from a village where they have contributed largely each month, I told him "this is the same as Mon. (monthly) Con. (concert) money. You have given so well heretofore that I will not take up a contribution among you next month."

He stared at me a little & then answered, "Nay, this is an entirely different thing. It is kokua kau e, a special Aloha to Micronesia, called forth by what Kekela related from actual observation there. We will give next month as usual." True to his word, a contribution a little

larger than usual was given the next month." (Kaluaaha #2, 1853, 2)

Not only did the natives contribute to the church, they consistently displayed their benevolence toward each other. The spirit and economic necessity of sharing goods and services is well documented in Pukui and Handy's comments on the ohana, or extended family. The people depended upon the exchange of their food and services. (Pukui & Handy, 1972, 5-6) Evidence of this sharing was also present in the missionary records. Sereno Bishop of Molokai viewed this brotherly practice with mixed feelings. He commented that: "It is usual for all the people of a district to unite in cultivating a tract of upland taro, or a laulima, in which they work together, and when ripe, often feast upon together until consumed. It is difficult for the native to raise anything and call it his own. All friends & neighbors claim to share it. Hence industry is checked. Few raise melons, bananas, or other fruit for the same reason. (Hana, 1863, 19) Reverend Dwight is considerably more generous in his remarks on the subject as he saw the natives "cheerfully & promptly assisting each other in their troubles, thus fulfilling the law of Christ & bearing one another's burdens." (Kaluaaha #2, 1853-54, 2) The inhabitants of the districts were not the only beneficiaries of native kindness. Travelers were never want of food or shelter as hospitality was a trademark of the

outlying districts. Titus Coan recalls the early days of his missionary work: "Of old, they welcomed the weary and hungry traveler to their huts, sheltered and fed him to the best of their ability, and without charge. And this generous hospitality was extended to all without respect to nationality, color, wealth or rank." (Hilo, 1882, 252) Even the stoic patriarch Hiram Bingham was touched by the hospitality of the natives while traveling among the outstations. He pleasantly recounted receiving a massage, or lomi-lomi, at a stop on Kauai. He wrote that: "Finding ourselves, at length, safely arrived at the foot of the mountain, we gladly cast down our weary limbs on a mat, in the first house to which we came. The friendly natives rubbed & pressed with their hands the muscles of our limbs, in order to relieve them. No custom is more common among the Hawaiians than this operation, called lomi lomi, the kneading & pressing the muscles in case of fatigue or illness." (Bingham, 1847, 142)

Heathen Practices: Less positive were the missionary comments on the revival or continuation of heathenish practices. Any activity that was connected with the ancient culture or religion was immediately denounced by the missionary. There was no one area of native life that prompted swift resistance from the missionaries than their retaliation towards heathen practices. The eradication of these practices was tantamount to the establishment of Christian-

ity and the progress of civilization. The tendency for the natives to harbor idolatrous practices was a denial of the efficacy of Christianity and philosophically could not be tolerated by the missionaries.

The most alarming and sinister activity associated with idolatry was the practice of sorcery which surfaced frequently on the island of Molokai, famous for this "heathen" art. As late as 1863, Reverend Forbes described its "satanizing" effect on the people. He recorded that "Molokai has always been rather celebrated for sorcery. The Kahuna's, or priests, professing to exercise supernatural powers, are numerous & the whole population are under their influence . . . . Many a rock rent asunder by the action of the elements, do they point out as split by the prayers of the Kahuna. It seems this is a favorite mode of testing their power before proclaiming themselves as thoroughly prepared to practice their diabolical acts." (Kaluaaha #2, 1863, 2) The missionaries were especially alarmed by the deaths attributed to the acts of sorcery. Reverend Sereno Bishop commented briefly about the dismal situation in the remote district of Kaupo. His report states that: "Sorcery has been very prevalent of late years in Kaupo. Many have died in consequence, including some of the Kahunas themselves. Many natives have taken lessons in the art . . . . Stimulated by covetousness, these wretches have been the most diligent missionaries

of idolatry and demonism. (Hana, 1863, 20)

The prevalence of native doctors was a nuisance the missionaries and mission doctors constantly had to contend with. Reverend Parker caustically notes their bothersome existence in his Kaneohe district: "There is disposition by some to go after native doctors who pretend to super-human power. They perform wonderful cures, cast out the evil god that causes the disease and the more ignorant and vicious and degraded the doctor is the more he seems to be esteemed and sought after by some of the natives." (Kaneohe, 1856, 3) Reverend Baldwin of Hana less emotionally depicts a woman doctor who has set up practice in his district. He states that: "A woman professing to be endured with divine<sup>power</sup> and skill to give light to the blind and soundness to the lame, if they will follow her directions, which quite a number have been attempting to do. She directs them to sleep in a hale kua [god house] built by her directions, and to pray to the god that inspires her, and acts through her." (Hana, 1859, 6)

When the measles and influenza epidemics struck in the late forties, it was no surprise that native doctors became instantly popular. The diseased and dying natives found no solace in Christian religion or medicine. Reverend Parker sadly notes how the natives "relapse into idolatry during the prevailing sickness. It has been chiefly (!) in connexion with native doctors. The sickness

and death were ascribed (!) to some of the ancient Hawaiian divinities and in many cases to the practice of sorcery. Sacrifices were required to effect a cure and drugs employed to expel the evil or devil from the afflicted persons." (Kaneohe, 1849, 3)

The missionaries and some of the more pious church members were quick to squelch any pockets of heathen religion. One such example in Hana tells of two men who carried a rock up from the ocean, anointed it as their god and paid homage to it with food articles. Reverend Baldwin elaborated on the inevitable outcome: ". . . it was soon disposed of. Two of the lunas suddenly made war against it, broke down the image and reduced it to fragments in spite of the protestations of its devotees and in defiance of the wrath of the insulted god who (they said) would avenge himself in coming time." (Hana, 1859, 8)

Another example of Christianity overcoming heathenism evolved more naturally and less violently. This writer is sure this story of Christian triumph warmed the hearts of the SIM staff who read Edward Johnson's report from Waioli in 1848. It involved a native doctor "who practised the art of "KUEHU" a brushing away of disease with a handkerchief or kapa. His establishment was thronged by the sick, & also by the well, who forsook their own homes to congregate there & feed upon the Hogs & food given by the sick as pay for the wonderful cures promised by their

Kahuna. No effort seemed capable of removing this nuisance from the community. But in the peoples of the village becoming interested in religion & leaving this store-house of dissipation & vice for the meeting of prayer, the doctor, too, like Simon of old, thought best to fall in with the new movement among the people." (Waioli, 1848, 1-2) Heathen practices could never be totally stamped out, even though the missionaries were persistent in denouncing them. If these acts were allowed to go unchecked, however, it could bring about the resurrection of the old kapu system, which would be catastrophic to the progress of Christianity and civilization.

#### IV. OTHER OBSERVERS

In the period from 1778 to 1863 there were writings other than the missionary records and letters. Most significant were the explorers' accounts starting with the Cook expeditions. These original accounts continued until the 1820's when Hawaii became an established port of trade in the Pacific. Assorted historians and travelers records were among the other materials canvassed during this period. This writer's incomplete study of these sources allows this writer only to make some generalizations about these records. Many of these writers probably did not possess the dedication to religious and moral righteousness that was the philosophical background of the missionary. Therefore, their observations were generally more objective. Yet the missionaries worked so close to the natives that they scrutinized everything carefully and, thus, their records are immensely more detailed. To the explorer or unaffiliated observer, a stop in Hawaii may require only brief and superficial descriptions of the places and people as many of these records reflected. Because of the often detached philosophy of these writers, we don't obtain much substance from their records, at least in the area of the common people and their customs. But these explorers notes are significant because they were the first ever recorded about Hawaii and are all we

have to give us any picture of that time period.

To remain within the scope of this paper, this writer will comment on the material this writer discovered that was similar in content to the missionary records discussed in this study. There were several brief observations on the dwellings of the natives, and it was no surprise that these similarly revealed the squalid domestic surroundings of the people. Captain George Vancouver was puzzled at the better condition of the houses for the canoes than those for the people, at a village he toured just prior to 1800. His journal states that: "The village consisted only of straggling houses, of two classes; those appropriated to the residence of the inhabitants were small, mean, miserable huts; but the others, allotted to the purposes of shading, building, and repairing canoes, were excellent in their kind . . . ." (Vancouver, 1967, 116) Foreign resident Archibald Campbell described the rudimentary features of the native houses when he wrote that: "The houses of the natives are of the simplest forms; they are oblong, with very low side-walls, and high thatched roofs; within, they are not divided into separate apartments, nor have they any tables or seats." (Campbell, 1809, 130) As Campbell just mentioned, these writers were quick to notice the lack of partitions. William Ellis, the London missionary, depicted a native house where "beneath one roof included their workshop, kitchen, and sleeping room,

without any intervening partition." (Ellis, 1836, 185)

And the astute chronicler of Hawaiian life, G. W. Bates, recorded with a hint of condescension: "There is seldom any partition. In such cases, everything is indiscriminate." (Bates, 1854, 83) Some of the accounts also conclude that the commoners did show signs of progress in their house construction. Lt. Wilkes noted on his touring expedition: "A little improvement is also manifested in their dwellings, a few of which have been constructed of adobes, and white-washed;" and adds that some "have enlarged their doors, as well as the size of the houses; have paid some regard to ventilation, and improved the quality of their sleeping mats." (Wilkes, 1840, 76-77)

The comments on domestic care were scarce as well as unspecific. Yet, two are noteworthy of mention. Captain Cook and Captain King, the man that relieved him after his death, remarked poignantly about the tender affections both men and women displayed for their children. Cook's journal states that: "It was a pleasure to observe with how much affection the women managed their infants, and how readily the men lent their assistance to such a tender office." (Cook, 1852, 247) And King almost duplicating his master's words, states that: "The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feel-

ings." (Cook, 1852, 418) It is remarkable how pleasant the impressions of these first witnesses of Hawaiian child care were compared to the condescending remarks uttered by the majority of the missionaries on this subject. One wonders if the Hawaiian people changed their attitudes toward child care or the missionaries were just too degrading in their judgements.

These observers' remarks on the benevolence of the natives were as abundant and gratifying as those noted by the missionaries. It was a universal observation by travelers that the people displayed remarkable hospitality and generosity. Captain Vancouver's surgeon, Archibald Menzies, who toured the islands from 1792 to 1794, stumbled into a most barren and rugged village in a remote area called Manuka. He surprisingly writes that "The kind civilities and good treatment received from the natives were, however, unremitting. Here, as if to make amends for the dreariness of the situation, they particularly asserted themselves by every means in their power to amuse and entertain us. The chief and his people were equally eager and attentive in doing little acts of kindness and thereby assiduously displaying their unbounded hospitality. " (Menzies, 1920, 179) Some observers were astounded at the enthusiasm the natives possessed to please strangers. The historian, James Jackson Jarves, briefly comments on a benevolent encounter while traveling on Kauai: "At some distance from the road sat a

group of natives preparing their food. Upon seeing us, they immediately ran with all their speed to intercept us, offering their dinner they had prepared for themselves. Instances of this nature were of daily occurrence." (Jarves, 1838, 82) The missionaries were highly critical of the activities and surroundings of the natives with the exception of their observations on the generous and hospitable nature of the people. Similarly, the highly degrading observer, G. W. Bates, was even touched by the generosity of the natives. He admits that: "No class of people on earth can be more generous to the foreigner than the very poorest of the Hawaiians. He may partake of their best fare -- such as it is -- and they will make no demand on his purse." (Bates, 1854, 115)

Some of these writers were also greeted with the native delights of the lomi-lomi. Some similar descriptions to those of the missionaries were expressed by Jarves on Kauai. He comments about the procedure "Commencing gently, and increasing in violence as they proceed, every limb in the body is subjected to this treatment. Its effects are delightful. It is, as a friend terms it, a physical regeneration." (Jarves, 1838, 82) Archibald Menzies echoes similar thoughts on the subject as he describes his massage session where "Clean mats were spread for us to stretch ourselves out after the fatigue of our long journey in the heat of the day, while a number of the natives

placed themselves round us to lomi and pinch our limbs, an operation which we found on these occasions very lulling and pleasing when gently performed." (Menzies, 1920, 87)

There was scattered evidence among these observers on the subject of the Hawaiians sharing their goods with one another. Paralleling the skepticism of the missionaries on this practice, an independent traveling minister, Henry Cheever, condescendingly expressed his thoughts on the matter. He observed the exchange between the people of Ka'u who "drive a few hogs and goats eighty miles to Hilo, live there awhile, according to Hawaiian custom, upon their maka-makas (friends), get some of their cotton cloth in the way of presents, and then return to have the same friends come in due time to live on them, and take off some of their kapas and hogs.

This system of makana, as it is called, is very injurious to thrift and enterprise." (Cheever, 1871, 270)

These are just a few of the more notable comments of the explorers, historians and travelers who contributed significantly to the history of Hawaii. Yet their records did not appear to have the depth nor detail that was characteristic of the mission reports.

## V. THE MERITS OF THE MISSIONARY EFFORT

No one can deny the mammoth contribution the missionary paid to the annals of Hawaiian history. Their records were laden with minutiae covering the gamut of the Hawaiians' activities. Their staggering attention to detail has availed many modern historians such enlightening facts as population figures, educational attendance, and mortality and death rates, to mention a few. Their illumination of this forgotten era in the mid-nineteenth century has admirably apprised us, at least partially, of the life of the Hawaiian commoner.

The religious bias that influenced their writings, certainly hindered their objectivity, yet its presence was almost expected. The Calvinist doctrine that they embraced required them to accept nothing less than pure Christian behavior on the part of their parishioners. The society that they were civilizing was indeed savage compared to the rigid environs and philosophy of their New England origins. Due to the fact that the Hawaiians rarely measured up to the strict standards of the missionaries, it was no surprise that their descriptions of Hawaiian behavior and surroundings were profusely tainted with condemning language. Of course, they were laudatory towards the Hawaiians' propensity for benevolence, which is certainly a credit to the culture of the Hawaiians; and as

the explorers' writings testified, this generous attitude was an original and innate characteristic of the people, not a result of the missionaries civilizing attempts.

Credit must be given to the missionaries in bringing civilization to the Hawaiians in some areas. Education, a subject not covered in this paper, was certainly provided for by the pastors and their wives. They stimulated improvement in housing, clothing, growth and preparation of food, domestic care, and general industry of the people. They brought hygienic and medicinal care to the people, which was sorely needed during the epidemics. They also protected the people against the excesses and the oppression of the chiefs. The missionaries certainly devoted much time and effort towards eradicating the immoral behavior of the people. If they were unsuccessful, it was partially due to the secular distractions of the city with its rowdy foreign residents and visitors. And the missionaries were certainly thankful for the benevolence manifested by the Hawaiians, which made their civilizing task a lot easier. In spite of their rigid philosophy, the history of this period reveals that the mission was the only institutional body to make an honest effort to civilize the maka'ainana while the ali'i were frantically occupied with seizing land and foreign wealth. Even their partial success at this process should be commended.

There were several failings, however, of the mission-

aries' quest to civilize the people. They stubbornly refused to acknowledge the need of the people to hang on to certain cultural remnants. Their resistance to allow the ancient arts of hulas and mele to be practiced probably alienated many church members. The people continued these activities in seclusion for a while, and later became more overt in their performances. The constant presence of the native doctors intensified the missionary stance against them. When the epidemics ravaged the population, many people turned to these doctors as they witnessed the inefficacy of the missionary medicine. If the mission doctors and ministers had been more tolerant of the native doctors, both factions could have learned about each others' methods to the benefit of the natives. Instead, the frustrated people were left to decide for themselves which medicine they preferred.

The cultures of the missionary and the Hawaiian were so diverse that it was quite impossible to ever imagine the native totally adapting a puritan lifestyle. Due to this reason and the many societal distractions of the cities, the commoners never totally embraced Christianity and, concurrently, the missionaries admitted the futility of bringing complete enlightenment to the Hawaiians. In spite of the drawbacks, none proved to be more fatal to the missionaries' cause than the debilitating epidemics that decimated the missionary parishes. The missionaries' despair was grimly

expressed by Reverend Parker of Kaneohe: "The population has diminished in number one third during the twenty two years we have lived at the station. And such are their habits and ways of living that the result must be their entire extinction." (Kaneohe, 1857, 2) The population statistics worsened before they became better as the Hawaiian race dwindled to approximately 35,000 in the late nineteenth century. The important point is, the people did survive, thanks in part to the noble efforts of the missionary. A fairer statement of the condition of the people in the last year of the SIM might be Titus Coan's subdued remark: ". . . with all our marks of progress, we are still a "feeble folk", & our signs of poverty, weakness, & ignorance are more prominent than the opposite tokens. There is, however, as we think, advancement." (Hilo, 1863, 5-6)

The copious recordings of the missionary stations have afforded us a glance at the lives of the Hawaiian people from 1830 to 1863. And for this we are thankful to the missionary historians for their efforts. Before we can be satisfied with the total picture of the maka'ainana of this era, we must exhaust other sources of research. There is, of course, more missionary accounts to pore over. More explorers' and observers' journals should be investigated, especially to apprise us of the decades before 1830, a period I am afraid, the Hawaiian commoner was sadly neglected. There is an incredible wealth of re-

search available in the Hawaiian language newspapers, and no honest history of Hawaii can be recorded without the testimony of these original Hawaiian writings. Some effort is being undertaken to translate this voluminous source, but, of course, more people and money are needed. Clues to the conditions and behavior of the Hawaiian people are also cropping up in the perusals of land, court, and prison records. When all of this material is collected, translated, and analyzed, we may then be more fully aware of the complete history and truth of the Hawaiian people.

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