
CHANGING ATTITUDES OF EDUCATION IN HAWAI'I 1820-1920

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Our motto is: *Ka na i pono-Strive for Excellence.*

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Chapter One

Introduction

He aupuni palapala ko'u, mine is a Kingdom of literacy
Kauikeauoli, Kamehameha III, 1824.

My research for this portfolio looks at the intentional efforts of the religious institutions, namely, the American Congregationalists (Calvinists), the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), to disenfranchise Native Hawaiians from culture, language and lands, as a tool of the colonizing efforts of expansionistic or imperialistic movements in the United States. These events occurred in the first to the middle part of the nineteenth-Century and continuing to the early twentieth-Century. Questions I will be dealing with: How were the missionaries complicit with the colonizing efforts of American politics with their intention to come to Hawai'i? And did the idea of manifest destiny play a role in influencing the missionaries? How were these efforts utilized in the educational developments? My portfolio is a historic research paper and it will focus on the time period of 1820-1920, of the educational policymaking and an analysis of the limitations and challenges that the students faced in the Public Schools, who along with their families were most affected by the colonizing methodologies that was used against them.

I argue that historically an argument could be made that many of the Calvinist missionary settlers, deliberately disenfranchised the Hawaiian people, so as to gain control over their land, and with the diseases that was brought by 'outsiders' to Hawai'i, laid out in the missionaries favor to overtake the Hawaiian Monarchy and its people. The key weapons were the teachings of the missionaries that aimed, to convert their religion to unsuspecting Native

Hawaiians, as seen through the colonizing methods of assimilation. This was through their teachings of Christianity, and to Western ideals of living.

The research that I present is based on extensive literature reviews that I have conducted over a period of twenty-four months from November 2012 to November 2014. My research questions why the missionaries came to Hawai'i in the first place, and how much did the concept 'manifest destiny' play in the part of those missionaries feeling titled to steer Hawaiians from their indigenous culture and religious practices? Did they play the role of apotheosis for the natives or did they consider themselves agents of colonialism? This chain of events led to the last decades of the eighteen hundreds, being full of strife and chaos for the small Nation of Hawai'i, as King Kalakaua had died in 1891, and his sister Lili'uokalani, on succeeding him, was about to draw up a new Constitution to restore the Sovereign Rights and power for her people.

This portfolio aims to critically examine how due to the political changes that occurred in Hawai'i after the 1820 arrival of ABCFM missionaries, the change from a Monarchial form of Government, to one that was changed to a Western form of Government caused marginalization and displacement of the aboriginal people of Hawai'i. In early 1898, the newly elected, President William McKinley, declared: "We need Hawai'i just as much and a great deal more than we did California. It's manifest destiny." In 1898, Congress approved the purported annexation of Hawai'i. My research question, in following suit with the claims of President McKinley in 1898, did the ABCFM missionaries come to Hawai'i because of their American set of ideals of 'manifest destiny'?

The first purpose of my research is to understand the history of why the God-faring missionaries overpowered the Native Hawaiians, and forcing the Native children in the schools to speak primarily in the English language, and not in the Hawaiian language.

The aim of the second purpose of my research is to look at the intentional efforts of the religious institutions, namely, the Calvinists, the American Board of Commission for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), to disenfranchise Native Hawaiians from culture, language and lands, as a tool of the colonizing efforts of expansionistic or imperialistic movements in the United States. These events occurred in the first to the middle part of the Nineteenth Century and continuing also to the early twentieth-Century. Questions I will be dealing with: How were the missionaries complicit with the colonizing efforts of American politics with their intention to come to Hawai'i? And did the idea of manifest destiny play a role in influencing the missionaries? How were these efforts utilized in the educational developments? My portfolio is a historic research paper and it will focus on the time period of 1820-1920, of the educational policymaking and an analysis of the limitations and challenges that the students faced in the Public Schools, who along with their families were most affected by the colonizing methodologies that was used against them.

Another feature I will be looking at for this portfolio is the importance of the 1840's Chiefs' Children's School, which was founded on October 15, 1840, by King Kamehameha III. This school was located on Hotel Street, which was across from 'Iolani Palace, where the Hawai'i State Capitol now stands in Honolulu. This review will look at, as to what were the lessons that the missionaries instilled in their Royal charges, and how the students carried forward those values in to their adult political lives. Of the first educational class of Royal

children, five became rulers of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Liholiho, Lot, Lunalilo, Kalakaua and Lili'uokalani. Amos Starr Cooke and his wife, Juliette Montague Cooke, were the teachers. The Chiefs' Children's School was later referred to as 'The Royal School,' and this school lasted just for ten years; after that time the schools in Hawai'i were referred to as Hawai'i Public Schools. My portfolio will enlarge to the area of the history of Public Education in Hawai'i, and the changing attitudes that this education brought about, and this, in turn, will be the focus for this portfolio.

Much has been written of the schooling of the children of the Hawaiian Kingdom, but many of these reports have been through the lens of the views of the colonist, as, for instance; through the eyes and experiences of the missionaries and their writings to their Headquarters in Boston, and also; of the writings of their wives, who wrote home to their families. One primary source for me, but is in actuality, is a secondary source to this portfolio, is that I will use the writings of the past Dean, from the Teacher's College at the University of Hawai'i, Benjamin Othello Wist, in his book, *A Century of Public Education in Hawai'i 1840-1940*.

The efforts of the missionaries to teach and appropriate their world views to their students, in turn, changed the meaning of how these students were expected to act. To further that thought, the children, in their reaction, had to react syncretically to be able to understand, or to act accordingly as to what was expected of them from the missionaries. Their school days, quite possibly, made these young people feel like 'outsiders' in their own land. I use the word 'syncretically' here, which stems from the word syncretism, as it is the union of two or more opposite beliefs, so that the synthesized form is a new thing. Syncretism is associated with the process of communication with other people other than within one's culture. The process of

writing history of an indigenous culture lays in the fact that large amounts of documents are left by the colonizers, as previously demonstrated in the Hawai'i case, through letters and reports to their home-base, and not by the colonized people themselves. So, a large part of these reports of education in Hawai'i, and the knowledge of their heterogenous culture and language as what was taught in the schools is written as viewed by these missionaries who were the teachers at that time. The two missionary companies that worked in Hawai'i were, the London Missionary Society (LMS), and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).

A missionary is a member of a religious group sent to a far off area to do ministries of service, such as in education and literacy. The word "mission" stems from the year 1598, when the Jesuits sent members abroad, and this term is most commonly used for Christian missions.

After this, a greater part of my portfolio is geared towards discussing what I have found in my research as in regards to the writings of the missionaries and their wives to their homes in Boston. A quite substantial time will be spent on the teachings by Amos and Juliette Cooke towards their Royal students in the Chiefs' Children's School, which started in 1839 and ended in 1850. Of importance, I will write about the first alphabet that was implemented in Hawai'i, which was put together so as to teach Hawaiians the English language. The new implementation of language took off with great gusto, and, consequently; the learning of the English language by Hawaiians was termed "*Palapala*."

The third purpose for my portfolio is to review public education in the schools of Hawai'i from 1890 to 1920 for my discussion of events that transpired over this period because of the political strife that ensued at that time in Hawai'i. Colonial policies were implemented into the

school system, whereby; the use of Hawaiian language was not permitted, and the English language in 1896, was mandated as the 'preferred language' of instruction. The Board of Education went along with that concept and revealed its social policy in favoring English as the instructional language for in the Public Schools.

In the historical study in his book, Benjamin Wist, states that the motivation to change Public Education to Vocational Education, was due to a belief about race and culture and "territorial education policies to support the plantation economy, and construction of race and social class." This information is described in Morris Young's thesis, *Standard English and Student Bodies Institutionalizing Race and Literacy in Hawai'i*, (Young 2006, 406). As Young states, paraphrasing what Wist also said, is that, "Hawai'i's Public School students were often seen as nothing more than future plantation laborers." Young, continues:

that the soon-to-be-Territorial-Governor at that time, Wallace R. Farrington, in anticipating the 1920 survey recommended 'a shift to vocational curriculum,' said: It is expected that the Federal Survey Commission will recommend its report, that academic and classical courses be thrown overboard and be replaced by domestic science, agriculture and manual training. We hope this recommendation will be made

Hawai'i in general the construction of race by those in position of power and by Americans in, then, became a key factor in understanding the motivation for the Territory's education policies (407).

"Official" language was English, which acted further to displace Native Hawaiian language (409).

As Albert J Schutz, concurs in his book, *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*:

Pidgin became the language of the community, and Hawaiian was actively discouraged, even forbidden, to the point where Native Hawaiian children who spoke Hawaiian face corporal punishment and laws were established making the use of Hawaiian in school illegal (Schutz 1996, 350).

In the mid-eighteen hundreds and thereafter, land was taken away from Hawaiians after the missionaries gave up their religious professions and obtained the land. As David Hanlon stated in his paper: *Converting Pasts and Presents: Reflections on Histories of Missionary Enterprises in the Pacific*,

that the business of capitalism provided both a guiding metaphor and a concrete set of practices for the proselytization of evangelical Christianity in the Pacific. Members of the ABCFM advocated a missionary strategy that forged business with evangelism, Cornelius H. Patton, a member of the ABCFM's Board of Directors, wrote of how effective business practices might be employed to enhance the mission effort (Hanlon, 151).

Positionality

With considerable thought, I now have to ponder what has brought me to where I soon will be graduating with a Master's Degree in Pacific Islands Studies Department, and, at this point, why have I chosen to write about the History of Public Education in Hawai'i.

I am from Aotearoa/ New Zealand, of New Zealand (British) descent and also on the paternal side of my genealogy, I have black forefathers from the Bahamas. I was raised and see myself as a Pakeha (white) with Maori influence, as my teenage years and early twenties was spent in Rotorua. I stayed with a Maori family and took part in Maori practices and traditions. Later on I met and married a Native Hawaiian and had two daughters who both study and practice native traditions.

Consequently, I arrived in Hawai'i, from one country with identity issues, to another country with identity issues, which, when I arrived here in Hawai'i, I felt at home because of the likeness of oral traditions, genealogy, mythology, language and customary and religious practices of both Maori and Hawaiian cultures.

Theoretical Framework

I look to 'Manifest Destiny' to understand the changes in Hawai'i's education at a time in history where it was seen as a value of expansionism that complimented imperialism by changing the infrastructure. The themes of 'Manifest Destiny' are as follows: "(1) the virtue of the American people and their institutions; (2) the mission to spread these institutions, thereby redeeming and remaking the world in the image of the United States; (3) the destiny under God to do this work" (Stephanson, 1995).

Significance of Study

On an academic level, this project is important because it directly addresses the connection that I have found between how the missionaries worked as a team with the Western colonist in colonizing Hawai'i. Christianity and colonialism went hand in hand in the conversion of native people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in most Pacific Islands historiography, as demonstrated here in Hawai'i. The missionaries after a number of years, gave up ministering to the natives, were able to achieve a stronghold in the Legislature by being friends with the reigning Monarch, and because of these friendships, were able to obtain land and become business owners. This project will be a valid contribution to the archival history of Public School Education in Hawai'i, and also, the information will be most appreciated by the old-timers of today, who attended Public Schools sixty-seventy years ago, and thus giving remembrance to the nostalgic times of their youth.

It is my hope to produce a portfolio that will answer questions to satisfy future generations, and by doing so, will be a template to review the timeline of Public Education in Hawai'i, due to the Department of Education (DOE), policies and the Board of Education (BOE),

decisions that changes Public School Education policies without input from the teachers and parents of those districts in today's world. The act of writing history is in a lineal way and thus this project will be a challenge, to say the least, as to how to write a portfolio that has meaning to people who can relate to the early part of the last Century, back to their childhood, and to the childhood of their parents and grandparents before them.

Chapter Outline

My first chapter: This chapter, consists of the 'Introduction' that goes over the reasons why I am writing about the public education system in Hawai'i and offering a lineal history on education. My intention with this chapter is to allow the reader to have an understanding of why I write about the education system through my epistemology. I explain the structure of my portfolio as I introduce the theoretical framework that has aided me in understanding the dynamics of 19th and 20th century in Hawai'i's education. I offer an outlook of the changes in the school system over a century in time.

My second chapter: This chapter discusses the historiography of literature and orthography in Hawai'i, by means of pointing out as to the patterns that the missionaries laid out in teaching twenty-Century Hawaiians their written form of the Palapala. Using settler colonialism as a theoretical framework for the teachings of the Palapala, as this was used to assimilate Hawaiians to a whole new way of life, essentially; having the knowledge of the ways of the foreigners who had settled in these islands. In this chapter I discuss literature written by other authors who refer to different forms of colonialism by missionaries in other parts of Oceania.

My third chapter: This chapter points out the implementation of a private school for the children of the Ali'i, which was called 'The Chiefs' Children's School.' Using settler colonialism as an analytical lens as to what was taught at this school by missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke from 1839-1850. This chapter argues that the "English only" instruction did not have to be the only language that was used for the future Monarchs of Hawai'i, and also, being separated from other children and the general native population was a drastic form of assimilation.

My fourth chapter: This chapter points out the class-system of the common people of the nineteenth-Century in Hawai'i and how this class of people were educated at that time, including learning the Palapala. This chapter also discusses how the Public School curriculum was reoriented toward vocational education to steer the youth towards work in the sugar plantations after high school. For a conclusion I discuss my findings and share my thoughts on the wider picture on education in Hawai'i.

Chapter Two

Histiography of Literature and Orthography in Hawai'i

When pertaining to the geographical area that one has an interest in, a review of these historical documents point to the consensus that Hawaiians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were heathens. For the most part this chapter will discuss what I have uncovered in an extensive search of the journals written by the missionaries and their wives from 1839 to the latter part of the nineteenth century, describing their teaching experiences of being in the presence of supposed heathens. This chapter begins with a review of writings of academics of present day Hawai'i, who have researched colonialism in nineteenth-Century Hawai'i, and besides these people; there are writings of theories from the Enlightenment Era, from the missionaries of the eighteen-hundreds who sailed to the Hawaiian Isles from United States of America.

Orthography, as mentioned in the title of this chapter, is the conventional spelling system of a language, and the writer, Richard Nordquist states, that orthography is the study of letters and how they are used to express sounds and to form words.

Survey of Literature

Andrew Porter, refers to a form of colonization in his book: *Religion Versus Empire? British Protestant Missionaries and Overseas Expansion, 1700-1914*, when he mentions that London Missionary Society (LMS), missionary, William Ellis, who was the LMS Foreign Secretary from 1831-1841, was sent to Tahiti for his Mission work. Ellis wrote a book on the local 'progress' in Christianity and civilization that was brought by missionary societies to Polynesian

Islands in Oceania as stated in his two books titled: *Narrative of a Tour Through Hawai'i*, (London, 1826); and, the second book titled: *Polynesian Researches, During a Residency of Nearly Six Years in the South Sea Islands*, two volumes, (London, 1829). Before reading this book by Porter, I was not aware of the political meaning of religion, rather; religion is not neutral, it, religion, carries a heavy political burden.

In the preface of his book, *Polynesians Researches*, Ellis, who had joined missionaries in Hawai'i, explained how his volumes showed the transformation of 'the barbarous, cruel, indolent and idolatrous inhabitants of Tahitians and the neighboring Islands, into a comparatively civilized, humane, industrious and Christian people,' (Porter, 118), thus, suggesting the same would happen (being civilized) in the case of Hawaiians. This portfolio brings together British and ABCFM missionaries, American overseas expansion, civilizing the natives and, at the same time, the imperialist colonists, capitalized on the land grab. Years later, the children of missionaries, with their intent to make good for themselves, while using religion to marginalize the natives-the combination of religion and colonists. Consequently, the missionaries can be viewed as co-imperialist, but in the name of an unseen god; which, in the long run, further the action imperialism for the colonizer.

Ellis missionized in Tahiti for six months before arriving in Hawai'i, and this happenstance was fortunate for Hiram Bingham, as Ellis was familiar with the Tahitian language; thus being able to smooth the way for teaching the written *Palapala* (the Hawaiian term for "the act of learning to read," "writing" or "literature"), to the natives in Hawai'i.

Porter's second chapter, concentrating on 1790-1812, links both missionary and imperial expansion from Euro-Americans. In Chapter Three, Porter, points out "the

consequences of such a starting point for the missionaries, was that, it inclined them to follow in the wake of imperial expansion, rather than to strike out on their own,” in Chapter Four, Porter points out the missionary movement was gathering renewed strength (Porter, 92), and that the precise relations between Christianity and Commerce, Evangelism and Trade became important to this discussion (Porter, 93), thus; suggesting, that these four traits became an outline for success in converting heathens in far-off lands.

In Chapter Eight, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Porter argues that the ideals of the Enlightenment Era was like the second ‘Coming of Christ’ and that these events were put in to action, thus; invigorating in gathering ‘new souls’ to enlighten. The question remains, which side profited more with the interaction between missionaries and indigenous peoples? Since, the missionaries viewing indigenous cultures being colonized from imperialists ‘outsiders.’ Another question is how much cooperation did Indigenous Christians have from the missionaries? It appears that missionaries were essential to both capitalism and colonization, as the missionaries benefitted from the imperialistic capitalism and the new government, from colonial States of the United States. One answer to these questions could be: The missionaries in Hawai‘i, helped the U.S. imperialists further their ‘missions’ to marginalize native people, which, for the aboriginal Hawaiians, was double trouble.; to have two large entities wielding their presence and power in the affairs of Native people. And, this was the pattern as to how the missionaries laid out their plan to spread their gospel and way of life to help Native heathens to ‘reach the kingdom of heaven.’

A problem for the missionaries at that time was that it was against their code of ethics for Hawaiians and Caucasians to ‘intermarry,’ they kept to their own kind and was diligent in

not allowing any form of interracial relationships happening. In author, Damon Ieremia Salesa's study, (2011, Oxford Press), regarding his book, *Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire*, looks at how Victorians were fascinated with inter-relationships between different races, as demonstrated by trying to control married partners (also, non-married partners) and the off-spring of interracial children from those relationships. Before the 1830's, Maori and Pakeha had a great relationship between them, the Pakeha were traders and explorers; but after the Treaty of Waitangi on February 6, 1840, the British used these intermarriage relationships as a means of controlling the people of Aotearoa/New Zealand (N.Z.). Another term, racial amalgamation was used, and was held to help with their system of colonization.

The book, *Racial Crossings*, describes the colonial policy of 'racial amalgamation' which instituted the colonial, settlers' views and missionary priorities of amalgamationist racial codes, a preoccupied envisions of their aims for the disappearance of the Maori; just as the policies that was laid out by a Mr. Neville as viewed in the Australian film *Rabbit Proof Fence*, by kidnapping half-cast Aboriginal children from the Australian Outback, to filter the Aboriginal Race, these kidnapped children were used as house maids and attendants for the rich white Australian families. This same policy can be said with the plight of Native Hawaiians with the fifty-percent, blood quantum stipulation to prevent the Aboriginal people of Hawai'i to return to their land. The Bill of the fifty-percent blood quantum stipulation was passed in Congress on the U.S. Continent, in the 1920/1921 Hawaiian Homestead Act, thus displacing the Aboriginal peoples of Hawai'i. In the Hawai'i case, as in New Zealand and Australia, intermarriage, was the cause of the 'dilution' of blood.

The *Racial Crossings* book of nineteenth-Century British Empire experience is a significant study as to how race and gender were treated as a result of intermarriage, which was seen as a problem. By 1837, British people claimed that the situation of intermarriage caused ‘pandemonium,’ the concern was that New Zealand might be owned by the British, and the “New Pakeha”, recent arrivals, who seemed to have little intention of spreading themselves among indigenous communities,” (Salesa, 91). Consequently, Christianity helped shaped the colonial and political culture in New Zealand, (just as in Hawai‘i), as they, the missionaries, and colonial officials worked in-tandem with each other, in getting laws changed, as the Maori were to blame for the ‘bunch of half-casts’ that came from these entanglements, never mind the officials controlling the white colonists. The first significant official use of the word itself, ‘amalgamation,’ was in 1844 Parliamentary Committee report. This recommended that “every effort should be made to amalgamate the two races.”

www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/978019

In the three cases of New Zealand, Hawai‘i and Australia, disenfranchisement and dislocating Aboriginal/Indigenous peoples from their land is a theme, and using blood quantum; forbidding native peoples the use of their language as the defining factor and excuse to erase a people from their genealogical ties to their land. Salesa’s research is significant, and the important thing in this case is that Salesa is Samoan, which is significant because we in Hawai‘i, would like to have Aboriginal Hawaiians write their own history and teach in the schools and Universities, so that Hawaiian students in the classroom, can be motivated to learn by seeing another Hawaiian looking back at them.

The case of 'blood quantum' in Hawai'i, stems back to the 1920/1921 Hawaiian Homestead Act, whereby, it was stipulated by the United States Congress in Washington, to further marginalize Hawaiians from the 'aina, (land), that, in fact; Hawaiians had to prove fifty (50) per cent 'blood quantum' rule. The question to ask is: How does one measure, how much Hawaiian (ness), is in that flow of blood? Case in point, in Tahiti and Aotearoa/New Zealand, a person is either a Maori or a Tahitian; but United States Congress, realized that due to inter-racial marriages, that there would be less 'fifty-per-cent' Hawaiians available to move on those lands.

At this point I would like to outline some of the notable appearances of the ABCFM missionaries in Hawai'i: This information is found at:

<http://globalministries.org/resources/miss-study/abcfm/abcfm-in-hi>

1820 Missionaries arrived on the ship *Thaddeus*, off the coast of Kohala, on March 31, 1820. It was learned that "the tabus were abolished, the idols burned, and the temples destroyed," after the arrival of the missionaries.

1820 The King, Kamehameha 11, Rihoriho, (Lunalilo), came on board the *Thaddeus*, was hospitably entertained by the Americans. The missionaries were given permission to remain one year in the country.

1840 William Richards, an ABCFM missionary, helps to write the first Constitutions for Hawai'i.

Teaching Experience Through the Lens of a Missionary

Muecke asserts that the European commitment to a single system of notation-alphabetic writing-blinded colonists to the extent or significance of pre-existing,

non-alphabetic Aboriginal systems of inscription and representation. The result was the pervasive supplanting of the “non-representational” modes of knowledge evinced by Aboriginal design-or pictorial-based inscription by the phonetically-based representational code of alphabetic writing. “The consequence of this,’ writes Muecke, “for those who cannot make meaning in this new way is that they ‘die’ (become unrepresentable)” (1992: 10,). But to be “analphabete” a French term for “not having the alphabet,” says Muecke, is to be beyond the pale.

Education was the key to the development of a native ministry according to <http://isc.temple.edu/neighbor/courses/mission.htm>, and the tenets for a good Christian education that the missionaries followed were obedience, self-discipline and orderliness, modesty, honesty, love of country, and fear of God. In the early nineteen-hundreds, key school subjects were literacy and linguistics, this is where the printing press and translation work came in to play in Hawai‘i, with Lahainaluna Boarding School, which is situated mauka (mountain) side on the west Maui mountain range.

By 1826, printing in Hawai‘i was entirely in Hawaiian and Native Hawaiians quickly learned their written language. The Calvinists named their first paper Ka Lama in 1834 (Chapin 1996, 16), and merchants printed The Sandwich Island Gazette and Journal of Commerce in 1836 (Chapin 1996, 19). In 1834, there were young Hawaiian boys at Lahainaluna School who surveyed their printed page, never knowing that this new technology would be the foothold of their culture in the future, giving Hawaiians a written voice in their own lands.

<http://theumiverse.wordpress.com/2013/09/25/missionaries/>

From the 1823 journal of William Ellis, in his writing, titled: *Journal of William Ellis: Narrative of a Tour of Hawai‘i or Owhyhee; with Remarks on the History, Traditions, Manners, Customs, and Language of the Inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands.*

...it is a language adopted to poetry...most of the traditions of remarkable events their history are preserved in song committed to memory, by persons attached to the King or Chiefs (Ellis, 336).

The language of the Hawaiians is a dialect of what the missionaries in the South Seas have called the Polynesian language, spoken in all the islands which lie to the East of the Friendly Islands, including New Zealand and Chatham Islands (335).

Lorrin Andrews, another missionary of that time, stated in his essay on *The Best Practicable Method of Conducting Native Schools at the Sandwich Islands*, on June 13, 1832, and presented his essay at the General Meeting of the Mission. This report appears in ABCFM journal as, titled: *Annual Report-United Church Board for World Ministries- Vol. 25-29.*, regarding teachers and their qualifications, and that the *Pia-pa* is the book of a Hawaiian student's library. Lorrin Andrews was the Principal of the High School at Lahainaluna, on Maui. (Andrews 1832, 156).

In her National Geographic Article, *Hawai'i*, Rita Ariyoshi, stated that the whaling town of Lahaina, the Lahaina Roadstead, became the principal anchorage of the Yankee Pacific Whaling Fleet.

The past was 1846 when four hundred and twenty-nine whalers called, up to fifteen hundred sailors at a time rampaged in the streets. Among them, was Herman Melville, gathering material for his novels, *Moby-Dick*, *Typee*, and *Billy Budd*. Governor Ho'apili, influenced by the missionaries, shut down grog shops. The missionary, Lorrin Andrews, wrote "the devil is busily engaged in Lahaina." The missionaries, themselves, were busy. They translated the Hawaiian Language (Ariyoshi, 31, 32), and taught an eager populace Palapala (writing); built up Lahaina; built the first High School west of the Rocky Mountains; installed the first printing press in Hale Pai (the house of printing); published the first newspaper, held singing classes and translated the bible into Hawaiian. In a decade, Hawaiians became "literate" and "Christian"

Another perspective of how Hawaiians in the early nineteenth-Century, once shown the magic of, as I would term, in this case, is of having 'their literature in their hands,'

(metaphorically speaking), they, then, quickly wanted to learn the *Pia-pa* and the *Palapala*, so as to quickly learn what was offered to them. And to concur, this time, now through the eyes of Howard M. Ballou and George R. Carter, in the August 27, 1908, Hawaiian Historical Society Journal, titled: *The History of the Hawaiian Mission Press, with a Bibliography of the Early Publications*.

We are happy to announce to you that, on the first Monday of January (1822), we commenced printing, and, with great satisfaction, have put the first eight pages of the Owhyhee (Hawai'i) spelling book into the hands of our pupils...the edition will be small, about 500 copies. The first printing press at the Hawaiian Islands was imported by the American missionaries, and landed from the brig Thaddeus, at Honolulu, in April, 1820. At this inauguration there were present his Excellency Governor Keaumoku, a chief of the first rank, with his retinue; some other chiefs and natives; Rev. Hiram Bingham, missionary; Mr. Loomis, printer, James Hunnewell; Captain William Henry and Captain Masters (Americans). Kiamoku (Kalanimoku) was instructed how to work the press, and struck off the first impression printed in the Hawaiian Islands. Mr. Loomis struck off the second and Mr. Hunnewell the third. This account is from Mr. Hunnewell (Ballou, Carter, 1, 2).

Jan. 10, 1822. The King (Liholiho) returned from *Wititi (Waikīkī) to Hanaroora (Honolulu)*.

Brother Loomis printed his name in large elegant capitals in two forms, *Rihoriho* and *Liholiho*, and showed them to him to have him settle the question whether “r” or “l” should be used in spelling his name and he decidedly chose the latter.

Jan 11, 1822. Boka and his wife made us a friendly call, and they examined the printing office with marks of approbation. Brother Loomis printed his name also in large capitals to compliment him and to show him the use of types.

On Oct. 23, 1823. W. Ellis and H. Bingham write: “We are about to put to press within a few days an edition of twenty hymns prepared principally by Mr. Ellis. We propose also to print a

catechism and a tract." A large proportion of the hymns in this first Hawaiian hymn-book were original, but among them were translations of Watts' 50th Psalm, of Pope's Ode, "The Dying Christian to His Soul," "Owhyee's Idols Are No More," The Jubilee Hymn, several choruses from Handel's Messiah. (Ballou, Carter, 13). In the Journal of the Mission, March, 1824, is written:

We are happy to state that Boki when he embarked for England left a small quantity of cartridge paper for the purpose of printing books for his people, whom he wished to have instructed. This will give 1,500 copies (Ballou, Carter, 15).

In April, 1824, Opi'ia sent some native tapa to make the experiment of its fitness for printing, and two or three copies of the hymns were printed on tapa.

On April 18, 1824, Mr. Loomis finished printing an edition of 3,000 copies of the elementary lessons for schools, prepared jointly by Messrs. Bingham and Ellis. It contained the alphabet, Arabic figures, Roman numerals, and spelling words from monosyllables to words of ten syllables. Half of the edition was printed on cartridge paper presented by Boki on his embarkation for England.

In October, 1824, Mr. Bingham began a translation of the Gospel of Matthew, spending a portion of each day in comparing the Latin, English and Tahitian versions with the original Greek, and endeavoring to produce a Hawaiian version.

May 19, 1825. The Committee at the general meeting resolved that the improved doctrinal Tahitian catechism be considered the basis of the one now to be prepared.

A summary of the printing operation is found in a joint letter, Oahu, Mar. 10, 1826.

In the course of the year 1825 five small new tracts in the native language were printed, amounting to 59,000 copies, a large proportion of which were distributed during the same period throughout the Sandwich Islands

It was evident that the room for the printing office was small, and an addition of stone was commenced late in 1825. It was two stories high and 30 by 19 feet on the outside, located, according to Dr. Sereno E. Bishop, on the Kawai'ahao seminary premises, fronting King Street, opposite the old Mission House. (Ballou, Carter, 21).

Refer to Appendix B for Sereno Bishop

June 12, 1828, Mr. Bingham thus describes the new edition of books from the United States:

Although 20,000 spelling books had arrived from America, so great was the demand that in December, 1828, another edition of 20,000 was printed adding to a total of 140,000 in the Islands. By regulation made at the General Meeting of 1828, the missionaries were permitted to sell books for cash. As there was no other press at the islands the missionaries were from time to time called upon to print handbills for the merchants and proclamations, laws, for the King and Chiefs.

Ao Aku La Kela ia Lakou e Pai Palapla...That Person Taught Them to Print Books.

In regards to the question of natives working the printing press, it was stated that they must be dealt with differently from apprentices in America. They must be paid a certain sum by the piece. They cannot get their food without pay. In April, 1828, there was a native learning to set type, but as he had nothing but the privilege of learning, he said he was *pololi*, or hungry, and left. It was deemed advisable after this occurrence to allow fresh hands in the office about half price till they are well acquainted with the business, and then give them common American prices. Accordingly in a few weeks I made an agreement with the same boy that if he would come back he should have 12-1/2 cents for setting the types for a page of Luke and 6 cents for a page of tracts, which he appears pleased, has continued steady ever since and has become a great help in the printing business (Ballou, Carter, 29).

On the 14th of February, 1834, we published the first Hawaiian newspaper ever printed at the Sandwich Islands, we called our paper, Ka Lama Hawai'i, that is, The Hawaiian Luminary. Its object was, first, to give the scholars of High School

the idea of a newspaper-to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical... it was designed as a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose. The cuts were engraved on wood, as also the title, by Doctor Chapin...the number of copies printed was two hundred” (*Ballou, Carter, 1834, 29*).

The press came by sailing vessel to Vancouver, next by boat and pack animals to its destination in Lahaiana, Maui, where it was set up in an adobe house, and the first impression taken on May 18, 1839, thus, doing the first printing on the American continent west of the Missouri River. (Ballou,Carter 1859, 44).

Origin of the Schools in the Sandwich Islands

Lorrin Andrews, at the General Annual Meeting that he spoke at, gave the full history according to his knowledge, and this is the history that he shared. The first native schools on the Islands started in the year 1822. The missionaries were the first teachers. The first scholars consisted of a class of people immediately connected with the Chiefs. The only school books were the *Pia-pa* (or spelling book), which also was printed in the beginning of the year 1822. These schools had continued but a few months, when a desire was expressed by some of the High Chiefs to attend the instruction, and schools were formed for their particular benefit. The missionaries of course were their teachers. These schools commenced at O’ahu and Kaua’i about the same time.

In 1823, a small edition of a hymn-book, containing forty-seven hymns was published and used as a school book. In 1825, the *Po’olelo*, a tract of four pages containing texts of Scriptures, and the *Ui*, or catechism book of eight pages were published. In the year of 1827, the Sermon on the Mount was printed. In 1828, an Arithmetic book of eight pages, the history

of Joseph, a part of Luke's Gospel and an addition to the spelling book, or Pia-pa, were published. In 1830, the *Pia-pa Kamali'i*, or child's spelling book, the *Ho-pe* is the supplement to the Pia-pa. (Andrews,156).

The natives had gradually learned orderly habits at public worship after they had attended Public Sabbath exercise for about a year. Then it was that we received, simply in manuscript, a translation of *Watt's Easy Catechism* for children. (Ellis, 86). As he said, "I could only conceive the plan of a class coming to be taught after Sabbath Service. There were at the church, and after church, and then all of a sudden, every man, woman and child all as one, wished to be taught the catechism."

A Female Friday Meeting Commenced

Some days we have received calls from several hundreds. My labors are more particularly, directed to the members of the Friday Female Meeting. Two years ago their names were enrolled and a discipline introduced. A moral standard was raised. Whoever wished to join the society must forsake all their former vile practices and pay an external regard to the work and worship of God. They must uniformly have a full covering for their persons, both at home. This society has prospered, for in two years; from seventy it has increased to fifteen hundred. The names of five hundred have been enrolled with in the last three weeks. The female teachers have risen to twenty, all hopefully pious (Ellis, 98).

Regarding the Children

The first rule to be attempted to with regard to (missionary) children is that they must not speak the native language-it of course, follows that they are never left in the care of natives after reaching the age of prattling (baby talk) (Ellis, 102).

In the same vein, Lucy Thurston, in a book titled: *Life of Lucy G. Thurston*, stated that:

there should be separate yards and rooms for children and separate rooms and yards for natives. The reason for this separation, is that we are willing to come and live among you, that you may be taught the good way; but it would break

our hearts to see our children rise up and be like the children of Hawai'i--- children could be trained to habits of obedience, a thing that is never heard of. I have often seen them (the parents) to shed tears while contrasting our children with their own degenerate children (Thurston, 128).

Lucy Thurston's narrative voices the first written statement of institutionalized racism in Hawai'i.

Reverend Andrews continues with his narrative and mentions that the first teachers were persons of stability and character as the chiefs could trust and who were favorable to the new religion, or the religion of the Bible. At this time the Pia-pa and the book of hymns, are the only books that exist in the native language. (Andrews,157).

The branches of instruction that were taught and these are: One: Reading and Spelling. The reading consists in saying over the words in a book slowly, with many stops, and repetitions, and blunders, until repeated so frequently as to be fixed to memory. Two: Committing to Memory. At this the natives have ever shown themselves very skillful; but the ability to repeat and the fact that they do repeat the Pia-pa, and the Ui, and the *Mataio*, and other books from the beginning to end, does not imply that they can read a word. Three: Writing on Slates (Andrews,157).

Influence of the Schools

In connection with this may be mentioned the habit of committing to memory. At this the natives have shown a great deal of readiness. Like all barbarous nations they have been accustomed from time immemorial to commit to memory their legends, tales, war-songs, odes, etc., by hearing them repeated by others, and it was not found difficult to transfer this practice to the school, and make one reader the organ of communication to the whole school. And

whole schools have been found able to repeat fluently the Pia-pa, the Sermon on the Mount, or the Ui, without being able to read a sentence.

The business itself of committing to memory, has been of little value to this people, as they were accustomed to it before; and the matter committed, even if retained, is of no great profit without the proper application of the other facilities of the mind, but lies like useless lumber in a storehouse; and if not retained is certainly of no value. It is evident that a vast majority of the scholars rest perfectly satisfied with their attainments when they have the words in their memories. This is manifest by the avidity of which they commit to memory long lists of names contained in genealogies, and even abstract numbers; and when it is done feel as fully rewarded for their trouble, as though they had gained a new chapter on morals or religion (Andrews, 159).

Rev. Andrew's statement two paragraphs above, is that the practice of the school, is to make one reader the organ of communication to the whole school; this method is called the Lancastrian Method. This method of teaching was borrowed from the English System (in Britain) by the missionaries with Hawaiians, it is a monitorial system, whereby, advanced students stood up in front of class and teach their peers.

All nations indeed, of which we have any account, in becoming rich, have become profligate: a torrent of depraved morality has, in every opulent state, borne down with irresistible violence those mounds and fences, by which the wisdom of legislators attempted to protect chastity, sobriety, and virtue. If any check can be given to the corruption of a state, increasing in riches, and declining in morals, it must be given not by laws enacted to alter the inveterate habits of men, but, BY EDUCATION ADAPTED TO FORM THE HEARTS OF CHILDREN TO A PROPER SENSE OF MORAL AND RELIGIOUS EXCELLENCE, Bishop of Lantdaff's Charge, 1788.

Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838), a Quaker, in England, was home schooled by his father as he was not allowed to attend school, unable to get over this poor treatment as a child, decided to teach the street urchins in his father's attic, charging them a penny a lesson. Consequently; hundreds of students came to him and being resourceful as he was, Lancaster devised the monitorial system (Lancastrian Method) giving the delegation to the smarter students the responsibility to teaching and doing the paperwork. Other chores, for the students so selected, were: To line students up in an orderly manner, to be in charge of spacing the table and chairs facing the front to the monitor in front of the room. For every ten students there was a monitor, and the students were given slates to write their lessons on.

Lorrin Andrews commented on what he expected from his teaching experience in the Islands were:

It is obvious the duty of a missionary, the very first day he can stammer a sentence in the language of an ignorant people, to inculcate the duties of repentance for sin, faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and obedience to the command of God. But it is just as obvious that he should on the same day begin to instruct them in everything which will open their minds, which will enable them to understand the work of God and their relations to their fellowman; in short, everything pertaining to civilized society (Andrews, 162).

Despite some of the degradation surrounding the missionaries and their expectation that the Hawaiians should change their ways faster than what was expected of them, the women especially were impatient as to the slow pace of conversion. Two years after her arrival, Sybil Bingham called on Ka'ahumanu, the Queen, who was occupied playing cards and gambling;

...my spirit seemed to faint within me. As I stood and looked upon the group of ignorant, unconcerned, yet precious immortals, thought of their indifference to the message of eternal mercy, and their entire devotions, not only to vain but to sensual delights

Spiritual results in any large measure came slowly, even if the people did attend the religious services in large numbers, crowding thousands into the churches and under the trees.

...the printed page was the magic key giving access to the hearts and minds of the people. To most of them pule and Palapala were simply two aspects of the same thing; religion was an invisible abstraction, letters could be seen; therefore attention was given to letters. Religious ideas were incorporated in the reading matter and by that means gained entry into the minds of the learners. If the work of the missionaries was to be effective, it must be carried out in the native tongue. Their first task was to learn the language and reduce it to written form Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854 (Ralph Kuykendall, 104).

Tahitienne (Tahitian) Influence of Palapala Translation

In the traditional Polynesian cosmology, Po, the “realm of darkness,” was at once the earliest time and the place of spirits of the dead, in the latter capacity associated with the underworld. By contrast Ao, the “realm of the light,” was the time and place of high gods and/or living men. This basic opposition fitted well with the missionaries’ distinction between heathen “darkness” and the “light” of Christianity. The syncretic results of the two systems are exemplified in Toketa’s text Barrere, Sahlins, *Tahitians in the Early History of Hawaiian Christianity: The Journal of Toketa*, (34).

ABCFM missionary, Hiram Bingham was helped tremendously by LMS missionary, Willam Ellis, in writing and translating the Palapala for Hawaiians in the eighteen twenties, as Ellis, before residing in Hawai’i had spent six month in Tahiti and understood phonetically, the indigenous, Polynesian language. Dorothy Barrere and Marshall Sahlins, found a journal ledger at the Hawai’i State Archives, bearing the title: “*Historical Accounts, Contemporary Life, and some Kahuna Lapa’au in the Sandwich Islands...1819-67.*” Under the subtitle, *The Manuscript*, the stamp on the cover declares that the accounts were written by: “Toketa of Bora Bora, and Kahikona of Norway,” that he, Kahikona, had come to Hawai’i from the land of his birth (Tahiti) by way of “Norwesi.”. The composer of the title erred in referring to Kahikona was from

“Nowesi” (Norway,) an error that was mistakenly written, as Kahikona had visited the North-West Coast of the United States, the area once known as Russian America (Barrere, Sahlins, 19).

Toketa and Kahikona, both of whom were Tahitian converts and were teaching reading, (Palapala) writing and Christian Doctrine in the schools of Hawaiian Chiefs in the eighteen twenties and eighteen thirties. As stated in the journal article, that the writings of Toketa in 1822, likely is the first manuscript written in the Hawaiian language by any Polynesian and perhaps the first ever in that language. Toketa is presumed that he first landed on Hawai’i Island, because the first notice of him is as a member of the household of the chief John Adams Kuakini, at that time a prominent figure in the court of Kamehameha 1, in Kailua, Kona. Toketa had made a visit with Kuakini to Honolulu, in the early part of 1822 where the ABCFM missionaries found him to be one of the three Tahitians in Hawai’i who had learned to read and write in their own language. And although Toketa had not fully converted to Christianity, being able to read and write showed the missionaries that he had received missionary instruction in Tahiti.

By the time of Kuakini’s visit to Honolulu the missionaries had chosen an alphabet to reproduce the phonetic sounds of the Hawaiian language. (Barrere, Sahlins, 20). As stated previously, missionary, Elisha Loomis, on January 7, 1822, struck off the first printed sheet in the language in the presence of King Liholiho, Kuakini and other chiefs. On February 8th, Toketa, who had learned to read Hawaiian after an hour of instruction, wrote a letter for Kuakini to Hiram Bingham, requesting copies of the spelling book. Kuakini, on his return to Hawai’i island,

where he was Governor, took with him spelling books and printed lessons given to him by the missionaries.

While on Hawai'i, the recently arrived Tahitian missionary, Auna, wrote that during their twelve-day stay there in Kailua in June, Toketa and Kuakini had attended his religious services. Kuakini's continued interest was the impetus for him to request for more books and teachers, and consequently, Elisha Loomis was sent to Kailua in October to organize a school. On his return to Honolulu, he, Loomis, reported that he had left fifty students in the charge of Governor Adams and Toketa. Because of the interest, Thomas Hopu, a Hawaiian youth trained as a teacher by the missionaries, and was sent to Kailua and put in charge of the school (Barrere, Sahlins, 21).

On November 5, 1823, the Rev. Asa Thurston returned to Kailua to re-occupy the mission station he had originally started there in 1820, Thomas Hopu stayed on as a helper and was soon joined by John Honoli'i. Both these young Hawaiian men had been educated at the Cornwell School in Connecticut and had returned to Hawai'i in 1820 with the first Company of missionaries. Toketa was transferred to the island of Maui, and in 1824, Toketa had requested baptism from Rev. Charles Stewart at Lahaina. The next time Toketa was heard of was in Honolulu in November of 1825, and his name was mentioned by missionary Levi Chamberlain, reporting that Toketa, was in Honolulu, still engaged in teaching *palapala* to the chiefs (Barrere, Sahlins, 22).

Non-Written Language

Before the arrival of traders and missionaries, Hawaiians had other means and ways of communicating with each other, their history was an oral history, which means; through their cultural and religious practices, communication, memorization, oratory, hula, talk story, reciting the Kumulipo and oli

One form of communication that could be overlooked as a form, that we see at large gathering and this form is non-verbal, is the call or use of the Pu, or conch shells, to announce the arrival of the Chiefs, or to quieten and to gather people at large events. This form of communication uses rhythms pounded by Kapa-beaters on specially prepared Kapa-making logs

Another method of silent communication is drawing Ki'i Pohaku, or petroglyphs. This information is gathered from: *From the Mountains to the Sea: Early Hawaiian Life. Julie S. Williams (Williams 1997, 140-141). Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1997.*

David Diringer's statement follows in the same vein, that, "the earliest examples extant of human attempts to scratch, draw or paint...are to be considered a preliminary stage of writing," (Diringer 1953:17), it becomes necessary to consider what may be termed the first efforts of the Hawaiian people to construct a language of symbols (David B. Walch, 1).

...as viewed in nearly every island of the Hawaiian group. As far back as 1822 William Ellis discovered, in the course of his tour along the southern coast of Hawai'i that archaeological investigations have brought to light rock-carvings on Hawai'i, a number of straight lines, semicircles, or concentric rings accompanied by rather crude imitations of the human figure. These were carved on the hard rock of lava (David B. Walch, 1). *The Historical Development of the Alphabet: The Journal of the Polynesian Society, September, (Walch 1967, Volume 76, No. 3).*

David Walch continues with the narrative, that the initial efforts to teach Hawaiians the art of expressing thought on paper met with surprise as indicated by the following incident:

the people looked at writing with dread, as though it were enchantment or sorcery. A captain said to Kamehameha, "I can put Kamehameha on a slate," and proceeded to write the word Kamehameha. The chief replied, "That is not me-not Kamehameha." The captain then said: "By marks on this slate I can tell

my mate, who is at a distance, to send me his handkerchief,” and proceeded to write the order. Kamehameha gave the slate to the mate and brought the handkerchief. Kamehameha then took the two—the slate and the handkerchief—they did not look alike. He felt of the two—they did not look alike. And what connection there could be between the one and the other he could not imagine (Dibble 1909:156).

According to Walter Ong, who wrote the book in 1998: *Orality & Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, that the partner of literacy is generally thought of as illiteracy, and for him, the Oral Tradition—which is still the most prevalent culture in the world today—is not the lack of books, but the use of memory in a way we have forgotten. He mentions that it was not until the 1960’s, that we had “forgotten” that Homer didn’t write *The Iliad and The Odyssey* --he spoke them. He demonstrates this point by giving another story mentioning that the anthropologist Marcel Griaule, after thirteen years of studying the sociology of a *Doogon* tribe, was led to “the blind guy,” Ogotommell, and discovered the cosmology that was actually behind all of the tribe’s activities.

When the missionaries first came to Hawai’i they continued with the same practice that other visitors had used in regards to learning how to write the language, i.e., their spelling was one of imitation and invention. The establishment of a more uniform spelling received favorable reviews when a shipment of “seasonal and valuable supplies” arrived on the first day of the New Year 1822.

We received, also, two copies of the New Zealand Grammar and Vocabulary; and were happy to see at once such a striking resemblance between the languages of the Sandwich and Society Islands. This work will afford us considerable aid in settling the orthography of this language

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1824: X1X, 42 (Walch, 3).

Missionary wife, Laura Fish Judd comments on the speed with which the natives become literate, “only two or three days were required to read, write, and spell Hawaiian as compared with the years American children are obliged to spend learning our non-phonetic English spelling” (Tate 1962, 186).

Literacy for One Becomes Literacy for All, per King Liholiho

When Liholiho first allowed the missionaries to teach the *Palapala* before opening up schools for the children, the King ordered that “none should be taught to read but those of rank, those to whom he gave special permission, and the wives and children of the white men.” (Strauss 1963, 53). “If the Palapala [letters] is good we wish to possess it first ourselves, if it is bad we do not intend our subjects to know the evil of it.” (Blackman 1906, 165). Liholiho, the chiefs and their families remained the principal students until 1825 when commoners were allowed to attend. Once that happened, school enrolment went from 2,000 in 1824; to 37,000 in 1826; 45,000 in 1829; and 52,000 by 1831. In 1831 there were 1,100 schools located throughout Hawai‘i with an enrolment of two-fifths of the entire population, and the majority of these students were adult. (Strauss 1963,53), (Walch, 6). The Hawaiian language does not allow one to pronounce two consonants without a vowel in between, thus, Britain, is *Beritani*, (which in this day is Beretania, as in Beretania Street); and boat is *boti*, and so on (Ellis 1917, 348).

The general idea for the schools was that the school for boys would be preparatory for them to continue to the seminary at Lahainaluna which is situated mountain-side of Lahaina on Maui, and those for girls would train in a class of females suitable to be wives of teachers and

other educated and pious young men of the nation. (113). The original plan for having a boarding school for Hawaiian boys at Punahou was not carried out; these graduates of Punahou were intended to continue their education at Lahainaluna. Instead, the missionaries set up a school for their own children there, the missionary children by 1840 had become so numerous and of such an age as to require some special provision for their education. (113). The O'ahu Charity School, which was housed in a little coral-block structure, was located not far from the mission premises in Honolulu. This was the English language school, intended primarily for the education of the children of foreign residents who had Hawaiian wives (113).

When it came time for examination of the pupils of a whole district, sometimes these examinations lasted over three days, and this excitement made other people interested in learning the Palapala. Accordingly, missionary Chamberlain wrote in his journal, July 21, 1826:

Our house had been thronged with natives applying for books and slates. Our place sometimes presented the appearance of a market stocked with pigs, poultry, melons and bananas brought to be exchanged for means of instruction

In the lives of the people the quarterly examination (hoike) came to be a gala occasion.

Reuben Tinker gave a description of an examination at Honolulu, July 19/20, 1831:

The shell horn blowing early for examination of the schools, in the meeting house. About 2,000 scholars present, some wrapped in large quantity of native cloth, with wreaths of evergreen about their heads and others dressed in calico and silk with large necklaces of braided hair and wreaths of red and yellow and green feathers very beautiful and expensive. It was a pleasant occasion, in which they seemed interested and happy... 450 in 4 rows wrote the same sentence at the same time on slates...one of the teachers cried out with as much importance as an orderly sergeant. Mr. Bingham then put into the crier's ear the sentence to be written, which he proclaimed with all his might and a movement of 450 pencils commenced which from their creaking was like the music of machinery lacking oil. Their sentences were then examined and found generally

correct...Eight of the Islanders delivered orations which they had written and committed to memory. Governor Adams (Kuakini) was among the speakers

Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, vol. 1, 1778-1854*, University of Hawai'i, 1978. (Kuykendall 1978, 108-109).

Around about this time of 1831-1832, the common schools of the period had ran its course and the people lost interest in them, education wise presented a different picture from the 1820s. About this time more teachers were trained to teach the people from their districts, and thereby, it would be on them for the success of teaching the Palapala to their own people.

The O'ahu Charity School, which was called a Common School, on January 10, 1833, was a special English language school that was established during this period but did not owe its origin to the missionaries, but its first teachers were missionaries. This school opened on January 10, 1833, for the education of children of foreign residents having Hawaiian wives. The King donated the site for the institution, which was supported by prominent residents of Honolulu, many of whom were openly hostile to the missionaries. Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Johnston taught at this school, they were forced to sever their connection with ABCFM in June 1835. The teaching of religion was forbidden and the trustees ruled that no religious literature other than the bible might be read in school.

R. H. Dana, an early traveler to the Islands, summarized the effect of the development of the written language, the establishment of printing, and the efforts of the missionaries on the Hawaiian people.

the missionaries of the American Board have taught the people to read and to write...they have given them an alphabet, grammar, and dictionary; preserved their language from extinction; given it a literature, and translated into it the Bible and works of devotion. They found these islanders a nation of half-naked

savages, living in the surf and on the sand, eating raw fish... the more elevated of them taking part in conducting the affairs of the constitutional monarchy under which they live, holding seats on the judicial bench and in the legislative chambers, and filling posts in the local magistracies

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated, that I have found and read copious archival information that is obtained from literary review journals and documents, that explains how the missionaries viewed their existence in the Sandwich Islands; how colonialism and the concepts of 'manifest destiny' shaped their values and teaching strategies to help Native heathens to 'reach the kingdom of heaven.' The efforts and concepts of 'manifest destiny' were utilized in the educational development of Hawaiians because this is how the missionaries kept law and order, and with their calculated efforts, to see themselves become land owners that originally belonged to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Hawaiians were dying due to no immunity to the diseases that were introduced by 'outsiders,' and therefore; 'manifest destiny' was a calculated, colonizing methodology that was used against Hawaiians.

Considering that when there was a large farewell on the wharf in Boston in 1819, four out of the seven couples from Massachusetts were recently married as stipulated by the Boston-based ABCFM Organization, who sponsored the Hawaiian mission. These missionaries were all serious about their call to duty by being committed to the cause and confident that their (marital) matches were the result of divine intervention. First missionaries leave for Hawai'i Oct 23 1819. <http://www.massmoments.org/moment.cfm?mid=306>

The letters and journals that were written home to the U.S. Continent by the missionaries and their wives were found in: The Mission House Museum, Hawai'i State Archives, books written by the missionaries, Journal articles that were found on the Fifth Floor,

Hawaiian Section of Hamilton Library, and also, by researching the Annuals of ABCFM Headquarters in Boston.

It is safe to say that the second Great Awakening in America which led to ABCFM being formed as an organization, was the impetus to send missionaries overseas, and in the Sandwich Islands, it was necessary, for the missionaries to first reduce the Hawaiian language to a written form, to teach 'the word' through the *Palapala*.

One concept that I found difficult to understand was that how the missionaries made a point to separate their children away from Hawaiian children as much as possible, and on reading, Joy Schulz's dissertation, titled: *"Empire of the Young: Missionary Children in Hawai'i and the Birth of U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific, 1820-1898,"* I believe that query was answered.

One of the main points of the dissertation is that many of the children of the missionaries continued the negative attitude of their parents against Hawaiians. They, the children of the missionaries, were carefully shielded from playing with the native children, were not allowed to learn the native language before age ten, and the missionary families compensated this by undertaking excursions into the picturesque nature scenery and landscape of the Islands. For instance, visiting and exploring the Thurston Lava Tube near Kilauea Volcano on Hawai'i or the Tantalus Mountain on O'ahu, and, consequently; they, the children of the missionaries, learned to love the landscape while cultivating a dislike for the Native people of that land. Interestingly enough, Schulz's revealing dissertation was defended at the University of Nebraska in Lincoln, interesting, since Abraham Lincoln presumably would have approved of its findings.

Chapter Three

Orality and Literacy for Future Rulers of Hawai'i

'Olelo no'eau: "I ulu no ka lala I ke Kumu. The branches grow because of the trunk. Without our ancestors we would not be here." Hawaiian proverb.

In this chapter, I will discuss an important passage of time in the early to mid-nineteenth-Century history of Hawai'i, it is at this time that the momentum of education for children was first implemented. The Palapala, the writing system that was introduced, was for adults only, and once that stage went well, the King allowed for the children to also have lessons in the Pi'apa and the Palapala. Particularly, at this time, I look at how the Chiefs' Children's School was established by Kamehameha III, to provide lessons for the children of the Hawaiian Kings, Queens, and Chiefs. Some of the narratives in this chapter will be taken from the perspective of a child, in particular; the writings of the children from the Chiefs' Children's School. The children wrote how they felt about the harsh punishment for the slightest infractions that was metered out to themselves and to their relatives, who also had Royal status. At other times the children were invited on visiting war ships where a gun salute in their honor was fired, and at other times they traveled to the outer-islands around Hawai'i, and on all these occasions; daily journals by the children had to be kept up-to-date as was expected of them by Amos and Juliette Cooke, their missionary teachers.

The case study that I discuss in this chapter demonstrates how the Calvinistic way of life influenced the lives of Aboriginal Hawaiians in the 1830s and mid-1840s. Particularly, I look at how the lessons and discussions that Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Cooke instilled in the children at the Chiefs' Children's School, and how; these students as adults were expected to

rule Hawai'i to the satisfaction of the population of Americans in the islands. Secondly, the predicted assimilation of the Royal children and the lessons learned in achieving this, would convey to the residents of Hawai'i, that this is now what is expected for them to follow. Thirdly, English was the chosen language in teaching the Royal children, as these selected children were used as a model to win souls for the missionaries bringing the people to their savior, and, with the knowledge of English, these children would then be able to communicate on an intellectual level with visitors to Hawai'i.

Linguism

English linguistic imperialism is one sub-type of linguisticism. Linguicism may be in operation simultaneously with sexism, racism, or classism, but linguisticism refers exclusively to ideologies and structures where language is a means for maintaining an unequal allocation of power and resources. For instance in a school in which the mother tongues of some children, from an indigenous minority background, are ignored, and thus has consequences for their learning. Linguicism is also in operation if a teacher stigmatizes the local dialect spoken by the children and this has consequences of a structural kind, that is, there is an unequal division of power and resources as a result of this Robert Phillipson, 1992.

The Chiefs' Children's School

This chapter questions: Why some selected children were separated in a boarding school, and in particular, separated from children of the maka'ainana (common) class and given an education different from other children in Hawai'i. My point given here: Great pains were taken, so that these selected children, were separated from their siblings, and children of their same age group from within the community, and consequently; were these actions and numerous other acts in the following years, in this same vein, part of the reason that eventually led to the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom? Secondly, I take on an ethnographic stance in

my approach to analyze theories of the meaning of the education that Hawaiian Royal children received from these missionaries. By taking this approach in this chapter, it will bring to the forefront the role of the missionary and the implementation of the strict education that the young Royal children received.

As Linda Menton states in her article in the *History of Education Quarterly*: *A Christian and "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-50*, that,

the school is unique 'This school is the only school to train future Monarchs.' Menton, continues, that: Millennialism, the belief that Christ's return to earth for a thousand-year reign of peace was imminent, added a special note of urgency to the enterprise; the world needed to be remade and as quickly as possible (Menton, 216).

Christianity/civilization dictated how people should eat, work, dress, use their time, and govern their lives. It mandated sobriety, "Christianity and civilization" were the watchwords of the nineteenth-century foreign mission movement. The phrase, expressed the quintessential and ethnocentric goals of the movement: To convert unbelievers not only to Christianity, but simultaneously to the values, beliefs, and practices of an allegedly superior white American culture." "Civilization" prescribed institutions, such as schools and churches." One of the most important means missionaries used to transform native cultures throughout the world was in, education and more specifically, the teachings in those schools (216).

According to Thom Huebner as stated in his thesis: *Language Education Policy in Hawai'i: Two Case Studies and Some Current Issues*

Any language policy (and even the absence of a formal language policy constitutes, in effect, a language policy) reflects the social, political, and economic context of public education. At the same time, the effect of that policy on society extends beyond the generation receiving direct services under it, for it influences what that generation brings to the task of educating its children. The study explores the relationship between language policy and non-linguistic, non-educational issues, which involves the loss of Hawaiian, the indigenous language, to English, an immigrant language during the nineteenth-Century

My understanding on this statement is that even though this language policy was implemented at a time when history was removed from this time and era that we are living in now, that the result of allowing the Royal children, a selected few to receive a separate education, that...the effect of that policy on society extends beyond the generation receiving direct services under it.

Another concept that this chapter will discuss is Richard Dawkin's saying: "Give me a child, for seven years and I'll give you the man..." will connect to this portfolio to frame it as a case study for the education that was disseminated to the students by Amos and Juliette Cooke. The missionary couples' religious goals are described in the book, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, which was written by the couple of their experience of teaching sixteen children of Hawai'i's Royalty.

Hierarchical Dominant-Class Perspectives

Archival research and writings of the Royal students, illustrate that leaving home from their families and retainers was difficult to endure, and one child in particular, whose Christian name was Lydia, and later became known as Lili'uokalani (1838-1917); who at age four, was accepted in to the school, years later wrote in her book: *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*, that:

On entering the school on the shoulders of Kaikai (she was the sister of Governor Kanoa, and they were of a family of chiefs of inferior rank, living under the control and direction of the higher chiefs). As she put me down at the entrance of the schoolhouse, I shrank from its doors, with that immediate and strange dread of the unknown so common to childhood. Crying bitterly, I turned to my faithful attendant, clasping her with my arms and clinging closely to her neck. As the children crowded around me, I was soon attracted by their friendly

faces...and my fears began to vanish. I soon found myself at home amongst my play mates <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/liliuokalani/jawaii.html>

Refer to Lydia Lili'uokalani in Appendix A

Kali, another child at the school, on a visit to his grandmother, is returned by force, as described in Mary A. Richards book, entitled: *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850*, this book is of interest because the record therein ,is compiled from the diary and letters of Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke by their granddaughter, Mary Atherton Richards. (Richards, 84).

Another insightful event that Queen Lili'uokalani writes about:

We never failed to go to church in a procession every Sunday in charge of our teachers, Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, and occupied seats in the immediate vicinity of the pew where the King was seated. The custom was for a boy and girl to march side by side; the lead being taken by the eldest scholars. Moses and Jane had this distinction, next Lot and Bernice, then Liholiho with Abigail, followed by Lunalilo and Emma, James and Elizabeth, David and Victoria, and so on, John Kinau and I being the last

Reminiscences of the Royal Court

As Colonel Curtis Piehu Iaukea wrote: *Reminiscences of the Court of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma*, published in the Hawaiian Historical Society Papers, no. 17. Honolulu. (Iaukea 1930, 17-27).

My earliest recollections take me back to the time when Kamehameha IV, the brilliant and talented Liholiho, with his no less gifted and charming Queen, Emma Kalele'onalani, were gracing the throne of Hawai'i and the Prince of Hawai'i, their only son and heir, living and in the full enjoyment of health and happy childhood

This was about the year 1860, when I was five years old and living with my adopted parents, Kaihupa'a and Keli'aipala, at the old Royal School premises, the site of which is where the old Royal Barracks is now standing on Hotel Street,

then known as Palace Walk, that part of Hotel extending from Richards to Punchbowl

The school was founded in 1840, for the education, through the medium of the English language, of the young chiefs and Ali'i's of high rank, and Mr. Amos S. Cooke, (progenitor of the large and respected families of that name enjoying a leading place in Hawai'i's present day social and business activities), as principal and tutor. When the school was given up in 1850, the premises were turned into a domicile for the retainers of royalty having families. The place was known as Hale Poepoe, (meaning circular or round house) so-called because of the quadrangle or court forming the central portion of the building

The Hawaiian Kingdom was vulnerable during the mid-eighteen hundredths, as this was during the period of Manifest Destiny. Limiting the Hawaiian language was not the only colonial action that the missionaries expected of the young children, as the students also had to dress in clothes that were mid-Western or British in style. In May 1838, upon the suggestion of William Richards, Amos Cooke was selected by the King to run the Chiefs' Children's School, to "teach the young Chiefs of the nation," wisdom and righteousness were the tenets on how the school should be run, as stated by Mary A. Richards, in her book: *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850*. The school was opened as a boarding school on May 5, 1840, and the Royal students so selected, had to board with Amos and Juliette Cooke, so as to be separated from the children of the maka'ainana (commoner) status. Neither of the Cookes had experience as teachers, and the education that the Royal children received within the stone-walled school grounds was one of indoctrination of the New-England styled education.

The purpose of separating these selected children was to teach the children Western manners and mannerisms, a new knowledge system, with instruction in English, thereby giving zero knowledge in the Hawaiian system, essentially; to socialize and to transform the children in to something totally different than that of their peers.

Kamehameha IV, Alexander 'Iolani Liholiho (1834-1863), was the fourth Monarch of Hawai'i, his siblings included brothers David Kamehameha, (1836-1891), Moses Kekuaiwa, (1829-1848), Lot Kapuaiwa (1830-1872), sister, Victoria Kamamalu (1838-1866). Lunalilo (1835-1874), another student, became the hanai son of his uncle, Kamehameha III and his wife, his mother was Kekauluohi, known as Ka'ahumanu III, and his father was Charles Kanaina.

When at the age of six, after his mother's death, Lunalilo, joined his brothers at the Chiefs' Children's School that was run by ABCFM missionaries, Amos and Juliette Cooke; he was accompanied by thirty Kahu, or attendants, but after a while, the Kahu, were told to leave. So distraught at being separated from their Kahu when they first attended the school, the children would often climb over the fence to find their Kahu and attendants weeping at their separation from their young Royal charges. John Papa 'Ii, a Kahu, took over the position as a Kahu, for the Royal children.

Because of Alexander Lunalilo's interest in reading and writing skills, Mrs. Cooke gave him a journal at age eight, in which he diligently wrote in every day. Reading and writing, both in Hawaiian and English, came easily for Lunalilo, and when he was thirteen years of age he was translating land deeds (Palapala'aina) from Hawaiian to English. At the age of fourteen he translated news articles from English to Hawaiian for the local newspaper. (Lowe,14).

Lunalilo's love of English literature and poetry led him to write poems, which one might question, how is that possible that a young prince in the nineteenth-Century could be drawn to English Classics?

While researching for this chapter, I found a statement that Lunalilo, as a young boy, wrote the Hawaiian National Anthem, and on researching as to how this came about, found that when Lunalilo was fourteen years of age, he visited David Malo who was sitting in an Nupepa Editorial Sanctum, and the group there invited him to compete for the best Hawaiian version of “God Save the King.”

He took a pen and in fifteen or twenty minutes handed us his verses, which we enclosed in an envelope and passed with ten or twelve others to the judges, who awarded it the prize, and this is known now as the Hawaiian National Hymn “God Save the King.” We instance this to illustrate the extraordinary mental qualities with which he was endowed -Gazette, Feb. 11. <http://nupepa-hawaii.com/tag/royal-school/>

Refer to William Charles Lunalilo in Appendix A

E OLA KA MO’I I KE AKUA- GOD SAVE THE KING

E OLA KA MO’I I KE AKUA

Ke akua mana mau
Ho’omaikai, pomaikai
I ka Moi!
Kou lima mana mau,
Malama,kiai mai
Ko makou nei Moi
E ola e!

Ka inoa kamahao
Lei nani o makou
E ola e!
Kou eheu uhi mai,

Pale na ino e,
Kamakou pule nou
E oal e!

Imua ou makou,
Ke Lii o na Ali'i,
E aloha mai;
E mau k eke e
O ke aupuni nei
E ola mau makou,
Me ka Moi

GOD SAVE THE KING Translated by Rev. L Lyons

Eternal, mighty God,
Bless, from thy bright abode,
Our Sovereign King;
Ward from our sire all harm,
Let no vile foe alarm,
Long may he reign!

Royal, distinguished name,
Long life be thine;
Thy wing spread o'er our land.
From every wrong defend,
For thee our prayers ascend,
Long live our King!

Before thee, King of Kings,
Of whom all nature sings,
Our prayer we bring;
Oh, let our kingdom live,
Life, peace and union give,
Let all thy care receive;
Bless thou our King!

hawaiianhistory.org, added that, Lunalilo wrote the winning entry and was “awarded 10 dollars.” His song became the Kingdom’s new anthem. An excerpt in Kuokoa Newspaper on 2.15.1862, p.2, that:

...we are showing at once the great kindness of the Honorable, Chief William C. Lunalilo, in his donating the ten dollars he received for composing the national song that was published in our issue II, to aid the Queen’s Hospital

As we can see, a number of the Royal children became prolific poetry and song writers, besides Lili’uokalani, Pau’ahi while a boarder at the Royal School would also write in her journal daily. Pau’ahi was aged fourteen years of age when she sailed aboard the schooner, *Kamehameha III* to visit the islands of Hawai’i, Maui and Moloka’i, with the other young Royals from the school. She wrote her account of the voyage on unlined paper, and this account was reproduced in 1981 by the Bishop Museum Press under the title: *“A Report of Voyages and Travels on Hawai’i, Maui and Moloka’i Undertaken by the Students of the Chiefs’ Children’s School in the Summer of 1846.”* As the Press reports, the opening verses of “I Hilo ‘o Kalani” were inspired by the Hilo section of Pau’ahi’s account in her journal according to author, Kihei de Silva in I Hilo ‘o Kalana.

Sunday, June 28, 1846. We passed Hilo Paliku on Sunday. The prospect was very charming. We saw a good many houses in that region. The hills looked very fertile and green. The same day we saw Mauna Kea. It was very cloudy and the Mount was mostly *covered with fog so that we did not see much of it, but we could see the height of it.* We reached Bryon's Bay on Sunday evening at 8 o'clock Bernice Pau'ahi.

Pau'ahi's poem describes how she felt by the mist and being in nature

Ke kau aloha wale mai la ka ua

E ka'i mai ana i Hilo One

He hilu no ka i'a, ua no'eno'e

'Ikea e na kini o Hanakahi

A hāna Haili I ke po'i a ka ua

Hako'i Waiolama i ka neki

Eia a'e Neki waiho 'ao'ao

Ho'onui ka 'imina o ke kula

Ua kapu ia kula ua alodia

I ka wahine noho anu i Mana

Ho'okahi no puana o ka pu'uwai

He 'aina hi'ialo 'o Napaliku.

The rain settles softly

Entering from the sea at Hilo One.

The fish is a hilu, grown gentle and elegant

Greeted by the throngs of Hilo Hanakahi

Haili works on the lid of rain

And Waiolama is agitated in the reeds

A certain Neki arrives, tilted to one side

Looking always to increase her fortune

This kula is sacred, inalienable

Because of the woman who dwells in the cold of Mana

The heart has but one refrain

Hilo Paliku is ever loyal.

Refer to Bernice Pauahi in Appendix A

The chiefs had refused to send their offspring to the same schools as those of the commoner, and; there was some resistance to the petition from some of the missionaries as they did not want the chiefs to be treated differently from the commoners. This information was found in an Editor's Forum, in William E.H. Tagupa's article: *Education, Change, and Assimilation in Nineteenth Century Hawai'i*. English was favored as the language of instruction. As Tagupa continues, the primary challenge to the Cookes in the education of the young chiefs was their behavior. It was apparent after reading this literature that Amos and Juliette Cooke were strict disciplinarians, at the time the young Royal children were boarding at the school. Amos and Juliette's strict disciplinary measures against the young children did not sit well for the children.

According to William Tagupa:

The issue was settled when William Charles Lunalilo, the heir to the throne was disciplined by Mrs. Cooke. Alexander's older brother, Moses, protested that such punishment should be metered out to the son of a king, whereupon Mrs. Cooke replied that she was "King of the School." The general educational and behavioral strategies employed at the school were successful in producing a new generation of ruling elite. This design needed to be effected on the population as a whole. *Ibid.*, (Report 1846, 24).

In Menton's book, *A Christian and "Civilized" Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs'*

Children's School, 1839-1850, that:

...in 1839, it was Amos Cooke who gave corporal punishment and struck the five-year-old heir apparent, Charles Lunalilo, and that it was Cooke who responded that he was the king of the school. The protocol around Royalty is that the children should never have received punishment, but, the King did not reprimand the Cookes for metering out such harsh punishment for small infractions, that is if he knew about it at all. One time, Amos Cooke, broke Moses' arm when he hit him

Moses left the school in 1847, and went to live with his father, but, he died due to the measles epidemic in 1848.

Amos Cooke in his writings to the ABCFM in 1841, stated:

When we thought the case demanded it we have not hesitated to use the rod, taking them alone and conversing with them awhile before we applied it and the result has generally been a happy one

Viewed by the Cookes as a collective of ignorant, sinful, and unruly lower citizens, the Royal children were treated as delinquents rather than as students of royalty. In another entry, Amos Cooke writes:

Yesterday I became more stern & had to discipline Moses to make him mind. Today punished Alexander (Liholiho), & Moses replied-he keiki a ke ali'i oia nei [he was a child of the chief]. I replied I was King of the school (Richards, 1941, 181). Keahiolalo-Karasuda in A Genealogy of Punishment in Hawai'i, (157) and as seen in Hulili, Vol. 6 (2010).

Mrs. Cooke writes:

They are a set of tyrants...I would rather teach the poor, the wandering, and ignorant than these proud spoiled princes (Richards, 1941, 180-181), (Keahiolalo-Karasuda, 157).

As Keahiolalo-Karasuda states, that in addition to their disciplinary methods, the Cookes arrangement of the school was not only sanitized of all things Hawaiian, but also set up for the teachers to readily surveil control, and punish the students. (Richards 1941). It resembled nothing Hawaiian in its appearance or its atmosphere. (Allen 1994, 7). (156).

Amos Cooke noted in his journal on Christmas Day in 1843, “But I have had a school all day...This evening Juliette has had a school.” Children who were late for meals did not eat, nor did the Cookes allow them to eat between meals. And so essentially, I see, by this statement of Amos Cooke, on Christmas Day in 1843, the children who did not hear the bell to go inside to eat, did not eat a Christmas Day meal, to celebrate the birth day of the missionaries’ Savior. The dichotomy, or bipolar of the actions set forth by Amos Cooke on Christmas Day in 1843, is difficult for me to understand, in that, the withdrawal of food as punishment for the young children is one thing, but, it happened on the birthday of Jesus, is another. On another day as Cooke mentions, the same situation is played out. “Most of the children lost their dinner” wrote Cooke on a summer day in 1843, “because they did not hear the bell & come quick.” “Journal of Amos Starr Cooke” Honolulu, 25 Dec. 1843, vol. 7, (180).

Unexplained adult anger and constant punishment to a child, will eventually produce a sense of failure and helplessness, as outlined in the book *Learned Helplessness: A Theory for the Age of Personal Control*, by authors, Christopher Peterson, Steven F. Maier and Martin E.P. Seligman. The authors states, that:

The person uses his perception and explanation to form an expectation about the future. If he experiences a failure that he believes was caused by his own stupidity, then he will expect to fail again when he finds himself in situations requiring intelligence. In addition, helplessness theory claims that other consequences may follow as well from the individual’s expectation of future helplessness, low self-esteem, sadness, loss of aggression and physical illness (Maier, Peterson, Seligman 1993, 8).

The children were deprived for minor misdeeds, and as Queen Lili’uokalani wrote in her autobiographical book, *Hawai’i’s Story by Hawai’i Queen*, that:

...but, when I recall the instances in which we were sent hungry to bed, it seems to me that they failed to remember that we were growing children. A thick slice of bread covered with molasses was usually the sole article of our supper...in our search for food: if we could beg something of the cook...and as a last resort we would search the gardens for any esculent root or leaf, which (having inherited the art of igniting a fire from the friction of sticks), we would cook and consume without the knowledge of our preceptors. Education became my salvation

Refer to Lili'uokalani in Appendix A

Now with David Kalakaua, not much is written about his experience with Amos and Juliette Cooke, but what Juliette wrote in her diary that a man who was to be hanged at Fort Allen, for adultery, summoned Kalakaua, his grandson, to visit him before his passing, and Juliette, kept the four-year-old at the gallows to witness the execution of his grandfather. It has been said that the possible reasoning why the Cooke's did not remove the boy from the gallows was because the contempt that they had for his genealogical standing in relation to the Kamehameha legacy. The records regarding this incidence indicated that Chief Kamanawa II, had asked to see his grandson and not for his grandson to see him put to death. (Hulili Vol. 6 (2010). As RaeDeen Keahiolalo-Karasuda, continues with this story:

The execution left an indelible impression on the mind of Kalakaua, who never forgot the traumatic incident, and Lili'uokalani, who shared in the pain of knowing about her grandfather's capital execution. The teachers' (Amos and Juliette Cooke) lack of knowledge about Hawaiians combined with a sense of racial and religious superiority unfortunately resulted in educational methods that largely resembled methods of disciplinary control and punishment often found in detention-like settings.

Kalakaua, besides being called, "The Merry Monarch," because of his love for music and hula, did not agree with the American Missionaries and their way of life after the traumatic incident of his childhood. In his seventeen-year Reign, he learned towards the British law and Diplomatic protocol for his Kingdom. Kalakaua is known for his expertise in writing the over-

two-thousand line *KUMULIPO*, the story of his genealogy, he also wrote and used his poetic ability to write Hawai'i PONO'I

Hawai'i pono'i

Nana i kou mo'i

Kalani ali'i ke ali'i

Chorus:

Makua lani e

Kamehameha e

Na kaua e pale

Me ka ihe

Repeat Chorus:

Hawai'i 's own true sons

Be loyal to your chief

Your country's liege and lord, the chief

Chorus:

Royal father

Kamehameha

Who defended in war

With spears

Refer to Kalakaua in Appendix A

Manifest Destiny Application to School Instruction

The Chiefs' Children's School institution's motto was "'Aupuni Na'au'ao," meaning "Wise Government." According to the ABCFM, 'wise government' required that the Cookes form their Native Hawaiian School after American-Protestant educational models. True to form "government of the school [was] paternal in its influence." School days for the Royal children consisted of a series of highly structured and ritualized exercises in prayer, English composition, mathematics, geography and drawing. (Oregon Undergraduate Research Journal (4.1, 2013). Instruction in English only was determined to be the policy, and, the missionaries taught the children in English only so as to widen the horizon of these children.

The children were not allowed to speak in the Hawaiian language, and Amos and Juliette Cooke forbade the feathered Kahili denoting their Royal status, thus indoctrinating to the children as to the change that was taking place to their island nation. Indoctrinating a person, tells that person what to think, and does so by repetition and threats of punishment. This situation brings attention to the saying: "Give me a child until he is seven and I will give you the man;" it is allegedly attributed to the Jesuits and this saying suggests that the child's development from a young age is influential on the rest of their lives. This quote is ascribed to Saint Francis Xavier, a founder of the Jesuit religious order.

Menton, notes that: Although Amos Cooke did not allow the children to visit their family homes, even when school was not in session, the Royal parents and guardians had constant access to the school. Miriam Kekauluohi, for example, constructed a grass house in the school yard for herself when her son, nine-year-old William Lunalilo, became seriously ill.

(228). Menton questions: Did Amos and Juliette Cooke really teach the young Royals that which would help them as adults?

...other than learning English, however, and the value of that is problematic in terms of the loss of cultural integrity it signified, the Royal children learned little at the school that would enable them to function as leaders in a Constitutional Monarchy. They were taught almost nothing about Western government and even less about Western economic and legal systems. They were not trained in diplomacy, in engineering, or in agriculture, although the effects of rapid westernization were becoming increasingly apparent in the Hawai'i of the 1840s

During the latter part of 1840, the Wilkes Expedition, whose arrival was in November of that year and was mentioned by Mrs. Cooke; it was the United States exploring expedition which circumnavigated the globe in 1838-1842, under command of Lieut. Charles Wilkes. While in Honolulu he visited the Royal School, his remarks were:

"We are aware that all expense of building the school was paid for by King Kamehameha III, and the Chiefs." I added this information of Lieut. Wilkes here, because at that time, a great fuss was made, by travelers to Hawai'i of the fact that Aboriginal, Hawaiian children received an English/American education. Mrs. Cooke also remarks at that time regarding the needed food supplies:

The children eat with us at the same table, their parents furnished food for them. We have a constant number of eighteen at our table...we have bread on the table once a day. The King sent us a barrel of flour and the Governor (Paki) another. The latter was here at tea this evening, and seemed quite happy. He is going to try to get us a cow as the children are very fond of milk. We think it has a good effect upon the Chiefs to spend an occasional evening with their children in a social way

In the text of *"The Memoirs of Hon. Bernice Pau'ahi Bishop"* there is an interesting letter giving a brief account of a future visit to the outer Islands from Honolulu, from a pupils'

standpoint. It was written by Prince Lot, afterward Kamehameha V., who was then twelve years of age. It was addressed to Mr. Oilman, and, considering the youth of the writer, the short time that had elapsed since he had learned English, it is rather remarkable. The letter is as follows:

Lahaina, May 4, 1842.

Mr. Oilman.

Dear Sir: Moses and I received your letter to us on the Sabbath day. He is now writing to Newton and I will write a few lines to you. Mr. Cooke and six boys and three girls are going to Wailuku tomorrow. A part of the way we shall go by land on horseback. Our servants will take our horses over the mountain to Ma'ala'e'a Bay. From that place we shall ride on horseback. We have been to sail several times since we came here. We have also played very much. We wish to stay here a long time, but our teachers think we may return next week. Give my love to Newton. Your friend, Lot Kamehameha

On May 23rd 1842 Mrs. Cooke wrote:

I find myself in Honolulu again, in my old home. It never looked so pleasant before. General meeting has commenced and the children need more than usual straightening, having suffered somewhat from their visit in not knowing what use to make of the kind attentions bestowed on them. What is more, I have a new pupil and boarder...Oh, for patience, firmness, forbearance, and skill in teaching
www.archive.org/stream/memoirshonberni00krougoog/memoir

Amos and Juliette Cooke exerted a great deal of control over the children's association with outsiders, but they did lack the authority to curtail the children's participation in Diplomatic events. The Royal children often attended events/receptions held in their honor aboard foreign ships in Honolulu Harbor, sometimes they were recognized with a military gun salute. These types of outings for the children often disturbed the Cookes as they put a rule against social dancing and alcohol on their Royal charges, but on 'Special Events,' the Cookes had no say.

On September 30, 1842, Juliette Cooke wrote in a letter home: Oh to be better qualified for my work and to sustain the responsible task assigned to us in training these children.

Enraptured by Royal Splendor

Henry B. Lyman, son of missionary David Lyman in Hilo, describes in his book published in 1906: *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapter from a Boy's Life in the Islands in the Early Days*. Lyman, was born in Hilo in 1835, became a prolific writer in describing in detail his experiences in 'a heathen' land, describing that:

... during the first four years of my life only the very extraordinary occurrences have left any permanent impression upon the tablets of my memory. The one thing I remember is going to The General (missionary) Meeting in Honolulu in the summer of 1838, where I met up with many other children of my age group. One drowsy afternoon I was taken to the great Hawaiian church, the Royal chapel, where Father Bingham held forth in the presence of the King and his Chiefs and a vast concourse of the common people. The edifice was an enormous structure, erected in the year 1829, during the first access of Christian fervor after the conversion of the people. The congregation, some three thousand in number, squatted, native fashion, on the floor as dogs swarmed everywhere, in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of numerous door-keepers to keep them out of the sanctuary (45).

Before leaving Honolulu, we dined one day at the Royal School, with Mr. and Mrs. Amos Cooke, to who had been recently confided the education of the young princes and princesses of the Royal family. The school buildings were arranged in Spanish fashion around a central courtyard in which was a well that yielded water for a few exotic plants. There were fifteen or twenty of the young nobility there, from four to ten years old and they received me with great affability. One impetuous and Puissant Sovereign of Hawai'i, introduced me to his rocking-horse, a magnificent Bucephalus, which he rode furiously for my edification. Enraptured by this truly Royal splendor, I secretly resolved that certain persons of my acquaintance should have no peace until my play-room was equally well equipped. It required numerous dissertations on the difference between Kings and common people, before my vaulting ambition could be laid to rest (46).

Refer to Henry Lyman in Appendix B

From this narrative, one can see, that from a child's view, the attention that the Royal children were given inside of the Royal School, and also, when the children were seen away from the walled compound that was the Chiefs' Children's School. These events made an indelible impression that stimulated the young boy's mind to write that which moved his imagination. I once owned a horse named Bucephalus, when I lived on a farm in Makawao, Maui, a number of years ago, and so this story captured my imagination, hence the two-fold reasoning to include this in the narrative. The first point being that part of this chapter has taken on a role of writing as through the lens of children, and secondly, the mention of the play-horse, named Bucephalus, brings nostalgia for a beautiful animal I once owned when living on a farm in Makawao. Marcus Aurelius, the Roman Emperor's horse was named Bucephalus, and on a visit to Rome many years ago, there was a statue at the edge of Saint Peter's Square named after this famed horse.

Protocol and Procedures of Royal Command

Participation at Royal and Diplomatic events that were expected of the children were numerous, and one such ceremony, that was of great importance was the Restoration of the Hawaiian Flag, by Admiral Thomas, after the Paulet Affair that caused chaos for six months in the Hawaiian Kingdom. The ceremonies were held July 31, 1843, in Thomas Square, after the Thanksgiving services at Kawai'ahao Church. Following the services, the King, Kamehameha III, gave a luau on his estate in Nu'uaniu Valley, to which he arrived in his State Carriage, drawn by four horses. Hundreds of people rode to the event on their horses, including the Royal children, where they feasted on roast pigs, fowls, fish and poi, with the usual luau accompaniments of

food to satisfy the guests. To the delight of the crowd an exhibition of the old ways of Hawai'i was demonstrated, such as; the 'old methods of strangling,' 'bone-breaking' and spear-throwing. Of great interest to the young Chiefs, their Kahu, John Papa 'li, who was now the Court Chaplain, demonstrated his spear-throwing techniques with great precision.

www.archive.org/stream/memoirshonberni00krougoog/memoir

Conclusion

Language is the most prevalent theme and symbol of this portfolio, for instance; the ABCFM missionaries arrived in the Sandwich Islands in the 1820s and at that time, the written form of the Hawaiian language was taught to the people in Hawaiian and in the form of the Palapala. The exception to this rule, is that the children of the Ali'i from 1839, were instructed in the English language. Missionaries Amos and Juliette Cooke, devised this plan so as to assimilate the children and to deprive them of the continuity of their culture and their Hawaiian language. One can understand that having classes in the English language could be beneficial to the young Ali'i children, but to have English only spoken could be to the detriment for the young Royal charges. Throughout this chapter, one can see that the children are dutifully learning their lessons well in the language of the colonizer, but, when the children write in the style of poetry, they write in the language of their birth. The proof of this fact is that because other people for the last one-hundred and seventy-four years have had to translate the original poems or songs from Hawaiian in to the English language.

This chapter examined historical highlights of the Chiefs' Children's School, which in essence became the first private school in Hawai'i, the year was 1839/1840, and education was

taught in the English language and not in the Aboriginal language of the birth of the young Royal children. Hawaiian language was not allowed to be spoken behind the high stone walls of the compound that was the Chiefs' Children's School, and this rule was stipulated and in effect according to Amos and Juliette Cooke, who were the teachers of the school.

I feel that explaining in depth how strict Amos and Juliette Cooke were to their Royal charges, that this narrative could be my contribution in bringing forth the details of the treatment that these students received. It appears that because of the harsh treatment that the children endured as youngsters, that these children grew up more resilient and prepared in their adult lives to withstand the pressures against the powerful and negative forces of the settler colonizers.

In Chapter four I will juxtapose the experiences of the maka'ainana as opposite to the children of the Ali'i class, I feel that pointing out the juxtaposition in the hierarchy of classes is important because here was a segment of people who had no agency, who had no voice, but at the same time were able to live with their parents and were able to speak in the language of their birth. And, where one stood in the hierarchy of status in life, co-related to the language that was spoken in their daily lives. Amos and Juliette Cooke taught the Royal students their lessons at the Chiefs' Children's School in the English language only, thereby; separating the Royal children from the children of their same age group. This colonial strategy was done with forethought and strategy. When the English language became the language in the Public Schools from 1896, the maka'ainana spoke Pidgin (which sometimes is known as Hawaiian creole), and this language when spoken today is considered a 'shared language,' meaning that

this language when spoken is understood effectively for people in Hawai'i, who speak languages other than English...essentially the Palapala of today.

In later life, because of their varied experiences, it appears that the Royal School children felt a sense of responsibility to their people, the people of Hawai'i, and left large estates, hospitals, schools, and retirement homes for Hawaiians from any status of the hierarchy. On another note, the children of the Ali'i, used their writing skills and their singing skills by writing poetry and penning musical notes to songs that they wrote. Queen Lili'uokalani composed the bulk of her music in both mele Hawai'i and himene (hymn) styles. The Royal children as adults, who were from a favored position in life, could see how marginalization displaced and dispossessed the people of the land after the Bayonet Constitution, and the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the late part of the nineteenth-Century. By bringing people together in song is another form of oral history which binds the Native Hawaiian community together in one refrain.

Although in the late part of the nineteenth-Century, Hawai'i had become Christianized, and along with that was marginalization of the Native population; there was talk in the surrounding community and in the American Press, that the students from the Royal School did not learn half of what they should have learned. As Linda Menton stated, in her *History of Education Quarterly*, article, that Amos and Juliette Cooke in 1848, had to admit to themselves and to the ABCFM Headquarters, "that the Royal children showed no signs of conversion." Amos Cooke confessed to Rufus Anderson of the ABCFM:

...the continual fact that there are no conversions, is exceedingly humiliating & make it apparent to all, that we fail in many things, in all come short (233).

...and that in early 1847, Amos and Juliette Cooke learned they had a problem when they discovered that Abigail, one of the older girls, as Juliette Cooke said, is “in prospect of becoming a mother.” The girl was married to a commoner and sent to live with her new husband on Kaua’i where she gave birth to a daughter (235).

Of interest to this particular case, in 1855 the former Royal student, Abigail, petitioned the courts for divorce, stating that her husband was “totally unable to support her in the commonest necessities of *civilized* life to which from her education she considered herself entitled.” (Abigail Maheha to Lorrin Andrews, 8 Feb, 1855, First Circuit Court Records, Hawai’i State Archives, Honolulu).

Refer to Abigail Maheha in Appendix A

In 1849, a Mr. Anthony Ten Eyck, a former American Commissioner to the islands, in a reprinted letter to the newspaper, the *Polynesian*, singled out the American missionaries and the Chiefs’ Children’s School for special scorn in the school’s many failures. (241).

Amos and Juliette Cooke left the school because of what they termed the childrens’ “depravity,” but in actuality, the Cookes left the school after Pau’ahi, their favorite student, married the banker of First Hawaiian Bank, Charles Reed Bishop. The Cookes bought a lot of land and started a business under the name of Castle & Cooke, one of the Big Five Business’ of the time. Mr. Cooke and Mr. Castle sent a request to the Hawaiian Government for “fee simple title” to ‘all the missionary lands.’ (Castle/Cooke. 1850, 340). The Big Five, was a private oligarchy that consisted of former missionaries and other East Coast Caucasians, their partners

were: Alexander & Baldwin, Amfac (American Factors), Castle & Cooke, C. Brewer & Co, and Theo H. Davies & Co.

Castle & Cooke Company at one time did most of its business in agriculture, at this time, in 2014, most of the Company's business is in real estate, residential, commercial and retail development. In May 2, 2012, Oracle Company, CEO Larry Ellison, signed an agreement to buy most of the island of Lana'i from Castle & Cooke for reportedly \$500 million to \$600 million dollars.

The values as taught by Amos and Juliette Cooke to the young Royal children was to inculcate their own strict rules upon them, but due to Amos Cooke's anger and irritability resulted in physical punishment and at times severe depravation on the children, which in turn, the children were afraid of him. The hypothesis examined here is that the Royal School had a significant impact on the adult behavior of the future Rulers who attended it as children, isolating these students from their indigenous culture and imposing a rigid method of discipline.

Discouraged in his effort to make little Yankees out of Hawaiian chiefs, Amos Cooke concluded that the school had been a failure, yet; when Dr. Albert Judd took Lot and Alexander on a Diplomatic trip with him to England, Lady Palmerston herself complimented the boys on their manners, and inquired where they had been taught. (231).

<http://archive.org/stream/yankeesinparadis011986mbp/yankeesinparadise>

As Linda Menton states:

The most important reason that conversion did not occur, is because the Royal children failed to internalize the values taught at the school. Probably the most

important was the Cookes' inability to isolate them from the influence of the larger community and from the influence of the indigenous culture (242).

One of the pivotal occasions at that time of mid to late nineteenth-Century Hawai'i was that the Royalty of the Hawai'i Kingdom was recognized by forty-three nations in the world and in 1887 The Royal Court of Hawai'i was invited to Queen Victoria's Jubilee in London.

The 1840s were critical years in Hawai'i, and around that time the missionaries started leaving their posts and were more interested in obtaining land and money rather than saving souls for their unseen god. Western schools to this day devalue Hawaiian ways of living and of knowing. In 1840 Educational Laws were mandated in the Hawai'i Legislature, and at the same time many Hawaiians still practiced in the traditions of their ancestors. The impact of missionary education schools in Hawai'i were separated by a hierarchial system, whereby, there were separate schools for missionary children, separate schools for Hawaiian Royalty and separate schools for commoners. Each structure of the hierarchial ladder in the community kept to their separate 'unseen' hierarchial ladder.

In closing this chapter, I will use Lili'uokalani's motto in how the students at the Royal School moved on to their regal and diplomatic lives. The Queen's motto:

"E 'onipa'a i ka imi na'auao..." (Be steadfast in the seeking of knowledge).

This motto speaks to the Queen's firm belief that education was important to not only succeed in life but to bridge the Hawaiian and Western worlds, using the best of both. She was the perfect example of this. Her love and care for children and their well-being continue today through the Queen Lili'uokalani Children's Center and Trust.

The profound poems and statements of the Royal children that have been extracted from their journal writings, that were written with the intention to speak to the people of Hawai'i is remarkable for children so young. The significance of these poems and songs, is that, today, Hawaiians are still singing and citing how important it is for them to have this knowledge that was handed down to them by the Rulers of the Monarchial era of Hawai'i. As stated earlier, this is another form of oral history and it is important for the children of today to see that their Aboriginal language is still alive so that they, in turn, shall know their genealogical and cosmological connection to the past.

Chapter Four

The Maka'ainana System of Old

E ao aku ia lakou i ka Heluhelu: Teach them to read.

At this time, I will divide this chapter into two sections, at first; addressing who are the Maka'ainana and what was their agency during this tumultuous time of the mid-nineteenth Century in Hawai'i? How did the non-chiefly person in Hawai'i feel about their lot in life? Were the gospel needs of this population addressed? Were their concerns addressed, and if so, by whom? And, secondly, this chapter delves in to, what is known as, that which inspired vocational education to be taught at The Common and The Public Schools. As Maenette Benham addresses, in her article titled: *The Voice "less" Hawaiian: An Analysis of Educational Policymaking, 1820-1960, printed in The Hawaiian Journal of History*, vol. 32 (1998), what is the policymaking process of educating students in Public Schools? How has the educational policy affected Hawaiians?

At another time, Benham, who along with Ronald H. Heck, presented a paper, titled: *Political and Cultural Determinants of Educational Policymaking: The Case of Native Hawaiians*, gave a synopsis of the educational process and its impact on native Hawaiians over a 140-year period. The two authors suggested that the core political values of the nineteenth-Century Hawai'i impacted the social, economic and academic status of native Hawaiians. The first impact was the arrival of the American missionaries, 1820-1839, and because of this, Hawai'i, was no longer for the Native Hawaiians.

Benham and Heck's paper was presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association, in Atlanta, GA, on April 1993, and the theme of their paper was about educational policymaking during each turbulent period in Hawai'i. The studies that reflect the period and theme of their presentation are: (1) politicization and quiescence as a political process; (2) status of the power players; (3) limited participation in politics and policymaking; (4) beneficiaries and losers.

In the aboriginal, culture of Hawai'i, the maka'ainana, or what is known as the commoner, acts upon circumstances according to their place in the hierarchial construct of their culture, and so at this time, I would like to discuss the different role that the maka'ainana plays in this society. In a 2009 book by Marshall Sahlins, coming out of University of Michigan Press, titled: *Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom*, Sahlins states that the Hawaiian nobility reproduced a customary distinction between themselves and the underlying population. (Sahlins 2009,29)

A basic intercultural agreement was reached about the value of the difference between European and Hawaiians, because if for the foreigners these signified the opposition between "civilization" and "barbarism," so did the analogous Hawaiian distinction between chiefs and commoners represent a difference between culture and nature. The Chiefs were differentiated from the common people (maka'ainana) by a higher degree of culture, just as the British thought themselves distinguished from Hawaiians

The Hawaiian chiefs had imposed the original tabus, which is to say the separation and distinction that constituted a cultural order. It was important how and whether one was dressed, how and what one ate, how one was housed. *The everyday signs of culture consisted of adherence to certain domestic properties* (Sahlins 2009,30)

To learn the British way of cooking with Vancouver's visit to Hawai'i in 1793, Kamehameha I had one of his personal attendants posted in the galley of the British ship, the

DISCOVERY, to learn any techniques from the cook. Also, at that time during the nineteenth-Century, it was noted by voyagers to Hawai'i that the King and Chiefs were fashion conscious in their attire. The Chiefs recognized the difference between "plain" and "fancy" cloth, which added up to recognition by the maka'ainana whose presence they were in. The aim of this discussion is to point out that there was an 'order' to daily life between the King, Chiefs and the maka'ainana in days of old in Hawai'i (Sahlins 2009,31)

According to the book: *All About Hawai'i: The Recognized Book of Authentic Information on Hawai'i 1830*, the common people held no property in their own right, and as long as they remained loyal to the chief, they were allowed the use of small tracts of land, in which, to raise their food with others in the Ahupua'a system.

Of this period of Hawaiian history of the kapu system, David Malo says:

It was the maka'ainana (common people), who did all the work of the land, these people were subject to an elaborate kapu system that governed their daily life. This kapu system, while connected to the religious beliefs and fears of the people, bore directly on the labor system and the relations of the common people with their superiors in wealth and position. And this was the system that the missionaries found in place on their arrival in 1820 (Malo 1830,174)

The land system was established and the common people were given the right to own land. Laws were passed making it easy for them to do so. In the second period in the industrial history of the Hawaiian people, 1830-1860, resulted in great changes in the labor system, with the coming of and influence of teachers, foreigners and missionaries (Malo 1830,175)

Education for the maka'ainana class of people commenced with learning the Palapala, as with the rest of the community, once the King sanctioned this to be pono for the masses to learn. After these humble beginnings for education, the maka'ainana, attended The Common Schools, as it was known, whereas, children of Royalty attended the Chiefs' Children's School.

As time moved forward from the mid-nineteenth- Century, to the end of the nineteenth- Century, and after many meetings of the Board of Education, vocational education was implemented in to the school system.

Institutionalized Vocational Education

The Public Schools are now, and have always been regarded as among the foremost social institutions in the Territory (Vaughan MacCaughey, 1909).

This second part of the chapter I will discuss the epistemology of how Hawai'i is viewed by the "other," as demonstrated through the changes of the educational discourses in Hawai'i's Public School system. Consequently, this portfolio examines and intends to show how governmental policies, like tourism agendas, that were enacted in the Territorial Days of Hawai'i, (1900-1959), were intended to alienate and disenfranchise Aboriginal Hawaiians from their indigenous 'sense of place.' Public Schools in Hawai'i was the vehicle that the new oligarchic, Western government members focused on, and the events that characterized this displacement was that, the Hawaiian language was removed and that in 1896 English became the "preferred" language in the schools. Besides this, the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, by descendants of the 1820 missionaries who came to Hawai'i in 1820 to 'save the natives.'

To further displace the people of Hawai'i, The Organic Act in the Legislature was enacted in 1900, and during this time, 'settler' Americans, claimed Pearl Harbor (without payment) as a refueling station between the U.S. Continent and the Philippines during the Spanish-American War. In 1920/21, the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act in Congress, further denigrated Hawaiians by viewing the Hawaiian race by the American stipulated fifty-per-cent

“blood quantum” rule, a racist term made up ‘on the spot’ to order people off their lands. And, to add to the harm of abuse to the Hawaiian people, Governor Lucius Pinkham instituted the Waikīkī Reclamation Act of 1920/21, in the Ala Wai Canal area, displacing a thousand workers from the Lo’i (taro patch) fields, all for the sake of tourism.

The Ala Wai Canal is situated on the outskirts of Waikīkī, and Pinkham, with the help of Walter F. Dillingham’s Hawaiian Dredging Company closed off the Diamond Head end of the Ala Wai Canal to make way for the Honolulu Zoo. The zoo is situated where the excessive water of the Canal would ‘run-off’ at the Waikīkī Groin, and consequently; the non-flowing water became like a swamp during low tide which invariably cause the outbreak of mosquitoes. The original excuse Pinkham gave for closing the Diamond Head end of the Ala Wai Canal was because of mosquitoes, and the original excuse was because of the attraction of Waikīkī Beach for tourism; essentially altering a preserved tradition and changed it to a place in time to preserve a ‘pseudo-culture’ for tourists to view. At that time Pan American Airways started bringing in plane-loads of tourists from the U.S. Continent.

From that point in Honolulu, the racial spatial identity of native peoples on O’ahu changed, one thousand people lost their employment in the Lo’i; this taking of the land for tourism (where the golf course is today) left Hawaiian people displaced; and to make matters worse, the children felt all the effects of this chaos. And this chaos still continues into today’s world, and the Keiki ‘o ka ‘Aina (children of the land) are still missing the true connection and education of their genealogical and cosmological ties to the land.

Benjamin Wist, discusses vocational education in Hawai'i, whose views were equally important because he was the Principal of the Territorial Normal and Training School; agreed with MacCaughey, that "the public school curriculum must be reoriented toward vocational education, we recognized the fact that Hawai'i will always be an agriculture country." Wist wrote in 1920. He continues, "that our special duty in education of Hawai'i's youth is to educate for, rather than away from the plantations." Expressing similar sentiments, DPI Superintendent, Will C. Crawford, assured members of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) that he and his staff were working on programs to prepare more workers for plantation employment, as described in Benjamin Wist's book, *Vocational Education in Hawai'i* (Wist 1920,127).

Territorial leaders supported the use of native-born labor and saw the schools as vehicles for achieving that purpose, as early as 1920, Wallace R. Farrington, then business manager of Honolulu Star-Bulletin, and soon to be Territorial Governor, favored shifting the emphasis in the public school curriculum from academic to vocational education, including progress in homemaking, industrial arts, and agriculture. As Territorial Governor from 1921-1929, Farrington made that recommendation his goals for the public schools. He told teachers in 1921 "The message...I wish to impress on you, is the importance of "dignifying agriculture."

Romanzo Adams, the University of Hawai'i Sociologist, who discussed the Public Education that was received by the students in the early twentieth-Century, pointed out in 1928 that opportunities for employment he described was close to the Nisei experience. That the "system of race discrimination in Plantation Employment is as old as the industry" and

firmly established. Plantation advertisement for men for ‘superior positions,’ he noted, ended with the words ‘must be white.’ In 1917, after years of lobbying, Congress passed the National Vocational Education Act which helped the work-force of younger recruits to work in the plantations and Mills.

Modernization and Americanization in the Public Schools

Racism in Hawai‘i’s Public Schools became noticeable during the Territorial Era after 1900, and the newspaper, *The Hawaiian Gazette*, printed a story on the plan to indoctrinate the children in its April 3, 1906, edition

As a means of inculcating patriotism in the schools, the Board of Education has agreed upon a plan of patriotic observance to be followed in the celebration of notable days in American history, in holidays, such as, the celebration of the birthday of Benjamin Franklin

Benjamin Wist, stated that

...in 1920/21, a new form of Americanization based on the progressive education principles of John Dewey. School assemblies emphasizing loyalty, saluting the flag and singing patriotic songs were universally observed throughout the territory...to promote the colonizer’s culture throughout Hawai‘i, its locally produced agents in the schools (the teachers), must themselves achieve the moral virtues of that dominant culture (B.K. Hyams, 205). School Teachers as Agents of Cultural Imperialism in Territorial Hawai‘i

Patriotic Morning Exercise

Under this umbrella of Americanization in the Public Schools, came the morning exercises for the young Public School students, whereby, they had to line up in formation to salute the American flag every morning before school started. The patriotic exercises were commenced with the salutation in unison: “We give our heads and our hearts to God and our country! One Country! One Language! One Flag!”

Conclusion

One way to more fully understand and rethink these concepts in this context of giving the present a past... is to examine them within a historical framework of colonialism. Such an examination helps explain, for example, the colonizers' desire to obliterate the identities and indigenous knowledges of the colonized during colonial administration, and why, the working class and minority groups in these societies find little of their own culture in schools

Colonialism...with racial and cultural superiority, ideological indoctrination, and control over others, as well as control of the mind in an imperative to 'civilize' the Other...to impose on, the Other a particular view of the world and a concept of self and community through the production, representation and dissemination of school knowledge...thus their knowledge and cultural productions have been silenced in the educational space...in the end the curriculum as cultural practice has worked to the benefit of the colonialists and the disenfranchisement of the colonized Curriculum as Cultural Practice: Postcolonial Imaginations (Kanu 1952, 8-9).

The conclusion throughout this portfolio has been a theme of change, most of the changes were for the good for the Americans who came to Hawai'i to 'save the people from their heathenish ways.' The catastrophic changes was to the Hawaiian society of old, tampering with the ancient traditions of an aboriginal people whose existence was connected to the genealogical and cosmological ties to Aloha and malama 'aina . The protocols of the people and way of life were steeped in the Ahupua'a traditions of their culture; these were the traditions that was taken away or erased from the lives of the Hawaiian people. The ABCFM missionaries in keeping to their aims of 'manifest destiny,' as suggested in the introduction of Chapter One, orchestrated the eventual demise of Hawaiian language in the schools in 1896, and also the traditions and culture of Hawai'i. These efforts of manifest destiny were utilized in the educational development of Hawaiians as this is how the missionaries kept law and order. With their calculated efforts to see of themselves becoming land owners that originally belonged to the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The significance of Chapter Two of this portfolio is that I spent a great deal of time researching about: How can a culture steeped so much in oral history, be taught to now change that paradigm and move forward to now have their language in a written form? Hawaiians with their oral history and traditions were literate in their communications with each other, and thus when offered a chance to learn the Palapala, forged ahead with great enthusiasm. One reason for this enthusiasm was that Hawaiians could see that they benefited by having their Palapala in written form to now to be able to write their own stories. The Western discourse of the orthography of their language and being able to print their own newspapers in their own language helped Hawaiians. It took some years for the people to see that being able to read church material and hymns was a method that the ABCFM missionaries used to further to colonize the Hawaiian people.

Moving ahead, Hawaiians were then taught to speak and write in English only, from 1896, and after the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy. The settler colonists changed the Palena, the boundaries of the land, and non-native teachers appeared to be agents of colonialism in the schools, thus the children learnt English through a Western lens. This series of events changed the dynamics for Native Hawaiians, and as one can see it is significant because after colonization (occupation), Hawai'i lost their diplomatic and economic relations with Great Britain and forty-three other countries. Now children had to speak in a foreign language (English) in the schools and at home, and the country went from a base of oral history as their form of communication to one, of the new government who felt the need to teach native people to speak only in the English language. Children were punished for speaking in

Hawaiian, their Mother tongue, in the class room, which further demoralized the young students.

As Sydney Iaukea, notes in her *Pacific Studies Journal*, article, *Land Agendas Vis a Vis a Makani (Wind) Discourse*, that Bruce Braun relates to, that in general

Nature is constructed as a “space of visibility” so that economic and political investments in nature may be constituted (1997). The space of visibility in conservation agendas is legitimized and institutionalized in a landscape discourse that empties people from space. Conservation lands rely on myths of the landscape and wilderness. Both myths position nature as independent and void of human contact. While in reality, conservation lands are “created out of lands with long histories of occupancy and use.” Neumann 1998,2). Herein, dispossession did not hinge on ignoring Natives; it hinged on “how they were described and incorporated with orders of knowledge” (Braun 2002, 61).

Why I picked this passage to end this portfolio is, because I feel that is how Hawaiians, from the time that the missionaries first reached these shores in 1820, that their predicted demise (Hawaiians) was evident and foreseen, but dragged out in a slow and manipulated fashion, that continued well over a hundred years or more.

How I connect to what Braun, Neumann and Iaukea relate to, to ‘the space of visibility in conservation agendas,’ is, take for instance, Foster Gardens in Honolulu, where the gardens are on “Conservation Lands,” which to me is just a title that has no meaning. The Robert’s and other tour bus companies bring tourist to see the well-manicured, lush space of Conservation Lands, with the meaning and narrative that follows to whoever will listen: “This land is conserved so that you can see how Hawaiians use to live on the land.” But these tourists had to pay a lot of money to get on and off the bus to view the land, and meanwhile; the bus driver has to pay the “State” for being able to drive their bus to yet another tourist ‘attraction.’ Is this what Hawaiian culture and existence has come down to? “Just another tourist ‘attraction.’”

To keep memory of their indigeneity alive, Hawaiians, when participating in song contests, as demonstrated in the yearly Kamehameha School Song Contest; and dancing hula, as for instance, The Merry Monarch Hula Competition in Hilo, use place names in their songs and music as “mnemonic symbols to encode their knowledge of the environment.” I use this phrase that Renee P Louis, refers to in the 2013 Nacis Journal article, *Indigenous Hawaiian Cartographer: In Search of Common Ground.*” (Louis Spring 2004, Number 48) As one can see and hear, place names performed and heard in song is a conscious act of genealogical connections; the performers and those who are lucky enough to see and hear the performance are familiar with the music, and subconsciously are aware of the oral history and performance cartography that is before them.

It is the ceremony that portrays the many elements of hula, dance and song, as; indigenous peoples all across Oceania who live on Island atolls have one significant thing in common: They come together speaking an indigenous, Polynesian language, as in song, dance, hula, oral history, oratory and chants; often the story being told is of their land and their myths, so as to perpetuate the significant part of their indigenous culture. The Western colonizer in Hawai’i changed the name of the land and the Palena of ownership of that land in the mid-to-late nineteenth-Century, and therefore, mnemonic symbols are of great importance to Hawaiians in this day and age. The name of the land is changed by Western cartographers, as seen, when the name of the land that the Kapuna, (old timers), grew up knowing and dancing to. For instance; a child dances hula describing that land, but the name change that is now given to that land by the colonizer is not the same as the name that the Kapuna remembers. Now at this time there is a difference between the orthography of that place name and of the

two generations of family involved. Survivance of cultural practices and cultural ceremonies is of great importance in keeping the Aboriginal Hawaiian language alive, especially for the keiki 'o ka 'aina.

This portfolio provides a look at how the orthography of the Hawaiian language was put in place by the missionaries in their attempt to bring the heathens to 'eternal life, and for Hawaiians to have their names in "the book" to get to heaven.' The linguistic typology perspectives that I introduced to this work puts a light on the effort throughout this portfolio. The broader impact of the results of this research is a cooperative effort to pull together indigenous and foreign representations in presenting the historical subject matter of Aboriginal Hawaiians and ABCFM missionaries on a tropical Island in Oceania.

The historical outline covers the history of Education in Hawai'i from the arrival of the missionaries in 1820, and the effects of those missionaries leaving their 'religious calling' to now become land owners of property that did not originally belong to them. Consequently, marginalizing and displacement of Hawaiians in their own country was the result of the maneuvering of the missionaries to now own land and have power in Hawai'i. Therefore, in light of the missionaries gaining control of an indigenous nation through manipulation in the Legislative process, this portfolio is important for students of Hawaiian history, so as to inform and disperse information that is not common knowledge for people in the community.

The framework and theme for this portfolio has been throughout, about the changes of the education in Hawai'i and the effects that these changes had on the children in a changed existence after the arrival of the ABCFM settler missionaries to Hawai'i. These drastic changes

changed the lives of the Hawaiian people, and especially to the lives of the Ali'i children and to the maka'ainana children.

I argue in respect to the life changing consequences to the children of nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Kingdom, that from the top to the bottom of their hierarchial existence that the life that they knew was gone because of the ABCFM missionaries' arrival to Hawai'i. The defining moment though, is that these young Royal School protagonists wrote about their lives and living experiences as through the lens of a child. And, as such, other people wrote about the children of the maka'ainana class.

Describing in a linear fashion the lifestyle that existed during that period in Hawai'i, is useful to readers of this portfolio to interpret for themselves. The matrix of oppression that the students at the Chiefs' Children's School experienced (suffered) through their formative years of life, and juxtaposition to the oppression that was perpetuated on the students by Amos and Juliette Cooke, these students who were of a Royal class in one aspect of their lives but made to feel marginalized and disadvantaged at the same time.

The experiences of the Ali'i children at the Chiefs' Children's School is likened to a rite of passage from one's culture with the reality of one's past, to the new life of the settler colonists. In interpreting young adult (YA) literature, Katherine Proukou makes the statement in: *Young Adult Literature: Rite of Passage or Rite of Its Own*, that young protagonists in young adult literature, that they "recreate us because they connect us to the wealth and beauty of the past and provide the lens through which we may contemplate the future from the conscious present." (Proukou,62). As we can see that the concepts as seen through a young adult's eyes, can make the story-line more believable, and through this, other young adults can see

themselves in the feelings and emotions that transpire and are explained for them. The significance of why this is important, and the relevance of this for teenagers, is that in psychological and medical reasoning, there are no role models or maps given to young adults so that there is help during the formative years from being a young child to adulthood.

As we have seen with this portfolio, the death of Kamehameha the Great in 1819, changed the outcome that was predicted for Hawai'i and its people, meanwhile the missionaries came to these shores in 1820, and never left. Hawaiians were lost without their ritualistic practices and Queen Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife who came from Hāna, Maui, encouraged the young Kamehameha II, to abandon the ai kapu system.

The shift from orality to written literacy, and the displacement of the Hawaiian language, to English as the dominant language of discourse towards the end of the nineteenth-Century, changed the mindset of Hawaiians after going along with the American missionary settlers for seventy-eighty years. These settlers continuously wanted Hawaiians to change their ways according to their wishes. With the concepts of orientalism in their minds, the missionaries and other Americans kept insisting that Hawaiians should know their place and be satisfied and appreciate that the missionaries had landed on these shores 'to save their heathen souls from the fires of hell.'

This portfolio is offered as a potential contribution to the understanding of the historic change of events due to the arrival of ABCFM missionaries in the early nineteenth-Century, consequently, Hawaiian and Western knowledge systems converged. Aboriginal, Hawaiian orality, in the form of 'talk story,' reciting the Kumulipo, oratory, singing songs, were silenced by the missionaries, and so when the knowledge of Palapala was offered, Hawaiians jumped at

the chance and continued doing so, which led to expressing their genealogical and cosmological existence in the written form. A great number of Hawaiian newspapers started up at this time due to the political upheaval towards the end of the nineteenth-Century. Hawaiians felt solace in seeing what was happening to them in print describing the Bayonet Constitution and the 1893 Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. The constant turmoil in the Hawaiian Kingdom at that time was the impetus as to why Queen Lili'uokalani wrote her story in a book, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen* and by the fact that her book was published during that time, encouraged other Hawaiians to write their mo'olelo.

Marginalization of Hawaiians in connection with the missionaries is a common thread and theme in this portfolio, due to the thirteen missionary descendants, calling their group the 'Committee of Safety,' (previously known as The Annexation Club), instigated the Overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy in January 17, 1893, they then ordered the one-hundred and sixty-two marines and sailors from the *Boston*, the American Navy Ship in Honolulu Harbor, to point their cannons at Queen Lili'uokalani in her home, in 'Iolani Palace. These marines were positioned around 'Iolani Palace and Hawaiian Government Buildings and not around United States citizens quarters.

Through her education that started at the Chiefs' Children's School as a four-year old girl, Lili'uokalani, was able to express herself on paper as to the true details of her imprisonment in her own Palace, which in turn, was a demoralizing action taken by the descendants of missionaries. While the Queen was imprisoned in the upstairs room in the Palace, she hand-sewed her story on a quilt that described her experience of imprisonment during that time. The quilt was embroidered in the American 'Crazy Quilt' design, the same embroidery design

that American woman on the U.S. Continent were sewing their quilts. True the land was taken, and at this time Hawaiian language could not be spoken in the school houses after 1896, and if any of the teachers spoke the Hawaiian language in the confines of the school houses, then the funding for the education of that school would be cut, and therefore; this action can be seen as a demonstration of the direct form of the power of colonialism.

The adoption of the English language was through colonial coercion, or as some might say, the adoption of the English language was developed through linguistic imperialism. In the late nineteenth-Century, English language hegemony made way for Native Hawaiians to lose control of their own Legislative Process, because the missionary descendants gained control due to their vision of taking over the legislative and political control of the Kingdom. Seven out of the forty-seven Legislators at this time were of missionary descent. As one of the thirteenth member of the Committee of Safety said, "Hawai'i is ripe for the taking."

Many people came to live in Hawai'i at that time at the end of the nineteenth-Century, but none had to go through a great sense of loss as did the Hawaiian people, because their history, their loss of language, land, lives and indigeneity was at stake, and even today, due to historic events, we still see the ramifications of this sense of displacement among the Aboriginal people of Hawai'i. In closing, I would like to end my portfolio with a poem that symbolizes what this research means to me.

Requiem for the Island People

Before European explorers,
Before merchant seamen,
Before American missionaries,
Hawaiians knew not innocence
They fought,
Yet they played
And they loved
As foreigners could only imagine

They arrived carrying—
Materials, we could not imagine
Weapons, we could not imagine
Ideas, we could not imagine
--in floating treasure chests

For these things,
We had no mele
So they gave us.
Their written words

We seduced them
Their treasures seduced us

We were pulled
Like 'ami (moths) to the flame
And we were scorched
Our people
Our ways
Like weightless ashes

John Shea O' Donnell

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Appendix A

Children of the Ali'i and Chiefly Status of the Hawaiian Monarchy Na Leo 'O na Keiki 'O ke kau Kahiko: Voices of the Children of the Past

Lydia Lili'uokalani: 1838-1917

Father: High Chief Kapa'akea
Mother: Chiefess Keohokalole
Hanai parents: Paki and Konia
Husband: John Owen Dominis
School attended: The Chiefs' Children's School

Biographical Sketch:

Lili'uokalani was the third of ten children, and at age four, she attended the Chiefs' Children's School. At the Chiefs' Children's School Lili'uokalani was called by her Christian name, Lydia. In her book, *Hawai'i's Story by Hawai'i's Queen*, written in 1898, she wrote:

...what I recall the instances in which we were sent hungry to bed, it seems to me that they failed to remember that we were growing children. A thick slice of bread covered with molasses was usually the sole article of our supper

She married John Owen Dominis in 1862, and they had no children. She ascended to the throne after her brother King David Kalakau'a died in January 1891. She established her Deed of Trust, called the Queen Lili'uokalani Trust, which became the foundation of the institution dedicated to the welfare of orphaned Hawaiian children. The most important gift the Queen felt that she should leave for her people was education, and this reason being, due to her educational foundation as a child. The Queen felt that with all the daily arrivals of ships in Honolulu Harbor that education would help her people to deal with these outside influences and changes.

In 1897, the Queen was imprisoned at her home in 'Iolani Palace for seven months, for treason because of the cache of ammunition found on the Palace Grounds. While she was

under house arrest she translated to English the two-thousand-and-four lines of the Kumulipo, which is the Hawaiian Creation chant that her brother Kalakaua had originally written in Hawaiian. The prime reason for the Kumulipo is to memorize, and in this case to memorize the genealogical ties of the numerous ancestors of the Royal Family of Hawai'i. The significance of this feat is that Lili'uokalani translated the Kumulipo while a prisoner in 'Iolani Palace, and that she used her time wisely during that time of hardship for her, she also wrote sixty songs during this time.

The maka'ainana came to Queen Lili'uokalani's aid in prayer and in protest after the 1893 Overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, these people gathered daily at four in the morning, continuously ringing the church bells at Kaumakapili Church, thereby calling the congregation to come together in support of the Queen, (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser, February, 1893*). The lessons by the missionaries for the heathens (people) to gather at their churches in times of strife was followed by the people as taught since Christianity was introduced to the Islands seventy-years previously. Juxtaposition this situation; in 1893, the missionaries now did not want the people to call to "their (missionary) God for "help" to have their Monarch to return to the Throne.

The Queen's motto: 'E 'Onipa'a Kakou - To Stand Firm. As the Queen stated "I could not turn back the time for political change, but there is still time to save our heritage. You must remember never to cease to act because you fear to fail."

William Charles Lunalilo, Kamehameha V

1835-1874

Father:	Charles Kana'ina who was a Lesser Chief
Mother:	Miriam Auhea Kekauluohi, known as Kuhina Nui (Premier)
Hanai son:	of Kamehameha III
School attended:	The Chiefs' Children's School

Biographical Sketch:

At age six and after his mother's death, Lunalilo attended the Chiefs' Children's School, he was an outstanding student and loved to write in his daily journal, consequently; he was praised for his writing and poetry. His favorite subjects were literature and music. In 1860, King Kamehameha IV, sponsored a competition for Hawai'i to have a National Anthem with Hawaiian words, Lunalilo won the winning entry for the Kingdom's new National Anthem , titled: E Ola Ka Mo'I I ke Akua, to the tune of "God Save the King," and for his entry he won ten dollars. Having a National Anthem was important for Hawai'i during that time and era, due to being recognized by forty-three other nations as a Constitutional Monarchy which showed parity with these other nations.

Lunalilo's engagement to Victoria Kamamalu, was opposed by Kamehameha IV, and so thereafter, Lunalilo remained a bachelor. As King, Lunalilo amended the Constitution of 1864 that abolished property requirements for voting.

On his death, Lunalilo, insisted that he be buried in a tomb and that his burial place be separate from the Royal Mausoleum, his burial place stands on the grounds of Kawaiaha'o Church. As like the other children who were educated at the Royal School, Lunalilo left his wealth to establish a trust for the Lunalilo Home, for the elderly, and at this time, the new home is situated on a twenty-acre site at Maunalua on O'ahu.

Bernice Pau'ahi Paki

1832-1850

Father:	High Chief Paki
Mother:	Princess Konia
Hanai parents:	Royal Governor Mataio Kekuana 'oa Queen Regent Elizabeth Kina'u
Husband:	Charles Reid Bishop

School attended: The Chiefs' Children's School

Biographical Sketch:

Pau'ahi in her younger years attended The Chiefs' Children's School where she was called by her Christian name, Bernice. At age fourteen, she sailed aboard the schooner, *Kamehameha III* to visit the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, and Moloka'i, with the other young Royals of the school. She wrote in her journal:

Sunday, June 28, 1846. We passed Hilo Paliku on Sunday. The prospect was very charming. We saw a good many houses in that region. The hills looked very fertile and green. The same day we saw Mauna Kea. It was very cloudy and the Mount was mostly covered with fog so that we did not see much of it, but we could see the height of it. We reached Bryon's Bay on Sunday evening at 8 o'clock...Bernice Pauahi.

Missionary, Juliette Cooke favored Pau'ahi more than any of the other students, and eventually molded the young girl to marry a Western business man from Boston. This was the ideal situation, so as a Westerner could obtain land. Pau'ahi's estate contained large land holdings and Juliette Cooke's role in acculturating Pau'ahi to American ideologies greatly saddened her parents, Paki and Konia, who felt that there was competition to take their daughter away from them. Gorham Gilman, a visiting merchant, saw in Pau'ahi the successful Americanization of a Native Hawaiian, when he said: 'That Juliette's instruction was the crucial role that played as an agent of Manifest Destiny and domesticity.'

After Pau'ahi married Charles Reid Bishop, at age eighteen, both missionaries, Amos and Juliette Cooke left the school to become land owners. Pau'ahi's Trust, funds the educational programs, for the children at the Kamehameha Schools on Kapalama Heights, and now another school on the Island of Maui.

Abigail Maheha: 1832-1861

Father: Namaile
Mother: Kuini Liliha
Hanai mother: Kehau'onohi
Husbands: Lot Kapua'iwa, (Lota Liholiho Kapua'iwa, Ke'auuni and Kia'aina
Wahine'a'ea
Daughter: Keanolani
School attended: The Chiefs' Children's School

Biographical Sketch:

Her mother was the Royal governor of O'ahu and was politically powerful during the regency of Ka'ahumanu. She was descended from Kahekili family of Mau'i. She was one of the first to attend the Chiefs' Children's School and she was chosen by Kamehameha III as one who would be eligible to sit on the throne of Hawai'i. In the Sunday Procession in Church, Abigail walked beside Alexander Liholiho, the future King Kamehameha IV. Abigail was expelled from the school, on February 4, 1846, at the age of thirteen years old because she became pregnant with a child of then Prince Lot Liholiho Kapua'iwa. The baby girl was born in May of 1846, was named Keanolani.

This incident was an embarrassment for the Cookes and the scandal for the Chiefs' Children's School had to be covered up, and Rev. Bingham on February 3, 1847, arranged a marriage for Abigail to Ke'auuni, a commoner from Koloa, Kaua'i and that is where the couple moved to. Today, the Ke'auuni family still lives on that same parcel of land on Kaua'i. What is important about the birth of Keanolani, and her descendants, is that she alone holds the ongoing, unbroken genealogical connection to the Kamehameha Line. Prince Lot made frequent visits to see his child at his sister-in-law, Queen Emma's Estate which was two miles from the old Koloa landing.

Abigail married Kia'aina Wahine'aea on July 17, 1857 on the island of Kaua'i, and where you can see with the marriage records that her first name was spelled "Apigaila."

David Kalakaua:	1836-1891
Father:	High Chief Caesar Kahana Kapa'akea
Mother:	High Chiefess Analea Ke'ohokalole
Hanai:	High Chiefess Ha'aheo
Wife:	Kapi'olani
School attended:	The Chiefs' Children's School

Biographical Sketch:

Not much is written about King David Kalakaua's experiences as a child, but more information is known of him as an adult, and one, is that he did not favor the missionaries, or their religious teachings, and as a result he modeled his Kingdom Laws after the United Kingdom's English system. The possible reason for Kalakaua not favoring the American missionaries, as I mentioned in Chapter Three of this Portfolio, is because as a four-year-old child he was affected by the deep traumatic pain of viewing the execution of his grandfather, Chief Kamanawa II. In today's world, this deep pain would be referred to as 'Post-Traumatic Stress Syndrome.' Kalakaua studied law at age sixteen. Kalakaua was a friend of Robert Louis Stevenson. He was the first Sovereign to circumnavigate the globe (1881), aboard the steamship *City of Sydney* on a nine-month Diplomatic Mission. The King sought to forge Diplomatic ties with Japan with the proposal between Princess Kai'ulani and Prince Komatsu of Japan, in the long run that idea did not pan out.

After his travels around the world, Kalakaua wrote this poem, titled:

King Kalakaua's Boast

O'er land and sea I've made my way

To farthest end, and great Cathay
Reached Africa's shores, and Europe's strand
And met the mighty of every land
And as I stood by each sovereign's side
Who ruled his realm with a royal pride
I felt how small my sway-and weak-
My throne based on a mere volcanic peak
Where millions do these Kings obey
Some thousands only own my sway
And yet I feel that I may boast
Some good within my sea-bound coast
Richer than those of my grander peers
That I within my realm need have no fears
May mingle with my people without dread
No danger fear for my unguarded head
And boast a treasure, sent me from above
That I have indeed, my people's love.

Appendix B

Children of the ABCFM Missionaries

Hiram Bingham Jr.: 1831-1908

Father: Hiram Bingham I
Mother: Sybil Bingham
School attended: Punahou School

Biographical Sketch:

On August 16, 1835, Sybil wrote with great concern about her four-year-old son, the young child had never been able to satisfy his mother as to his spirituality. At that age, she had criticized him as he had the habit of crying when not pleased, which was troublesome to her. “I do sadly fail of being to him what I ought to be.”

Bingham was close to his father, who was very loving towards his children. It was a closed off life for the young Bingham, as the missionary children were forbidden to associate with the Hawaiian children. Bingham Sr. was determined that his son would become a missionary, his successor, and as a baby, he was put into the arms of the Queen Ka’ahumanu, and dedicated to Hawai’i as a missionary.

At Yale, Bingham, wrote and presented for his Master’s degree in July 1853 a paper, titled “*The Civilization and Destiny of the Sandwich Islands.*” His argument was that

...because a nation does not immediately and entirely change its costume, its style of costume, its style of architecture and its own peculiar manner of life, ...it was no need to call that nation barbaric. *Fathers and Sons: The Bingham Family and the American Mission*, (Miller, Char 1982, 41).

At twenty-two years of age, Bingham became the head of the Protestant mission to the Gilbert Islands in 1857, and so thus, fulfilling his father’s dream of perpetuating the family’s mission in life. At twenty-five years of age, Bingham, Jr., described his mission peers and life in Hawai’i, “the land of their birth and childhood years, will ever bind many of them to this soil.” (Schulz, Joy, 2011, 103).

Hiram Bingham, III:

1875-1956

Father:	Hiram Bingham Jr.
Mother:	Elizabeth
School attended:	Punahou

Biographical Sketch:

Bingham, III, life was different than the two previous Bingham before him, (his father and grandfather), he had made up his mind as a young child to not enter into the service of the church, and he did this by splitting with his father and the world view that his father held dear to his heart. He showed how he felt about his beliefs when writing his Master's thesis, (at that time when writing a Masters, it was called a thesis). Bingham III titled his thesis: *The Growth of American Superiority in Hawai'i*. (1901). His argument was:

equal credit for the introduction of civilization should be given to the economic forces that had left their impress on the Islands' social structure, and; suggested that the 'extreme puritanical views of the Protestant mission that his grandfather had led had been detrimental to the Hawaiian people.

Bingham, in 1911 rediscovered the Incan City of Machu Piccu, and, for the remainder of his life, was satisfied with thinking of himself as an explorer. More importantly to himself, Bingham felt that what had defined him in his youth, that, now in his adult life, he was able to move past his struggle to strike out from the Bingham family's past. This information was found in Char Miller's article titled: *The World Creeps In: Hiram Bingham III and the Decline of Missionary Fervor*, (Hawaiian Journal of History, 15, 1981, 80-99).

Henry Lyman, M.D.: 1835-1904

Father: David B. Lyman

Mother: Sarah

School attended: Home Schooled in Hilo, then Punahou

Biographical Sketch:

From age four, Henry liked to read and as the time went by he became a prolific writer in describing in detail his experiences in ‘a heathen’ land, and also, describing especially about his country life in Hilo. He writes:

many mission families “occupied the lonely outstations, where from one year’s end to another no white people except themselves, were ever seen.” And because of this, mission children grew to love the diversity and grandeur of nature, the independence sometimes born out of loneliness and neglect, which mission children used to discover the majestic mountains. You can spend your time alone, and hold converse with learned men of other countries and other ages. (Schulz, 2011,78).

Consequently, these children had more freedom for themselves than other mission children in Honolulu and Lahaina. Henry visited the active volcano, Kilau’ea, at least twelve times as a boy. The one thing he remembers is going to The General (missionary) Meeting at Honolulu in the summer of 1838,

...where he met up with many other children of his age group. Lyman, explains, that one drowsy afternoon I was taken to the great Hawaiian church, the Royal Chapel, where Father Bingham held forth in the presence of the King and his Chiefs and a vast concourse of the common people. The edifice was an enormous structure, erected in the year 1829, during the first access of Christian fervor after the conversion of the people. The congregation, some three thousand in number, squatted, native fashion, on the floor as dogs swarmed everywhere, in spite of strenuous efforts on the part of numerous door-keepers to keep them out of the sanctuary (45).

Many of Henry’s reminiscences are from his book: *Hawaiian Yesterdays: Chapters from a Boy’s Life in the Islands in the Early Days*, where he considered the beach his “principle playground.” (Schulz,2011,69).

Lorrin A. Thurston: 1858-1931

Father:	Asa G. Thurston
Mother:	Sarah Andrews
Spouses:	Margaret Shipman, Harriet Potter
School attended:	Punahou

Biographical Sketch:

Lorrin Thurston, was the grandson of two of the first Christian missionaries to Hawai'i, he played a prominent role in the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893, as a member of the Committee of Safety that replaced Queen Lili'uokalani Monarchy with the Republic of Hawai'i.

He was fluent in the Hawaiian language and gave himself the Hawaiian name Kakina. In 1872 he was schooled at Punahou, but at that time it was known as O'ahu College. He was expelled right before graduation for making a lot of noise on the staircase and disturbing other students. Thurston followed in his father's footsteps and became a member of the legislature, where his conservative missionary thinking put him at odds with Hawaiian Royalty, as well as with the European and Asian immigrants.

The early missionary families had walled yards for their children, so as to keep their children away from Hawaiian children and as Thurston explained

mission children were kept cooped up where they could see and hear but little of what was going on outside. With hundreds of children all around them, they had no playmates except the children of other missionaries (*Reminiscences of Old Hawai'i with a Brief Biography by Lorrin Thurston*).

In a handwritten letter dated April 23, 1893, that I found at the Hawai'i State Archives, that was written by Thurston to Samuel Dole, then President Hawaiian Provisional Government

I think that your idea as to the significance of hauling down the flag is correct. It does not indicate hostility to annexation...even those who have been opposed to annexation have to a great extent, had an uncomfortable feeling over the lowering of the flag. I am glad to see by the papers that you have discontinued the queen's salary. It is my earnest recommendation that neither she nor Ka'iulani receive another dollar. It is simply supplying the sinews of war to our enemies

Sereno Bishop:

1827-1909

Father: Artemas Bishop
Mother: Elizabeth
Wife: Cornelia
School attended: Home schooled on Maui

Biographical Sketch:

Sereno Bishop was born at Ka'awaloa, Hawai'i Island, on February 7th, 1827, his mother Elizabeth died leaving two infant children, when Sereno was a year old. Ten months later, Artemas, married Delia. While the work of the parents was being conducted in the Hawaiian language the children were not permitted to learn that language, and because of that, many of the mission children were sent back to the United States to live with extended family. Sereno was sent back at age twelve and returned to Hawai'i fifteen years later. Out of all the missionary children in Hawai'i it is Sereno, who writes a book through the lens of a child, as he gives an in depth insight into life from a child's perspective during mid-Nineteenth Century Hawai'i. The book is titled: *Reminiscences of Old Hawai'i*, where he describes in detail, particularly during the period of transition from ancient 'feudal' system when the King and Chiefs had absolute power of life and the 'common' people.

Some might say that the common people had no rights of their person but in fact, history tells us that the common people adhered to their status in life because the King and the Chiefs allowed them for their food and existence that was pono for them

Their (Hawaiians) few garments were wholly of tapa. The younger women were rarely seen uncovered beyond decency, although the old cronies went about with the pa'u only (14).

In handling canoes, the natives were most adroit. Kona, with its great koa forests inland abounded in canoes. The people were skilled fisherman and often went many miles to sea in pursuit of the larger deep-sea fish (18).

Many of Sereno's descriptions he writes about, as seen through the lens of a young boy, had great perception as to the differences between the people of Hawai'i and of the missionaries, as for instance:

about 1886, King Kalakaua, through his orator, Kaunamano, caused him to proclaim that while the worship of Jehovah was proper, Hawaiians must not neglect the worship of lesser gods, who was much nearer, and exerted so much power over their lives...this was done in order to promote sorcery

Henry Lyman also wrote a book but, only part of the book is about his experiences in Hawai'i as a young child. It is apparent, then (mid-nineteenth Century) as is today, that there are people who appreciate reading about the nostalgic past of the Sandwich Islands.