

A running head appears at the top of each page of the paper. Note that while *Running* is capitalized, *head* is not. Additionally, the abbreviated version of the paper's title is in all capital letters. Times New Roman #12 is recommended for all APA format papers. Also note that this specific heading appears only on the first page. Check your word processor for directions on how to create a different first page heading.

Normally, the page number begins with 1, but since this is part of a larger document, it keeps the original document's pagination.

### Hawaii's Missionaries: Rescuers or Wreckers?

Lesha Myers, M.Ed.

Typically, the institutional affiliation would also appear in this section, but since I'm not writing this paper for an institution, I omit this information.

The footer information below would not appear in a research paper; however, since this paper is part of a larger book, the book's information appears in the footer.

### Hawaii's Missionaries: Rescuers or Wreckers?

Years ago, while vacationing on the lovely island of Hawaii, I took a helicopter tour to view the volcano, which at that time was spitting lava into the sea and was inaccessible by land. The tour guide was very informative and filled us in on lots of Hawaiian history, of which I was totally ignorant. He had no use for the missionaries, who came to the islands in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, he maintained that they destroyed the beautiful paradise that Hawaii used to be. I thought to myself, such a beautiful land—it is so sad that the missionaries ruined it. The next day we visited the first church built on the Big Island, and after the service, we stayed for a brief talk about the Hawaiian missionaries, about how they introduced Christianity to the island and the many blessings that followed. By then I was totally confused. Were the missionaries a force for good or evil in Hawaii's history? Did they destroy Hawaiian culture or better it? Which were they: rescuers or wreckers? The answer to this question took me on a journey through the past and a surprising conclusion.

The title in the running head appears ½ inch below the top margin of the paper, in the word processor's header field. The title of the paper appears at the top of the page in plain font.

This introduction won't be acceptable to many professors because it includes personal experience and replaces the thesis statement with a question. But since I chose to write to an audience that might have a prejudice against the missionaries, I have chosen to delay the revelation of my thesis. Be sure to check with your teacher before attempting an introduction like this. Remember, when in doubt, ask.

### Background

The Hawaiian missionary movement began at the urging of a young man named Henry Opukaha'ia. According to a biography first written to commemorate the return of his remains to the Big Island in 1993 (Cook, 2009), he left with a Captain Brintnall in 1809, visited Canton, and then continued on to New Haven, Connecticut. He learned to read and write, became a Christian, and by 1814, began a Hawaiian

APA lets you employ section headers. The first one after the title (a level 1 heading, which is bold and centered) helps your reader keep track of your thoughts. A background section frequently appears in history papers.

dictionary/spelling/grammar book as well as the work to translate the Bible into the Hawaiian language. In 1815, he finished his memoirs about his life in Hawaii and began a spiritual diary. By 1817, he studied at the Foreign Mission school to become equipped to return to the islands and share his new faith with others. Unfortunately, he died of typhus fever in February of 1818 before these dreams could be fulfilled. Cook (2009, para.15) says,

At Opuakaha'ia's funeral in Cornwall, the Rev.

Lyman Beecher, pastor of the Congregational Church in Litchfield, said of the Hawaiian Christian's life: "If the churches of New England, knowing the purpose of God concerning Obookiah [Opukaha'ia], had chartered a ship, and sent it to Owhyhee [Hawaii] on purpose to bring him to Christ, and fit him for Heaven, it would have been a cheap purchase of blessedness to man, and glory to God."

Sadly, Opukahi'ia could not fulfill his mission, but his story inspired others to take up the task. The Foreign Mission School published his memoirs and issued the challenge. An inspired group of American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) answered it, and the first Christian missionaries landed at Kailua-Kona in March of 1820.

The mission movement began with fourteen missionaries and their wives—two pastors, a doctor, two teachers, a printer, and a farmer. These were their marching orders:

Your mission is a mission of mercy, and your work is to be wholly a labor of love. [. . .]

You are to aim at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields and pleasant dwellings, and schools, and churches; of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization; of bringing, or preparing the means of bringing, thousands and millions of the present and succeeding generations to the mansions of eternal blessedness.

Parentetical citations for APA consist of the author's last name, date of publication, and page number, if applicable: (Name, Date, p. #). Since Chris Cook's work appears on a Web site, I've omitted the page number but included the paragraph number.

. . . But it is an arduous enterprise, a great and difficult work. To obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible with skill to read it; to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits; to introduce, and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society; above all, to convert them from their idolatries and superstitions and vices, to the living and redeeming God, . . . to effect all this must be the work of an invincible and indefectible spirit of benevolence. . . . (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 101-2)

If the quotation is more than 40 words, APA requires block quotations, with the left margin indented .5 inches. No quotation marks appear in the block unless they are in the original. Additionally, if ellipses appear in the original, distinguish them from your own by enclosing your own in brackets: [ ]. Note that for block quotations, the quotation's final punctuation mark appears before the citation.

Additionally, the missionaries “were reminded that it was ‘for no private end, for no earthly object’ that they were sent; it was ‘wholly for the good of others, and for the glory of God our Savior’” (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 101) and that “they were also required to ‘withhold themselves entirely from all interference and intermeddling with the political affairs and party concerns of the nation’” (Anderson, 1865, p. 232).

As I write, I also create my entries for the Reference page so that I can correctly format parenthetical citations. If I leave this to the end, I find it very frustrating to come back and hunt for the information.

Thus the first hearty souls paved the way for many to follow and continued during the years 1820 to 1854, after which the ABCFM declared Hawaii a Christian nation, changed its method of supporting the missionaries, and encouraged the missionaries to become Hawaiian citizens, own property, and become contributing (and voting) members of society. This paper will take a closer look at those thirty-four years

I don't like “road map” statements, including statements like “This paper will,” but in this case it seems necessary and fits. Statements like this should be used sparingly throughout the paper.

and the changes the missionaries introduced with an eye to determining whether they were beneficial or detrimental to the Hawaiian people.

### **Decrease of Population**

The Hawaiian missionaries are accused of depopulating Hawaii, and in point of fact, the population did drastically decrease in the years following the first contact with Europeans. Captain James Cook was the first non-Polynesian to visit the islands in 1778. Cook estimated the population at 400,000, an estimate that others have admitted

One way to think about writing a long paper is to think of it as consisting of smaller papers strung together with sectional introductions and conclusions. This section discusses one unfair charge against the missionaries with a mini-introduction and a mini-conclusion.

was probably too high (Anderson, 1865, p. 33). By 1823, just forty-five years later, the missionaries estimated that 130,000 to 150,000 natives lived on the islands (Ellis, 2004, p. 23). Additionally, William Ellis, a missionary from Tahiti who helped the ABCFM in the early years, noted many empty dwellings and overgrown fields that indicated a much larger population had existed on the island in the years before his tour of Hawaii, which occurred in 1823. Ellis blames this decrease on

frequent and desolating wars which marked the early part of Takehameaha's [Kamehameaha's] reign; the ravages of a pestilence brought in the first instance by foreign vessels, which has twice, during the above period, swept through the islands; the awful prevalence of infanticide; and the melancholy increase and destructive consequences of depravity and vice. (Ellis, 2004, p. 23)

After the initial fall between Cook's visit and the arrival of the missionaries, the population continued to decline and dropped to 85,000 by 1850 (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 338). However, most of the causes of the population decline cannot be attributed to the missionaries because these

causes were already in force before the missionaries arrived. If anything, the missionaries tried to halt this devastation rather than contributed to it.

## **Pestilence**

Captain Cook infected the islands with the first pestilence, venereal disease, almost immediately upon his arrival. Cook was the first recorded European to set foot on the islands, and perhaps the first outside visitor in hundreds of years. He had already visited other Polynesian islands during his last voyage as captain of the *Resolution* and had already contaminated them with the vile disease. When he reached Kauai and searched for water, he said he gave orders

Since APA allows me to create headings, I've chosen to use them to help the reader stay on track. This is a level 2 heading. To learn more about the variety and levels of section headings, visit the Purdue OWL.

“not to suffer more than one man to go with him (the officer) out of the boats,” and explains the motive to be “that I might do everything in my power to prevent the importation of a fatal disease into this island, which I knew some of our men now labored under, and which, unfortunately, had been already communicated by us to other islands in these seas. With the same view I

This quotation contains both Captain Cook's words and the author, Abraham Fornander's words. I distinguish between the two by placing quotation marks around Cook's words, just like the original quotation in Fornander's book.

ordered all female visitors to be excluded from the ships. . . . Many of them had come off in the canoes. They would as readily have favoured us with their company on board as the men; but I wished to prevent all connection which might, too probably, convey an irreparable injury to themselves, and, through their means, to the whole nation.”

(Fornander, 1880, p. 161)

Either the captain did not try hard enough to enforce his order or his men disobeyed him (and there is no record of punishment if they did). Tragically, this European lust did cause

“irreparable injury” and condemned the sexually promiscuous Hawaiian race to suffer and die from this deadly disease, for which there was no cure in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The islanders’ promiscuity was so prevalent, that just nine months later Cook saw evidence of the disease in Waimea Bay, O‘ahu, the next island in the Hawaiian chain. By the time the missionaries arrived, the disease had permeated the islands. Missionary efforts to halt the disease’s march included fights against prostitution, of which more will be discussed below.

The second major incident of pestilence occurred as a result of trade between the natives and foreigners, *haoles*, who frequently stopped at the islands in the years after Captain Cook’s visit. The whaling industry had not yet begun, but Hawaii was a natural stopping place for water and supplies, which the Hawaiians eagerly traded for iron, a substance totally lacking on the islands. Around 1803-04, one ship brought plague to Hawaii. Based on the descriptions of the disease, later scientists identified it as either Asiatic cholera (Anderson, 1865, p. 275) or bubonic plague (Malo, 1903, p. 322). It decimated the islands, from Kauai to Hawaii, striking down a majority of the population. David Malo (1903), an early Hawaiian historian, identifies at least two other virulent plagues that occurred before 1820 that also annihilated the people in various places, one that left 26 people alive and another that spared only 16 (p. 321-322). For a people who had no natural immunities to foreign diseases, these incidents are dreadful, but they cannot be blamed on the missionaries, since they occurred in the years before the missionaries arrived. In fact, during a later infestation of smallpox in 1854, the missionaries, some of whom were doctors, successfully strove to contain the outbreak to O‘ahu. Regrettably, many natives refused vaccinations, preferring to rely on medical kahuna and native remedies that did not work, and the disease took

APA requires three pieces of information for each citation: Author, date, page. Since I’ve provided the author’s name in the introduction to the quotation, David Malo, followed by the date of his publication, (1903), I only need add the page numbers (p. 321-322) at the end of the citation.

the lives of at least 2,500 Hawaiians (Daws, 1968, p. 140). However, it did not escape to the other islands, and many lives were saved through the use of Western medicine.

### **Wars**

Before King Kamehameha I forcibly conquered all of the islands in 1796, Hawaii was plagued with war after war. The people even had a god who was thought to oversee all war activities, named Kukailimoku, or sometimes called Ku. One chief, *ali'i*, would fight another for control over land and people, and a large island like Hawaii could have multiple chiefs, all warring with one another. The Hawaiian form of government was semi-feudalistic, which meant that the chief with the most land had access to the most labor and consequently, wealth. Daws (1968) says about King Kamehameha I, “Hundreds, even thousands of men had been killed in battle at his orders” (p. 44). Typically, the conqueror would kill the vanquished warriors. In the Nuuanu Valley on O‘ahu, Kamehameha routed the O‘ahu *ali'i* Kalanikupule by dispatching thousands of his trapped warriors over the 1,200-foot Nuuanu Pali. (See Figure 1.) In 1897 when the Old Pali Road was built, “workers found an estimated 800 human skulls and other human bones at the foot of the cliffs,” no doubt the remains of Kalanikupule’s warriors (Sterling, 1978, p. 226).

If Hawaiians had warred with each other for years before Captain Cook’s visit and the drastic decrease in population, why would wars contribute to such a steep decline, especially since they were so common? The answer lies partly in the magnitude of the war—King Kamehameha I was the only king to rule over all of the islands, although he did not technically conquer Kauai, which seceded its territory to him. He managed this feat partly because of the new and more efficient weapons made available to him from Western traders. As Daws (1968) notes, prior to obtaining Western weapons, “war had natural limits dictated by primitive weapons

and an economy that could not survive prolonged turmoil” (p. 32). When the “primitive weapons” were replaced (see Figure 2), undoubtedly killing became more efficient, and more Hawaiians lost their lives to satisfy their ali‘i’s desire for power.

### **Infanticide**

Prior to the advent of the missionaries, infanticide was widely practiced among the Hawaiians. Children, up to the time they began to walk and even beyond, could be killed by their parents with complete impunity. Ellis (2004) estimates that two-thirds of the children born in the islands were murdered so that the family size of commoners rarely expanded beyond two or three children. (The ali‘i did not practice infanticide.) Dr. Titus Munson Coan, son of missionary Titus Coan, said, “Throughout Polynesia the struggle for life was evaded by restricting the natural increase of population. By this restriction the population was kept down to the means of comfortable subsistence; there was food enough for all; the community lived under no economic stress; [ . . . ]” (Coan, 1901, p. 14). Although infanticide might have made life better for the many, it came at an extremely high cost for the few.

Since infanticide was practiced for years before Captain Cook’s arrival, it probably did not contribute to the drastic decrease in population after his visit; however, missionary efforts were highly effective in halting this travesty. Writing in 1825, Ellis (2004) states, “The check, however, which infanticide has received from the humane and enlightened policy of the chiefs, is encouraging (p. 331). He also hoped that through missionary efforts, even if

the total abolition of this cruel practice (though amongst the least of its benevolent objects) be the only advantage which the establishment of a Christian Mission in these distant islands shall confer on their inhabitants, yet, in rescuing every year, through all the succeeding generations of this reviving nation, multitudes from a premature death, the

liberal assistance of its friends and the labours of its several members will be most amply rewarded. (p. 331)

Ellis's hope was realized, and although missionary efforts contributed many benefits to the Hawaiians, the reduction and eventual cessation of human infanticide was by no means the least.

### **Promiscuity**

Sexual promiscuity was ubiquitous in old Hawaii. Titus M. Coan (son of the missionary Titus Coan) says (1918), "Of what we know as sex-morality [the Hawaiian] had not the least conception, nor would he have counted that morality as necessary or desirable. There was the utmost freedom of sex relations; these began at puberty . . ." (p. 1). Indeed, many missionaries, afraid their children would be enticed or forced into premarital relations, prohibited their children from interacting with the natives without adult supervision. With such a lax view of morality, Hawaiian women thought nothing of swimming out to visiting ships and exchanging their wares for the sailors' money. In fact, Daws (1968) records,

In a flush season at least twelve thousand seamen would take liberty at Honolulu alone, leaving \$120,000 [about \$3.1 million today] in the town. Most of this money passed through the hands of prostitutes. Thus native women at Honolulu could put into the hands of merchants something like \$100,000 a season (a sum equal to the annual revenue of the government during the forties). (p. 167)

This stimulus to the economy did not come without its cost though, frequently at the expense of women. John Cook, a long-time resident of the islands in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in his *Reminiscences of John Cook* reports,

I've seen as many as 1,000 sailors ashore at Lahaina [Maui] at one time, and it may well be believed that the place was anything but "The Paradise of the Pacific." It was then

more correctly termed “The Brothel of the Pacific.” In the season when the whaling fleet, returned from the north to recruit, I have seen schooner after schooner arriving from Hawaii, packed full with women—young and middle-aged—who had come, either on their own account, or who had been brought by their parents, in order to make money by selling themselves to the sailors. The same thing happened at Honolulu, where the women would flock from Kauai for the same purpose. Later on, when living at Kauai, I several times tried to dissuade women from getting aboard the island schooners, and pointed out to them the sad results which would follow. Many’s the time one would see a fine healthy, strapping young girl, with fresh, clear complexion, leave Kauai and return in six months or so with her face all blotched and sodden, an utter physical wreck, who would help to further spread disease like wildfire through the countryside. (p. 6)

With the spread of Christianity, some of the chiefs tried to stop this trade, but because of the “violent reaction which it caused among the foreign sailors” (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 122) the results were mixed. Even though the chiefs created the laws,

The rage of the sailors [. . .] was directed not so much against the native authorities as it was against the missionaries, and particularly against Rev. William Richards at Lahaina and Rev. Hiram Bingham at Honolulu. Riots and armed demonstrations occurred several times during the years 1825, 1826, and 1827; and the chiefs felt it necessary to relax somewhat the strict enforcement of the law. (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 123)

Even against threats of violence, the missionaries worked hard to save and better the lives of the Hawaiians, especially in the area of morality.

Although the missionaries have been accused of devastating the population of Hawaii, they had little to do with its decline and fought for the rights and health of the Hawaiians. They

did not introduce disease to the islands like Captain Cook and the traders did; they did not promote war, since islands were at peace when they arrived, and they upheld the peace process; they condemned infanticide and promiscuity; and they worked to cure disease and improve sanitation. A doctor, Thomas Holman, arrived with the first group of missionaries, and several followed him to teach and treat the native Hawaiians. It is distressing that although the steep decline in the Hawaiian population began before the missionaries set foot on the islands in 1820, it continued during the missionary period (1820-1854). However, the fault cannot be laid at the missionaries' feet because the causes for the decline were already in effect. The missionaries did everything they could to stop the decline and protect and further the welfare of the people.

I could end my paper here if I were only writing about the relationship of missionary activities to the decline of Hawaii's population. Since my subject is more complex and encompasses other topics, I will continue to add additional sections.

### The Kapu System

Another accusation against the missionaries is that they destroyed Hawaii's culture. To examine whether this charge is justified, it is important to understand what the culture looked like before Captain Cook's arrival.

I really wanted to use a contraction in this sentence, *it's important*, but just in time I remembered that contractions are not allowed in formal papers. Additionally, the first line of this section reminds the reader of the paper's thesis, or in this case, its question.

The Hawaiians governed themselves according to a strict and rigid kapu (sometimes called tapu, tabu, or taboo) system. Society consisted of three classes of people: the ali'i or chiefs, who ruled; the kahuna or priests, who oversaw spiritual matters; and the Makaainana or commoners, who lived under the control of the ali'i and kahuna. The Hawaiians worshipped three main gods, Kāne, Lono, and Ku, along with a host of other minor deities (the most well known being Pele, goddess of the volcano) and family guardians. Additionally, the religion was animistic, and the Hawaiians believed that nature was god-like.

Ways to worship the three main gods and the host of minor deities were strictly enforced with a series of rules or kapus. The penalty for breaking a kapu was frequently death. Daniel Kikawa explains the position of the ali'i, or chiefs, as follows:

The ali'i convinced the common people that they had inherited divine power (mana) and were divinely chosen by the gods to rule. The kapu system was structured around the concept of protecting the mana. Complex kapus (laws) had to be kept to keep the mana intact and maintain its balance in nature for the land to be fruitful. Every aspect of Hawaiian life was controlled by strict requirements to maintain the balance and harmony of the mana. While there were many laws that encouraged the wise use of resources, and so forth, the social/political aspects of the kapu system provided an open door for abuse. Although ali'i usually kept the kapus, they did this because the belief in mana and the kapus was what kept them in power. High ali'i were never put to death for breaking kapus, although commoners were sometimes sacrificed to correct the "*imbalance in the mana*" caused by an ali'i's sin. (1994, p. 145)

Although the kapus restricted the freedom of all, the burden of keeping them fell most strongly on the commoners, especially the women. There was no such thing as private property for commoners. Everything was owned by the ali'i, who could direct the commoners to give up any possession or to perform any labor they desired. Additionally, there were harsh restrictions on eating—the kapus prohibited women from eating pork, shark, bananas, and coconuts. Men and women could not eat together, their food had to be prepared at separate fires, and if the shadow of an ali'i fell on a commoner, the commoner would be killed. Otto von Kotzebue, an agent of the Russian-America Company, visited Honolulu in 1816. As he entered the harbor, he saw a dead woman's body floating in the water. She had been killed because she violated an

eating kapu (Daws, 1968, p. 58). Other foreigners reported not infrequent deaths to kapu breakers, many of them women.

Human sacrifice was also a big part of the kapu system, performed at some heiaus, temples. Fornander dates these sacrifices to the period following the last major migration from Polynesia, probably sometime near 1200, saying, “Subsequent to this period the inhuman practice becomes progressively increasing, until in the latter days of paganism hardly any public affair was transacted without the inevitable preamble of one or more human victims” (Fornander, 1880, p. 61). While kapu breakers could be sacrificed to the gods, war brought even more occasions for this inhumanity. Before Kamehameha’s rise to power, the most powerful ali‘i on the islands was Kahekili on Maui. Daws states he was “one of the last of the older generation of chiefs, raised in the tradition of warriors who roasted their enemies and ‘used the skulls of the dead for filth pots.’” (Daws, 1968, p. 30). Further, Kahekili

Here’s a good example of slipping in a tone word: *inhumanity*. Some teachers would call me on this and suggest a more neutral word, like *sacrifice* or *action*. But really, human sacrifice is inhumane, and the word echoes the sentiment, “inhuman practice” in Fornander’s quotation. I’d stand my ground.

added to his strength when he took the island of Oahu from his own foster-son, killed him and sacrificed him to his war god, tortured most of the Oahu chiefs to death, and left their skeletons to be built into the walls and doorways of a gruesome house of bones [heiau].

(Daws, 1968, p. 31)

Heiaus, built to worship the Hawaiian idols, were common before the advent of Captain Cook, although human sacrifices were not performed at all of them. William Ellis, traveling around the Big Island in 1823, counted 19 heiaus between Kailua and Keahou, a distance of eight miles (2004, p. 104).

According to APA style guidelines, numbers under 10 are written out (eight) while those 10 and over are expressed numerically (19). In MLA you spell out numbers under 100.

Kamehameha I had one of these heiaus constructed to contain his war god—a carved wooden image—and 11 men were sacrificed at its dedication (2004, p. 82). (See Figure 3.)

The arrival of *haoles*, foreigners, greatly weakened the kapu system because they broke the kapus with complete immunity. Additionally, they could also find commoners who would break the kapus on their behalf and suffer no harm. After the death of Kamehameha, who had prohibited the sacrifices and saturnalia that usually followed the death of a chief, his son Liholiho (Kamehameha II) took over from his father. However, Liholiho was not cut from the same cloth as his father, and Kamehameha's favorite wife (among 21 other wives) Kaahumanu claimed joint rule, addressing Liholiho as follows: "'O heavenly one! . . . Here are the chiefs, here are the people of your ancestors, here are your guns; here are your lands. But we two shall share the rule over the land'" (Daws, 1968, p. 55). Shortly after this, Kaahumanu convinced Liholiho, with the complete support of Hewahewa, the highest kahuna in Hawaii, to overthrow the kapu system by eating with her and the other women. This he did in 1819, and after hundreds of years, the Hawaiians were finally free from the tyranny of the kapus. The idols were burned throughout the islands, and the heiaus were torn down. The time of worshipping wooden idols, sacrificing humans to gods of wood, and oppressing commoners, especially women, had finally come to an end.

If this is the culture the missionaries are accused of destroying, they are completely innocent, since the overthrow of the kapus happened almost a year before the missionaries landed on the shores of Kailua. Additionally, it occurred through the agency of the Hawaiians themselves, notably Liholiho and Kaahumanu. In fact, it was into this religious void that the missionaries stepped with their Christian message, an event all attributed to the providence of God.

Even though the formal kapu system was overthrown, it took more time for it to become common. Kuykendall says,

It is true that the revolution was not complete. There were a large number who refused to cast aside their old practices; and many idols, instead of being burned, were merely hidden from sight. Even among those who outwardly conformed to the new order were many who secretly clung to their idols; the old gods of Hawaii had their devotees for a long time after 1819. (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 68-69)

Additionally, even though the ali'i were no longer keepers of the mana, or power of the gods, they still held power over the commoners. Kuykendall continues: "Finally, it may be remarked that while the revolution did certainly weaken very greatly the power of the priests, it did not altogether destroy their power; and the power of the chiefs was scarcely touched" (1968, p. 69-70). The missionaries helped to continue the revolution that the Hawaiians began. During the time of their ministry on the islands, they worked to free the people completely from the bondage and cruelty of idolatry, the oppression of the kahuna, or priests, and the arbitrary power of the ali'i, or chiefs. They did not destroy the Hawaiian culture, but once idolatry was overcome, they worked hard to make sure it stayed that way.

Research papers are all about the research and offer few places for the writer's voice to show. Conclusions are one place, and in the conclusion to this section, my passion peeks through the objective tone of the paper as I return to my thesis question and laud the missionaries' efforts on behalf of the Hawaiian people.

### **Christianity**

The American missionaries brought the message of Christianity to the islands in 1820 at the behest of Opukahi'ia, who sadly died of typhus fever before he could return, and three of his Christian friends, who accompanied the first missionaries in 1820. They came at a propitious time because just five months previous, the kapus were broken, which created a religious void in

the islands. The missionaries have been accused of shoving Christianity down the throats of the natives, but this charge is entirely untrue. If anything, the missionaries were overly cautious.

They did not allow the first Christian convert, Keopuolani, one of Kamehameha's wives and the highest ranking ali'i on the islands, to become a church member until 1823, three years after their arrival. Keopuolani, who was dying at the time, was an exception, and even though others had asked to become church members, the missionaries continued to exercise caution. In some ways the charge that they forcibly converted the natives is ironic because their parent mission, the American Board Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) urged them to move more swiftly in accepting Hawaiian Christians into the church.

One reason for the missionaries' caution stemmed from their concern over whether the Hawaiians' conversions were true. In an 1831 letter from one missionary (Levi Chamberlain) to another (Samuel Ruggles), Chamberlain explains,

The attention to religion here continues, and the pressing to get into the church is very great; and if an entrance into the visible church was the guaranty of salvation, we should do wrong to hold the people back. But we find so little of that deep feeling of sinfulness and unworthiness, which a correct knowledge of the human heart and a clear discovery of the character of God always produces, that we feel justified in putting off most of the applications for admittance to the church. (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 114)

In the first 17 years of the missionaries' work, only 1,300 people were admitted to the church because the missionaries exerted extreme watchfulness to make sure these conversions were true and that the people were not just following the crowd or the leading of their ali'i's.

### The Christian Life

Another reason why the charge that the missionaries used force to convert the Hawaiians is untrue is that it completely negates the agency of the Hawaiians—the free choices that they made to become Christians. Christianity is a religion that acknowledges free will. It first asks people to recognize that they are sinners, that they cannot obey God's laws through their own efforts. Romans 3:23 in the Bible states that *all* people have sinned. Sin includes transgressions are major (murder) or minor (lying or gossiping). Second, Christianity asks people to believe that Jesus Christ is God, the Messiah, the Sinless One. Since the wages of sin is eternal death, He substituted His sinless life for Christians' sinful ones. Acting as a substitute, He took upon Himself the full wrath of God for all the sin in all the world and died in Christians' place. Because He is the Son of God, He ransomed Christians' souls. Third, Christianity asks people to surrender their lives to God, to let go of their own wants and desires and to live the way God directs as outlined in the Bible, a book Christians believe is the inspired word of God. To be called a Christian, people must admit their sinfulness, believe in Jesus Christ, and surrender to God's will. When people do this, they exhibit what the Bible calls *fruit*—changes in heart, will, and actions.

This fruit is what the Hawaiian missionaries looked for. They believed that although the Hawaiians could say they were sinners and say they believed in Christ, until they showed true evidence of their conversions in their lives and in their actions, they could not become church members. In this way, the Hawaiians could not be forced to become Christians. Although people could be forced say some words, in a free society, which Hawaii was after the formal overthrow of the kapus, their actions could not be

This explanation of what Christianity is and how a person becomes a Christian is necessary because I've assumed that my audience is either unfamiliar with or hostile to Christianity. If I assumed my audience was Christian, this section would not be necessary.

forced. Those who evidenced true repentance were invited into the visible church, while those members who might or might not have been truly converted had to wait until the missionaries were convinced by the fruit in their lives.

Additionally, Christianity is all about respect for the individual and for authority. When the missionaries arrived at Kailua-Kona on March 30, 1820, the first thing they did was seek permission from Liholiho to live in Hawaii. This permission was not granted, and so the missionaries next asked permission to stay for a year, which was granted with the expectation that Liholiho would evaluate events after that year and decide whether or not the missionaries could stay permanently. If the missionaries had not received permission, they would not have stayed in the islands. The missionaries were very much against the idea of using force to bend the free will of the Hawaiians.

### **Kaahumanu's Conversion**

Although it is tempting to tell many of the engaging stories of how the Hawaiians, of their own free will, embraced Christianity, two will be sufficient, one to represent the ali'i, Kaahumanu, and one to represent the kahuna, the high priest of the volcano.

Before her conversion, Kaahumanu, one of Kamehameha's wives who was also Liholiho's co-ruler, was the antithesis of Christianity. Daws paints a character sketch of her:

From the time of her marriage to Kamehameha, Kaahumanu had been almost ungovernable. She ran away from her husband several times, she argued with him constantly and tempestuously, and even after Kamehameha put a kapu on her body she slept with other chiefs, one of whom, a nephew of Kamehameha, paid for this transgression with his life. She was a close observer of the white man's ways and a great drinker of his liquor, and for her as for other Hawaiians liquor was a solvent of guilt. As

early as 1810 she was known to be breaking the kapu on the eating of pork and shark's meat by women, even though discovery might put her life in jeopardy. Fairly clearly she had come to the conclusion by then that she need not fear the retribution of the gods, but only the penalties exacted by male chiefs on behalf of the gods, and these at last she was prepared to challenge altogether. (Daws, 1968, p. 56)

Compare the above sketch to the one drawn at the end of her life by Kuykendall:

In her later years, her most striking characteristic was religious zeal; she was the firm friend and protector of the Protestant missionaries and exerted herself to the time of her last illness in spreading the Christian gospel. Henry A. Pierce, who was very critical of the Protestant missionaries and many of the acts of the native rulers, wrote of Kaahumanu just after her death: "She died a *Christian*. It has always heretofore been my opinion that her adherence and adoption of the Christian religion was from policy . . . but I have lately been convinced from the piety she displayed during her sickness and at the hour of her death that she really believed in and practiced the principles of the Christian religion." (1968, p. 133)

### **High Priest of the Volcano**

The missionary Titus Coan, who led the greatest revival on the islands in 1837 - 1840 (called the Great Awakening), shares how the high priest of the volcano and his sister left their idolatry and embraced Christ:

Among these converts [in Puna on the Big Island] was the High Priest of the volcano. He was more than six feet high and of lofty bearing. He had been an idolater, a drunkard, an adulterer, a robber, and a murderer. For their *kapas*, for a pig or fowl he had killed men

on the road whenever they hesitated to yield to his demands. But he became penitent, and appeared honest and earnest in seeking the Lord.

His sister was more haughty and stubborn. She was high priestess of the volcano. She, too, was tall and majestic in her bearing. For a long time she refused to bow to the claims of the Gospel; but at length she yielded, confessed herself a sinner and under the authority of a higher Power [Christ], and with her brother became a docile member of the church. (Coan, 1882, p. 44)

### Christian Converts

Christianity found fertile soil in the hearts and minds of the Hawaiians. The following table shows the number of Hawaiians who cheerfully and freely became church members during the missionary era (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 336).

Year	Population	Church Members
1836	108,000 census	
1840	101,000 est.	18%
1844	94,000 est.	23%
1850	85,000 census	25%
1853	73,000 census.	30%

These numbers may be a little low. If all of the people who professed Christianity, including non-church members were included in the above figures, by 1853 two-thirds of the total population (57,000 out of 85,000) professed Christianity (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 336). It is no wonder that by 1854, the ABCFM considered Hawaii a Christian nation (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 341).

The charges that the missionaries coerced or forced the Hawaiians to become Christians are entirely without merit. Not only would this type of coercion completely contradict the teachings of Christianity, it negates the free will and agency of the Hawaiians,

I was about to end this section with the above paragraph, and then I remembered that a long research paper is made up of smaller sections, each resembling a mini research essay. I needed a conclusion that returned by my thesis question.

treating them as some kind of robotic automans who were compelled to respond to a specific stimuli. It also does not take into account the missionaries' extreme caution in examining the Hawaiians' fruit—actions and attitudes—for some period of time before granting them church membership. Finally, it treats the thousands and thousands of conversions, perhaps two-thirds of the population by 1854, as shams and pretenses. No, the conversions were true, and the Hawaiians willingly dedicated their lives to the Almighty Christian God.

### **Missionary Work**

So far we have discussed and dismissed several complaints against the missionaries, namely that their actions depleted the population, destroyed the culture, and forced Christianity on the natives. If these are the things they did not do, then what did they do? What benefits, if any, did they bring to the Hawaiians? The first benefit has just been discussed: Christianity, the redemption of their souls through the free gift of Jesus Christ. This, however, is not the only one. The missionaries also created an alphabet and written language, furthered education, and influenced the creation of just laws.

When writing a long research paper, it's a good idea to stop and recap or review once and a while, such as I do here at the beginning of this new section. Not only does this remind readers of the essay's points, it keeps them focused on the thesis, or in this case, the research question.

### **Written Language**

One of the most beneficial of the gifts given to Hawaiians was also one of the easiest. Very early in their ministry by 1826, the missionaries finalized the Hawaiian alphabet. It consists of five vowels (*a, e, i, o, u*), seven consonants (*h, k, l, m, n, p, w*), a glottal stop ( ' ) which is essentially a very quick breath, and several diphthongs (the major four being *au* pronounced *ow*, *ae* and *ai* pronounced *eye*, and *ei* pronounced *ay*). Every letter has one sound, and most correspond to their English counterparts, with the exception of *w*, which is pronounced as a *v*.

Every syllable ends in a vowel, and when two vowels appear together (as in Kaahumanu) the vowel is pronounced twice.

Once the missionaries learned the Hawaiian language and reduced it to an alphabet, they proceeded to translate the Bible into Hawaiian, expanding on the efforts of others, including Opuakaha'ia, the inspiration for the original missionary enterprise. Elisha Loomis, the printer who accompanied the first missionaries, printed the books of the Bible as they were translated, as well as a Hawaiian grammar and speller. As the years progressed, more and more Hawaiian lore, including poetry, chants, and genealogical records, were transcribed and permanently recorded. On a visit to the islands in 1860, Richard Henry Dana states,

Besides having given, as I have said, to the native language an alphabet, grammar, dictionary, and literature, [the missionaries] have done nearly all that has been done to preserve the national traditions, legends, and poetry. But for the missionaries, it is my firm belief that the Hawaiian would never have been a written language; there would have been few or no trustworthy early records, historical or scientific; the traditions would have perished; the native government would have been overborne by foreign influences, and the interesting, intelligent, gentle native race would have sunk into insignificance, and perhaps into servitude to the dominant whites. (Anderson, 1885, p. 101-102)

Until about 1854, all instruction in the schools that the missionaries established was conducted in Hawaiian because, as one of the missionary wives said, ““It was a maxim with the Mission that in order to preserve the nation, they must preserve its speech”” (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 360). This view changed by 1860

Because APA requires block format for all quotations over 40 words, and because I didn't want to count the words in this quotation, I highlighted the section, found the Word Count command on my word processor, and discovered it was 54 words.

after Dr. Rufus Anderson, foreign secretary of the ABCFM, toured the islands. He said,

On my tour around the Islands, I have found parents everywhere, even on the remote island of Niihau, most anxious to have their children taught the English language; and the reason they generally gave was a most sound and intelligent one, that without it—*they will, by-and-by be nothing, and the white man everything.* (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 361)

Later still, when the Hawaiian language was in danger of being lost, this policy was again reversed, and the language enjoyed a resurgence, mostly due to the missionaries' efforts in preserving it in written form.

### **Education**

After they developed a written language, the missionaries' next step was to teach the people to read and write, which because of the simplicity of the language was surprisingly easy. One of the early teachers said,

The schools were composed entirely of adults, chiefs and people, men and women. Many who had passed the middle age of life were proud to stand up in classes, and read their *palapalas*. The masses read, and continued to learn to read, as fast as the missionaries could get books for them. The first book was a small Spelling-book; then followed Thoughts of The Chiefs. The chiefs had not only learned to read, but to write their own thoughts. The Sermon on the Mount followed; then the History of Joseph; then a Sequel to the Spelling-book, a small Arithmetic, etc. (Anderson, 1865, p. 263)

When a Hawaiian learned to read and write, he or she could easily set up a school of his or her own, and so basic literacy swept the islands.

Once basic literacy was established, the missionaries turned their attention to educating children, and through combining forces with the ali'i, schools were established all over the

islands. By 1847, 624 Catholic and Protestant schools existed on the islands, educating almost 20,000 students (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 357). In addition to reading and writing, students were taught arithmetic, algebra, surveying, geography, as well as religious and moral instruction. As the need for more teachers arose, Lahianaluna, a school for male teachers, was established in 1831 on Maui and one for female teachers at Wailuku. Both ali'i and commoners attended these schools.

### **Just Laws**

The original Hawaiian culture under the kapu system gave all rights to the ali'i and no rights at all to the commoners. After the missionaries taught the ali'i what God requires of rulers in seeking the best for their subjects, the ali'i developed many new laws to govern their nation.

Daws gives a comprehensive summary of these laws:

In 1839 the king [Kauileaouli, Kamehameha III] announced a national policy of religious toleration and followed it with a declaration of rights for his subjects. In 1840 the government took over the management of the elementary schools. Late in the same year a constitution for the kingdom was drawn up, embodying the principle of representative government, and a national legislature began to meet. Between 1845 and 1847 organic acts were passed, consolidating the existence of a cabinet, a civil service, and an independent judiciary. By the end of the decade the traditional land system, under which tenure was granted at the pleasure of the chiefs who controlled the land, had been superseded by an arrangement that permitted Hawaiian commoners and foreigners alike to buy and sell land. In 1852 a new constitution was framed, giving every adult male subject of the king, native born or naturalized, the right to vote in the election of representatives to the lower house of the national legislature. (Daws, 1968, p. 107)

Other than giving the ali'i general counsel, the missionaries did not play an active part in drawing up any laws because their mission statement required them to “withhold themselves entirely from all interference and intermeddling with the political affairs and party concerns of the nation” (Anderson, 1865, p. 232). After great consideration, the missionaries limited themselves to teaching the ali'i the general principles of just laws found in the Bible.

One example of a missionary drawing the line between general principles and active participation is contained in a letter from Dr. Dwight Baldwin at Lahaina on Maui to fellow missionary William Richards in 1845:

. . . there has been a meeting here & is to be another today to draw up a petition to the National Council. I know not what was done at the meeting—nor what is to be done today—but I am told the object is to bring about “*no haole* [foreign] *rulers*. The natives requested me to appoint the meeting—but I excused myself, saying it was a political meeting, very proper for them to engage in—but our work was more exclusively with the Gospel. (Kuykendall, 1968, p. 258)

The missionaries were very careful to draw the line between advice and activity, but at the same time, they worked to establish rights for all Hawaiians.

The Hawaiians appreciated these rights. Governor Kekuanaoa, writing in June 1841, said:

I will mention some things which I saw in the reign of Kamehameha I. There were three laws: the first, *Papa*; the second, *Waioahukini*; the third, *Mamalaho*. The design of all these laws was the same, which was to deliver all criminals from the operations of justice, by appealing to the favor of the high chiefs. Whoever was protected by these laws might commit what offence he chose, yet he escaped all harm by the favor of the chiefs. We did not at that time see offenders tried by the judges, before witnesses,

as we now do. Such a thought was unknown to us. Everything depended on the will of the chief. . . .

It was common, also, for the chiefs to seize such property as they coveted, without giving anything in return for it. They took food, pigs, and this thing, and that thing as they pleased. But in this respect there has been a wonderful change for the better. Property is now secured to all by the laws of the kingdom. We chiefs do not dare now to take property which is not our own. Some chiefs have done so, and they have been called to account. Taxes are now fixed and regular, and we have many good laws, like enlightened countries. (Anderson, 1885, p. 74)

When considering the 40 year period between 1814, when the kapus were still in effect, to 1854, when the missionary system underwent drastic changes, it is amazing how much the culture changed and how many rights and privileges both the ali'i and the commoners obtained. From idol worship to religious toleration, from no property rights to the ability to buy and sell land, from a nation considered barbarous to one that rightfully took its place on the national stage, the transformation is remarkable. The missionaries, by creating an alphabet, educating the Hawaiians, and sharing God's plan for just laws played an important, and beneficial, part of this transformation.

### **Testimonies**

It is all well and good to examine the missionaries' activities from the viewpoint of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, relying on primary and secondary historical documents, and to determine that they were a force for good in the development of Hawaii, but what did the people of the time think? What were their views on the missionary endeavors? Robert Louis Stevenson visited Hawaii in

1889, nearly 35 years after the close of the missionary era considered in this paper. Daniel Kikawa records his thoughts:

Robert Louis Stevenson wrote, “*With all their deficiency of candor, humor, and common sense, the missionaries are the best and most useful whites in the Pacific.*” In fact, the Hawaiian people were not so much won over by the teachings of the Love of God or the fear of damnation as they were by the goodness of the missionaries who sacrificed themselves daily to serve the needs of the people. (1994, p. 158)

Other favorable testimonies to the beneficial effect of the missionaries' accomplishments include those of people who lived among the Hawaiians for a long period of time rather than a short visit. In 1789, John Young, a British citizen and sailor on the ship *Fair American*, was forcibly detained by King Kamehameha I for two days, and the captain had to sail without him. Stranded, Young became a military and political advisor to the king and lived the rest of his life on the islands. In 1826, just six years after the missionaries arrived, Young wrote,

Whereas it has been represented by many persons, that the labors of missionaries in these Islands are attended with evil and disadvantage to the people, I hereby most cheerfully give my testimony to the contrary. I am fully convinced that the good which is accomplishing and already effected is not little. The great and radical change already made for the better, in the manners and customs of this people, has far surpassed my most sanguine expectations. During the forty years that I have resided here, I have known thousands of defenceless human beings cruelly massacred in their exterminating wars, I have seen multitudes of my fellow-beings offered in sacrifice to their idol gods. I have seen this large island, once filled with inhabitants, dwindle down to its present numbers through wars and disease, and I am persuaded that nothing but Christianity can preserve

them from total extinction. I rejoice that true religion is taking the place of superstition and idolatry, that good morals are superseding the reign of crime, and that a code of Christian laws is about to take the place of tyranny and oppression. These things are what I have long wished for, but have never seen till now. I thank God that in my old age I see them, and humbly trust I feel them too. (Anderson, 1885, p. 67)

One more testimony comes from Richard Henry Dana, who visited in 1860. Dana wrote for the New York Tribune and thoroughly investigated the changes the missionaries brought to Hawaii.

I sought information from all, foreign and native, friendly and unfriendly; and the conclusion to which I came is, that the best men, and those who are best acquainted with the history of things here, hold in high esteem the labors and conduct of the missionaries. The mere seekers of pleasure, power, or gain, do not like their influence; and those persons who sympathized with that officer of the American navy who compelled the authorities to allow women to go off to his ship by opening his ports and threatening to bombard the town, naturally are hostile to the missions. I do not mean, of course, that there is always unanimity among the best people, or perhaps among the missionaries themselves, on all questions; *e.g.* as to the toleration of Catholics, and on some minor points of social and police regulation. But on the great question of their moral influence, the truth is that there has always been, and must ever be, in these Islands, a peculiar struggle between the influences for good and the influences for evil. (Anderson, 1885, p. 104)

No, the missionaries were not perfect people. No, they did not always choose the best course or actions, but overall, during the time they influenced affairs in the Hawaiian islands, they overwhelmingly worked as a force for good.

### Conclusion

From the time of their arrival in 1820 to the change in how they were organized and their transition to Hawaiian citizenship, the missionaries worked as a force for good in the islands. They cannot be held culpable in the decimation of the native population because that began before their arrival. Instead they worked for the health of the people. They were not responsible for the overthrow of the kapu system and its inhumanity. Instead they filled the religious void with Christianity, freely embraced by up to two-thirds of the population by 1854. They gave the Hawaiians a written language, education, and influenced the creation of just laws. Most fair and balanced people of the time, including John Young, Richard Henry Dana, Governor Kekuanaoa, and Robert Louis Stevenson, believed the missionaries were a force for good.

Why then are the missionaries held in such low regard today? Dana is insightful when he recognizes the motives of the people on opposite sides of the question. Foreigners who looked for power and land conflicted with missionaries who wanted to keep these in the hands of the natives. Dana's recognition of the struggle between good and evil on the island could also be at the root of the issue, with those opposing Christianity opposing the missionaries. But even taking religion out of the picture, clearly the missionaries brought wonderful benefits to the natives of old Hawaii. For far too long, the missionaries have been condemned for their efforts in the islands during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is time to right this wrong and recognize their many and varied contributions that benefited and preserved the lives of many Hawaiians as well as the valuable aspects of the culture itself.

With a really long research paper, like this one, it is a good idea to summarize your ideas in your conclusion. Make sure you return to your thesis and reiterate how you've proved your position, or answered your question in this case. Do not introduce any new information. You might issue a call to action if that is appropriate. Otherwise, be sure to give your readers a sense of finality, so they don't turn the page looking for more.

## Appendix

*Figure 1*

Fig. 1. Nuuanu Pail from the Pali Lookout on O'hau where thousands of warriors either leaped or were pushed to their deaths to ensure Kamehameha's victory over the O'hau king Kalanikupule. After this battle, control of O'hau was securely in King Kamehameha's hands. Photo by author.

Illustrations are not required in most research papers, but they are allowed. They may either be included within the text or as an appendix like they are here. Each illustration, table, graph, or other image should be identified by *Figure* or more commonly *Fig.* and then a number. Captions should be in a san serif font, such as Arial #10.

*Figure 2*

Fig. 2. Foreign weapons, such as cannon, were adapted for use in Hawaii. This weapon, from the Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site, Hawaiian Island, is mounted on wooden skis to make it easy to move over the lava and hillsides. It also shoots rocks, such as those in the basket to the right, rather than cannon balls. Photo by author.

*Figure 3*

Fig. 3. The Pu'ukohola Heiau at the Pu'ukohola Heiau National Historic Site on the Big Island, was built by Kamehameha the Great, dedicated to his war god Ku, and used for human sacrifice. Eleven men were sacrificed at the dedication of this temple, but surprisingly, this fact is not mentioned at all in the documentation at the historical site. One of the reasons the missionaries are held in such low esteem might be due to the fact that Hawaii's history is not accurately presented to the public, so that people do not realize that the original Hawaiians were not happy and carefree, as they are so often depicted. Instead, they were held in abject poverty and subject to cruel kapus, including human sacrifice at the luakini heiaus like this one. Photo by author.

## References

- Anderson, R. (1865). *The Hawaiian islands: Their progress and condition under missionary labors*. Boston: Gould and Lincoln.
- Coan, T. (1882). *Life in Hawaii, An autobiographic sketch*. New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Company.
- Coan, T. M. (1901). *The natives of Hawaii, A study of Polynesian charm* [Pamphlet]. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science.
- Coan, T. M. (1918). *Civilization and the Hawaiian* [Pamphlet]. Philadelphia: Journal of Sociologic Medicine.
- Cook, C. (2009, September 7). *Henry Opukaha'ia of Hawaii*. Retrieved from The Henry Opukaha'ia Collection website: <http://www.obookiah.com/Obookiah.com/life.html>
- Daws, G. (1968). *Shoals of time*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.
- Ellis, W. (2004). *A narrative of an 1823 tour through Hawai'i or Owhyee*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing. (Original work published 1825)
- Fornander, A. (1880). *An account of the Polynesian race: Its origins and migrations: Vol. II. Ancient history of the Hawaiian people to the times of Kamehameha I*. Retrieved from <http://books.google.com>
- Kikawa, D. I. (1994). *Perpetuated in righteousness* (4th ed.). Kea'au, Hawai'i: Aloha Ke Akua Publishing.
- Kuykendall, R. S. (1968). *The Hawaiian kingdom: 1778-1854 Foundation and transformation* (Vol. I). Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. (Original work published 1938)
- Malo, D. (1903). *Hawaiian antiquities* (N. B. Emerson, Trans.). (Original work published 1898) Retrieved from <http://books.google.com>