“TEACH THE BOYS TO WORK”:

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AS COLONIAL EDUCATION AT LAHAINALUNA SEMINARY, 1880-1905

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When I first moved to Oʻahu in 2016, I wanted to better understand the social and historical contexts of education in Hawaiʻi before beginning my teaching career here. This thesis afforded me the opportunity to do exactly that, resulting in a better, more critical awareness of the history of education before and after white settlers established a Western framework of schooling. This study provided a greater understanding of the lasting harmful consequences outsiders and foreign teachers have had on Hawaiʻi's culture, language, and ways of knowing. I am aware that my white and foreign status in Hawaiʻi means that I am not in a position to fully understand or provide a complete picture of this history that belongs to Native Hawaiians, and yet I am grateful for the opportunity to write about a slice of this pivotal time in education. It is my hope that this thesis in some way contributes to the reversal of the harmful educational practices that were introduced by white settlers two centuries ago.

I would like to express my gratitude to my professor and thesis advisor, Derek Taira, who guided me throughout this project. I am thankful for his helpful insights and feedback, and for first pointing me in the direction of Lahainaluna's history. I am also grateful to my defense committee, Alexander Means and Brooke Taira, who provided their knowledge and expertise.

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ABSTRACT

This study is an examination of Lahainaluna High School's gradual shift from an academic and religious training institution to an industrial education school between 1880 - 1905. Lahainaluna High School, located on Maui, Hawai'i was an integral part of an ongoing debate among Hawai'i's white elite circles about how to best educate Native Hawaiian students. Consisting of Hawai'i's white religious leaders, politicians, and plantation owners, this affluent and powerful cadre argued there was a moral imperative to transitioning Native Hawaiian schools to industrial training sites focused on manual labor, skills in agriculture, and shop work. Hawai'i's white elite joined a larger educational movement generated by trans-national white middle-class Protestant reformers, politicians, and missionaries targeting industrial education for Black, Indigenous, and other non-white students in the U.S. and its occupied territories. Samuel Armstrong, son of missionaries to Maui, Hawai'i, was a particularly vocal supporter of Lahainaluna's transformation. As founder of the Hampton Institute in Virginia in 1868, an industrial school for newly freed Black slaves, he became an advocate of industrial education as an effective tool for subordinating Hawaiian students for their projected future as low-wage earners under white supervision. I argue that Lahainaluna's transformation into an industrial school in 1905 was an intentional effort by Hawai'i's elite white minority and transnational industrial education figureheads such as Armstrong to undermine Native Hawaiian survivance, prolong white ruling class status, and impose Western imperialist dogma, which led to the annexation of Hawai'i in 1893 and Hawai'i becoming a U.S. territory in 1898.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis looks at the ways in which white-settler presence in Hawai‘i disrupted the islands' Indigenous people and their society through the imposition of industrial education onto schools populated by Native Hawaiians.[1] The study examines Lahainaluna High School's gradual shift from an academic and religious training institution to one committed to an industrial and vocational education curriculum at the turn of the twentieth century. More specifically, from 1880 to 1905, Lahainaluna High School, located on Maui, Hawai‘i was an integral part of an ongoing debate among Hawai‘i's white elite circles about how to best educate Native Hawaiian students and industrial education was their solution.

Consisting of Hawai‘i's white religious leaders, politicians, and plantation owners, this affluent and powerful cadre argued there was a moral imperative to transitioning Native Hawaiian students at Lahainaluna away from academic studies (which included reading and writing in English and Hawaiian, arithmetic, geography, and map making) to learning dedicated to manual labor, skills in agriculture, and shop work.

In other words, they stripped Lahainaluna of its once prestigious, albeit Western education, and replaced it with a settler-colonialist pedagogy that introduced segregated systems of labor and work through schooling. As I will argue, the industrial education project in Hawai‘i was cloaked in moral imperatives to "civilize" indigenous students, but, in reality, was designed to relegate Native Hawaiian and Asian-immigrant students into exploitative blue-collar work.

[1] Industrial training, which became the popular term used after Reconstruction era on the U.S. mainland, is often interchanged with the more modern term vocational education, which simply means to train a student for a specific field of work. For the purpose of coherence, I will use the phrase industrial training when broadly speaking of the nineteenth and early-twentieth century educational pedagogy, and will more specifically define the kinds of training (i.e.; manual, agricultural, technical) when applicable to the discussion.

While the school first began training Native Hawaiians for leadership roles in government and local Protestant churches in 1831, by 1905, Lahainaluna's academic offerings had become replaced with technical classes, such as blacksmithing and carpentry. The school also emphasized agriculture and manual labor, which included tending to farm animals and growing sugar cane for a nearby milling company.[2]

This development is not surprising. By the late 1800's, a great number of white foreigners, made up of second-generation missionaries, planters, and business owners, had coerced their way into government positions, and ushered in a new wave of educational infrastructure designed to maintain social stratification and ensure white political dominance in Hawai'i.[3] While this group of white elites were insisting on a "civilizing" curriculum for Native Hawaiians, they were simultaneously ensuring their own children attended distinguished and highly academic private schools in Hawai'i.[4] Rather than promoting educational equality among settlers and Hawaiians, first-generation missionaries shaped education to replicate the same forms of white privilege they enjoyed on the continent.[5] Through their influence in government and public education, they crafted "curricula and policies for Hawaiians that aggressively promoted manual training programs, Americanization, and progressive narratives celebrating America's 'benevolent' role in 'civilizing' the islands to manufacture an accommodating

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[2] Margaret B. MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present," *The Maui News*, December 21, 1917, Vol 18., No. 928 edition

[3] When using the phrase "second-generation missionary," I am referring to those who identified as children of first-generation missionaries, many of whom attended the missionary boarding school Punahou (then known as O'ahu College), attained higher education from universities on the mainland, and returned to Hawai'i to pursue careers in business, agriculture, and politics on the islands. Many of these adult missionary children participated in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893, and assumed powerful positions in governmental leadership upon Queen Lili'uokalani's forced abdication of the throne.

[4] Joy Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth: Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific.*, Studies in Pacific Worlds (Lincoln: UNP - Nebraska, 2017), 115. Before missionaries established Punahou in 1842, they routinely shipped their school-age children back to the U.S. to avoid co-educating their children with Native Hawaiians in schools they considered "too inferior" for them. Schulz, 13

[5] Derek Taira, "Colonizing the Mind: Hawaiian History, Americanization, and Manual Training in Hawai'i's Public Schools, 1913–1940," *Teachers College Record* 123, no. 8 (August 1, 2021): 59–85, 61

population accepting of the nation's racially stratified social and economic system of inequality."[6] Schools in late-nineteenth century Hawai'i, therefore, had become a vehicle for proselytizing and introducing indigenous students to American ideals through textbooks, industrial education, Americanization campaigns, policies, and positive narratives of colonialism embedded in the curriculum, all supported by the American Board of Foreign Missions (ABCFM).[7]

Lahainaluna and Classical Hawaiian Education

The history of Lahainaluna might naturally begin at its inception as a school, which was first opened in 1831 and established by New England Missionaries to introduce their Native Hawaiian students to civility, literacy, and the Christian religion.[8] Lahainaluna is often lauded for being the first American-style school established in Hawai'i, as well as the site for the first printing press and newspaper publishing on the islands. However, many of Lahainaluna's first students had already been recipients of an indigenous education, imparted to them by family members, experts in the community, and kāhuna (priests). One of Lahainaluna's first students, David Malo, had been formally educated by his kahuna grandfather, as well as trained in genealogy by Kamehameha's personal genealogist, Auwae, before entering the school in 1831.[9]

According to John Charlot, education was a prolific part of pre-contact Hawaiian culture, and estimated to have endured for two millennia.[10] Families and elders in the community were obligated to impart education to their children, too, which included passing down manners,

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[6] Taira, Colonizing the Mind, 61
[7] Clif Stratton, *Education for Empire: American Schools, Race, and the Paths of Good Citizenship* (Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2016), 3-5
[8] Sheldon Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands.* (Press of the Mission seminary, 1843), 305
[9] Noelani Arista, "Mo'olelo and Mana,"415–43, 428
[10] John Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education: Generations of Hawaiian Culture* (Pacific Institute, Brigham Young University-Hawai'i, 2005), 91

morals, and stories from their elders.[11] The society as a whole expected each individual to gain a thorough education in order to survive, as well as to actively participate in society and maintain a proper relationship with their gods.[12] Education was therefore understood holistically, as it was an individual endeavor and yet intrinsically tied to their community, embedded in their culture, and connected to their spirituality. Lahainaluna's history, therefore, must include the ways in which its presence on the islands disturbed a formal educational system that had already been long established.

Hawaiian historian and Lahainaluna graduate Samuel Kamakau wrote that "the Hawaiians were in old days a strong and hard-working people skilled in crafts and possessed of much learning."[13] He went on to write,

> In hospitality and kindness they excelled other peoples of the Pacific. Cultivation of the land was their main industry. With their hands alone, assisted by tools made of hard wood from the mountains and by stone adzes, they tilled large fields and raised taro, sweet potatoes, yams, bananas, sugar cane, and 'awa; and bartered (ku'ai'ia) their product or used it at home. Always the first food of the harvest was offered to the gods. Parents before they died instructed their children, the sons to plant and fish, the daughters to make and dye tapa and weave mats. The land was fertile, and the principal crop on Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai was wet-land taro cultivated in ponds, artificially constructed patches, along the banks of water courses, or anywhere where the ground was soft and moist ... On Kauai, Oahu, and Molokai also are to be seen most of the fishponds built to preserve the fish supply; very few occur on other islands.[14]

Charlot elaborates further explaining that Hawaiians did not elevate mental intelligence over physical skills, but instead approached skill training and intellectual education as mutually beneficial and important; physical training enhanced thought, and physicality was a form of

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[11] Charlot, Classical Hawaiian Education, 108
[12] Charlot, Classical Hawaiian Education, 124
[13] Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii.* (Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 462-463
[14] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 462-463

intelligence.[15] Students who engaged in skill training became experts in fiber production, canoe-making, and fishing, among other hands-on professions.[16] Students would train under expert teachers following a prescribed order: learning first required observation, then practice. After completing the initial phase, students were included in the production-making, which eventually culminated with permission from their expert-mentor to innovate on their own. Students who trained to acquire knowledge took on positions in the community which included teachers, priests, mele composers, chanters, and genealogists.[17] They would also be given instruction in an intentional order, first learning from experts, then memorizing and learning to recall the information, and then finally gaining permission to become independent from their mentors.[18]

The Hawaiians' system of education was perceived as incompatible with the first-generation missionaries' conceptions of Western education. For example, Lahainaluna teacher and American missionary Sheldon Dibble expressed suspicion over the ancient practice of passing down moʻoʻōlelo, or oral histories, regarding them as "uncertain documentation" and "not completely correct."[19] Dibble directed his Hawaiian students to compile and publish written records of moʻoʻōlelo in an effort to record Hawaiian history in a Westernized format that he recognized as superior to orality, effectively undermining the authenticity of Hawaiian knowledge that had been accepted for centuries.[20] Such written records contributed to endangering the Hawaiian language by weakening the traditional oral medium as the primary source for understanding and preserving Hawaiian history. By Western missionaries' discrediting indigenous history-keeping and orality, missionaries, such as Dibble, paved the way

[15] Charlot, Classical Hawaiian Education, 91-92
[16] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 465-466
[17] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 468-469
[18] Charlot, Classical Hawaiian Education, 92
[19] Arista, Mo'olelo and Mana, 433
[20] Arista, Mo'olelo and Mana, 436

for colonizing forms of learning and schooling and nearly erasing Hawaiian as the language of communication and knowledge. By 1877, Lahainaluna switched from Hawaiian to English as the language of instruction, as did all Select Schools, which were the exclusive tier of public schools taught only in English. Common schools, which were taught in Hawaiian by Native Hawaiian teachers and considered by the Board of Education as lower-ranking public schools, slowly began to be phased out and replaced by English select schools.[21] This development culminated in Hawaiian being officially removed as a medium of instruction in 1896.[22]

First-generation missionaries also actively worked to replace Hawaiian thought and belief systems with Christian dogma in an attempt to provide Hawaiians a "rounded, perfect, Christian life."[23] They brought with them a strict adherence to their moral code and firm standards of sexual and social behavior, and imparted regulations on sexual activity outside of marriage, alcohol temperance, gambling, and forms of recreation such as dancing, surfing, and swimming.[24] As the missionaries initially celebrated the advancement of the gospel in Hawai‘i with reports of conversion among the ali‘i (Hawaiian nobility) *and* maka‘āinana (Hawaiian commoners), they were soon discouraged by the Native Hawaiians' reluctance to follow their strict morals and Christian conduct.[25] In response, missionaries accused Hawaiians of being "licentious, indolent, and child-like," and intellectually deficient and inferior.[26] Lahainaluna

[21] William R. Castle, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1902." (Honolulu, Hi, 1894), 2
[22] Hawaii State Department of Education, "Hawaii DOE | History of Hawaiian Education," Student Learning, Hawaiian Education, accessed October 15, 2022
[23] S. C. Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands* (Hampton, Va.: s.n., 1884), 214
[24] Sally Engle Merry, "Kapi‘olani at the Brink: Dilemmas of Historical Ethnography in 19th-Century Hawai'i," *American Ethnologist* 30, no. 1 (2003): 44–60, 47
[25] Merry, "Kapi'olani at the Brink," 48
[26] Merry, "Kapi'olani at the Brink," 48

principal Lorrin Andrews exemplified this attitude, explaining, "The whole language shows that they have never been a thinking people."[27]

Sally Engle Merry explains that the missionaries therefore began to emphasize Native Hawaiians' "heathen savagery" as a way to deflect their slow progress with converting the indigenous population and to rationalize the low numbers associated with church attendance and membership. Merry writes that the missionaries' critiques of their "limited intelligence and moral capacity" set the foundation for "a later discourse of racial inferiority."[28] Indeed, missionary children, self-described as "second-generation missionaries," though few partook in missionary endeavors in adulthood, were deeply influenced by their parents "transmitting a religious and cultural agenda for them."[29] They not only absorbed their parents' explicit criticisms of Native Hawaiians, but also took on their implicit racial biases. For example, missionary children attended a racially segregated school, and therefore were denied the opportunity to interact with Native Hawaiians as peers.[30] Instead, they viewed themselves as privileged "Hawaiians," despite being a racial minority on the island, and took on the responsibility to lead the islands' by their moral authority and model citizenship, as if it were their right.

Second-generation missionaries "attached themselves to the land and opportunities around them, cultivating among themselves paternalist feelings toward the indigenous Hawaiian people they, in reality, often disdained."[31] Inspired by their parents' work to restructure Hawaiian society to conform to their notions of Western civilization and Christianity, they implemented a

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[27] Merry, "Kapi'olani at the Brink," 48
[28] Merry, "Kapi'olani at the Brink," 48
[29] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 3
[30] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 2
[31] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 146-147

revised version of imperialism by enacting policies to aggressively segregate schools to prepare Hawaiian students for "different and unequal forms of citizenship."[32] Second-generation missionaries also formed a "possessiveness" over Hawai'i, and slowly transitioned the nation into a new Americanized society that created fertile ground for the 1887 confrontation that resulted in what became known as the "Bayonet Constitution." The white elite, led by second-generation missionaries, formed a gun-wielding mob to demand King Kalākaua amend the constitution to effectively terminate his own power and increase white representation in legislation and power to determine the nation's future.[33] This led to the eventual coup d'état and overthrow of Queen Lili'uokalani and the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893, the illegal annexation of Hawai'i by the U.S. in 1898, and Hawai'i becoming a U.S. territory in 1900.

Conclusion and Chapter Breakdown

Though ABCFM officially ended the mission to Hawai'i in 1863, the forty-three years of missionary work had paved the way for a great undoing of Hawaiian society. American missionaries had laid the foundation for their childrens' Americanizing project by discrediting the Hawaiian language and traditional forms of schooling, and introduced Western culture as the more civilized alternative to indigenous cultural practices. Their combination of paternalistic attitudes and racial bias influenced their decision to create an "Americanized" version of Hawai'i they deemed safe enough for their children, replete with a Western replication of racially-segregated private education. In addition, many missionaries cut ties with ABCFM prematurely when they turned to political and economic opportunities on the islands. Their endeavors, in turn,

[32] Stratton, *Education for Empire*, 2

[33] Jonathan K. Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, 2002), 240-241

provided their families' with a level of economic security that validated their childrens' notions of privilege and expectations of power.

Underscoring this broader missionary attitude was former Lahainaluna principal Sereno E. Bishop. Writing in 1895, he explained that the "actual proportion of people of American birth or parentage here in Hawaii is only four percent of the whole population…Yet these Americans are practically the ruling class. Their aims and opinions shape the politics, commerce, and intellectual and moral movements of the people. The 40,000 Hawaiians yield to their leading."[34] Indeed, Lahainaluna's transition to an industrial training institution was a part of a larger project by the white elite to subvert Native Hawaiian authority over their own identity, culture, and nation. They did so with the intent of relegating Hawaiians to lower-paying "practical" jobs, and reinforcing a white culture on the islands that promoted Christian morality and a Protestant work ethic. Therefore, technical education, aggressively promoted for Hawaiian students, was intentionally designed by white school and political leaders to maintain white minority rule by demoting the political status of Hawaiians and quelling their participation in decision-making on their own land all the while arguing it was their moral imperative to do so.

Chapter two will therefore discuss Lahainaluna's beginnings and how the school became prominently featured in local debates over how to increase industrial education on the islands. This chapter first describes the school as a theological training center where Native Hawaiian students were trained to become teachers and missionaries. It will also include how the school's switch to industrial education occurred due to mounting pressure from the white minority on the islands who were influenced by the industrial education movement occurring on the mainland, in

[34] Sereno E. Bishop, "How Has Hawaii Become Americanized? [Volume 25, Issue 150, June 1895; Pp. 597-601]," *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine.*, n.d., 597

large part, led by Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a second-generation missionary born on Maui in 1839 to missionary parents.[35]

The third chapter explores the trans-national conversation that took place between education reformers on the mainland and Hawai‘i’s white school leaders regarding the moral and civilizing benefits of industrial education for indigenous and Black students. This chapter expands on Samuel Armstrong’s influence on Hawai‘i’s educational trajectory, including his disapproval of Lahainaluna’s academic reputation, and the development of his own industrial school, the Hampton Institute, he founded for former enslaved people in Hampton, Virginia. His school was inspired by the industrial education he observed while visiting Hilo Boarding School as a child alongside his father, Richard Armstrong, Minister of Education.

Chapter four discusses Lahainaluna’s eventual transformation into an industrial school by 1905. That year, the school was rebuilt and outfitted for farming, shop-work, and later raised sugar cane for the Pioneer Mill Company.[36] This chapter also details the white settler discourse that takes place as the white-elite become aggressive in their project to transition Hawaiian-populated schools to take on industrial education as the core of their instruction.

[35] Richard and Clarissa Armstrong first came to Hawai‘i as missionaries in 1831 with the ABCFM agency. Richard Armstrong served as a minister in Maui until his appointment in 1847 as Minister of Public Instruction where he oversaw the five hundred Hawaiian state schools until his death in 1860

[36] MacDonald, “Lahainaluna, Past and Present”

CHAPTER 1: LAHAINALUNA'S BEGINNINGS

> *The white man's ships have arrived with clever men from the big countries. They know our people are few in number and our country is small, they will devour us.*
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> - David Malo, Lahainaluna graduate and Hawaiian historian, in 1837, as cited in Gavin Daws, *Shoal of Time, 106*
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> *Leave the child without schools, and what will be the result? You might see them from morning to night, ungoverned by their parents, almost naked, ranging the fields in companies of both sexes, sporting on the sand-beach, bathing promiscuously in the surf, or following in the wake of some drunken sailors, and learning all their profaneness, obscenity, and swaggering behavior.*
>
> - Sheldon Dibble, Former Lahainaluna Teacher, *History of the Sandwich Islands, 302*

On October 23, 1819, the first company of missionaries to Hawai'i set sail from Boston Harbor with the intention of transforming the islands into a "Christian and civilized" society.[37] The eighteen men and women, sent out by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) were made up of preachers, teachers, their wives, and several converted Hawaiian youths from the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut.[38] Despite coming from different Christian denominations, they were united by the common purpose to transform the culture from the inside out. Missionaries hoped by converting the "heathen," they would also redeem their savage, wayward society.[39] Not only did they want to introduce Hawaiians "to the service and enjoyment of the living God" they also wanted to fill "those important islands with

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[37] Linda K. Menton, "A Christian and 'Civilized' Education: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839–50," *History of Education Quarterly* 32, no. 2 (1992): 213–42, 215

[38] The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) was first formed in 1810 by graduates of Williams College. Missionaries from Presbyterian, Catholic, and Methodist denominations joined the inter-denominational missionary sending agency, which was considered to be more liberal in their theological stance than conservative Calvinist missionary organizations. ABCFM missionaries believed in conversion through the Holy Spirit, and Biblical authority to "regulate their daily and religious lives." Linda M. Clemmons, *Conflicted Mission: Faith, Disputes, and Deception on the Dakota Frontier* (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2014), 22-23

[39] Menton, A Christian and 'Civilized' Education, 215

schools and churches, fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings."[40] Though the ABCFM directed their missionaries to maintain their focus on teaching and preaching and to avoid entangling themselves in secular and political affairs of the kingdom, the missionaries' efforts to "Christianize and civilize" often resulted in blurred lines between their religious and cultural goals.[41]

The missionaries arrived on March 30, 1820 and, after receiving King Liholiho's permission to stay, they set to work translating the oral Hawaiian language into an orthography for the purpose of eventually teaching Hawaiians to read the Bible in their own language. The missionaries first attempted to proselytize members of the aliʻi in deference to their highest level of social status on the islands and began with educating them in simple Hawaiian-language literacy and religious instruction in Hawaiian. The aliʻi embraced literacy, deeming reading and writing as valuable skills for governing their nation, and were aware of the power literacy would give them to communicate with one another across the different islands.[42] Several high-ranking aliʻi, led by Kuhina Nui Kaʻahumanu, recognized how adopting Christianity could solidify their religious and political power, and encouraged conversion among their people.[43]

After several members of the aliʻi converted, they granted the missionaries' access to the makaʻāinana, or common people. This effort was underscored in 1824 in Lāhainā, Maui, when Kaʻahumanu gave a public oration, encouraging the Hawaiian people to learn to read and write.[44]

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[40] "A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or, The Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising a Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization among the Hawaiian People.," online text, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. 20540 USA, 60-61

[41] Lawrence H. Kessler, "A Plantation upon a Hill; Or, Sugar without Rum," *Pacific Historical Review* 84, no. 2 (2015): 129–62, 141-142

[42] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law*, Princeton Studies in Culture/Power/History (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 2000), 64-65

[43] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i,* 41

[44] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i,* 69

With the sponsorship of King Kamehameha II, the missionaries introduced literacy to nearly the entire adult population on the islands by 1824. With momentum from ali‘i support, missionaries were able to design a common school system that provided Hawaiians with the fundamentals of reading and writing in Hawaiian, using printed Christian doctrines as the main texts.

Though the missionaries initially took on teaching roles to accommodate the growing population of Indigenous students, which by 1828 was estimated to be 37,000 pupils, they eventually assumed supervising roles over the schools, and relied on Native Hawaiian teachers, who were only “slightly more knowledgeable than their students” to teach at the schools.[45] This model of rapid reproduction was so effective that it produced 1,100 schools by 1831.[46] From the outside, it appeared that “Christianizing and civilizing” through schooling was a success. However, the school system began to collapse by the early 1830’s due to a variety of factors.

By 1832, their greatest supporter, Ka‘ahumanu, had died, and missionaries were aware that their schooling system was buckling under its disorganization, and not sustainable. ABCFM missionary and Lahainaluna teacher Sheldon Dibble recorded this time of schooling as the “superficial era” in which the teachers “were ignorant and had already taught about all they knew.”[47] Eventually, many Native Hawaiian teachers complained about their inadequate training, and left their positions at the schools.[48] As a result, school enrollment began to decline.[49] Missionaries saw their haphazard school system had “crumbled at once into ruins” and decided “it was now time to dig deeper and to lay foundations that should promise to be more substantial and permanent.”[50]

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[45] Menton, A Christian and ‘Civilized’ Education, 219
[46] Menton, A Christian and ‘Civilized’ Education, 219
[47] Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* 283
[48] Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* 283
[49] Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, *Annual Report, 2*2
[50] Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* 283

At the General Meeting of the Mission in June 1831, missionaries stationed in Lāhainā unanimously "resolved to establish a Seminary for raising up teachers and other helpers in the missionary work." They called the seminary "Lahainaluna," meaning "upper Lahaina."[51] The missionaries hoped the teacher-training institution would encourage the educational and evangelical momentum among Native Hawaiians.[52] They proclaimed their intention that Lahainaluna graduates would go on to spread Christianity to their own communities and "elevate the whole mass of people, from their present ignorance and degradation, and cause them to become a thinking, enlightened, and virtuous people."[53] Following the decision from the General Meeting, a regularly occurring meeting of missionaries in Hawai'i, Reverend Lorrin Andrews was given the duty of becoming the first teacher and principal of Lahainaluna.

Missionaries very likely chose Lāhainā as the location for Lahainaluna because of its political significance as the Kingdom's capital from 1820 through the mid-1840s. As a result, the port town also became the religious and educational center for the missionaries.[54] The Governor of Maui, Ulumāheihei Hoapili, approved the missionary Reverend William Richard's request to erect a large-scale stone church building in Lāhainā, which stood in stark contrast to the simple design missionaries often built with pili grass thatched roofs.[55] The church, known as Waine'e, became the royal family's place of worship and burial on Maui. In 1838, Hoapili convinced Richards to step down as minister, and accept the appointment as "Chaplain, Teacher and Translator" to King Kamehameha III.[56]

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[51] Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* 306
[52] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report, 22*
[53] Dibble, *History of the Sandwich Islands,* 305
[54] Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 622
[55] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii,* 355
[56] Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time; a History of the Hawaiian Islands.* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), 107

From this relationship, Richards became close with many of the members of the aliʻi and was, despite his utter lack of legal training, invited to teach them Western political economics and government. With Richards' counsel, King Kamehameha III created a bill of rights in 1839 and a constitution in 1840 that for the first time limited monarchical power.[57] In the early 1840's at least four other missionaries from ABCFM broke their formal connection to the missionary organization and pledged allegiance to the king. These members include former physician Gerrit P. Judd, former Lahainaluna principal Lorrin Andrews, Reverend Richard Armstrong, and printer Edwin O. Hall. [58]

Soon, a tenuous relationship evolved between the makaʻāinana and missionaries. What *appeared* to be a collective effort in constructing a more Western "civilized" society in Hawaiʻi masked a more complicated process. In 1845, Native Hawaiians on Maui collected thousands of signatures in a petition against the foreigners, especially targeting those who served in government posts. By then, more missionaries abandoned ABCFM's call to stay out of political affairs, and joined Richards to advise the king.[59] Native Hawaiian parishioners in Lāhainā prayed for "no more haole rulers," and others began to talk about storming Lāhainā and killing all the haole men. "If the kingdom is ours," they questioned, "what is the good of filling the land with foreigners?" [60] The King visited Maui to quell the opposition and reason with his subjects why the government needed the foreigner's help.[61] Despite the King's reassurance, his subjects rejected the white settlers who were dismantling their political system.

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[57] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i,* 43
[58] Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 108
[59] By 1844, there were fourteen white men working for the government, and by 1851 there were forty-eight. Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 108
[60] Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 108
[61] Daws, *Shoal of Time,* 109

According to Sally Engle Merry, these examples of Native Hawaiian and settler conflict over governance demonstrated how ali‘i were actively engaged in “civilizing” their nation in order to *resist* Western imperialism. By reconstructing their social and legal systems after the U.S., they intended to show the imperial powers of the world Hawai‘i’s “civilized” status and avoid colonial annexation. The downfall, however, was that by modeling their society after Western systems, they included outsiders like Richards to help design their new government systems, as well as other missionaries and white elite, by placing them in esteemed circles and in positions of power within Hawaiian society.[62] Many of the former missionaries reasoned that their government roles gave them an opportunity to be more useful to the country, and they could provide a model of civility that Native Hawaiians could not yet fulfill.[63] This move by ali‘i to allow for foreign participation in governmental affairs allowed for missionaries and, eventually, their adult children to undermine Native sovereignty from within the government itself. This process was deeply disturbing to the maka‘āinana. According to Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau, the “commoners knew this and one and all expressed their disapproval and asked the king not to place foreigners in the office of government lest the native race become a footstool for the foreigners."[64]

Despite this simmering Native animosity, Richard Armstrong became a consulting member to the legislature and helped to persuade voting members that many white foreigners had become naturalized and were now willing subjects of the king.[65] Within three weeks, the legislature authorized white voting rights, white office-holding rights, and permitted white foreigners to purchase lands in 1850. The traditional land-owning system, in which the ali‘i

[62] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 399
[63] Daws, *Shoal of Time*, 109
[64] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 399
[65] Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui*, 51

owned the land and dispersed it as they saw fit, became replaced by an arrangement called the Māhele which permitted maka‘āinana and foreigners to buy and sell government-allotted land.[66] While the opposition was loud from maka‘āinana who rightly predicted they were not “prepared to compete with foreigners” who come to the islands “with cash in hand,” Armstrong celebrated that Hawaiian land division was now the right of individuals and not subject to the king’s discretion.[67] With land newly available for purchase, many white foreigners, including missionaries, began to embark on agricultural careers, establishing large sugar plantations and sugar mills. By 1886, two-thirds of available land for purchase had been bought by foreigners.[68] Amos Cooke, a former missionary and teacher at the Chief’s Children’s School who later became a partner in one of the major sugar-producing and land-owning companies on the islands, Castle & Cooke, described the Hawaiians’ struggle against disease and disenfranchisement as something “the Lord seems to be allowing.” Cooke went on to describe the “confounded and amazed” Native Hawaiians as just standing there, while the white foreigners were “creeping in among them, getting their largest and best lands, water privileges, [and] building lots.”[69] As a result, American landholding increased across the islands throughout the late nineteenth century, as white landowners had effectively created a new economic and social order modeled after industrial capitalism.[70]

Hawaiians were subject to ongoing loss due to white political interference in governance and intrusion over land ownership that attempted to assert claim and authority over the islands

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[66] Daws, *Shoal of Time*,107
[67] Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (Harvard University Press, 2007), *142-143*
[68] Elizabeth Bentzel Buck, *Paradise Remade: The Politics of Culture and History in Hawai’i*. Temple University Press, 1993, 71
[69] Buck, *Paradise Remade*, 71-72
[70] Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai’i*, 22

and its inhabitants.[71] This caused a great backlash against Hawai‘i’s white foreigners, coming from both Hawaiians and Western critics. As U.S. consul to Hawai‘i noted in the mid-1840’s, he had never seen a “more stupid, if not unprincipled set, ever surrounded a throne, than the king’s advisor’s here,” which were made up of foreigners who would otherwise had a slim chance of being a high-ranking official had they not lived in Hawai‘i.[72]

Liberal publications abroad had begun to criticize the missionaries’ effect on social stratification in Hawai‘i as it became evident that missionaries were trading out preaching for sugar planting and entrepreneurism. When discussing the mission to Hawai‘i, one British magazine described the growing class disparity between elites and commoners, caused by the missionaries’ strategy to proselytize among the monarchy first, and the missionaries subsequent identification as upper-class by way of their close association to the royal family. “Our Protestant missionaries are bound by no vows of poverty and humility; and accordingly, we find them possessing lands and houses, managing public and private affairs, and bringing their social position into a wonderful likeness to heathen slave-holding.”[73] The official newspaper of the Hawaiian government, *The Polynesian,* also chastised missionaries who had suppressed cultural pleasures such as festivals and adorning oneself with flowers. *The Polynesian* decried the missionaries’ “pretty strong confidence which led men forth to impose on a vast majority of

[71] Patrick Wolfe writes that a “logic of elimination” is an act that can “transmute into different modalities, discourses, and institutional formations” including but not limited to removal, confinement, officially encouraged miscegenation, child abduction, religious conversion, re-socialization in missions or boarding schools, assimilation, exclusionary blood quantum classifications, and a range of settler- colonial discourses that eliminate large numbers of indigenous people from official reckonings of who counts as official natives.” See “Patrick Wolf, Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006): 387–409, 388

[72] Banner, *Possessing the Pacific,* 139

[73] Rev. W. Brown, M.D., “Christian Missions: Their Principle and Practice. History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen.,” *The Westminster Review* 66, no. July (1856): 181 volumes, 9

mankind the dogmas and tastes of a very small minority…and thereby breaking the spring of the native character, and preparing a whole race for premature extinction."[74]

Despite the tension that was growing as white missionaries ascended to more powerful positions, many of Maui's ali'i maintained their support of the missionaries' plan to create a school in Lāhainā for educating Native Hawaiian teachers. Princess Kalakua, a relative of Kuhina Nui Ka'ahumanu, provided Lahainaluna ten acres of taro land in the valley, and one thousand acres of red dirt and rocks on the nearby hill.[75] Members of the Maui ali'i also consented to the building of houses for teachers and pupils, and gave permission to the students to cultivate potatoes on the land of the school and on the hill. Though the royal family was generous with their gift of land to the missionaries, they also placed a border on the school that stopped at the lands above and below the nearby Kanaha stream, a water source that flowed from the uninhabited forest area above Lāhainā, which the ali'i wanted to keep separate for the Hawaiians who already lived there.[76] However, only four years later, in 1835, missionaries at the yearly council appealed to the king to procure more land for the school so students could have more opportunities to plant crops to eat, due to many of their students going hungry. King Kamehameha II consented and extended their land *past* the stream. Maui mayor Hoapili encouraged the landowners, who loudly complained, to release their land to the school. He insisted they not "get excited about the land" but instead asked that they give their "land to those who are seeking knowledge." He reasoned with them, "This is the thing which will establish the

[74] Charles Gordon Hopkins, "Christian Missionaries -Their Principle and Practice. [From the Westminster Review, for July.]," *The Polynesian*, November 1, 1856, Vol. 13 edition
[75] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society* (Government Press, 1904), 23
[76] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 732-733

government of your chiefs [because] knowledge is fundamental to living as a chief."[77] By extending the school's land and dismissing complaints from the landowners, the Maui aliʻi had committed their efforts to establishing Lahainaluna as the new, innovative path for future leaders; one they believed Western settlers would accept, and that makaʻāinana should support.

Indeed, the Maui aliʻi understood Lahainaluna to be a prestigious institution that would raise up young men to fill governmental positions rather than adopt the narrow missionaries' view that students would solely take on the mantle of religious proselytization. Historian Noelani Arista writes that the school was opened in 1831 by both the aliʻi and the mission to train men to serve in government and teach in new schools. However, it is interesting to note that messaging from the aliʻi affirms their desire for the students to take on governmental roles, while, conversely, missionary rhetoric points to their wishes for students to take on an ownership role of Christian ministry and teaching on the islands.[78] David Malo, an esteemed Hawaiian historian and graduate from Lahainaluna, had been studying under Reverend William Richards, when Kuhina Nui Ka'ahumanu met Malo, and requested that he attend the school. Malo writes that Kaʻahumanu foresaw that an education at Lahainaluna would provide Malo a path toward "becom[ing] an advisor to the king and office holder in the government."[79] At Kaʻahumanu's urging, Malo became one of the first 25 men to study at Lahainaluna Seminary when it opened on September 5, 1831.

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[77] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 732-733. Kamakau also notes Elizabeth Kina'u visited Lahainaluna in 1837 in which she provided Lahainaluna even more land by extending the school's border to the creek at Wao. (Wao is a general term for an inland region usually forested but not precipitous and often uninhabited).

[78] Noelani Arista, "'Mo'olelo and Mana," 415–43

[79] David Malo was part of the Lahainaluna class that researched and recorded Hawaiian history and published their findings in the work *Ka Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi* in 1838. Malo and fellow Lahainaluna graduate Samuel Kamakau also formed the first Hawaiian Historical Society in 1841. Malo is known as an advisor to chiefs, and educator, politician and minister.

Hilo Boarding School and Lahainaluna

When Reverend David Lyman and his wife, Sarah Joiner Lyman arrived in Honolulu, Hawai‘i in 1832 with the fourth group of ABCFM missionaries, they realized they were in good company. By their second night in Honolulu, they had met members of the ali‘i, including King Kamehameha III, and joined earlier waves of ABCFM missionaries for a night of preaching by Reverend Richard Armstrong. To Sarah Lyman, it felt “quite like being in America,” after seeing “so many of my own nation around me” and caused her to forget she was in a nation “of dark hearts.”[80]

The missionary community had to band together. Afterall, Lyman had already observed that, “most of the foreigners in this place are decidedly opposed to missionaries.”[81] Furthermore, the Native Hawaiian people were “more filthy than swine” and “like brutes they live” with “an awful stupidity which every where prevails among the people.”[82] Two months later, the Lyman’s sailed to Hilo, Hawai‘i where they had been assigned to work alongside Sheldon Dibble to oversee the common schools in the area. Dibble eventually moved on to teach at Lahainaluna but the relationship Lyman formed with Dibble and to Lahainaluna constituted an important part of the larger network of missionaries working throughout the islands.

In 1835, the ABCFM General Mission Meeting passed a resolution to promote boarding schools for Hawaiians with the aim to experiment with a manual labor system.[83] The missionary network remained crucial for the development of the boarding school project, providing the missionary schools with the freedom to task their students with American farming practices that

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[80] Sarah Joiner Lyman, *The Lymans of Hilo.*, Rev. ed. (Hilo, Hawaii: Lyman House Memorial Museum, 1979)
[81] Lyman, *The Lymans of Hilo*, 29
[82] Lyman, *The Lymans of Hilo*, 45
[83] Carl Kalani Beyer, “Female Seminaries in America and Hawaii during the 19th Century.,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 37 (2003): 91-118, 97-98

went beyond planting taro to support feeding their students. Considering Hawaiians were already adept at farming, the missionaries were not attempting to impart a sustainable agricultural education. Instead, many missionaries viewed undeveloped land as potential grounds for growing marketable crops such as sugarcane, which could turn a profit to support the missionaries' work and lifestyles.[84] Further, for those like David Lyman, the son of a New England farmer, hard labor was directly associated with character-building work, which, in turn, met the criteria for civilizing the society. As a whole, however, the ABCFM was conflicted about introducing "agriculture improvements" that would cause the missionaries to "become entangled with secular cares," and yet, at their 1835 annual meeting, they decided to encourage "the growth of cotton, coffee [and] sugar cane, that the people might have more business on their hands and increase their temporal comforts." As a result, the next year, the ABCFM Hawai'i Mission requested agricultural and industrial teachers come to Hawai'i to help with these pursuits.[85]

This shift towards manual labor in Hawaiian education was quick. The Lymans were commissioned to open Hilo Boarding School (HBS) in 1836 and this development was followed by a boarding school for girls in Wailuku, Maui in 1837. The Wailuku Boarding School introduced its students to an academic curriculum as well as manual labor that involved spinning, sewing, knitting, and weaving.[86] Missionaries designed the Wailuku Boarding School curriculum specifically to raise up prospective wives that would be suitable for the boarding school boys. The curriculum at Wailuku thus included teaching the girls the expected gendered duties

[84] Kessler, "A Plantation upon a Hill," 129–62, 146

[85] This era marks when missionaries began to venture into agriculture enterprises, including sugar production. For example, this same year missionaries on Kauai negotiated a fifty-year lease from the Hawaiian government for plantation land, with the agreement to hire Maka'ainana to tend to the land. Kessler, "A Plantation upon a Hill," 146.

[86] Beyer, Female Seminaries, 99

performed by American wives and mothers, such as preparing meals, washing dishes, and doing laundry.[87]

At Hilo, the Hilo Boarding School (HBS) was designed to be a feeder school that channeled its students to Lahainaluna.[88] However, missionaries described the difficulties they faced recruiting students from the common schools who exhibited a combination of sufficient academic training and religious devotion.[89] When Ka‘ahumanu died in 1832, just as Lahainaluna first opened, there was a noticeable decline in religious zeal among Hawaiians.[90] It became clear to Lahainaluna founder Lorrin Andrews that the possibility of a Christian Hawai‘i was dependent on the success of its schools.[91] Therefore, in 1836, Andrews and Lyman initiated a “feeder-school” system, in which HBS would raise up students with academic and theological training to send on to Lahainaluna seminary. By the following year, six of HBS’s graduates went on to attend Lahainaluna.[92] This symbiotic relationship between the schools later became a measuring stick in which Lahainaluna’s progress as a school was measured by those who favored HBS’s early adoption of manual training in the curriculum.

By 1840, sugar cultivation had begun on mission land that neighbored HBS and was worked “entirely by the boys of the school.”[93] The sugar plantation soon produced 5,400 pounds of sugar, and 4,000 gallons of molasses.[94] Within three years of HBS opening, Lyman’s students

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[87] Beyer, Female Seminaries, 99. Sarah Lyman also recorded the existence of “sewing schools” for girls in 1832. Lyman described in her diary that women from the ABCFM mission supervised the schools, which instructed girls in sewing and Bible reading. Lyman, *The Lymans of Hilo,* 32

[88] Beyer, Female Seminaries, 97

[89] Ralph C. Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School: Hawaii’s Experiment in Vocational Education,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* v. 11 (1977), 78

[90] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 622

[91] Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 79

[92] Over the course of 13 years, Lahainaluna received 90 graduates out of the 325 students who attended HBS. Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 79

[93] Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 80

[94] Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 80

were almost solely responsible for tending to the sugar plantation, which Lyman described as helping achieve a small income for the school and allaying food expenses for the students. The students committed to two hours of labor in the mornings before school work, endured three hours of labor or shop class after lunch, and another "hour or so" in the afternoon before dinner.[95] By 1844, tailoring and dairy departments had also been added to the curriculum.[96] In 1850, Minister of Public Instruction, and former ABCFM missionary, Richard Armstrong described HBS as "one of our most important schools. It is the very life and soul of our common school on that large island." Notably, in 1853, two attempts to burn the school down took place. The second attempt succeeded, and HBS was eventually rebuilt.[97] Conversely, Lahainaluna Seminary included manual training as a necessity to keep overhead costs low, but maintained its identity as an academic and seminarian institution. When the school first opened in 1831, its own students provided manual labor to construct their classrooms in which they could meet. As a low-cost way to feed their boarding students, the school required students to tend to the school grounds and harvest crops they would prepare and eat.[98]

The rationale for HBS' inclusion of manual training differed greatly from Lahainaluna's reasoning. HBS founder Lyman adhered to the Protestant work ethic formula that hard work produced character and moral men; whereas Lahainaluna initially included it for the cost-saving principles that kept their students fed and allowed their students to afford boarding at the school when it transitioned to boarding students in 1837. Though the school was organized as a normal

[95] Canevali, "Hilo Boarding School," 80, 89
[96] Canevali, "Hilo Boarding School," 81
[97] No one was apprehended for either arson incident. Canevali, "Hilo Boarding School," 83
[98] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, "Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society" (Honolulu, Hi: Paradise of the Pacific Print, 1908), 22-24

school, missionaries reasoned that "necessity made it a school where many kinds of manual labor were taught - the best instruction the teachers could have."[99]

While Lahainaluna and HBS were united in their mission to raise up students to exemplify Christian morals and spiritual leadership, Lahainaluna was known for its academic rigor and theological training. In preparation for the courses of study, missionaries translated several textbooks from English, including Fowle's Child's Arithmetic, and Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetic, essentially transporting a New England education for their Hawaiian students in the Pacific.[100] Lahainaluna students learned reading, geography, writing, and map-drawing, and within a few years expanded their academic studies when missionaries received a "poor, second-hand" printing press for the purpose of printing academic materials for the school. The school curriculum in 1834 also included music, penmanship, elocution, composition, Biblical instruction, Hawaiian grammar, history, engraving, printing, binding, carpentry, and mason-work.[101] By 1839, the textbooks in Hawaiian included two universal geographies, a scripture-based geography and atlas, a children's arithmetic book, algebra, and higher mathematics, such as geometry, trigonometry, navigation, and surveying.[102] In 1842 the school curriculum was also reported to include history, natural theology, moral philosophy, and some chemistry and composition writing. Printing and binding was also taught to a group of students.[103] The addition of the printing press on the school grounds also provided the school with the means to produce its own Hawaiian-language newspaper, called *Ka Lama Hawai'i*, which, in 1834, was the first

[99] The students at Lahainaluna were often referred to as teachers when described by missionaries. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society* (Government Press, 1904), 24
[100] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report 1904*, 23
[101] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report 1904*, 24
[102] Sheldon Dibble, *History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands' Mission* (New York, Taylor & Dodd, 1839), 113-114
[103] H.P. Baldwin, "Brief History of Lahainaluna Seminary," *The Maui News*, January 28, 1921

newspaper published west of the Mississippi.[104] Lorin Andrews, Lahainaluna's founder and principal, explained the school newspaper's purposes in a letter:

> First, to give the scholars of the High School the idea of a news- paper—to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical. Secondly, to communicate to them ideas on many objects . . . Thirdly, it was designed as a channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose.[105]

In 1836, Lahainaluna transitioned to teaching young boys, rather than adults. This change was in step with the missionaries' resolution to redirect their focus from educating adults to children, reasoning that children would inevitably be the ones to shape Hawaiian society into a Christian nation.[106] They were noticing a steady conversion by children, and by 1838, recorded over six hundred native Hawaiian children and youths had converted to Christianity.[107] Further, missionaries were noticing that of all their endeavors, education was the "most widely accepted offering."[108] Therefore, Lahainaluna began to accept students between 10 and 20 years old, and accommodated the young students in their boarding school.[109]

While American missionaries were busy with their educational endeavors in the islands, they were not immune from events on the American continent. The U.S. economic Panic of 1837, the largest economic downturn in the U.S. at that time, severely affected the finances of the ABCFM that largely composed of charitable donations to the mission organization. This outcome dwindling revenue, while a setback, however, did not cripple missionaries' efforts in

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[104] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"
[105] Lorrin Andrews 1835 in Mookini, Hawaiian Newspapers, iv., quoted in Noenoe K. Silva, "Early Hawaiian Newspapers and Kanaka Maoli: Intellectual History, 1834-1855.," 2008, 109
[106] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 140
[107] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 140
[108] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 140
[109] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"

Hawai‘i. Success at HBS gave confirmation for some missionaries to turn to sugarcane planting and become less reliant on outside donor funding and, eventually, the ABCFM.[110] In 1840, ABCFM was still reeling from the 1837 financial crises, and, again, significantly reduced its financial support to the Hawai‘i mission. The ABCFM eventually decreased their funding to Lahainaluna in 1849, and later stopped funding all missionaries in 1863, citing the mission's success in transforming Hawai‘i into a "Christian land."[111] As a result of the ABCFM cessation of funding to Lahainaluna, King Kamehameha III placed the school under the control and oversight of the Hawaiian Monarchy, with the agreement that religious instruction would remain a part of the curriculum.[112] This transfer of oversight meant the school became consistently funded, and therefore manual work on behalf of Lahainaluna's students began to decrease, only remaining in part for boarding students to work in lieu of paying tuition costs. Once Lahainaluna stopped being an official missionary school and seminary, its relationship with HBS as a "feeder-school" also ended.[113] Missionaries transferred all schools to be under government control, and at the same time, the Hawaiian Legislature enacted a new law requiring all children under 14 years of age to attend school.[114]

In an act signed by Kamehameha III, Lahainaluna was placed under the King's Minister of Public Instruction, former ABCFM missionary Reverend Richard Armstrong. Armstrong's role included hiring teachers, overseeing facilities, managing the schools, and enacting rules and regulations. Armstrong became known as the father of the American-influenced school system in

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[110] Kessler, "A Plantation upon a Hill," 148

[111] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i,* 63. Merry writes that missionaries were asked by ABCFM to find funding from their congregations in lieu of the organization. Further, in The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1879 publication, The Missionary Herald, they explain that the islands were deemed Christian, and therefore ABCFM closed the mission., "For Young People: Henry Obookiah," *The Missionary Herald.*, 1879

[112] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"

[113] Canevali, Hilo Boarding School," 81

[114] Rubèn Fernández Asensio, "The Demise of Hawaiian Schools in the 19th Century," *Linguapax Review*, January 1, 2019, 2

Hawai‘i, and one of his greatest projects was promoting English as the mode of instruction in the nation’s schools.[115] Without English, Armstrong insisted that Native Hawaiians would become “a stranger and an alien on his own soil”[116] In 1854, ten English schools were established under Armstrong’s direction and, in that same year, Armstrong added English courses to Lahainaluna’s curriculum.

Lahainaluna was often lauded by white settlers on the islands for graduating students with “the best education” on the islands through its efforts of “civilizing” students and bringing prosperity to the kingdom.[117] In particular, the school was known for producing impressive students, such as David Malo. Malo, along with other “intelligent graduates” were championed for “preserving much that is valuable in regard to Hawaiian history.”[118] Lahainaluna gained a reputation for its strong academics, and graduating students who were able to compete for high-paying and esteemed jobs on the islands.[119] By 1864, only Lahainaluna graduates were considered qualified for government positions such as lawyers, teachers, and district magistrates.[120] However, as tensions continued to mount between the maka‘āinana and the missionaries, Lahainaluna’s reputation of graduating esteemed students who could compete with haoles for top-paying jobs became a threatening prospect. The white faction, whose identity progressively transmuted from missionaries to planters and business owners, were suspicious of

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[115] Lois Stewart, “Isle Schools Have Far Outgrown Founders’ Wildest Dreams,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 7, 1956, 101, No. 33,618 edition, sec. 12-A

[116] Richard Armstrong, “Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the Legislature of 1854,” *The Polynesian*, April 15, 1854, Vol 10, No. 49 edition

[117] James Jackson Jarves, “Our Readers Will Be Interested...,” *The Polynesian*, February 1, 1845, Vol. 1, No. 37 edition, sec. 3

[118] Jarves, “Historical Society,” *The Polynesian*, May 8, 1841, Vol. 1, No. 48 edition, sec. 3

[119] C. Kalani Beyer, “The Connection of Samuel Chapman Armstrong as Both Borrower and Architect of Education in Hawai’i,” *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 1 (2007): 23–48, 43

[120] “Lahainaluna School Profile,” School Website, Lahainaluna High School, accessed September 17, 2022, https://www.lahainalunahs.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=375865&type=d&pREC_ID=847978

a majority of Native Hawaiians in positions of power because they could promote pro-Hawaiian interests at the expense of the white planter and business needs.[121]

Conversely, Hilo Boarding School became the standard-bearing institution that imparted a successful manual labor curriculum that maintained and encouraged social stratification. Later, when Richard Armstrong's son, Samuel Chapman Armstrong established his own school, Hampton Industrial and Normal School in Virginia for newly-freed enslaved men, he modeled it after Hilo Boarding School's manual labor program. When Samuel Armstrong returned to Hawai'i in the 1880's, he praised HBS for its character-producing education, and openly criticized Lahainaluna's emphasis on academics as missing the mark on civilizing its students. Hilo Boarding School, in essence, inspired white educational reformers in the U.S. who, like the missionaries who had become sugar planters, saw the need for schools to maintain social hierarchy to protect their economic interests.

Samuel Armstrong

Richard Armstrong's involvement in education on the islands during an era of declining missionary support distinctly influenced his son, Samuel Armstrong, whose background as a missionary son and observer of Western influence and political changes in Hawai'i made him uniquely well-versed in schooling designed explicitly for non-white students. Born in Hawai'i in 1839 to Richard and Clarissa Armstrong, Samuel Armstrong considered himself "Hawaiian" but grew up removed from his Native Hawaiian peers in large part due to his segregated education at the missionary private school, Punahou, co-founded by Richard Armstrong in 1841. The education he received there starkly contrasted to the schools that his parents helped shape for

[121] Tiffany Lani Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua: Nineteenth-Century Perspectives on a Hawaiian Sovereign* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2019), 28

Native Hawaiian children which they "considered inferior for white children."[122] Samuel Armstrong, along with other missionary children, attended The Mission Boarding and Day School at Punahou. Joy Schulz writes that white missionary children like Samuel Armstrong "internalized the numerous inconsistencies found between their cloistered upbringing at home, segregated preparatory education at Punahou School in Honolulu, and indigenous Hawaiian culture surrounding them.[123] Rather than promoting educational equality among settlers and Hawaiians, first-generation missionaries, like Richard Armstrong, instead shaped education to replicate the same forms of white privilege they enjoyed on the continent.[124]

In 1851, while a student at Punahou, twelve-year old Samuel accompanied his father on a trip surveying schools across the islands. The experience greatly impacted him by creating a lasting impression of the perceived deficiency in Native Hawaiian character. In his 1884 memoir, *Lessons From the Hawaiian Islands*, Armstrong writes that his visits to schools, which included Lahainaluna, helped him to see that schooling for Native Hawaiians were lacking *"*a reinforcement of mechanics to train and soften the hard Hawaiian hand, to establish industrious habits, and thus to supply a stamina which the native character lacked."[125] This trip, as well as his segregation from Hawaiian peers provided him a reinforced perspective of Hawaiians as burdens, or "menaces to society" unless otherwise educated.[126]Armstrong's observations as a youth led him to conclude that "weak tropical races [where] idleness, like ignorance, breeds vice" required morality and industry to provide students a civilizing foundation.[127]

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[122] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 13
[123] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 13
[124] Taira, "Colonizing the Mind," 59–85, 61
[125] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands,* 213
[126] Margaret D. Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 48.
[127] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 213

Like many missionary children, Armstrong went to the United States for his college studies. After graduating from Williams College in 1862, he became a Union officer during the American Civil War. In 1868, Armstrong went on to establish his own school in Hampton, Virginia for newly freed Black slaves, the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute. This school focused on training black students, "who should go out and teach and lead their people...to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands; and to those ends to build up an industrial system for the sake not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character."[128] A typical day at Hampton involved Armstrong's students working a ten-hour day of "drudgery" to "put him in shape for the struggle of life."[129] Rather than championing an academic path as an escape from labor for the black working class in the South, Armstrong required his students, including prospective teachers in his school, to perform the same hard labor as the working class so that they would "embody, accept, and preach an ethic of hard toil" and the "dignity of labor."[130] The Hampton Institute was lauded internationally as a success story for civilizing Black students. Armstrong often described the Hampton Institute as important for educating the "whole man" through a combination of industrial training and academic and religious instruction.[131]

Following in the footsteps of his father, Samuel Armstrong's reputation as a leader in education grew, and he became a vocal supporter of industrial education. As Armstrong became a revered pioneer in industrial education in the United States, he also became a strong influence

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[128] Everett T. Tomlinson, *A Leader of Freemen: The Life Story of Samuel Chapman Armstrong, Brevet Brigadier-General, U.S.A.* (American Sunday-School Union, 1917), 57-58

[129] Isabel C. Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" (Lake Mohonk, N.Y.: The Conference, 1891 1890), 15

[130] James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860 - 1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), 35

[131] Hiram Collins Haydn, *American Heroes on Mission Fields: Brief Missionary Biographies, Series I* (American Tract Society, 1894), 255

on education in Hawai‘i. Armstrong’s high profile among the white elite in Hawai‘i, renown as a missionary descendant, esteemed Punahou graduate, and founder of Hampton Institute, provided Armstrong a platform to spread his particular interpretation of industrial education, which was based on racial evolutionist claims of certain races’ inborn inferiority.[132] Armstrong took on the view that distinctions between races were biological in nature. In other words, bodily differences such as “skin shade, hair contour, eyelid configuration, [were] all understood as signs of innate character” and the individuals themselves required reform. [133] This greatly differed from the perspective his parents’ generation more likely would have prescribed, which was the conviction that “other ways of life were wrong and needed reform” or “civilizing” because “forms of culture and religious life were evil and immoral.”[134]

Armstrong often turned his attention to Hawai‘i’s lack of industrial education offerings at schools, especially schools for Native Hawaiians, and was particularly vocal in his criticism of Lahainaluna as “too weak in its embrace of industrial education.”[135] Ironically, Lahainaluna graduates, in his estimation, “turned out brilliant” and acquired impressive jobs both at home and abroad, and yet he reserved his praise for students from schools such as Hilo Boarding School, which placed greater emphasis on hard work and learning trades. It was students from such schools, he believed, who turned into “more solid men” by becoming skilled workers and able to earn a living, and also crucially, encouraged others of their race to do the same.[136] Armstrong’s distaste for Lahainaluna’s strong academics was founded on his moral and ideological belief that

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[132] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 213
[133] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai‘i,* 20-21
[134] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai’i,* 20-21
[135] Hampton Institute, *Twenty-Two Years’ Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia: Records of Negro and Indian Graduates and Ex-Students with Historical and Personal Sketches and Testimony on Important Race Questions from within and without, to Which Are Added ... Some of the Songs of the Races Gathered in the School: Illustrated with Views and Maps* (Hampton: Normal school press, 1893), 2
[136] Hampton Institute, 2

industrial education was a civilizing agent, which he insisted would benefit students he deemed as "deficient in character."[137]

In his 1884 memoir, Armstrong describes how he asked policy-makers in Hawai'i to actively prepare Hawaiians for a life of skilled work in order to "train and soften the hard Hawaiian hand, to establish industrious habits, and thus to supply a stamina which the native character lacked."[138] According to Armstrong, Hilo Boarding School was a major influence on his founding of the Hampton Institute and, therefore, represented the perfect model for Lahainaluna to follow. While both HBS and Lahainaluna educated Hawaiians, he considered HBS more successful because it was "simpler."[139] Armstrong went on to write,

> As a rule, the former [HBS] turned out more brilliant; the latter [Lahainaluna], less advanced but more solid men. [Hilo's] boys had become among the best teachers and workers for their people; while graduates of [Lahainaluna], though many had done nobly at home and in foreign fields, had frequently been disappointing. Hence came our policy of only English and generally elementary and industrial teaching at Hampton, and its system of training the hand, head and heart. Its graduates are to be not only good teachers, but skilled workers, able to build homes and earn a living for themselves and encourage others to do the same.[140]

Armstrong's criticism that Lahainaluna was a "warning against a too exclusively mental culture on a soft and pliant race" struck a chord with the white elite.[141] The white elite's opportunistic selection of Lahainaluna as one of the schools to wholly embrace technical education, all while cloaked in progressivism and paternalism, truly underscores how the white elite wanted to colonize the minds of Hawaiians through industrial education into accepting a subordinate role in their institutions, land, and government. Armstrong's moral endorsement of

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[137] Jacqueline Fear-Segal, "Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism," *Journal of American Studies* 33 (1999): 323–341, 333
[138] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 213
[139] Hampton Institute, 2
[140] Hampton Institute, *Twenty-Two Years' Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute at Hampton, Virginia*, 2
[141] Canevali, "Hilo Boarding School," 43

educating those he deemed "despised races" to respect work resonated with the small but politically powerful group of wealthy businessmen, politicians, and plantation owners on the islands, many of whom had grown up with Armstrong as sons of missionaries and schoolmates at Punahou School, and shared his belief that the Indigenous population required civilizing.[142] Armstrong's peers had instituted "laws, treaties, and 'democratic reforms'" aimed at keeping power in white men's hands. These efforts actively prevented Native Hawaiians from having a collective political voice, or access to their own land.[143]

Conclusion

Missionaries to Hawai'i soon discovered that education was their most effective initiative that accomplished their goals of proselytization and evangelism to Native Hawaiians, and as a result poured their efforts into developing schools that promoted their particular strain of New England Protestantism and American cultural and religious mores. After their initial grassroots schooling efforts collapsed under the strain of underdeveloped teacher training, they changed course and founded Lahainaluna Seminary to train Native Hawaiians to become religious leaders among their people, while they simultaneously experimented with manual labor among their boarding school students. ABCFM's limited and often-fluctuating funds meant that missionaries turned to sugarcane planting and crop-growing on their school grounds in order to financially support their schools, as well as to supplement their own livelihoods. Lahainaluna's transition to government leadership in 1849, coincided with many former-ABCFM missionaries taking on of Hawai'i's government positions, including Richard Armstrong, who took on the role as Minister of Public Instruction in 1846. Missionaries' growing political involvement, and their powerful

[142] Fear-Segal, "Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism," 323–341, 333
[143] Julie Kaomea, "Education for Elimination in Nineteenth-Century Hawai`i: Settler Colonialism and the Native Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's Boarding School," *History of Education Quarterly* 54, no. 2 (2014): 123–144, 139

role in developing the school system on the islands provided them the ability to create a new infrastructure on the islands that reinforced Americanization and Western citizenship by replicating and reinforcing white American capitalism, politics, and moral virtues through education. In short, they were empire-building through schooling. The white elite also turned to Armstrong's son, Samuel Armstrong, a leader in industrial education for newly-freed enslaved Black people on the continent, to bolster their campaign to increase industrial curriculum in schools for Native Hawaiians. By joining the transnational movement, led in part by the son of a revered missionary to Hawai'i, white leaders on the islands proposed industrial education as the more "progressive" approach to education that would improve the lives of Native Hawaiians.

As American missionaries became more deeply rooted to the islands, their descendants, along with other prominent white settlers, applied education as a settler colonial tool to expand their political domination over the islands' indigenous people, and establish a white minority ruling class.[144] Margaret D. Jacobs describes settler colonialism as a distinctive kind of imperialism marked by "societies in which Europeans have settled, where their descendants have [become and] remained politically dominant over indigenous peoples, and where a heterogeneous society has developed in class, ethnic and racial terms."[145] According to Jacobs' definition, Hawai'i's white elite minority followed the well-worn path toward dominating the Native Hawaiian population by eliminating Native Hawaiian control. Their preoccupation with maintaining power over the Hawaiian people was also rooted in the conviction that the highest form of civilization was a Christian society. Christianity was not merely a religion, but an "idea of life penetrating the whole social structure" and therefore the white elite held to the belief that

[144] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 2
[145] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 2

their Christian morals gave them the authority to shape Hawai‘i into their conception of a flourishing society.[146]

American missionaries held their benevolent belief system alongside the conviction that replicating political, commercial, and capitalistic U.S. values was the only way forward for Hawai‘i, and any opposition was preventing the moral fulfillment of a new Americanized Hawai‘i. Therefore, as an outgrowth of these beliefs, and incentivized by the outcome of a stratified social hierarchy, industrial schooling was designated by the white elite as *the* curriculum for schools with high Native Hawaiian populations as part of their larger effort to reduce the employment opportunities and financial earnings of Native Hawaiians in order to subvert their social and political influence.[147] In other words, transforming Lahainaluna into an industrial and technical institution was a pragmatic step forward towards solidifying white rule over the islands.[148]

[146] David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1875-1928* (University Press of Kansas, 2501 W, 1995), 23
[147] Carl Kalani Beyer, “Female Seminaries in America and Hawaii during the 19th Century,” 91-118, 33
[148] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 2

CHAPTER 2. SAMUEL CHAPMAN ARMSTRONG AND TRANS-NATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

There is no lack of desire on the part of these children to go to school: their parents desire it, too; but we have to teach them what going to school means.

- Educational Reformer Elizabeth H. Botume, speaking at the Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question in 1890, 23

The 2022 Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report explains, "From the earliest days of the Republic, the United States' official objective — based on Federal and other records — was to sever the cultural and economic connection between Indian Tribes, Alaska Native Villages, the Native Hawaiian Community, and their territories."[149] For Native Hawaiians, industrial education was an Hawai'i-born American institution that facilitated this severing of Native Hawaiian connections to their land and culture. In fact, America's industrial education actually began as an imperial project and becomes visible when examining the history of its utility in American public education. As Guy Emerson Mount writes, "Industrial education's origins are found in the colonial Pacific. After emancipation, it traveled from the Pacific to Freedmen's Bureau Schools in the United States, where early HBCU's like Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes were explicitly modeled on the colonial/missionary template developed in Hawai'i."[150] This particular time of schooling in U.S. territories and on the mainland leading up to the twentieth century included implementation of vocational and industrial education aimed specifically at non-white students as well as curriculum that emphasized moral rhetoric for the purpose of establishing proper citizenry.

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[149] Bryan Newland, Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report" (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, May 2022)

[150] Guy Emerson Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific: Slavery, Empire, and the Colonial Design of American Education," *The Journal of African American History* 106, no. 4 (September 1, 2021): 601–25, 606

While Hawai‘i’s white school leaders engaged in discussions with various white educators on the U.S. continent, their main consultant was General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, a leader in the manual training movement in the United States. Armstrong’s school, The Hampton Institute, was one such school that exemplified this particular race-based education, and was especially noteworthy to Hawaiian educators and the white elite on the islands. At Hampton, Armstrong furnished technical training with a moral and ideological purpose. “Experience,” he wrote, “has strengthened my conviction of labor as a moral force.” Manual work would, he believed, facilitate his Native American and Black students' rise to civilization. “The idea of work is not in their brains or blood,” he wrote in 1879, upon the first class of Native Americans’ arrival at Hampton, “they don't see the point of it or its relation to life.”[151]

To Hawai‘i’s white elite, Armstrong was a leader in technical education. As a missionary descendant, Armstrong had great concern for maintaining the institutions his family and the missionary community established. To Armstrong, the loyalties he felt toward his parents’ civilizing work on the islands was now up to him to safe-guard. Second-generation missionaries took a defensive stance, protecting their families’ legacies, while simultaneously protecting the “material inheritance bequeathed them.”[152] Therefore, white annexationists found an ally in Armstrong, who, as a group, collectively made it their duty to “[rescue] the islands from their moral decline.” This meant, in the words of one missionary descendant, that white missionary children were “practically unanimous for the overthrow of the monarchy and for annexation to the United States.”[153]

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[151] Fear-Segal, “Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism,” 323–41, 331
[152] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth: Missionary Children,* 39-40
[153] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth, 3*9-42

By the late nineteenth century, many of the missionaries' adult children and grandchildren were at the forefront of efforts to establish industrial education for Hawaiian students on the islands. A segregated industrial form of education for Hawaiians allowed second-generation white settlers to not only cultivate, but solidify their control as a ruling class. According to former Lahainaluna principal Serano Bishop, Hawai'i was "to find its unavoidable and certain destiny in the bosom of the American Union."[154] Bishop's advocacy of U.S. annexation was a view held by many white planters, missionary descendants, and business leaders who eventually became known by Hawaiians as the "Missionary Reform Party" and were accused by Hawaiians for pushing "annexation as a panacea for Hawai'i's problems."[155] In 1891, an article in the newspaper *Ka Leo o ka Lahui,* an important periodical for highlighting Native Hawaiian opinion, attacked Bishop and "his narrow clique," for abusing "the Hawaiian people in a most unheard of manner," and for all his "falsehoods, vulgar lies, foul slanders, and garbled statements of facts."[156]

Armstrong had seen Native Hawaiian attitudes turn against foreign influence by the 1860s and 1870s as Natives increasing criticism of the missionary descendants permeated the economic and political landscape. This growing dissatisfaction occurred at the same time with the decline in Christian conversion and missionary support among Hawaiians over the next several decades. As a result, when Armstrong returned to Hawai'i from the U.S. in 1880, there was a clear growing political tension between whites and Hawaiians. The Hawaiian-language newspaper *Ka Hoku* decried in the 1860's that "living under parents, that is the [missionaries], is

[154] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 116.
[155] Laavanyan Michael Ratnapalan, "'This Greater Issue of Light against Darkness': Sereno Edwards Bishop, Missionary Religion, and the Hawaiian Islands, 1827–1909," *Journal of Religious History* 43, no. 1 (2019): 3–24, 6
[156] Ratnapalan, "'This Greater Issue of Light against Darkness,' 6

over, we have matured, our minds are made up."[157] Upon the beginning of his reign in 1874, King Kalākaua distanced himself from missionaries and Christian influences by joining the Anglican church and reinstating Native religious practices.[158] Second-generation missionary William Castle observed in 1881 that, "Church-going among the Hawaiians is now about as rare as staying away used to be forty years ago."[159] Armstrong was aware of Hawai'i's growing racial tensions among Native Hawaiians. When reflecting on his 1880 trip to Hawai'i, Armstrong described Hawai'i's government in disarray, with King Kalākua, a "weak and conceited monarch" leading the islands alongside an ex-Mormon priest, "whom no one trusts or respects."[160] Armstrong also described the fears that were mounting among the white elite that white representation in Hawai'i's legislature was at risk to decrease, and without the ability to vote, was the only formal voice they had.[161]

Shortly after his 1880 visit, the all-white Hawaiian League was formed in 1883, which included many of Armstrong's former Punahou classmates and missionary descendants. The Hawaiian League advocated for the overthrow of the monarchy and for the U.S. to annex Hawai'i. In 1887, the Hawaiian League conspired against King Kalākaua's government, and along with several hundred other mostly-white residents, and members of the Honolulu Rifles club, they demanded a public meeting with Kalākaua. In this meeting, the Hawaiian League forced Kalākaua to approve of a new constitution that would terminate nearly all his authority, remove Hawaiian land rights, and give the vote to foreign landowners.[162] Further, the new "Bayonet Constitution" limited voting rights to literate Hawaiian, European, and American

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[157] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth,*13
[158] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 83
[159] William Castle, in *Annual Report* (1881), 26 as cited in Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 84
[160] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 225
[161] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 198
[162] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 239-242

males, and established wealth requirements to be eligible to vote for the House of Nobles. This coerced constitution effectively transferred Hawai‘i’s political power to the white minority on the islands.[163] King Kalākaua gave in to their demands, as one observer noted, so much so that “little was left to the imagination of the hesitant and unwilling Sovereign as to what he might expect in the event of his refusal to comply with the demands then made upon him.”[164]

The motivations and justifications for industrial education geared for Native Hawaiian students took on heightened urgency as the white elite began to fill roles in the larger political and economic landscape after the successful 1887 “Bayonet Constitution.” After decades of dealing with increasing foreign influence, Native Hawaiians began to insist on the removal of Westerners from government positions. Missionary descendants were hyper-aware of the shift Native Hawaiians felt toward missionaries, who had replaced their affection with resentment.[165]

Armstrong’s moral endorsement of educating those he deemed “despised races” to respect work resonated with the small but politically powerful group of white wealthy businessmen, politicians, and plantation owners on the islands. Many of them had grown up with Armstrong and identified his work as progressive and necessary for Hawai‘i’s development into an Americanized society. These white leaders were motivated by Armstrong’s version of racialized education to use the public schools to “engineer consent” from Hawaiian and Asian students for eventual U.S. occupation, limited educational and employment opportunities, and to accept their lower status in a rigid social, racial, and economic hierarchy.[166] Armstrong’s position as an industrial education leader and sympathizer transcended geographic boundaries as his

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[163] David W. Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, 1780-1900: Volume 4: 1881-1900*, vol. 4 (University of Hawaii Press, 2003), 232
[164] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 240
[165] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 39
[166] Taira, “Colonizing the Mind,” 59–85, 62

school became a place for white educators from Hawai‘i to take sabbaticals and learn from him. Many of Hawai‘i’s white educators left Hampton with fresh resolve to implement technical education as a particular strand of moral training. Further, Armstrong’s speaking engagements, including his speech given at his former school, Punahou, include recommendations for the increased role of industrial education for Hawaiians. To better understand the impact of industrial education on Native Hawaiians at Lahainaluna, it is necessary to know how evolved and developed on the North American continent.

Industrial Education for Native Americans and Blacks in the U.S., 1868 - 1900.

In the United States, the politics of educating Indigenous and Black populations were closely tied to religious motivations and the desire to build the nation into a Protestant country.[167] From the United States’ infancy, the concept of public schooling, with a thoroughly American curriculum, was intended to accomplish the great task of unifying the language and culture around a religious and patriotic identity by preparing students to become virtuous citizens with deep attachment to their country.[168] White leaders, including reformers and policy makers, saw Native Americans and non-white, non-Christian populations as a particularly threatening to propagating a country fashioned after white religious and cultural ideals. White policy-makers honed in on the non-Christian identities of Native American tribes as justification for many policies that were enacted to solve the “Indian problem” by educating them to become Christian Americans.[169] Such policies included child removal, whereby Native American children were legally permitted to be taken from their parents and moved into white Christian homes or

[167] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 77
[168] Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860*, 1st ed., American Century Series (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983)
[169] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 77-78

boarding schools.[170] Boarding school advocates boasted in 1887 that their schools "could not only civilize, they could civilize in record time."[171]

Such schools were also concerned with providing Indigenous and Black students with exposure to colonizing notions of industry and economic self-sufficiency that prepared them for a subservient role in society. As Margaret D. Jacobs writes, these boarding schools groomed their students to be useful by preparing them to succeed as laborers, and to do so on white terms.[172] In other words, schools trained students of color to become useful to whites employers. Federal Native American boarding schools implemented forms of military discipline, subjected students to frequent marching, and inundated their schedule with housekeeping chores, which included scrubbing dormitory floors, sewing and washing the clothes for the school, and canning and cooking Western food.[173] Though schools provided academics, the industrial training often took up the majority of the day's schedule. Such schools deliberately redefined the children's conceptions of work and education by disrupting their cultural attachments and exposure to indigenous forms of knowledge and instead providing manual labor training so intense that they were often "too tired to study." [174]

Schools for Indigenous and Black students were also an important center for transferring values to its students, with the aim of the graduates to return to their people with the evangelical spirit of spreading the "good news" of American ethics and values. The Hampton Institute, which first opened in 1868, was notably not founded as an industrial school. Instead, the school most closely associated with being a normal school, devoted to training formerly enslaved

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[170] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 77
[171] Adams, David Wallace, *Education for Extinction*, 19
[172] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 280
[173] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 239
[174] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 239

African Americans to become teachers. Armstrong's expectation was they would return to the South to educate the children of the South's Black laboring class.[175] Armstrong developed a manual labor curriculum that required his students to engage in the labors of farming and gain experience in industrial shop-work, in an effort to expose them to the toils of hard work, and to eventually embody the virtues of dignity attached to hard labor.

When Armstrong developed the curriculum at Hampton, it is recorded that he was concerned the school offered *too much* academic training. It is possible that Armstrong's open distaste for Lahainaluna's "over-education," something he may have learned from his father as a young child during the elder Armstrong's school visits, influenced Samuel Armstrong to openly discourage Hampton graduates from continuing their education, urging them instead to return to their own people. Armstrong wrote that Lahainaluna's failure was its initial emphasis on academics which he believed was a disservice to the "soft, pliable" Hawaiians, who required a "mental, moral, and industrial" education.[176] Armstrong's belief that the "despised races" were struggling with ignorance and also from "deficient character," meant that he prioritized the "training of heart" over "training of the mind." He was convinced that if his students were over-educated, they would be set up to fail in a society where whites dominated the job positions that required extensive academic training because their "well balanced mind" had been "attained only after generations of improvement."[177] Industrial education, according to Armstrong, would provide appropriate instruction for ensuring Black society maintains a "subordinate social role in the Post-Reconstruction South." [178]

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[175] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860 - 1935*, 34
[176] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 213
[177] Fear-Segal, "Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism," 332-333
[178] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860 – 1935*, 36

Notably, Armstrong's "dignity of labor" pedagogy was attached to a worldview that he first developed as a missionary-child in Hawai'i, influenced by his visits to Hawaiian children engaged in manual labor at Hilo Boarding School, and his cloistered upbringing among other white families attempting to uplift a "degraded, ignorant race."[179] In Armstrong's words, the "missionary period in Hawai'i" from 1820-1860, "worked out… the problems of the emancipation, enfranchisement, and Christian civilization of a dark-skinned Polynesian people, in many respects like the Negro race."[180] Armstrong expanded on the idea on a later occasion, explaining, "what the United States has been doing from 1860 to 1891, you [missionaries to Hawai'i and missionary descendants] have been working at since 1830, and the study of it most instructive."[181] His conclusion: "morality and industry generally go together" when educating indigenous and Black students.[182] In developing the plans for Hampton, Armstrong explained that fashioning it in Hilo Boarding School's likeness "seemed best to follow."[183] Hilo's approach to equating character building with manual labor, which was made exclusive to Native Hawaiian boys, functioned as a form of imperialism by establishing dominion over the Indigenous people.[184]

Missionary children did not attend such schools. Instead, they were taught by a missionary tutor in the early years of the mission and eventually sent off to prestigious Punahou School on O'ahu, effectively creating a space for themselves to develop into an upper-class society. According to Mount, Armstrong owed his career and reputation in the industrial

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[179] Franklin Carter, *General Armstrong's Life and Work: Founder's Day Address, 1902* (Hampton, Va.: Press of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, 1911)
[180] Hampton Institute, "*Twenty-Two Years'* Work" 20
[181] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"
[182] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 213
[183] Hampton Institute, "*Twenty-Two Years' Work"*2
[184] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 2-3

education movement to the white planters and missionaries in Hawai‘i, who implemented a "New England-style capitalism, rebranded as industrial education, [which] thus became the Hawaiian alternative to slavery.[185]

Armstrong conflated his industrial educational work with missionary work, and often pointed to the missionary stories of industrial education from around the globe, including missions in Africa, India, and Hawai‘i as examples of industrial education's civilizing effects. He appeared to show no distinction between missionary work occurring overseas, and the education he was implementing at Hampton. Instead, he wrote that the "objective point" of missionary work is to produce "character in its highest sense," not unlike his objective at Hampton. He applauded missionary efforts in Madagascar for implementing "labor as a moral force" for the people. Similarly, he writes that industrial education is paternal in nature among those in Africa, Hawai‘i, and India, because of the childish nature of the people.[186] In his own writing, he makes clear that the civilizing work that his own family engaged in was for the profound good of Hawai‘i and its future. Armstrong wrote that the first generation of missionaries to Hawai‘i left a "a noble contribution to Hawaiian civilization, the nucleus of the forces forming the hope of the islands."[187]

As a rule, Armstrong was guided by the belief that white rule over non-whites was justified, because whites had developed over time in "moral strength, in guiding instincts, in power to 'sense things' in the genius for this or that."[188] Writing *Lessons from Hawai'i* in 1884, Armstrong explained that civilization on the Hawaiian islands was then being modeled by "a highly intelligent" class of nearly 2,500 whites who exemplified for Hawaiians a refined

[185] Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific," 613
[186] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 214
[187] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 227
[188] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860 – 1935*, 39

society.[189] In the same piece, Armstrong drew the connection of the Hawaiian islands as "the most important strategic point in the Pacific" and the need for the minority white ruling class on the islands to have the protection of the U.S. government was by way of the U.S.' gaining control of Hawai'i.[190] In an 1889 *New York Independent* newspaper article, Armstrong reminded the readers that Hawai'i would one day come under the control of a dominant nation and the U.S. should be prepared to take control of the islands at the possibility of any leadership crises should arise on the islands.[191] Armstrong's assertion of Hawai'i's eventual reliance on a stronger nation is a common settler colonial narrative of the inevitability of Indigenous peoples' demise.[192]

Considering the white elite in Hawai'i viewed themselves in a position of political vulnerability and moral superiority, the white elite in Hawai'i saw an ally in Armstrong. His championing of segregated schooling for non-whites in an effort to preserve a white ruling class buoyed their sense of mission and urgency. An 1889 opinion piece entitled "Technical Schools" in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, an English-language newspaper owned by second-generation missionaries and supportive of white settler causes, the editor questioned if enough was being done to promote technical education among Hawaiians. The editor opined, "Is it doing justice to the native population to bring them up as useless men and women, fit for unskilled laborers or vagabonds?[193] In other similar newspapers around the same time, technical education was described as "progressive," a way for schools to "[stay] up to date", and deemed as morally imperative for helping Hawaiians " learn to help themselves."[194] White educators sought close

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[189] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 227
[190] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands*, 227
[191] S. C. Armstrong, "The United States and Hawaii," *The Daily Bulletin*, July 11, 1889, Vol 14, No. 2297 edition
[192] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race, 6*
[193] Editor, "Technical Schools.," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 5, 1889, Vol. 10, No. 56 edition, sec. 2
[194] Editor, "Technical Education," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, April 16, 1886, Vol. 5, No. 89 edition, sec. 2.; J. W. Robertson, "Educating The Hand," *The Daily Bulletin*, November 28, 1884, Vol. 6, No. 880 edition, sec. 2; Walter Murray Gibson, "It Is Curious...," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 16, 1880, Vol. 25, No. 16 edition, sec. 2

association with Hampton, and with Armstrong himself, in an effort to align their school's pedagogy and reputation with Hampton's "progressive" forms of technical education. Likewise, schools in Hawai‘i also sought out Hampton graduates to fulfill leadership and teacher roles at their schools, seeking to bring credibility to their institutions and learn Hampton's methods directly from its graduates.

As mentioned earlier, educators from Hawai‘i made pilgrimages to Hampton, some even staying for year-long sabbaticals in order to learn the intricacies of running an industrial school for nonwhite students.[195] A notable example includes Hilo Boarding school principal and founder's grandson Levi Lyman, who took a year's sabbatical in 1904 at Hampton. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association wrote in 1904 that Lyman and his wife "not only taught, but imbibed and collected all the newest methods of industrial training, which they have brought back to Hilo."[196] The same publication recorded that another teacher, Ms. Snow from Maunaolu Seminary, "fresh from her large experience at Hampton, has revived the entire institution."[197] In a separate publication, it was reported that Ms. Snow was promoted to principal, and had introduced Hampton-inspired features to the school.[198]

Likewise, former Hampton students and educators from Hampton Institute were cited as taking leadership roles at industrial schools in Hawai‘i, and whose credibility was directly tied to their Hampton connection.[199] In 1890, The Kaua‘i Industrial School opened, and welcomed their new teacher, Miss M. Kenwill, who had "for a number of years been associated with General

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[195] Hawaiian Evangelical Association, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.," 1904, 19
[196] "Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society" (Honolulu: Paradise of the Pacific Print, 1908), 26
[197] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society* (Government Press, 1904)
[198] Hawaiian Evangelical Association, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.," 1954, 93
[199] Merze Tate, *Sandwich Island Missionaries: The First American Point Four Agents.* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1962), 19

Armstrong, as the trusted vice-principal and teacher at Hampton, Virginia.[200] From 1901 to 1904, Helen James, a black Hampton-educated student became a teacher and temporary principal at Kona Orphanage on Hawai'i.[201] She was accompanied by two additional Hampton graduates, Mr. and Mrs. John H. Evans. Mr. Evans supervised the students' work on the school's coffee plantation, while Mrs. John H. Evans joined as a teacher. During James' short tenure as teacher and principal at the school, she also met with Hilo Boarding School's administrators, who visited the Hampton-influenced school.[202] There, they learned that the school day began at 5 a.m. and lasted until 8 p.m. Children had three hours of class, one hour of religious service, and approximately ten hours of manual labor.[203] Before James left the school to return to the continent, another white administrator left for Hampton Institute in an effort to recruit more graduates to work at Kona Orphanage.[204]

Lake Mohonk Conference and Punahou Jubilee Celebration

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Armstrong had achieved nationwide fame as the archetype of white saviorhood for downtrodden races. In 1890, he was an invited speaker at the Lake Mohonk Conference, an annual gathering of middle-class Protestant reformers, politicians, and missionaries who discussed how to educate and civilize Native Americans. In 1890, however, they broadened the conference topic to include how to educate Black students and asked Armstrong to speak on the "Negro Question" to the attendees.[205] Armstrong spoke after an address by elected chairman and former U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, who asked

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[200] Editor, "Kauai Industrial School," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, September 30, 1890, Vol. 25, No. 39 edition
[201] Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific," 601–602
[202] Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific," 614
[203] Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific," 617
[204] Mount, "Virginia in the Pacific," 619-620
[205] The Lake Mohonk Conference first began in 1883, organized by Quaker brothers Alfred and Albert Smiley. The brothers hosted annual gatherings at their Mohonk Estate in Upstate New York. For an overview, see Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier 1846-1890* (UNM Press, 2003), 200 – 203

attendees to not grow tired of "educat[ing] and Christianizing the Negro, not merely for his own sake or the sake of the South, but for the welfare of the whole country and for our common humanity."[206] Armstrong then posed the question to the audience, "What shall we do with this race thrown upon us?"[207] The 'labor doctrine,' Armstrong explained, seemed especially suited for Black students, because it could alter Blacks' perspective on work from something that had once been forced upon them to something that produced dignity.[208] "Slavery," he said, "taught [Black men and women] to labor, but gave [them] no respect for labor." The Black students' history of slavery also meant, to Armstrong, that they were developmentally "back in the iron age" whereas, the white race was "in its golden age."[209] Therefore, Armstrong explained that he ensured his own students at Hampton were provided ten hours of manual training and agricultural work in order to "go to work with an appetite." Armstrong also explained that he limited schoolwork to two hours, in order that his students receive the right balance of "physical, mental, and Christian training."[210]

Armstrong also boasted to the Mohonk conference attendees that Hampton's five hundred students achieved fifty-thousand dollars' worth of work a year, which gave them the confidence, after three years of training at his school, to go out into the world and be self-sufficient. Hampton paid the students "market wage," which helped them to cover their own room and board, clothing, and tuition.[211] Armstrong cited one of his students who excelled in technical training, and noted the student's skills in architecture were gaining attention.

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[206] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 12
[207] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 13
[208] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 13
[209] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 13
[210] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 15
[211] Barrows, "Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question" 13

Armstrong declared, “Someone ought to give him a chance, not too much of a chance, as it might spoil him, but a chance to work his way up.” [212]

The conference lasted three days, and the speakers and attendees ranged from educators, reverends, politicians, university presidents, former slave holders, and missionaries. Throughout the entirety of the conferences, speakers referred back to Armstrong when citing industrial education’s moral purpose, and closely associated Armstrong and Hampton with industrial education. In a rare moment, a speaker disagreed with the amount of emphasis put on industrial education for Black students but still began his speech by affirming he “believe[d] in industrial education and in what General Armstrong has said.” [213] Armstrong’s eponymous relationship with industrial training at the Mohonk Conference made clear how Armstrong had become a widely recognizable and trusted name in industrial education, known in particular for his “labor doctrine” that hard work produced honest morality.[214] Further, the group of one hundred white men and women who attended the conference shared a paternal language and tone with Armstrong, viewing their work as emancipatory and on the front lines of endeavoring to uplift the “backward” Black community to become moral and religious.[215]

A year later, Armstrong traveled back to Oʻahu, Hawaiʻi to be the keynote speaker at the Punahou Jubilee Celebration for Punahou’s current students, alumni and faculty at Kawaiahaʻo Church in Honolulu in 1891. Armstrong celebrated Punahou’s fifty-year anniversary as an institution by recalling his childhood spent learning at Punahou and praised the graduates who were going off to such prestigious colleges as Williams, where Armstrong attended, Columbia, and Yale. Armstrong’s speech quickly shifted into a detailed description of the “delicate and

[212] Barrows, “Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question” 15
[213] Barrows, “Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question” 28
[214] Tomlinson, *A Leader of Freemen,* 65
[215] Barrows, “Lake Mohonk Conference on the Negro Question” 35

difficult problem as was ever given to thinking men and Christian rulers" and he called it the "Hawaiian problem."[216]

Armstrong put forth to the attendees of the Punahou Jubilee celebration, that the "Hawaiian Problem" consisted of a Hawaiian voting population that was becoming more vocal in their agitation toward the white minority on the islands. Armstrong noted that Hawaiians were frustrated at the literacy requirements and financial qualifications needed to vote, which were obstacles put in place by the Bayonet Constitution to prevent the full population of Hawaiians from voting. According to Armstrong, the white voters needed to remember that "the man who does not vote is even more dangerous than the man who does" because the "social or political outcast is most to be feared in an uprising or revolution." Further, Armstrong described the panic many of the white elite shared regarding the upcoming elections in Hawai‘i, where "3,000 voters of the stronger race" contended against "12,000 voters of the weaker races" in which many of the white candidates aimed to defeat the National Reform Party, which included Native Hawaiian nationalist Robert Wilcox, who called for democratic reforms to the monarchy and a removal of whites from the government.[217]

He recommended that the graduates of Punahou, whom he described as "Hawai‘i's leading class," ought to unite to educate the Hawaiians in order to create a Christian society on the islands that reinforced Western ideals, including capitalism and a Protestant work ethic.[218] The means to achieve this end in Hawai‘i: industrial education. "The country is safe in the hands of the voter," he explained to his Punahou audience, only if the voter met the narrow criteria, and

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[216] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"
[217] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong;"; Editor, "Bury The Hatchet," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 4, 1892, Vol. 15, No. 2988 edition, sec. 2; Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 242
[218] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"

exuded "wholesome home influences."[219] Indeed, even among his students at Hampton, Armstrong encouraged them to refrain from voting and refuse public office because they were, he believed, "not suitable for self-government."[220]

Armstrong explained that "after trying for many years the plan of training hand, head, and heart with negroes and Indians in America, I find myself believing in it more than ever."[221] Armstrong's speech warned it was "dangerous" for whites to share the islands with "ignorant" Hawaiians, and asked them, an elite-educated cohort of privileged white settlers, to take the responsibility to bring order to the islands.[222] Armstrong challenged the audience to select the right messenger to sacrifice themselves to become the one to spread the word of industrial education in Hawai'i. Armstrong concluded his speech with a rallying cry that "Hawai'i is for all Hawaiians!" and that whatever race they may be, he asked his white audience to be good Hawaiians, uplifting other Hawaiians, and devoted to Hawai'i's good.[223] Lest Native Hawaiians take responsibility to reform Hawai'i upon themselves, thereby jeopardizing white commercial and political power, Armstrong's appropriation of Hawaiian identity assured his audience that white settlers had a place in Hawai'i's future and, as the *stronger* race of self-proclaimed Hawaiians, they had the moral obligation to direct its path.

Conclusion

Armstrong's speech at the Punahou Jubilee provides insight into the direct connections he made between industrial schooling and power. Industrial schooling, when made exclusive to Indigenous and Black races, paved the way for white's opportunities to lead. Joy Schulz

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[219] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"
[220] Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860 – 1935*, 37
[221] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"
[222] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"
[223] Editor, "Address of Gen'l S. C. Armstrong"

describes the way missionary descendants, such as Armstrong, believed their moral education and appreciation for republican government, which they received from their schooling at Punahou School and from higher education institutions in the U.S., elevated their political, social, and ethical positions in the islands. Schulz suggests that their schooling promoted a new racialized understanding of their elevated status on the islands, and caused them to adopt a superiority that suggested Hawaiians were "inferior in every respect to their European and American brethren."[224] Armstrong's Punahou speech, which dedicated a large part to specifying to those from his prestigious alma mater why industrial education must be embraced in the islands, was ultimately a mobilizing effort to embolden fellow settlers to remove Native Hawaiian sovereignty and replace it with a white-led government.[225]

Missionary children such as Armstrong "ferociously protected their familial legacies," or "our inheritance" as fellow second-generation missionary, Punahou alum, pro-annexationist, and white settler leader Sanford B. Dole explained, each time they felt in jeopardy.[226] The 1870's and 1880's were a time when reigning ali'i rejected missionary influence and, instead, sought Native Hawaiians as advisors instead of missionaries and their descendants.[227] King Lot Kamehameha (Kamehameha V) distanced himself from missionaries upon the start of his reign in 1863 and reinstituted kahuna (Native priests and experts) and King Kalākaua appointed his trusted friend, Walter Gibson, a Mormon who eschewed Protestant missionary input, as his Minister of Foreign Affairs, who then later became Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Hawai'i.[228] Queen Lili'uokalani's efforts to repeal the 1887 Bayonet constitution inspired the all-white Committee

[224] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 115
[225] Kaomea, "Education for Elimination in Nineteenth-Century Hawai`i," 123–44, 127
[226] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, *39*
[227] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, *39*
[228] Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 39; Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui, 200

of Public Safety, a group of powerful white separatists led in-part by Sanford Dole, to overthrow the queen in 1893 and seek Hawai‘i’s annexation to the U.S. in 1898.[229] True to Armstrong’s vision for a white leadership in Hawai‘i, Dole later assumed the role of president of the Republic of Hawaii (1893-1898), the white minority interim government between the overthrow and annexation, in 1893, and, later, was appointed by President William McKinley as the territory’s first governor in 1898.[230]

Industrial education, when made exclusive to non-white students, effectively kept Hawaiians from attaining economic and educational equality with their white peers.[231] Much of the local discussions around industrial education in Hawai‘i was reinforced by concurrent U.S. educational policies and practices directed at Black and Indigenous students that involved instilling in them “a respect for the dignity of labor.”[232] The industrial education movement aimed at non-white communities was also occurring globally, notably in India, Australia, and African countries, at the hands of Christian missions or government support.[233] This worldwide development provided Hawai‘i’s white elite a powerful precedent to recognize their efforts as belonging to a global movement in modernizing non-whites on the islands through industrial education.[234]

Armstrong’s moral endorsement of educating those he deemed “despised races” to respect work resonated with the small but politically powerful group of elite whites on the

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[229] Maenette KP Benham, “Voice "less" Hawaiian: An Analysis of Educational Policymaking, 1820-1960,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 121–40, 126

[230] Tom Coffman, *The Island Edge of America: A Political History of Hawai’i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003),10-13

[231] Elizabeth L. Ihle, “Black Women’s Vocational Education. History of Black Women’s Education in the South, 1865 - Present.,” Instructional Modules for Educators, Module II. (Harrisonburg, VA: James Madison University, Women’s Educators Equity Act Program, Washington, D.C., 1986), 3

[232] Ihle, 4

[233] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race,* 32

[234] Editor, “Educating the Hand,” *The Daily Bulletin*, November 28, 1884, Vol. 6, No. 880 edition, sec. 2.

islands.[235] Many of Armstrong's peers who had stayed in Hawai'i grew up to eventually occupy positions of power in government and industry, and had instituted "laws, treaties, and 'democratic reforms'" aimed at keeping power in white men's hands. Though they conveniently identified themselves as Hawaiians, their dual identity as white Americans born in Hawai'i became a cover to protect themselves and their colonizing project, which was to remain politically dominant of indigenous peoples and Americanize Hawai'i. These white settlers had developed themselves into a ruling class, and the second-generation borrowed their parent's concept of using education to increase their influence over Native Hawaiians. They designed the industrial education movement on the islands to explicitly disenfranchise Hawaiians and eliminate sovereignty, while increasing their power and control. Combined, these efforts by white settlers actively prevented Native Hawaiians from having a collective political voice, or access to their own land.[236]

[235] Fear-Segal, "Nineteenth-Century Indian Education: Universalism Versus Evolutionism," 323–341, 333
[236] Kaomea, "Education for Elimination in Nineteenth-Century Hawai`i," 123–144, 139

CHAPTER 3. LEGITIMIZING INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION AT LAHAINALUNA

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Lahainaluna was frequently mentioned in public discourse among Hawai‘i’s white settlers as *the* school that ought to be leading the charge in making industrial education universal in all public schools on the islands. Public schools in Hawai‘i generally fell into one of two distinct categories: common schools and select schools. In 1880, there were 150 common schools educating 4,078 students in mostly rural schools across the islands. These schools were free, and available to all students, and taught in Hawaiian by Hawaiian teachers. Common schools gained a reputation for serving a lower-class community of students, taught by teachers with lesser qualifications and teaching experience.[237] Industrial education was an “essential part of the curriculum” in most of these schools.[238]

Lahainaluna, however, was a select school. In 1880, there were only fourteen such institutions serving a total of 1,295 students.[239] These schools, which provided instruction only in English, comprised an exclusive tier in Hawaiian education by collecting a small tuition fee which made “entrance to them optional, and form[ed] a line of distinction between them and the free schools which [were] taught in Hawaiian.”[240] Lahainaluna was often honored as the “head” of the Hawai‘i’s schools and was known for working hard to “fulfill the expectation of the Nation.”[241] Lahainaluna students were given the advantages of “higher departments of learning” and yet also were introduced to a “system of manual labor,” which was first introduced by

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[237] Charles R. Bishop, “Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1880.” (Honolulu, Hi, 1880), 8

[238] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1880” 13. The report lists that 60 common schools were practicing manual labor, where two to five hours of school were devoted to agricultural work.

[239] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1880” 8

[240] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1880” 8. Lahainaluna and the Reformatory School in Honolulu, though both select schools, were the exception and did not collect tuition because of their boarding school status.

[241] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1880” 17

missionaries to cut back on boarding expenses, and made possible by the extensive tract of land attached to the school.[242] Though it was a public school, open to Native and non-Native alike, it was understood as a school for only Hawaiians.[243]

As the white elite lobbied the Hawaiian Legislature in the early 1880's to make industrial education universal for all public schools, they regularly pointed to Lahainaluna as the foremost example of a school that not only produced successful students, but had an effective manual and industrial training system in place. This system had been a part of the school curriculum since its inception in 1831 but white leaders in the 1880s manipulated this history to undermine Lahainaluna's academic legacy and argue for expanding the school's industrial curriculum to all of the nation's schools heavily populated by Hawaiians and Asian immigrants. This move resulted in the removal from Lahainaluna of its academic curriculum and its elite public image of an institution of higher learning.

White Settler Discourse on Technical Education at Lahainaluna

Between 1875 and 1900, Hawai'i's English-language newspapers frequently commented on the best practices for educating Native Hawaiians, simultaneously using paternalistic language to promote increasing industrial education on the islands while professing a deep concern for Hawaiian welfare. "It is curious," the editor of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* wrote in 1880, "that nothing has been hitherto done to assist the Hawaiian native to train himself as an [artisan] or as a tradesman." The editor honed in on Lahainaluna, which he described as a "mixed-blessing" for fitting "the native for any walk of life" because many of the lawyers trained at the school had "in too many instances proved themselves mischief-makers among their fellow countrymen and oppressors." The editor suggested funds to the school would be better spent

[242] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1880" 16-17
[243] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1884" 12

teaching Hawaiians at Lahainaluna useful trades.[244] That same year, Charles Bishop, the president of the Board of Education, noted in his biannual school report to the Hawaiian Legislature that manual training was a part of Lahainaluna's curriculum, and yet not of foremost significance compared to the academic studies at the school.[245]

In the early 1880's, a heavy curriculum of industrial education in Hawai'i was often reserved for minors, often called "inmates" in the Kingdom's Industrial and Reformatory schools, who were provided a chance to "improve" themselves through hard labor.[246] Local newspapers captured a growing attitude of industrial education's civilizing nature on these students, the vast majority of whom were Native Hawaiian. In one article, the author noted that a solely academic curriculum would make Native Hawaiians miss out on the great opportunity to "familiarize the young mind with the [industrial] arts on which all civilization rests" and cause anxiety for among them to compete for more intellectual careers in an already "overcrowded" job market. Therefore, industrial education courses for such students were the "antidote" and "no country needs it more than Hawai'i."[247]

In 1882, Bishop included his rationale for industrial education in his biannual report to the Legislature. In explaining his reasoning, he included the common expression, which was a codified dog-whistle among white educational leaders both in Hawai'i and around the world during this era, about educating the head, as well as the hand, in an effort to make students useful.[248] He wrote, "industrial education is absolutely necessary for us as a people. To learn to work with the hands is and should be a part of our common school education." Though Bishop

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[244] Editor, "It Is Curious...," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 16, 1880, Vol. 25, No. 16 edition, sec. 2
[245] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1880" 24-26
[246] Editor, "An Act," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 2, 1882, Vol. 27, No. 10 edition, sec. 5
[247] Editor, "The System...," *Newspapers.Com*, October 7, 1882, Vol. 1, No. 137 edition, sec. 2
[248] Charles R. Bishop, President of the Board of Education, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education To The Legislative Assembly of 1882." (Honolulu, Hi, 1880), 12

stopped short of explaining who exactly industrial education would be for, he did describe "a large portion of our population," who "must depend upon agricultural and industrial pursuits for means of subsistence."[249] Though Bishop was married to aliʻi Bernice Pauahi, who went on to establish the all-Native Hawaiian Kamehameha Schools, Bishop eventually aligned himself with the pro-annexationist, missionary-led white elite.[250] Bishop became a critic of King Kalākaua's cabinet, and questioned why the King "elect[ed] some nincompoops who are mere tools of his," and who, as a result, "has lost a good deal of confidence and respect of foreigners and the most intelligent natives." By eventually turning his back on Kalākaua's pro- Hawaiian government, Bishop aligned himself with the causes belonging to the white planters and missionaries, who saw a need for expanding a working class of Hawaiian and Asian-immigrant laborers.

Between 1876 and the middle of the 1880's, newspapers posed mild suggestions about introducing industrial education in schools and were restrained in their critiques of Kalākaua's reign and cabinet.[251] Walter Gibson, a "staunch Kalākaua supporter" had taken on the role as President of the Board of Education in 1883, and often "endeavored" to frustrate the white elite's "imperialistic schemes."[252] A member of the Church of Latter Day Saints, Gibson described himself as pro-Hawaiian but also someone who believed "somewhat in the subordination of races, and yet [felt] strong attachments to brown and black people." This complex individual was a constant source of vexation for the second-generation missionaries and white families on the islands who endeavored to claim authority over the islands and its inhabitants.[253]

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[249] Walter Murray Gibson, President of the Board of Education, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1884." (Honolulu, Hi, 1880), 12
[250] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua*, 34
[251] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 27
[252] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 4
[253] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 199

With Gibson at the helm of the BOE, and as Kalākaua's greatest white ally, the public discourse espoused by Hawai'i's white elite was careful to generalize the ways industrial education met the needs of Hawai'i's population. It sought to create a distinct boundary between the races who they viewed as benefiting most from this form of education without specifically identifying the target population. This was intentional. The planters, a large subset of the white elite, were wary of being too direct. Kalākaua's securing of the Reciprocity Treaty guaranteed white planter prosperity, and as a result, the white elite did not want to provoke the king into making any policies or efforts that could negatively affect their bottom line.[254] By securing dominance by slowly pushing industrial education as a progressive educational pedagogy, the white settlers were implementing a subdued "logic of elimination" with the intention of gaining enough traction to eventually undermine Hawaiian claims to sovereignty. They were able to plant the seed of segregated education using careful, generalized language, while maintaining harmony with a government with which they were at odds.

On the ground in Lahainaluna, and elsewhere in the Hawaiian nation, these larger processes were beginning to take form. In 1883, the BOE granted $230 to Lahainaluna to build a carpentry shop, outfitted with all the tools needed for the students to eventually go on to make "59 large-sized blackboards and 11 school tables, all of which [had] been sold for the use of the common schools on Hawaii and Maui."[255] The students made a profit, after "deducting the cost of the material used, and twenty percent for wear and tear of tools."[256] The 1883 Biennial Report

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[254] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 28. The Reciprocity Treaty of 1875 was a free-trade agreement between the United States and the Hawaiian kingdom that guaranteed a duty-free market for Hawaiian sugar in exchange for special economic privileges for the United States that were denied to other countries. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia. "Reciprocity Treaty of 1875." *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/event/Reciprocity-Treaty-of-1875

[255] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 16

[256] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 16

from the Board of Education to the Legislature concluded that because of Lahainaluna's "highly satisfactory" results from the carpentry shop and "the success of the plan adopted has been such as to show the importance and utility of carpentry as a part of our system of public instruction," the BOE would ensure more carpentry shops in select schools.[257] The BOE's intentionality in selecting Lahainaluna to demonstrate carpentry as an efficient course of study provided them a high-profile success story to petition the Hawai'i Legislature.

By 1884, the number of common schools had dwindled from 150, in 1880, to 114, and conversely, the number of select schools had tripled from 14 to 44.[258] Gibson reasoned this was because Hawaiian families sought select school education for their children in order for them to learn English.[259] Further, Lahainaluna, which had once dispatched their normal school graduates to teach at common schools, no longer produced graduates with an education in Hawaiian. Since 1878, when Lahainaluna switched to English-only instruction, their graduates were less inclined to take common school teaching jobs. Instead, the focus drifted "toward English education."[260] In short, Gibson predicted that the "time is not too far distant, when there will remain in the Kingdom very few schools taught in the Hawaiian language."[261]

In January 1884, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* reported that Lahainaluna, Hilo Boarding School, and the Industrial Reform School located in Honolulu were all possible institutions the BOE suggested as ideal for the "technical school experiment."[262] Interestingly, each of the three schools were boarding schools, geared for educating Native Hawaiian students,

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[257] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 16
[258] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 5
[259] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 9
[260] Hawaii, "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1899 (Honolulu: Printed by the Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 56
[261] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 11
[262] Editor, "Technical Education," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 25, 1884, Vol. 30, No. 22 edition, sec. 1

and the Reform School was a juvenile detention center.[263] That same year, an article on industrial education printed in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, noted that "experiments like these can only successfully be carried on in boarding schools" due to the government schools utilizing the vacant lands attached to the schools to be used for field work.[264] In November 1884, T*he Daily Bulletin* reported that a recent session in Legislature took up the conversation about technical schools for Hawaiians, and discussed Lahainaluna's recent incorporation of carpentry into their curriculum and the students eagerness about it. Members of the legislature also remarked that the United States had begun experimenting with technical education, and lauded Lahainaluna for staying up to date with progressive pedagogy.[265] Further, another newspaper report that year described agricultural labor as becoming "an essential feature of the school."[266]

That same month, it was reported that Charles Bishop visited Lahainaluna again, and the principal H.R. Hitchcock requested more supplies and tools.[267] The BOE gave Lahainaluna over $7,000 in 1884, which was significantly more than they budgeted to any other school that year. Conversely, all the schools funded by the BOE in 1884 received $1,000 or less.[268] Just one year later, Lahainaluna's students would be credited for manufacturing all desks required by the BOE.[269] An 1884 article in the *Daily Honolulu Press* noted that the BOE had rented out some of Lahainaluna's land to a Sugar Plantation, with the intention that the proceeds would be used to improve the school grounds.[270] This initial land-renting relationship between the BOE and Sugar

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[263] Rev. C.M Hyde, "Rev. C. M. Hyde on Industrial Education," *Saturday Press*, January 19, 1884, Vol.4, No. 21 edition, sec. 1
[264] Editor, "Technical Education," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, November 22, 1884, Vol. 3, No. 176 edition, sec. 2
[265] J. W. Robertson, "Educating the Hand," *The Daily Bulletin*, November 28, 1884, Vol. 6, No. 880 edition, sec. 2
[266] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 21
[267] Robertson, "Educating the Hand"
[268] Gibson, "Biennial Report 1884" 48-50
[269] Editor, "The Hawaiian Race as an Industrial Class," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, April 14, 1885, Vol. 3, No. 295 edition, sec. 2
[270] "Lahainaluna," *Daily Honolulu Press*, July 26, 1884, Vol. 4, No. 43 edition

plantations developed into a contract for BOE students to labor for planters. As manual labor gained more traction in the late 1890's and early 1900's, students took part in the labor at the mills and plantations as a part of their manual labor curriculum.[271]

As Bishop continued on his tour of schools implementing industrial education, he learned that the students at the Reform School in Honolulu were also putting their carpentry skills to use by making improvements to their school, and making a profit with their agricultural endeavors.[272] As a result of his visits, the BOE budgeted $600 to buy more tools for The Reform School, with the hope to increase the budget to purchase supplies for all public schools in Honolulu. The Board of Education expressed their hope that the next legislative meeting would include adopting a "liberal scheme of technical education for all the public (common) schools."[273]

To the BOE's dismay, their proposal for expanding industrial education to all Hawaiian public schools was struck down by the Legislature, citing limited financial resources for such a large expenditure.[274] At the same time, tensions were mounting between the white elite and Kalākaua's cabinet. The king had appointed cabinet members that the white-elite believed would promote the interests of Hawaiians over the needs of planters and business-owners.[275] Agitated and concerned, these elites began openly attacking Kalākaua and his Legislature.[276] In particular, they voiced their intention to have Prime Minister Walter Murray Gibson ousted from his position. Newspapers supporting the white elites directed their vitriol at Gibson, who they

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[271] Hawaii, "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1899." (Honolulu: Printed by the Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 73
[272] Robertson, "Educating the Hand"
[273] Robertson, "Educating the Hand"
[274] Editor, "Industrial Education," *Evening Bulletin*, August 31, 1885, Vol 8, No. 1112 edition, sec. 2
[275] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 28
[276] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 28

questioned whether if he was King Kalākaua's puppet, or he had made King Kalākaua his puppet.[277] Samuel Armstrong also published his own accounting of Gibson in his 1884 memoir *Lessons from The Hawaiian Islands*. In the section entitled "Period of Decay," Armstrong writes "King Kalākaua has now at the head of his government an ex-Mormon priest, a talented unscrupulous man, whom no one trusts or respects, holding his position entirely through his ability to handle the weak and conceited monarch, who though amiable and intelligent is utterly without executive capacity or wisdom, and is esteemed by none.[278] Kalākaua's biographer, Tiffany Lani Ing, sums it up best in describing the white vitriol against the king as the medium that "prepared the way for the Bayonet Constitution."[279]

In 1886, the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* noted that Charles Bishop had nominated Lahainaluna to pilot an industrial education curriculum at the school that would steadily increase the number of industrial courses offerings for its students. This was heralded as staying in step with progressive countries.[280] Notably, in the minutes from the Legislature meeting in 1886, it was noted that money had already been given to Lahainaluna from the Board of Education "as an experiment" since 1884 to outfit the school with "tools for instruction in mechanical work," [281] By propping up Lahainaluna's industrial education program, and regularly highlighting their successful industrial work at the school, the BOE secured Bishop's nomination in 1886.

The 1886 BOE biennial school report to the Hawai'i Legislature further demonstrates the extent to which industrial education was becoming a mainstream idea for Hawaiian schooling. The biennial report had several pages dedicated to explaining the rationale for industrial

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[277] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 34
[278] Armstrong, *Lessons from the Hawaiian Islands,* (New York, 1884), 225
[279] Ing, *Reclaiming Kalākaua,* 32
[280] Editor, "Technical Education," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, April 16, 1886, Vol. 5, No. 89 edition, sec. 2
[281] Editor, "Hawaiian Parliament. Legislative Assembly - Thirty Second Day.," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, June 8, 1886, Vol. 5, No. 134 edition, sec. 3

education. The central author of that section was Prof. M.M. Scott, principal of Fort Street School, which was considered one of the top schools on O‘ahu for the white student population.[282] In one section in particular, Scott detailed the successes of U.S. and European industrial schools, explained racial evolutionist logic for providing non-white races with industrial skills, and explained, “Hawaiians are “peculiarly fitted to be trained in manual labor.”[283] Scott wrote that though “[the Hawaiian] is a fairly good student in the intellectual branches…far better is he, and would he be, if given an opportunity for the practical side of his nature.”[284] That same section of the BOE report, most likely written in entirety by Scott, also noted that Lahainaluna, the “school of the most advanced grade for Hawaiians of any in the Kingdom” had produced students who were strikingly disciplined and good natured, and also, successfully cultivated all the taro needed to pay for their room and board and other school expenses.[285] Examples of Hawaiian student compliance to these narrow forms of education was praised by Samuel Armstrong, as well as educational policy-makers as assimilating to American values, and expressing “good” citizenship by engaging in vocational and industrial training.[286]

Significant changes to the Hawaiian Legislature were expected after the July 1887 Bayonet Constitution went into effect. Less than a week after Kālakaua was coerced into signing the new constitution, *The Daily Bulletin* took a new, more direct tone with its readers, presumably emboldened by the new level of recognized authority for its’ white readership, and were quick to drop their calls for cooperation with the Hawaiian population. Instead, they featured two articles on the front page: one asking their readers to prepare for elections now that

[282] Castle, “Biennial Report 1894” 24
[283] Gibson, “Biennial Report 1886” 16-17
[284] Gibson, “Biennial Repot 1886” 16-17
[285] Gibson, “Biennial Report 1886” 24
[286] Stratton, *Education for Empire*, 99

the new constitution allowed the class of land-owning white settlers to participate as voters, and the other detailing the Hawaiians' urgent need for industrial education. The political relevance of industrial education to secure white authority on the islands by disrupting Native Hawaiian socialization and economic development was finally revealing itself. The newspaper explained that it was unreasonable to expect the current Hawaiian legislature to "possess the wisdom, statesmanship, and law-making capabilities" because they had just "emerged from inexperience and still reek[ed] with the habits of thought germane to the fish market and taro patch." The writer asked its voters to seek out "a body of honest, common-sense, practical men acquainted with the country's needs and capable of devising means to meet them."[287] Further, the newspaper asked its white readers to recognize that Hawaiians are not industrious and, therefore, all the more in need of industrial training. Though many men seek "the higher ideals" of working in a legal profession or other similar learned professions, they must learn that they "cannot successfully compete" with those who are already in those professions, namely, with white men. The author described Hawaiians as desperately requiring industrial education as a cure for their high hopes of competing with whites in learned professions.

By 1888, Bishop had resumed his role as the President of the BOE and replaced Gibson. The number of common schools continued to shrink, and were outnumbered by select schools and independent schools, which operated privately, and also provided instruction in English.[288] At the beginning of the decade, common schools had accounted for over 60 percent of the public schools in Hawai'i, and had rapidly decreased to almost fifteen percent.[289] The BOE predicted that common schools would eventually disappear, and likely become replaced by the growing

[287] Editor, "Prepare for the Elections," *The Daily Bulletin*, July 12, 1887, Vol. 11, No. 1684 edition, sec. 2.
[288] Charles R. Bishop, Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1888." (Honolulu, HI, 1888), 7
[289] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1888," 17

number of select schools.[290] An 1888 article entitled "The Subject of Technical School Is of Growing Importance," expressed that Lahainaluna was adding more technical education, alongside Kamehameha School on O'ahu, both schools populated by Hawaiians. At this time, Lahainaluna offered carpentry, shop work, and agriculture work.[291] The article addressed that other Hawaiian-populated schools needed to follow suit, because" the vast majority of [Hawaiian] men are and will continue to be mere wage earners"[292] The BOE reported that Lahainaluna was a manual training school, and stands "as a monument to the long-recognized desirability of this kind of school in our educational system." Its varying degrees of success were due to location and lack of facilities, rather than "from the standpoint of fallacy of the principle upon which it works.[293] Afterall, the BOE report explained, the "natural inclination to turn from the school room to the sunshine, flowers, and soil with healthier and freer impulses is far too important a factor toward the development equally of physical and moral with intellectual strength, to be ignored."[294]

Select schools, which also occasionally were termed Government English schools at this time, finally stopped collecting tuition in 1890, which resulted in an increase in the number of public school students who were able to attend the full forty weeks of compulsory school.[295] The BOE claimed that the common schools had neared extinction, and yet some common schools

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[290] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1888," 18
[291] Editor, "Maui Teachers' Association. Meet at Wailuku." *The Maui News*, December 6, 1902, Vol. 6, No. 17 edition, sec. 3
[292] Editor, "The Subject of Technical School Is of Growing Importance.," *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 9, 1888, Vol. 8., No. 116 edition, sec. 2
[293] Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1889 (Honolulu: Printed by the Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 6-7
[294] Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1889 (Honolulu: Printed by the Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 7
[295] Charles Bishop, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1900." (Honolulu, HI, 1890), 2-5

were kept open due to having a handful of pupils who stayed out of *aloha* for their teacher.[296] As common schools were rapidly being replaced by English-speaking select schools, the BOE made a big push to recruit teachers proficient in English, namely, white teachers from "overseas," who also would care to "take an interest in the morals and manners of their pupils," considering how few had parents to provide that instruction at home.[297] Maui's last standing common school closed in 1890. By 1894, all common schools in Hawai'i had been replaced by free English select schools.[298]

Great changes were also taking place politically in the early 1890's, as Kalākaua died while abroad in California in 1891, and his sister, Lili'uokalani ascended the throne soon after. Upon learning Queen Lili'uokalani plan to amend the Constitution of 1887 and restore executive power, a group of white business-owners, politicians and sugar planters overthrew her government in 1893 with the assistance of American diplomat to Hawai'i John Stevens, and declared themselves to be the provisional government of Hawai'i.[299] *The Hawaiian Gazette* mocked the resulting backlash from Hawaiians and explained how Hawaiian leadership lacked the "brain and character" to effectively revolt against the new provisional government.[300] This disruption by the white elite of Hawaiian sovereignty had taken them one step closer to making Hawai'i American.

As former Lahainaluna principal-turned editor of the local evangelical publication the *Friend,* Sereno E. Bishop explained, it was the "the fresh, active, brainy white race" who were

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[296] Bishop, "Biennial Report 1890" 23
[297] Charles Bishop, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1902." (Honolulu, Hi, 1892), 4
[298] William R. Castle, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1902." (Honolulu, Hi, 1894), 2
[299] Noenoe K Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 129
[300] Editor, "Supposing," *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 29, 1893, Vol. 28, No. 35 edition, sec. 4

the real Hawaiians, and Hawai‘i’s annexation would encourage more white people to come to the islands once they saw it is connected to the U.S.[301] The white elite were highly aware of the widespread resistance in the United States to annex Hawai‘i, credited in part to the racial make-up on the islands and longstanding concerns about such “barbarian societies.”[302] The U.S. objections to the Hawaiians’ moral and intellectual inferiority provided further justification for the white minority on the islands to pursue industrial education for nonwhite students. Their aim: to establish hierarchical authority over Hawaiians marginalizing them economically and politically so they could not pose a threat to annexation.

Concurrently, Lahainaluna’s students were no longer esteemed for academic accomplishments. Rather, the students were “no whit further advanced than many of those in the best of the Government English Schools.”[303] Lahainaluna’s new principal, Henry S. Townsend, was praised for being a “sound organizer and disciplinarian.”[304] The BOE suggested that Lahainaluna rename its buildings, which had once been designated for academics, and “collegiate names should be dropped” in order to adjust to the kind of institution it had become.[305] The BOE also suggested Lahainaluna should be made even more “of a station for agricultural training. [306] By 1902, students were working in the shops, and cultivating “a considerable quantity of taro.”[307] At this time, another industrial school for boys opened on Kaua‘i, called the Kaua‘i Industrial School. *The Hawaiian Gazette* reported that one of its teachers had long been associated with Samuel Chapman Armstrong’s Hampton school, where

[301] Ratnapalan, This Greater Issue of Light against Darkness, 3–24, 18; Schulz, *Hawaiian by Birth*, 116
[302] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai’i*, 21
[303] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1892,” 64
[304] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1892,” 64
[305] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1892,” 64
[306] Castle, “Biennial Report 1894,” 3
[307] Bishop, “Biennial Report 1892,” 65

she was a teacher and also vice-principal. Another industrial school, the Kohala Girls School, was urged to make manual training "take a more prominent place in the curriculum," and promptly increased its training in "cooking, sewing, laundry, and general housework" to "give Hawaiian girls such an education as would best fit them, not only to earn a living, but also to be of service to their race."[308]

Despite the BOE's push to include manual and industrial training in the select school curriculum, their first focus was to establish a "solid foundation in the English language" so that "upon this foundation a superstructure of sound education can now be erected."[309] It had become apparent to the BOE just how expensive it would be to convert all schools to include shop classes and provide the tools necessary for technical work, and yet they were committed to the "gradual development" of industrial education on the islands.[310] The 1901 Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association echoed this understanding by negatively comparing the select school system with the "superior" work being done among Hawaiian and immigrant children in Boarding Schools and Private mission schools "because of their religious value and because in them more emphasis can be put on industrial training than is possible in government schools."[311]

Private schools, which were heavily attended by white children, did offer some technical classes but industrial education was not the singular aim of the schools.[312] Punahou incorporated buildings for manual training and engineering but the curriculum at the school was to make "four years course equal in quality and quantity to the best secondary curricula of the States," and to

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[308] Hawaiian Evangelical Association, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association," 1900, 42, and Hawaiian Evangelical Association, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association," 1899, 34
[309] Castle, "Biennial Report 1894," 28
[310] Castle, "Biennial Report 1894," 31
[311] Hawaiian Evangelical Association, "Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association," 1901, 39
[312] Castle, "Biennial Report 1894," 24. The six schools were Fort Street School, Oahu College, Punahou Preparatory, St. Louis College, Convent of the Sacred Heart, and St. Andrew's Priory

provide courses that should "meet fairly and fully the local conditions peculiar to Hawaii" while providing academic enrichment "adequate for those students who wish to prepare for college work in the States."[313] Course descriptions for Punahou included an emphasis on free electives, music, and art. Sciences, English, Latin, French and German were also offered as well as Algebra, Normal classes, and a Business Department.[314] These offerings allowed Punahou to claim that it provided "the highest education obtainable on the islands."[315]

In an 1897 report by the Department of Instruction, the Minister of Public Instruction, Henry E. Cooper, wrote that Lahainaluna was in need of a new shop and dining room. Cooper recommended the BOE only furnish the materials necessary, as the students were "amply qualified" to carry out their own construction of the buildings.[316] Cooper requested Lahainaluna continue to increase its facilities to expand its manual training and to reevaluate how the school could generate more money that could in turn go back to the school.[317] In the same report, Cooper detailed an increase in the number of inmates attending the Reform School in Honolulu, who had become skilled in "harness making, cabinet work, making simple articles of tinware, and also in making their own clothing."[318] Cooper also used the report to suggest they broaden the usefulness of industrial education as a means to include disciplining more wayward children.

The education policies occurring during the annexation campaign and eventual annexation of the Hawaiian Islands in 1898 closely mirrored the same patterns used to conquer

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[313] Arthur Maxson Smith, "Progress of Punahou. Annual Report of Arthur Maxson Smith. The Work of the Year Reviewed.," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, July 15, 1901, Vol. 34., No. 5909 edition, sec. 14
[314] "History of Punahou | Punahou School," accessed April 10, 2022
[315] Bishop, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1902." (Honolulu, HI, 1902), 93
[316] Henry E. Cooper, "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1897." (Honolulu, HI: Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 6
[317] Cooper, "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction 1897" 9
[318] Cooper, "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction 1897" 10

and displace Native Americans.[319] Cooper's recommendations appear to model policies in the U.S. that removed Native American children from their families and made them wards of the government, thereby severing familial ties, and educating them with such extreme labor that it would later be deemed "a violation of child labor laws."[320] In 1902, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs described that to "educate the Indian is to prepare him for the abolishment of tribal relations, to take his land in severalty, and in the sweat of his brow and by the toil of his hands to carve out, as his white brother has done, a home for himself and family."[321] The same process seemed to have been underway in Hawai'i as well.

The 1898 annexation assured economic security for white planters and business owners, and as a result, had a tremendous effect on the relationship between the sugar cane labor industry and the expansion of industrial education. As the Inspector of Schools noted in his 1899 report:

> "a sort of antagonism has been felt to exist between education and industry. In a few cases, it had been seriously proposed that the schoolwork be curtailed, since education tended to make young men unwilling to enter upon the life and work of contract workers, thus bringing themselves down close to the level of imported coolies. But all of this has now changed. Annexation has happily given contract labor its death blow. Present indicators are that the cultivation of cane by independent small planters, under contract with the mill owners, is now to receive a great impetus. Many such owners have already entered into unusual numbers of such contracts, and still others will soon follow their examples. Here is an *opportunity* for our school agriculture. Agriculture labor, hitherto degraded in the eyes of the people by the fact that it was coolie labor, is rising toward its true dignity. [322]

The Inspector of schools concluded his report by noting the opportunity this provided schools to enter into contract with mills. Some of the cane would likely be grown on Department of Public Instruction land, he mused, and therefore, would be "well invested." Further, the report

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[319] Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i*, 21

[320] Jacobs, *White Mother to a Dark Race*, 59

[321] Bryan Newland, Assistant Secretary - Indian Affairs, "Federal Indian Boarding School Initiative Investigative Report" (Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, May 2022), 60

[322] "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaii for the Biennial Period Ending in 1899." (Honolulu: Printed by the Hawaiian Gazette Co.), 73

encouraged Hawai‘i’s public schools to “take a prominent part in the horticultural development of the country.”[323] In line with this growing emphasis in agricultural training at this time, HBS added a coffee bean drying house, after the school’s board of trustees entered into an agreement with the U.S. Government to establish a U.S. Agricultural Experiment Station on the grounds of the school.[324] HBS also initialized a work-scholarship program that absolved students of their monthly $25 boarding fee if they added an extra hour each day to work in the school’s fields. Because the vast majority of students at HBS were unable to pay the fee, the students’ participation in the work-scholarship program increased their labor to five hours per day.[325]

Conclusion

Annexation ushered in an era of school labor tied to the economic markets in Hawai‘i and racialized specifically for Hawaiian and Asian immigrant students. As the white architects of Hawai‘i’s schools explained, the transformation of the school system towards industrial and vocational purposes were essential because, “if these islands are to be made American in spirit it is the work of the schools to make them so. *Upon the schools Hawaii’s future depends*.”[326] A report from 1897 by Inspector General of Schools, Henry S. Townsend described Lahainaluna as “now in a more prosperous condition than for a long time” despite listing the many problematic issues at the school, including “the shops, dining hall, and dormitories all in ruinous condition.”[327] “Happily,” Townsend writes, “the days for arguments in favor of industrial

[323] “Report of the Minister of Public Instruction 1899,” 73
[324] Ralph C. Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 87
[325] Canevali, “Hilo Boarding School,” 88-89.
[326] “Report of the Minister of Public Instruction 1899,” 156
[327] Henry S. Townsend, “Report of General Inspector of Schools to the Minister of Public Instruction.” (Honolulu, HI. December 31, 1897.), 40-41

education in this country is past."[328] Townsend recommended all schools focus more on agricultural education, in large part, due to the islands' resources and plantation system.[329]

Lahainaluna's students were no longer praised for academic accomplishments as they were "no whit further advanced than many of those in the best of the Government English Schools."[330] Despite the continuous increase of industrial course offering and manual labor at the school, the school received regular recommendations to add *more* industrial curriculum. One newspaper strongly recommended "that the establishment be given a more agricultural and character than has heretofore obtained."[331] In noting the tone of the white elite at this time, it appears that they were not satisfied until Hawaiians were put into a subservient position in their homeland. During a 1904 territorial legislative meeting, white representatives poked fun at academic institutions that raised Hawaiian students' hopes to "make a living by their brains when they hadn't any brains" and fooled them into refusing work with a "mallet or a chisel," when, instead, schools should provide students with skills to "teach the students how to help themselves."[332]

Lahainaluna's reputation took a dip that stretched from 1890's into the 1900's, which caused the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Alatau Atkinson, to describe in his annual report to the governor in 1900 that Lahainaluna had become a "poor boys school" and "declining in producing smart students."[333] Atkinson described the student's school day:

> A bell calls the boys at 5:45 a.m., and another at 6 o'clock, is a signal for them to start work. This work is either agricultural or in the shops for most of the boys,

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[328] Henry S. Townsend, "Report of General Inspector of Schools 1897" 45
[329] Townsend, "Report of General Inspector of Schools 1897" 45
[330] Bishop, "Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education to The Legislative Assembly of 1902." (Honolulu, HI, 1902), 64
[331] Frank L. Hoogs, Editor, "Lahainaluna," *The Hawaiian Star Newspaper*, June 18, 1903,
[332] Arthur Johnstone, "The Legislature. 104th Day. Thursday, Oct. 16.," *Newspapers.Com*, October 17, 1890, Vol. 14, No 2686 edition.
[333] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor for The Year Ending December 31st 1900." (Hawaiian Gazette Co., LTD., 1901), p. 42

> though a few have other duties, as stewards, wagon boys, pig feeders, etc. At 7:30 this work is ended; at 8 breakfast is called; and at 8:30 classes begin. These continue until 12, three teachers hearing classes and one working in a shop. From 12:35 until 2:30 two teachers are conducting recitations, and two shop work. At 3 o'clock the boys return to work similar to that have the morning, and continue it until 5 o'clock. Half-past 5 is the supper hour, which the boys are at liberty until 6:45. From 6:45 until 8:15 they study together, a teacher being present each evening. At 9 o'clock a bell gives the signal for all boys to go to their rooms.[334]

Rather than returning the school to its original purpose of educating students to become top-tier professionals, Atkinson charged the school's leadership to again add *even more* industrial education classes in an effort to return the school to its "original prestige."[335]

By 1902, newspapers were deeming Lahainaluna as the school "leading the conversation in manual training" on the islands.[336] Under the headship of a new principal, D. Elmo Reavis, who was eager to add more industrial classes to the school, Atkinson described the school as "just starting out on a broader career of influence and usefulness."[337] Reavis drew up a plan to reconfigure the school as an Agricultural college, and requested consideration from the Legislature.[338] When C.A. MacDonald took over as principal in 1903, he took on Reavis' mission to receive $25,000 of annual subsidy from the U.S. Department of Agriculture to become an agricultural college. In order to make Lahainaluna competitive for the grant, MacDonald directed his students to plant forty patches of taro to increase food supply at the school, and conveniently, "save the Territory a considerable amount of money."[339] Ultimately, Lahainaluna's endowment required Lahainaluna to remain a religious school, which prevented it

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[334] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent," 87
[335] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent" 56
[336] Editor, "Maui Teachers' Association. Meet at Wailuku"
[337] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent" 42
[338] Editor, "Work for A College: Lahainaluna Out for Larger Field," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 19, 1903, Vol. 37, No. 6407 edition, sec. 8., Editor, "A College for Farmers: Jared Smith's Views on Lahainaluna Scheme," *Honolulu Advertiser (?) Sunday Advertiser*, February 22, 1903, Vol 1, No. 8 edition, sec. 3
[339] Editor, "Agricultural Industry at Lahainaluna Seminary," *Honolulu Advertiser*, February 26, 1905, Vol 3, No. 113 edition, sec. 6

from becoming an agricultural college site.[340] However, Lahainaluna's support from the Department of Public Instruction to move toward becoming an agricultural college provided momentum for Lahainaluna's extreme transformation to finally, and formally, become a Technical School.

By 1905, Lahainaluna was reconfigured to accommodate more students and classroom space to learn trades and agriculture.[341] Lahainaluna's aim had transformed to "develop character, and to teach the boys to work, and to love work."[342] Lahainaluna's old classrooms and dormitories were torn down and replaced with new ones to accommodate the 100 students. The school's name formally changed to Lahainaluna Technical School. The students helped to build barns and shops, as well as cottages for the teachers. Despite the student's hard work to plant taro the year prior, MacDonald determined that growing taro was less profitable than growing sugar cane, and began a contract with Pioneer Mill Company to raise sugar cane on twenty-one acres of school grounds. [343] By 1909, the school had profited $33,000 from the students' labor, all which went back to fund the school.[344] Within the next ten years, the school would go on to include fields for growing alfalfa, a pig pen, buildings to house 1,000 hens, fields to accommodate Holstein cows shipped from California, a printing shop, a carpentry shop, and a blacksmith shop, all with the aim to create work "adapted to the conditions in Hawai'i" to "fit the boys to earn a living."[345]

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[340] Editor, "Work for A College: Lahainaluna Out for Larger Field," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 19, 1903, Vol. 37, No. 6407 edition, sec. 8., Editor, "A College for Farmers: Jared Smith's Views on Lahainaluna Scheme," *Honolulu Advertiser (?) Sunday Advertiser*, February 22, 1903, Vol 1, No. 8 edition, sec. 3

[341] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"

[342] Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, "Fifty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society" (Honolulu, Hi: Paradise of the Pacific Print, 1908), p. 26

[343] Editor, "No Hope for Lahainaluna," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, March 4, 1903, sec. Vol. 37, No. 6418

[344] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"

[345] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"

CONCLUSION

As Lahainaluna gradually increased its industrial education curriculum and rebuilt the school facilities for shopwork, carpentry, and manual labor in the 1880's and 1890's, the school's once prestigious reputation changed to that of a "poor boys school" with a drastic decline in "producing smart students," according to the same white elite who proposed the changes and put them into effect.[346] The aim of their plan was clear: undermining Lahainaluna academic reputation would confirm that industrial education was necessary for Hawaiians who were of a "lower race" and could be redeemed with a limited academic education and more exposure to blue-collar work. Tellingly, the Superintendent of Public Instruction's remedy for restoring Lahainaluna's good name was to *increase* industrial education and prevent access to the "high branches" of academics that Lahainaluna students once benefitted from.[347]

Lahainaluna's transformation from an academic school that once provided a rigorous, albeit Western, education for Native Hawaiian students into a technical school in 1905 was an intentional effort by Hawai'i's elite white minority to undermine Native Hawaiian survivance in a new Americanized Hawai'i. Notably, it was the schools' academic reputation that hastened its change to an industrial school. The white elite were opportunistic in specifically selecting Lahainaluna to lead the charge, because the school, unlike ordinary common schools, had once prepared their students to become lawyers, teachers, and judges, among other top-tier professional careers. By the white elite redefining Lahainaluna's definition of successful students, Lahainaluna had the potential to influence more school leaders to follow its example and adopt industrial education as its curriculum. By 1905, the school was rebuilt and outfitted for

[346] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor for The Year Ending December 31ST 1900." (Hawaiian Gazette Co., LTD., 1901)
[347] Hawaii Department of Public Instruction, "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor for The Year Ending December 31ST 1900."

farming, shop-work, and raising sugar cane for the Pioneer Mill Company and student academic engagement was reduced to four hours a day. [348]

In many ways, Lahainaluna's decline parallels the political and economic rise of missionaries in Hawai'i. Many of the first generation of missionaries to Hawai'i relinquished their missionary positions within the first several years of coming to the islands and instead rooted themselves into Hawai'i's government, becoming advisors to the King, and taking on roles within the legislature that impacted the direction of Hawai'i's future. As missionaries, they had been given access to the King and members of the ali'i, which provided them higher status than the commoners. They also were recipients of the King's generous gifts of land, which sparked greater political investment of the future of Hawai'i and their own economic advancement and security as a foreigner and minority on the islands they had begun to see as their home. These former missionaries helped to draft the 1840 Constitution, which replaced the monarchy with a constitutional monarchy that introduced executive, judicial, and legislative branches of government. Missionary advisors also helped to draft the Māhele in 1848, the "single most critical dismemberment of Hawaiian society," according to J. Kamakawiwo'o Osorio, in which land once owned by the King and allocated by chiefs to commoners in the form of grants, was redistributed and able to be bought and sold as private property. [349] By the end of the Māhele, the maka'āinana only were able to secure less than 1 percent of the land, and the small population of about 2,000 westerners, with more funds available to spend and a familiarity with the fee-simple system that was alien to Native Hawaiian commoners, took control of most of the land. [350]

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[348] MacDonald, "Lahainaluna, Past and Present"
[349] Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 44
[350] Rowena Akana. Trustee at Large, Office of Hawaiian Affairs. "No more taking of Native Hawaiian Lands"

Within only a few decades of settlement, the white minority had stripped Hawaiians of their rightful land, reorganized the political and economic landscape, and had become overseers of Indigenous education. Therefore, their influence on expanding Industrial education in the latter half of the nineteenth century, aimed solely for Native Hawaiian and Asian students, represented an important part of their long-term project of political interference in governance and intrusion over land ownership that attempted to assert claim and authority over the islands and its inhabitants.[351] Their fresh status as enterprising proprietors gave them a focus on their economic prosperity in Hawai‘i and securing their livelihood by ensuring their authority in governmental matters. Their missionary roots as self-appointed spiritual authorities over Hawaiians who simultaneously championed a Protestant work ethic folded perfectly into a new project. Now they had become self-appointed educational authorities, proselytizing the benefits of the industrial education system for Hawaiians. Lahainaluna's celebrated transition to a technical school aligned with the continued effort by the white elite to keep education as a functional and static line dividing the upper-class white minority from the majority of working-class Native Hawaiians.

Hawai‘i's white elite were aware that industrial education was a tried and tested tool for eliminating survivance, as they were connected to critical figureheads in the movement, such as missionary descendant Samuel Armstrong, whose industrial school for newly freed enslaved Black people in Virginia was widely acclaimed among educational reformers as progressive and the way forward for its "civilizing" effects. Samuel Armstrong insisted industrial education was emancipatory in nature through its emphasis on students' holistic engagement with their "hand, head, and heart."[352] Schools, therefore, were viewed as *the* vehicle for civilizing Native

[351] Wolf, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" 388
[352] Haydn, *American Heroes on Mission Field,* 284

Hawaiians, and Armstrong's specific approach to teaching Native Hawaiians to work in lower-class positions, folded neatly into an elimination discourse obscured by colonizers' emphasis on moral virtue. Further, the white-elite's preoccupation with maintaining power over the Hawaiian people was rooted in a conviction that the highest form of civilization was a Christian society, and the "idea of life penetrating the whole social structure."[353] Therefore the white elite held to the belief that their Christian morals gave them the authority to shape Hawai'i into their conception of a flourishing society, and to reform Native Hawaiians to take on a new, submissive Westernized identity that deferred to white leadership. As Tom Coffman writes, the U.S. annexation of Hawai'i was a joint collaboration with third-generation missionaries including Lorrin Andrews Thurston, who colluded with American diplomat to Hawai'i John Stevens to depose Queen Lili'uokalani and pave the way for Hawai'i to join the U.S. empire. When Stevens heard of Queen Lili'uokalani's intention to redesign the constitution to return power and rule to Hawaiians, he notified Thurston that this was the "time they had been waiting for."[354] They held the conviction that replicating political, commercial, and capitalistic U.S. values was the only way forward for Hawai'i, and any opposition was preventing the moral fulfillment of a new Americanized Hawai'i. As the white elite endeavored to "ready" Hawaiian society for annexation, they modeled schools to reinforce a new society where Hawaiians were second-tier tradespeople, ceding positions of power and opportunities for earning to white settlers. The white elite recognized the key role their form of education would play in disrupting Native Hawaiian socialization and economic development by instructing them in skills specifically designed for lower-class jobs. These attempts at dominance by eliminating academic instruction and infusing

[353] Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 23
[354] Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawaii* (London: Duke University Press, 2016), 120

Native Hawaiian schools with industrial education were their attempts as white settler colonials at implementing various “logics of elimination” with the intention of undermining Indigenous claims to sovereignty.

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