



knowledge, in understanding, in wisdom, in experience, in consistency, in spirituality, in stability, yet still there were thousands over whom the missionaries rejoiced as those who, they hoped, would be "their joy and their crown in the day of the Lord Jesus." The churches were gradually becoming more established, as was evidenced in the increasing knowledge, the settled principles, the well-grounded faith, the orderly walk, and the active benevolence, of multitudes of the members. The good and the bad, the precious and the vile, were forming more distinct classes, and the line of demarcation was becoming more and more marked between them.¹

Education.

In establishing schools it was of course necessary, as a preliminary measure, to reduce the language to writing, and in doing this the missionaries were careful to avoid the egregious error which is found in the English and other modern alphabets, and which so grievously perplexes learners, both old and young, of assigning to the same letter different sounds, and the same sounds to different letters. To every letter they gave only one sound, and to every sound only one letter, and every word was spelled exactly as it was pronounced, by which means the art of reading, spelling, and writing was rendered comparatively easy. By this means, too, persons newly arrived in the islands were able, after learning the sounds of the letters, to teach the natives to read, spell, and write their own language, though they themselves did not understand a word of it. It is also worthy of notice that only seven consonants and five vowels, in all twelve letters, were required to represent all the known sounds of the language of the Sandwich Islands.²

In 1822, the first native schools were collected. The missionaries were the first teachers, and the first scholars consisted of a

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xl. p. 16; vol. xliii. p. 218; vol. xlv. p. 18.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, p. 109.—Ibid. 1831, p. 56.—Miss. Chron. vol. iii. p. 165.



class of persons connected with the chiefs; the only school-book was a small spelling-book, which had been lately printed in the Hawaiian language. These schools had been carried on but a few months when some of the principal chiefs expressed a desire to receive instruction. Schools were accordingly formed for their particular benefit. The pupils consisted generally of the chiefs and some of the principal people of both sexes in their train. As the missionaries were of course the teachers, they now committed their former schools to the care of some of the natives, either to those who had returned with them from America, or those who had made the greatest progress in the schools during the short time they had existed. After some time a general desire was manifested by the people to attend to instruction; the chiefs became interested in the object; schools were multiplied throughout the islands, and were attended by great numbers of the natives. There were at one period, it is stated, near 1000 schools, and upwards of 50,000 scholars, a large proportion of whom were grown-up persons, a circumstance which may appear somewhat strange; but children in the Sandwich Islands were so little under the control of their parents, and were so impatient of restraint, that comparatively few of them could be induced to attend.¹

This may seem a mighty apparatus for the Sandwich Islands; but these native schools were, as may well be supposed, very defective, and the instruction received in them was of the most imperfect kind. Owing to their very number, the missionaries, in consequence of their other engagements, were able to do little in the way of superintending them. The teachers were in general very ill qualified for their office; their own knowledge was scanty, and what little they did know, they had no skill in communicating to others; no proper provision was made for their support, and hence they took little interest in their work; the immoral conduct of many of them was also a great disqualification, and a source of much trouble. The want of suitable school-books, and of a sufficient number of them, was likewise a serious drawback from these schools. Besides, they were kept very

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, p. 166.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. pp. 72, 223.



irregularly, only perhaps two or three days in a week, and about an hour at a time. These and other circumstances rendered the native schools very inefficient; yet, with all their imperfections, they were not without their use. Thousands of natives, by means of them, learned to read more or less intelligibly; and some, in most places, also learned to write. The system of instruction by uneducated and unremunerated teachers had reached its height, and was now waxing old and ready to vanish away. The schools were generally in a languishing state; many of the school-houses were deserted, and some of them were going to ruin; teaching dragged on heavily, and little progress was made. It was plain that a radical reform was required in the school system, and that it was necessary it should begin with the teachers. The missionaries had, in past years, taken as many of them as they could bring together under special instruction, with the view of fitting them in some degree for their work, but they now adopted more systematic and efficient means for this end.¹

In September 1831, the missionaries commenced what they called a high-school at Lahainaluna, in the island of Maui, for the purpose of preparing schoolmasters, and also pious and promising natives as preachers of the gospel. For several years at first, the pupils were adults, and were generally married; but it was afterwards judged advisable to change the nature of the institution, by receiving into it young persons, and even children. It was found that the youth made far more progress in knowledge than the adults. It is interesting to find in the Sandwich Islands a seminary for natives in which were taught writing, arithmetic written and mental, Keith on the Globes, geography topographical and descriptive, sacred geography, sacred history and chronology, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, surveying and navigation, natural theology, church history, and moral philosophy. Besides attending to their various studies, the pupils were required to spend part of every day in manual labour. This was considered a point of vital importance to them. Both their bodies and minds were invigorated by the exercise; indolence and pride were repressed, habits of industry were formed,

¹ Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 339.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1834, pp. 157, 166.—Miss. Her. vol. xxvi. p. 153; vol. xxviii. p. 218.



skill in various kinds of labour was acquired, and something also was gained in this way toward their own support.¹

As a number of teachers and their wives were now sent out from America, with the special view of being employed in the business of teaching, the plans of education were put on a much improved and more efficient footing than they had hitherto been.²

Among other measures which were now adopted was the establishment of boarding-schools for both boys and girls, in which the pupils, while receiving a superior education, were withdrawn from those influences to which children living at large were exposed, and were brought under those salutary influences which are enjoyed in a Christian family. It was deemed of the utmost importance that there should be boarding-schools for both sexes, with the view of providing each with suitable companions in the married life. If either sex were neglected, whatever labour or expense might be bestowed in educating the one would be in a great measure lost, as the other, if they were married together, could scarcely fail to exert a deteriorating influence upon them when brought into so close and intimate a relation; whereas if both parties were of somewhat cultivated minds and civilised manners, and were also of industrious habits and pious dispositions, there would be ground to hope that they would have a salutary influence in confirming and increasing the improvement of each other. It was felt to be of peculiar importance to rear up suitable helpmates for such of the young men as were employed in the service of the mission.³

Besides these there were various other kinds of schools (for education was a very special object of attention in this mission), as the female seminary at Wailuku, select schools at several of the stations, a manual labour school, a school for the children of missionaries, and a school for the children of the chiefs. This last was under the charge of one of the missionaries; but it was entirely supported by the government. Much good was expected from it to the interests of the nation. The progress of the pupils was exceedingly satisfactory. They were much inter-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1832, p. 77.—Ibid. 1833, p. 83.—Ibid. 1837, p. 101.—Ibid. 1838, p. 113.—Ibid. 1842, p. 174.—Hawaiian Spect. vol. i.

² Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. pp. 353, 355.

³ Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 40.



ested in reading English books, and spent not a little of their leisure time in reading useful works.¹

It will easily be conceived that the instructions communicated in the schools to the young islanders must often have been very startling and surprising to them. Geography, for example, was to them an entirely new field of knowledge. "In studying it," says Mr Green, "they make many notable discoveries. They had no conception of the magnitude of the earth; and that there are other bodies still larger than it, is a depth that few of them can fathom. And then the very diminished appearance their own islands make on the map is quite humbling to them, and gives occasion for many remarks. Some of my pupils, however, are much interested in the discovery of the earth's motion, of the cause of the seasons, and of day and night; and they are becoming skilful in projecting maps on their slates. It is pleasant—exceedingly so—to pour instruction into their benighted minds."²

In 1840, laws were enacted by the government with the view of promoting the interests and efficiency of common schools in the island. These schools had, for some time past, been again in a declining state; the teachers were poorly supported, and children were but little disposed to attend on their instructions. The new laws required parents to send their children to school, made provision for the erection of school-houses, and provided for the pay of the teachers. But in carrying out these measures many difficulties were experienced, and they were, for some years, only partially successful. Though the character and qualifications of the teachers were within a few years materially improved, yet from the great number who were required, many were still employed who had no particular fitness for the work, and who would not have been employed except on the principle that any tolerable teacher is better than none. The more ignorant classes, who were very indifferent to the education of their children, steadily resisted the efforts of their rulers to obtain their aid for the support of schools; and, notwithstanding the laws providing for the maintenance of the teachers, they were very ill

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 179.—Ibid. 1846, p. 189.—Ibid. 1847, p. 181.

The Royal School, as it was called, now admits children of foreign residents, as well as of chiefs.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1852, p. 137.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxix. p. 240.



paid, and many of them gave up for want of the means of support. The attendance of the children, too, was often very irregular; they came to school or stayed away just as they pleased. But notwithstanding these and other obstructions, the efforts of the government for the education of the people were attended with considerable success. "Nearly all the children," we find it stated, after some years, "attend school, and are progressing in knowledge as fast as could be expected, considering the imperfect qualifications of the teachers, the poor condition of the school-houses, and the deficiency of books and apparatus proper for instruction. It is a pleasing fact, that schools throughout the islands are rapidly gaining favour with both parents and children. The tendency of education to improve their worldly interests is clearly seen; and many send their children, not because they are required by the law to do so, but because it is for their good. The elements of a common school education have become pretty generally diffused throughout the nation. It is rare to find a child above ten years of age who cannot read more or less fluently, while thousands can answer, with a good degree of correctness, miscellaneous questions in other branches. Sixteen years ago, schools for children were almost unknown, and very few were then able to read. We hope to press forward this department of our labour, until the blessing of a good education shall be enjoyed by every child."¹

In June 1849, the high-school at Lahainaluna, including the buildings, library, philosophical apparatus, and other property pertaining to it, was transferred to the Hawaiian government, on condition of its taking on itself the whole support of it, and sustaining it as an institution for the cultivation of sound literature and science. As such an institution among a people just emerging from barbarism is a somewhat remarkable experiment, it is interesting to mark its results up to this time. It was established originally with a special view to preparing teachers for the schools and preachers to their countrymen. The first of these objects it accomplished to a considerable extent. Of upwards of three hundred pupils who were educated in it, considerably more than one third were employed as teachers of schools; upwards of eighty

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1842, p. 172.—Ibid. 1846, p. 190.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxv. p. 143; vol. xxxviii. pp. 149, 243, 476; vol. xli. pp. 78, 163; vol. xlv. pp. 20, 115.



were in the service of government, some of them in important situations, or were otherwise usefully employed; upwards of a hundred were members of the church, while forty or more were decidedly immoral. Speaking of the results of the seminary, the teachers say:—"On the whole, the institution is evidently scattering blessings throughout the nation. Its graduates are everywhere the leading members of society in matters civil, religious, and literary. In manual labour they are represented as many times more valuable than other natives, having acquired habits of industry and learned how to work when at school." In regard to the other great object of the institution, the preparing of native preachers, it had hitherto in a great measure failed; of the graduates only one was a licensed preacher. Some of the older church members were, after some experience, better qualified to teach and to preach, both as to the amount of their Scripture knowledge and their ability to apply that knowledge to useful purposes, than the young men who came from the seminary. Many of its graduates were active enterprising men in secular matters; but most of them wanted that humility, that meekness, that patience, that self-denial, that simple trust in God, and that love of souls, which are so essential to a good minister of Jesus Christ. It was, however, stated, not long before the institution was transferred to the government, that among the students there were then more promising candidates for the ministry than could be found among all who had previously left it; and it is gratifying to find that there were four of the natives who were afterwards ordained as pastors over churches.¹

In 1851, according to a report of the Minister of Public Instruction, a department of the government organised for the express purpose of attending to the education of the country, there were in the Sandwich Islands 535 schools containing 15,482 scholars, so that considerably more than a sixth of the population were then under a course of education, a proportion to which there are few parallels even among civilized nations. The whole expense for education in the Sandwich Islands was that year about 60,000 dollars, of which sum about 45,000 dollars were paid by the government and about 15,000 were drawn from

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1847, pp. 175, 181.—Ibid. 1848, pp. 232, 233.—Ibid. 1849, p. 239.—Ibid. 1853, p. 139.—Miss. Her. vol. xlv. pp. 85, 363.



private and other resources for several schools which were not supported by the government.¹

Books.

In January 1822, the mission press in the Sandwich Islands commenced its operations by printing a small spelling-book in the Hawaiian language. This was followed in the course of years by numerous other school-books, including not only elementary books for the common schools, but works in the various branches of science taught in the higher seminaries, besides catechisms, hymn-books, and other publications of a religious nature. In 1832 the New Testament in the Hawaiian language issued from the press; and in 1839 the whole Bible was completed. The edition consisted of 10,000 copies, and a second edition of other 10,000 copies was printed the following year. There was also a Hawaiian newspaper which had a large circulation, a Hawaiian almanack, and two or three other periodical publications. The amount of printing at the mission presses in the Sandwich Islands was very great, and was at once an evidence of the progress of the people, and a means of their still further improvement. Unless it was school-books, the various publications were generally paid for by them, either in produce, work, or money.²

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 136.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 51.—Ibid. 1833, pp. 82, 86.—Ibid. 1837, p. 164.—Ibid. 1839, p. 131.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 183; vol. xxxvii. p. 145.—Dibble's History, p. 426.

We must not, however, draw too favourable conclusions from such circumstances as these. In judging of missions, it should always be borne in mind that persons in one state of society are very liable to *interpret* inaccurately circumstances occurring among a people in a different state of society, attaching frequently too much, and sometimes too little importance to them. The demand for books in the South Sea Islands has often been considered as a very remarkable fact, shewing the great desire of the people for instruction. This was a very natural conclusion, yet it is just an example of the false inferences which we often draw in consequence of our imperfect knowledge of facts. The Rev. Mr Andrews, principal of the Lahainaluna seminary, writing in 1834, says:—“A great circulation of books *here* does not prove that they are much understood. It is fully believed that were the mission to print off an edition of logarithmic tables, there would be just as great a call for it as for any book that has been printed. This is manifested by the call there has been for three editions of the *Ho-pa-no ka pia pa*; for it can be demonstrated that, with the exception of two or three sections, scarce a

*Opposition of Foreigners.*

Of late years, a number of foreigners chiefly from England and America, had taken up their residence in the Sandwich Islands for the purposes of trade; and numerous ships visited them annually, principally from these countries, for the sake of traffic or for obtaining supplies. There were also scattered through the group, a number of persons who had made their escape from the restraints of civilized society, chiefly runaway sailors and vagabonds, wanderers in the earth, the very dregs and outcasts of society.¹

Even at an early period of the mission, the purity of the gospel was so far understood by the chiefs, that they resolved to establish laws with the view of restraining and punishing gross wickedness, and it was proposed to make the Ten Commandments the basis of their criminal code. Some of the residents took alarm at this, apprehending that their licentious practices would

single idea has been gained that was intended to be conveyed, except where it has been taught and explained by some one of the missionaries. The same is true with respect to the *Helu*. The native cannot be found, who, without any instruction, was able to understand any principle it contained, or to understand any rule. The truth is, a *palapala* (book) is a *palapala*; it is all new to them, and all considered equally good. They have been told that the perusal of these and similar books, constitutes the difference between them and ourselves; that they are able to make people wise; and what is still more, most of our books we are able to call the Word of God."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1834, p. 160.

In 1836, Mr Armstrong, one of the missionaries on the island of Maui, says:—"When the late edition of the New Testament came out, the people about us crowded our houses all day long, and even in the night, trying to obtain a copy. As I had not enough to supply one tenth of the demand, I was obliged at last to lock my study door and make no reply to those who knocked. They went away mumbling over their disappointment. I have given away no Testaments as yet. All who have called for them have either brought the worth of the book in produce, or have agreed to work for it. What the motives of the people are in thus seeking the Word of God, it is not easy to tell;—certainly not in most cases the love of truth or righteousness, as their daily conduct shews; but still it is encouraging to see the people seeking, and labouring for, and carrying about in their hands, the Word of God in their own language."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxiii. p. 73.

These passages relate to a period previous to the remarkable spread of Christianity in the Sandwich Islands; but still they indicate a singular fact in the history of missions, at least in the South Sea Islands; and shew the danger we are in of putting false constructions on simple and unmeaning circumstances, and drawing erroneous conclusions from them.

¹ Stewart's Journal, p. 154.



be checked, if the seventh commandment were to be sustained by the authority of law. They appeared, therefore, in a body and made a formal remonstrance against the chiefs forming any criminal code whatsoever. Such decided opposition to any restraint upon vice, greatly embarrassed the chiefs in their attempts at reformation; but yet they enacted a law forbidding females to go on board ships, and punishing transgressors by imprisonment during the pleasure of the rulers; and there is little doubt it would have proved effectual, had it not been for the artifices and violence of foreigners.¹

The opposition to these important measures was not confined to the residents on the islands: this salutary enactment called forth in a peculiar manner the rage and indignation of the crews of vessels from England and America.

In October 1825, soon after the passing of the law, the whale-ship *Daniel*, Captain Buckle, from London, touched at Lahaina, on the island of Maui, and several of the crew landed, with the view of prevailing on Mr Richards, one of the missionaries, to use his influence with the chiefs to repeal the obnoxious order. One of them, whom he had admitted into his house, threatened his property and his life, and the lives of all his family; but both Mr Richards and his wife gave them to understand that they would sooner lose their lives than do anything of the kind. Meanwhile, the sailors in the yard were uttering the most horrid oaths and threats; but after the man left the house, they all went away. Two days after, a boat was seen approaching the shore, having what the natives call a black ensign, and about fifteen or twenty men landed from it, some of them armed with knives, and one or more with pistols. As they approached the gate of Mr Richards' house, one of the natives who had been set to guard it, attempted to stop their entrance, upon which one of the sailors drew a knife and made a thrust at him; but he, starting back, avoided the blow. The guard, however, being only four or five in number, and unarmed, were now obliged to retreat. Mr Richards witnessed all this from his window, but seeing the guard retreat, he retired to the back part of the house, where he would have a better opportunity of defending himself in case they should break into it. The natives now began to collect from every quarter, with stones and clubs,

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 76.



and in a short time not less than thirty of them had entered the house by the back door, after which the miscreants retired without offering any further violence. As soon as they retired, the chiefs increased the number of the guard, and armed them with weapons, which they had before refused to do. Captain Buckle and his men, however, seemed determined that the law should be repealed, and frequently went to the chiefs on the subject. They said they were never in so religious a place before in all their lives. But after all their efforts, they could not obtain the repeal of the law, nor could they procure a single female to carry with them to the ship.¹

In January 1826, the United States armed schooner *Dolphin*, Lieutenant John Percival, arrived at Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, and remained there about four months, to the great injury of good morals among the natives. Soon after his arrival, Lieutenant Percival expressed his regret at the existence of a law prohibiting females from visiting ships for the purposes of prostitution. He next insisted on the release of four prostitutes, then in custody for a breach of the law; nor did he rest until he partially gained his object:

One Sabbath afternoon, about five o'clock, Mr Bingham went over to the house of the Regent Karaimoku, who was then ill, for the purpose of holding worship there, with such of the chiefs and others as might find it convenient to attend. Soon afterwards, six or seven sailors from the *Dolphin*, armed with clubs, entered the room where the sick chief was lying on his couch, with his friends around him, and demanded that the obnoxious law should be repealed, threatening, in case of refusal, to tear down the house. Confusion ensued, and before they could be made to leave the house and the yard, they broke all the windows in front. While this was going on, their number was increased by the arrival of several others, who made similar demands. When driven from the house of Karaimoku, they directed their course to that of Mr Bingham, who seeing this, ran home another way, his family being unprotected, and hoping to arrive there before them; but having failed in this, he fell into the hands of the rioters, some of whom held a club over him in the attitude of striking. The natives, who had hitherto acted with great for-

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 40; vol. xxiv. p. 278.



bearance, now interfered, and laid hold of the sailors. In the bustle Mr Bingham was released; but he was afterwards pursued by small parties. One sailor aimed a blow at him with a club, and another struck at him with a knife; but happily he escaped without injury. All the rioters were secured by the natives; but after this affray had ceased, other ten sailors arrived, part of whom attacked Mr Bingham's house, and broke in a window. While two were attempting to force the door, one of them suddenly turned round, and unaccountably struck the other with a club, so that he fell, and was carried off as dead.

On the evening of the same day, Lieutenant Percival waited on the chiefs, not to express his sorrow or make an apology for the outrageous conduct of his men, but, with unblushing licentiousness, to urge the repeal of the obnoxious law. On that occasion, he declared, in the presence of the principal chiefs, that the prohibition should come off; that he was determined not to leave the island till it was repealed; and that he would rather have his hands tied behind his back, or even cut off, and go home to the United States mutilated, than have it said that the liberty of having prostitutes on board his ship was denied him, after it had been allowed, as he alleged, to another individual whom he named.

But the most painful portion of this sad story is yet to come. Next day it was rumoured that females who should go on board ships would not be punished. Some of the chiefs, it appears, wearied out by the importunities, and terrified by the threats, of their unprincipled visitors, had given a kind of indirect permission to this effect; intimating, that should any females resort to their old practices, it would not be inquired into very strictly, but that they would simply be considered as disgraced, and excluded from the society of the good. A considerable number accordingly repaired on board the *Dolphin*. When the first boat with females passed, in the dusk of the evening, along the harbour of Honolulu, a shout ran from one ship to another, as if a glorious victory had been achieved—a shout more worthy of devils than of men.

When Karaimoku was informed of the liberty which had thus been given, he was very indignant. He called before him the chiefs who had relaxed the law, and inquired of them the cir-



cumstances. They quailed at the severe rebuke of the venerable old man, and wept under his chiding. But the fatal deed was done; the flood-gates of vice were now opened, and a deluge of pollution could scarcely fail to be the consequence.

When it was known that the law was prostrate, Lieutenant Percival called upon the chiefs to express his gratification. He said he was now at ease, and that he intended visiting Hawaii and Maui, where the prohibition was still in force, and compel the chiefs on those islands also to rescind it. This calamity was happily averted, and Honolulu alone was polluted by a visit from the *Dolphin*. The sad influence of this vessel during the subsequent ten weeks of her stay, may perhaps be imagined, but cannot be described. So odious was it in the eyes even of the common people, that they applied to the vessel, and her commander alternately, the appellation of "the mischief-making-man-of-war."¹

In October 1827, some women had gone off secretly to the *John Palmer*, an English whaler, then lying off Lahaina; and the captain, whose name was Clark, having come on shore, Hoapi, the governor of Maui, first requested, and then insisted, that he should send them back; but this he would not do, and he even threatened him with destruction by a man-of-war. "He

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 77.

The Board of Missions having preferred charges against Lieutenant Percival before the government of the United States, on account of his conduct in the Sandwich Islands, a court of inquiry was ordered by the Secretary of the Navy. Twenty-six days were occupied in the examination of witnesses, and taking down their testimony; but no agent having been sent to the islands to authenticate written evidence, and the letters and statements of the missionaries and others, however worthy of confidence, not being legally admissible as evidence, it could not be expected that a full development of the case could be made at the distance of some thousand miles from the scene of the transactions.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1828, p. 60. The result of this inquiry was not obtained from the government, notwithstanding repeated applications for it on behalf of the Board; but it may be inferred from this that it proved abortive, in consequence, perhaps, of the want of what was deemed legal evidence.—*Ibid.* 1829, pp. 17, 60. Yet the government was probably satisfied as to the truth of the general charge, for it not long afterwards addressed a letter to the king of the Sandwich Islands, in which, while it asked protection for citizens of the United States who conducted themselves peaceably, it stated that others were subject to the censure and punishment inflicted by the laws of the place. It stated also that the government had heard with pain of the violation of these laws by American citizens, and had sought to know and to punish the guilty. It recommended to the nation the religion of the Christian's Bible; recognised the rapid progress which the islands had made in letters and religion, and closed with bespeaking the favour of the rulers for the missionaries.—*Ibid.* 1830, p. 59.



said to me," writes Hoapiri, in an admirable official report which he sent to Kaahumanu, the queen-regent, " ' Your efforts are vain. It is not right; it is not thus in Great Britain. It is not right in you to withhold women from Englishmen. Do not keep back the women that go in a bad way, otherwise a man-of-war will come and destroy you all.'

" Then I replied, ' I do not at all regard what you have said. There is but one thing that is right in my view—that you send me back the women; but understand, if you do not return them, I shall detain you here on shore till we get the women. Then you may go to the ship.' My requirement was not at all complied with.

" Then I sent men to take the boat. The boat was detained by me, and the foreigner was detained by me here on shore.

" He said to me, ' This place will be full of ships; and Maui shall be free from tabu, or entirely burnt, so that not a cluster of houses shall be left. My ship is ready to fire on you this night.'

" I replied, ' If the guns of your ship fire, I will take care of you. You and I, and my chief, will go to another place. If your men fire from the ship, we, the people of the island, will remain quiet; but if the people of the ship land here on shore to fight us, then my people will fight them. You and I will sit still, and let your people and mine do the fighting. I will take care of you. If you do not give me back the women, you and I will dwell here on shore, and you shall not return to your vessel. I have but one desire, and that is, the return hither of the women.' I ended."

It is impossible not to admire the firmness and calmness, not to say dignity, displayed by Hoapiri on this occasion; and at the same time, the simplicity with which he narrates the whole circumstances of the case.¹

In the evening the mate of the ship landed to demand the release of the captain, and said that the ship was ready to commence firing on the town; and that unless he were released

¹ Hoapiri appears to have been a shrewd, noble-minded man. When reports were abroad that there were designs on the life of Mr Richards by the crews of foreign ships, he declared he would protect him at all hazards, and that " no ball should strike Mr R. without first passing through him." Other chiefs spoke in a similar manner.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxiv. pp. 279, 280.



within an hour, a light would be hoisted at the mizen-mast, and firing would then begin. Being informed of this, Mr Richards proceeded to the house of Hoapiri, where he found Captain Clark, and most of the chiefs. The governor appears to have been still firm to his purpose to have the women returned; but Mr Richards at last suggested to him, whether it would not be wise, on the meek and forbearing principles of Christianity, to permit Captain Clark to go on board, particularly as he had agreed to have the business settled by nine o'clock the next morning. The governor was at length prevailed on to give his assent, and restored the boat; but by the time it was ready, the light was hoisted, and the firing commenced. Mr Richards hurried home, and just before he reached his house, a ball passed near him with a tremendous whiz. He and his family, and some visitors, retired for safety to the cellar. On examining next morning the places where the balls struck, there could be little doubt that the mission-house was particularly aimed at. The ship sailed the same day for Oahu, but without any settlement of the matter, the captain having totally disregarded his engagement.¹

These, and other facts of a similar kind, which we might state, will help to explain the hostility which was all along manifested toward the missionaries by many of the foreigners resident on the islands, and by the crews of the ships visiting them. It will not be easy to name any body of missionaries who have been so much the subject of misrepresentation and obloquy as the American missionaries in the Sandwich Islands. There were, however, other and powerful reasons for the hostility of the foreigners to the missionaries and their work. They saw that should Christianity and education prevail on the islands, they would not be able to drive such profitable bargains with the natives as if they remained in a state of ignorance, nor would it be easy to manage the chiefs by making them drunk. Accordingly, when religion began to take hold of the minds of the people, the opposition became more violent than ever. The missionaries, by their consistent and disinterested conduct, had gained, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of the principal chiefs; but the foreigners, with the view of destroying their influence, sought to corrupt the morals of both chiefs and people, by holding out to them tempta-

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxiv. pp. 276, 310.



tions to intemperance, to gambling, to horse-racing, and other evil practices. Their efforts were directed in a special manner towards corrupting the young king, rightly judging, that if they could draw him over to their side, an important advantage would be lost to the missionaries. No pains were spared to prejudice his mind against Mr Bingham, who was his instructor. One person, it is said, told him that Mr Bingham had written to America that he was king of the Sandwich Islands, and more than once earnestly requested his majesty to grant him permission to send him off the islands. All manner of falsehoods and slanders were not only uttered against them in the islands, but were carried to America and England, and published to the world. We cannot enter into the consideration of the various charges made against them; but we may state, in general, that nothing could be more triumphant than the vindications which were published of them.¹ There is only one of the accusations which we shall notice—their interference with the political affairs of the islands; because it has been most frequently, and most pertinaciously, brought forward. In reference to this, we may state that it is true the principal chiefs did look up to them with respect and confidence, and perhaps did sometimes seek their advice on points as to which they would rather have been excused from interfering; but this was nothing more than the natural result of their consistent and disinterested conduct, and of the natives being indebted to them for much which they found to be useful, as well as for their knowledge of true religion. The missionaries, however, studiously avoided interfering in political matters. So far did they carry this, that they abstained from giving any opinion or advice to the chiefs in many cases when it was very desirable, for the sake of themselves and the country, to make their views known to them, and when there were no other persons to guide or direct them. Some might even be disposed to censure them, as having run into the opposite extreme; but they judged it necessary to avoid all interference, probably that they might not give their enemies any occasion to say that they intermeddled in civil or

¹ See in particular an Examination of Charges against the American Missionaries at the Sandwich Islands. Cambridge (New England): 1827.—Orme's Defence of the Missions in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands. London: 1827.—Ellis's Vindication of South Sea Missions from the Misrepresentations of Otto Von Kotzebue. London: 1831.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, p. 209.



political matters. The most that could be charged against Mr Bingham, or any of them, was preaching faithfully against sin; telling the chiefs they ought to use their influence for suppressing vice and promoting good order, and presenting the Ten Commandments to them as the law of God, and as the foundation of all good human laws; or in giving them information and advice in regard to the arts, institutions, and usages of civilized nations.¹

It must not, however, be supposed from the statements we have made, that all the foreigners in the Sandwich Islands were the patrons of licentiousness and the enemies of the mission. Among both the residents and the visitors there were honourable exceptions, and there has of late years been a great change for the better in the foreign community. Neither were the visits of all ships injurious. Commerce, on the contrary, rendered valuable aid to the cause of civilisation. The officers of some vessels, particularly of ships of war from England and America, conducted themselves with great propriety, and treated the missionaries in the most friendly manner. They bore honourable testimony to them and their labours, and were no less condemnatory of their enemies and accusers.²

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxiii. p. 203; vol. xxiv. p. 104.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, pp. 83, 95.—Ibid. 1841, pp. 210, 214.—Examination of Charges against the American Missionaries in the Sandwich Islands, p. 29.

² Hawaiian Spect. vol. i. p. 282.—Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 111; vol. xlii. p. 355; vol. xlvii. p. 335.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1827, p. 96.—Ibid. 1830, p. 60.—Dibble's Hist. p. 212.

In 1829, the American frigate *Vincennes*, Captain Finch, visited the Sandwich Islands. The foreigners were as usual full of complaints against the missionaries; but he appears to have seen through their character and motives, and in an official document addressed to the Secretary of the Navy of the United States, he bears distinct testimony to the advance of the Sandwich Islands in civilisation, religion, and learning; and while he vindicates the missionaries, he denounces the selfishness, shortsightedness, and recklessness of the policy pursued by the foreigners, and the arrogance and injustice with which they treated the chiefs and people.—Stewart's *Visit to the South Seas in the United States ship Vincennes*, vol. ii. pp. 268, 271, 278.

In 1840, Lieutenant Wilkes, who commanded the exploratory expedition which was sent out by the United States government, visited the Sandwich Islands in the course of his four years' cruise; and he bears a similar honourable testimony to the missionaries, and a no less discreditable testimony in regard to their enemies and accusers. "As the natives," says he, "under the tuition of the missionaries, emerged from barbarism, instead of deriving encouragement from their intercourse with foreigners, difficulties were thrown in the way. The chief agents in the vexations to which the government has been exposed are the designing individuals who hold the situation of consuls of the

*Romish Missionaries, and Interference of France and England.*

In July 1827, two Roman Catholic priests, M. Bachelot and Patrick Short, an Irishman, and several seculars or mechanics, arrived from France at Honolulu, in the island of Oahu. It appears that a Frenchman of the name of Rives, one of the foreign residents, who, on the arrival of the first American missionaries, sought to have them prohibited from settling in the country, had some time before visited France, and pretending that he possessed immense wealth and unbounded influence in the Sandwich Islands, made application to the College of Picpus for priests to be sent thither, and not only promised to pay for their passage, but purchased pictures and other ornaments for their church, and a large amount of other goods, for all which he was to pay a high price on their delivery at the islands. The priests, contrary to law, landed without asking permission of the government, and as soon as Kaahamanu, the regent, heard of their arrival, she ordered them to leave the islands in the vessel that brought them; but the captain declared he had already had trouble enough with them and they should not go on board his ship again, and to make sure of this he sailed from the island.¹ The chiefs had thus no resource but to suffer them to

two great European powers [France and England]; and through their baleful influence the difficulties have been continually increasing. All the laws and regulations established by the king and chiefs for repressing immorality and vice were not only derided, but often set at open defiance, because they clashed with the interests of some of the individuals settled here. If attempts were made to enforce them, official remonstrances were resorted to, accompanied by threats of punishment; as this for a long time did not follow, the matter came to be considered as a systematic course of bullying, which soon lost its effect and remained unheeded."—Wilkes' *Voyage of the Exploring Expedition of the United States Government*, in *Miss. Her.* vol. xli. p. 172.

We feel ashamed to think that the consul of England should have been one of the leading and most constant opponents of the mission, and of all that was good. In the Report of the Board for 1828 it is stated that he threw "all his influence into the scale of vice and disorder, and against efforts of every kind for the benefit of the natives."—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1828, p. 55.

¹ Captain Plassard, according to the accounts given by him, had some ground for this declaration. The principal object of his voyage was to deliver the goods that Rives had bought, and get payment for them and for the passage of the priests; but he could find neither Rives nor any of his boasted wealth, nor anybody that wanted his goods, or who would pay for the passage of the missionaries. He therefore took advantage of the position of his vessel, which was beyond the range of the guns of the fort, sailed from



remain for the present; but they at seven different times gave them orders to return to the country whence they came; and at length, after having borne with them for four years, they said to them, "Go away, ye Frenchmen; we allow you three months to get ready." But they did not go during the three months; they remained eight months, saying, "We have no vessel to return in;" although in the meanwhile some ships had sailed to England, some to the United States, and some to other parts of the world.¹ Finding there was no other way of getting rid of the two priests, the chiefs fitted out a brig of their own, and sent her with them and their property to the coast of California at an expense to themselves of one thousand dollars. The removal of them in this manner was not a violation of either their natural or acquired rights.

the island, and left the priests to provide for themselves the best way they could. Rives was never afterwards heard of on the island.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1841, p. 217.—*Dibble's Hist.* p. 358.

But though we have given these statements in regard both to Rives' liberal offers, and to the nonfulfilment of them, we are not sure, considering how much deception was practised by Romish missionaries in the South Sea Islands, whether the whole, from first to last, might not be artifice and trick. There is certainly a great degree of improbability on the face of most of the circumstances.

¹ The following statement will give some idea of the Jesuitry of these men. It is from the pen of M. Bachelot himself, who is dignified with the title of *Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands*:—"That we might appear to yield in some degree to the demands of the chiefs, and to avoid irritating them, we took care, when any vessel was about to depart, to request in writing of the captain a *gratuitous passage*. We did this in respect to several, and, as they knew our intentions, they answered us also in writing and absolutely refused to grant our request; for no captain was willing to engage in executing the sentence pronounced against us.

"A short time after, a Prussian vessel arrived, the captain of which brought presents from the King of Prussia to the young King of the Sandwich Islands. The arrival of this vessel furnished an occasion for a new attempt to compel us to leave the Archipelago. The Governor of Hawaii re-appeared. 'Here,' said he to me, 'is a ship from near your own country. It will conduct you to your own land.' 'What you say is reasonable,' I replied, 'but who will pay my passage? I came here with nothing but my body and the Word of God; my heart has not been on the things of this world; I have amassed no money.' 'Perhaps he will take you for nothing.' 'It is possible; but ask him yourself, and we shall see.' Kuakini retired with this answer. The captain came to see us [query, *was he sent for?*]; I explained to him our situation; he obligingly offered to receive us on board his vessel, if we wished to depart; but if not, he told us to make application to him in writing, and to dictate the answer which we wished him to make; which was done. The Governor of Hawaii also went to see him, and urged him to take charge of us. The Prussian captain answered that he would do it with pleasure, but that before M. Patrick and I could come on board he must be paid 5000 dollars. The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money. He was therefore obliged to abandon his project."—*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. x. p. 370, in *Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1841, p. 220.



No permission had ever been given them to remain on the islands ; on the contrary, it was expressly refused, and they were time after time requested and even ordered to go away. The will and authority of the government being thus set at nought, it very legitimately exercised the right claimed by France herself, and by all civilized nations, of determining whether foreigners should be allowed to settle within her territories ; and in a manner the most considerate and humane sent them to another country, professing the same religion with themselves, and where they met with a friendly reception. Though we condemn persecution, and civil disabilities of any kind on account of religion, provided the principles and the practice of its adherents are no way incompatible with the rights and liberties of the rest of the community ; yet, in the present case, we apprehend that the residence of these Romish priests in the Sandwich Islands was not without great and certain danger to the government of the country, and to the civil and religious rights and privileges of the people. The past history of the Roman Catholic priesthood ; its unchanged character wherever it had full power and freedom of action ; the weakness of the Sandwich Islands government, in consequence of which it was unequal to the protection of itself against force or fraud ; the opposition which the priests themselves had already shewn to the authorities, and the artifices by which they had evaded their orders ; and the fact of them and their followers siding with a party in the country which sought to overthrow the government ;—all these things taken together, we apprehend, fully warranted the step of the chiefs in sending them off the islands ; and subsequent events shewed but too plainly the propriety of the measure, if they could only have been allowed to adhere to it. It may not be improper to state, that all that was done was, in the strictest sense of the word, the acts of the government, and that the American missionaries had nothing to do with them. They never, individually or collectively, gave any advice on the subject, either for or against sending away the priests.¹

Though we apprehend that the government was perfectly justifiable, on civil grounds, in not granting the Romish priests permis-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, pp. 214, 216, 219, 221.—Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 351.
—Dibble's History, p. 359.—Wilks's Tahiti, p. 103.



sion to settle on the islands, and in sending them away when they resisted its authority, yet it must be acknowledged, that in doing so, it was partly influenced by religious considerations; and it must also be admitted that the few natives of the islands who followed the Romish worship were, partly on civil and partly on religious grounds, subjected to persecution. They were commanded to give up that form of worship, and had their crucifixes taken from them; and some were punished, on account of their continuing to adhere to it. After the departure of the priests, the practice of Romish rites and ceremonies was prohibited under still severer penalties than before. It was declared, that if any chief should observe these rites, he should be regarded as rebelling against the government; that if any landholder should follow that form of worship, his lands should be taken from him; and that if any of the common people should persevere in the practice of it, they should be punished. This we, of course, cannot but regret; yet, all circumstances considered, it is not wonderful, and much may be said in apology for the procedure of the rulers. The missionaries, it may be proper to remark, gave no countenance to anything like persecution; on the contrary, they expressed distinct and decided opinions against it; and at length, chiefly through the representations and influence of Mr Richards, the king issued orders to the chiefs that no further punishments should be inflicted on the score of religion; and that they should confine themselves to the use of moral suasion in their efforts to reclaim the followers of the priests.¹

In April 1837,² the two priests, Messrs Bachelot and Short, setting at nought the Sandwich Islands government, returned to Honolulu. M. Dudoit, a foreigner from the Isle of France, re-

¹ Dibble, pp. 363, 374, 380.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1841, p. 210.

² A few months previous to this (September 1836), an Irish priest, educated in France, named Robert Walsh, arrived at Honolulu, from Valparaiso. He was prohibited by the government from becoming a resident on the islands, teachers of the same faith having been already sent away from them. The English consul, Mr Charlton, interposed, however, in his behalf, claiming a residence for him, on the plea of his being a British subject. He received frequent notices to leave the islands; but in consequence of the weakness of the government on the one hand, and the protection of the English consul on the other, he persisted in remaining. He was prevented, however, from preaching to the natives, and from holding any meetings for public worship.—Dibble, p. 375. Walsh was probably sent as a pioneer to prepare the way for Messrs Bachelot and Short, or at least as a feeler to ascertain what prospect there might be of their being now allowed to settle on the islands.



siding in the Sandwich Islands, had sent a vessel, of which he was the owner, to bring them thither. Mr Short states that he endeavoured to land without being recognised; and that for this purpose, he had suffered his beard to grow long, and wore a broad-brimmed hat, and that on reaching the wharf he took a circuitous road to his former residence. They were, however, recognised immediately by the natives; and the report of their arrival having been carried to the proper authorities, they were ordered to return to the vessel, and the captain was required to receive them on board before any part of the cargo was discharged. These orders, however, they disregarded, and the vessel was nearly ready to put to sea again, when a peremptory order was given to put them on board. They accompanied the officer of the king to the wharf, stepped into the boat, and went on board the vessel. Now, however, the owner would not allow it to sail, nor would he furnish the supplies necessary for the voyage; and the priests were still on board when M. du Petit Thuars arrived in the *Venus*, and about the same time, her Britannic Majesty's vessel, the *Sulphur*, Captain Belcher. After a conference in regard to the demands of the priests, an agreement was entered into between the French captain and the king: M. du Petit Thuars "considered M. Bachelot only as a Frenchman, forced by necessity to call at Honolulu, to find an opportunity of going to his own country!" The king agreed to allow him to reside unmolested at Oahu, till he could find a favourable opportunity of going to Manilla, Lima, Valparaiso, or some other part of the civilised world. M. du Petit Thuars came under an engagement that he would seize the first opportunity of going thither; and in case such an opportunity did not present itself, that he should be received on board the first French man-of-war which should visit the islands; and Captain Belcher acceded to a similar arrangement on behalf of Mr Short, who was an Irishman. A few months afterwards, M. Maigret, pro-vicar of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Nilopolis, who was acting bishop in this part of the world, arrived at Honolulu; but he was not allowed to land.¹

Soon after the departure of the priests, the king published "An Ordinance rejecting the Catholic Religion." The preamble

¹ Wilks's Tahiti, p. 52.—Dibble, p. 375.—Tracy's Hist. pp. 352, 356.



mentions the conspiracy against the government some years before, which had been abetted and countenanced by the Romish priests, together with the fresh troubles which had been suffered from others who had lately attempted to settle in these islands—all shewing the tendency of their religion—"to set man against man," in the kingdom. The ordinance, therefore, forbade all persons, natives or foreigners, to teach, or assist in teaching, that faith, in any part of the kingdom. It also forbade the landing of any teacher of that faith, except in cases of absolute necessity; and in such a case, it provided that a priest should "be permitted in writing to dwell for a season on shore, on his giving bonds and security for the protection of the kingdom." It also stated the mode of enforcing this law, and the penalties for the transgression of it. It might have been hoped that this question was now set at rest; but if any one thought so, he was grievously mistaken.¹

In July 1839 the French frigate *L'Artémise*, M. la Place, commander, arrived at Honolulu, in order, he said, to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill-treatment of which it was alleged the French had been the victims at the Sandwich Islands, referring specially, it would seem, to the restrictions laid on the Catholic religion, and to the sending away of the Romish priests.²

¹ Tracy's Hist. pp. 258, 260, 357.

The arrival of the first Romish priests on the Sandwich Islands was ascribed to a Frenchman of the name of Rives. Capt. Thomas A. C. Jones, of the United States navy, makes also the following statement:—"I happen to know something of the origin of the Catholics attempting to establish themselves at Oahu. It is the work of a British agent at Honolulu, to overthrow the American missionaries. That man did not conceal his sending to Europe for Catholic missionaries. He speaks of it openly there, and stated to me, that the pomp and show of the Catholic ceremonies, their holidays, and Sabbath feasts, would so take with the natives, that a short time would be sufficient to expel all other missionaries."—Tracy's Hist. p. 357. Between the two accounts there is no inconsistency or incompatibility. Both these men might unite in seeking the same object, or Captain Jones's statement may refer to the later missionaries only. It is not unworthy of remark, though the circumstance is by no means singular, that the profligate part of the foreigners supported the Romish priests, and cordially wished them success.—*Rep.* 1829, p. 60. In 1840 a pamphlet was published at Honolulu, the reputed author of which was Mr John C. Jones, who had previously been American consul at that place, in defence of the Catholic missionaries, and in opposition to the government; and in order to carry his point, the author, whoever he was, put forth utterly false and most deceptive statements.—*Ibid.* 1841, p. 213.

² The manifesto addressed by La Place, in the name of his government, to the King of the Sandwich Islands, was characterised by the grossest effrontery and falsehood. It required some face for a man, who was in the act of trampling on a feeble yet independent nation, to say:—"I hasten first to employ this last means" (persuasion) "as the most conformable to the political, noble, and liberal, system pursued by France



He now demanded, in the name of his government, as "the equitable conditions at the price of which the King of the Sandwich Islands shall conserve friendship with France:—

"1st, That the Catholic worship be declared free throughout all the dominions subject to the King of the Sandwich Islands; that the members of this religious faith shall enjoy in them all the privileges granted to Protestants.

"2d, That a site for a Catholic church be given by the government of Honolulu—a port frequented by the French—and that this church be ministered by priests of their nation.

"3d, That all Catholics imprisoned on account of religion since the last persecutions extended to the French missionaries, be immediately set at liberty.

"4th, That the King of the Sandwich Islands deposit in the hands of the captain of *L'Artémise* the sum of 20,000 dollars, as a guarantee of his future conduct towards France; which sum

against the powerless." As well might a robber talk to a man whom he was robbing, of his honour and his honesty. He speaks of the chiefs as deceived by the "excessive indulgence which the French government had extended towards them for several years"—a favour of which, we dare say, they, as well as everybody else, were utterly ignorant, and which did not exist, even in his own imagination, or that of his employers. He says:—"To persecute the Catholic religion, to tarnish it with the name of idolatry, and to expel, under this absurd pretext, the French from the Archipelago, was to offer an insult to France, and to its sovereign." And so Louis Philippe had become a knight-errant in behalf of the Papacy, and sent to the ends of the earth to vindicate its honour! Why did he not begin in France itself, over which he then reigned? He knew there were in her millions of Protestants and infidels, who also believed and called the Papacy idolatry. Why did he not send his fleets to England and Holland, and the other Protestant states of Europe, and call them to account for offering in the same way an "insult to France, and to its sovereign"? "It is, without doubt," he continues, "the formal intention of France that the King of the Sandwich Islands be powerful, independent of every foreign power, which he considers his ally." No doubt of this, forsooth; though, in the very act of using these words, he was seeking to weaken his power, and to crush his independence. "But," adds he, "she also demands that he conform to the usages of civilised nations. Now, among the latter, there is not even one which does not permit in its territory the free toleration of all religions." M. La Place had never, of course, heard of Austria or Spain or Italy; or perhaps he did not rank them among civilised countries. "Such a state of things" (denial of liberty of public worship) "is contrary to the law of nations." He afterwards expresses his hope that the king will "hasten to subscribe to the conditions proposed to him," and thus imitate the laudable example which the Queen of Tahiti has given, in permitting the free toleration of the Catholic religion in her dominions," though he knew full well, that whatever the Queen of Tahiti had done, could not be held to be her voluntary act, but was forced on her by himself, as it were, at the cannon mouth.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxxvi. p. 95.—Wilks's *Tahiti*, p. 94. To set up her example for the king's imitation was, therefore, a pure and base artifice; and yet, we doubt not, M. la Place passed for an honourable man.



the government will restore to him when it shall consider that the accompanying treaty will be faithfully complied with."

Unless these conditions were complied with, he threatened to commence hostilities immediately; and the harbour was declared in a state of blockade. The king was then absent; a vessel was therefore sent to the island of Maui with despatches, requesting his presence at Honolulu; but as he did not arrive within the time originally fixed for the commencement of hostilities, Ke-ku-anaoa, the governor of Oahu, delivered the sum of 20,000 dollars on board *L'Artémise*, and also the treaty, signed by the governess Ke-kauluohi and himself, on behalf of their sovereign. The king having afterwards arrived, another treaty, falsely called a treaty of commerce and amity, was brought to him at five o'clock on Tuesday afternoon; and he was told that if it were not signed by breakfast time next morning, such a representation would be made to the French government, that they would send a larger force, and take possession of the island. He requested time to advise with his chiefs; but reasonable as was this request, the threat was repeated; and he, fearing the consequences, signed it; and in doing so, virtually signed away much of his power and authority as a sovereign, and opened the way for any fresh demands and aggressions, however unjust and oppressive they might be, provided there was sufficient force to back them. Among the articles of this treaty were the two following:—

"No Frenchman, accused of any crime whatever, shall be tried except by a jury composed of foreign residents, *proposed by the French consul*, and approved of by the government of the Sandwich Islands.

"French merchandises, or those known to be French produce, and particularly wines and brandies, *cannot be prohibited*, and shall not pay an import duty higher than five per cent *ad valorem*."¹

By the former article, any Frenchman, including Romish priests, for whose sakes chiefly it was perhaps introduced, might act as they pleased, set the laws and authorities at defiance, and even engage in plots against the government, or act as the tools and intriguers of France, without check or hindrance from the fear of being brought to punishment.

By the latter article, the admission of certain alcoholic liquors

¹ Hawaiian Spect. 1839, in Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 95.



was *forced* upon the government, which, as we shall afterwards see, had for many years been seeking to stop the use of them by the natives, on account of the injurious moral effects which they produced. This could scarcely have been done for the sake of any national advantage which it could be to France, considering how small comparatively could be the consumption of these articles in the Sandwich Islands; but the morals of the nation were, in this instance, to be sacrificed for the sake of profit to individuals among the foreigners; and perhaps too, it was thought, that if the king and the chiefs could be inspired with the love of drink, they might be rendered more subservient to their purposes.

Such is an example of "the noble and liberal system pursued by France toward the powerless;" but, as might easily have been foreseen, things did not stop here.

In August 1842, the *Embuscade*, a French sloop of war, commanded by Captain Mallet, arrived at Honolulu, and made heavy complaints to the king of the infringement of the treaties entered into with Captain la Place; particularly of French citizens and members of the Catholic religion having been insulted, and subjected to various unjust measures, concerning which his majesty had probably not been informed; that subordinate agents, ignorant or ill-disposed, had, without any special order from government, thrown down churches, threatened the priests, and compelled their disciples to attend Protestant places of worship and Protestant schools; that to effect this, they had pursued a course repulsive to humanity, notwithstanding the late treaty granted the free exercise of the Catholic religion, and equal protection to its ministers. Under the pretext of obtaining such measures as would protect the adherents of the Catholic faith from all future vexations, he made a variety of demands, most of which were in no way warranted by the La Place treaties, and several of which were contrary to the laws of the country.¹

It may here be mentioned that the priests were so far from having any sympathy due to them on account of ill-treatment, that they occasioned the rulers more trouble and vexation than all other causes put together. They enjoyed perfect toleration in the discharge of their functions; but their political principles were subversive of all government which was not subservient to

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 128.



their interests; and they frequently set themselves in opposition to the laws of the country. They seemed to delight in clashing with the officers of government; their party was a refuge for all natives who became disaffected to the rulers or the laws; and they boasted that France would protect them. Many of their people were insolent, and ripe for rebellion, and all that was wanting was the presence of a foreign power to lead them on. Of this the rulers were well aware, and it was a source of great perplexity to them.¹

In February 1843, a captain of the British navy, Lord George Paulet, of her Majesty's ship *Carysfort*, arrived at the Sandwich Islands, and there enacted deeds of violence and oppression similar to those of the French in these and other islands of the Pacific Ocean. After a correspondence with the Hawaiian government, couched in a style of insolence which he would not have dared to employ toward a power capable of resisting him, he made various demands on the king in reference to certain alleged grievances and complaints of some British subjects, and to the future treatment of British subjects, and threatened to attack the town of Honolulu the following day should these demands not be complied with. In consequence of the application of *cannon law*, the king wrote to his lordship, that though some of the demands which he made were of a nature seriously calculated to embarrass his feeble government by contravening the laws which had been established for the benefit of all, yet they would comply with his demands; but that it must be under protest, and that they would represent the whole case to her Britannic Majesty's government, trusting that by it they would be justified.

Lord George Paulet now required the king to receive himself and her Britannic Majesty's representatives on the following Monday. Of what took place at their meeting we have no account; but four days thereafter, the king issued a declaration, in which he says,—“In consequence of the difficulties in which we find ourselves involved, and our opinion of the impossibility of complying with the demands of her Britannic Majesty's representatives in reference to the claims of British subjects in the

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii, p. 359; vol. xxxix. p. 131; vol. xl. pp. 47, 190; vol. xlii. p. 281.



manner in which they are made upon us, we do hereby cede the group of islands known as the Hawaiian Islands, unto the Right Honourable Lord George Paulet, representing her Majesty Victoria, Queen of Great Britain and Ireland;” the said cession being made with the reservation that it was subject to any arrangement that may have been, or that may yet be, entered into with the government of her Britannic Majesty. It is scarcely necessary to state that this was not a voluntary act on the part of the king: he found it was vain to resist, and was consequently forced to submit. When the last act, the signature of the papers, was to be performed, an affecting scene occurred. The chiefs sat silent for a season, struggling to suppress the emotions of their heaving breasts. One proposed prayer; they all kneeled down and prayed, and after the prayer was closed, they all remained kneeling for several minutes. After they rose, Ka-meha-meha (the king) and Ka-kauluahi (the premier) stepped forward, and with aching hearts signed the declaration ceding away their country to the Queen of England.

In a proclamation issued the same day, Lord George Paulet declared, that until the receipt of a communication from the British government, the government of the islands should be executed by the king and chiefs, and the officers employed by them, so far as regarded the native population, and by a commission consisting of the king, or a deputy appointed by him, Lord George Paulet, Duncan Forbes Mackay, Esq., and Lieutenant Frere, R.N., in all that concerns relations with other powers; and he further declared, “that the laws at present existing, or which shall be made at the ensuing council of the king and chiefs, after being communicated to the commission, shall be in full force so far as natives are concerned; and shall form the basis of the administration of justice by the commission, in matters between foreigners resident on these islands.” But the commission proceeded to pass many acts in direct contravention of Lord George Paulet’s declaration, and among other things, they virtually abrogated one of the existing laws of the islands, by forbidding the imprisonment of persons found guilty of fornication, except in certain cases not specified in the laws. Against these illegal acts of the commission, Dr Judd, the representative of the king, entered his solemn protest, and resigned



his seat in it; as he saw that the terms of the compact with the Hawaiian government would not in future be respected by the British commissioners, Lord George Paulet and his lieutenant John Frere, thereby withdrawing his Majesty Ka-meha-meha from all responsibility in regard to its councils and doings.

Having issued a proclamation approving of the protest and resignation of Dr Judd, his representative in the commission, and protesting in his own name against its proceedings, the king withdrew from the islands, and regardless of repeated solicitations addressed to him for the purpose of inducing him to return, enforced, it is said, by threats of bringing him in irons should he refuse to comply, he persisted in remaining absent till the arrival of the United States' frigate *Constellation*, when he visited Honolulu, and immediately entered into communications with Commodore Kearney, who in like manner issued a protest against the whole proceedings, as involving the interests of subjects of the United States.

Five days after the return of the king, Rear-Admiral Thomas, commander-in-chief of the British naval force in the Pacific Ocean, and consequently the official superior of Lord George Paulet, arrived at Honolulu. Immediately on receiving intelligence of the usurpation of that officer, the admiral, without waiting for instructions from England, sailed for the Sandwich Islands, and on inquiring into the circumstances of the case, he resolved to atone without delay for the tyranny and indignity exercised by Lord George Paulet toward the king and his people; and he accordingly proceeded to a formal restoration of Ka-meha-meha to the sovereignty of the Sandwich Islands. The British commission ceased; the English flag was taken down; the Hawaiian banners were again waving over the islands; the laws and institutions of the country were re-established; and a jubilee of ten days was ordered to be celebrated throughout the islands. Things again returned to their former course, and the excesses consequent upon the prostration of law were restrained; but it would take a long time to repair the evils which a few months of unrestricted indulgence had brought upon portions of the community. We rejoice that Admiral Thomas vindicated the honour of the British name, by thus immediately restoring the government of these islands to their rightful sovereign. His



whole conduct, indeed, appears to have been worthy of the highest praise. Whether Lord George Paulet was ever called to account for his conduct by her Majesty's government, we do not know; but officers in the British service should be taught that, if they will dishonour their sovereign and their country by outraging the rights of independent though helpless princes, or by other acts of violence and oppression, their sovereign and their country will not submit to have their honour stained by them; that their unrighteous deeds will not be allowed to pass with impunity.¹

Meanwhile the Hawaiian government, with the view of protecting itself against the unjust and oppressive acts of foreign powers, had sent commissioners² to the United States of America, and to England, France, and Belgium, to obtain from them an acknowledgment of the independence of the Sandwich Islands. This having been granted by all these countries,³ it was hoped that such arrogant and unrighteous demands as had of late years been

¹ *Miss. Her.* vol. xxxix. p. 291; vol. xl. pp. 20, 187, 189.

The proceedings of Lord George Paulet weakened the power of the Hawaiian government, and induced a spirit of insubordination on the part of multitudes of the natives. They began to imagine that they should no longer be required to pay taxes, and that they might practise any and every vice with impunity. The laws regulating morals were prostrate. Drunkenness and debauchery no longer sought a biding-place, but were openly and shamelessly practised, and were increasing every day. Many returned to their old heathenish practices, and strenuous efforts were made in some instances to revive the idolatry of their ancestors.

Immediately before the arrival of Admiral Thomas, Lord George Paulet paid a visit in the *Carysfort* to Hilo in the east of Hawaii. He went directly to the prisons, and in spite of the remonstrances of judges, wardens, sheriffs, and others, turned loose a company of infamous men and women to spread pollution through the country. Even months after the restoration of order, it was curious, yet significant, to hear the natives take sides. The vicious would say, "We are Lord George's men;" while the sober and steady class said, "We are the admiral's men." What a compliment to both the one and the other!—*Miss. Her.* vol. xl. pp. 187, 189; vol. xli. p. 363; vol. xlii. p. 148.

² Haalilio, a native, and Mr Richards.

³ In November 1843 the following engagement was entered into between the governments of England and France, and duly ratified:—"Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the King of the French, taking into consideration the existence in the Sandwich Islands of a government capable of providing for the regularity of its relations with foreign nations, have thought it right to engage, reciprocally, to consider the Sandwich Islands as an independent state, and never to take possession, neither directly nor under the title of protectorate, nor under any other form, of the territory of which they are composed."—*Miss. Her.* vol. xli. pp. 61, 65. How the spirit of this engagement was observed by France is yet to be seen.



repeatedly made on the Hawaiian government would not be again renewed; but this, though a natural, proved a vain expectation.

In August 1849, Admiral de Tromelin arrived at Honolulu, with two ships of war under his command, to enforce the demands of the French consul, M. Dillon, in regard to the duties on spirituous liquors, and a variety of other measures. The Hawaiian government, conscious of having right and justice on its side, had refused to accede to the consul's demands, notwithstanding his threats and vexatious proceedings; but it had, several months before, sent a special commission to the United States, and to England and France, with a view to the settlement of these matters. But the admiral and consul had no disposition to wait for the resolution even of their own government; they presented to the Hawaiian government a series of demands on a variety of points, commercial, civil, and religious, and required a categorical answer to them, accompanying them with serious threatenings should they not be acceded to. The demands were generally unreasonable; many of them related to trivial matters. Some of them, as usual, regarded the power and position of the Romish priests; but all of them, except the first, which merely referred to the fulfilment of a treaty that had never been called in question, trenched on the independence or authority of the Hawaiian government, and if yielded to, would have had the effect of laying it open to fresh aggressions. The Minister of Foreign Relations in reply refused, on behalf of the government, to grant one and all of them, with the exception of that now referred to, and shewed the unreasonableness of them in a way that would have done credit to any civilised country. He proposed, however, in case the reference made to France should not be satisfactory, to refer all matters in dispute to the friendly mediation and adjustment of some neutral power, by whose award the king and government would engage to abide. He then concluded as follows:—"With this answer and proposition, solemnly conveyed to you in the king's name, it will be for the admiral and consul of France to answer to their own government, to their own consciences, and to the world, for the use they make of the large force at their disposal. The king has ordered that no resistance whatever shall be made to such force."

Disregarding this representation of the Hawaiian government,



the French admiral took military possession, in the afternoon of the day on which it was made, of the fort of Honolulu, the government offices, and the customhouse, and seized the king's yacht, and other vessels sailing under the Hawaiian flag. The British consul-general and the American consul both protested against the proceedings of the French admiral. Negotiations were renewed; but the Hawaiian government stood firm, and the admiral would yield nothing of any consequence. Meanwhile the dismantling of the fort went on; and after a few days more, the admiral, with M. Dillon and his family on board, sailed for San Francisco, having sent away the king's yacht as a prize the day before. In consequence of the king's strict orders, not an angry look or word was given to any French officer, sailor, or marine during the military operations of landing, taking possession of, occupying, and dismantling the fort, the destruction of arms and powder, the posting up of proclamations, and the final retirement on board. It was supposed that the injury done to the property of the government, including the value of the yacht, amounted to about one hundred thousand dollars. In the days of heathenism such aggressions would probably have roused in the natives the spirit of revenge, and the lives of many on both sides might have been sacrificed in the combat which it is likely would have ensued.¹

Temperance.

Long previous to the arrival of the missionaries, intemperance had prevailed to a great extent in the Sandwich Islands; but after Christianity began to prevail in the country, the chiefs made very commendable efforts at different periods to restrain the evil. In these efforts they received encouragement and support from some of the foreign residents and captains of vessels, as well as from the missionaries; but from others they met with strong and unceasing opposition to the measures they employed for checking the sale and use of spirituous liquors. Foreigners still claimed the privilege of distilling and selling ardent spirits, and natives were to some extent carried away by their influence

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1843, p. 159.—Ibid. 1844, p. 211.—Ibid. 1850, p. 210.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxix. p. 90; vol. xlv. p. 61.



and example. It was at once interesting and painful to witness the struggle which was carried on for many years between the chiefs of the islands on the one hand, and the foreigners on the other; the former just emerging from a state of heathenism and barbarism, the latter representing England, France, and America, countries which, of all others, lay high claims to liberty, civilisation, and religion. There was at times a relaxation of the laws on the subject; some of the chiefs themselves fell into the snare, but yet they returned to the conflict, and they appear at times to have gained to a great extent their object. The La Place treaty, however, by which "wines and brandies could not be prohibited, and should not pay a higher duty than five per cent. *ad valorem*," was followed by a large importation and sale of these articles by the French consul and others. The quiet town of Honolulu, in the island of Oahu, which was the seat of government, and the chief place of trade in the islands, now became the resort of the vicious, and a scene of revelry and noise never before surpassed. The example set at the capital spread to other parts of the island. The people began to manufacture intoxicating drinks from various saccharine vegetables, which the island produces in great abundance; and even in remote places they gave themselves up to drunkenness and revelry. The class of persons most seriously injured by this relaxation of the law were the chiefs and those connected with them. Some even of the highest rank were at times utterly unfit for business for several days together. Many members of the church were drawn into the vortex; the congregations dwindled; and with the introduction of intoxicating drinks, other kindred vices of heathenism were revived. The whole circumstances furnished sad evidence of the truth, that reformed drunkards cannot easily resist the temptation to return to their cups when the intoxicating draught is again presented to their lips.

In October 1840, when the evil was at its height, the king came on a visit from Maui to Oahu, and the state of matters having been represented to him, he, supported by Commodore Wilkes, his officers, and the American consul, published a law prohibiting his subjects from making and using intoxicating drinks. He himself took the temperance pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks. Others of the chiefs did the



same, as did also many of the people, among whom were some of the stoutest veterans in the cause of drunkenness. A national temperance society was formed, of which the king was president, and some of the other chiefs members of committee. After this, he ordered his cellar to be cleared of whatever of the deadly poison it contained. Seven barrels of rum, brandy, gin, &c. were rolled out and returned to the merchant who had furnished them, and who thought it best, on the whole, to take them back. He now looked and acted like a new man; he was prompt and attentive to business, and seemed to take pleasure in it. He frequently addressed temperance meetings, and though not much of an orator, yet, being king, his addresses had a good effect. It was now as much as a native's character was worth to be seen drinking a glass of rum. The inability of the government to prohibit the introduction of spirituous liquors into the country was a hindrance to the success of the temperance cause; but yet the existing laws and regulations tended to confine the use of them within the narrowest possible limits.¹

Besides labouring to put down intemperance in the Sandwich Islands, the missionaries sought to discountenance the cultivation

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. pp. 75, 115; vol. xxix. p. 169; vol. xxxi. p. 149; vol. xxxv. p. 146; vol. xxxvii. p. 357; vol. xxxviii. p. 474; vol. xxxix. p. 258; vol. xli. p. 31. —Rep. Board For. Miss. 1831, p. 55.—Ibid. 1837, p. 102.—Ibid. 1843, p. 156.—Ibid. 1848, p. 231.

The article in the La Place treaty relative to spirituous liquors was afterwards altered; but in 1846, the following stipulation was introduced into treaties between the governments of England and France and the Hawaiian government:—"Wines, brandies, and other spirituous liquors," "shall be liable to such reasonable duty as the Hawaiian government may think fit to lay upon them, provided always that the amount of duty shall not be so high as absolutely to prohibit the importation of said articles." The king objected to the stipulation, but he did not dare to refuse his assent to the treaty. He gave his signature, however, under protest, throwing himself "upon the equity, justice, honour, magnanimity, and philanthropy of those two great nations," and expressing his hope that they would take into their favourable consideration this and other objectionable stipulations. Immediately after the treaty was concluded, the Hawaiian government imposed duties on the different kinds of intoxicating drinks, varying according to their strength; but against this scale of duties the representatives (we presume the consuls) of England and France protested, the former objecting to the duties on ale, porter, beer, and cider, and the latter to the duties on spirituous liquors!—*Miss. Her.* vol. xliii. p. 140; vol. xlv. p. 61. We blush to think that England should have been a party to such a treaty. What title has she, or any other country, to force her commodities on another nation in opposition to the will of the government? Is it a principle of her policy that *might is right*; that the *strong* may oppress the *weak*; that for the sake of *profit* to her manufacturers and traders she may sacrifice the *morals* and *happiness* of other countries?



and use of tobacco by the natives. This, some may think, was carrying the principle of abstinence to an undue length; but the smoking of tobacco was carried to such an extent by the Hawaiians, men, women, and children, as to be absolutely a vice, and there can be no question that the abandonment of the practice would save them from much evil. It is singular how readily some thousands of them gave it up when its evils were represented to them, though this cost them an effort similar to that required of a tippler to abandon his cups.¹

Progress of Civil Government and Civilisation.

When the first missionaries arrived in the Sandwich Islands, the will of the king and the chiefs was the only law. The people had no rights that were respected; they could hold no property that might not be taken from them; they had no security even for their lives. A chief, for example, might *tabu* a field of talo or other food at any time, by simply placing a stick of sugar-cane in one corner of it. Hence the people had no inducement to industry, no encouragement to cultivate the ground, or to accumulate property of any kind. The system of government under which they lived was, in every respect, most oppressive; they were ground to the very dust.

The king and chiefs, after some years, made various laws against murder, theft, drunkenness, adultery, gambling, perjury, Sabbath-breaking; but the laws made by them were more, as is usually the case in the infancy of society, with the view of putting down existing evils than of promoting the improvement of the people. Still the rights of the commonalty were not acknowledged or provided for.²

The government was often blamed by friends as well as by enemies, by its own subjects as well as by strangers, for the continuance of that system of oppression which had been handed down to them from their ancestors. But here, as well as in more enlightened lands, it was found easier to discover the faults of the old system, than to devise a new and better one which could be

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxix. pp. 165, 169.

² Miss. Her. vol. xxviii. p. 75; vol. xxxi. p. 149; vol. xxxvi. p. 101.



carried successfully into execution. So strongly did the chiefs feel their own incompetence to the task, yet so sensible were they of the importance of the object, that in 1836 they applied to their friends in America to send out a civilian to instruct them in the science of government, in the same way as teachers had been sent to instruct them in the principles of religion; but this application not having been successful, they applied to Mr Richards, one of the missionaries, to become their chaplain, teacher, and interpreter, and engaged to provide for his support. With this request he felt it his duty to comply, and in this he had the decided approbation both of his brethren and of the committee. He wished that his connexion with the Board might continue; but the committee, while their confidence in his judgment, zeal, and devotedness was unabated, wisely judged that he would prosecute his new duties with less embarrassment, and give less occasion of offence to those who desired occasion, by being unconnected with them. In this new office, Mr Richards appears to have been exceedingly useful; he was, a few years afterwards, as we have already mentioned, appointed Minister of Public Instruction, and in this capacity had the superintendence of the whole system of education in the Sandwich Islands. Upon his death, shortly after, Mr Armstrong, another of the missionaries, was appointed his successor. Dr Judd, a medical missionary, also entered into the service of the Hawaiian government, as interpreter and counsellor; and he also was, in consequence of this, released from his connexion with the Board.¹

In June 1839, the king and chiefs published a body of laws with a view to the better government of the islands, and the protection of their subjects. As they were purely of native origin, without any foreign help, it is not wonderful though they were in many respects injudicious and defective; yet, whatever might be their imperfections, they were a material improvement on the previous state of things. The people were now under law, and were protected in their rights. They were secured in their property and in the fruits of their labours. Neither king nor chiefs might take what was not their own; all, from the highest to the lowest ranks, enjoyed equal protection under one and the same

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 101; vol. xxxviii. p. 476; vol. xli. p. 174; vol. xlv. p. 67.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1839, p. 129.—Ibid. 1843, p. 144.—Ibid. 1848, p. 228.



law. The preamble to these new laws contained an acknowledgment of some of the most important rights of the people equally as those of the chiefs, and they carried on the face of them abundant evidence of a just and honourable design. In the course of a few years the system of laws in the Sandwich Islands was greatly extended and improved; their institutions generally were becoming, in a remarkable degree, conformed to the usages of civilized communities. A legislature was constituted on the model of that of England, consisting of a house of nobles, mostly hereditary, and of a house of representatives chosen by the people. The general influence of the rulers and the government was decidedly favourable to education, to good morals, and to the Christian religion. The hindrances to the steady execution of the laws for suppressing vice, and carrying into effect the school system, arose chiefly out of the evil influence of the Papists, and of a portion of the other foreign residents, rather than from a want of good intention on the part of the rulers, or the indisposition of the people to obey them. Great praise is due to the high chiefs of the nation for yielding to the people rights similar to those enjoyed under the most liberal governments.¹

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxxvi. p. 101; vol. xlv. p. 23.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1845, p. 185.—Ibid. 1852, p. 137.—Cal. Christ. Obser. vol. xv. p. 813.

The following account of the meeting of the legislature must appear very remarkable, when we take into account the condition of the Sandwich Islands only twenty-five years before, when the first missionaries landed upon them:—"The legislative council of the Sandwich Islands, consisting of a house of nobles and a house of representatives, convened on the 20th May (1845). This native parliament appears to have been organized after the English forms, with the usual ceremonies, a throne, seats for the ministers of state, foreign consuls, nobles, representatives, clergy, commanders of vessels of war, &c. The king was dressed in a new military suit, and the queen in a figured straw-coloured silk dress, bonnet of the same colour, with white ostrich feathers. The fort announced his majesty's entrance into the legislative hall by a national salute of twenty-one guns. The foreign vessels of war responded with the same number of guns. When their majesties had ascended the throne, the Rev. Mr Richards offered up prayer, which being ended, the king ordered the assembly to be seated, and then read the following speech:—

"Nobles and representatives of the people—

"We have called you together to deliberate on matters connected with the good of our kingdom. In the exercise of our prerogatives we have appointed Gerrit P. Judd, Esq., to be our minister for the interior affairs of our kingdom; Robert C. Wylie, Esq., to be our minister for foreign relations; and John Ricord, Esq., to be our law adviser in all matters relating to the administration of justice. We have ordered our ministers to lay before you reports of their several departments.

"The independence of our kingdom has been most explicitly recognized by the United States, Great Britain, France, and Belgium. From each of these powers we have received the most friendly assurances.



To this may be adduced the following testimony by Mr Lee, the chief justice of the islands, as to the protection afforded to persons and property :—" It is our duty," he says in a report to the government, " to add the universal remark, that in no part of the world are life and property more safe than in these islands. Murders, robberies, and the higher class of felonies, are quite unknown here, and in city and country, we retire to our sleep, conscious of the most entire security. The stranger may travel from one end of the group to the other, over mountains, and through woods, sleeping in grass huts, unarmed, alone and unprotected, with any amount of treasure on his person, and, with a tithe of the vigilance required in older and more civilized countries, go unrobbed of a penny and unburdened of a hair." " Where,"

" It is our wish to cultivate the relations of peace and friendship with all nations, and to treat the subjects of all with equal justice.

" With this view we recommend to your consideration the better organization of your courts of justice, the division of powers, and a careful revisal of the laws.

" The laws regulating licences, the tenure of lands, the registration of vessels, the harbour regulations, the duties, the fines for the punishment and correction of offences, the laws for the collection of debts and taxes, generally deserve your attention.

" Our minister for the interior will lay before you the estimate of the expenses required for the ensuing year, for which it is incumbent on you to provide, with a due regard to economy and the means of the people.

" It is our desire that you take measures to ascertain whether the number of our people be diminishing or increasing; and that you devise means for augmenting the comforts and the happiness of the people of our islands.

" We consider it the first of our duties to protect religion and promote good morals and general education. It will therefore be your duty to consider by what means these blessings can be best promoted and extended among the people of these islands, and also among the foreigners resident in our dominions. We are well aware that the Word of God is the corner-stone of our kingdom. Through its influence we have been introduced into the family of the independent nations of the earth. It shall, therefore, be our constant endeavour to govern our subjects in the fear of the Lord, to temper justice with mercy in the punishment of crime, and to reward industry and virtue.

" The Almighty Ruler of nations has dealt kindly with us in our troubles in restoring our kingdom, together with special guarantees for its existence as an independent nation. May He also aid you in your deliberations, and may He grant his special protection to us, to you, and to our people."

" On the next day, May 21, both houses replied to the king's address, concluding with ' God preserve the king ! ' The ministers presented their reports and estimates on the same day, and the ordinary business of the session commenced.

" The 31st of July was to be observed as a day of thanksgiving for the Divine favour towards the islands."—*New York Observer in Cal. Christ. Obser.* vol. xv. p. 813.

The statute laws organizing the general government and courts of justice, the criminal code, and reported trials in the courts, printed in the English language, make five octavo volumes in the library of the American Board.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1853, p. 143.



he justly asks, "does the world afford a parallel of equal security?"¹

We formerly stated that the hereditary chiefs of the Sandwich Islands were a higher order of men than the common people, both in their physical structure and in the character of their minds; but among the changes which are going on in Hawaii, it is not the least remarkable that the old chiefs were no longer the governors. All the principal officers in that island were taken from among the common people, particularly from those who had been educated in the seminary at Lahainaluna. It was a new thing in Hawaii to have the governor and the principal officers under him selected from the common people; and it was hoped that many benefits might flow from this new order of things. The common people had now before them a striking proof of the advantages of education in connexion with good moral character. Chiefs were no longer to be rulers as a matter of course. Persons to be rulers must possess the necessary qualifications; and parents began to see the importance of having their children duly educated, as education might open up to them the first offices in the state.²

The Christianization of the Sandwich Islands, it is matter of notoriety, has outstripped their civilization. Even book-knowledge is in advance of almost everything connected with the arts of civilized life. There were many whose knowledge of reading, writing, geography, book-keeping, history, and theology, is quite creditable; but a good mechanic or tradesman was not yet to be found among them. Many could do some mason, blacksmith, carpenter, cabinet, and shoemaker's work, but there was not one who could produce a first or even a second-rate article. Hard labour, daily care, regular habits, are what a Hawaiian dislikes. To live with the least possible amount of work, is what he likes. If a horse or a bullock is to be caught, many with *lasso* in hand are ready to take the job; and from a quarter to half a dollar an hour, is often the pay demanded for such a piece of service.³

But yet, the people have of late years been making greater progress than ever before, as regards the arts and comforts of

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 143.

² Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 73.

³ Miss. Her. vol. xlvi. p. 403.



civilized life, especially at those points where Christianity and commerce exerted their combined and direct influence, though a certain amount of improvement might be seen in even the most remote parts of the islands, and among the obscurest portion of the population. Many were purchasing land as their personal property, erecting neat and durable houses for themselves, providing useful articles of furniture, as tables, chairs, bedsteads, chests, writing-desks, and stationery, cutlery, hardware, glass and earthenware, including a variety of culinary and domestic utensils. Some had even clocks, and began to understand the value of time. Their scanty native coverings were disappearing; a man or woman in the ancient costume was seldom to be seen; in their dress and manners they were gradually conforming to the practice of Europeans. Many, both males and females, were dressed in articles of English manufacture, some of them even according to the latest fashions. On the Sabbath, one would discover no very wide difference between a Hawaiian and an American congregation. They were also providing themselves with the more necessary implements and tools for working with. Some were beginning to keep horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and to make use of milk in their families, a very recent improvement. Others were cultivating various kinds of grain and vegetables. The numerous ships which touched yearly at these islands for supplies, bore witness to their agricultural improvements. The erection of fences, the making of new and repairing of old roads, the employment of carts and cattle in carrying burdens instead of doing it themselves, families subscribing for the native newspaper and paying for it, were further indications of progress. Their new wants were rendering them more industrious, and as a result of this they were improving fast in their temporal condition.¹

¹ The following statement of the commercial statistics of the Sandwich Islands for 1849, which appeared in the *Times* newspaper, furnishes further gratifying proof of the advances they are making :—"The gross value of imports was 729,739 dollars, and the nett receipts at the customhouse 71,943 dollars, being an increase of more than 20 per cent. These imports were chiefly from the United States, California, Great Britain, China, and Chili. The amount of domestic produce exported was 190,000 dollars. The number of whale-ships that entered the ports was 274, of which 261 were American; and the number of merchant ships furnished with supplies was 148. Of 13 ships of war that entered, 7 were American, 3 British, 2 French, and 1 Russian. During the past year the demand for the produce of the islands was beyond what could be sup-



There was, however, a strong disposition among some of them to indulge in extravagance of dress, and to purchase articles which ministered more to their vanity and love of display, than to their health, morals, or even real comfort. In many cases this became quite a passion. They would neglect their children, leave them without suitable food or clothing, and live in the meanest huts, while their little all was spent in buying riding horses, costly apparel to adorn their persons, or other artificial ornaments.

Still, however, the people were poor; most of them very poor. All we mean to state is, that in their temporal condition they had improved more rapidly, and to a greater extent than the most sanguine mind could have anticipated; but yet their poverty and degradation were still very great, and there was ample room for other and still greater improvements.¹

When the first missionaries arrived on the islands, marriage, considered as involving solemn and lasting ties, was unknown. A man might have as many wives as he could feed, and he might turn them away when he chose. A woman might also have as many husbands as she wished, and she could turn them off and take others at pleasure, or they might leave her if they chose. Polygamy was one of the characteristics of that age. The king had five wives, one of them the widow, and two of them the daughters, of his deceased father. Parental affection was rarely seen, and filial affection was still more rare. No obligation was felt on the part of parents to take care of their children, or on the part of children to obey their parents; and children were often destroyed before or after birth, to save the trouble of providing and caring for them.

plied, and many vessels were obliged to sail without being able to complete their cargoes."

The following statement we also extract from the *Times*:—"At a large public meeting the contemplated Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society was organized, and resolutions were adopted, recommending improvements of the public roads, the extension of inter-island navigation by steam vessels, the annual distribution of premiums for the promotion of agriculture, the employment of a competent person to undertake a geological and agricultural survey of the islands, and the establishment of a public nursery for plants and fruit trees."

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xxx. p. 371; vol. xli. pp. 79, 86, 159, 362, 366; vol. xlii. p. 184; vol. xliii. pp. 219, 361; vol. xlv. pp. 22, 75, 81, 86; vol. xlvi. pp. 112, 400, 408; vol. xlvii. pp. 335, 397; vol. xlviii. p. 322.



Now, marriage, according to the Christian form, was general throughout the islands; all the natural and domestic relations were respected, and the duties of each were in some measure regulated by good and wholesome laws. Husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, were recognized by the laws of the country, and the neglect of the duties attached to these various relations was punishable by fine, imprisonment, or other disabilities.¹

Decrease of Population.

It is, however, a melancholy fact that the native population of the Sandwich Islands is in the course of rapid diminution, and there is reason to fear that it will, at no distant period, become extinct, unless this downward course shall be checked by the progress of civilization and the influence of Christianity. When Captain Cook discovered these islands, the population was estimated at about 400,000, and though there can be little question that this was an over-estimate, yet the accounts of the older and more intelligent natives, as well as the indications of a country once extensively cultivated, would go to shew that the population was formerly much greater than it is at present. In 1832, according to a census taken by the school teachers, under the direction of the missionaries, the population was 130,313; and according to another census taken in 1836, it was 108,579. In January 1850, according to a new census of the population taken by order of the government, it was only 84,165. How far these successive enumerations are to be relied on, we do not know; but it appears to be an admitted fact that the population of the Sandwich Islands is rapidly on the decrease. According to this ratio of decrease, should it go on, no long period will be required to effect the extinction of the whole aboriginal population.²

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 22.

² Haw. Spec. vol i. p. 53.—Dibble, p. 50.—Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 397.

The census of 1850 brought out some remarkable facts as to the native population. The following is the classification of the males and females according to their age :—

	Males.	Females.
Under 18 years,	12,983	10,383
From 18 to 31 years,	7,995	7,752
From 31 to 53 years,	11,018	11,047
Above 53 years,	10,207	9,154

From this it appears that the males exceeded the females by 3867, or nearly one-



Though it is not difficult to point to various causes of depopulation in the Sandwich Islands, such as wars, infanticide, human sacrifices, intemperance, the licentious intercourse of the sexes, the introduction of the venereal disease by Europeans,¹ the great mortality which prevailed among children in infancy, the oppressive character of the government, and the heavy burdens of the people;² yet there is still a mystery hangs over the subject. Some of these causes have, since the introduction of Christianity and civilization into the island, been passing away; yet the process of depopulation is still going on. Epidemics sometimes commit fearful ravages in the Sandwich Islands; and these, in consequence of their increased intercourse with other countries, are probably now more frequent than in former times. In 1848 there was a succession of such epidemics: first, measles, which came from Mexico; then hooping-cough, from California; diarrhoea succeeded, and last of all influenza. In the course of eight months, these epidemics, it was conjectured, cut off not less than one-tenth of the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, among whom were a large portion of the children born that year.³

tenth; that the excess was greatest among the young and the older portion of the population; and that of those under 18 years of age it was no less than 2,600. It further appears that in the preceding year (1849), which, however, was a year of much sickness, the deaths were 4320, and the births 1422, being an excess of 2898 deaths, *i. e.*, the deaths were fully three times more than the births. It also appears that there were 505 blind, or nearly 1 in every 160 of the population, and 249 deaf, or less than one-half the number of blind.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xvi. p. 397.

¹ Of the ravages of the venereal disease in the Sandwich Islands, we have a fearful picture in the *Hawaiian Spectator*, vol. i. p. 257; but supposing that picture not to be overdrawn, it appears now to have lost much of its original virulence. In 1839, the physicians connected with the mission, in a report relative to the health and disease of the islands, say, "The venereal disease, which probably did once make considerable havoc among this people, seems now to have so far worn itself out, that we seldom see it as recently contracted, except about the harbours, and there not extensively; and very few deaths from it have occurred in our practice. Neither do we perceive that this disease materially retards the increase of population on these islands.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1840, p. 149.

² The Sandwich Islanders, like other barbarous tribes, laboured under great disadvantages from want of the means of diminishing, yet facilitating, labour, which are so common among civilized nations. Not only was the tillage of the land carried on wholly by the hand, but all heavy burdens, house-timber, fuel, food, and other articles which in England and America are conveyed from place to place by carts, waggons, horses, or other mechanical means, were carried on their backs. Though they appeared to consider this as a matter of course, yet the consequences of it were seen in the decrepit forms, the broken-down constitutions, and the early graves of multitudes of the common people.—*Haw. Spect.* vol. i. p. 54.

Haw. Spect. vol. i. pp. 54, 60, 262.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xxv. p. 371; vol. xlv. p. 359; vol. xvi. 109, 166.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1845, p. 186.



To these causes of depopulation, we may add, that the Sandwich Islanders, with few exceptions, do not regard, either in health or sickness, the established laws of the Great Creator as to their manner of living. All their habits are wrong. They exercise little forethought, pay no regard to cautions for preserving health, live amidst filth and vermin, wear clothes in dry weather but take them off when it is wet and cold, sleep abroad in the night air, indulge freely in unwholesome food, and have nothing as suitable diet in sickness. When labouring under a raging fever, or suffering from influenza, they even plunge into cold water to allay the heat of their bodies. Indeed, cold water is their main specific for every kind of sickness.¹

The future destinies of the Sandwich Islanders it is impossible to predict; but there is room for apprehension that they may dwindle away like many of the American Indian tribes, until few or none of them are left, or they become merged in a foreign race. There is now growing up in the Sandwich Islands a new and increasing class, the children of foreigners by Hawaiian mothers, who are a more vigorous and enterprising race than the pure natives, and are perhaps destined to succeed or supersede them, though not for a generation or two to come.² This is a painful thought; but a change of race will probably before long take place in many parts of the world. The Anglo-Saxon races, in particular, are spreading themselves everywhere, and from their superior intelligence, vigour, and enterprise, they are likely to supersede the native tribes of many of the countries in which they settle.

In May 1853, the whole number of persons admitted into the church on examination and profession of their faith in Christ, since the commencement of the mission, as then reported, amounted to 38,544; the number admitted the preceding year was 1644, and the whole number of members remaining in regular standing was 22,236.³ The number of the members who became the subjects of church discipline was a striking feature in the

¹ Miss. Her. vol. xlv. p. 166.

² Rep. Board For. Miss. 1848, p. 230.

³ These returns, however, appear to be incomplete. In May 1851, two years before, the whole number of members admitted on examination, was stated to be 39,201, and the whole number of children baptized was 14,173; while by the returns of 1853, it was 13,887.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1852, p. 130.—See also p. 140.



mission to the Sandwich Islands; yet too unfavourable a conclusion must not be drawn from this circumstance. It should be remembered, that many of them were taken from the lowest depths of ignorance and moral debasement; that habits of sin had become with them a second nature; that they were surrounded by numerous and powerful temptations; that they had very indistinct and often erroneous moral perceptions; that they were without any proper sense of the worth of character, and were not under those other multiplied influences which co-operate so powerfully with the grace of God in restraining converts from sin in Christian lands; and that, as a natural consequence of all this, cases requiring the discipline of the church might be expected to be much more numerous than in countries where these evils are comparatively unknown.¹ These observations will apply very generally to churches gathered from among the heathen, especially if their numbers are considerable; and wherever Scriptural church discipline is faithfully administered, we shall probably find not a few subjected to it.

The congregations on the Sabbath were now much smaller than in the early years of the mission; there were many more of them, but the average attendance was not greater than is common in England or America. The churches were, in general, much more numerous than the congregations. One, that of Hilo, in Hawaii, included upwards of 6000 members scattered over a district of five or six hundred square miles, the travelling from one part of which to another was rendered exceedingly difficult by intervening mountains, precipices, ravines, and rivers. It is plain that both the congregations and the churches needed far more instruction and care than it was possible for the missionaries to bestow; but their lack of service was made up in some degree by native assistants. Though the attempt to raise up a native ministry had to a great extent failed, yet there were several who were ordained as pastors of congregations, and others were licensed as preachers. There was a still greater number, who, though not ordained or licensed, exercised their gifts in preaching, exhorting, and in watching over sections of churches. They were good, pious, evangelical men, and were of great service in carrying on the work in the large, and often widely-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1853, p. 149.—Miss. Her. vol. xxxvii. p. 195.



scattered congregations; though they were still too deficient in knowledge and discretion, as well as in patience and stability of character, to render it safe to invest them with all the duties and responsibilities of pastors, and to leave them without superintendence and control. It is stated that they failed in government most, and that their intellectual resources were soon exhausted. Besides these, there was a numerous body of deacons, and a still more numerous class denominated fellow-helpers, consisting of persons of both sexes. The women conducted female meetings, and visited among the female portion of the community.¹

An important change has been effected of late in this mission. The Sandwich Islands were considered as so far evangelized, that it was deemed advisable to put them as far as possible on the same footing as stations of a home missionary society. Arrangements were accordingly made between the Board and the missionaries, by which a number of them are to be supported wholly by the people themselves; others are to be supported partly by them, and partly by the Board, while there are still a few of the agents who continue to derive their support entirely from the Board.

Besides doing much to support the gospel among themselves, the Hawaiians now raise considerable contributions for various Christian and benevolent objects, and they have lately commenced efforts for sending the gospel to other islands of the sea. During the year 1852, the churches in the Sandwich Islands contributed upwards of 24,000 dollars for these various objects.²

There are few things which we find more difficult than to form a correct estimate of the religious and moral results of missions. Physical changes, which are perceptible by the senses, it is com-

¹ *Miss. Her.* vol. xlii. p. 420; vol. xliii. pp. 136, 160; vol. xliv. p. 75; vol. xlv. pp. 19, 79, 85, 87; vol. xlvii. p. 336.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1845, p. 177.

² *Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1853, pp. 139, 142, 151.

In 1852, three missionaries from America, and two of the natives, proceeded to Micronesia, distant about 2000 miles, and settled on two of the islands, Strong's Island and Ascension Island. This mission, though sent out by the Board, is to be supported in part by the Sandwich Islanders, who contributed to it very liberally. In 1853, a mission consisting entirely of natives was sent by the Hawaiian Missionary Society, which had been lately formed, to one of the Marquesas Islands, and is to be wholly supported by it.—*Miss. Her.* vol. xlviii. pp. 326, 354; vol. xlix. pp. 81, 83, 85, 87, 90.—*Rep. Board For. Miss.* 1853, p. 151.



paratively easy to estimate and to describe; but religious and moral changes, involving as they do the state and movements of the human heart, it is impossible for man to determine and delineate with certainty. This difficulty we have felt, in a very peculiar manner, in regard to the American mission in the Sandwich Islands. In its earlier stages, exceedingly favourable accounts were given of its state and prospects; but after some years, it was found that much which had been taken for gold turned out to be dross. The aspect of the mission was, in fact, from time to time, very changeable; like a summer day in some countries, it was now sunshine, now cloud. Even at the same period it would present different aspects, a bright side and a dark. Much also depended on the point from which it was viewed, whether from the state of heathenism and barbarism previously existing in the Sandwich Islands, or from the state of Christianity and civilization in such countries as England or America. It strikes us, too, that many American missionaries are apt to make strong statements, not, we are persuaded, with the design of giving false or exaggerated views of things, but yet in some degree with this effect. The accounts of the mission in the Sandwich Islands often appear, in fact, scarcely reconcileable with each other. The statements of the good done, it is not easy to reconcile with the statements given at another time, or even at the same time and by the same writer, of the evils still existing among the islanders, and even among the church members. Never perhaps were the homely yet emphatic lines of Ralph Erskine more fully realized than in the Sandwich Island converts:—

“To good and evil equal bent,
I’m both a devil and a saint.”

But after making all reasonable allowances, we cannot conclude without giving it as our opinion, that the American mission in the Sandwich Islands is one of the most remarkable missions of modern times. We know of no example of a nation raised, in so short a time, from the depths of heathenism and barbarism to such a place in the scale of Christianization and civilization as the Sandwich Islanders have reached. We are quite aware that the mighty change is not to be attributed wholly to the missionaries, particularly as regards their civilization; other causes contri-



buted to this; but while they were the main instruments of their Christianization, even those other causes which promoted their civilization would have had comparatively little effect, had it not been for their presence, labours, and influence. One would have thought that civilized nations would have hailed with wonder and delight the progress made by the savage inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, and would have rejoiced to nurse and strengthen their infant Christianity and civilization. What, then, are we to think of the government of France, which has never ceased to pursue measures destructive of the new religion and the improved morals of the people, of the power and independence of the government, and, as a consequence, of all the improvements going on in the islands;—and all this with a view to base, selfish, paltry ends? What are we to think of certain representatives of England who pursued a similar mischievous course? Even America is not altogether guiltless on this head, though her representatives did, for the most part, act a righteous and honourable part.

SECT. VI.—NORTH AMERICA.

ART. I.—CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

1.—*East of the Mississippi.*

In 1817, the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, and Messrs Hall and Williams, settled in the district of Chickamaugh, in the Cherokee country, with the view of forming an establishment for promoting among the Indians the arts and habits of civilized life, as well as the knowledge of Christianity.

In the preceding year, Mr Kingsbury, when on his way to the Cherokee country, with the view of making preparations for the establishment of the mission, passed through Washington, in pursuance of his instructions, communicated the design of the Board to the heads of departments, and solicited their patronage. They gave him a favourable hearing, expressed their decided approbation of the design, and their disposition to render it every facility and aid which the laws would permit. The Secretary at War, by order of the President of the United States, informed him



that, in the first instance, the agent for Indian affairs would be directed to erect a comfortable school-house, and another house for the teacher and the scholars who may board with him, in such part of the nation as may be selected for the purpose, and also to furnish certain agricultural implements, with the view of introducing the art of husbandry among the pupils; that whenever he was informed that female children were received into the school, and that a female teacher was engaged capable of teaching them to spin, weave, and sew, he would furnish a loom and spinning-wheels, and pairs of cards, for their use; and that he would be directed, from time to time, to cause other school-houses to be erected, as they should become necessary, and as the prospects of ultimate success should justify the expenditure. The government subsequently gave the Board assurances of similar aid in establishing missions among the Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Creeks, and expressed a particular desire that the instruction of these four tribes, by far the most numerous within the then limits of the United States, should go on at the same time. The attention of the Board was now specially directed to the establishment of missions among the Indians, and it was prepared to enter into measures for this end with great energy and zeal.

With the view of carrying out these enlarged designs, a plantation was purchased for the purposes of rural and domestic economy; and the missionary settlers in a short time erected upon it a commodious dwelling-house, a school-house, a mill, and some other buildings: they also cultivated the land, and stocked it with the most useful domestic animals. Soon after their arrival, they also began to receive children into their family, to teach them the rudiments of the English language, the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The progress of these youths in learning was uncommonly rapid: many of them, as has often been remarked of the Indians, learned faster than an equal number of English children. Besides attending school daily, the children, male and female, had their regular hours of labour; and it may be remarked that they worked much more cheerfully and constantly than could have been expected. They were remarkably mild and gentle in their tempers, and were much less apt to quarrel than an equal number of White children. It is said, indeed, to be a general characteristic of the Cherokees,



that they are of a mild disposition, and not apt to quarrel, except when inflamed by whisky. The whole establishment was conducted with the strictest attention to order; the missionary settlers and their wives had each their appropriate employments; the children also had their time regularly devoted to particular pursuits.¹

The mission had not, however, been long begun, when a dark cloud threatened to come over it. It had been the intention of the United States government to procure an extended exchange of lands with the Cherokees and other Indian nations residing on the east of the Mississippi, and to remove them into the wilderness of the Arkansas and of the Missouri. The Cherokees being urgently pressed with proposals in reference to this measure, were in great consternation and distress, and a delegation of twelve of their chief men was appointed by the council of the nation to proceed to Washington, to confer with the government relative to it. In the course of the negotiation, a principal argument employed by the Cherokees was, that their removal from their own country—where they had begun to cultivate the land, and had already made considerable progress in the arts of civilization, and where a system of instruction for their general improvement had commenced with the fairest prospect of success—into a boundless wilderness, where everything would invite and impel them to revert to the hunting, wandering, and savage life—would frustrate the desires of the better part of the nation, and destroy the hopes of their benevolent friends, and in effect doom them to extermination. This argument appears to have had weight with the government; and the delegation, instead of finding themselves obliged to sign a virtual surrender of their country, had the satisfaction of putting their signatures to a treaty of a very different description. This treaty, after a cession of lands by the Cherokees, in consideration of a portion of the nation having emigrated to the Arkansas, and having had lands assigned to them in that quarter, secured to them the remainder of their country in perpetuity; and of the ceded lands, an appropriation was made of about 100,000 acres, for a perpetual school fund, to be applied,

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1816, p. 10.—Ibid. 1817, p. 15.—Ibid. 1818, p. 17.—Ibid 1819, p. 32.



under the direction of the President of the United States, to the instruction of the Cherokees on the east side of the Mississippi. This was considered by all who wished well to the American aborigines, as a signally auspicious event. The United States government appeared to be at this time anxious to promote the civilization and improvement of the Indian tribes. Congress shortly afterwards passed an act appropriating 10,000 dollars annually, to be applied, under the direction of the President, to the instruction of the Indian tribes.¹

In the course of a few years the mission was considerably extended, as will appear from the following table of the principal stations that were established:—

Begun.	Stations.
1817.	Brainerd.
1820.	Carmel.
1820.	Creekpath.
1822.	Hightower.
1823.	Willstown.
1823.	Haweis.
1825.	Candy's Creek.
1827.	New Echota.

With the view of carrying on the various objects of the mission, the Board sent, not only missionaries, but teachers, both male and female, farmers, and mechanics, as blacksmiths and carpenters, among the Cherokees. The missionaries, besides preaching the gospel in their immediate neighbourhood, made extensive tours through the Cherokee country, for the purpose of extending the knowledge of it more widely among the Indians. Besides the boarding-schools, there were village schools established in different parts of the nation, the pupils of which still resided with their parents. The teaching of English to the Cherokees had been a favourite scheme with the Board; but experience shewed that it was a more difficult thing to teach English, even to children, than they had imagined; and though the teaching of it was

¹ Tracy's Memoir of Jeremiah Evarts, Esq., p. 128.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1819, p. 38.—Ibid. 1820, p. 68.



not given up, yet it was found necessary to teach the Cherokee language more generally in the schools. Considerable dissatisfaction was created in the minds of some of the parents, as well as of the children in the boarding-schools, on account of the labour and restraint, and also the correction, to which they were subjected. Some parents took their children away on this account, and some of the scholars themselves, who, like children in all uncivilized countries, are little under the control of their parents, went away without their permission. The departure of pupils was often at that period of their education when it was of most consequence that they should remain, being then prepared to make more rapid and more important progress than before. This is one of the trials to which those who labour for the benefit of a heathen and uncivilized people are greatly exposed. The girls in the schools received very particular attention in regard to instruction, not only in the ordinary branches of education, but in the common domestic employments of women, it being justly deemed a matter of great importance to prepare them for the future duties of wives and mothers, and for being an example to other females in the nation. Considerable advantages resulted from the farming and other secular labours of the mission, particularly in the way of affording employment to the pupils in the schools, and in furnishing the means of subsistence to the families of the missionaries, and to the children in the boarding-schools.¹

It was, however, no easy task to carry on the varied and complicated measures necessary for the evangelization, education, and civilization of the Indians; the secular cares and operations of the mission appear to have been, in a peculiar manner, a source of difficulty. To carry on the work of moral and religious instruction—to teach, provide for, and take care of a large number of children who had never before been either taught or governed—to manage farms and workshops and mills—to erect buildings, take journeys, and meet the various exigencies of the mission settlements, required a considerable number of persons, and they of different classes, for the various departments of the work. Now, it is scarcely possible to bring together a number of persons,

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1822, pp. 35, 44, 50.—Ibid. 1823, pp. 69, 75.—Ibid. 1824, pp. 52, 54, 62.—Ibid. 1831, p. 60.—Evarts's Memoir, p. 250.



male and female, from different ranks of life, and of different employments, and to get them to act together harmoniously and efficiently in the prosecution of a common object, even though it should be in different departments of the work, while on terms of perfect equality, and impelled only by the influence of Christian principle. The qualities, both of head and heart, which are necessary for this end, are much more rare than is commonly imagined. In old societies, whether civil or religious, the path in which each individual is to walk is marked out by law and custom, or it is regulated by authority or positive contract, and there are a thousand salutary influences which preserve the peace and harmony of such communities. But it is very different with a missionary body, composed of different ranks and classes, especially if they are located in a wilderness, or are removed to a far distant land. There new circumstances exist, new relations are called into being, and new duties devolve on the members; they are brought into close connexion with each other, and this is apt to give rise to collisions, particularly if they were previously, as is probably the case, strangers and unknown to one another. It would appear that something of this kind occurred among the agents engaged in the mission among the Cherokee Indians, and that other evils arose out of the location of so many persons at the same place, and of their being so much engrossed with secular cares.

After the experience of several years, the Board were led to draw, among others, the following conclusions, which we are persuaded are of much importance in the conduct of missions:—

1. That as the instruction of the heathen in Christian knowledge and true piety is the great object of missions, this end should be held continually in view from the very commencement of a mission, and it should never be merged under a mass of secular cares.

2. That the number of missionaries and assistants in one place should be as small as is consistent with the duties of the station.

3. That the secular labours of each station, even the largest, should be as few and simple as possible.

4. That, therefore, it is better that the natives should get mechanics to live among them, unconnected with any missionary



station, than that the attention of missionaries should be distracted by various and complicated labours.¹

Within the last thirty years the Cherokee Indians had made very considerable advances in civilization. Agriculture was now their chief employment, and their principal means of support. Few or none of them lived by the chase; husbandry was the dependence of almost every family. The ground was uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not as formerly, by the hoe only. Towards the end of the 18th century there was scarcely a plough seen in the nation; now there were 2923. They had also 7600 horses, 22,000 cattle, 46,000 swine, 2500 sheep, 172 waggons, 31 grist-mills, 62 blacksmiths' shops, and a number of public roads. Though many still failed in habits of industry, and the more indolent sometimes trespassed upon the hospitality of the more industrious, yet most families provided, by the cultivation of their fields, for the supply of their own wants, and many raised considerable quantities of corn for sale. Suf-

¹ Rep. Board For. Miss. 1824, p. 45.

In reference to differences and other evils among missionaries, we cannot refrain from here giving an extract from a letter written by Mr Evarts, the admirable secretary of the Board, to a missionary among the Indians, in which he enters with great minuteness into the discussion of various perplexing questions that embarrassed the operations of the mission. In the conclusion of the letter, after referring to a want of brotherly love, and of a public spirit, in regard to the common interests of the mission, and to a disposition to blame one another, confessedly prevalent in some missions, he proceeds in the following strain of earnest exhortation :—"The Prudential Committee are appealed to most particularly for a remedy. Now, if the committee were much wiser than they are, how could they apply a remedy to such a case as this, when it is confessed that the parties live in habitual disregard of some of the plainest commands of the New Testament, such as those that require them to 'love one another,' and to be 'of the same mind and of the same judgment;' and when, as is too apparent, each one 'seeks his own good,' and few of them 'the things which are Jesus Christ's' ? I do not apply these questions to any but those who have made the most ample confessions. The New Testament is the grand Directory; and where that fails of regulating the lives of missionaries, what can be done ?

"One solemn appeal I would desire to make to every individual who reads or hears this letter. It is this :—If every other individual connected with missions should fail in his duty, I charge *you* to see that the souls of these poor Indians be not lost through *your* neglect. If your schools should be relinquished, and your mission-houses abandoned to the owls, and weeds should take undisturbed possession of your fields; if the government should become discouraged, and the enemies of the Red Men should triumph in their hopeless degradation; if the failure of Indian missions should bereave other nations of spiritual knowledge, and the tide of Christian benevolence should experience a most disastrous ebb; if this course of calamity should be seen, to the dismay of Christ's friends, and the exultation of his foes—resolve that *you* will have no share in producing



fering for want of food, it was believed, was as rare as in any part of the civilized world.

The arts of spinning and weaving were generally practised by the Cherokee women. There were in the nation 2488 spinning wheels, and 762 looms. Most of their garments were of their own spinning and weaving, from cotton, the produce of their own fields; though considerable quantities of cotton goods brought into the country were also worn by them, and even silk articles were not uncommon. Numbers of the men were dressed in cloth of foreign manufacture, as English broad cloths; but the greater part wore clothing of cotton, or a mixture of cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives. Many of the Cherokees were now as well dressed as the Whites around them; the manner of dress of both was for the most part substantially the same. Formerly, young persons felt awkward and ashamed to be seen in the dress of the Whites; now, they felt awkward and ashamed to appear without it. A part of the old people, both men and women, re-

it; that *you* will clear *your* hands of it utterly; that *you* will not spend *your* time in finding fault with others, but in a cheerful and thorough devotion of your strength to *your own work*, in your appropriate sphere of action.

"The plan of missions among the Indians may have defects which we have not yet discovered, and there are some already discovered which do not admit of an immediate remedy; but I am convinced there is no such defect of plan as will excuse from blame in case of an utter failure. A great responsibility rests on those who are in the field—a responsibility from which they cannot escape if they would, and from which they ought not to wish an escape possible. This responsibility consists, not in forming new theories so much as in taking up the cross *daily*, and following Christ in the regeneration. It appears to me that the spirit of a true missionary would prompt to the exclamation—'*Woe is me if the gospel be not preached to these heathen! Woe is me if the souls of these Indians perish! Let me do anything—let me be anything, to subserve this glorious purpose of saving them from ruin!*'"

In another letter, written in 1824, he says—"The concerns of the Indian missions lie with great weight on my mind. Their situation is very critical. I do not apprehend their immediate danger of extinction; but, unless I mistake, they are in great danger of coming far short of our reasonable expectations.

"The question recurs—How shall this danger be averted? Let this question be well pondered. The Lord must build the house, or it will never be built. But how will he build it? In my opinion, he will build it by *an improved character, a more holy and self-denying service* in those whom he employs, in every department of the work. I do not believe a mere alteration of plan will do much. Some improvements suggested by experience may be valuable; but the great improvement to be desired in the Christian public, in the committee, and in missionaries, is *greater love for the souls of the heathen, which will lead to a more active, cheerful, and successful prosecution of the work.*"

It is a weighty saying he has elsewhere—"It is not an easy thing to conduct missions." The weight of these words can be understood only by those who have had much practical experience of the work.—Evarts's *Memoir*, pp. 199, 203, 264.