

CLAIMING CHRISTIANITY: THE STRUGGLE OVER GOD
AND NATION IN HAWAI'I, 1880–1900

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This work is dedicated to the many remarkably generous, kind, and gracious folks who, without pause, opened their churches, their homes, and their lives to me over the past ten years as we listened to voices and shared stories. This story is yours, and that of your kūpuna, and I am humbled to have been given the opportunity to discover it along with you. Also, to the numerous writers of the past, who, with foresight and dedication, documented their unending devotion to their ‘āina and their lāhui. I am sincerely blessed to have been a part of all that has happened during this work. Mahalo nō ho‘i.

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ABSTRACT

A dominant, teleological narrative concerning Christianity in Hawai‘i has described a fatalistic progression from the 1820 arrival of American Protestant missionaries to the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy. It posits Christianity as a tool of foreign usurpers and has worked to elide Native claims on both God and nation. It is based almost exclusively on English-language research. This dissertation contests and complicates that narrative by foregrounding and analyzing the prolific actions of Native Christian patriots during the political struggles of the latter part of the nineteenth century in Hawai‘i. It utilizes Hawaiian-language primary sources to examine how Christianity became a central tool of the Native struggle for the life of their land and lāhui. The extant record of Native Christian action and writing of this period offers an entirely new understanding of the relationship between the Mission, Christian institutions of the period, and Native Hawaiian Christianity.

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INTRODUCTION

Hawaii is the first Country in which the American missionaries have labored, whose political relations to the United States have been changed as the result of missionary labors.¹

—Papa Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Board) officer Rev. Charles Hyde on the January 17, 1893 coup

On the afternoon of January 17, 1993, one hundred years to the day after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government, Rev. Paul Sherry stood on the grounds of one of the oldest and most revered Native Christian churches in the Islands, Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu. An awning arched over the lawn, shading the large, expectant crowd facing him. Sherry, President of the United Church of Christ (UCC),² had been sent to this historic house of worship from the UCC home offices in Cleveland, Ohio, to offer a formal apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of that institution, “in recognition of our historic complicities in the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893.”³ The apology spoke not only of the church’s historic complicity in the events that culminated in the loss of Hawaiian independence, but also admitted a general ethnocentrism on the part of the mission that led to “unduly identifying the ways of the West with the ways of the Christ.” Native pastor Dr. Kaleo Patterson, writing of an earlier delivery of the speech by Sherry at ‘Iolani Palace that morning, said, “With tear-filled eyes and deep emotion his historic words were heard by the young and old, and

¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Judson Smith, February 28, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library,

² The UCC was created in 1957 with the merger of the Congregational Christian Churches—of which the AEH Hawai‘i churches were a part—and the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

³ Paul Sherry, “The Apology,” *New Conversations* (spring 1993): 3. Rev. Sherry had been sent to Hawai‘i following a resolution, passed at the denomination’s Eighteenth General Synod in 1991, recognizing the rights of Native Hawaiians to self-determination and self-governance.

many were touched with the hope of a new day.”⁴ The event quickly became a ubiquitous topic of conversation in Hawai‘i, and was later often referred to as simply “The Apology.”⁵ This institutional confession by the UCC had been debated both within the organization and by interested outside parties. While some felt that a formal apology was an unnecessary political entanglement for this ecclesiastical institution, others felt that the action did not go far enough. Subsequent to Sherry’s address, UCC administrators would move forward to create a foundation in an effort to seek reconciliation and redress through concrete action, offering significant funding and support for programs that would benefit Native Hawaiians both within current UCC churches and in the greater community.⁶ “The Apology,” however, has had some unexpected consequences. Despite hints of a complex history of church involvement in Hawai‘i within the actual text, this admission of guilt has generally been used to support and reify a dominant narrative concerning “the mission,”⁷ “Christianity in Hawai‘i,” and “Native Hawaiian Christians,” that homogenizes the above terms and supports strong binaries between “foreign” and “Native.” These binaries have worked to displace powerful and prolific Native Hawaiian Christian claims on the mission, their God, and their nation.

⁴ Dr. Kaleo Patterson, January 17, 2000, website of Pacific Justice and Reconciliation, www.pacificpeace.org, accessed January 4, 2013.

⁵ That moniker was later appropriated to describe a related apology offered by the United States government for their role in the overthrow in US Joint Resolution 103-150, passed by congress and signed by President William Jefferson Clinton on November 23, 1993.

⁶ The Pū‘ā Foundation, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization established in 1996 “as part of the apology, redress, and reconciliation process between the United Church of Christ (UCC) and the Hawaiian people for the Church’s complicity in the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Constitutional Monarchy” continues to fund historical programs, texts, films, and other endeavors such as the Hawaiian-language newspaper transcription project and the publication of a Hawaiian history textbook in an effort to “actively engage, facilitate and serve communities and their efforts to build a resilient society and improve upon their quality of life through healing and reconciliation efforts that address consequences of the 1893 overthrow.” To date over 3.5 million dollars has been pledged to differing programs. Pū‘ā Foundation mission statement. Pū‘ā Foundation, 2331 Seaview Ave, Honolulu, HI 96822.

⁷ The term mission throughout this dissertation is used to represent the actual institutional body and the plan of the officers of this body.

From James Michener's best-selling novel (1959) and widely-viewed film (1966) *Hawaii*, to the histories produced by Gavan Daws (1974), Michael Dougherty (2000), Stephen Kinzer (2006), Sarah Vowell (2011), Stephen Dando-Collins (2012), Julia Fylnn Siler (2012), and many others, a dominant, teleological narrative concerning Christianity in Hawai'i has described a fatalistic, natural progression from the 1820 arrival of American Protestant missionaries to the 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy.⁸ This narrative is dominated by the presence in 1893 of a "foreign" religious institution, the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA),⁹ and its naturally ascendant white administrators, who had come to wield seemingly expected control over a missionized, brainwashed Native populace. It posits binaries that set powerful foreign usurpers against mostly docile, compliant Native victims.¹⁰ Often, seemingly inadvertently, these remnants of Alan Morehead's "Fatal Impact" theory continue to displace significant Native voice and action within both the Christian church in Hawai'i and the nation at large.

This dissertation will contest and complicate the dominant narrative by foregrounding and analyzing the powerful and prolific actions of Native Hawaiian Christians within the churches of the 'Ahahui 'Euanelio o Hawai'i (AEH) (Hawaiian

⁸ Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (Toronto: Macmillan Company, 1968); Michael Dougherty, *To Steal a Kingdom: Probing Hawaiian History* (Honolulu: Island Style Press, 2000); Stephen Kinzer, *Overthrow: America's Century of Regime Change* (New York: Times Books, 2006); Sarah Vowell, *Unfamiliar Fishes* (New York: Penguin Group, 2011); Stephen Dando-Collins, *Taking Hawai'i: How Thirteen Honolulu Businessmen Overthrew the Queen of Hawai'i in 1893, With a Bluff* (New York: E-Reads, 2012); Julia Fylnn Siler, *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii's Last Queen, the Sugar Kings, and America's First Imperial Adventure* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012).

⁹ One of the significant claims I make in this dissertation is that the institution that has been universally termed the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was actually a Native institution whose language was Hawaiian and should be referred to by its Native name, the 'Ahahui 'Euanelio o Hawai'i (AEH), as it was by the vast majority of its members during the period examined.

¹⁰ Francis Hezel, writing of colonial histories of Oceania, defends the Christian missionary against a master narrative that characterizes them as "the very personification of that spirit of cultural imperialism which has succeeded in wreaking its mindless changes on unsuspecting naïve peoples and in making of their islands cultural wastelands." *Indigenization as a Missionary Goal in the Caroline-Marshall Islands: Mission, Church, and Sect in Oceania* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1978), 251-273.

Evangelical Association) through Native-language sources that have heretofore been excluded from histories of the mission in Hawai‘i.¹¹ It will present a nearly eight-decade-long mission in Hawai‘i that was complex, fluid, and critically altered by Native Christian action and the subsequent responses of a decidedly minority church administration. It will highlight an evolving struggle for power within the AEH that pitted Native Hawaiian Christian congregations against an all-white administrative board of officers. It will illuminate the direct links between this internal ecclesiastical struggle and the concurrent battle over control of the nation’s government. In doing so it will map the explicit connections between the white AEH leadership and the political revolutions of 1887 and 1893 that led to a loss of Native political governance and national independence. This dissertation will also complicate the dominant idea of a foreign/Native binary in several ways; specifically by examining internal church struggles that often saw Royalist Native congregations pitted against annexationist Native pastors, and generally, by treating the AEH, and Christianity of this period, as Native institutions.

The Hawaiian mission circa 1893 was not the result of a teleological seventy-year presence in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i by the American Protestant Church. Rather, it was a concerted and purposeful new mission, shaped in part by the 1863 hand-over of autonomy by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Despite explicit and repeated demands from the American Board¹² for an indigenization

¹¹ The ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i (AEH), founded in 1854 as the successor to the body of missionaries, pastors, and chosen laymen that made up the original 1823 “Hawaiian Association,” was the central association of the Protestant churches throughout the islands that had gained a significant degree of autonomy from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1863. Its administrative officers formed Ka Papa Hawai‘i (The Hawaiian Board).

¹² The American Board was the name of the governing body of officers of the ABCFM.

of the Hawaiian Mission, thus creating Native-run, Native-led churches in the Islands, the “Sons of the Mission”¹³ within the new Hawai‘i-based ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i were unwilling to accept the loss of religious, social, and political influence that a truly Native-led church would deliver. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Sons of the Mission, and other white Christian supporters, had become increasingly present in leadership positions outside of the ecclesiastical realm. The missionary family names of Castle, Cooke, Dole, Hall, Smith, and others were becoming a common presence atop the boards of many of the financial, educational, and governmental institutions in the Islands.¹⁴ This small minority within the Hawaiian Kingdom was moving towards a hegemonic dominance that would secure their, and their race’s, place as leaders over the masses.

In searching for a justification for minority rule in both church and state, white administrators of the AEH would cling to the ideological principles of Social Darwinism that offered them an inherent right to leadership.¹⁵ The rise in the second-half of the nineteenth century of these social ideologies that mixed Protestant theology with the writings of Charles Darwin afforded the Sons of the Mission an explanation for their calls for a continuation of white leadership over the Native churches and a new leadership over the nation’s government. The theory could also address feelings of insecurity within this very small minority out on the geographic and “civilized” periphery, more than two thousand miles from “God’s country.” Sons of the Mission, most of who had been born

¹³ “Sons of the Mission” was a term used by those both inside and outside of the church to designate male descendants of the original American Congregationalist/Presbyterian missionaries to Hawai‘i.

¹⁴ An appendix in this dissertation will provide a mapping of church/state connections for these men.

¹⁵ For more Social Darwinism see: Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992); Gregory Claeys, “The ‘Survival of the Fittest’ and the Origins of Social Darwinism,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 61 (2000): 223-240. Diane B. Paul, “Darwin, Social Darwinism and Eugenics,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Darwin* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003).

and raised in the islands, laid claim to a continued spiritual dominance over Native Christians. To these white men, they might not be the Christians their New England forefathers were, but they were certainly truer Christians than the Natives.

Native congregants of AEH churches forcefully contested these claims. These Native Christians were supported by Hawaiian Kingdom monarchs, including Mō‘ī (King) Kalākaua, who were themselves battling against many of these same white men and their attempts gain hegemonic dominance in the Islands. Pressed to relinquish control of the Native churches by the American Board, their own congregations, and Native monarchs, the Hawaiian Board reacted by crafting a new “mission”; one in which the inherent racial superiority of white Christians demanded the continuance of their leadership in Hawai‘i. Despite the proud 1853 declaration of mission success by the ABCFM and the affirmation of Hawai‘i as “a Christian nation,” AEH officers now, decades later, claimed that Natives Christians were in fact mere “babes” in Christianity.

These claims paralleled the concurrent assertions that Natives did not possess the capacity to govern the nation. The blatant involvement by members of the AEH administration in the creation, implementation, and support of the Bayonet Constitution in the summer of 1887 and the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 ignited an all-out struggle for control of both church and state. Hawaiian Board attempts to justify the overthrow, and their ongoing support for annexation, centered on positing a strict binary between a posited Christian Provisional Government party and a heathen Royalist party. Those who continued to support the monarchy and independence could not also be Christian. The response within the churches was immediate and prolific. When offered a choice between their Christian and Royalist/nationalist loyalties, the Hawaiian

congregants overwhelmingly claimed both, shaping a strong Native Christian patriotism as they self-assuredly claimed that God was on their side and that they were the ones who were truly Christian.

For the white officers of the AEH administration, the foundational aspect of the current struggle was race – the centerpiece of their claims on rule. But while race was certainly an issue within the Native churches of the AEH, for the vast majority of Native congregants, this struggle, at its core, was one over God and nation. Native pastors who supported the AEH administration’s anti-monarchical and pro-annexation rhetoric were immediately and forcefully challenged by their Native congregations. Termed “kumakaia” (traitors), these Native pastors, some of who had led their churches for decades, were attacked, both in church and in print, and often forced from their pulpits. Strong responses by the Honolulu-based Hawaiian Board enflamed these local struggles.

By 1893, the institutional descendent of the American Protestant mission in Hawai‘i, the ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i, was four decades old, and had been a local, autonomous body for three decades. Current understandings of this institution are fundamentally distorted by both a reliance on English-language sources in research, and the previously mentioned acceptance of theories that have assumed white dominance and a teleological outcome. Nearly the entire production of published historical materials concerning this entity has been drawn from exclusively English-language materials even though the vast majority of its members spoke and wrote in Hawaiian and the 1854 founding documents of the AEH makes clear the specific form of language documentation within the organization. Article four of “na rula hooponopono” (the by-laws) of “Ka Ahahui Euanelio o Hawaii” notes:

4. Na ka Lunakakauleta e malama i ka oihana leta, e malama hoi ia i kope o na leta ano nui a pau, nana no hoi e haku palua i ka hoike makahiki o ka Papa, o kekahi ma ka olelo Beretania no ka Ahahui Misionari America, a o kekahi ma ka Olelo Hawaii.¹⁶

4. It is for the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence, preserve a copy of all important letters, and write the annual report of the Board in duplicate, *one in English for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (my emphasis) and one in Hawaiian.¹⁷

Furthermore, an October 1860 letter of Rev. Elias Bond concerning the organization of the Hawaiian Island branch of the AEH declared, “It was unanimously decided that all the proceedings in the meetings shall be conducted in the Hawaiian language.”¹⁸ In addition to well-known problematic issues of translation, an examination of the dual annual reports of the AEH reveals that the documents differ not only in meaning and tone, but often significantly in content. We have come to know of this association through foreign-language descriptions of it. Simply reading the reports that were prepared for the American Board leaves substantial gaps in our understanding of the actions and nature of the organization and its members.

Pacific historian Kerry Howe has called Fatal Impact Theory “perhaps the single most dominant trope in the historiography of the Pacific Islands....”¹⁹ Although it has mostly lost credibility as an academic theory, it has helped craft a dominant public

¹⁶ “Ke Kumukanawai o ka Ahahui Euanelio o Hawaii Nei,” unprocessed manuscript, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

¹⁷ The original English-language translation of the 1863 “By-Laws” reads “one in English for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and the other for the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.” “Ke Kumukanawai o ka Ahahui Euanelio o Hawaii Nei,” unprocessed manuscript, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

¹⁸ Rev. Elias Bond to the American Board, October 25, 1860, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. A reprint of extracts from Rev. Bond’s letter in the *Missionary Herald* of March 1861 begins with a summary that emphasizes “the fact that *all* proceedings in the meetings are to be conducted in the Hawaiian language...” The emphasis in both documents is original.

¹⁹ Kerry Howe, *Nature, Culture, and History: The “Knowing” of Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 44.

paradigm of foreign/Native interactions in the Pacific that has colored both Euro-centric histories and responding critiques that have sought to emphasize the effects of imperialism. Students of the Davidson school of Pacific history such as Harry Maude, Deryck Scarr, Dorothy Shineberg, and Greg Denning have worked to highlight Native Pacific Islander action and agency within Native/foreign interactions such as trade, labor, and politics.²⁰ David Chappell, more than twenty years ago, complicated the shift toward recognizing Native agency and the production of “Islander-oriented” histories by asking if there were indeed not dangers in shifting the pendulum too far - a question that remains very valuable as we continue to seek out Native voice.²¹ Scholars such as Denning, David Hanlon and Vilsoni Hereniko have used an ethnographic approach to shift the lens of historical analysis to Native actors.²²

Closer to the home of this ecclesiastical work, Neil Gunson, another Davidson alum, took up the important work of complicating the story of the evangelization of the Pacific and challenging simplistic narratives about Christian missionaries. In *Messengers of Grace*, Gunson asks us to consider a wide range of “missionary” and varying causes and effects. Charles Forman has written about this Gunson text:

a study like this reveals the inadequacy of most generalizations about missionaries. The treatment here shows the variety of views on the relation of evangelization to civilization, on the relations of Christians to warfare, on the introduction of western clothing. The complexity of missionaries’

²⁰ Some examples are Harry E. Maude, *Slavers in Paradise: The Peruvian Slave Trade in Polynesia, 1862–1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1981); Deryck Scarr, *Slaving and Slavery in the Indian Ocean* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998); Dorothy Shineberg, *The People Trade: Pacific Island Laborers and New Caledonia, 1865–1930* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999); Greg Denning, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures, and Self* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

²¹ David Chappell, “Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonized Historiography or Problematic Paradigm?” *The Contemporary Pacific* (1995): 303–326.

²² David Hanlon, *Upon a Stone Altar: A History of the Island of Pohnpei to 1890* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1988); Vilsoni Hereniko, *Woven Gods: Female Clowns and Power in Rotuma* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1995).

relation to the political scene is also brought out and the quite different positions which missionaries took are made clear. We see some missionaries, especially in the early days, dwelling in thatch huts with dirt floors and dressed in rags, while others, especially in later time, had comfortable houses, good clothing and local young people as servants.²³

Regarding Hawai‘i, a focus on Native action and agency has been highlighted by the work of Noenoe Silva with her 2004 text, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonization*.²⁴ Recently, the work of emerging scholars such as geographers Kamana Beamer and Donovan Preza has begun a re-examination of past understandings regarding Hawaiian land tenure and mapping, offering significant examples of Native involvement and appropriation of “foreign” technologies and methodologies.²⁵ However, while Vince Diaz has broken exciting new ground with his provocative look at the Catholic Church in Guam by complicating prevailing ideas about the church, colonialism, and Native identity on that island, the arena of Native agency within the institution of Christianity in Hawai‘i has remained largely unexplored.²⁶ Links between missionary movements and empire continue to dominate the discussion.

Histories of the American mission and missionaries in Hawai‘i have almost universally relied on English-language sources. These evangelical messengers, however, lived and worked in a foreign nation amidst a Native population that by the 1860s was nearly fully literate and was producing a prolific collection of writing about their lives,

²³ Charles W. Forman, *Journal of Pacific History* 14 (1978): 95-98.

²⁴ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*.

²⁵ B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer and T. Ka'o Duarte, “I Palapala no ia aina – documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Colonial Venture?” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 66-86; Donovan Preza, “The Empirical Writes Back: Re-examining Hawaiian Dispossession Resulting from the Mahele of 1848” (master’s thesis, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2011).

²⁶ Noeani Arista’s 2009 PhD dissertation, “Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law,” examines early encounters between the missionaries of the ABCFM and Native Hawaiians from the differing understandings and world views of each. Noeani Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law” (PhD dissertation, Brandeis University, 2009).

their land, and their nation. A lack of Hawaiian-language fluency among historians of Hawai‘i has sometimes coupled with false assumptions that a pertinent and productive Hawaiian-language archive didn’t exist. One of the major contributors to both academic and public histories of Hawai‘i, Gavan Daws, has written:

Again, sources on the life of the native community are all but intractable. The Hawaiians were not in the habit of explaining themselves or even exposing themselves in written form. In general they did not initiate social action but were acted upon. I claim no special gift of empathy; wishing to understand the Hawaiians I found I could not, and I ended by merely trying to make sense out of what their white contemporaries said about them.²⁷

In fact, a nearly-fully literate Native Hawaiian population produced and contributed to nearly one hundred Hawaiian-language newspapers that were published in the islands during the nineteenth century, the first in 1834. This collection has been described by Puakea Nogelmeier as a “massive amount of literature written in their native language, a pastiche of historical native production, which if measured in letter-sized, typed pages would easily exceed one million pages of printed text.”²⁸ In addition to the institutional reports, internal correspondence, and plethora of other documents in Hawaiian produced by the AEH, the archives of Hawai‘i and elsewhere hold a tremendous collection of Native-language materials that researchers with Hawaiian-language fluency are now accessing. Scholarship by Noenoe Silva, Amy K. Stillman, Leilani Basham, Noelani Arista and others have demonstrated the profound value of accessing this Native-

²⁷ Gavan Daws, “Writing Local History in Hawaii—A Personal Note,” *Hawaiian Historical Review* 2, no. 2 (1968): 417-418.

²⁸ Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010), 2.

language archive.²⁹ This dissertation focuses on these materials. One critical resource concerning the AEH and Christianity in Hawai‘i that this work draws upon has only recently become available to researchers after a nearly century-long restriction denying access.³⁰ The Judd Family Papers, at twenty-six linear feet, is one of the largest and most pertinent historical manuscript collections in Hawai‘i. The collection, held at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives in Honolulu, contains Judd family correspondence, diaries, both government and institutional records, and much more, stretching from 1830–1910. One of the two main subjects of the collection, Albert Francis Judd (1841–1900), served both as head of the Protestant churches in Hawai‘i (President of the Hawaiian Board) and as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the Provisional Government (PG), and the Republic of Hawai‘i. A. F. Judd was a central point of contact for those within church and government positions of authority during many of the pivotal events of this period. As President of the AEH, he received hundreds of Hawaiian-language letters from Native Hawaiian pastors, deacons, and church members throughout the islands. This previously unexamined material is a critical source for beginning to understand the character, context, and struggles of the Native churches of the AEH.

²⁹ Noenoe Silva, “Nānā I Ke Kumu: Look To The Source,” *Te Kaharoa* 2, (2008); Amy K. Stillman, “History Reinterpreted in Song: The Case of the Hawaiian Counterrevolution,” *Hawaiian Journal of History*, 23 (1989); Leilani Basham, “I Mau Ke Ea O Ka ‘Āina I Ka Pono: He Puke Mele Lāhui No Ka Lāhui Hawai‘i,” (PhD dissertation, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2007); Noelani Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method,” *PMLA* 125, no. 3 (2010): 663–669.

³⁰ The Judd Family Papers collection was housed at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum in Honolulu in 1922 under a written accession agreement stipulating that no one could access the collection until the death of the last grandchild of its donor. The accession file for the collection contains requests for access from several prominent historians over the course of the twentieth century, all of which were denied. The collection was opened in 2006 following the death of Albert Francis Judd III.

This work seeks to complicate narratives that have often homogenized understandings of the American Protestant mission in Hawai‘i, the missionaries, and Native Hawaiian Christians. Although it accesses many previously elided, and in some cases unavailable, resources, it has both benefited from and relied upon many of the works here previously mentioned.

Chapter One, “Hō‘eu‘eu Hou - The Shaping of a New ‘Mission,’” traces the development of a new, significantly altered mission by the Sons of the Mission after the church in Hawai‘i was granted a greater degree of autonomy by the American-based ABCFM. It contextualizes this development by examining several motivating factors for the new mission and highlights Native Hawaiian action within both the congregations of the AEH churches and the nation’s government. A growing involvement by AEH administrators in political maneuvers that challenged Native leadership in government amplified an already present divide between the minority white church leadership and the mass of Native Christian congregants within their churches. AEH officers responded to Native Christian contestations with efforts to assert even more centralized control—an action that flew in the face of the foundational tenets of their Congregationalist roots. Native Hawaiians had been contesting growing foreign assertions throughout the kingdom. What was at stake within these current ecclesiastical matters was not merely control of churches and worship, but also the upper hand in the political control of Hawai‘i. Examining the links between these church struggles and the strongly nationalistic and nativist monarch, King David La‘amea Kalākaua, offers a contextualized view of the actions of a politically active Native Hawaiian Christian

population and strengthens an understanding of the growth of this Native Christian patriotism.

The chapter will characterize the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution and the forceful reaction of Native Hawaiians throughout the islands as inflection points that created a strong and immediate need for the AEH administration to attempt to regain and retain some sense of authority over a largely Christian Native populace. In the wake of these events, a new independent organization is formed by the AEH administration to lead a re-missionization of Native Hawaiians. The Hawaiian Board, simultaneously recognizing the need to draft Native Hawaiian pastors to front this effort and being intimidated by the idea of Native authority over it, crafted by-laws for the “Komite Hoeueu a Na Ekalesia a Puni Ka Pae Aina” (Evangelical Committee of The Hawaiian Islands) that stipulated an all-white administration. A vivid example of the general outcome of these efforts is examined in detail within the story of John Henry Wise,³¹ a young Native Hawaiian sent for evangelical training in the United States in order that he might return to Hawai‘i and spark a divine gale of spiritual influence that would bring Native Hawaiians back under the wing of the white AEH leadership.

Chapter Two, “Kani i ka Pō” (Resound in the Darkness), documents and analyzes the actions of Native Hawaiian Christians within the churches of the AEH following the January 17, 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, the reigning sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This chapter will reveal the immediate and prolific claims by Native Christians to control of both church and state in Hawai‘i. In the days after the overthrow, Native Christians flocked to their churches and filled the newspapers with pule (prayers),

³¹ The story of the mission of John Wise was previously published in 2012. See Ronald Williams Jr., “To Raise a Voice in Praise: The Revivalist Mission of John Henry Wise, 1889–1896,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 46 (2012): 1–35.

mele (songs), and announcements of prayer-fast meetings calling for the restoration of the Queen and the continued independence of their nation. Churches were packed with congregants, deacons, and boards of trustees that repeatedly voted to reject the decisions of an AEH administration that supported the new government and its push for the annexation of Hawai'i by the United States. Native Hawaiians self-assuredly claimed an identity as both strong Christians and strong Royalists, arguing further that God was indeed on their side. The chapter will map these general actions and claims in their various manifestations and show how they were a prolific and island-wide phenomenon. It will also examine the Hawaiian Board's response, both in the creation of a purposeful narrative regarding Christianity and in their attempt to maintain some sense of authority over the AEH churches. It will highlight how these actions of the Sons of the Mission increasingly placed them outside the laws of both their own institution and the state.

Chapter Three, "Sites of Struggle: Inside the Native Churches of the AEH," brings this ongoing struggle into the pews of a specific, local AEH church. This chapter will examine in detail topics covered more generally in the previous chapter. In doing so, it will illuminate clearly the dramatic stakes in this fight over God and nation. It will offer, for the first time, a mapping and analysis of the struggle on an outer-island, away from the metropolis of Honolulu. The chapter focuses on the historic Ka 'Ekalesia Hō'ole Pope o Waine'e (Waine'e Protestant Church) in Lāhainā, Maui. This church in the former capital of the Hawaiian Kingdom was founded in 1823 by a small missionary company brought to Maui by Keōpūolani, the sacred wife of Kamehameha Pai'ea. It quickly grew to host Sabbath-day crowds of three thousand or more. Its position at the center of Native life in Lāhainā was amplified by its role as a political gathering place, receiving regular

visits by a string of rulers who came to Lāhainā to address their people on the important matters of the day.

Following the January 17, 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, this Native AEH church became the central battleground on Maui between the supporters of the Provisional Government and those who fought for a return of the Queen and continued independence. The struggle within Waine‘e Church led to a fight over the pulpit, a boarding up of the church doors, a mass excommunication, conflicting claims over authority by dual boards of trustees, and an eventual public confrontation that resulted in arrests and a subsequent court case. This dramatic clash made news throughout the islands at a time when the minority-led Hawaiian Board and Provisional Government were seeking to portray an air of authority and control over the nation’s populace.

Chapter Four, “Be Ye Separate: Claiming Christianity,” will examine the struggle as it played out within “the church of the maka‘āinana (common folk),” Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu. One of the oldest and most revered churches in the islands, this house of worship was for decades a gathering place for the community and a bellwether of Native thought and action. This study focuses on a large and vibrant Native Christian church, in the nation’s capitol, turned inside out by a congregation at war with the AEH administration and its own Native pastor over support for the overthrow and the ongoing drive for annexation. The chapter examines the methods used by the Hawaiian Board in its attempts to retain control over the church, including the public demonization of the leaders of the rebellion. It will highlight competing claims about Christian identity among the groups including the attacks by the AEH administration on church deacons and their families and the concurrent petitions for dismissal of the pastor signed by his

congregation and board of trustees. This study reveals the profound confidence that the Native congregation had in its claim on Christianity and documents the profound surprise of the AEH administration at the overt and enduring challenges to its rhetoric and orders. This chapter also exposes a group of white church officers, insecure about their position, reacting to Native contestations by growing more insular and further escalating their grasping for power.

Chapter Five, “Po‘e Karitiano ‘Oia‘i‘o (True Christians),” highlights the actions of Native Christian AEH congregants as they reject the pronouncements of their administration concerning God’s will and true Christianity, and claim the title of ka po‘e Karitiano ‘oia‘i‘o for themselves. Native Christians, often citing biblical references, declare the white leaders of the AEH to be apostates, caring only about power. Using strong language that identifies these men as lying, hypocritical, and selfish, Native congregants insist that God and righteousness are in fact on their side. The Hawaiian Board officers react by intensifying their revival of the rhetoric of heathenism in order to engender their new mission. A new and concerted effort to marginalize the Queen and her supporters is launched following the suppression of a January 1895 military attempt to topple the new government. The heavily oligarchic nature of the power structure within the newly declared Republic of Hawai‘i enabled the wide dissemination of a religious rhetoric of heathenism at varying sites. This chapter examines how the officers of the AEH used their dual roles as church officials and trustees of private institutions to create pedagogic spaces for a defense of the church’s new “mission.” The chapter also contests the Native/foreign binary by analyzing examples throughout the Islands of Native pastors who were driven from their pulpits by congregations angered over their support for

annexation. It finishes by returning to the story of John Henry Wise, the Native Christian sent by the Hawaiian Board to the United States for evangelical training so that he would return and lead Native Christians back into the churches of the AEH. The actions of this Native Christian upon returning to Hawai‘i, although he had been immersed in mission teachings since his youth, and had received the most intense evangelical training possible, offer an enlightening example of Native agency within the mission. Wise is a clear and powerful example of how Native Hawaiian Christians rejected the paternalistic and racist arguments of their church administration, yet did not reject Christianity itself.

The conclusion, “Claiming Christianity as a Tool of Native Struggle,” works to summarize and give context to the acts of Native Christians within the AEH churches of this period. It repositions Christianity in the Hawai‘i of this era as a tool, not of the imperial white missionary, but rather, of the Native patriot. It begins by highlighting the hand-over of autonomy from the Boston-based ABCFM to the local mission and characterizing that event as an inflection point that spurred the creation of a new “mission” for Hawai‘i crafted by the Sons of the Mission. It examines the immediate and determined refusal of Native Christians within the AEH churches to accept the choice offered by their administration of being either Christian or a supporter of the Queen and independence of the nation. It argues that the AEH of this period was a Native institution, dominated in daily practice by a Native language and Native congregations while being run at the top end of the administration by a very small minority, white Hawaiian Board. It defines the struggle as one between Native congregants and these white administrative officers. It concludes by showing how a methodological approach that works to access long-elided Native voice complicates prior assumptions about Christianity in Hawai‘i.

An epilogue, “A Genealogy of Experience,” offers a cursory examination of the links between the historical research and analysis done for this dissertation and prevalent issues surrounding current-day Native Christianity. While an examination of Native Christianity today is beyond the scope of this work, tying this research and analysis to modern-day communities throughout Hawai‘i that are largely Christian offers a powerful example of the value of accessing and foregrounding Native voices of the past. The epilogue incorporates oral interviews, experiences within community engagement projects and research presentations, and other resources to highlight the links between generations of Native Christians in Hawai‘i. The epilogue suggests that after the 1898 taking of Hawai‘i by the United States, and during subsequent efforts to assimilate the population, Native Christian churches of the AEH and syncretic offshoots of these churches became what ethnographer Davianna McGregor has termed “cultural kīpuka,” or “oases from which traditional Native Hawaiian culture can be regenerated and revitalized.”³² As a dominating and pervasive Americanization of the Islands engendered significant and pervasive changes in both the physical landscape and overall society of Hawai‘i, Native Christian churches often became a key repository of previous knowledge and cultural practice. By becoming a place of refuge for Native language, culture, and community leadership, many of these churches have today emerged as centers of Hawaiian cultural practice and political action. This epilogue applies the proverbial saying “I ka Wā Mamua, ka Wā Mahope” (The Future is in the Past) to examine how the current congregation at Waine‘e Church in Lāhainā, now renamed Waiola, and other communities, are incorporating a knowledge of the Native Christianity of their ancestors

³² Davianna McGregor, *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007): book jacket.

in their lives as Christians today. Greg Dening has written; “We make sense of the present in our consciousness of the past.”³³ If history is, as he further offers, “the way we experience the present,” then perhaps a more complex history of Native Christianity, told from the mouths of Native Christians of the past, can work to clarify beliefs of the present.

This work is not a survey of Native Hawaiian Christianity in Hawai‘i but rather is an examination and analysis of those Native Hawaiian Christians that made the significant choice to not join the ongoing exodus of congregants from the churches and religion of the American Mission and instead fought to claim “keia heiau o Iehova” (this house of Jehovah,” this religion, and “ke Akua Mana Loa” (the Almighty God) within AEH churches. If there was indeed “Akua oiaio hookahi” (one true God), these Christians were not ceding Him to anyone. When challenged over leadership of their spirituality, they confidently declared their ability to direct their own relationships with their God. When the Sons of the Mission worked to weaken their King and later supported the overthrow of their Queen - all along claiming that white rule of Hawai‘i was God’s will - Native Christians claimed that it was they who truly understood God’s will, themselves who were the “poe Karitiano oiaio” (true Christians), and that those who supported the loss of Native rule had become apostates. These devout men and women did not see their Christianity as inherently “different” and therefore, in the eyes of the white Christian leaders, “lesser.” They claimed a relationship with their God that was immediate, true, and whole. These Native congregants of the AEH churches of the late-

³³ Greg Dening, *Performances* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 41.

nineteenth century did not see themselves as “Native Christians” but rather, simply as Christians.

In choosing this focus, there are some interesting and important questions in the field of Native Christianity left unexamined. What did the religion of the Natives who left AEH churches to become Catholics, Mormons, Anglicans, and other denominations look like? How and why did Native Christians form syncretic beliefs that spurred the founding of churches such as Ho‘omana Na‘auao, Ka Makua Mau Loa and others? What were the relations of each of these denominations to the struggle against annexation and for the return of the Queen?³⁴ What about Natives who spurred this new akua (god) to return wholly to traditional practices? There is much work to be done, and new methodologies and access to Native-language archives offer a very exciting and rewarding road ahead for many.

Orthographic Statement: Language and Translation

The task of centering a majority of this work on Hawaiian-language sources while writing in English requires a great deal of translation and interpretation - the inherent problems with both of which are many. Eugene Nida, in “Principles of Correspondence,” states the problem succinctly: “Since no two languages are identical, either in the meanings given to corresponding symbols or in the ways in which such symbols are arranged in phrases and sentences, it stands to reason that there can be no fully exact translation.”³⁵ A more direct warning is credited to the nineteenth-century Italian poet D.

³⁴ While it is known that the general position of these other denominations was against annexation, a much deeper analysis is needed.

³⁵ Eugene Nida, “Principals of Correspondence,” in *The Translation Studies Reader*, ed. Lawrence Venuti (London: Routledge, 2012), 141.

G. Rosetti: “A translation remains perhaps the most direct form of commentary.”³⁶ While I have attempted in my translations to remain as little present as possible, they remain my interpretation of the original text.

There are other challenges. ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) has, for nearly two millennia in these islands, been a rich and complex language within which the ability to use multiple layers of meaning, subtle references to former events, and kaona (concealed references) has always been highly prized. Noenoe Silva explains, “Writers of Hawaiian, moreover, value multiplicity in meaning, and thus often chose words specifically because many meaning can be derived from them.”³⁷ There are Hawaiian-language words that play a part in this work that have multiple meanings that may convey significantly different messages. Words such as “lāhui” and “pono” can carry meanings that vary and that change over time. In the usage of such words in this text, I note the possibility of alternate translations in the first usage and list the alternate interpretations. In some cases the context and/or writer leads to a preference of the translation choice. Translation is never a science and there are always differing interpretations. While all the translations within this work are mine and I am wholly responsible for any mistakes, my standard practice is to seek out other kumu for their mana‘o on my choices. I have been blessed by the gracious assistance in this work of several others, the most central being Noenoe Silva, M. Puakea Nogelmeier, and Keao NeSmith. Others who have generously shared their thoughts are Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon and Ralph (Lalepa) Koga. I would be remiss if I didn’t also thank my daughter, Kiele Makana Mālie Williams, who has been a

³⁶ Dante Gabriel Rossetti, cited in David G. Riede, *Critical Essays on Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (Torndike, Maine: G. K. Hall and Co., 1992), 192.

³⁷ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 12.

student in the Hawaiian-language immersion program for ten years and whose unique insights always add to my work.

I follow the practice of not italicizing Hawaiian words in English text. This change is intended to acknowledge Hawaiian as a Native, and not foreign, language in Hawai‘i.³⁸ Quotes are written as they appear, without the modern Hawaiian-language orthography (i.e. the use of the ‘okina to mark the glottal stop and the kahakō to mark the long vowel) but my own writing, in general, uses them to aid in pronunciation and comprehension. An exception is the writing of family surnames. I do not use these diacritical marks within personal names that do not carry well-recognized or standard spellings—such as “Kalākaua.” This decision recognizes alternate interpretations of family names. I have capitalized the uses of “Ali‘i” and “Ali‘i Nui” to add context and reflect a practice of the period in which I examine (1880-1900). While it was not the unanimous practice, many of the Native-language newspapers and Native writers of this period made such orthographic style choices to reflect their steadfast support of these revered leaders.

³⁸ Promotion of this style choice varies within academic journals and texts produced in Hawai‘i. Notably, the *Contemporary Pacific* journal, published by the university of Hawai‘i Press, is not only supportive of the choice, but has taken it up as a policy for printing Pacific-language words. In a “Style Guide and Manuscript Preparation” offered to prospective authors, the publisher writes, “Unless advised otherwise, the journal will not use italics for non-English words.” UH Press website, accessed October 12, 2013. <http://www.uhpress.hawaii.edu/t-tcp-contributor-info.aspx>

CHAPTER ONE

HŌ‘EU‘EU HOU: THE SHAPING OF A NEW “MISSION”

This Jubilee anniversary of the arrival here of the largest missionary reinforcement sent to these Islands offers a suggestive opportunity for calling public attention to the urgent needs of our Island work.¹

–Rev. William Brewster Oleson, 1889

As the long tumultuous summer of 1887 came to a close in Honolulu, the Protestant “Sons of the Mission” found themselves in quite a conundrum. Members of the current church administration had been supportive of, and involved in, the clandestine Hawaiian League that had recently forced a new constitution—commonly referred to as the Bayonet Constitution—upon the ruling sovereign of the Hawaiian Kingdom, His Majesty David La‘amea Kalākaua.² ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i (AEH) (Hawaiian Evangelical Association) officer Rev. Oliver Pomeroy Emerson termed the act a “revolution” and wrote proudly concerning this “noble stand the sons of the mission took.”³ The new governing document stripped most of the executive powers from the monarch and restructured voting qualifications for the elected legislature, essentially transferring much of the power in the islands to League interests. AEH officer Rev. Charles McEwan Hyde noted in a letter of August 26, “The government, i.e. the executive power, is taken out of the hands of the Hawaiian people, who are utterly incapable of managing the government, or any business as we Americans understand

¹ Rev. William B. Oleson, “The Resumption of Missionary Effort Among Hawaiians,” in *Jubilee Celebration of The Arrival of the Missionary Reinforcement of 1837* (Honolulu: Daily Bulletin Steam Print, 1887), 9.

² Five members of the AEH administration—Rev. William Oleson, Nathaniel B. Emerson, Sanford Dole, Henry Waterhouse, and William O. Smith—are listed as co-authors of the Bayonet Constitution on a printer’s proof of the document held in the William O. Smith collection at the Hawai‘i State Archives.

³ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, August 7, 1889, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

business.”⁴ The political goals of the mission sons seemed well on their way to being achieved. Yet what of “the mission?”

Native membership in AEH churches—a mixture of Congregationalist and Presbyterian denominations—had declined significantly since the proud 1853 declaration of mission success by the Boston-based American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).⁵ The continuing high rate of death among Native Hawaiians due to disease was undeniably one factor in explaining the depleted rolls, yet something else was also going on.⁶ The massive number of early conversions by Native Hawaiians had been spurred by a mixture of motivations that included allegiance to their Ali‘i Nui (high chiefs), the prospect of the attainment of the valuable tool of literacy, and the recognition that perhaps this new religion held the answer to the devastating problem at the fore of everyone’s minds - the diseases that were ravaging the Native population. Jonathan Osorio has written; “The [Christian] church became an institution promising life when death was everywhere, and the eventual conversion of Hawaiians by the thousands must be understood in the context of a time when their own religion, akua, and Ali‘i could not prevent them from dying.”⁷

⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, August 26, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁵ Sources include Census Table of the Hawaiian Islands for 1853, *Polynesian*, April 15, 1854; Report of the General Superintendent of the Census, 1896; Robert C. Schmitt, “Religious Statistics of Hawaii, 1825–1972,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973): 41–47. While 56,840 Native Hawaiians declared themselves Protestant in the 1853 census, the total number of people (including both Native Hawaiian and other) that claimed that designation in 1896 was only 23, 273. (The 1896 census did not separate the numbers into ethnic categories as the 1853 survey had.)

⁶ The church itself noted this in an 1895 report, saying, “If, in attempting to account for this rapid reduction, we should attribute the cause to the decrease of the native population, we would find that the figures do not bear us out; for while, during the 25 years extending from 1865 to 1890, the decrease of population was 30 percent, the decrease of church membership was very nearly 70 percent.” *Forty-Third Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Company, 1895), 36.

⁷ Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 12.

After decades of worship, however, and the building of churches of the American Protestant Mission throughout the Islands, the tide of Native death had not significantly slowed. Native Christians looked elsewhere for answers. Former AEH congregants were becoming Catholics, Anglicans, and Mormons, and also forming their own syncretic versions of Christian worship.⁸ In 1869, British visitor to the Islands, John Sheepshanks, noted concerning the “long-established” American Mission, “The American Missionaries naturally have a good deal of influence, analogous to that of the chief. The bond, however, which unites them to their people has latterly in some cases become much weakened.”⁹ By the 1880’s, new motivations for leaving the AEH churches appeared. The growing involvement of their church administration in the political affairs of the kingdom, combined with a more openly hostile rhetoric emanating from officers of the AEH towards Native practices within the churches, served to deepen divisions between the Native Hawaiian congregations and the all-white officers of the Hawaiian Board. Some within the mission saw this divisive landscape as a long-standing problem of their own creation. On O’ahu, the AEH had a distinct, white church, Central Union¹⁰, which was referred to by the administration as “the Church,” and ten other “native churches.” Rev. Hyde, an AEH officer, explained in a later letter to the American Board that the

⁸ A collection of sources compiled by Robert C. Schmitt for the article “Religious Statistics of Hawaii, 1825–1972,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973): 41–47, displays the significant trend of denominational migration. The 1853 survey of Native Hawaiians lists 80.1% as Protestant. The numbers change to 36.8 percent Protestant and 24.9 percent Catholic by 1884, and 21.3 percent Protestant and 24.2 percent Catholic by 1896. Andrew Lind echoes this in “Religious Diversity in Hawai’i,” *Social Process in Hawaii* 16 (1952): 11–19, writing, “The drop in the proportion affiliated with the Protestant church from 80 per cent in 1853 to 41 per cent in 1896 tells graphically the story of ‘back-sliding’ and of proselyting [sic] by Catholics and Mormons during the last half of the century.” Church explanations for a drop in the numbers using the term “back-sliding” were meant to offer a reason for the decline that centered on the negative actions of Native Hawaiians and elide the more complex survey of Native agency that this dissertation examines.

⁹ John Sheepshanks, “A Visit to Lahaina,” *Mission Life* 6 (1869): 535–547.

¹⁰ Central Union Church was formed from the merger of Bethel Union and Fort Street churches on November 13, 1887.

Anglican Church in Hawai‘i had “a large number” of “half whites” that attended, while none were to be found at Central Union. He noted further,

The course pursued by the American Mission has one evident result in our Church and Social life, an abhorrence of miscegenation. Whoever of our young people marries a native or half caste drops socially, one might almost say is dropped out. Do you not see that this fact makes probable another factor in our present Social Condition - a hatred of natives and half whites to the missionary party because of this Social exclusiveness?¹¹

The shrinking congregations of the AEH churches were a topic that filled the correspondence of Honolulu administrators and local pastors throughout the islands. In late 1885, Rev. Samuel N. Emerson of Lili‘uokalani Church in Hale‘iwa, on the North Shore of O‘ahu, expressed his concern to the Hawaiian Board, writing, “Our congregations are very small. Our prayer meetings not well attended.”¹² In a subsequent letter he explained that many former congregants were “drawn off to the Episcopal service” and warned, “the English church will gradually crowd out ours.”¹³ More Native Hawaiians were leaving AEH churches than were entering, and with each new defection, this once dominant ecclesiastical group was losing its significance, and influence, with the Native population.

The exodus of Native Hawaiians from AEH churches in this period paralleled a growing association between church administrators and the political maneuvers that many saw as distancing the Native populace from decision-making power in their own nation. For those Native Christian congregants who decided to remain within the churches of the AEH, a substantial divide grew between themselves and their church administration. A concomitant

¹¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 26, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹² Rev. Samuel N. Emerson to Rev. Anderson O. Forbes, November 23, 1885, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹³ Rev. Samuel N. Emerson to Rev. Hiram Bingham, December 27, 1877, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

struggle between AEH administrators and the Native monarch, Kalākaua, amplified this rift for many. King Kalākaua's historical involvement with, and support of, differing religious institutions in the kingdom was complex. In 1862, the twenty-five year old Prince Kalākaua had been baptized as one of the first members of the "Synod of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church" (Anglican Church of Hawai'i) and in 1873 he was named a trustee.¹⁴ Many saw the bringing of this British ecclesiastic institution to the Islands by King Kamehameha IV as a direct contestation of the rise of American missionary influence. After being elected king in 1874 in disputed balloting that saw his reign begin dogged by questions of legitimacy, Kalākaua retained connections to the Anglican Church, but also attended services, held important state events, and financially supported projects within the churches of the AEH where many of his subjects worshipped.¹⁵ Furthermore, Kalākaua's reign was marked by significant support for the revival of traditional Native spiritual practices and knowledges.¹⁶ Amidst growing tension between himself and the AEH leadership, heightened by his nationalistic efforts to return institutions throughout the kingdom to Native control, Kalākaua moved to take advantage of the growing division between AEH church officers and their Native congregants. Several plans were

¹⁴ The Honorable David Kalākaua is named as a trustee and an "elected member since the date of the aforesaid [1862] Charter" in a November 7, 1873 amendment to the original articles of incorporation. Articles of Incorporation, Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, 190, Department of Interior, Hawaiian Kingdom, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

¹⁵ An example of the ongoing links between Native Christian congregants of the AEH and the monarch is seen in the dedication of the church serving the Ewa mission station at Pearl City. Rebuilt in 1884 after a period of long neglect, the church was given the name "Kahikuonalani" (The Seventh Heavenly One) in honor of Kalākaua, the seventh monarch to rule Hawai'i. The King's wife, Queen Kapi'olani served as treasurer to the church, and when Kalākaua donated the final monies to rebuild, prominent congregant Mrs. Nawa'a proclaimed, "o oe, kahikuonalani ka malahini hanohano i ka wa e ho'ola'aia'i ku'u luakini!" (And Thou, the Seventh Sovereign, shall be the honored guest at the dedication of my church!). AEH President Albert F. Judd, complained in a published address that the congregation had named their new church, "not after any Christian grace or saint, but called it the 'Seventh Heaven' in honor of the King who is the seventh King of Hawai'i." *The Friend*, December 1886.

¹⁶ For an example of Kalākaua's support of traditional practices see "Esther T. Mookini, The Hale Naua of David Kalakaua," (unpublished manuscript, n.d.). Kalākaua supported a number of AEH church projects in Hawai'i, even making a "generous donation" to the Bethel Union Church congregation—one of the two white AEH churches on O'ahu at the time—when their house of prayer was destroyed by fire in 1886.

discussed including an offer by the King to supplement the much-decreased salaries of Native pastors of AEH churches with state funds as a precursor to the establishment of a national church with the king as administrative head. A letter of Rev. Hyde dated March 5, 1887 warned, “Several of our Hawaiian Ministers have come into town, summoned by the King, to secede from our Hawaiian Board and organize a purely Hawaiian Association.”¹⁷ Kalākaua was also petitioned by leaders of the Ho‘omana Na‘auao church, a syncretic Native offshoot of the Protestant AEH churches, to, “e kukulu i ekalesia maluna o ka nohoalii, oia ka ekalesia o kou lahuikanaka”¹⁸ (build a church based upon the throne, that is to be the church of your people).¹⁹ This threat to the white administrators of the AEH of a more direct link between church and state that would elide their influence among the people was not a new one. The establishment of the Anglican Church in Hawai‘i in 1862 and its close connection to a monarch who had “believed the doctrines and rituals of that church to be more compatible with monarchical government than those of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches already established in his kingdom” had created great fear among the American mission concerning the future of its position in Hawaiian society. Now, the threat seemed renewed.

Native claims on power and contestations of the rise of foreign influence within the kingdom had always been present and were growing stronger and more organized. At the start of

¹⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, March 5, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹⁸ The term “lahui” can be interpreted as both “nation” and/or “race” and can thus have meanings that describe citizenship and/or ethnicity.” Recognizing these differing possible interpretations, I leave it untranslated in this work. Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, Third Edition (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1975), 176.

¹⁹ “Buke Hai Euanelio o ka Hoomana Naauao no Na Makahiki Iubile He Kanalima, Aperila 16, 1853 - Aperila 16, 1903.” (unpublished manuscript, 1903). J. H. Poloaihua, a Native of Hawai‘i Island, originally founded this Native Christian syncretic offshoot in 1853. In the late 1880s, a member of the Kaumakapili congregation, John Kekipi Maia, was working to revive the group as a Native-controlled and led church and had sought aid from King Kalākaua. The church, also referred to by Kekipi as “Ka Ekalesia o ka Hoomana Karistiano Naauao,” would be officially re-founded in 1893 with Rev. Kekipi as pastor, opening a church on Cooke Street in downtown Honolulu in 1897. This text, a valuable history of the church, is written by Rev. John Kekipi and was published in 1903 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Hoo‘mana Na‘auao church.

the 1880s, this group of islands in the Pacific entered its fourth decade as an independent nation led by a Native monarch. The 1843 Anglo-French proclamation had recognized the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom and dozens of other nations had followed suit. The Kingdom of Hawai‘i had representative embassies and consulates around the world. The sons and grandsons of the early missionaries to Hawai‘i now had to navigate an economic, political, and social landscape in which their place in Hawaiian society was in flux. The position of their fathers, as missionaries, had afforded them significant opportunities which many of these Sons of the Mission had taken advantage of, increasing both their wealth and influence in the islands. Now, these positions of superseding influence were being challenged, both locally, by the King, Natives, and many other foreigners, and from abroad by the ABCFM.

While previous works have focused on the economic and political motivations for the actions of these men that would lead to the 1887 Bayonet revolution, this dissertation also makes assertions of an ecclesiastical nature as added context.²⁰ To the men of the Hawaiian Board, Kalākaua was a distinct threat to both their evangelical work and their general influence over the Native populace. Rev. Hyde declared, “Kalakaua is more and more successfully pushing his schemes,”²¹ and Rev. Bishop reported, “He [Kalākaua] seems to have secured an ascendancy in the churches generally....”²² With declining Native membership in the churches and worsening relations with the congregants, the AEH administration came to target Kalākaua as the foundation of its problems. In a November 17, 1886 letter with the heading “Private—To be read

²⁰ For examples of economic and political framing of Bayonet see Adler (1966); Daws (1968); Kuykendall (1967); Osorio (2002); Tate (1968).

²¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, November 20, 1886, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

²² Rev. Sereno Bishop to Rev. Judson Smith, April 11, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

and destroyed,” Rev. Hyde stated clearly, “the King is the great obstacle to Christian work,” and predicted that “the crisis has not yet come, but the times are nearing such a point.”²³

Native Christian Claims

The vigorous and continuing public contestations of white leadership over institutions in the Hawaiian Kingdom by the Native monarch were certainly causing significant problems for the all-white AEH officers within their churches. A late 1886 event offered this administration an opportunity to publicly challenge the Native monarch whom its members had previously attacked mostly within their private correspondence. The sixteenth of November would be His Majesty Kalākaua’s fiftieth birthday, and a Grand Jubilee was planned, with a week-long celebration that included dances, dinners, speeches, and boat races at ‘Iolani Palace and elsewhere. The Royal Guest List contained over one thousand names, and included the foreign diplomatic community, leaders of the Hawaiian Kingdom Government, local and international business leaders, numerous school, church, and societal associations, and other fortunate residents. In the weeks prior to the King’s Birthday celebration, Princess Lili‘uokalani, heir to the throne, had arrived at Kawaiaha‘o Seminary in Honolulu to invite personally the young Native Christian women there to join in procession with a number of other private and public schools of the Kingdom in honoring their Mō‘ī.

Kawaiaha‘o Church, situated across King Street from the Palace in downtown Honolulu, was the first Christian church built on O‘ahu, and was considered the “Mother

²³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, November 17, 1886, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Church” of all of the Native AEH churches.²⁴ In the 1840s, attendance routinely topped four thousand, and many of the most prominent Ali‘i (chiefs) called Kawaiaha‘o their church home. An educational seminary for girls had opened in a building on the grounds in 1867 and had for two decades been a prominent training school for young Native Christian women. Princess Lili‘uokalani had a long relationship with Kawaiaha‘o Church, being appointed head of the church choir there in 1866,²⁵ and as a champion of women’s education, she had taken a special interest in the seminary and the girls there, sponsoring several of the attending students and donating funds to the school itself.²⁶ The school’s principal, Miss Mary E. Alexander, was grateful for the royal invitation and humbly accepted. She shared the news with her excited teachers and pupils who quickly set about preparing for the upcoming event. The young ladies would be dressed in their finest uniforms and would file in procession in front of their king, proudly carrying a Kawaiaha‘o Seminary banner that they were to design. The weeks leading to the Royal Jubilee were exciting ones for all at the school.

²⁴ The AEH on O‘ahu in 1886 consisted of ten “Native” churches and two white churches, Fort Street and Bethel Union. The two white congregations were combined in September 1887, after Bethel burned, to become Central Union Church. After that point Central Union was simply referred to by the administration as “the Church” and the others as the “Native churches.”

²⁵ Princess Lili‘uokalani, as head of the Kawaiaha‘o Church choir, debuted the first Hawaiian national anthem that she had composed at the request of King Lota Kapuāiwa.

²⁶ In 1886, at a meeting within Kawaiaha‘o Church, Princess Lili‘uokalani founded the ‘Ahahui Ho‘ona‘auao Lili‘uokalani (Lili‘uokalani Educational Society) to address “the moral and intellectual needs of those of our sex who were just beginning life.” A stated goal was to educate Native Hawaiian girls whose parents could not give them the advantages that those with more resources could.



Figure 1. Kawaiaha'o Seminary for Girls, ca. 1890

When word of the invitation reached the seminary's Board of Trustees - most of who were also AEH officers—the reaction was immediate.²⁷ As Christianity was one of the terrains of the ongoing battle between the Sons of the Mission and the Native sovereign, the idea of Kalākaua being honored publically by girls under their charge was problematic.

Racist tropes had emerged from the post-slavery Reconstruction period (1867-1877) in America that imagined a hypersexual “Black Brute” that was a constant threat to white women. Kristen Myers explains that this racial stereotype, emanating from fears about the aftermath of the Emancipation Proclamation, described a dark-skinned,

²⁷ The Kawaiaha'o Seminary was a part of the AEH, but kept its own Board of Trustees. At the time of this event they were Rev. Charles Hyde, Rev. Sereno Bishop, Albert F. Judd, William R. Castle, and Rev. George W. Pilipo.

animalistic predator that would later be given notoriety in the film *Birth of a Nation*, “a silent picture that featured a white man in blackface stalking a helpless white virgin.” She explains, “The virgin was so desperate to escape the predatory buck that she jumped from a cliff rather than submitting to him.”²⁸ Despite repeated attempts by white Christian leaders in Hawai‘i to characterize the Native monarch as a barbarous savage, Kalākaua had in fact accumulated a strong record of advanced achievement for the Kingdom. Accomplishments such as becoming the first head of state of any foreign nation to address a joint session of the U.S. Congress in 1874, the building of ‘Iolani Palace - a seat of governance meant by the king to be architectural testimony to nationhood - in 1879, and becoming the first ruling monarch to circumnavigate the globe as part of an 1881 Royal Diplomatic Tour, all served to build a narrative concerning Native leadership that offered up not only competency, but progressivism. The Sons of the Mission, raised in an environment where the Native was thought the student of enlightenment and the white missionary the teacher, rebelled at the idea of being superseded by their charges. The critical race theorist Richard Delgado writes that this clash causes a cognitive dissonance that he explains with a white teacher/minority student analogy:

At first, the white professor feels good about hiring the minority. It shows how liberal the white is, and the minority is assumed to want nothing more than to scrape by in the rarefied world they both inhabit. But the minority does not just scrape by, is not eternally grateful, and indeed starts to surpass the white professor. This is disturbing; things weren’t meant to go that way. The strain between former belief and current reality is reduced by reinterpreting the current reality. The minority has a fatal flaw. Pass it on.²⁹

²⁸ Kristen A. Myers, *Racetalk: Racism Hiding in Plain Sight* (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005), 96.

²⁹ Letter of Richard Delgado to Linda Greene, April 24, 1985 (copy on file at Harvard Law School Library) cited in *Critical Race Theory: the cutting edge* ed. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 478.

White Christian leaders in Hawai‘i were developing a new mission in the islands that was based on the idea of the necessity of white leadership, brought on by the inability of the Native to rule. The coming festivities honoring Kalākaua would embolden those who supported Native leadership and the events needed to be contested in whatever way possible. The trustees of Kawaiaha‘o Seminary saw the invitation of their Native pupils as an opportunity to challenge the king. Kawaiaha‘o Seminary trustee and AEH officer Rev. Sereno Bishop informed Principal Alexander that the students would be forbidden to attend the upcoming Royal Jubilee. In an official statement to the Hawaiian Board on the matter, he called the celebration of Kalākaua’s birthday a gathering of the “Heathen Party” and asked, “Could white ladies then go there with decency and take their pupils?”³⁰ Making his point more bluntly, he declared, “No woman of self-respect whose father was keeping a brothel in his house, would dare to pay her respects to him in that house.” He explained the trustee’s motive for forbidding the students to attend by saying, “The reasons for our action are based upon the public attitude and active proceedings of the King in matters of impropriety and heathenism.”³¹

Rev. Hyde, Kawaiaha‘o Seminary Board President, strongly agreed with Bishop regarding the decision to forbid the ladies from attending and was taken aback by the show of independence from the teachers and students, noting that; “They seemed to have taken it for granted it was the proper thing to do, and never consulted with the trustees.”³² He made clear the board’s determination on the matter, relaying that Rev. Bishop had passionately declared, “No daughter of his should go near such a monster to be polluted

³⁰ Rev. Sereno Bishop, *Statement Read to the Hawaiian Board January 18, 1887*, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, November 17, 1886, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

by his gaze, and no girl over whom he had any control.”³³ A meeting between the seminary trustees and faculty was called. Principal Alexander and lead teacher Miss Malone made their case to be allowed to take the young Native women to honor their Mō‘ī, noting the support of Kawaiaha‘o Church’s long-time pastor, Rev. Henry H. Parker. The board of trustees held their ground and refused to lift the prohibition. The meeting adjourned.

The matter soon became a topic of wide public debate. Revs. Bishop and Hyde, joined by co-trustee and AEH President Albert F. Judd, claimed to be representing the voice of the Christian community. The men claimed that their actions in forbidding the young women to go were “in accordance with the general sentiment of the Christian public.”³⁴ In fact, the teachers at the seminary had “bitterly denounced” the action of the trustees and had won the support of many of the Christian leaders in the community. In addition to Rev. Parker, the prominent mission wife, educator, and AEH benefactor, Mrs. Mary S. Rice, known to all as “Mother Rice” came out in support of the students attending the celebration. Reports of those planning to attend the Jubilee listed a wide range of Christian organizations and the Kawaiaha‘o Trustee’s position was in fact a minority one among this community.

The celebration of the Jubilee Birthday of King Kalākaua, a national holiday in the kingdom, started on the evening prior, November 15, at six p.m. with a presentation of gifts from the Hui Nihoa, a Native Hawaiian Society. The United States Charge d’ Affaires, F. P. Hastings, followed with official greetings and congratulations from

³³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, November 17, 1886, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

³⁴ Rev. Sereno Bishop, *Statement Read to the Hawaiian Board January 18, 1887*, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

America's Chief Executive, President Grover Cleveland. At midnight a Royal salute erupted from the battery at Pūowaina, marking the start of an uninterrupted cacophony of church and fire station bells that would resound throughout Honolulu for close to half an hour. The next morning saw the beginning of a great number of honorific presentations to the Hawaiian monarch. The newspaper *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (The Hawaiian Archipelago), in a column titled "Ka Makahiki Iubile o ka Moi" (The Jubilee Year of the King) offered a list of some of the participating churches, church schools, and religious societies that honored Kalākaua with their attendance and gifts:

ka ekalesia o Kaumakapili me ka lakou makana he umeke laau nui he \$75
ka waiwai io; ka ahahui Y. M. C. A. o Kaumakapili, me 2 baibala haole;
ka ekalesia o Kaneohe me ka baibala a me 1 buke himeni; ke ekalesia o
Kawaiahao a me ka ahahui opiopio, me 2 baibala; na kahu ekalesia o ka
Pae aina me 1 baibala e hii ia ana e Rev. J. B. Hanaike; na hoaina o Iwilei
me 1 baibala.³⁵

Kaumakapili Church with their gift of a large wooden bowl with a true value of \$75; the Y. M. C. A. Association of Kaumakapili, with 2 English bibles; Kāne'ohe Church with a bible and 1 hymnal; Kawaiaha'o Church and Sunday School association, with 2 bibles; the pastors of the islands with a bible borne by Rev. J. B. Hanaike; the residents of Iwilei with 1 bible.

The day indeed brought a great number of women "under the King's gaze." *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (The Independent Newspaper) reported, "Mawaena o ka hora 10 a me ka 11 awakea, ua kai mai na hui wahine o Honolulu nei . . ." (Between the hours of ten and eleven the women's associations of Honolulu marched in procession . . .).³⁶ The groups included the female officers and members of several women's organizations, including two divisions of ladies from Ka 'Ahahui Ho'ona'auao o Lili'uokalani (The Lili'uokalani

³⁵ "Ka Makahiki Iubile o ka Moi," *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, November 20, 1886, 4.

³⁶ "Ka Iubile La Hanau," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 20, 1886, 3.

Educational Society) and Ka Hui Ho‘okū‘ono‘ono (The Women’s Savings Bank). A great many of the leading white couples of the islands had attended, including Kawaiaha‘o Seminary trustee Albert F. Judd, who had brought his wife Agnes. The Royal School with its three hundred plus students, the Pohukaina Girls’ School, and numerous other representatives from public and private schools throughout the kingdom had arrived by steamship. Reporting on the highlights of the festivities, *The Daily Herald* noted, “One of the most striking parts of the programme was where the native churches, schools and societies came in. Their lines were radiant with the white dresses of women and girls, and stately from the array of kahilis borne aloft.”³⁷ The young ladies from Kawaiaha‘o Seminary were conspicuously absent. In light of their earlier attacks on the idea of Christian women attending the event, the seemingly hypocritical attendance of these men with their wives points to their understanding of the political situation that demanded they walk a careful line in their attacks against the Native monarch still in control.

The action by the Kawaiaha‘o Seminary trustees did not have the intended effects of humiliating the Native monarch and intimidating the Native Christian community into abiding by the Hawaiian Board’s domineering leadership. The dedicated Christian young women at Kawaiaha‘o Seminary were insulted and angered by the affront of the trustees refusing to allow them to honor their Mō‘ī. Their white teachers and principal had been thrust into the middle of a battle between the administration of the AEH and the Native monarch. The young women and the larger Native Christian community pressed for action. The Kawaiaha‘o Seminary teachers took their case to the larger Christian

³⁷ “The King’s Jubilee,” *Daily Herald*, November 18, 1886, 3.

community and the matter became a topic of widespread conversation in which the Seminary trustees found themselves with very little support. Rev. Hyde wrote that the Kawaiaha‘o teachers were “proclaiming that this is only the culmination of a series of tyrannical acts on my part. You cannot comprehend how a whole Christian community can be so misguided and hold such perverted views of truth and duty.”³⁸ In December 1886, the teachers filed a formal complaint with the Hawaiian Board demanding that the current Kawaiaha‘o Seminary Board of Trustees resign. If the trustees were to refuse, the teachers themselves would resign. Rev. Hyde wrote to the American Board, once again blaming the troubles on the influence that the King had within the Native congregations—“He is a bully and a coward...”—and belittling the mass of Native congregants within the AEH churches: “The churches are honey combed with licentious, lazy, distemperate, cunning, hypocritical adherents.”³⁹ Rev. Bishop, in an official statement to the Hawaiian Board, defended the trustees’ ability to judge matters of Native “impurity and heathenism,” writing that they were “extremely intimate with Hawaiians character and sentiment” and in speaking of his particular expertise, wrote:

I have myself been four years a rural missionary pastor, twelve years principal of Lahainaluna Seminary, have had a girls boarding school two years in my own house, have been six years trustee of Makawao Female Seminary, and nine years of Kawaiahao, am the oldest in years among you, and probably have made as many painful mistakes as any, whether or not I have profited by them.⁴⁰

³⁸ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 13, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

³⁹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, December 21, 1886, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁴⁰ Rev. Sereno Bishop, *Statement Read to the Hawaiian Board January 18, 1887*, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

Rev. Bishop's paternalistic assumptions concerning his authority to judge what was proper for Native women left him flabbergasted concerning the forceful resistance of those he saw as naturally under his charge. Nonetheless, he and the other trustees realized that their attempt to assert more control over the congregants of their churches by publically humiliating the Native monarch had failed. The Board had overestimated its position of influence and the results foretold larger problems ahead. On January 11, 1887, Rev. Charles Hyde, Rev. Sereno Bishop, and the head of the AEH churches, Albert F. Judd, resigned their positions from the board at Kawaiaha'o Seminary. In his letter of resignation offered to Ka Papa Hawai'i, Rev. Bishop explained "such an antagonism of opinion and feeling has been elicited in this affair, that my further performance of the duties of a trustee will be attended with grave difficulties and disadvantages, and that the best interests of the institution will be promoted and further collisions of opinion and feeling avoided, by my withdrawal."⁴¹

The recent events and increasing contestations within the churches would force the AEH administration to try and strengthen its claim on Christianity in order to retain what hold it did have over the Native congregants. To do this, the administration would repeatedly narrow its definition of who fit under that designation of "Christian" in an attempt to delineate true Christians from those who supported the crown. Attacks on the "heathen government" became more regular and more public. In his resignation letter of January 11, 1887, Rev. Hyde directly tied the struggle within the churches to state affairs and foreshadowed a deeper politicization of church leaders. The root of the problem, to Hyde, was a "moribund heathenism" inflicted on the Christian community by "a

⁴¹ Rev. Sereno Bishop, *Statement Read to the Hawaiian Board January 18, 1887*, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

defective form of constitutional government.”⁴² The white officers of the Hawaiian Board now saw the removal of Kalākaua as essential to their new religio-political mission. On January 13, 1887, they wrote to the American Board saying:

Recent developments show what a vile man the King is + that a change must soon come in the interest of decency and good order + public morals. What else can be expected from an irresponsible savage? So long as this king and this gov’t continue, there is humanly speaking not very much to be done. Heathenism and Christianity will soon be pitted in open conflict here.⁴³

Kalākaua, in defending against the attacks of the white Christian leaders, tapped into the aforementioned broad dissatisfaction among the AEH congregations with their administration. The late 1886 incident at Kawaiaha‘o was only one of the heavy-handed attempts at an imposition of centralized authority by church administrators that was being rejected by the local churches. More than a decade earlier, in 1875, Rev. Pogue had warned, “There is a clique among the Natives, who are trying to get things in their own hands; complain that they are not fairly represented in the Haw Board.”⁴⁴ Native churches throughout the islands were openly voicing their dissatisfaction with the Hawaiian Board and many of the Native AEH pastors were no longer attending central meetings in Honolulu. Monetary collections sent in to the AEH general fund were dropping significantly.⁴⁵ As rumored, some AEH Native congregants, congregations, and pastors had indeed begun to coalesce around a plan to set up a Native board of Christian churches to replace the “Hawaiian Board.” On February 18, 1887, Rev. Elias Bond, pastor at

⁴² “Resignation letter of Rev. Charles M. Hyde from Board of Trustees of Kawaiaha‘o Seminary, January 11, 1887,” ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁴³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 13, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁴⁴ Rev. John F. Pogue to Rev. J. R. Worcester, June 24, 1875, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁴⁵ The 1887 Annual Report of the AEH shows a decrease of \$323.39 in contributions from the sixty-six AEH churches over 1886. “Pastoral Support,” *Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board, 1887), 11-12.

Kohala Church, wrote of this Native claim for control: “All the Hawn. Pastors on Oahu have with one exception, just petitioned the king to appoint + head a Board of Missions purely Hawaiian, throwing overboard the present Hawaiian Board with its foreign influence i.e. its Missionary members.”⁴⁶ Rev. Bond made clear the link between this action and the current condition of state affairs: “Of our untoward political state + prospects you are aware + it is needless that I speak. Of this political condition, the present demoralized condition of our chhs. is the natural + inevitable outcome.” The Kohala pastor also joined Rev. Hyde in blaming Native congregants themselves: “This people have no fixed character, they are today what they have always been, children both in mental + moral stature like a chameleon they take their color for their environment, human and other.” Echoing the disturbing developments for the Hawaiian board, Rev. Hyde would write that “The Hawaiians are to all intents + purposes a separate organization, only a few pastors meeting in the Hawaiian Board for some matters of common interest. The question for the Hawaiian Assn. will be whether to break with us entirely or to form a new Assn.”⁴⁷ The white officers of the AEH were backed into a corner. Having no other argument for their continued leadership other than an inherent superiority of the white Christian, they would move forward with this ironically polarizing rhetoric, insisting that God was with them, and that Native Christians had a choice to make.

The AEH administration made clear their claim on Christianity and an attendant call for a change in government at the opening of their 1887 annual meeting held at

⁴⁶ Rev. Elias Bond to Rev. Judson Smith, February 18, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁴⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, June 5, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Kaumakapili Church. On Tuesday June 7, the first day of the weeklong meeting, Corresponding Secretary Rev. Anderson O. Forbes read a report on the “Condition of the Churches” to the gathered representatives from AEH churches.⁴⁸ Boldly appropriating the 1843 proclamation of King Kamehameha III concerning the restoration of Hawaiian sovereignty, the report declared:

Ua mahuahua mau na keakea i ka pono iwaena o kanaka. Me he mea la i ka nana aku, ua hoololi ia e na mana Aupuni na huaolelo kaulana a Kamehameha III: “ua mau ke ea i ka aina i ka pono,” a ua pani ia e na hua “ua mau ke ea i ka aina i ka hewa.”⁴⁹

Hindrances to the development of Christian growth among the people have been steadily increasing. It is as if the famous words of Kamehameha III: “*the life of the land is perpetuated by righteousness*,” have been replaced by the ruling government with the words “*the life of the land is perpetuated by sin*.”

What was left unsaid at this early summer 1887 gathering of ecclesiastical representatives from around Hawai‘i was that a plan to remedy the perceived ills of the Hawaiian Kingdom had already been set in motion by a group that included several of the white Christian leaders of the AEH.

Bayonet

The past year had been a contentious one, not only among the churches of the AEH, but within the larger community. As Native Hawaiians moved during this period to reclaim power within varied institutions and at differing sites within the kingdom, the

⁴⁸ There were sixty-six Native churches within the AEH in 1887, although not all sent representatives to the annual meeting.

⁴⁹ *Hoike Makahiki Iwakalua-Kumamaha o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii, Iune 1887* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1887), 9.

political and economic interests of the white community were often challenged. In January of 1887, they began organizing a response. At a secret meeting at the Honolulu home of the American physician S. G. Tucker, mission sons Lorrin A. Thurston and Sanford Dole along with current AEH officer Peter C. Jones and several others, drafted a constitution for a clandestine association under the name, The Hawaiian League. Each person seeking membership in the league pledged; “I do solemnly promise upon my honor to keep secret the existence and purposes of this League to protect the white community of this Kingdom.”⁵⁰ The League was not simply a social organization looking to assert its influence in business and society affairs: it had much larger aims. In his recollection of the founding of the League, Clarence Ashford, Commander of the League’s military wing, the Honolulu Rifles,⁵¹ wrote, “It was early recognized that men without arms in their hands would make but small impression upon the powers that were.” He explained further, “In the spring of [*sic*] early summer, therefore, a totally liberal provision of rifles, revolvers, and ammunition was made for members of the League . . .”⁵²

The League’s ideas and plans for the future of Hawai‘i were tied to the understandings reflected in the theories of Social Darwinism, Anglo-Saxon predominance, and Manifest Destiny that had become prominent among many of the

⁵⁰ Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu: Honolulu Advertiser Publishing Company, Ltd., 1936), 608.

⁵¹ This paramilitary force was formed in 1857 and incorporated on February 24, 1858 as “a body corporate and politic, under the name of the “Honolulu Rifles.” While remaining a private association, its original charter stated, “It is clearly understood that said company shall hold itself in readiness to turn out under arms, if called upon by His Majesty the King, or the Commander in Chief, by writing, addressed to the Captain, or Commanding Officer, for the purpose of quelling any riot, or expelling an invasion, or assisting the Authorities in maintaining the public peace.” As political events and allegiances evolved in the 1880s, the organization became disloyal to the crown and was by the mid-1880’s a distinctly anti-Kalākaua militia.

⁵² Clarence F. Ashford, “Last Days of the Hawaiian Monarchy,” *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society*, 23.

academic, political, and religious leaders of the period. The 1859 publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* led to an expansion of his theories that gave rise to claims of the inherent superiority of certain races. Niklaus Schweizer writes of Darwin's seminal text; "This work, which at first glance appeared to be limited to the fields of biology and geology, was swiftly applied by social scientists to politics as the doctrine of "the survival of the fittest."⁵³ The desires of the white Christian leaders of the second-half of the nineteenth century in Hawai'i to shape a new mission that continued their positions of leadership were buoyed by these adapted dogmas. Richard Hofstadter has noted that the impact of Darwinian ideas upon American scientists and Protestant theologians was so widespread that by the Gilded Age "every serious thinker felt obliged to reckon with the implications of Darwin's writings."⁵⁴

For the white business and church leaders of the Hawaiian League, ideas of an inherent white dominance countered growing demands for Native control. In 1885, Rev. Josiah Strong's popular call for Protestant Christian missions, *Our Country*, had been published, and the hugely popular text—selling more than 200,000 copies—was stirring widespread support for a new wave of missions.⁵⁵ Originally intended to spur missionary activity in the American West, the book was taken up by many who were advocating an aggressive imperial movement beyond America's shores. Rev. Strong argued for a missionization of the weaker races by the purest form of Christianity, that of the Anglo-Saxon Protestant. He wrote, "It seems to me that God, with infinite wisdom and skill, is

⁵³ Niklaus R. Schweizer, "King Kalākaua: An International Perspective," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 25 (1991): 103-120.

⁵⁴ Richard Hofstadter, *Social Darwinism in American Thought* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992), 17.

⁵⁵ Rev. Strong is described by Julius Pratt: "Another widely read author whose ideas closely resembled Fiske's [historian John Fiske] and whose indebtedness to Darwin was no less obvious was the Congregational clergyman, Josiah Strong." Julius W. Pratt, *Expansionists of 1898* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925), 5.

training the Anglo-Saxon race for an hour sure to come in the world's future.” For Strong, the hour near at hand would present a battle of the races, in which,

the mighty *centrifugal* tendency, inherent in this stock and strengthened in the United States, will assert itself. Then this race of unequaled energy, with all the majesty of numbers and the might of wealth behind it—the representative, let us hope, of the largest liberty, the purest Christianity, the highest civilization—having developed peculiarly aggressive traits calculated to impress its institutions upon mankind, will spread itself over the earth.⁵⁶

In the middle of the Pacific, a small group of white Christian men were preparing for this very battle by shaping their own local plan for white supremacy and governance; an outcome the best-selling pastor from Cincinnati, Ohio, had referred to as “the consummation of a movement as old as civilization.”⁵⁷

The idea of replacing Native political governance in the Islands with white rule was one that received support from some influential sources outside of Hawai‘i. In late January 1887, Hawaiian Kingdom Supreme Court Chief Justice Albert F. Judd received a letter from the Dean of Faculty at Yale Law School, Prof. Francis Wayland.⁵⁸ The dean had been notified in a letter from Judd of the recent appointment of several Native justices to the bench in Hawai‘i and of King Kalākaua’s determined efforts to consolidate power and Native support. In his reply, Wayland declared, “I had feared that natives would be put on the bench. I suppose that even Bickerton is better than a native. Why

⁵⁶ Josiah Strong, *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis* (New York: The American Home Missionary Society, 1885).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Wayland, the grandson of the prominent Baptist minister and educator of the same name, was a Professor of English Constitutional Law and the former Lt. Governor of Connecticut. He was Dean of the Yale School of Law from 1873 to 1903.

don't the white capitalists rise as one man + say this monkeying with the serious interests of the kingdom must cease?"⁵⁹

Contestations over power had long been a part of the history of the kingdom and the position and influence of the white community had waxed and waned. Many within the Hawaiian League now insisted not only the implementation of a new constitution, but on the end of Native rule for good. The central committee of the League, several of whom were not Hawaiian Kingdom citizens, set about designing a plan that left no room for debate about who would be in control. Rev. Hyde, in a letter marked "Private," reported that under the Hawaiian League's scheme, "Hawaiians will be made to take a back seat. The ruling power will be in the hands of the foreigners."⁶⁰ In describing those involved, he wrote, "The backbone of the whole movement is the money furnished by some of our capitalists, while the brains come largely from the 'missionary ring.'"⁶¹

On June 28, Kalākaua's Premier, Walter Murray Gibson noted in his diary, "Increased rumors that an armed league is being formed to oust the Government."⁶² The Hawaiian League's membership had grown to over four hundred and large quantities of rifles and ammunition had indeed been flowing into the Kingdom over the past several weeks to supply them. The shipments were consigned to merchants such as William W. Hall and Henry Waterhouse—strong Hawaiian League supporters. Rev. Hyde, describing the Honolulu scene of June 28, wrote of "scores of men at noon carrying away their

⁵⁹ Francis Wayland to Albert F. Judd, January 31, 1887, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70 Box 63.3, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

⁶⁰ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, June 5, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁶¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, July 1, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁶² Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3: 1874-1893, The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1967), 357.

muskets from these stores.”⁶³ On June 30, a mass meeting was held at the armory of the Honolulu Rifles.⁶⁴ An administrative committee of thirteen was formed and Lorrin Thurston read a set of prepared resolutions that were to be brought before the king. At the close of the meeting, the committee proceeded immediately to the Palace, presented the demands of the League to Kalākaua, and demanded a reply within twenty-four hours, in writing. Over the course of the next several days, Kalākaua would assent to the demands of the League and appoint a new cabinet that included Lorrin Thurston. A group from within the committee of thirteen, including five AEH and Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society (HMCS) officers, would produce a new constitution for the Hawaiian Kingdom. Sanford Dole wrote to his brother George, “we have been working on a new constitution night and day.”⁶⁵ The ongoing maneuvers of the Hawaiian League constituted treason and the men were well aware of the dangers involved. A committee of the Hawaiian League, seeking to draw the judiciary into their scheme to overthrow the current constitution, met with Supreme Court justices Albert F. Judd and Edward Preston on July 5. Judd immediately noted the illegality of the plan and agreed to look over the draft constitution only after the men had signed an affidavit that recognized the courts’ apprehensions in

⁶³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, July 1, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁶⁴ This paramilitary force was formed in 1857 and incorporated on February 24, 1858 as “a body corporate and politic, under the name of the “Honolulu Rifles.” While remaining a private association, its original charter stated, “It is clearly understood that said company shall hold itself in readiness to turn out under arms, if called upon by His Majesty the King, or the Commander in Chief, by writing, addressed to the Captain, or Commanding Officer, for the purpose of quelling any riot, or expelling an invasion, or assisting the Authorities in maintaining the public peace.” As political events and allegiances evolved in the 1880s, the organization became disloyal to the crown and was by the mid-1880’s a distinctly anti-Kalākaua militia. Articles of Incorporation, Honolulu Rifles, Charter 34, Interior Department, Hawai’i State Archives, Honolulu.

⁶⁵ Sanford B. Dole to George Dole, July 6, 1887, Dole Papers 1840-1926, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

the matter. In a document signed by the three-member committee of the Hawaiian League, Chief Justice Judd, and co-justice Preston, Judd wrote,

Messrs. S. B. Dole, W. O. Smith, and W. A. Kinney, having waited upon the undersigned with a draft proposed new constitution, and having requested us to peruse the same and advise with them as to the form and text of the same, hereby state that we do so under the express understanding that we cannot and do not assent to any change in the present Constitution now in force, we having been sworn to maintain that constitution and the laws of the Kingdom and our duty being to maintain such laws, but it being presented to us that the promulgation of a new Constitution is imperatively necessary to maintain peace and order so agree to advise with such—for the purposes aforesaid. July 5, 1887⁶⁶

On July 6 the new constitution was given to Kalākaua. Having been informed of the full scope of the plan for his removal and possible execution, the king acquiesced and signed. Rev. Hyde produced a Hawaiian-language version of the document for the League that was distributed throughout Honolulu that evening. In the aftermath of the event, Hyde made clear that the plan had been to remove Kalākaua for good: “The demands were intended to be such that the King would not grant them...” He further explained, “If he had offered any resistance, he would have been summarily shot down.”⁶⁷ In another letter he noted, “Many are disappointed that Kalakaua and Gibson still live.”⁶⁸ Planning the possible assassination of an elected head of state brought these already treasonous actions to another level of legal responsibility. The King’s life wasn’t the only one threatened during this political coup that included significant involvement and support from the Sons of the Mission and Princess Lili‘uokalani noted the hypocrisy, later writing:

⁶⁶ Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 48.14, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

⁶⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, July 25, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁶⁸ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, July 1, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Whatever the faults of Mr. Gibson, so long prime minister of Kalakaua, he was an able man, and his only public crime was his loyalty to his king. And it was for this reason that he, and his son-in-law, Mr. Fred H. Hayselden of Lanai, were seized by a mob composed of the 'missionary party' armed with rifles, and marched down the public streets to the wharves;..So these two citizens were forced along into a small structure on the wharf, where hung two ropes with nooses already prepared, and a man of widely known missionary ancestry, led the outcry, vociferating loudly and lustily, 'Hang them! Hang them! Could it be possible, I thought, that a son of one of my early instructors, the child of such a lovely and amiable Christian mother, could so far forget the spirit of that religion his parent taught, and be so carried away with political passion, as to be guilty of murder? Yet, he was not the only one, by any means, who seemed to have forgotten those principals of our Lord, to teach which their parents had come to our shores.⁶⁹

These descendants of the first Christian missionaries to Hawai'i had deviated significantly from the early instructions of the American Board that insisted, "It is for no private end, for no earthly object that you go."⁷⁰

For the AEH administration, the political objectives of the revolution of early July 1887 were mostly achieved. The new constitution dramatically shifted the balance of power towards the white Christian elite in the Kingdom by disenfranchising many Native voters through increased property qualifications, giving the vote to white non-citizens, and completely excluding Asians. Jonathan Osorio writes, "It was the very first time that democratic rights were determined by race in any Hawaiian constitution."⁷¹ In its scope and breadth the new constitution and its implementation through force were meant to humiliate the King and present to the Native populace a narrative of naturalized white leadership in the face of Native weakness and incompetence. Perhaps then, Native Christians congregants would once again gather obediently under the guidance of their

⁶⁹ Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard, 1898), 182-183.

⁷⁰ *Instructions of the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Lahainaluna: Mission Press, 1838), 19.

⁷¹ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 244.

white brethren. The recent moves had gone well for the white Christian leaders in Hawai'i and the Sons of the Mission did not hesitate to take credit or to celebrate. The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS)⁷² announced in its annual report of 1888:

Our wonderful revolution has made this the most marked historic year of the Hawaiian Kingdom since our Society was organized. Some of our own H. M. C. S. were among the framers of the new Constitution, and in the new order of things the number of cousins already in honorable stations of Governmental trust has been much increased. His Excellency L. A. Thurston, is Minister of the Interior, Hon. S. B. Dole has been enrolled among members of the Supreme Bench, eight cousins are in the Boards of Health and Education, while in Privy Council of State, in House of Nobles of Nobles and in Representative Hall we find a full score of our members.⁷³

Yet amidst their joy and excitement over the new political order, there was a palpable fear. The Hawaiian Board knew this direct attack on the Hawaiian monarchy would enflame the ongoing troubles within the AEH churches. Rev. Hyde, once again noting the link between the political and religious missions, wrote to the ABCFM; "Now is the time for friends of the Hawaiian to rally and help re-organize Christian work among them, simultaneously with the re-organization of the government."⁷⁴ Soon after, he added, "We have got rid of a set of harpies, spendthrifts, and leeches, and have in their places honest and honorable men. Now is the time to send us additional workers. Don't delay."⁷⁵ This reorganization of Christian work in the Islands would include attempts to retain control among current congregants and the evangelization of new members. Both of these efforts

⁷² The HMCS was founded on June 5, 1852 as an association of missionaries to Hawai'i and their descendants to support the work of Congregational missionaries in the Hawaiian archipelago and other regions of the Pacific.

⁷³ *Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society* (Honolulu: Press Publishing Company Steam Print, 1888), 16.

⁷⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, July 1, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁷⁵ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. E. K. Alden, July 14, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

sought to reaffirm the leadership role of the white Christian in Hawai‘i. Addressing the first effort, Rev. Hyde wrote of “the defects in our present church polity” and argued, “we must reform the deacons or elders. They are the smartest scoundrels in the community in many parishes, and must be reformed out.”⁷⁶ To accomplish the broader goal of engendering a new spirit of revival among the general Native population, this limited group would need the reenforcement of a new company of white evangelical missionaries from the United States. The Sons of the Mission were drafting a new mission.

Hō‘eu‘eu Hou (Revival)

The June 1887 annual accounting of members within the churches of the AEH tallied 5,787 congregants.⁷⁷ This number was down more than seventy percent from the 20,225 that populated these churches in 1863, the year that the local AEH was handed the reins of authority over the Hawaiian Churches by the American Board. In leaving for other Christian denominations, Native Hawaiians had questioned not Christianity itself, but rather the leadership of the AEH. The Hawaiian Board sorely needed a new plan.

The strategy settled upon was a re-missionization of the Native populace centered upon not only the theological tenets of the church, but also the general role of white leaders in Hawai‘i as the arbiters of God’s will. The recent political revolution had sparked intense confrontations throughout the Islands and at stake with this claim of interpretive authority was rule over both the Christian churches and the kingdom itself. Claiming the authority to define God’s plan for Hawai‘i was key to the AEH leadership’s attempt to dampen overt resistance and make more permanent the current but tenuous

⁷⁶ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, July 25, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁷⁷ *Hoike Makahiki Iwakalua-Kumamaha o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1887).

position of white leadership. A new, more blatant narrative was crafted that offered a strict binary between a Christianity rooted in the white forms of governance that pleased God and the “corrupting influences of the Hawaiian Royal Court.”⁷⁸ Characterizing Native Christians as incompetent to direct their own spiritual path was a key element of the new religio-political mission. Rev. Bishop wrote of the presence of “poison weeds in the Lord’s garden here”⁷⁹ and insisted that Native pastors had not the character to lead in tough times, explaining that they were “not only powerless to contend with the evil among their people, but even to withhold them-selves [*sic*] from it when tempted by illness.”⁸⁰

Exporting this narrative to an American Board that had been demanding a Native Church in Hawai‘i, however, would be difficult. The original mission fathers to the Islands, believing in the ultimate and unquestionable power of the Holy Spirit to save any man, had shaped a plan that was to lead to a strong and independent Native church. The foundations of the Puritan rejection of the need for guided layers of communication between the Christian congregant and God were a strong part of the formation of the American Protestant Church and its missionary work.⁸¹ Since the 1840s, the ABCFM had been directing the Hawaiian Islands Mission to develop a long-term plan for the Islands that would more closely mirror the foundational Congregationalist principle of local control of churches. An 1850 “Special Report to The Board” made clear that

⁷⁸ “Anglo-Saxonizing Machines,” *The Friend*, August 1887, 63.

⁷⁹ Rev. Bishop is likely referring to the biblical parable found in Matthew 13: 37-39: “The one who sows the good seed is the Son of Man. The field is the world, and the good seed is the sons of the kingdom. The weeds are the sons of the evil one, and the enemy who sowed them is the devil.”

⁸⁰ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Rev. Judson Smith, August 27, 1888, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁸¹ For more on the development of the theme of individualism within the church, see John von Rohr, *The Shaping of American Congregationalism, 1620–1957* (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1992).

“missionaries are and ought to be *evangelists*, and not pastors.”⁸² That primary doctrine on church polity would be reaffirmed at the National Congregational Council of 1865, when the council declared as their initial principle “that the local or Congregational church derives its power and authority directly from Christ, and is not subjected to any ecclesiastical government exterior or superior to itself.”⁸³ Nonetheless, at the time of the declaration that presented Hawai‘i as “a Christian nation,” only four Native Hawaiians had been ordained as ministers, and only two were serving in Island churches.⁸⁴ A decade later in 1863, when the AEH was handed significant autonomy by the ABCFM, the number of ordained Native Hawaiian pastors preaching in Island pulpits still stood at only four. The local association itself noted that although the Gospel had been preached in Hawai‘i for more than forty years, “In only a very few cases have natives been ordained, and placed over independent churches.”⁸⁵ In July of that year, long-time American Board officer Rev. Rufus Anderson sailed from Boston to deliver a sterner version of the message in person.⁸⁶ In a Honolulu address to the 1863 annual meeting

⁸² *Fifty-Second Annual Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, 1862), 18. Likewise, the Board of Managers of the American Baptist Missionary Union made clear in its 1855 annual meeting that, “the missionaries, as a class, were, of right and duty, to be *evangelists*, and not pastors; that the pastorate of the churches ought to be in the charge of native preachers . . .” *The Missionary Magazine* 35 (1855), 159.

⁸³ *Debates and Proceedings of the National Council of Congregational Churches* (Boston: American Congregational Association, 1865), 463.

⁸⁴ Sources include James P. Merseberg, “The Ministry of the Mission Field: Some Aspects of the Indigenization of the Church,” (Bachelor’s thesis, Andover Newton Theological School, 1965); Oscar Maurer, *Three Early Christian Leaders of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Board of the HEA, 1945); *Hoike Makahiki Kanakolu-Kumamalua o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1900). While Native Hawaiians had preached in churches as licentiates before, James Kekela (1849), Samuel Kauwealoha (1850), Stephen Waimalu (1850), and David Malo (1852) were the first Native Hawaiian ministers to be ordained. Both Kekela and Kauwealoha served as missionaries to Micronesia.

⁸⁵ *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association at its Annual Meeting in Honolulu June 3, to July 1, 1863* (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Sons, 1864), 56.

⁸⁶ Anderson served as an influential member of the American Board for forty-five years, wrote several texts on foreign missions, and has been described as the “Grand Strategist of American Missions” by R. Pierce Beaver in the introduction to *To Advance the Gospel* by Rufus Anderson (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1967), 9.

of the AEH, the ABCFM representative again forcefully called for Native-run, Native-led churches in the islands. The current political situation, however, left no room for such a hand-over of power by the white administrators of the AEH, and some within the current leadership had always thought the American Board's policy inherently flawed. Rev. Bishop believed that the 1863 transition of Hawai'i from mission station to independent church and the push for Native leadership had been a severe miscalculation. He wrote to the American Board, saying, "I think the mistake grew out of a lack [of] appreciation by the American Churches of the inherent weakness and necessities of 'Nature peoples.' Such races, however receptive of the Gospel, need long continued help and superintendence."⁸⁷ To Rev. Bishop and other members of the AEH administration, what the Native Christian flock in Hawai'i desperately needed were more white shepherds.

A formal request to the ABCFM for new missionaries was drafted at the 1887 "Jubilee Celebration of the Arrival of the Missionary Reinforcements of 1837." A committee of the gathered missionary descendants of the HMCS passed a resolution that read in part:

Resolved, That the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions be requested to commission not less than five choice Christian men, as soon as practicable, for such work, and assume their support; such men to engage in such work and at such centers or points as shall seem feasible and wise to the Hawaiian Board.

W. C. Merritt, Wm. B. Oleson, W. O. Smith—Committee⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Rev. Judson Smith, April 11, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁸⁸ Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Jubilee Celebration of the Arrival of the Missionary Reinforcements of 1837* (Honolulu: Daily Bulletin Steam Print, 1887), 9.

The calls from the white leadership in Hawai‘i for immediate action from the American Church employed threats that the glorious and prosperous example of mission success that Hawai‘i afforded the larger mission enterprise would soon be lost. Revs. Oleson, Oliver P. Emerson, and William C. Merritt, wrote to say, “The importance of a speedy reinforcement of Christian forces at the Islands at the present juncture can hardly be overestimated. It is of the highest importance that the lamp whose light first began to shine as a beacon in this North Pacific Ocean should not go out now.”⁸⁹ Yet, despite the formal plea of the HMCS and pledges of monetary support from white business leaders in Hawai‘i, the ABCFM strongly resisted re-engaging the Hawaiian field and backtracking on their long-standing policy of local, Native rule of the churches.⁹⁰ Months passed without any significant movement from Boston on a new Hawaiian mission.

To the white Christian leaders in Hawai‘i, the imposition of a new constitution had offered a window of opportunity to clarify God’s will for Hawai‘i and the white man’s place there. Without clear control of the government, threats to the mission of white dominance in the Islands—such as the increasing presence and rising influence of Asian immigrants—could not be controlled.⁹¹ The first issue of the official newspaper of the Hawaiian Board published following the July 1887 imposition of the Bayonet Constitution declared, “The politics of the country are fast ranging themselves in Anglo-

⁸⁹ Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Committee on New Work in the Islands to ABCFM, 1887 (received September), HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁹⁰ Henry P. Baldwin to Rev. Anderson O. Forbes, April 15, 1887, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu. Both Peter C. Jones and Henry P. Baldwin pledged significant funds towards the resumption of missionary work in the Islands, with Baldwin offering one thousand dollars per annum towards the effort of the Evangelists and Jones donating five thousand dollars to the Hawaiian Board in 1890. Peter Cushman Jones was a founding member of the Sugar Planters Association, and would be a member of the 1893 Committee of Thirteen and Executive Council of the Provisional Government that replaced the monarchy. Henry Perrine Baldwin was a co-founder of Alexander & Baldwin Co., one of the dominant businesses in the Islands, and was elected to the House of Nobles after the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution.

⁹¹ Asian immigrants of this period were not only increasing in number but were becoming a more significant part of the islands’ business class, opening shops and offering services.

Saxon line . . .” and explained the recent events by saying that “the resistless tide of Anglo-Saxon principles of government suddenly overtopped the frail ‘palace’ dykes, and swept away all that retrograde rubbish.”⁹² The time to move on the new mission was now. Nathaniel Bright Emerson, co-author of the new constitution and past President of the HMCS, wrote, “The revolution has in a sense opened up the field by removing great obstacles. It seems to me of the highest importance that what is to be done should be done speedily.”⁹³

The white Christian administration in Hawai‘i, hoping to spur action by the American Board, moved to formalize the new mission on its end. The creation of a separate ecclesiastical association was proposed, the Committee on Hawaiian Evangelization (CHE), that would lead the re-organization of Christian work. The central feature of this new organization was a particular and purposeful governance structure. The official church association created to administer the new mission among Native Hawaiians would be, by design, exclusively white.⁹⁴ The AEH had led past local mission efforts, but its internal make-up was somewhat problematic for the new mission. Natives had voting rights within the AEH, since, according to the constitution, they could hold up to one-third of the seats on the Hawaiian Board. Native Christians also made up the vast majority of the members and representatives from the churches of the AEH.⁹⁵ This new

⁹² “Anglo-Saxonizing Machines,” *The Friend*, August 1887, 63.

⁹³ One wonders if Rev. Emerson was paraphrasing Shakespeare’s Macbeth, who when contemplating the murder of the king says, “If it were done, when ‘tis done, then ‘twere well it were done quickly.” Nathaniel B. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, August 28, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁹⁴ Rev. Bishop pointed out that a new association was needed because “The very nature and constitution of the Hawaiian Board forbid the proposed arrangement [an exclusively white Board].” Rev. Sereno Bishop to Rev. Judson Smith, April 11, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁹⁵ Although Native Hawaiians could serve on the Hawaiian Board, taking up to one third of the seats, the delegate structure—each Island association was permitted up to a certain number of Native delegates, always

body would ensure institutional white control through by-laws mandating that a majority of the board of trustees come from the “Cousins’ Society” of the HMCS—an organization made up solely of white missionary families and descendants. The CHE Board would have three members from the HMCS and two from the AEH. Among the barrage of correspondence that the ABCFM received from the church leaders in Hawai‘i concerning this new mission plan was a letter from the proposed head of the new CHE, Nathaniel B. Emerson. On August 28, 1887, he wrote:

there exists a conviction in the minds of many that it would be well for the purely Hawaiian element in the Hawaiian Board to have no voice or personal representation in this new board. The counsels of such men as Judge Judd, Rev. A. O. Forbes, Rev. H. H. Parker, Rev. S. E. Bishop, Rev. C. M. Hyde, W. O. Smith and others whose names as white members of the Hawaiian Board must be familiar to you would be invaluable as members of this new board.

Imploring the ABCFM to move forward quickly in support of this new mission, he continued:

with the understanding that Native Hawaiians should not form any part of it. It is certainly a delicate matter to exclude pure Hawaiians from representation on a body to be made up in part of members selected from a Board which they form an integral part. None the less does it seem to me it must be met.⁹⁶

In ending his pointed missive, Emerson made a final argument for the exclusion of Native Hawaiian Christians from the work: “The roots of evil are strong in this community and will yet bear their crop. This being the case I believe it is wise policy to exclude from places on this new Board the Hawaiians, who, when the evil day shall

a minority of total delegates from that island—meant that a majority of Board members would be white and the officers of the Board were exclusively white. Later challenges to white men in these seats spurred changes to the organization’s constitution that are discussed later in this work.

⁹⁶ Nathaniel B. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, August 28, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

come, can not be depended upon to stand like a rock against the current.”⁹⁷ Rev. Bishop strongly supported Emerson’s conclusions, saying that the Native Hawaiian churches were unfit to undertake the control of white missionaries. He noted that all six of the Native members of the Hawaiian Board had shown open hostility to the proposed plan:

But no one who listened to these native speakers, would for a moment continue to imagine it possible that the Board of the Evangelical Association of the Hawn Churches could attempt to have any direct hand in sending for, directing, or supporting white missionaries to their own people. The chief speaker, a leading pastor, of strong jealousy of the white power, manifestly labored under great difficulty in controlling his anger, as he spoke of sending for expensive white men when themselves could not secure payment of the pittances pledged.⁹⁸

Bishop explained that the situation had forced them to deceive the Native members of the Board: “We had to urgently advise our native brethren that such a proposition [new missionaries from America] proceeded wholly from abroad and there was no intention on our part of encouraging it . . .” He ended by saying, “I think they were disposed to believe us and that with patience their fears + jealousies will abate.”

By the spring of 1888, it seemed that the American Board was coming around to the idea of new mission work in Hawai‘i. The ABCFM drew up a plan, but with strict conditions—ones that seemed at odds with the new plan of the white AEH administration. The American Board issued guidelines regarding any new missionary sent to the Hawaiian field. They declared in part:

⁹⁷ Nathaniel B. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, August 28, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁹⁸ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Rev. Judson Smith, April 11, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. Financial support from the Hawaiian Board to Native pastors had been greatly reduced. The thought was to have them be supported by their local congregations. With attendance shrinking, these salaries were, in many cases, insufficient to support these pastors.

2. They will not become pastors of churches but will occupy the detached and more general position of missionaries. They will not supersede the native pastors, but will help them to become more efficient and more influential.
3. Native churches, under native pastors, self-governing and self-supporting, and equal to all the Christian work of the Islands, are to be developed and brought forward as rapidly as possible.
4. The work of the missionaries is a temporary work.⁹⁹

The ABCFM, wary of the work of the Sons of the Mission in Hawai'i, sought to retain strict control over any representative of theirs sent to the Islands. In a follow up report of April 24, the American Board stated that the CHE was to be "directly responsible to the Prudential Committee of the American Board."¹⁰⁰ Pleased with the new movement from America, the Hawaiian Board acted quickly to select local administrators to guide the CHE and its work. The three trustees chosen from the ranks of the HMCS were Nathaniel B. Emerson, Rev. William Oleson, and Rev. William C. Merritt. The two chosen from the AEH were Revs. Smith and Bingham; Rev. Hyde was added as an ex-officio member and advisor to the board. One of the first acts of the new Committee on Hawaiian Evangelization was to produce an assessment of the field for the ABCFM. The report listed "discouraging phases" that bolstered their narrative of the need for new, white missionaries:

1. The numerical feebleness of our Protestant Christian forces
2. The depression resting upon Hawaiian pastors due to the decrease of missionary fathers, and the absence of their helpful guidance and fellowship
3. The pervasive immorality of the race
4. The loss of political prestige, which Hawaiians have undergone as a result of the revolution.

⁹⁹ "Report of Sub-Committee on New Work at the Hawaiian Islands," April 3, 1888, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹⁰⁰ "Report of Sub-Committee on New Work at the Hawaiian Islands," April 24, 1888, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

The CHE had now set the stage for a new Hawaiian mission.

All that had been done to this point, however, was only planning. Initial excitement and optimism regarding missionary reinforcements from America was replaced over the summer and fall of 1888 with a practical realization that none had actually arrived and recent updates were not promising. Meanwhile, the political landscape was also delivering challenging news. The Native populace had in fact not been cowed by the white elite's imposition of a new constitution but instead had united in organized opposition. The first Native political party, Hui Kālai'āina Hawai'i, was formed at a mass meeting in Honolulu on November 22, 1888.¹⁰¹ Native members of the legislature were calling for a new constitutional convention aimed at ridding the nation of the widely despised Bayonet Constitution. Kalākaua, still on the throne, remained a thorn in the sides of the white elite, accessing the power that remained in the Executive branch to continually challenge Hawaiian League plans at every turn. The churches of the AEH were being used to hold mass meetings in support of Native candidates for election who were promising to return the reins of power back to Native hands. The ongoing struggles within the kingdom continued to remind the Sons of the Mission that while military and political battles could be won, the hearts and minds of the great mass of Native Hawaiians remained far across a troubled divide.

It would be more than a year after the creation of the CHE before any new missionaries would be sent to Hawai'i by the ABCFM and it would not be the company of five or more that the CHE had been begging for. On May 3, 1889, the steamer Monsarrat arrived in Honolulu Harbor from San Francisco with Rev. William Drake Westervelt aboard. Other than Rev. Hyde, who had been sent to the Islands specifically to

¹⁰¹ The newspaper *Ka Elele* of November 24, 1888, reports more than one thousand attendees within an article titled "Ka Halawai Makaainana Nui ma ka Hale paikau o ka Honolulu Rifles, ma Manamana." (The Grand Mass Meeting at the Armory of the Honolulu Rifles in Manamana.)

be principal of the Native pastor training school in Honolulu, Westervelt was the first missionary sent to Hawai‘i in three decades. He had left his pulpit at the Second Congregational Church in Denver for missionary work and after some cajoling, had been convinced that he was needed in Hawai‘i. The CHE administration welcomed Westervelt heartily. The June 1889 issue of the monthly AEH newspaper declared, “The Friend is glad to extend its welcome to this able and excellent brother, who is the first of the hoped for reinforcement to be sent by the American Board . . .”¹⁰² The white Christian leadership in Hawai‘i struggled to remain positive. Six months later, amidst rising political tensions, AEH officers again pleaded with the ABCFM: “Where are the others, who are coming to follow Mr. Westervelt? Political complications will probably prevent any religious interest in our churches this year.”¹⁰³

This initial attempt at new mission work amidst this complex situation quickly turned problematic. A struggle developed almost immediately after the new missionary’s arrival over who had oversight of his work. Rev. Westervelt saw himself as a missionary of the American Board and refused to take orders from the HCE—often not bothering to even deliver regular reports of his doings to the local evangelical body. Heated correspondence poured into the American Board from the CHE, the AEH, and Rev. Westervelt, who had left Honolulu for Maui. The members of the HCE Board demanded the right to directly plan the work of Rev. Westervelt but the ABCFM refused. Local pressures on the white Christian leaders were showing. HCE officer Rev. Oleson, sent a hostile letter of resignation to the American board in which he declared, “The island community is doing all it can and the stringent times now specifically present with us will

¹⁰² “Rev. William D. Westervelt,” *The Friend*, June 1889, 47.

¹⁰³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, December 20, 1889, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

greatly impede our Christian activities.” He criticized the efforts of the ABCFM saying “I cannot see how the Am. Bd. in any case can [generally] do less than it is now doing . . .”¹⁰⁴ This first effort at a re-missionization of Hawai‘i fell completely apart. On July 21, 1891, after a contentious two-year service that did very little to further the plans of those who had called for him, Rev. William Westervelt was released from mission service by the ABCFM.¹⁰⁵ This was not the fortification of white control that the Hawaiian Board had hoped for.

After the lone arrival of Rev. Westervelt in the spring of 1889, the AEH administration was beginning to understand that its new “mission” for Hawai‘i would need to be launched without significant support of the American Board. While the administrators had determinedly insisted on a white-led mission, they could not ignore the reality of their present situation on the ground. They had engendered an atmosphere in the islands in which they had lost any sense of authority among much of the Native Christian population. There was no way to get around the fact that any effort to blunt Native Hawaiians’ dissension and anger and entice them back into the churches under the leadership of the AEH would need Native involvement. It would also need more than just Native pastors in the pulpits. It would need a Native face: the struggling movement would need a savior.

¹⁰⁴ Rev. William B. Oleson to Rev. Judson Smith, July 22, 1891, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹⁰⁵ The only other missionary that would arrive from America would come more than three years later, in 1894. Rev. John Leadingham was sent out with the specific purpose of helping Rev. Hyde raise up more Native pastors for the field at the Native pastor training school, Ke Kula Kahunapule o ka Pakipika Akau. Rev. Leadingham would work as Principal at the school in Honolulu without taking part in specifically local evangelical duties while in Hawai‘i. He was released from the mission in 1904.

The “Exception”

Many within the AEH held strong doubts about any Native Hawaiian leadership in the new mission. Rev. Elias Bond, member of the company of American missionaries sent in 1840 and a long-time pastor at the Native church at Kohala, had earlier declared, “we are driven now, at length to confess the Hawaiians, as an independent worker in the Master vineyard, are out & out failures. We must not mince words. The Haw’n, in his very best representative, at home, or abroad, having made his best possible record, as an organizer, + administrator, is a pronounced failure.” He went on to warn, “were white influences removed from our churches today it wd. not be 5 years, ere a general wreck wd. ensue.”¹⁰⁶ For the new mission, a goal in the recruitment and development of any new Native evangelists would be to ensure that he could inspire his people yet remain devoted to the ultimate leadership of the white Christian community. As Rev. Oliver P. Emerson put it, “Would that we had half a dozen Hawaiian born men to help us who know the language + the people + who were yet white at heart.”¹⁰⁷ CHE board member Rev. William Oleson believed he knew a perfect candidate.

John Henry Wise, born in Kapa‘au, Kohala, Hawai‘i on July 19, 1869, to Julius A. Wise of Hamburg, Germany and Rebecca Nawa‘a of Kohala, began his mission-led education as a young student at the Hilo Boarding School (HBS). Organized in 1836 under Rev. David B. Lyman, the school sought to teach young Hawaiian boys ways of industry and morality, and served as a feeder school for the mission’s seminary at Lahainaluna. The school at Hilo became a vital link in the chain of mission-based education, and was later described as the “nursery of leaders for the sacramental hosts of

¹⁰⁶ Rev. Elias Bond to Rev. John F. Pogue, July 13, 1874, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, May 2, 1890, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

God's elect."¹⁰⁸ In its first five decades, HBS sent more than two hundred pupils on to Lahainaluna and produced more than four hundred schoolteachers. The core of the training at HBS was always aimed at building strong Christian character. Rev. Lyman made it clear that "The Bible, whether regarded to its influence on the government of the school, or on the Character, mental and moral from time to eternity, is deemed of more influence than all other books studied in school."¹⁰⁹

At the time of Wise's arrival as a student in 1882, Hilo Boarding School was at a new location, near Haili Church, above Hilo, and was in the midst of a reinvigorating expansion after more than a decade of decline. The guiding force behind this rejuvenation was Rev. William Brewster Oleson, the school's new principal, who had arrived from Maine in 1879. Rev. Oleson, as both a school and church administrator, viewed his task at HBS as pushing his Native pupils to overcome "the pervasive immorality of the race" while gleaning the exceptions to be groomed as evangelical messengers. Oleson, and many others, felt that Natives should be given an education, but not so much as to lift them too high. Samuel Chapman Armstrong, mission son and founding principal at the Hampton Institute in Virginia, reviewed the work of the Hilo Boarding School for its Fiftieth Jubilee in 1886. In a letter to Principal Oleson that was reprinted in the mission paper *The Friend*, Armstrong wrote:

School training for the Hawaiians, the Africans, or the Indians should, in the great majority of cases be elementary, industrial, earnestly and practically Christian, not attempting the higher scholarship (though they can easily master advanced studies) but devoted to making self-reliant men and women of simple tastes, *above* their people yet *of* them and full of the spirit of missionary work for them. The Hilo Boarding School has better than any school at the Islands illustrated this idea. It is precisely

¹⁰⁸ Rev. Elias Bond, "The School and Its Founder," *The Friend*, November 1886, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

what I have tried to do here. Not that I am [not?] in sympathy with higher education for “the weak and despised races” for I believe in it for selected ones...¹¹⁰

On July 1, 1886, Rev. Oleson began a new position as the first principal at the recently founded Kamehameha School for Boys (KS) in Kapālama, Honolulu, O‘ahu. Oleson brought John Wise and eight other of his most prized pupils with him to KS. These bright young Native Hawaiians joined three other boys to create the inaugural class. This school was therefore entrusted with heirs of the Protestant Mission education. Wise and the rest of the class arrived at a Kapālama school that exuded a newness and exciting vitality. The campus initially contained two dormitories, a dining hall, workshop, and principal’s residence. The young men chosen to attend KS seemed to be on the cutting edge of the future of Hawaiian education. Yet even at this remarkable new school, some things remained fundamentally the same. Education for these young Native men continued to focus on attaining trade skills. Rev. Hyde, both an original Kamehameha School trustee and AEH officer, wrote, “We do not want higher education at all in the Kamehameha Schools. Provision for that will be made in other ways in exceptional cases. The average Hawaiian has no such capacity.”¹¹¹

For John Henry Wise, attendance at Kamehameha was an opportunity not to be wasted. He dove into his academic studies and extra-curricular activities, excelling in both. He was very athletic, and a natural leader. He helped organize the first KS baseball team, on which he played center field, and became an integral part of the 1890 championship “Kamehameha nine.”

¹¹⁰ Samuel C. Armstrong, “A Successful Piece of Missionary Work,” *The Friend*, November 1886, 6.

¹¹¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Samuel C. Armstrong, April 8, 1893, Armstrong Letters, Williams College Archives, Williamstown. Two other young Native men, Samuel Keli‘inoi and Charles E. King, were sent abroad in 1891 for further education at the Oswego Normal School in Oswego, New York, through funding by Kamehameha School founder Charles Reed Bishop.



Fig. 2 John Henry Wise

Intelligent, athletic, and charismatic, Wise drew attention. Oleson and others within the AEH took notice. John Henry Wise seemed like an exceptional candidate for this crucial new mission. He had stood out at every level of his mission-based education in Hawai'i. But to complete the conversion to the Christian leader that the AEH imagined, he would need immersion in the canon of revivalist doctrines that only God's manifest country could provide.

The plan was communicated to Wise and he accepted the daunting challenge. He had not yet finished his education at Kamehameha, but the state of the churches, and the nation, demanded immediate action. In July 1890, the board of the AEH voted to send John Henry Wise to Oberlin Theological Seminary for a three-year course of study. Weeks later, on August 23, 1890, this bright, articulate, twenty-year old Native Hawaiian from Kohala boarded a ship at Honolulu Harbor and set out alone on a journey that would cover more than 4,000 miles and end in a small Ohio town. There was a lot riding on Wise's shoulders and no one, not even this confident young man who was eager to serve his God and his church, could have any sense of how his mission would turn out.

An Expatriate in Ohio

The Hawaiian Board has also taken the responsibility of supporting a Hawaiian in Oberlin who is preparing himself for the native ministry.¹¹²

¹¹² *Hawaiian Board Circular*, January 20, 1891, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70 Box 52.2.6, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

In a series of over forty letters home from Oberlin, John Henry Wise detailed the development of the important work that had been entrusted to him at this theological institution so far from his beloved homeland. Some of the late nineteenth-century religious training schools in the United States such as Yale, Andover, Williams, and Princeton had broad and deep ties with Hawai‘i. The Theological Seminary at Oberlin, however, had something that held even more appeal for the Hawaiian Board and its new mission: a history and continuing reputation as a center of fiery evangelical revivalism. This central Ohio seminary had been founded in 1833 by New England missionaries who, spurred by the Second Great Awakening, had traveled outward from the country’s evangelical base to erect institutions that would “train teachers and other Christian leaders for the boundless, most desolate fields in the West.”¹¹³ These early American pioneers for Christ were soon joined by one of the nineteenth century’s most prominent and effective revivalist preachers, Charles Grandison Finney. Finney became president of Oberlin, and under his charismatic leadership the seminary grew to earn a national reputation for piety. By the late nineteenth century some Christians were troubled by what they saw as more liberal teachings of the New England seminaries. Infamous Boston orator Joseph Cook declared, “Oberlin represented the original spirit of New England Puritanism better than any other institution.”¹¹⁴ Finney had once explained the Oberlin experience by describing how at this place “gales of divine influence swept over us from

¹¹³ John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 4.

¹¹⁴ John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866-1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969), 15.

year to year, producing abundantly the fruits of the Spirit.”¹¹⁵ The AEH in Hawai‘i was hoping for a sweeping gale of its own.

John Wise, now twenty-one years old, arrived at his new school in the middle of September 1890 aboard a train from San Francisco and feeling a deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness for the opportunity afforded him. In his first letter home from Ohio he explained to Rev. Emerson, the AEH Secretary, “I want to thank the H. B. of M. [Hawaiian Board of Missions] for letting me have the first chance of their kindness, and I will try and pay them back by trying very hard to do what they want me to.”¹¹⁶ The spirit of evangelical fervor that surrounded Oberlin struck Wise. On October 8 he wrote, “We had Rev. Fay B. Mills here these last weeks and he has done lots for our students. Over 500 of them became Christians [the school hosted a secular university in addition to the theological school], and he has stirred the people here in good shape. I wish he was at the islands. He has put new life into me and it will be my highest aim to try and be like him.” Wise also noted other, more worldly changes so far from his tropical Hawaiian home, explaining in one letter the dip in his budgeted funds by writing, “I have bought a good deal of heavy underclothing.”¹¹⁷

Oberlin’s motto was “Learning and Labor” and manual labor was a significant part of the Oberlin experience. Combined with the heavy course-load that Wise had taken on, and the rigorous academic standards that had to be met, he certainly had little time for idle activity. In a November 17 letter addressed “Dear boys” [likely his former classmates at KS] Wise describes a week filled with prayers, classes, lessons, chapel attendance, and Christian Association meetings.

¹¹⁵ Charles Grandison Finney, *Memoirs of Rev. Charles G. Finney* (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1876), 348.

¹¹⁶ John Wise to Rev. O. P. Emerson, October 3, 1890, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹¹⁷ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, October 8, 1890, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

We have breakfast at 7. Then morning prayers right after. At 7:45 I get to my room again and study my morning lessons. At 9 I have my class in grammar at 10 I have my Algebra. At 11 I go back to my room and study my afternoon lesson. At 12:15 we have dinner at 12:45 I get back to my room but most of the time I take a 15 minute walk and so generally get to my room at 1 then study my afternoon lessons again: at 2:30 I go to my gymnasium [sic] class, at 3:30 I go to my Physical Geog. Class: at 4:30 I take a little walk, and at 5 go to chapel. At 5:30 we have supper at 6 I get back to my room and begin my next days lesson.¹¹⁸

This was Wise's Monday. Different courses, Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) meetings, and other responsibilities filled the rest of a school week that included a half-day of courses on Saturdays. His Sundays were predictably filled with religious obligations, including an early-morning prayer meeting where every student was expected to speak, a Bible class, a YMCA meeting, and both a morning and evening church service. Wise spoke to the boys back home not only of the demanding schedule, but also of the strict standards at his new school.

Every boy must be in their room at 10:05 and not go out till morning. Of course we don't have teachers with us every time but we are trusted to do the right always. Every boy must be at church in the morning and evening. Always send in a report every Monday morning. All the failures must be excused, if not for three times that boy is expelled from school. No smoking, chewing or drinking. Cannot go out of town unless excused by the teacher. Always be present in your classes. Always have a good lesson, if not make it up on Monday. Not to be with the girls later than 7:30 in the evening. Not to miss chapel.¹¹⁹

He acknowledged the difficulty of his workload, even mentioning that the large amount of expected reading was taking a toll on his eyes, but relayed that he seemed to be doing very well so far. Wise noted that his algebra teacher had embarrassed him by pointing out to the class the quality of his papers. The Oberlin instructor had spoken of his work and

¹¹⁸ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, November 17, 1890, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹¹⁹ John Wise to "Dear Boys," November 17, 1890, Record Group 21, Oberlin College Archives, Oberlin.

commented aloud to the class that she wished all her students had been educated in the Hawaiian Islands.

Wise's second term at Oberlin included new classes in rhetoric, logic, and church history. His positive reports back to the AEH were spurring confidence among the Board. Rev. Emerson began including requests in his letters that the young Hawaiian student contact some of his former classmates at Kamehameha in order to broach the idea of more Native trainees being sent to Oberlin.¹²⁰

Time seemed to fly by for Wise during his first year on the Ohio campus and before he knew it the spring term, his second there, was coming to an end. Rather than finding himself worn out by a hectic schedule and a hard year's labors, he seemed energized and excited. Wise attended the seminary's 1891 commencement exercises as a spectator, and wrote home with admiration of his "strong and earnest [sic] looking" colleagues who were headed out to the mission field. He revealed excitedly, ". . . I could not help from thinking that two years from today I will be among the graduates."¹²¹ He had attended a plethora of seminary lectures, revival gatherings, church services, and mission meetings over the academic year, but the summer did not offer a break from the religious immersion for this important seminary student.

The AEH funded travel for Wise to the Evangelical Summer Conference of the celebrated evangelist Dwight Lyman Moody in northern Massachusetts. Rev. Moody had founded two institutions, the Northfield Seminary for Young Ladies in 1879 and Mount Herman School for Boys in 1881, and the summer conferences at Northfield were

¹²⁰ Wise's classmate, Sam Kauhane, was referred to several times by Emerson. Wise replied that he had continued to write his friend and classmate from Hilo Boarding School and Kamehameha School, but without success.

¹²¹ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, May 21, 1891, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

attracting ever-increasing crowds of eager young students from around the country. Moody himself preached at most of the conferences and was often joined by a line-up of many of the most well regarded evangelist ministers of the day. In a review of religious conferences across the country, Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman mentioned several. “But Northfield is pre-eminently, in the judgment of many people, the most important gathering of bible students in this country, if not the world.” Wise left Oberlin for New England and arrived on the afternoon of June 27 in Northfield, Massachusetts. This eager and unabashed young Hawaiian seminary student, only a few hours after his arrival, was engaging Rev. Moody, one of the most famous ministers anywhere on theological topics. Wise wrote, “I went up to see him and had quite a talk with him.” He relayed to Rev. Emerson the fruitfulness of his time at the conference:

There were over 500 students there from all around the world and I am sure we all received great blessings, at least I feel so myself. I think I have gained lots by this going east and I feel stronger for my work. I would like to go there once more before I come home because I feel that my work will be more of an evangelist and Mr. Moody’s speeches will help me a great deal.¹²²

It seems that an impression was also made on Moody. At the conference’s closing meeting Wise was called on to deliver a ten-minute speech.

With a focused plan for the future, Wise went to work preparing himself for the labors ahead. He wrote in early March of extra academic: “I am taking a private study under Prof. Cummins on History, Organization, and Methods of work in the YMCA.” He was also preparing for his return to Hawai‘i by developing his skills in the pulpit and as an instructor, and taking a choral class to improve his voice. He informed Rev. Emerson,

¹²² John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, July 14, 1891, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

“I preached a sermon in front of our Pastoral Theology class and the boys thought it a fine production. I have another one ready to hand in for private criticism.”¹²³ He assured the Hawaiian Board, “Yes, I am prepared to preach, teach, yes anything.”¹²⁴

Wise had attended the First International Convention of the Student Volunteer Movement in Cleveland as one of eighty-one student delegates from Oberlin. The convention hosted over 500 students representing 159 institutions from all over the world. Returned missionaries offered workshops and talks on the preparation needed to missionize non-Christians. John Wise was recognized among the group as a Native Hawaiian and was called upon to share his thoughts. He felt it important to clarify for those gathered his understanding of what was really needed, and what wasn’t, in Hawai‘i: “In the last meeting I was asked to speak of our need [at] home and I told them that we do not want missionaries to civilize us but to Evangelize us . . .”¹²⁵

By the time his last term at Oberlin had neared its end, Wise had spent almost three years in nearly constant theological study at some of the most prominent religious institutions in the United States. Indeed, he had spent his entire educational life under the influences of a mission education that had reached its apex in America. Wise had embraced the evangelical teachings that had come in such a prolific and near-constant wave, and was prepared in every way: “Put me to work as soon as I have had a little rest after I get home, and we shall see whether the altars of Baal will prevail or that of Christ.”¹²⁶ The AEH’s prized pupil seemed exceptionally equipped to take on the task ahead. Wise himself seemed unbowed by both the situation and the work that lay before

¹²³ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, March 9, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹²⁴ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, March 19, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹²⁵ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, March 4, 1891, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹²⁶ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, March 19, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

him. In one of his final letters home, a March 19, 1893 emotional missive to Rev.

Emerson, this native of Kohala noted the tremendous religious and political turmoil in his

homeland, placed a serene trust in his God, and made clear where his heart lay.

Let us trust in God for the best and ask his help in these hard times. He who can change the fate of the great nations of old will change the fate of our little country if we but put our trust in him. I love Oberlin and the idea of coming home nearly breaks my heart. I pray for her prosperity and if I could help her in the coming years, she will have my right hand. But above my love for Oberlin + America I have that love for my own Hawaii.¹²⁷

¹²⁷ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, March 19, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

CHAPTER II

KANI I KA PŌ

(Resound in the Darkness)

It was four a.m., and the thick blackness of the night sky lay atop Honolulu like a weighty blanket. The town, only two days removed from a political coup back by US Marines, slept warily. Martial law was in effect and the streets had been clear since ten o'clock the previous evening. Hawai'i's capital city of twenty-five thousand was tentatively quiet. Suddenly, a sharp, incongruous sound shattered the silence. Those closest to the corners of Smith and Beretania Streets near the heart of downtown were the first to be jolted awake. As the sound cascaded across rooftops, folks all across Honolulu were awakened. After initial moments of confusion, the source of the sound became clear. It was the familiar pealing of the bells within the steeple atop Kaumakapili Church that called congregants to worship on Sabbath mornings. But this was not a Sunday, and it was four o'clock in the morning.¹

In the days following the January 17, 1893 overthrow of Her Majesty Queen Lili'uokalani, leaders at Kaumakapili Church formed a Kōmite Haipule (prayer Committee) chaired by trustee and luna 'āpana (district head)² John W. Alapa'i that sought to give voice to their outrage at the dismissal of their Queen and support her return. The deacons and elders of this "church of the common man" organized daily

¹ The set of nine brass bells heard that morning were a source of much pride for the local community. They had been purchased with much fanfare in 1886 from the renowned Meneely Bell Company of Troy, New York at a cost of fifty-five hundred dollars. An article in *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* titled "Na Bele Mele o Kaumakapili" notes that they arrived on March 13, 1887 and weighed, together, over 5,000 pounds. *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, March 26, 1887, 2.

² Luna 'āpana at Kaumakapili were church leaders given responsibility over certain outlying district or "'āpana" churches connected to Kaumakapili. These officers of the church would often conduct services and govern these smaller 'āpana churches. Alapa'i was luna 'āpana over the district of Kapālama in this period.

prayer-fast meetings to pray for the restoration of the Queen and the continued independence of their nation. The committee chose to sound the church bells, calling devout Native congregants to the church, at four a.m.³ This provocative action by Native Christian leaders at Kaumakapili delivered a blatant and emphatic repudiation of both the new government and their own AEH administration—a group that was both supportive of, and involved in, the overthrow and proposed plan for annexation of the Islands to the United States. The message was not lost on the officers of the AEH, several of whom lived in town. Revs. Emerson and Hyde lived mere blocks away on Beretania, the same street as the church. This pre-dawn clarion call from the Native Christian congregants at Kaumakapili claimed the church as a site of protest and a platform for Native voice.

Daily, for weeks, after the blackness of the night had settled in, Honolulu was greeted with consecutive four a.m. wake-up calls. The defiant action of the Kaumakapili congregation would not go unchallenged. In a February 14 article titled “A Nuisance,” The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (PCA) reported, “People Are Tired of Being Awakened Early Every Morning.” The paper continued, “Ever since the monarchy was put on the shelf the church bell at Kaumakapili is tolled every morning between 4 and 4:30 o’clock, to call together a number of aged Hawaiians, women and men. They meet it is said, for the purpose of prayer for the restoration of the ex-Queen.”⁴ The piece noted that many residents of the district were awakened every morning by the “noisy clanging of the bell” and that a petition was being started asking Marshall Ashley to put a stop to

³ In addition to offering a dramatic public repudiation of the wishes of their AEH administration, these Native Christians were also breaking the law. Order 2 of the Provisional Government, passed on January 17, 1893 had declared martial law and made it illegal to be on the streets between 9:30 pm and 5 am.

⁴ “A Nuisance,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 14, 1893. The PCA of this period had by far the largest distribution of any English-language newspaper and was owned by mission son, businessman, and annexation commissioner, William R. Castle.

it. The following day, the Native-language *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* (The Voice of the Lāhui), in a column under the headline “Haipule Mau Ma Kaumakapili” (Ongoing Prayers at Kaumakapili), quoted the complaint carried in the *Advertiser*:

Ua uluhua ka lehulehu i ka lohe mau i kela bele e kani mau nei ma ka halepule o Kaumakapili, i na wanao a pau, manawa o ka hora 4 a me ka hora 4:30. E kahea ana i na kanaka Hawaii hapauea, mai na wahine a me na kane, e akoakoa ae ma keia halawai haipule kakahiaka, no ke noi ana ma ka pule e hoihoi hou ae i ka Moiwahine Liliuokalani iluna o ka noho Moi o Hawaii.

Some of the public have been annoyed in hearing that bell ringing at Kaumakapili Church, every dawn at the hour 4 and 4:30 calling aged Hawaiians, women and men, to assemble at this morning-prayer meeting concerning the requesting through prayer for the return of the Queen to the Throne of Hawaii.

The editors at *Ka Leo* relied:

He hoike ana mai auanei ia oia nupepa Mikanele ia kakou, he mea maikai ole ka pule i ke Akua ma na Lani Kiekie Loa, oia wale no ke Akua oiaio hookahi. Ua ape aku kakou i keia la a kakou e lohe la i ka leo o ka bele e kahea ana i na kanaka manaoio o Hawaii nei. E ala e hele maloko o keia heiau o Iehove ke Akua Mana hookahi wale no.⁵

The missionary newspaper reports to us that it is not a good thing, these prayers to God in the highest heavens, indeed the one true God. We did it again today and we all will obey the voice of the bell calling the faithful of Hawaii. Rise and go inside this church of Jehovah the one Great God.

The author ended the column by setting the restrictions proposed by the *Advertiser* in opposition to the tenets of Christianity and challenging the leaders of the overthrow and their supporters to behave as true Christians: “Ke lana nei ko makou manao, aole e ae ana ka Peresidena Dole a me kekahi poe Karitiano oiaio e ae i keia hana hoohaiki.” (This is our hopeful belief; President Dole and other true Christians cannot be in agreement with

⁵ “Haipule Mau ma Kaumakapili,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, February 15, 1893, 2.

these restrictions.)⁶ In a report to the American Board of February 28, Rev. Hyde reported that the Executive Council of the Provisional Government had indeed ordered the sheriff to put an end to the bell ringing.⁷ While the order was soon thereafter enforced, silencing the early morning call of the Kaumakapili Church bells, the confident voices of Native Christians concerning the fate of their Queen and their nation was only beginning to be heard.

Prayer-fast meetings calling for the Queen's re-instatement such as those at Kaumakapili were happening at churches around the Islands. At the scenic Wai'oli Church at Hanalei Bay, Kaua'i, and the well-populated Kahikuonālani Church at 'Ewa, O'ahu; from the small Native churches of Kalua'aha on Moloka'i and Wānanalua in Hāna, Maui, to the historic Kahikolu Church in Kohala, Hawai'i; Native houses of worship throughout the archipelago became centers from which Hawaiians based their calls to their God, and to the nation, for a continuation of Native leadership and independence. These religio-political activities that set Native Hawaiian congregants in direct confrontation with their ecclesiastical administration had been sparked by a dramatic point of conflict days earlier—the overthrow of the Queen, Her Majesty Lili'uokalani. While one could point to several inflection points in the latter part of the nineteenth century at which time events moved to more distinctly shape and define what was an ongoing and fluid relationship between Protestant Native Hawaiian congregants and their church administration, none seemed to bring as much definition and clarity as the January 17, 1893 coup.

⁶ The author was likely attempting to draw attention to what he/she saw as the hypocrisy of Dole and other Sons of the Mission both inside and outside of the new government as it was well-known that it was they who were calling for these restrictions,

⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, February 28, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

Two Missions Collide

We shall now be delivered from that incubus of the Palace—poisonous to the natives, + a perpetual threat + hindrance to white civilization.

—Rev. Edwards Bishop, January 16, 1893

E OLA O KA LANI LILIU O NA MOKU (Long Live the Royal One, Lili‘u, ruler of the Islands)

—Acrostic line in the prayer “Ka Pule a Ka Lahui Hawaii” (The prayer of the Hawaiian Lāhui), *Hawai‘i Holomua*, January 20, 1893

Saturday January 14, 1893, dawned clear and bright in Honolulu. A strong, early morning sun broke sharply over the Ko‘olau Range, both warming the air and adding a noticeable vitality to the already present excitement circulating throughout town. People were up early, out on the streets in significant numbers. Clusters of Native Hawaiians—men in their finest “evening dress and top hats” and women “replete with bonnets”—were streaming downtown. A state ceremony—the prorogation of the 1892 legislature by Her Majesty Queen Lili‘uokalani—was scheduled for noon at Ali‘iōlani Hale, the government house, and many officials, both native and foreign, were to be present. The great mass of the Native Hawaiian crowd, however, was headed elsewhere. They gathered across the street at ‘Iolani Palace. A whispered, yet not-so-secret communication had passed throughout Honolulu during the previous week, relaying the inspiring news that the Queen would replace the Bayonet Constitution with one that brought the nation once again firmly under Native rule. Confidence appeared high among the Native Hawaiian community as the tide of power seemed to be turning after more than three years of struggle under Bayonet. The *Hawaiian Gazette* had reported that in these final days of the 1892 legislative session, Representative Joseph Nāwahī of Hilo had explained his vote in support of a successful bill that had been opposed by nearly all of the white representatives by saying that the vote was “the first instance in which the native

members had shown their independent vote. They were no longer under the grasp of the haoles.”⁸

Now, on this glorious Saturday in early January 1893, Native Hawaiians were gathering at ‘Iolani, the grand palace erected by the Queen’s brother as architectural testimony to nationhood, to witness the fruition of more than three years’ labor. At ten a.m. the Queen met inside the Palace with two Native legislators, the aforementioned Hon. Iosepa Kaho‘olahi Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u of Hilo and Hon. William Pūnohu‘āweoweo‘ulaokalani White of Lāhainā. In a ceremony held inside the Blue Room, Queen Lili‘uokalani decorated these two men as Ke‘a Ho‘ohanohano o ka Mō‘ī Kalākaua (Knights Commanders of the Order of Kalākaua) in recognition of their work as co-authors of the new constitution.⁹ The Queen would write of the event, saying that Nāwahī and White had maintained a strict fidelity to the wishes of the people by whom they had been elected and explaining that

The behavior of these two patriots during the trying scenes of this session, in such marked contrast to that of many others, won them profound respect. They could never be induced to compromise principles, nor did they for one moment falter or hesitate in advocating boldly a new constitution which should accord equal rights to the Hawaiians, as well as protect the interests of the foreigners. The true patriotism and love of country of these men had been recognized by me, and I had decorated them with the order of Knight Commander of Kalakaua.¹⁰

⁸ “The Legislature,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 17, 1893, 2. The term “haoles,” is defined by Elbert-Pukui as “White person, American, Englishman, Caucasian; American, English; formerly, any foreigner; foreign, introduced, of foreign origin, as plants, pigs, chickens;” and Parker as “1. White: 2. Foreign; belonging to another country.” In the context of these writings it was used to refer to white, not simply foreign.

⁹ *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 17, 1893, 9; Lili‘uokalani, 300.

¹⁰ Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*, 230–231.

Thousands of others who shared the vision of these two legislators waited outside. At twelve o'clock sharp, a buzz ran through the crowd as those assembled noticed the first signs of the Queen. *Hawaii Holomua* described what happened next:

I ka hora 12 ponoī o ke awakea Poaono i hala, ua haalele aku la ko kakou Aliiāimoku i ka Hale Alii i ukali ia e na Kahili Alii a me na Ukali pilikino o ke Alo Alii. I ka hiki ana i Aliiolani Hale, ua haawi ia mai la na hoohiwahiwa e ka Puali Puihi Ohe, na Koa Kumau, ka Hui Kalaiaina a me ka lehulehu. Ua komo aku la ke Alii, a he manawa pokole, ua hoea aku la iloko o ke Keena Ahaolelo me ka ukali ia e na Lunakanawai o ka Aha Kiekie a me Kaapuni, ka Aha Kuhina a me na Ukali Ponoī o ke Alo Alii. I ka hoea ana o ke Aliiāimoku iluna o ke kahua kiekiena, ua ku na Keiki Alii Kawanānakoā a me Kalanianaʻole ma ka aoao akau, a o ke Kiaaina A. S. Cleghorn ma ka aoao hema.¹¹

At the exact hour of twelve of Saturday past, our Ali'iāimoku left the Palace attended by the Kahili of the Ali'i and her retainers. Upon arrival at the Government Building, honors were delivered by the Royal Band, the regular soldiers, Hui Kalai'āina, and the public. The Queen entered, and a brief time later, arrived inside the Legislative Hall attended by the Judges of the Supreme and Circuit courts, the Cabinet, and the personal retainers of the Queen. Upon the arrival of the Queen inside of the room, the princes Kawanānakoā and Kalanianaʻole stood on her right side, and the Governor, A. S. Cleghorn stood on her left side.

With the Royal Princes by her side, the Queen brought a formal end to the 1892-93 legislative session by referring to God's grace: "Ke nonoi aku nei Au i ka Mea Manaloa e hoomau mai i ka ninini ana maluna o oukou a me ko kakou Aina i na hoomaikai ana a me ka lako e like me mamua aku nei." (I pray the Almighty may continue to pour out upon you, and our country, blessings and prosperity as heretofore.)¹²

The honored guests of the Kingdom that filed out of Ali'iōlani Hale included foreign diplomats, businessmen, and even officers of an American battleship in harbor,

¹¹ "Ka Hookuu Ana o ka Ahaolelo," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 16, 1893, 1.

¹² "Hāiolelo a ka Moiwahine no ka Hookuu Ana i ka Ahaolelo Kaukanawai o 1892," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 16, 1893, 1.

the *USS Boston*. The attention of the crowd outside, however, was focused on the Queen and a group of men walking in procession behind her. Dressed in “stylish black suits and regal top hats,”¹³ approximately forty men from the Native political organization Hui Kālai‘āina marched in two rows, carrying banners aloft. An 1891 petition effort organized by the group had delivered thousands of signatures to the Queen asking for a new constitution. She later wrote that as a leader of her people, “To have ignored such a general request I must have been deaf to the voice of the people, which tradition tells us is the voice of God.”¹⁴ After more than three years of determined efforts, a new constitution was now being carried in the outstretched arms of Hui Kālai‘āina Vice-President John Akina. Marching proudly beside Akina, just behind the Queen, was the group’s President, J. Alapa‘i.¹⁵ The procession moved through the gathered crowd and upon reaching the palace the officers of Hui Kālai‘āina, attending Native legislators, and dozens of other invited guests entered, filling the Throne Room with an esteemed and anxious crowd. President Alapa‘i addressed the Queen and gathered crowd and then presented Her Majesty with the new constitution. She thanked the Hui Kalai‘āina officer and departed to meet with her cabinet in the Blue Room to obtain their previously promised signatures. The crowd outside waited anxiously. Hours passed. When the Queen finally emerged onto the lanai of ‘Iolani Palace just before four p.m., she spoke with an obviously heavy heart. She informed the gathered crowd that because of

¹³ *Daily Bulletin*, January 16, 1893.

¹⁴ Lili‘uokalani, *Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen*, 231.

¹⁵ Alapa‘i was also head deacon at Kaumakapili Church and the organizer of the Kaumakapili prayer-fast meetings mentioned earlier. He was a central figure in the struggles within that congregation that are examined in a later case study within this dissertation.

unpredicted obstacles, she had been unable to proclaim the new constitution at this time.¹⁶

She called upon her people to go in peace and promised that she would work to see that what they had waited so earnestly for would soon come to fruition.¹⁷

The following days would witness the execution of a planned coup by leaders of the Hawaiian League—now calling themselves the Committee of Safety—backed by United States Marines. The Queen, under the Bayonet Constitution, had not been a threat to the white dominance of the Hawaiian League, but her support for a new constitution had bolstered previously existing desires by many within this group for a final solution to the “problem” of Native meddling in the running of affairs in the Islands. On the afternoon of January 17, 1893, Henry Ernest Cooper, an American lawyer who had arrived in Hawai‘i from San Diego, California two years earlier, read a brief declaration from the Government Building steps proclaiming the abrogation of the Hawaiian Monarchy, and stating that “A Provisional Government for the control and management of public affairs and the protection of the public peace is hereby established, to exist until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon.”¹⁸

Native Hawaiians now faced a situation where their monarch had been deposed and the very life of their nation was at risk. For many, there was no question of where to turn. *Hawaii Holomua* offered its answer:

Iloko o keia mau la kupilikii a me na ka pilihua o ka aina, ke kahea ia mai nei kela a me keia e pule i ke Akua—a iloko o ko makou Manawa e kuko ana, e noonoo ana a e kaupaona ana—kani mai la ka leo kahea o ka hale o

¹⁶ Two members of her cabinet had withdrawn their support for a new constitution after meeting with Lorrin Thurston and others who informed them of their plan to remove the Queen and of the US Minister and US military troop support for this action.

¹⁷ *Daily Bulletin*, January 16, 1893.

¹⁸ “A Provisional Government,” *Daily Bulletin*, January 18, 1893, 4.

ke Akua, e i mai ana: Hele mai oukou e ka poe luhi a me na luuluu. Na‘u oukou e hoomaha aku–Owau no ke Kalahala, ka puuhonua o ko ke ao nei. Owau no ke Ala a me ke Ola–Owau no ka Hokulua Malamalama.¹⁹

In these distressed times and because of the sorrow of the land, all are called to pray to—and in our strong desire, our thinking and considering—the beseeching voice of the house of God calls saying: Come you tired people weighed down with sorrow. I will give you rest—I am the Redeemer, the place of refuge for the world. I am the path and life—I am the distant star of Caregiving.

In the days following the January 17, 1893 coup that replaced the reigning sovereign of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, Her Majesty Lili‘uokalani, Native Hawaiian Christians throughout the Islands flocked to their local churches, turning them into sites of organization, resistance, comfort, and prayer.

In God’s Name We Pray²⁰

Despite past histories that have offered up characterizations of a docile Native populace and representations of Christianity as a foreign institution that manipulated Natives into blind obedience, there is an extensive and varied archive of primary source documentation replete with accounts of the determined actions of Native Hawaiians in response to the events that threatened their ability to lead both their churches and their nation. Accessing Native voices, largely through a Hawaiian-language archive, is blowing apart long-dominant narratives concerning Native actions of this period.

¹⁹ *Hawaii Holomua*, January 26, 1893, 2.

²⁰ The ecclesiastical idea of praying “in God’s name” is referenced in John 14:13-14: “And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son. If ye ask anything in my name, I will do it.” A central focus of this work is the claiming of God, and knowledge of His will, by Native Christians who were defending their Queen and nation. They claimed to be acting in His name against the similar claims of the white elite who had overthrown the government.

The past historiography concerning the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and the subsequent loss of the nation's independence worked to elide Native voice in order to craft a narrative about the taking of the Islands by the United States that deflected both question of Native desires and accusations of American imperialism. In an article titled "Native Sentiment," published in the first issue of *The Friend* to appear after the January 1893 overthrow, the editor reported;

The natives have shown no disposition to resist the new government, although regarding it more or less with disfavor as a government run by whites alone. With a very brief interruption, they have all peaceably returned to their usual avocations. The news of the Revolution appears to have been received by the natives on other islands without demonstration of feeling.²¹

Juxtaposing the present Native "disfavor" with inaction and a lack of demonstrable feeling feeds past tropes of apathetic, simple-minded, "happy-go-lucky" Natives—qualities of people best suited to be ruled, not to rule. In 1898, US Naval Officer Lucien Young, part of the American forces that were illegally landed at Honolulu on January 16, 1893, published a book on his observations, while stationed in Hawai'i, concerning the events of the overthrow. Writing of the Queen's January 14 speech to a gathered crowd of thousands at 'Iolani Palace, he offers, "There was no cheering, or any evidence of enthusiasm or regret on the part of the natives. They were simply unconcerned as to what was going on, beyond the novelty of the affair and a moribund curiosity over something that was unusual in their daily life."²² In noting a more current continuation of the theme, Noenoe Silva quotes Caroline Ralston as claiming that ordinary Hawaiians made "no

²¹ "Native Sentiment," *The Friend*, February 1893,

²² Lucien Young, *The Boston at Hawaii* (Washington, D. C.: Gibson Bros., 1898), 169.

outspoken protest or resistance against a series of events which appear to have been highly detrimental to [their] well-being.”²³

Silva’s groundbreaking 2004 work, *Aloha Betrayed*, made blatant the existence of mass Native Hawaiian resistance and in the process struck a powerful blow against a dominant narrative that had relied almost solely on English-language sourcing. Other scholars have followed by highlighting new and varied instances of Native agency and action, and by applying new methodologies to the project of viewing more comprehensively a historical landscape from which Native participants have long been elided.²⁴ Incorporating these new understandings and methodologies makes clear the presence of a ubiquitous and determined struggle by Native Hawaiians during this period and reveals the central position of Christianity within this struggle.

In the weeks, months, and years that followed the January 17, 1893 overthrow, calls for a trust in God in these turbulent times appeared in hundreds of columns, essays, and letters to the editor throughout the Hawaiian-language press. In these writings, Native Hawaiians stated confidently that God would be on their side, and defined that position as the side of “Karitiano Oiaio” (True Christianity). On January 20, *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* published an article titled, “E Hoi ka Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono” (The Life of the Land Should Be Returned in Righteousness).²⁵ The use and adaptation of the words of Kamehameha III both mirror and contest the earlier appropriation of the phrase by the administration of the AEH and reclaim God’s will by positing that God will return the “life of the land” and the Queen to the throne because of the righteousness of the Native people. This linking of the life of the land with the restoration of the Queen through

²³ Silva, 2004.

²⁴ See Beamer and Duarte (2009); Arista (2010); Basham (2007); Stillman (2003).

²⁵ “E Hoi ka Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 20, 1893, 2.

God's will was a powerful message for an engaged and patriotic nation. Within the article, the writer further declares, "Ua maopopo no i keia lahui, he elua mana o keia ao, o ke ao ana a ke Keiki a ke Akua, a o ke pahele ana a ka anela o ka hewa." (It is clear indeed to this lāhui, there are two powers of this day, the side of the Children of God and of the deceit of the angel of sin.)²⁶

On the same day, another powerful call tying support for the Queen to God's will appeared in *Hawaii Holomua* (Hawaiian Progress). Titled, "Ka Pule a Ka Lahui Hawaii" (The Prayer of the Hawaiian Lāhui),²⁷ the piece was printed in verse form as an acrostic.²⁸ When the first letters of each of the twenty-three lines of the initial stanza are read horizontally, they spell out: "E OLA O KA LANI LILIU O NA MOKU" (Long Live the Royal One, Lili'u, ruler of the Islands). The second stanza is composed of twenty-two similarly organized lines whose first letters when taken vertically, read: "E MAU KE EA O KA AINA I KA PONO" (The Life of the Land is Perpetuated in Righteousness). The writer calls upon this universal message of patriotism to tie the Queen, and support for her, to a sense of right action and justice.²⁹ The powerful linking of the Queen, the continued independence of the nation, and God within this "prayer of the Hawaiian nation" continued within a plethora of similar articles during the long struggle ahead.

²⁶ "E Hoi ka Ea o ka Aina i ka Pono," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 20, 1893, 2.

²⁷ "Ka Pule a ka Lahui Hawaii," *Hawaii Holomua*, January 20, 1893, 2.

²⁸ See Fig. 1.

²⁹ For more on this patriotic prayer see Basham (2007).

KA PULE A KA LAHUI HAWAII.
 E—Iehova Sabaota
 O—na kaua,—ke Kahikolu
 L—aahia Hemolele,
 A—lana ia no ko ke ao nei.
 O—ka makou pule e maliu mai—
 K—a puuhonua o makou nei,
 A—lakai, hoopakele, nana mai,
 L—awe aku i na popilikia
 A—hoolilo i mea ole.
 N—inini mai i Kou Hemolele,
 I—ola ai makou ma Ou 'la.
 L—alau mai Kou aloha
 I—hilinai manawalea.
 L—aahia makamae
 I—ko makou Lei Ali'aimoku.
 U—hi laia me Kou mana.
 O—ka palekana a lanakila;
 N—a Kou nani e hoomohala,
 A—mao ae na pilihua.
 M—a Ou la—e ka Haku,
 O—ko ke ao nei a pau,
 K—a makou e pule nei,
 U—hane Hemolele Kahikolu.

 E—Iehova Sabaota,
 M—akua o Aberahama me Davida.
 A—lakai o ko ka Isaraela,
 U—a ike a hoonani ia.
 K—e haliu aku nei makou.
 E—waiho aku ma Kou mau wawae,
 E—malu mai i ka makou pule,
 A—e hoopakele ia Hawaii.
 O—Oe hookahi e ka Haku,
 K—o makou palekana,
 A—lakai a Alihikaua,
 A—ia no ma Ou la,
 I—Kinohi a Hoikeana,
 N—a lahui me na aina,
 A—puni ko ke ao nei,
 I—paulele ai no ka malu,
 K—a maalahi a me ke ola,
 A—Kou Mana Lani i haawi mai ai
 P—ule makou e ka Makua,
 O—Hawaii e maa aku,
 N—o na kupa na oiwi,
 O—ka aina—ma Ou la.

Figure 3. “Ka Pule A Ka Lahui Hawaii,” *Hawaii Holomua*, January 20, 1893, 2.

A call to “na makaainana mai Hawaii a Niihau” (the people from Hawai‘i [Island] to Ni‘ihau) to gather at their churches and pray to “ke Akua Mana Loa” (The Almighty God) that the Queen would be restored and their nation would remain independent ran

repeatedly in various newspapers in the days following the overthrow.³⁰ On January 24, a committee led by E. L. Kahuakai, S. K. Kaloa, and J. P. Kekoa³¹ published an announcement in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* calling for prayer meetings in churches throughout the islands. They asked that the devout “E pule e hoomau ia ke kuokoa o ka aina a me ka lahui kanaka” (Pray for the continuance of the independence of the land and the lāhui).³² The missive ended with a simple citation, “Halelu 34:8” (Psalms 34:8). This verse from the Baibala Hemolele (Holy Bible) reads, “E hoao oukou a e ike hoi he maikai no Iehova; Pomaikai ke kanaka i paulele ia ia.” (O taste and see that the LORD is good: blessed is the man that trusteth in him).³³

Reviving the Rhetoric of Heathenism to Sell a New Mission

The provisional government that had taken control from the Queen was, in body, an oligarchic minority that represented a small group within the islands. Testimony on all sides of the struggle supported the understanding that any vote of the people in Hawai‘i on the issue of annexation would result in the proposal being overwhelmingly defeated.³⁴ William R. Castle, President of the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, a central figure in the Committee of Thirteen that had led the overthrow, and an annexation commissioner sent to Washington, told a *New York Times* reporter:

³⁰ Some examples are *Hawaii Holomua*, January 24, 1893, 1; *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 24, 1893, 3; *Hawaii Holomua*, January 30, 1893, 3; *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 20, 1893, 2.

³¹ These gentlemen would soon after become representatives in the new political organization, Ka Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina (The Hawaiian Patriotic League), which was formed on March 4, 1893.

³² “Kuahaua Haipule,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 24, 1893, 3. The call was coming from Honolulu. Many churches on outer islands had already begun such meetings.

³³ Baibala Hemolele, 1868 edition.

³⁴ Secretary of State Walter Q. Gresham to Cleveland, October 18, 1893 in *Affairs in Hawaii, Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1894, 462.

The terms upon which the annexation shall be made, we are perfectly willing to leave to the United States Government to determine. There is one condition that we very much desire shall be contained in any agreement that may be determined upon and that is that the right of suffrage shall be restricted. We want no universal suffrage on the islands.³⁵

Near-constant rumors of an armed uprising aimed at returning the Queen to the throne swirled throughout Honolulu, and the men who had led the coup were well aware that their actions, under any constitution, were considered treasonous—an act punishable by death. As historian Ralph Kuykendall stated, “The supporters of the provisional government were well aware of the necessity of courting public opinion.”³⁶ They faced an urgent need to tamp down Native resistance within the Islands, and to address the significant portion of an American community that was reticent to accept minority rule through coup in Hawai‘i. The way forward was to attempt to delegitimize the mass of the Native populace as voters in the eyes of the American public while separating the Native Christian community in the Islands from their support for their Queen. The AEH administration sought to shape a public narrative that would reify the proposed binary between a “Civilized Christian party” and a “Royal Heathen party” that they had earlier promoted to justify the need for their continued leadership of AEH, and then accelerated after the imposition of the 1887 Bayonet Constitution.³⁷

On January 22, 1893, the initial Sunday following the overthrow, an attack on the Monarchy was launched from the pulpit of Central Union Church in Honolulu. Rev.

Thomas L. Gulick, son of missionary Peter Gulick, delivered a sermon entitled, “Evils of

³⁵ “To Plead Hawaii’s Cause,” *New York Times*, February 4, 1893, 1.

³⁶ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 632.

³⁷ These terms, “Civilized Christian” and “Royal Heathen” party, and other forms of the terminology, are used throughout newspaper editorials, sermons, and correspondences of the period. One example is: “Rev. O. P. Emerson at Washington: He Talks on Hawaii, A Heathenizing Monarchy,” *The Friend*, February 1894, 10.

Monarchy” to the gathered congregation in an effort to characterize the throne as being in direct opposition to Christianity.³⁸ Rev. Gulick declared, “It would seem as though human ingenuity could hardly have invented a surer method to degrade, endanger and enslave the people, and to disseminate corrupting influences from the highest places to the lowest.” He continued his thinly-veiled attack on the Queen of Hawai‘i by referring to malicious rumors concerning her behavior at the Palace, noting that the higher such people are raised in power “the lower they often sink in subjection to their own sensual appetites, making the gratification of lust a chief pursuit.” The paradox between this narrative and the actions of the AEH administrators was that even as they attempted to justify the overthrow of the Queen by referring to their actions as democratizing, they were simultaneously attempting to consolidate their power as a small minority over Native Hawaiians in both church and state. In one sense, Rev. Gulick was, on that Sabbath evening, merely preaching to the choir. Many of the men who had taken action against the Queen were members of the congregation at Central Union. This sermon, however, was meant for an audience beyond this church’s walls. “The Evils of Monarchy,” with the subtitle, “Powerful Sermon Delivered by Rev. T. L. Gulick,” was published on February 1, “by request,” in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.³⁹

An English-speaking Audience

A historiography of Hawai‘i that has relied almost exclusively on English-language sourcing has exaggerated the role of those sources within the context of their day. The English-language newspapers relied upon for general analysis of the late

³⁸ Evils of Monarchy,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 1, 1893.

³⁹ Evils of Monarchy,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 1, 1893. The paper was forwarded to the United States and excerpted by newspapers there.

nineteenth-century events that shaped this crucial period served a distinctly minority population. In her book, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i*, Helen Chapin (1996) begins to contextualize these sources:

Population figures are revealing (1890 census figures). Out of a total of 90,000 people, Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians numbered 40,600, or 45 percent of the population. Another 39 percent were comprised of Asians (32 percent) and 'other Caucasians' like the Greeks, Italians, and Jews (7 percent) who were not Portuguese. Thus the establishment-official press spoke for no more than 5 or 6 percent of the population. This minority press led by political activists included: in English, the *Advertiser*, *Hawaiian Gazette*, *Daily Bulletin*, and *Hawaiian Star*.⁴⁰

To those seeking to push the plan for annexation of the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, however, this minority press reached a crucial audience. Officers of the AEH and HMCS owned or were significantly involved in the majority of the prominent English-language newspapers of this period. The largest and longest running of these was the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*.

After an early existence as both a strong governmental critic and later a publication of the government itself, this influential newspaper came to be controlled and edited by those who were to lead the usurpation of Native rule and advocate for the annexation of Hawai'i to the United States. One of the central figures in these events was William Richards Castle. Missionary son and church administrative officer, W. R. Castle was a founding member of the Hawaiian League in 1877. He owned an import company, Castle and Cooke, that received large shipments of arms and ammunition leading up to

⁴⁰ Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 93.

the 1887 Bayonet Revolution and supplied the Honolulu Rifles.⁴¹ In May 1888, W. R. Castle, his nephew Henry Castle, and original *PCA* founder Henry Martyn Whitney purchased the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. The group, having already owned another significant English-language paper, *The Hawaiian Gazette*, became a major publishing force in the islands. In January 1893, Castle became a central member of the “Committee of 13” that led the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani. Two days after the coup, on January 19, the Executive Council of the Provisional Government sent Castle to Washington D.C. as an annexation commissioner, tasked with delivering the Hawaiian Islands into the hands of the United States. The anti-monarchy and pro-annexation sentiment of this “foreign voice of Honolulu,” the *PCA*, was prominent throughout the paper’s daily issues. The paper cheered the formation of the group that had led the coup, explaining, “the foreign community is weary of aboriginal dynasty”⁴² and exclaiming “the spirit of 76 is in the air . . . we are making history.”⁴³

The *Hawaiian Star* was another prominent English-language, pro-annexation voice.⁴⁴ The paper was founded in the wake of the overthrow by AEH officer and American businessman Joseph B. Atherton and edited by the president of the Annexation Club, John S. McGrew. McGrew had been a long-time advocate of the idea of Hawai‘i becoming part of the United States and was known as the “Father of Annexation.”⁴⁵ After the paper’s debut on March 18, 1893, Rev. Hyde noted that “A new annexation

⁴¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, July 1, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁴² *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 17, 1893.

⁴³ George Chaplin, *Presstime in Paradise: The Life and times of the Honolulu Advertiser, 1856–1995* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1998), 102. For further analysis of the *PCA* and its character and role in this period see Williams Jr. (2011).

⁴⁴ Helen Chapin terms this paper “the official voice of the P.G.” Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), 101.

⁴⁵ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 626.

paper has been started ‘The Hawaiian Star’ to offset the old evening paper ‘The Bulletin’ which is in opposition to the present regime.”⁴⁶ In its introductory issue of March 28, the paper began to tie the idea of annexation to Christianity, commenting on the struggle between the “Ex-Queen’s friends” and the “missionary crowd” by declaring, “You may be sure that the influence of American Christians will be thrown with tremendous weight into the annexationist scale and that it of itself will far more than overcome any opposing tendency that may possibly arise.”⁴⁷

The Hawaiian Board also had a direct link to the English-speaking community in Hawai‘i through its monthly mission publication, *The Friend*. Founded in January 1843 by the “Hawaiian Missionary Board” as *The Temperance Advocate*, this periodical was led for several decades by Rev. Samuel C. Damon. The publication reflected a relatively liberal view within the early mission and Chapin notes that “Damon held independent, progressive views and editorialized for women’s rights, a more humane whaling industry, and health services for Native Hawaiians.”⁴⁸ In July 1887, the month of the Bayonet constitution, Rev. Sereno Bishop took over editorship of this mission paper.⁴⁹ In the first issue printed under Rev. Bishop, an immediate, and lasting shift in tone and content was readily apparent. Those who were leading the move to remove the monarchy and install white rule in the islands appreciated his aggressive rhetoric in the name of the mission

⁴⁶ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, March 29, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge. *The Friend* of April 1893 noted, “The Hawaiian Star is a new evening daily journal, started here in support of the Provisional Government and annexation.”

⁴⁷ *Hawaiian Star*, March 28, 1893, 3.

⁴⁸ Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), 46.

⁴⁹ As of the January 1845 issue, the publication was titled, “*The Friend*.” Looking back on the change of leadership, Lorrin Thurston later wrote, “Originally devoted especially to the interests of seaman and the advocacy of temperance, the *Friend* had become, practically, the unofficial mouthpiece and recorder of the Protestant religious life and progress of the Islands.” Lorrin Thurston, Preface to *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii* by Sereno E. Bishop (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1916), 9.

and readiness to address political issues within the pages of the ecclesiastical publication.

Hawaiian League co-founder and leader Lorrin Thurston described the Rev. Bishop's many controversial articles during the period by saying:

As the conflict developed during the latter eighties and early nineties, between reactionary tendencies and the progressive element of the community, which finally culminated in the overthrow of the monarchy and annexation to the United States, Mr. Bishop developed a remarkable faculty of analysis of the complicated situation and a powerful, virile use of English which carried a conviction as to the knowledge of the subject and the sincerity of the author; the accuracy of his statements and the soundness of his conclusions.⁵⁰

Indeed, during the critical events of 1887 and 1893, *The Friend* was often the site of some of the most outspoken rhetoric. The paper saw a future for Hawai'i where "in the main it will be a country of Englishmen in speech, thought and action, just as America is."⁵¹ Race was a central line along which *The Friend* continually separated the ideas of progress and the debased traditions of the Polynesian. The August 1887 edition reported on the recent revolution that had been accomplished by a "well-drilled battalion of the Honolulu Rifles composed of white men" and boldly announced to "the Hawaiian chiefs and people":

We declare to them that the Anglicized civilization is settled in this country and is inevitably to prevail. Their only good prospect is heartily to fall in line with it, earnestly to study and diligently to practice all that is pure just, true, lovely, and of good report in these thoughts, customs and habits of the *haole*.⁵²

⁵⁰ Lorrin Thurston, Preface to *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii* by Sereno E. Bishop (Honolulu, Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1916), 9.

⁵¹ "Anglo-Saxonizing Machines," *The Friend*, August 1887, 63.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 63.

The article finished by tying the movement to God's will, declaring, "God has been exceedingly gracious to the native people. They alone among all dark races, still bear rule in the presence of the white foreigner." This strong dose of "politics and pulpit" rhetoric became a selling point for the paper. After the January 1893 overthrow, publisher Thomas Thrum took out an advertisement in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of February 1, 1893, enticing readers with the news that, "*The Friend* for February will issue for the outgoing mail and will contain a full account of the Revolutionary Events with vigorous comments. On sale Tuesday morning at the book stores, Order early."⁵³

International Voice

As with the local English-language press, material for foreign newspapers in this period came largely to be written by the officers and members of the AEH and HMCS administration. In February 1893, Rev. Sereno Bishop assured the Provisional Government's Hawaiian Counsel in Boston, Gorham Gilman, "I believe that nearly or quite all of the dispatches + correspondence from here is now in good hands."⁵⁴ Bishop himself was one of the most egregious, and perhaps most significant, examples of AEH administration involvement in producing pro-annexation rhetoric for newspapers beyond Hawai'i's shores.

Sereno Edwards Bishop was the son of Artemus Bishop and Elizabeth Edwards, two ABCFM missionaries who arrived as part of the second company to Hawai'i in 1822. Born in 1827 at Ka'awaloa, Hawai'i Island, Sereno moved with his family to Honolulu at a young age, growing up in the mission compound there. Mission children of this period

⁵³ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 1, 1893.

⁵⁴ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Gorham Gilman, July 3, 1893, Children of the Mission, 1826-1910, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

were separated from their families, sent away from the “polluted environment” of the Islands to be educated in the United States, and Sereno was no exception.⁵⁵ In 1839, at the age of twelve, he was sent to the United States for his secondary education. Bishop graduated from the Auburn Theological Seminary in New York City in 1851 and returned to Hawai‘i as a missionary of the ABCFM in January 1853, taking up the position of Seaman’s Chaplain at Lāhainā, Maui. In 1862 he was transferred to the somewhat isolated east side of the island at Hāna, Maui, where it was noted, “The only other whites living in Hana were Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Needham and their daughter Hattie.”⁵⁶ He was appointed as Principal of Lahainaluna School from 1865 until leaving for Honolulu to serve on the Hawaiian Board in 1877. After his return to the capitol, Bishop involved himself in many of the political and social scenes of the period, joining the clandestine Hawaiian League and beginning to position himself as a prominent and constant voice on Hawai‘i and its future.

Ralph Kuykendall has characterized Bishop as “Certainly the most prolific writer of things Hawaiian.”⁵⁷ In the latter decades of the nineteenth century, this Congregationalist minister produced a plethora of essays, pamphlets, academic articles, and more, on a wide range of topics. He wrote both for an academic audience interested in a discussion of the atmospheric phenomena caused by the volcanic explosion of

⁵⁵ Mary Zwiep discusses the trauma that this caused those of the early mission in “Sending the Children Home: A Dilemma for Early Missionaries,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 24 (1990), 39–68.

⁵⁶ Lorrin A. Thurston, *Memoirs of the Hawaiian Revolution* (Honolulu: Honolulu Advertiser Publishing Company, Ltd., 1936), 7.

⁵⁷ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 633. Kuykendall’s note does bear the admission that he did not access the massive Hawaiian-language archive and writers within it. Some, such as Native historian Samuel M. Kamakau, produced large amounts of materials also.

Krakatoa and for newspaper readers anxious for social and political gossip.⁵⁸ He penned essays concerning the political and social future of Hawai‘i including a controversial pamphlet titled, “Why are the Hawaiians dying out? *Or, Elements of disability for survival among the Hawaiian people*” that was published by the Honolulu Social Science Association in 1888.⁵⁹ To an unstable, oligarchic government struggling to sell the idea that Hawai‘i should be taken into the fold of the American union without consent of the Hawaiian people, the writing talents and confident pen of Rev. Bishop seemed a godsend.

The January 1893 call for annexation to the United States from the new minority government had indeed met significant resistance in America. While some of the most prominent arguments against annexation were racist and paternalistic, many Americans saw the taking of Hawai‘i against its people’s will as immoral or unjust. The morality and justice argument was prevalent at a variety of sites including newspapers, the halls of Congress, and also at the highest levels of academia in the United States.⁶⁰ The only way around these significant arguments was to try and disqualify Native Hawaiians as both voters and leaders. Arguments that linked them, and the Queen herself, to heathenism were the chosen tools for the task and Rev. Bishop was a prominent architect of the plan. In his public writings after the 1893 coup, he characterized the Queen of Hawai‘i in differing articles as among other things, a “half-maddened Queen”⁶¹ who was “engaged

⁵⁸ Sereno Edwards Bishop, “Origin of the Red Glows,” *History and Work of the Warner Observatory*, Rochester, 1883–1886, 1 (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Publishing, 1887); “Some Interesting Gossip about Kalakaua’s Widow,” *Washington Evening Star*, April 22, 1897.

⁵⁹ Sereno Edwards Bishop, *Why are the Hawaiians dying out? Or, Elements of Disability for Survival Among the Hawaiian People* (Honolulu: unidentified publisher, 1888).

⁶⁰ For more on US Collegiate debates over Hawaiian annexation see: Ronald Williams Jr., “‘Aole Hoohui ia Hawaii’: U.S. Collegiate Teams Debate Annexation of Hawai‘i and Independence Prevails, 1893 to 1897,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 43 (2009): 153–179.

⁶¹ *The Friend*, February 1893, 9.

in reviving and establishing on a despotic basis the Heathen Party of Hawai‘i.”⁶² Rev. Bishop declared that the monarchy she led was “so hopelessly fallen into heathen mental and moral vileness, it only remains to be speedily buried out of sight.”⁶³ It is important, however, to note that Rev. Bishop’s assessment of the Queen in 1893, after her attempt to implement a new constitution returning significant power to the executive branch, is nearly the opposite of his written description of her in the time prior to the overthrow, when she represented no threat under the Bayonet Constitution. In an essay written for the American publication *Review of Reviews* upon her ascension to the throne in 1891, Rev. Bishop describes Hawai‘i’s new ruling monarch, “her gracious Majesty Liliuokalani,” this way: “She has a perfect use of English, a good literary and an especially good musical culture. The Queen’s manner is peculiarly winning, her bearing noble and becoming, the latter a characteristic of Hawaiian royalty.” He next noted her spiritual affiliations:

she retained her seat in the old Stone church connected with the American Mission. For some years she has been a member of the Woman’s Board of Missions and a participant in their meetings. She has long been a very active and munificent Patroness of the large Kawaiahao Seminary for training native girls, and greatly looked up to by teachers and pupils.⁶⁴

He also noted, “The Queen gives every evidence of having deeply at heart the moral welfare of her people.” The AEH offered a similar evaluation of the Queen at the April 1892 semi-annual meeting of O‘ahu Island churches. In the following month’s issue of *The Friend*, Rev. Bishop reported; “A resolution was passed unanimously expressing

⁶² “The Heathen Party,” *The Friend*, December 1900, 105.

⁶³ *The Friend*, February 1893, 13.

⁶⁴ Sereno E. Bishop, “Her Majesty ‘Lily-of-The-Sky’ Queen of the Sandwich Islands,” in *Review of Reviews* 4 (1891): 147-163.

gratitude to the Queen for her personal interest shown in the true welfare of the Hawaiian people.”⁶⁵

It was Rev. Bishop’s future public correspondence that was to be so vital to the new government. His work on behalf of the provisional government and those that supported it would begin days after the overthrow. In a diary entry of January 23, 1893, Rev. Bishop notes, “[US Minister] John L. Stevens summons me—to do writing.”⁶⁶ The United States’ minister to Hawai‘i had been an integral part of the plan and execution of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy and in the weeks after he was spearheading the move for annexation. He called on Rev. Bishop to help craft a narrative justifying the recent overthrow and advocating annexation. The Provisional Government itself used Rev. Bishop as a mouthpiece and he relayed to the new Hawaiian Counsel in Boston, Gorham Gilman, that he was privy to the “private acts of the [P. G. Executive]” through access granted by John Emmeluth.⁶⁷ Rev. Bishop wrote pro-annexation rhetoric as editor of *The Friend*, and contributed articles, both signed and anonymous, to a number of English and Hawaiian-language newspapers.⁶⁸

As the push for the annexation of Hawai‘i faltered, the role of the Reverend Sereno Bishop as a producer of narrative for the cause would be enlarged even further in both scope and impact. In the early months of 1894, a meeting was arranged by officers of the Provisional Government between Rev. Bishop and Frank B. Noyes of the

⁶⁵ “Oahu Evangelical Association,” *The Friend*, May 1892, 33.

⁶⁶ Rev. Sereno E. Bishop, “diary entry of January 23, 1893,” *Children of the Mission, 1826-1910*, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

⁶⁷ Rev. Sereno E. Bishop to Gorham Gilman, October 20, 1900, *Children of the Mission, 1826-1910*, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu. Emmeluth was a member of the Committee of 13 and an advisor to the Executive Council of the Provisional Government.

⁶⁸ While the great majority of the articles that Bishop wrote for Hawaiian-language newspapers appear either without attribution or under a pseudonym, I have matched titles of articles that he mentions within correspondence and his personal diary as his, with ones that appeared in newspapers. He also mentions in general writing for these papers.

Associated Press (AP) at the Hawaiian Hotel in downtown Honolulu.⁶⁹ Noyes was founder of the AP—the largest news agency in the United States—and President of the *Washington Evening Star*. At the conclusion of the meeting, Rev. Bishop was contracted to write regular “news dispatches” as the Honolulu correspondent of the Associated Press.⁷⁰ These columns, one hundred and two in number, were published in newspapers across the East Coast of the United States from 1894 to 1907, appearing in the *New York Tribune*, *New York Independent*, *Washington Evening News*, and elsewhere.⁷¹ The objective was to definitively dismiss the Queen of Hawai‘i and her supporters as legitimate voices in discussions concerning the future of Hawai‘i and Rev. Bishop took to this task with an ardent dedication. Repeatedly challenged by calls from the United States for a democratic vote by the people in Hawai‘i on the question of annexation, he seemed to be left with little range for an argument. His answer was to pen a column that questioned the definition of Natives Hawaiians as real “people”:

This takes us back to the point first made, that the ‘people of Hawaii’ must be a party to the contract for annexation. Here is the very question to be settled. Who are the real people of Hawaii? Are they the decadent and dwindling race of aboriginal Hawaiians who still linger in the land, a feeble and inefficient people, pushed aside from active life by the swarming Asiatics and the vigorous whites? Or are they not rather the fresh, active, brainy white race, who have by their skill and energy created the great wealth and the thriving commerce of the islands, who own what they have thus created, and who are manifestly the heirs of the future of Hawaii, rather than the weak native race?

Whites Must Govern. By reason of their superior capacity and force the whites of Hawaii have become the real people of Hawaii.⁷²

⁶⁹ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Gorham Gilman, December 4, 1897, Children of the Mission, 1826-1910, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

⁷⁰ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Gorham Gilman, December 4, 1897, Children of the Mission, 1826-1910, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu. The reverend notes his amazement at being able to earn “\$30–\$40 a week” writing political columns.

⁷¹ These articles were also excerpted by other English and Hawaiian-language newspapers in Hawai‘i. See: “Apologia Sua,” *The Independent*, Nov. 26, 1897, 2;

⁷² “Hawaii For Us,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 17, 1896, 7.

Calls for a democratic vote continued and he answered with a column subtitled, “The Whites To Decide,” that offered a more religious tone. In a section on the “Pagan Constituency,” he combated the specific call of a fellow newspaperman for a Native vote by defining the supporters of the Queen as “foremost of all the numerous and deeply degraded adherents of the old heathenism.” The normally matter-of-fact Rev. Bishop warned, “I could repeat the most horrible stories of the cruel and loathsome practices common in their sorceries, but they are totally unfit to be put on paper.”⁷³ The reverend, however, did not hesitate to turn to gossip and the subject of race to further the cause of annexation. In a column titled, “Her Real Character,” Rev. Bishop informed an American audience of the Queen’s rumored “negro” blood, declaring that Lili‘uokalani was generally believed to be the daughter of the Jamaican quadroon, John Blossom, and therefore “three-eighths white blood and one-eighth negro, which betrays itself in her wavy hair, which is not like the straight Polynesian locks.”⁷⁴ Another of the columns was titled, “Interesting Gossip about Kalakaua’s Widow.”⁷⁵

Rev. Bishop was not so brash as to ignore the reality that these attacks, often malevolent in both content and tone, might be dismissed as being hypocritical coming from a member of the clergy. He choose to write these often vicious “news articles” under a pseudonym—an amazingly brash one.⁷⁶ In this series of over one hundred columns, the Reverend Sereno Edwards Bishop wrote to an American newspaper

⁷³ “The Native Vote,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 13, 1897, 13.

⁷⁴ “Her Real Character,” *Washington Evening Star*, July 7, 1897, 11.

⁷⁵ “Interesting Gossip About Kalakaua’s Widow,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 7, 1897, 15.

⁷⁶ The Rev. Bishop’s identity as the author of the “Kamehameha Letters” was officially revealed locally in 1900. An article in the *Hawaiian Gazette* of November 23, 1900, titled “Forecast of S. E. Bishop” carries the note, “The following letter written by Dr. Sereno Bishop to the Washington Star under his usual nom de plum ‘Kamehameha,’ will be of interest though written three weeks before the last election.”

audience attacking Native Hawaiian competence and ability as the Associated Press Honolulu correspondent, Kamehameha.⁷⁷ In the course of his tenure as “Kamehameha,” Rev. Bishop wrote columns such as “Trouble from Native Ignorance,”⁷⁸ “Hawaii For Us. The Whites Govern and Control the Future of Hawaii,”⁷⁹ “Race Jealousies and Domination by the Whites,”⁸⁰ and “Japs in Hawaii.”⁸¹ While Bishop does not write about the purpose of choosing that particular moniker—that of the founder of the Hawaiian nation—the impact of using a name so highly revered among the Native population and likely recognizable among Americans to make claims of Native ignorance and incompetence was certainly calculated. The Hawai‘i-based *Independent*, owned by Danish supporter of Queen Lili‘uokalani Edmond Norrie, took Rev. Bishop to task over the “Kamehameha” columns in an article titled “Serenos’ Work In East.”⁸² The paper wrote, “The name ‘Kamehameha’ was used in exploiting a long letter which appeared in the *Washington Star* of April 20th last, but the handwriting and mind that produced it was that of hoary-handed Rev. Sereno E. Bishop, a Hawaiian born missionary offspring.” The Honolulu paper termed Bishop, “another of those rancorous despisers of the Hawaiians

⁷⁷ Rev. Bishop puts the number of columns at one hundred and two. Several of the final “Kamehameha” columns bear the heading “From our Honolulu correspondent Sereno E. Bishop [omitting his title as Reverend] who had formerly written this column under the pseudonym ‘Kamehameha’.” Sixty three of the articles that appeared in the *Evening Star* under the Kamehameha pseudonym are cut and pasted within an album, with a cover title of “Letters from Kamehameha,” held at the Hawaiian Mission Children’s Museum Library in Honolulu. Sereno Edwards Bishop, Clippings Scrapbook, 1895-1905, “Letters by Kamehameha.” 996.9 B54k. HMCS, Honolulu.

⁷⁸ “Trouble From Native Ignorance,” *Washington Evening Star*, October 18, 1895, 15.

⁷⁹ “Hawaii For Us. The Whites Govern and Control the Future of Hawaii,” *Washington Evening Star*, Decemebr 17, 1896, 7.

⁸⁰ “Race Jealousies and Domination by the Whites,” *Washington Evening Star*, August 31, 1896, 10.

⁸¹ “Japs in Hawaii,” *Washington Evening Star*, May 18, 1897, 7.

⁸² “Serenos’ Work In East,” *The Independent*, May 13, 1904, 2. Norrie, a constant and severe critic of the new government, was arrested five times between 1893 and 1895 under the drastically altered laws on speech which stated that “no person shall advocate by writing, printing, or speaking, the restoration or establishment of a monarchical form of government in the Hawaiian Islands.” For the law see: Lydecker, 1918.

with avaricious eyes for their country” and declared, “the ‘cloth’ of his calling has severely failed to hide his character and nature.” Historian Ralph Kuykendall, noting the inherent hypocrisy in the fact that the Kamehameha Letters were written by a reverend, characterized the letters that appeared in the New York-based weekly *Independent* as “some of the most un-Christlike language with which that religiously-oriented periodical supported the ‘missionary’ element that had seized control in Hawaii.”⁸³ Indeed, Rev. Bishop’s use of a pseudonym for this work seems to have been partly employed to distance himself from a paradox that he seemed very aware of: the writing of columns by a Christian minister that served a powerful political service yet simultaneously seemed irrefutably “un-Christian.” Rev. Bishop, in a stark confession that his new “mission” had placed a political agenda ahead of the moral, wrote to Gilman, “I do not reckon the Kam. Letters as a work in which I shall peculiarly rejoice in the future life, although I hope they have done some service in a good cause.”⁸⁴

A Hawaiian-Language Audience

The Native Christian congregants of the AEH churches were undoubtedly the most difficult audience for the anti-monarchical, pro-annexation rhetoric of the white administration. The divide between the members and the executive body of this ecclesiastical association had exploded since the overthrow of the Queen, and the authority of the Hawaiian Board was being questioned. Native Christians were using the AEH churches as centers of resistance. The administration could not afford to lose them altogether. Weeks after the overthrow, Rev. Hyde, in a letter to the American Board,

⁸³ Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 633.

⁸⁴ Rev. Sereno Bishop to Gorham Gilman, December 4, 1897, *Children of the Mission, 1826-1910*, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

described Hawaiians as naturally “sullen and resentful” over the coup and offered details of one of the Board’s efforts to address the difficulties: “Nearly \$2000 have been raised to start a daily Hawaiian newspaper to contain articles to instruct the natives in regard to the changes in their condition and urge upon them such action as will give them insight into the only way in which they can reap any advantage from these changes.”⁸⁵ He was clear concerning the problems faced by this new work:

Five of the students have been engaged as carriers for the new Hawaiian newspaper, but they tell me that the natives say ‘What! This missionary paper! Won’t have it in my house!’ So they have a good deal of missionary work to do to try and convince their people that these changes are for the ultimate good of the Hawaiians, and the newspaper is meant to be a help to them.⁸⁶

In a follow up letter weeks later, Rev. Hyde again noted the failure of this AEH effort to reach a Native audience: “Some of the students have been acting as carriers for the Hawaiian (annexation) daily paper, but the natives don’t like it, won’t take it, wont give their names if offered to them gratuitously.”⁸⁷

The new “Hawaiian (annexation) daily paper,” *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa me Ko Hawaii Paeaina i Huiia*, issued its first edition nine days after the January 17 coup and ran daily, except for Sundays, until November 1894. This paper was the major site for Hawaiian-language anti-monarchical and pro-annexation rhetoric from the AEH administration and Provisional Government.⁸⁸ It offered a Hawaiian-language audience

⁸⁵ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, February 28, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁸⁶ Ibid. Hyde is referring to his Native students at Ke Kula Kahunapule o Ka Pakipika Akau (The North Pacific Missionary Institute) where he was principal.

⁸⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, March 29, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁸⁸ This nineteenth century newspaper, a partial run of which is held by the Hawaiian Historical Society in Honolulu, was for some reason missed in the major project to microfilm Hawaiian-language newspapers

daily columns, editorials, and letters to the editor linking the overthrow and annexation to God's will and portraying the white-led government as one of true Christian leadership.

In an effort to make the message more acceptable to its intended audience, *Puka La Kuokoa* removed the name of newspaperman Henry Whitney, who actually remained as an editor, from the paper. Two Native Hawaiian editors, both strong supporters of the new government and annexation, were added to the staff and as of the March 6, 1893, the masthead carried the names of J. U. Kawainui⁸⁹ and J. K. Iosepa as the paper's editors. Rev. Hyde wrote a letter in which he explained; "One of them is Rev. Iosepa who did such good work in the last legislature."⁹⁰ Rev. John Kekahuna Iosepa had been a student of Rev. Hyde's at Ke Kula Kahunapule o ka Pakipika Akau (The North Pacific Missionary Institute) and was currently serving as an AEH pastor at Wānanalua Church in Hāna, Maui. He had taken the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government on February 8, 1893, and was actively supporting annexation in his church and elsewhere.⁹¹ Although the paper was not successful in reaching a large Native audience, it did become a central source of pro-annexation voice written in Hawaiian and the prominent Native Hawaiians who supported annexation would occasionally supply columns.

This new Hawaiian-language publication also became a site from which attacks were launched against the Royalist Christian pastors, deacons, and congregants who were causing so many problems within the AEH churches. *Puka La Kuokoa* continually attacked many of the popular leaders of the opposition within churches across the Islands,

begun in the 1970s. The holdings of this paper by the Hawaiian Historical Society were microfilmed and digitized in April 2011.

⁸⁹ Joseph Ulumaialii Kawainui was also a strong supporter of the new government and annexation and had been editor of several newspapers including the weekly *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.

⁹⁰ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, March 29, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

⁹¹ Rev. Iosepa was one of several pro-annexation Native pastors forced from their pulpits by their congregations.

including Iosepa Nāwahī, “Bila Aila” (Oily Bill)⁹², James Kaulia, Mathew Makalua, and others. As a daily, this Hawaiian-language newspaper offered a place for quick and timely responses to the ubiquitous Royalist challenges. Revs. Bishop and Hyde, both fluent in Hawaiian language, were frequent contributors.

Other attempts to reach a Hawaiian-language audience with pro-annexation rhetoric appeared occasionally. A collection of essays titled “Ka Oiaio a Pau no ka Hoohui Aina” (The Whole Truth About Annexation) brought together thoughts on annexation from five members and officers of the HMCS and the American-born lawyer and Hawaiian Kingdom judge, Alfred Stedman Hartwell. The work, published as a twenty-five page bound pamphlet, included an essay by Rev. Oleson titled, “Pehea e kokua ai ka Hoohui aina i na kanaka Hawaii?” (How will annexation help the Hawaiian people?), another by Rev. Bishop called, “Na hemahema e pono ole ai o Hawaii ke noho kuokoa ma keia hope aku” (The Deficiencies that make an independent Hawai‘i inappropriate) and one provided by William R. Castle entitled, “Na Kumu no ka Hoololi ia ana ma Hawaii” (Reasons for the change in Hawai‘i).⁹³

Personal Messengers for God and Nation

The decision of who would ultimately rule over Hawai‘i seemed to rest with a constituency that resided thousands of miles across the Pacific Ocean in America and the leaders of the push for annexation were not going to rely merely on correspondence and

⁹² In the English-language press, the staunch Royalist William Pūnohu White was often called “Oily Bill” in reference to his “slick” style of speech—a negative connotation. Hawaiian-language papers also used the moniker but as a positive reference to his well-regarded abilities in classic Hawaiian-style oration.

⁹³ David Forbes notes, “Judd and Bell give this item a tentative 1893 date, which is supported by the fact that the chronology of events in Curtis Lyons’ article begins on January 11 and does not advance beyond April 1, 1893.” David Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography*, Vol. 4, 1881-1900 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003), 495.

news articles to make their case. In addition to the official government officers who traveled to the United States to push the idea of annexation, several white Christian ministers within the leadership of the AEH and HMCS were recruited to assist in delivering the argument in person.

Rev. Oliver Pomeroy Emerson left Honolulu by steamship bound for the US capitol on August 24, 1893. The mission of this Hawaiian Board officer began even before he reached Washington. Rev. Emerson, upon arrival in San Francisco, met with a reporter for the *San Francisco Call*. In an interview for an article on the affairs in Hawai‘i that would appear on September 1, 1893, he offered up a narrative that tied Christianity to those who supported annexation. In the column, “A Missionary’s Views,” Rev. Emerson admitted to an American audience that pro-annexation pastors were facing significant troubles within the Native Christian churches of Hawai‘i but highlighted the fact that it was a love for the United States that was the source of their problems: “In several instances native Hawaiian ministers of our association, who were indiscreet enough to affirm their love for the Americans, who said they gave the Hawaiians everything worth living for, including the Christian religion, and who at the same time denounced the frailties of the deposed Queen, were locked out of their own churches.”⁹⁴

Once in Washington, Rev. Emerson addressed the congregation of one of America’s most important churches, Metropolitan Presbyterian. This significant Protestant Church, founded in 1864, stood two blocks from the US Capitol Building and was the worship home of many US Congressman, judges, and business leaders. As the AEH pastor from Hawai‘i stood behind this notable pulpit on the seventeenth day of

⁹⁴ “A Missionary’s Views,” *San Francisco Call*, September 1, 1893, 4.

December 1893, delivering an emphatic call for the annexation of Hawai‘i, the islands themselves were in the midst of unrest. Rumors that the Queen would be reinstated as sovereign had increased in recent weeks and on the very day of Rev. Emerson’s Washington sermon the US Minister to Hawai‘i was meeting with Lili‘uokalani at the consulate in Honolulu. The important work of Rev. Emerson was being followed closely back in Hawai‘i. *The Friend* published a column titled “A Strong Witness,” highlighting his religio-political mission:

On the Sabbath when we in Honolulu were waiting in fear for what of battle the Monday might bring upon us, our dear brother Oliver P. Emerson was doing us good service in Washington. He told the statesmen of the Capitol, from the pulpit of the Metropolitan Presbyterian Church, how intimately the political issue in Hawaii then agitating the United States, was connected with the struggle of heathenism, revived by the Monarchy, to overthrow the Christianity of the native people.⁹⁵

In another column titled “Rev. O. P. Emerson at Washington: He Talks on Hawaii, A Heathenizing Monarchy,”⁹⁶ the paper reprinted the sermon, taken from the pages of the *Washington Evening Star* of December 18. The AEH emissary had attempted to walk back the characterization of Hawai‘i as a Christian nation that the ABCFM had offered as a victory over heathenism to the American people four decades prior. He spoke of “new facts in regard to the efforts made to Christianize the inhabitants of those islands and how these efforts were received by the kanaka dynasty” and explained to the Washington audience the current status of the “heathen and anti Christian” monarchy. He launched a relentless attack against the monarchy and those who supported it, filling his sermon with such terms as “ungodly,” “wicked,” “heathen,” and “antichristian.” Speaking of the two

⁹⁵ “A Strong Witness,” *The Friend*, February 1894, 9.

⁹⁶ “Rev. O. P. Emerson at Washington: He Talks on Hawaii, A Heathenizing Monarchy,” *The Friend*, February 1894, 10.

most recent monarchs, Rev. Emerson said, “He [Kalākaua] tried to paganize the country and heathenize it” and Lili‘uokalani had “followed at last the path which her brother had so plainly marked out. She gathered about her throne this corrupt heathen element.” Rev. Emerson ended his efforts with a warning to the gathered Christians: “Let this wicked rule which was represented by Kalakaua and his sister, continue to hold the ground for but half the time it has already held it, and the native Hawaiian Christianity would be all but dead.”⁹⁷ The AEH pastor had no way of knowing that as he spoke in America’s capitol an agreement had been reached between the United States and the Queen for her reinstatement. As a very tumultuous year came to a close, Her Majesty Lili‘uokalani wrote in her diary on New Year’s Eve,

All that transpired in 1893 is of the past. We commenced anew with the New Year, thankful to our Creator for all we have enjoyed during the past year and hoping for all that is good for the future—that our Nation may be restored by President Cleveland and Congress is my earnest prayer and of my people.⁹⁸

While in Washington, Rev. Emerson spoke on annexation at other social gatherings, gave testimony to the US Congressional Sub-Committee on Foreign Affairs at hearings organized by Senator John Morgan, and gave interviews to local newspapers. A column published in the *Washington Evening Star* carried the title “The Case of Hawaii. The Earnest Testimony of the Secretary of the Board of Missions, Who Is Now in Washington” and the sub-title “The Royal Cause Represents the Worst Elements of Civilization.”⁹⁹

⁹⁷ Ibid., 10.

⁹⁸ Cited in Tom Coffman, *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai‘i* (Kihei, Hawai‘i: Koa Books, 2009), 146.

⁹⁹ “The Case of Hawaii,” *Washington Evening Star*, December 8, 1893, 3

Upon his return to Hawai‘i, Rev. Emerson explained the focus of his journey: “Judge Judd remarked to me that my absence was not inopportune such has been the feeling among the natives that little church work could be done + influence touching the political situation seemed to be the important thing + that influence I could wield best at Washington where I was for seven weeks.”¹⁰⁰

Rev. William Brewster Oleson was another important voice for annexation sent from the Islands to America. This Portland, Maine native came to Hawai‘i in 1878 to take up the position of principal at the Hilo Boarding School and became the founding principal at the Kamehameha School for Boys when it opened in 1887. Upon his arrival in Hawai‘i, Rev. Oleson quickly threw himself into the political and social life of the kingdom. He joined the Hawaiian League, becoming one of the core thirteen executives of the group, and co-authored the Bayonet Constitution. Rev. Oleson’s talents in public speaking and organizing led to his appointment as a campaign officer for Reform Party candidates as they battled Kalākaua and his Native slate. His pro-annexation speech at the rally to organize the Annexation Club of Honolulu in 1893 was described as the speech of the evening. He returned to the United States in the early summer of 1893 after resigning from his position as principal at the Kamehameha School for Boys. Although he was no longer directly affiliated with the Hawaiian station, he had no intention of letting the debate on Hawaiian annexation pass without doing his part.¹⁰¹ Arriving in Boston in early June, Rev. Oleson met with local newspaper editors from the leading Boston dailies. He was able to secure the placement of articles on the Hawaiian situation in *The Boston Journal*, *The Herald*, *The Globe*, and *The Transcript*. *The Friend* noted this

¹⁰⁰ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, March 31, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹⁰¹ Rev. Oleson would return to Hawai‘i in 1908 as an officer of the AEH.

effort of their former colleague, saying that he had “reported the true condition of political affairs in Hawaii with great force and accuracy.”¹⁰² Back in Honolulu, the *Daily Bulletin* reported that the “‘reverend’ politician is endeavoring to do good work for the annexation cause.”¹⁰³

Rev. Oleson regained an American pulpit, becoming pastor at Belmont Congregational Church in Worcester, Massachusetts and spoke of the benefits of Hawaiian annexation throughout the region at ecclesiastic gatherings and conventions. A paper delivered to an audience at the Congregational Club in Boston on November 29, 1893, titled “Some Elements in the Political Evolution of Hawaii” was published under the same title that year.¹⁰⁴ In this speech, Oleson, like Rev. Emerson, focused on characterizing the reigns of Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani as heathen threats to Christianity. Speaking of Kalākaua, he said, “His visits to the other islands were utilized for the recrudescence of lascivious orgies of the old heathen religion.” To Rev. Oleson, the foreign [white] population constituted, “the intelligent, progressive, patriotic, governing ability of Hawaii” and “The best elements among Hawaiians have in the past twenty years uniformly cast in their lot with the white foreigners, and have greatly accepted their leadership.” He would also travel to Washington to add his testimony before congress to those who were arguing for annexation.

Revs. Emerson and Oleson were joined in their efforts by other white Christians from Hawai‘i who worked to shape a narrative for the American public that pitted white

¹⁰² “The Rev. William B. Oleson,” *The Friend*, August 1893, 61.

¹⁰³ *Daily Bulletin*, August 15, 1893, 2.

¹⁰⁴ Rev. William Oleson, *Some Elements in the Political Evolution of Hawaii* 1893 (Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1893).

Christianity against a “heathen” Native monarchy and its supporters.¹⁰⁵ Their mission in the United States was to craft a powerful and persuasive characterization of Hawai‘i and its dethroned Queen that left no room for any thought of a continuation of Native rule and the “pervasive immorality of the race” was their primary argument. Some, in this nation only three decades removed from a civil war over slavery, needed no convincing.

Francis Wayland, the Yale Law School dean and friend of AEH head A. F. Judd who had written in 1887 asking why the white capitalists in Hawai‘i did not rise as one and eliminate Native rule, offered his opinion of Queen Lili‘uokalani in the days following the January 1895 military attempt to reseat her on the throne, saying: “As for the drunken strumpet whom they still call queen. She is queen of spades + has dug her own grave.”¹⁰⁶

The messengers sent to the US drew Christianity and race into the political battle in an attempt to dismiss calls for a democratic solution in Hawai‘i. An argument that focused on a claimed inherent superiority of white Christianity might dismiss the great mass of Native Christian patriots who were in the process of fighting for both their God and nation. The men of the AEH leadership found mixed results. While the call of Manifest Destiny launched mid-century was still finding significant support as the country moved towards an expanded role beyond its western shores, anti-imperialists warned of spreading the nation too thin, and others questioned the morality of quashing the independence of a sovereign nation without a vote of its citizens. Back in Hawai‘i,

¹⁰⁵ On December 28, 1897, Special Ambassador of the Provisional Government to the United States, Lorrin Thurston, gave an address on “The Annexation of Hawaii” at First Congregational Church in Fall River, Massachusetts and a summary was carried in the *Congregationalist* of January 6, 1898.

¹⁰⁶ Francis Wayland to Albert F. Judd, January 1, 1895, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 63.3.17, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

more than seven thousand miles from Washington, the annexationist message of the AEH was encountering an avalanche of opposition.

The AEH Battlefield

The ongoing struggle over Christianity in Hawai‘i was not just a rhetorical one. While a verbal and textual battle over God’s will and Christian identity played out within newspapers and sermons, the battles within the actual churches of the AEH took on a very tangible form. Native AEH congregations throughout every island actively contested attempts to dismiss their authority as leaders and Christians. Correspondence from the Hawaiian Board to the ABCFM carried frustrated and anxious reports concerning the troubles inside of the AEH churches. In one letter to the American Board, Rev. Hyde wrote about the numerous pastors who faced outraged congregations because of the pastor’s support for annexation, and mentioned that he himself had recently been told that one of his former students, now a pastor on Kaua‘i, was praying that God would “wipe out the missionaries who had dethroned the Queen, robbed the people, etc. etc.”¹⁰⁷

The June 1893 annual meeting of the AEH, the first since the overthrow of the Queen, would be an opportunity for the administration to directly address the problems within their churches in a formal manner. Five months of struggle and an uncertain future regarding the Queen and annexation, however, worried many about how this gathering of church representatives from around the Islands would go. *The Friend* warned:

. . . a majority of their church members are apt to be found in sympathy with that court [Queen Lili‘uokalani] and its corruptions. Next week occurs the annual meeting of our Evangelical Association, or Synod. It

¹⁰⁷ Rev. Charles M. Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 3, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

will be remarkable if some of the bitter political strife, which has been raging, does not appear there. Indeed, some protests seem unavoidable against the shameful charges of treachery and hypocrisy poured by the royalists upon the highest and best of our native pastors.¹⁰⁸

When the AEH pastors and church representatives came together on Tuesday June 6 at Kawaiaha‘o Church in Honolulu for seven days of meetings, an air of tension was felt in the hall. White administrators had been persistently attacked in newspapers and within the churches for months and a number of the Royalist Native pastors had chosen to stay away from the annual meeting, not wanting to affirm the authority of the Hawaiian Board. The administration knew however that it could count on certain Native pastors for support. As Rev. J. K. Iosepa opened the meeting with a prayer, the Hawaiian Board was more confident that things would go well. After three days of dealing with mostly innocuous matters, the Board moved to address the topic on everyone’s minds: the problems within the churches. The Secretary of the Hawaiian Board began by delivering the Annual Report which read in part:

Ka Pau Ana o Ke Kulana Ana

I loko o ka hookahuli ana o ke aupuni mua a me ka hookumu ia ana o ke aupuni hou ua loa na kumu paio wela iwaena o na hoahanau o na ekalesia. No ka hooholo ana o kekahi poe e pule no ka hoihoi ia ana ma ka nohoalii o ka mea i noho Moi iho nei, a no ka hoole ana o kekahi poe, ua mokuahana na haipule.¹⁰⁹

The Ending of the Old Order

The overthrow of the previous government and establishment of a new one has become the source of passionate battles between brethren of the churches. Because of the decision by certain people to pray for the return of the Queen to the throne, and the disagreement of certain others, the congregations are in turmoil.

¹⁰⁸ “Politics in Religion,” *The Friend*, June 1893, 41.

¹⁰⁹ *Hoike Makahiki Iwakalua-Kumamaha o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1893).

Next, the Board moved to act. A meeting was called concerning church discipline with the opening address noting certain “mea apiki i hanaia iho nei ma na Ekalesia” (treacherous acts done in the churches). The committee referred to “ka Ekalesia o Wainee, Lahaina” (The Church of Waiane‘e, Lāhainā) in particular; the congregation had just voted to expel its pastor from the pulpit for his pro-annexation stance.¹¹⁰ A resolution was put forth and passed that sought to circumvent the authority of the congregation and Board of Trustees of the Lāhainā church by submitting the matter to a decision of a committee of the Maui Presbytery. This maneuver of the AEH administration would give the island association, whose relevant committee members could be appointed from within a small group of pastors supportive of the Hawaiian Board, the ability to override internal decisions of the individual churches. In the period after the 1893 overthrow, the Island Associations became another institutional tool with which the AEH leadership attempted to control individual churches and members. The stated purpose of the associations was to create an organization that could help organize evangelical work throughout the islands, linking the efforts of individual pastors and churches. They were not to rule over individual churches, merely to support them. Nonetheless, in many cases, these island associations became the disciplinary arm of the Hawaiian Board.

The committee work of the 1893 meeting neared a close and a final motion was offered that was mostly ceremonial in form but proved significant in effect. The resolution stated:

Mamuli o ka hilinai a manao aloha, ua oluolu i na lala pau o ka Ahahui
Euanelio Nui a me ka Ahahui Kula Sabati Nui o ko Hawaii Pae Aina i
akoakoa mai ma Honolulu nei, e ike aku ia Hon. S. B. Dole, Peresidena o

¹¹⁰ The situation in Lāhainā, Maui that troubled the Hawaiian Board is examined in a case study within this dissertation.

ke Aupuni Kuikawa o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, a me ka Aha Kuhina o ke Aupuni i hai mua ia.¹¹¹

In view of the confidence and regard we feel, the members of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association and the Sunday School Association now in session in Honolulu, will call on Hon. S. B. Dole, President of the Provisional Government of these Islands, and upon his Cabinet.

The resolution to weigh in on the side of support for the new government caused a divided vote, passing with twenty-two ‘ae (yes) and eleven ‘a‘ole (no). On June 13, the day after the annual conference officially ended, President Dole welcomed a party of representatives from the AEH at the Executive Building. This further attempt by the AEH administration to link the new government to Christianity and God’s will further inflamed the situations within the churches. After the delegates returned to their home churches, at least one congregation cited the Dole visit by their pastor as a reason they were removing him from the pulpit.¹¹²

The mid-1893 attempts by the Hawaiian Board to assert control over the individual churches of the AEH only escalated Native Christian defiance. Actions by congregants within and from the Native churches not only continued but also grew in strength and ubiquity. A year later, the “provisional” government in Hawai‘i entered its seventeenth month in existence having failed to achieve its original stated goal of “immediate annexation to the united States.” The administration of the AEH came together in Honolulu once again, seemingly resigned to the fact that the troubles in their churches were not any closer to being resolved. A report from the June 1894 annual meeting titled “Na Hana Ekalesia Iwaena o Na Hawaii. He Hoaoia Ana i Hele a Oolea” (Church Work Among The Hawaiians. A Severe Test) speaks of the continued acute

¹¹¹ *Hoike Makahiki Kanakolu o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1893), 11.

¹¹² John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, June 26, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

problems within the churches and their political connections: “Ua komo iwaena o na kihapai a pau na hoopaapaa aupuni, a ua ku kela me keia kahu imua o ia hoopaapaa me ka hoomanawanui.” (Political quarrels have entered all of our congregations, and pastors have stood and faced these arguments with patience.¹¹³ Organized and directed attacks on pro-annexation Native pastors and the white church leadership were growing and the current administration was even in danger of losing control of the Hawaiian Board. Rev. Hyde used the opportunity of the annual meeting to address this newest threat. Creating and chairing a “Committee on Changes in the Constitution and By Laws,” Rev. Hyde drafted an amendment that he explained in correspondence to the American Board:

I have forgotten whether or not I wrote to you about an attempt of some of the Hawaiians to oust Mr. Emerson. He has been very outspoken about the character and conduct of the Queen. Some of the Hawaiians with Royalist proclivities have not felt kindly disposed towards him on that account. But I think I have put a quieting on such attempts in the future by a change in the Constitution which as amended requires not merely election by the Association but approval by the American Board.¹¹⁴

At the 1894 annual meeting, Rev. Hyde had indeed managed to alter the AEH constitution by forming a committee, composed of three ministers and headed by himself, to address necrological resolutions. The committee quickly delivered a report to the gathered representatives that led to the following change: “Article 7 of the Constitution in regard to the Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer of the Hawaiian Board, was changed so as to read, ‘chosen annually by the Association and approved by the

¹¹³ *Hoike Makahiki Kanakolu-Kumamakahi o ka Ahahui Euanelio Hawaii* (Honolulu: Ka Papa Hawaii, 1894), 15.

¹¹⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, June 28, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

American Board.”¹¹⁵ In correspondence he noted in an almost melancholy tone the recent moves away from “the old order of things” and suggested; “Very few people appreciate the importance of historical continuity or realize that the present Hawaiian Evangelical Association, now almost entirely Hawaiian, is the successor of the American Mission.”¹¹⁶

While some Native Christian members of the AEH churches continued to stay away from the annual meetings and interaction with the Hawaiian Board others chose to challenge the administration within the association by using these events as opportunities for confrontation. Several confrontational petitions were received at the 1894 meeting by the gathered officers of the AEH including another of the repeated petitions from the deacons and trustees of Kaumakapili church that sought the ouster of their pastor, Rev. Waiamau because of his pro-annexation activities. This petition was deferred to the O‘ahu Island Association to be taken up at their next quarterly meeting. A memorial was also received from AEH Native pastor Edward Kekoa, resigning from the association. This staunch supporter of the Queen had become an officer of the local Hilo branch of the Native political association Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina (HHAA) and had penned several newspaper columns critical of his AEH administration and their support for annexation. Now he was using the annual meeting as a forum to break publically from his former leaders. The Board responded by calling a special meeting of the Maui Presbytery—the Reverend had been pastor at Kalua‘aha Church on Moloka‘i—where Rev. Kekoa was “defrocked” for reasons that included “(1) He has given up working peacefully with us”

¹¹⁵ *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board, 1894), 12.

¹¹⁶ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, June 28, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

and “(2) He has given up the Presbytery meetings.”¹¹⁷ The committee also included a charge of bribery against their minister.

The increasingly reactionary moves of the Hawaiian Board to the widespread actions of Native Christians within the churches of the AEH did not temper the claims that those Native congregants were making. Eighteen months after the overthrow, Rev. Hyde wrote, “many of the church membership are still bitterly hostile to the Evangelical Church and the Hawaiian Board because of the political overturn.”¹¹⁸ Native Christians had not become “reconciled” to the matter as the Hawaiian Board had predicted. They demanded recognition of their ability to direct their churches, their nation, and their lives with a clear confidence in their claims to Christianity and self-rule. The Native churches of the AEH remained a central battlefield in this conflict, forcing the AEH administration into positions that were becoming further outside the bounds of church policy, and more paradoxical. Rev. Oliver P. Emerson warned the American Board regarding the troubles, “It is an actual state of war.”¹¹⁹ Dramatic battles played out that witnessed the expulsion of pastors from their pulpits, the boarding up of churches, the excommunication of near-entire congregations, heated land battles, the arrest of church trustees, and much more. The great majority of this “war” and its combatants have been elided from published histories, replaced by a dominant narrative that saw Christianity solely as a foreign institution, assumed the dominance of the white missionary, and sourced information

¹¹⁷ “Minutes of a Special Meeting of the Presbytery of Maui, June 8, 1894,” HEA Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

¹¹⁸ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 4, 1895, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹¹⁹ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith December 27, 1893, 1887, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

from a foreign-language archive. Exploring this struggle in detail gives overdue recognition and context to the authoritative Native Christian patriotism of this period.

CHAPTER III
SITES OF STRUGGLE: INSIDE THE NATIVE CHURCHES OF THE AEH
Ka ‘Ekalesia Hō‘ole Pope o Waine‘e
(Waine‘e Protestant Church)

Ke auhulihia nei na kanaka na kane a me na wahine ma Lahaina nei.¹
(The men and women of Lāhainā are rising in revolt.)

–Rev. Adam Pali, April 1893 letter to the Hawaiian Board describing the
conditions within his Maui church.

Native Hawaiian Christians within AEH congregations across the islands worked in numerous ways to claim both God and nation during the period examined in this work. In doing so they both defied and disrupted the newly developed mission of their church administration. These AEH congregants claimed God as an ally of Native rule in both church and state. This assertive position directly contested the rhetoric of a church administration that sought to separate “Royalists” and “Christians” along a fabricated binary that was posited to have the blessing of “the Divine.” In addition to these rhetorical contestations, Native Hawaiian congregants also challenged a centralization of power within church polity by seizing both governmental and physical control of their local churches.

In the immediate aftermath of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, Native AEH congregants flocked to their churches, claiming these sites as centers of both spiritual and political organization and action. Churches throughout the islands were occupied daily, as trustees, deacons, and congregants organized prayer-

¹ Rev. Adam Pali to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, April 10, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

fasting meetings, formed anti-annexation committees, and hosted local chapters of the pro-independence organizations Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina and Hui Kālai‘āina.

Support for the pro-Monarchy and anti-annexation efforts within AEH congregations, while vastly dominant, was not unanimous. A close examination of these church sites complicates the Native-versus-white binaries that dominate writing concerning this contested period. The decision of some AEH pastors, both haole and Native, to stand in support of the new government and the church administration set them in direct opposition to their impassioned congregations, and engendered heated struggles for control of these churches. Many pastors became the targets of expulsion orders from church deacons and congregations who sought to remove them from their pulpits and parsonages. These pastors, greatly outnumbered by opponents within their individual churches, turned to the AEH administration for help. The officers of the Hawaiian Board were desperate to retain a sense of control over their churches and responded to the actions of these congregations with heavy-handed measures. Hundreds of Native congregants, deacons, and trustees were excommunicated—in some instances a majority of the church members. In taking these actions, the administration claimed centralized authority over the individual churches—a refutation of Congregationalist doctrine. Local congregations challenged the legitimacy of these orders and the authority of the Hawaiian Board, setting up bitter battles that included fights over church property, arrests, and subsequent court cases. The battle over God had turned decidedly pragmatic.

Ka ‘Ekalesia Hō‘ole Pope o Waine‘e (Waine‘e Protestant Church)–Lāhainā, Maui

While open and direct contestation of the AEH administration by local congregations in this period was ubiquitous, one of the most deliberate and contentious struggles took place at Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e in Lāhainā on the island of Maui. This historic church stood “i ka malu ‘ulu o Lele” (in the breadfruit shade of Lele)² adjacent to the sacred site, Moku‘ula.³ Anthropologist P. Christian Klieger has termed the area “an *axis mundi* of the Hawaiian world” where “political rule and religious ritual operated in concert, from the days of the emergence of the Maui kingdom, through the unification of the islands and then the coming of Christianity, to the modern age.”⁴

The church in Lāhainā was founded in 1823, spurred by the arrival on the island of the sacred Ali‘i Nui and wife of Kamehameha, Keōpūolani, and a small group of missionaries who were accompanying her back to her home island of Maui.⁵ The Ali‘i Nui had directed the American Mission representatives on O‘ahu to have Revs. Charles Stewart and William Richards accompany her to Lāhainā, along with a small company of Christian converts that included Tauā, a Tahitian teacher who had arrived in Hawai‘i only months earlier, accompanying Rev. William Elis. On Maui, these kahu (priests) would continue to teach the Queen both literacy and the tenets of their new religion.⁶ On Sunday June 1, the morning after their arrival in Lāhainā, an altar was erected on the beach and a

² This poetic epithet for Lāhainā refers to the ancient name for the area, Lele, and noted the pleasant respite from the continuous heat that the abundant breadfruit groves that were planted there provided.

³ Moku‘ula, an inland island atop a seventeen-acre fishpond named Mokuhinia, was the sacred residence of many Hawaiian chiefs including Kauikeaouli, King of Hawai‘i 1825-1854.

⁴ P. Christian Klieger, *Moku‘ula: Maui’s Sacred Island* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998), ix.

⁵ “Lahaina, Maui, Church Records, 1823-1872,” Lāhainā Church Records Book, HEA Archives, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁶ Kame‘eleihiwa credits the Society Islander, Tauā, as being primarily responsible for the conversion of Keōpūolani. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992): 143.

Sabbath service was conducted under open skies with Keōpūolani and her daughter Princess Nāhi‘ena‘ena in attendance.⁷ The Queen’s arrival had attracted much attention and a crowd of approximately three hundred and fifty people was present for the ceremony. Rev. Stewart noted the founding of the Lāhainā church on the initial page of the church records book:

On the 31st of May 1823 the following members of the Sandwich Island Church took up their residence in Lahaina, where, by administering the ordinances, communing together, exercising discipline etc. they, to a certain extent, constitute a separate church.

(belonging to an American church) Charles L. Stewart
Harriet B. Stewart
William Richards
Clarissa L. Richards
Betsy Stockton
Wm. Kamahoula⁸

(belonging to the chh [church] in Huahine Soc. Islands) Kaua⁹

Weeks later, the building of an actual house of worship was commenced. Rev. Stewart recorded the event with obvious joy: “Monday, June 23. The first humble temple for the worship of Him, ‘who dwelleth between the cherubims,’ ever founded beneath these dark mountains, has to-day been commenced.”¹⁰ On Sunday, August 24, this first Christian house of worship in Lāhainā was dedicated. Rev. Stewart had high hopes, writing, “May it prove the birth-place of many souls; and an entrance to heaven, through which

⁷ “Observance of the Sabbath,” *Missionary Herald*, February 1825, 40.

⁸ This name is likely misspelled here as it is listed in several other sources as Kamohoula.

⁹ “Lahaina, Maui, Church Records, 1823-1872,” Lāhainā Church Records Book, HEA Archives, HMCS, Honolulu. The name of Kaua, a Tahitian priest, is spelled Taua or Tau‘a, as per the original Tahitian in most sources.

¹⁰ Rev. Charles S. Stewart, *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands during the Years 1823, 1824 and 1825* (New York: John P. Haven, 1828), 141. While Rev. Stewart writes on June 23 that the “humble temple” had commenced “to-day,” he had written five days earlier on the 18th that a site was selected, post-holes were dug, and timbers were erected.

multitudes shall be added to the ransomed of the Lord!”¹¹ His lofty aspirations were quickly fulfilled: attendance at Sabbath services in Lāhainā reached into the thousands as the great mass of those Native Hawaiians living in the area flocked to the new site and the side of Keōpūolani. This sacred Ali‘i Nui became the first new member of the church at Waīnane when she was baptized only hours before her death on September 16, 1823. Less than a month later, two revered Ali‘i Nui, Governor Ulumāheiehe Hoapili and Kalākua Kaheiheimālie were wed by Rev. Richards at the Lāhainā church in what was the first Christian marriage among the chiefs of Hawai‘i.¹²

In late 1828, as the Native crowds at Sabbath services in Lāhainā continued to grow, it was decided that a permanent stone church was needed. On August 12 of that year Hoapili ordered that land be marked off for the new church site and on September 14 the cornerstone was laid. Hoapili bestowed the name “Ebenezera” (Ebenezer) upon the new house of worship.¹³ Nineteenth-century Native historian Samuel Maniākalani Kamakau described the building of the church:

Eia kekahi hana maikai a kaulana a Ulumaheiehe Hoapili. O ke kukulu ana i ka luakini pohaku o Waīnane i ka A. D. 1827. O na luakini a me na hale pule i kukulu ia ma Hawai‘i a Kauai. He mau halepule pili, lau hala, laui, ha ko, a he mau halepule nui ko Hawai‘i nei. Aka, ma Lahaina, ua hana ia kekahi halepule hanohano i ike ole ia, aole o na kumu hoohalike ma Hawai‘i nei iloko oia mau makahiki, a ua nui no kona kii me ka hanohano a ua ku kilakila kona ku ana. He 120 paha kapuai ka loa, a he 48 kapuai a oi aku a emi mai ka laula, a ua kiekie no elua hale maluna, a malalo, ua kiekie a nunui na puka aniani, aohe paha kumu hoohalike aku

¹¹ Ibid.,153.

¹² Levi Chamberlain Journal, December 19, HMCS 1824 typescript; Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (New York: Praeger, 1969), 183; *Missionary Herald*, February 1829.

¹³ The biblical Ebenezer, lit. “Stone of Help” described in 1 Samuel 7:12, refers to a stone placed by Samuel between the towns of Mizpah and Jeshanah to commemorate the assistance that God had given his people thus far.

ai. O ia ka halepule a Ulumeheihei me na hoahanau o Lahaina i kukulu ai no ko lakou inoa, a me ka inoa o ka lakou kumu, o Rev. William Rikeke.¹⁴

Another good work for which Ulumāheihēi Hoapili is celebrated was the building of the stone church at Wainē'e in 1827.¹⁵ Churches and meeting houses were erected from Hawai'i to Kaua'i, some of them large buildings thatched with pili grass, or with pandanus, ti, or sugarcane leaves. But at Lāhainā was erected a noble building such as for size and height had never been seen before in Hawai'i, some 120 feet long and 48 feet wide and two stories in height, with big glass windows. Such was the memorial built by Ulumeheihei and his family in Lahaina to honor their own names and the name of their teacher, the Rev. William Richards.



Figure 4. Daguerreotype photo of Wainē'e Church, Lāhainā, Maui, ca. 1855

¹⁴ Samuel M. Kamakau, "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," *Ke Au Okoa*, February 4, 1869, 1.

¹⁵ The fact that Kamakau was writing decades later may account for the discrepancy in dates—he lists 1827. The church records book and writings of Rev. Baldwin and Rev. Stewart agree on 1828 as the year of the church cornerstone being laid.

The impressive new church at Waine‘e continued to draw a huge audience in those early years, as crowds of three thousand or more Native Hawaiians were reported to routinely attend Sunday services.

Throughout the first few decades of the church’s existence, membership rolls stood fairly stable at between eight hundred and one thousand congregants and it was not uncommon still to have two to three thousand Natives attend Sabbath services. As Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e moved into the second half of the nineteenth century, however, it faced many of the aforementioned problems of the AEH as a whole. Mormon missionaries had arrived in Lāhainā in the fall of 1851, and a Catholic church, Maria Lanakila (Our Lady of Victory), was dedicated in this former capital in 1858.¹⁶ In 1862 the town became a center of efforts by King Alexander Liholiho and his wife Queen Emma to establish the Anglican Church in the islands.¹⁷ As with the AEH as a whole, the exodus from the Church in Lāhainā intensified as AEH leaders became more actively involved in business and governmental affairs and as political struggles in the kingdom became more openly contentious.

While Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e could still boast a membership of nine hundred and seventy souls in 1860, by 1888 the church roll listed only seventy-five members. Rev. Adam Pali, presiding over a congregation that had declined in number by more than

¹⁶ Catholic services were held by the Sacred Heart priest, Father Aubert Bouillon, inside the Bowling Alley in Lāhainā starting in 1846 until the French Government built an adobe church at the site in 1857 with a life-sized statue of Virgin Mary in front. In 1857 the church had one hundred members. Russell A. Apple, “National Historic Landmark - 1974 Update, Lahaina,” National Register of Historic Places, United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service.

¹⁷ The AEH administration was greatly disturbed by the founding in Lāhainā of the Anglican school Luahu in 1863. The school, situated near the busy shoreline and nicknamed Lahainalalo, was seen as a contestation of Lahainaluna, the American Mission school on a hill in the same town. Andrew Forest Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” *British Columbia Historical Quarterly* (1951): 47-70; Robert Louis Semes, “Hawai‘i’s Holy War: English Bishop Staley, American Congregationalists, and the Hawaiian Monarchs, 1860-1870,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 113-138; “*Hoku o ka Pakipika*, Nov. 13, 1862.

ninety percent over the past three decades, wrote to the Hawaiian Board in 1887 to relay his deep concern regarding the condition of his church: “Ua emi hope loa ka Ekalesia o Lahaina nei i keia mau la.” (The Church of Lāhainā has been greatly diminished these days.)¹⁸ The church did continue to hold a very significant place in the life of this historic town and was a center of local gatherings whenever Ali‘i Nui returned to this former capitol of the Hawaiian Kingdom. When King David Kalākaua embarked upon a tour of the islands soon after his election, so that he might “become more intimately acquainted with his people, and confer with them regarding such measures as ought to be adopted by the government,” it was Waine‘e Church where he met with his west Maui subjects. He addressed the people of Lāhainā in a royal speech of April 8, 1874, by recalling “these sands” where he and the two former kings played as boys, “in the family of our grandmother Hoapili Wahine,”¹⁹ an Ali‘i Nui whose bones reside in the Waine‘e Church cemetery.

Palapala Ho‘ohui: Codification of Local Governance

Following the 1863 handover of autonomy to the local association by the Boston-based ABCFM, many local congregations had taken Rufus Anderson’s determined call for “Native run, Native led” churches to heart. Ecclesiastic governance had always been centered within the individual congregations of these churches and interaction with the Honolulu-based Hawaiian Board—especially for those churches on the outer islands—consisted largely of sending delegates to the annual meetings, filing church reports, and handing over monetary donations. Now, in the wake of the transfer of authority by the

¹⁸ Rev. Adam Pali to Rev. Anderson O. Forbes, April 7, 1887, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

¹⁹ “The Royal Progress Through the Hawaiian Kingdom,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 29, 1874, 2.

American Board, local churches sought to have this church polity recognized under Kingdom law. Beginning in the late 1860s, many individual congregations began to petition the Hawaiian Kingdom Government for incorporation under the Department of the Interior. The ruling structure of an incorporated church—its board of trustees—and the processes by which that ruling body would be selected and removed, would now have a legal foundation. There were also some very secular motivations. With incorporation, the trustees of the individual churches would control the land and assets of their churches. Large tracts of land had been granted to the American Mission by both individual Aliʻi Nui and the Hawaiian Kingdom Government in the first half of the nineteenth century. Portions of those grants had been passed to the Hawaiian Board in the 1863 transfer of authority. Now, individual congregations moved to have control over the land that their churches sat upon, and other church assets, come under their control.

The January 19, 1872 “Palapala Hoohui” (Articles of Incorporation) for the AEH church in Lāhainā put control of matters within that church in the hands of “Na Kahu Waiwai” (The Board of Trustees) and the church deacons. In the document, the Minister of the Interior for the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi declared that he had constituted a corporate body for the term of thirty years under the name “Na Kahu Waiwai o ka Ekalesia Hoole Pope o Wainee Lahaina Maui” (The Trustees of the Protestant Church of Wainee, Lāhainā, Maui) under “ka mana i haawaiia mai iau ma ka Pauku 1442 o ke Kanawai Kivila o keia Aupuni a mamuli hoi a ke ae ana o ka Moi iloko o ka Aha Kukamalu” (the powers vested in me under Section 1442 of the Civil Code of this Kingdom, and by and with consent of His Majesty in Privy Council.)²⁰ The articles of incorporation gave

²⁰ Palapala Hoohui Ekalesia o Wainee, Lahaina, Maui, Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, Articles of Incorporation, Series 256, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu.

important powers to the local church Boards of Trustees, including the right to “lawe a paa me ka malama iho ina aina, na hale, na waiwai manawalea, na waiwai hooilina, na kauoha a ka poe make, a me na waiwai kino” (take and hold, and care for the lands, houses, donated property, devised property, bequests of deceased persons, and personal property). The government document also spelled out the process for removing or replacing trustees, mandating that it could be accomplished by a vote of “ka nui o na hoahanau kane hihia ole” (a majority of the male members in good standing). This action of the individual churches to claim clear authority over church matters using Hawaiian Kingdom law was a significant display of agency regarding Christian matters in Hawai‘i. The local Native congregations of the AEH around the Islands sought government recognition of what was already church law and had long been their ongoing practice—rule by those who were tied to the churches and the āina (lands) upon which they sat.

In Lāhainā it was the notable Makalua, Makekau, Kahaulelio, Cockett, and other ‘ohana (families) that led and ran the AEH church in the center of town. These well-known Lāhainā families continued the tradition of service to Waine‘e that their parents and kūpuna (ancestors) had offered for decades and many within the church had strong ties to the monarchy. Waine‘e Board of Trustees President Matthew Makalua, a relative of Queen Kapi‘olani, held several government positions during his lifetime, including Deputy sheriff of Lāhainā and Commissioner of Private Ways and Water Rights. In 1882, his son, Matthew Puakakoililanimanuia Makalua, had been personally selected by King Kalākaua as one of eighteen Native students to be sent abroad in an effort to train future Native leaders in all fields of government, commerce, and society. Matthew studied medicine at King’s College in London, with Manley Hopkins as his guardian, and

became “the first known Western-trained Native Hawaiian physician.”²¹ Several of the Makekai ‘ohana served in leadership positions at Waihe‘e. The family’s matriarch, Mrs. Nellie Makekai, had come to Lāhainā as a young girl and bore fifteen children. Living until the age of 102, she witnessed many of her children serve their community and nation with distinction as legislators, magistrates, lawyers, teachers, and in other callings. Her son Abel and grandsons Charles and Ramon Hoe all served as Waihe‘e Church trustees.

Waihe‘e Church as a Center of Resistance

When news of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani reached the shores of Lāhainā the Native congregation at Waihe‘e reacted as did the great mass of Native Christians in AEH churches throughout the Kingdom. By the following afternoon the congregation had already moved to take action. The church trustees, at a meeting attended by Rev. Pali and nearly the entire congregation, called for the immediate organization of daily prayers to God asking for the return of the monarchy and the continued independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Prayer-fast meetings were begun immediately and were led by a group of the church’s trustees and elders that included the seventy-three year old Waihe‘e deacon, Abel Keli‘i Makekai. Faced with a potent challenge to their queen and their nation, the Native Christians at the Lāhainā church met daily in devout prayer. The actions of the Waihe‘e congregation put it in direct opposition

²¹ Dr. Benjamin Young, “Kauka Makalua (Doctor Makalua): Searching for the First Hawaiian Doctor of Western Medicine,” Hawaiian Historical Society presentation of March 23, 2006 and Ku‘ulei Miles, “Nā Kauka o ke Kau A‘e (Physicians of the Future), MD Candidate presentation, October 8, 2011, Cross Cultural Health Care Conference, Honolulu, Hawai‘i. Further material in Agnes Quigg, “Kalākaua’s Hawaiian Studies Abroad Program,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 22 (1988): 170-208. Dr. Richard Kekuni Blaisdell starts the organization E Ola Mau, later incorporated under its first president, Dr. Chiyome Fukunaga, to bring together Native Hawaiian traditional practitioners and Western-trained health professionals.

to the AEH administration. The stand by the Lāhainā church, however, was not unanimous. One of the church's long-serving trustees, Daniel Haili Kahā'ulelio, stood strongly in support of the Provisional Government and the AEH administration, and against the Queen.²² Kahā'ulelio became the leader of a very small dissenting minority. When the AEH administration in Honolulu moved decidedly to support this minority, a bitter struggle for control of Waianae church commenced.

Albert Francis Judd was one of the central figures in the struggles over control of the AEH churches and the independence of the Hawaiian nation. This mission son occupied positions of power at the head of both church and government as the ongoing tensions exploded into open conflict. Judd became head of the AEH churches in 1887, and had been Chief Justice of the Supreme Court since 1881.²³ In the days immediately following the January 17, 1893 coup, he wrote and received a prolific amount of correspondence to and from the pastors and government officials on all of the islands. Judd sought information on how the people were responding throughout Hawai'i to the recent political events and his instructions and advice to those in power seemed to blend his dual church/state roles.²⁴ Kahā'ulelio, also a district judge, served as the eyes and ears of Judd, the Hawaiian Board, and the PG, in Lāhainā. Responding to a January 24 letter

²² In addition to numerous correspondence that relays his strong support, Kahā'ulelio is also documented in the "Indexed List of Officials Who Have Taken The Oath to Support The Provisional Government" as having taken the oath of allegiance on February 9, 1893 in Lāhainā. He held several government positions including that of land appraiser and marriage license agent. After the 1893 overthrow he would be appointed as District Magistrate for Lāhainā and would be elected to the Republic of Hawai'i Legislature in 1898.

²³ Albert F. Judd was first appointed as a justice to the Supreme Court of the Kingdom of Hawai'i in 1874 and rose to Chief Justice in 1881. He continued to serve in this position under the Provisional Government (1893–1894), the Republic of Hawai'i (1894–1898), and the Territory of Hawai'i, until his death in 1900.

²⁴ A collection of over four hundred letters between Board President Albert Francis Judd and Native pastors in AEH churches and government officials throughout Hawai'i at this time sheds light on the issues that were driving AEH administrative actions in the period. Judd Family Papers, 1823-1899. MS Group 70. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives. Honolulu.

from Judd, he wrote to reassure his administrative leader, “Aole o‘u makau, Aole pihohoi, i ka hiki ana mai o keia hookahuli Aupuni a ka poe noonoo maikai, ua piha au i ka hauoli, a owau ke kanaka hoihoi ole loa i na hana ekaeka o keia Au Moi i pau.” (I am not frightened, not anxious, because of the arrival of this revolution of the right thinking people, I am filled with joy, and I am one who is not interested in the least in the filthy deeds of this monarchical era that is past.)²⁵ This Waine‘e Church congregant was certainly in the minority amidst a situation that was extremely tense and growing even more so. As a delegation of annexation commissioners representing the Provisional Government headed to Washington DC, the congregation at Waine‘e Church in Lāhainā was in the midst of daily prayer/fast meetings that beseeched God for a return of the Queen and the continued independence of the Islands.

Judge Judd expressed his deep concern about the actions of the Waine‘e Church congregation to the Maui lawyer and PG supporter, John William Kalua.²⁶ When word reached Kahā‘ulelio, he wrote a humble missive to Judd assuring him of his loyalty and distancing himself from the actions of the rest of the congregation at Waine‘e:

E ka Makua. He oiaio he halawai hookeai ma ka poakolu mua mahope iho o ka haule ana o ka Moi Wahine – i hoolaha ia e ke kahu e malama. A no‘u iho, aole au i hele i kela pule, aole no au i pule e hoihoi hou mai i ka Moi Wahine ma kona noho Moi, oiai ua hewa kana hana.²⁷

Father, it is true that a fasting meeting was held the first Wednesday after

²⁵ Daniel H. Kahaulelio to Albert F. Judd, January 25, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.3, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

²⁶ Kalua had studied law under Gerrit P. Judd, father of Albert Francis, and had sponsored the political coming out party—a lū‘au on Moloka‘i—of Lorrin Thurston.

²⁷ Daniel H. Kahaulelio to Albert F. Judd, February 21, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu. Ho‘okē‘ai (fasting) to accompany dedicated prayer has a long biblical tradition that is marked throughout the bible including Io‘ela 1:14 (Joel 1:14)—“E ho‘ola‘a i ka ho‘okē‘ai ‘ana, e kāhea aku i ka hālāwai, e ho‘ākoakoa i ka po‘e kahiko, i nā kānaka a pau o ka ‘āina, ma ka hale o Iēhova Akua, a e hea aku iā Iēhova.” (Consecrate a fast, call a meeting, gather the elders, all the inhabitants of the land, at the house of the Lord God, and cry out to the Lord).

the fall of the Queen [January 18]—called by the pastor. As for me, I didn't attend that meeting, I didn't pray for the return of the Queen to her throne, since her actions are wrong.

Perhaps addressing Judd's dual administrative roles in both church and state, Kahā'ulelio finished his letter by informing Judd of two pastors in West Maui who had refused to sign the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government: "Elua kahunapule i hoole mai aole e kakau- Rev. J. K. Hihio + Rev. S. K. Kaneakahiki. . . . Nui ka hupo a me ke kuhihewa." (Two pastors have refused to sign—Rev. J. K. Hiho and Rev. S. K. Kaneakahiki. Great is thier ignorance and wrong headedness.)²⁸

Rev. Pali, pastor at Waine'e Church, had signed the oath nine days after the overthrow and his congregation was enraged.²⁹ Lāhainā legislator and lawyer William Pūnohu White began to organize action against Pali. White, a Royalist leader, was widely respected by those within the church, having been one of two men—Joseph Nāwahī was the other—honored by the Queen on January 14 with the Knights Commander of the Order of Kalākaua commission for their work on the proposed new constitution. The ongoing prayer-fast meetings at Waine'e were now supplemented with more direct political actions such as the formation of a Lāhainā branch of Ka Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina. This association had formed in early March in Honolulu and local chapters were organizing around the islands. The stated goal was "ka malama ana a me ke kakoo ana, ma na keehina hana maluhia a kue kanawai ole, i ke kulana Kuokoa o na Pae Aina o Hawaii" (the preserving and maintaining of, by all legal and peaceful means and measures, the

²⁸ Nine persons, including Rev. John K. Hihio, are listed in the document "List of Government Officials Reported as having refused or neglected to take the oath to Support the Provisional Government" as being reported by Daniel Kahaulelio. Kahaulelio later officially informed the government by letter of nine government employees, including Rev. Hihio, who had refused to take the oath.

²⁹ Pali is listed in the "Indexed List of Officials Who Have Taken the Oath To Support the Provisional Government," 136, no. 4, Attorney General Collection, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

independent autonomy of the islands of Hawaii nei).³⁰ The PG goal of a quick and easy annexation by the United States had been foiled by US President Grover Cleveland's removal of the treaty of annexation from Congress and his dispatching of an investigator, James Henderson Blount, former Chairman of the House committee on Foreign Relations, to Hawai'i to gather facts concerning the events that had led to the overthrow of a nation with which America had a treaty of friendship. One of the central projects of Ka Hui Hawai'i Aloha 'Āina was to make clear to the United States that the great majority of the people of Hawai'i were in strong opposition to the idea of annexation. The association began collecting signatures on anti-annexation petitions that would be delivered to Blount and the US Congress. The Lāhainā branch chose Waine'e Church trustee Ramon Hoe Makekau as their delegate to a Honolulu Convention where the signatures from all of the islands would be gathered. The April 5, 1893 *Daily Bulletin*



Fig. 5 Ramon Hoe Makekau of Lāhainā

reported on the arrival of the Lāhainā representative to this important mass meeting: "Mr. Makekau, delegate from the Lahaina branch of the Hawaiian Patriotic League, arrived by the steamer Kinau this morning. He brought a petition containing over 800 signatures of voters against annexation, and for the independence of Hawaii."³¹

³⁰ "Ke Kumukanawai—Ka Hui Hawaii Aloha Aina," March 4, 1893, Broadside Collection, Hawaiian Historical Society, Honolulu. This group would gather and present anti-annexation petitions to Blount and the US Congress, twice defeating treaties of annexation.

³¹ *Daily Bulletin*, April 5, 1893, 3.

Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina was becoming a strong voice of the people and the PG moved to keep a close watch on its members. PG Attorney General William Owen Smith wrote to local sheriffs and judges asking that they send him lists of names of those Hawaiians who were supporters of HHAA. Daniel Kahā‘ulelio wrote to Smith complaining that his chief adversary at the church, Board of Trustees President Matthew Makalua, was connected to HHAA but continued to retain the government positions he held even though he had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the PG. On April 7, Smith replied in part, “Ua hiki mai kau leta e pili ana i na hana ino a M. Makalua. No na hana kue a Makalua ua hoopau ia kona noho ana ma ka oihana aupuni.” (Your letter about the wicked deeds of M. Makalua arrived. Because of the opposition of Makalua, his position with the government has been ended.)³² The Provisional Government was in the process of consolidating power outside of Honolulu and actions like these in Lāhainā were critical to this oligarchy’s attempt to hold on to power after the plan for immediate annexation to America had failed. Makalua was removed from his positions as Agent for Labor contracts, Public Notary, and Commissioner of Private Ways and Water Rights: this final position would be awarded to Rev. Pali. Yet, simply punishing Makalua for his support of the Queen would not solve the escalating problems at Wainē Church. On April 10, Rev. Pali wrote an anxious letter to the Hawaiian Board, warning, “Ke auhulihia nei na kanaka na kane a me na wahine ma Lahaina nei.” (The men and women of Lāhainā are rising in revolt).³³ The acts of both Rev. Pali and his congregation had been drawing them towards a decisive confrontation but the upcoming actions of the Wainē Church’s pastor seemed to seal his fate in the eyes of his congregation.

³² William O. Smith to Daniel H. Kahalelio, April 7, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

³³ Rev. Adam Pali to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, April 10, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

The US Commissioner sent to investigate the overthrow of the Queen arrived in Hawai‘i on March 29, 1893 for what would be a four-month inquiry. In April, he began interviewing dozens of people on all sides of the matter. Everyone understood the importance of the report that this commissioner would deliver and groups were organized to visit Blount as representatives of larger communities that wanted their voices heard. On the evening of April 22, “na poe hoohui aina” (annexationists) on the island of Maui gathered together in Wailuku for a meeting to found Ka Hui Ho‘ohui ‘Āina o Nā Mokupuni o Maui (The Annexation Club of Maui) and draft delegates tasked with visiting Commissioner Blount. At the meeting, officers were elected—Judge Kalua as President—and a petition calling for the immediate annexation of Hawai‘i to the United States was circulated. Rev. Adam Pali, an attendee, affixed his signature to the document. The organizers of the meeting next called for the election of delegates to travel to Honolulu and testify in front of Blount. Rev. Pali was one of the eight men chosen.³⁴

On Saturday May 1, 1893, Commissioner Blount met with the delegates of Ka Hui Ho‘ohui ‘Āina o Nā Mokupuni o Maui to hear testimony on the subject of Hawai‘i’s annexation to America. The eight Maui representatives, including the two Native delegates, Kalua and Pali, put forth a passionate argument for annexation, so that “the progress of the islands would be advanced. . . .”³⁵ Rev. Pali had now not only signed an oath that allowed him to retain his government positions but had also taken an active and prominent role fighting for annexation—a role that was also becoming very public. A May 9 editorial in the pro-annexation *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa* titled “Na Elele Hoohui Aina o

³⁴ “Imua e Mau,” *Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa Me Ko Hawaii Paeaina I Huiia*, April 26, 1893, 2.

³⁵ United States House of Representatives, 53rd Congress, *Executive Documents on Affairs in Hawaii: 1894-95* (Government Printing Office, 1895), 874. The interviews were conducted with a translator and the “Blount Report” contains only the translation of the Hawaiian-language testimony.

Maui” (Maui’s Annexation Delegates) trumpeted the meeting with Blount and thanked Rev. Pali and the other delegates for their important testimony. The article ended with the rallying cry, “Holopono ka hana a ko Maui mau Elele Hoohuiaina!” (The work of Maui’s Annexation Delegates is successful!)³⁶

When word of Rev. Pali’s actions reached his congregation, his parishioners were incensed. On May 13, days after the newspaper article reporting on the testimony to Blount appeared, Kalua reported on the problems at Waine’e to Judd: “Kue na hoahanau i ke kahunapule no kona ku ma ka aoao hoohui Aina.” (The brethren are against the pastor for his standing on the side of annexation.)³⁷ Waine’e Church Board Chairman Makalua, co-trustee Ramon H. Makekau, and William White had called a meeting at the church for the coming Sunday, May 14, where an investigative committee would sit to discuss the recent actions of Rev. Pali. The group had asked Rev. Ioane K. Hihio, pastor at the Ka’anapali church, to preside as chairman over the meeting.³⁸ On Sunday morning in Lāhainā, the congregation filed into Waine’e Church to hear testimony concerning their pastor’s ongoing pro-annexation and anti-monarchical rhetoric and actions. Rev. Pali was present at the beginning of the meeting but soon left after engaging in a “heated discussion between himself and some of the members.”³⁹ The Board of Trustees drafted a resolution dismissing Rev. Pali as pastor at Waine’e, citing the fact that the congregation had “no confidence in him as pastor.” In a vote of the full membership of the church,

³⁶ “Na Elele Hoohuii Aina o Maui,” *Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa Me Ko Hawaii Paeaina I Huiia*, May 9, 1893, 2.

³⁷ John W. Kalua to Albert F. Judd, May 13, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

³⁸ The Ka’anapali Church was an ‘āpana church of Waine’e Church. Rev. Hihio is one of several Native pastors who remained within the structure of the AEH, neither being kicked out nor leaving voluntarily, while being decidedly Royalist. He is listed in “Special Agent” reports of the P.G. Attorney General as being the contact for the importation of guns and weapons for Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina.

³⁹ Transcripts of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, August 2-5, 1893, 34. These records are original translations of the actual testimony. Hawaiian-language transcripts are not part of the case file.

sixty-five members out of a total church membership of seventy-eight, and five of its six trustees, signed on to the resolution of dismissal.⁴⁰ Rev. Hihio certified the decision with his signature and the meeting was adjourned with the news to be delivered to Rev. Pali.

Daniel Kahā‘ulelio, the lone trustee vote in support of Pali, wrote the following day to Albert F. Judd, explaining that he had tried to stand up for Pali but “Elima mai lakou kue ia‘u hookahi” (they were five against me alone). He implicated Rev. Hihio by noting, “Ua hoopuka ia ka olelo hooholo e na elima, me ka apono pu o keia kahunapule lauwili” (The decision was pronounced by these five with the approval of this capricious pastor).⁴¹ Even before the news of the events at the church could reach Judd, the Board of Trustees at Wainane took further action. On May 16, the Board voted to deliver an eviction notice to Rev. Pali, ousting him from the church parsonage. The Lāhainā pastor wrote to Judd that same day:

Ua halawai iho nei kekahi mau hoa o ka ahaluna o ka ekalesia o Lahaina a ua hooholo e kipaku ana i ke kahunapule mai ka ekalesia aku Lahaina nei o na alakai hoino loa i kekahi oia no o M. Makalua, William White, a me R. Hoe Makekau. I keia la 16, e noho ana ka Papa Kahu Waiwai o ka ekalesia a kipaku ia‘u mai ka hale kahu aku.⁴²

Certain members of the Lahaina church advisory council met and have decided to expel the pastor from the Lāhainā church; the most wicked leaders were M. Makalua, William White, and R. Hoe Makekau. Today, the 16th, the Board of Trustees sat in session and evicted me from the parsonage.

⁴⁰ The original resolution dismissing Rev. Pali became part of the later trial evidence sent to the PG Attorney General in Honolulu and was lost. The fact that the entire church membership numbered seventy eight men and women and the resolution contained sixty-six signatures, the implication is that both men and women members signed the petition.

⁴¹ Daniel Kahalelio to Albert F. Judd, May 15, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

⁴² Rev. Adam Pali to Albert F. Judd, May 16, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

Those in opposition to Rev. Pali were clear about the cause of their anger. The fired pastor explained to Judd that he had been told “O ka‘u hewa ma ka Palapala Hoopii–Ua pau ka hilinea o ka ekalesia i ke kahunapule oia hoi ka‘u koho ana ma ka aoao Hoohui aina me America.” (My fault was in the annexation petition–the church’s trust in their pastor was ended with my choosing the side of annexation with America).⁴³ This division between Pali, a Native pastor who continued to support the AEH administration, and members of his congregation was not new, but rather was a widening of a previous rift over the issue of support for Native rule and independence of the nation. A mass meeting had been held at Waine‘e Church following the 1887 implementation of the Bayonet Constitution and Kahā‘ulelio had written to Judd, reporting, “Ma ka Luakini o Waine‘e o ka halawai Makaainana hope loa poaono la 10 o Sept. Ua kue loa mai o Rev. Pali ma [] A. Makekau ma” (Saturday, September 10th [1887] there was a mass meeting at Waine‘e Church. Rev. Pali and his supporters strongly opposed A. Makekau and his).⁴⁴

The news of the actions at Waine‘e was startling to the Hawaiian Board. This decisive action by a congregation and its trustees against a Native pastor within a church of the AEH was an escalation of the resistance to AEH administrative authority. The church had removed its pastor from the pulpit because of his support for annexation, but more significantly, it had set an example in this contentious environment that might be followed by other churches across the islands. Indeed, after the news of what had happened at Waine‘e Church spread quickly across Maui, the Hawaiian Board began to receive anxious letters from Native pastors in other AEH churches. On May 18, Rev.

⁴³ Rev. Adam Pali to Albert F. Judd, May 16, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

⁴⁴ Daniel Kahalelio to Albert F. Judd, September 15, 1887, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 20.4, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

Hezekiah Manase, pastor at the church at Kalua‘aha, Moloka‘i, penned a letter in which he declared:

O ka nuhou mai Lahaina mai, Ua kipaku ka Ekalesia o Lahaina no ka hui aina me America, ma ka leta o Rev. A. Pali iau. Aole paha e loihi na la, a lohe aku oe ua kipaku keia Ek. ia‘u.⁴⁵

In a letter to me from Rev. A. Pali, I’ve received news that the Lāhainā Church has dismissed their pastor over the issue of annexation to America. Perhaps the days will not be long before you hear that this church has removed me.

Rev. Samuel Kapu, pastor of the Wailuku, Maui church, wrote to the Hawaiian Board on the 19th with a more alarming warning. After also delivering the news that Rev. Pali had been dismissed by Waine‘e Church, he explained, “I keia wa a‘u e leta nei ia oe ke hele nei au i Lahaina no ia hana, hoopilikia i na Ekelesia o na Mokupuni o Maui nei, a me Hawaii apau” (At this time that I am writing to you I am on my way to Lahaina concerning this matter, it is creating trouble in the churches of the island of Maui and all of Hawai‘i)⁴⁶

The Hawaiian Board and its supporters were not the only group that saw the uprising at Waine‘e as a possible example of what the future might bring to the Islands. The Royalist newspaper *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* did not waste the opportunity to present Waine‘e as a shining example that all should follow. On May 19, an article titled “Ke Kukui o Na Ekalesia” (The Guiding Light of the Churches) appeared in the paper, explaining the recent actions at Waine‘e:

Mamuli o ke kipaku ia ana o ke kahunapule o Lahaina e kona mau hoahanau pono, na Lunakanawai hoi nana i hookolokolo iaia me ka ewaewa ole, ua lilo ia i laau hahau no na kahunapule hoopilimeaa i a pau e

⁴⁵ Rev. Hezekiah Manase to Albert F. Judd, May 18, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

⁴⁶ Rev. Samuel Kapu to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, May 19, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

kumakaia ana i ko lakou aina hanau a ke ao mai nei ka apana o Lahaina, ma o na hoahanau la o ka ekalesia o Wainee, ka poe nana e hanai iaia i ka ai a me kahi e moe ai. Ua lilo ia i mea nui ma na hoahanau o kela a me keia ekalesia e hoohalike aku ai me ko ka Malu Ulu o Lele mau hoahanau, o ka hilinea ole ia ke kumu o ka hoopau ia. Oia ke aloha aina oiaio, ke hui ia la a lele i kapuahi a Uli.⁴⁷

Because of the expelling of the Lāhainā pastor by his own brethren and the judges having tried him justly, it has become like a whip for all of the greedy pastors who are traitors to their homeland. The district of Lāhainā teaches us, through the brethren of the church at Wainee, the people who fed him and gave him a place to sleep, that this has become something of great import for every church to duplicate the brethren of Ka Malu Ulu o Lele and that lack of trust is a reason for dismissal. That is true love of the land, that the wrong are tossed into the firepit of Uli.

Martha Beckwith describes Uli as a name connected with sorcery and links her to the underworld, adding; “The name Uli may hence possibly be derived from that of Milu, goddess of the underworld in many South Sea mythologies. In the *Ka Leo* article, the writer is in effect damning pro-annexation pastors to hell.

The strong actions of the congregation and trustees at Wainee against their pastor would in fact embolden Native Hawaiian Christians at other churches as pro-annexation pastors from Hāna to Hilo were called out in newspapers, howled from pulpits, and removed by their congregations. These actions by Native Hawaiian Christians at Wainee would force the Hawaiian Board to resort to acts that not only distanced it further from the Congregationalist foundations but also directly contradicted the legally established polity of those churches.

⁴⁷ “Ke Kukui o Na Ekalesia,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, May 19, 1893, 2.

The Hawaiian Board Strikes Back

The Hawaiian Board under the auspices of the Presbytery of Maui, Moloka‘i and Lāna‘i drafted a committee and devised a meeting to be held in Lāhainā. The committee consisted of two members, both strong administration supporters, that the Hawaiian Board would insist had the authority over the ongoing matter at Waine‘e Church. On May 21, Rev. Obed Nawahine from the Waihe‘e, Maui church and Rev. Samuel Kapu from Wailuku met as the Komite Hō‘eu‘eu (Evangelical Committee) of the Maui Presbytery and acted decisively. First, they stated that the removal of Rev. Pali as pastor of Waine‘e Church was voided and that he was still the minister of that church. Next, the committee declared that every one of the sixty-five members and trustees of Waine‘e Church who had signed the resolution of removal concerning Pali was hereby excommunicated. One of the oldest congregations in the Islands was thus, according to the Hawaiian Board, reduced from seventy-five members to thirteen.⁴⁸ Everyone seemed to understand the larger stakes within this struggle over the Lāhainā congregation. The AEH administration had made an example of the Royalists at Waine‘e. In a letter written the day after the dramatic actions taken by the Presbytery committee and addressed to “ko‘u hoa Aloha Nui Hon. A. F. Judd,” (my great friend Honorable A. F. Judd), Kahā‘ulelio thanked the Hawaiian Board President, chastised this congregation that had wanted to return the Queen to the throne, and ended his correspondence by referring to the biblical words of the Apostle Paul: “Ua loa pono ka olelo a Paulo i ka Garatia 5:12 - 26. (Paul’s words to the Galatians in Chapter five, verses 12 -26 have been received

⁴⁸ There seems to be around four members who were listed on the rolls but inactive. Those who remained with Rev. Pali number approximately nine.

clearly.)”⁴⁹ This passage from the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians reads, “He pono i kuu manao i hooki ia ae ka poe hookahuli ia oukou.” (It is right in my thinking that those who have overturned you have been cut off).⁵⁰

The decision of the committee only clouded the situation at Waine‘e Church. The great majority of the Board of Trustees and congregation saw the action taken by the Presbytery Committee as having no authority. They referred to the church’s articles of incorporation, which spelled out that the authority to dismiss trustees rested with “a majority of the male members of the church in good standing.” Rev. Hihio would later testify to this fact in court, declaring, “That committee had no power to suspend or expel a member of any church.”⁵¹ The supposedly excommunicated Board of Trustees at Waine‘e refused to recognize the acts of the Presbytery committee and insisted that they were still the legal trustees, still controlled the affairs of the church, and that all sixty-five of the “excommunicated” members were still members. Nonetheless, questions remained. What were they to do about calling a new pastor? What would happen on Sunday when Pali, Kahā‘ulelio, and the others, showed up for church services and claimed to be in charge? Contestation over the church building was inevitable. On Saturday June 3, 1893, Makalua and Ramon H. Makekau, claiming to act in their capacity as trustees of Waine‘e, nailed the church doors shut and gave notice that no one should enter until these matters were resolved.⁵² Further, they padlocked the gate leading to the churchyard. The following morning, both the gate and the church doors were re-opened for church services by one of Rev. Pali’s remaining supporters, L. A. Kamau‘u, on the orders of

⁴⁹ Daniel Kahalelio to Albert F. Judd, May 22, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

⁵⁰ *Ka Baibala Hemolele*, 1863 edition.

⁵¹ Transcripts of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, 2-5 August 1893, 32.

⁵² *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, June 10, 1893, 3.

Kahā‘ulelio. Five days later, on June 8, the Board of Trustees delivered to Rev. Pali an eviction notice that extended to him a time period of thirty days to vacate the parsonage, which was property of the church. The church doors were nailed shut a second time. Rev. Pali and Kahā‘ulelio began to hold services—the group numbered from 8-10 and included three of the Pali family—inside the parsonage. As the tension at Waine‘e Church grew, the Board of Trustees planned for the July 8 removal of their pastor. Rev. Pali had been absent for ten days while attending the Aha Pae‘āina (Annual Meeting) of the AEH in Honolulu. He returned emboldened by his meetings with the Hawaiian Board and the strong resolutions concerning the Lāhainā Church that were passed at the meeting giving power to the island associations. On June 21, Rev. Pali called together his supporters at the church parsonage. There, the group of nine elected a new board of seven trustees.⁵³ Now there would be two Board of Trustees claiming authority over matters for Waine‘e Church.

The Hawaiian Board in Honolulu kept in close contact with both Rev. Pali and Daniel Kahā‘ulelio and was very aware of the planned July 8 eviction of the pastor. Others within the government were also keeping close tabs on the events in Lāhainā as troubles flared throughout Hawai‘i. A June 26 article titled “Hopuia Ekolu Ohumu Kipi” (Three conspirators Arrested)⁵⁴ ran in *Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa* that described the arrest of three of the Queen’s supporters for allegedly planning to gather money and dynamite for use in overthrowing the Provisional Government and returning the Queen to

⁵³ Testimony by Daniel Kahaulelio in the subsequent court case records that this new Board consisted of Kahaulelio, George Kalilikane, Kamau‘u, Halemano, George Olis, Kaiwikaola, and Hanapono. *Prov. Govt. vs. Makalua, R. H. Makekau, Wm. White, Chas. Makekau and Jas. Kuemanu*, Records of the Cases of the Attorney General, series 507-4-11. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

⁵⁴ “Hopuia Ekolu Ohumu Kipi,” *Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa Me Ko Hawaii Paeaina I Huiia*, June 26, 1893, 2.

the throne. Rumors of these types of uprisings against the government were nearly constant. The churches had been centers of political organizing and action and regaining some measure of control over them by the white administration of the AEH was a priority. As the July 8 confrontation at Waine‘e Church approached, Provisional Government Attorney General William O. Smith began to assemble a team of police, sheriffs, and other authorities to handle the situation. On June 29, Smith ordered the country’s highest law enforcement officer,⁵⁵ Marshal Edward G. Hitchcock, to Waine‘e, saying “This trouble at Lahaina has been growing more serious”⁵⁶ Hitchcock was at the time occupied in Wailuku, but sent Deputy Sheriff L. A. Andrews ahead, and promised to arrive in town well before the coming confrontation. The Attorney General next wrote to a Captain of the Honolulu Police Force, Robert P. Waipa, and ordered him to travel to Lāhainā along with two of his subordinate officers. The July 3 edition of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* noted the trouble on the outer island and the forces that were being sent to quell the uprising:

Ma ke Kalaudia o ka auina la Poalima nei, i kau aku ai kekahi mau makai o ke kulanakauhale nei, a holo aku la no Lahaina, e hopu ai i na hoahanau o ka Ekalesia o Wainee no ke pani ana i ka puka o ka luakini. A ae ole hoi ia Pali, e pule iloko hoeha wale keia mau hana, o ke kumu o keia, no ke komo ana o Pali i ka hoohui aina.⁵⁷

Certain police of this town left this past Friday afternoon aboard the Claudia to travel to Lāhainā to arrest brethren of Waine‘e Church for the shuttering of the church door. They did not allow Pali to pray inside, these

⁵⁵ Hitchcock had replaced the strong Royalist, Marshal Charles B. Wilson in this position as highest law enforcement officer in the country.

⁵⁶ William O. Smith to Edward G. Hitchcock, June 29, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI. Hitchcock had taken over the position from the Royalist Charles B. Wilson and had gained an intimidating reputation as a heavy hand of the P.G. and earning the moniker Holy Terror for his missionary ties.

⁵⁷ *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, July 3, 1893, 3.

acts were injurious, and the reason was because of Pali becoming an annexationist.

Sheriff Samuel F. Chillingworth also arrived from Wailuku and the Attorney General ordered the Lāhainā Police force prepared for the event. The Provisional Government of Hawai‘i now had an official presence in Lāhainā that included the Marshal of the Islands, a Honolulu Police Captain with two of his officers, the Sheriff and Deputy Sheriff of Maui, and the Lāhainā police force. Sheriff Chillingworth ordered the relevant parties in the church matter to the Lāhainā Courthouse for a meeting. Makalua, Makekau, and White made the case that the articles of incorporation for the church were clear and that the Presbytery had no authority to excommunicate anyone. Further, Makalua was still the true President of the Waine‘e Church Board of Trustees and that board and the congregation had expelled Pali. As President of the Board of Trustees, he and the majority of the board had the right to order the closing of the church doors until the matter of removing Rev. Pali from the church grounds could be settled. Sheriff Chillingworth wrote to Marshall Hitchcock the next day, saying that they seemed to be correct on the church governance point: “I do not feel it any part of my duty to insist on the opening or closing of the doors of the Wainee church. They have a Charter so they say and Judge Kahaulelio admits”⁵⁸

The conversation, however, would not solve the problem. *Ka Leo o ka Lāhui*, in an article titled “He Aha La Ke Kuleana” took the opportunity to point out how the Provisional Government had rushed to assist their religious supporter:

⁵⁸ Sheriff Samuel G. Chillingworth to Edward G. Hitchcock, July 3, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. The church articles of incorporation place the decision-making power for the church in the hands of the trustees.

Ua komo aku nei ke aupuni e hooponopono i ka pilikia o ke Kahunapule Pali o Lahaina. Ua lohe ia ua hoowahawaha ka hapanui o na hoahanau i keia Kahunapule no kona hoohui aina ana, a no ia kumu, ua pani ia ka puka o ka Luakini o Wainee ia Pali, aka, no ka minamina loa ia o ke kulana a me kahi uku, ua hoopaakiki kumu ole wale aku la no oia . . .⁵⁹

The government has entered the situation to settle the problems of Rev. Pali of Lāhainā. It was heard that the majority of the congregation reviled this pastor because he is an annexationist and for this reason the door of Wainee Church was shut against Pali, but, because of regret about position and pay, he has persisted without basis

The Hawaiian Board had sent its executive officer, Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Lāhainā as their representative. Rev. Emerson had become the Board's problem-solver, chairing church discipline committees as an at-large member in the many problematic situations that were developing in AEH congregations. As the July 8 deadline of the Royalist trustees for Rev. Pali to vacate the Wainee parsonage approached, Revs. Emerson and Pali, along with Kahā'ulelio, met and drafted a plan. Rev. Emerson scheduled a new meeting of the Maui Presbytery for the morning of July 8 at the closed and boarded-up Wainee Church, setting up a deliberate confrontation.

The *Hawaiian Gazette* of July 4 kept readers abreast of the latest news concerning the situation with an article titled, "The Lahaina Row" that declared "The Peace Will Be Kept and the Ringleaders Arrested."⁶⁰ With government and AEH administration forces backing him, Rev. Pali was amplifying his pro-annexation rhetoric. On this American holiday, while that nation celebrated their own independence, supporters of the PG were using the day to intensify their calls for annexation of the islands. *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* noted that in his sermon of the previous Sunday, Rev. Pali had again dismissed those who continued to support the Queen, and quoting him as saying proudly, "He Amerika oiaio

⁵⁹ "Heaha la ke Kuleana," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, July 3, 1893, 3.

⁶⁰ "The Lahaina Row," *Hawaiian Gazette*, July 4, 1893, 11.

au, mailoko a waho, mai luna a lalo” (I am a true American, inside and outside, from top to bottom).⁶¹ Neither side was backing down. Nearly six months after the overthrow of the Queen, and in the midst of an ongoing US investigation and heated debate over annexation, Waine‘e Church had been placed at the epicenter of the struggle. All eyes were trained on Lāhainā. Trial transcripts from a subsequent criminal case over the incident allow for a description of what happened next.

A Battle of God and Nation

In the still-dark wana‘ao (dawn) of July 8, 1893, Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e rested peacefully upon the royal lands that the Ali‘i Nui Ulumāheihei Hoapili had bequeathed to the American Protestant mission more than six decades earlier. A slight onshore Ma‘a‘a⁶² breeze from the nearby beach of ‘Uo⁶³ carried the fragrant scent of limu līpoa⁶⁴ into the churchyard. This historic house of worship had recently celebrated its seventieth anniversary, being founded in May of 1823 at the wish of Queen Keōpūolani, and had long been not only a religious, but also a social and political center of this beautiful seaside town. On this emerging morning, left alone, the church seemed to emanate a grace and dignity that offered a hint of its royal origins. Its majestic steeple soared nearly eighty feet into the purple Lāhainā sky. The front door of the church looked out over the upland Kaua‘ula Valley, which was framed by majestic mountains on both sides.

⁶¹ “Pani ia ka Luakini o Wainee,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, July 4, 1893, 3.

⁶² The soft, onshore Ma‘a‘a wind of this area of Lāhainā is famously noted in song and story. Some examples include; the traditional mele (song) *Kananaka*; the chant of wind names of Maui and Moloka‘i performed by Kuapakaa in the story “He Moolelo no Pakaa” published by J. Kanepu‘u in *Ke Au Okoa* of Oct. 17, 1867; and the ‘ōlelo No‘eau (proverb) “Ka Ma‘a‘a‘ wehe lau niu o Lele” (The Ma‘a‘a wind that lifts the coco leaves of Lele), Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 157.

⁶³ The Royal surfing grounds known as Ka Nalu o ‘Uo (The surf at ‘Uo), stretching from the surf spots now commonly referred to as Sharkpit and Harbors, were just makai (oceanward) of Waine‘e Church.

⁶⁴ Limu Līpoa (*Dictyopteris plagiogrammais*) is a sweet scented, edible seaweed common on the shores of Lāhainā.

Looking to the east, one could see Līhau,⁶⁵ the dominating peak that backs Olowalu. To the west sat Pu‘u Pa‘upa‘u, the hill where the noted Native historian, pastor, and Waine‘e congregant, Davida Malo was buried in 1857.⁶⁶ Standing in near silence, surrounded by such scenery, the church seemed to offer little clue that this would be anything but a beautiful and peaceful Saturday in Lāhainā.

If one were to look closely, however, this quiet house of worship offered signs of struggle and conflict. The front and rear doors of the church hosted planks of wood, driven through with nails, that wrapped the church tightly in a disgruntled embrace. The building’s windows had also been nailed shut and out at the front of the churchyard there was more evidence of discord. The gate approaching Waine‘e Church was bound tightly with iron chains. This ancient wahi pana (sacred land) had witnessed both peace and war before. Great chiefs of the past had battled over the valuable harbors, fishponds, and sacred sites of Lele,⁶⁷ and it had also been a designated area of peace, declared a pu‘uhonua (safe place) by Queen Ka‘ahumanu.⁶⁸ On this particular morning, July 8, 1893, the land was to become a site at the center of a stirring battle being waged over

⁶⁵ Līhau, the wife of Eeke, was turned into this mountain peak after grieving for her lost child. Abraham Fornander and Thomas G. Thrum, *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1916).

⁶⁶ Malo had reportedly prophesied the coming takeover of his homeland by the descendents of the missionaries - a warning discussed later in this work - and requested that he be buried high atop Lāhainā at a spot that he hoped would “be above and secure from the rising tide of foreign invasion, which his imagination had pictured as destined to overwhelm the whole land.” William Dewitt Alexander, “Biographical Sketch of David Malo” in *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Press, 1898), xi.

⁶⁷ The Hawai‘i Island chief Alapa‘i invaded Lāhainā in 1738, destroying the many ‘auwai (ditches) that brought water from the Kaua‘ua Valley down into Lāhainā.

⁶⁸ Nineteenth-century Native historian Samuel M. Kamakau explains in translation, “A place to which one could escape and be saved from being taken captive or from being put to death was called a *pu‘uhonua*—a place of refuge. The king was called a *pu‘uhonua* because a person about to die could run to him and be saved; so also were his queen and his god.” Kamakau lists the district of Paunau in Lāhainā as the pu‘uhonua land of Queen Ka‘ahumanu. Samuel Manaiakalani Kamakau, *Ka Po‘e Kahiko: The People of Old* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1991), 14.

God and nation. As the sun burst forth over the high peaks fronting Lāhainā, the stage was set. The silhouette of a solitary man made its way into the churchyard.

Waine‘e Church Board of Trustees President Matthew Makalua was first to arrive at the church that morning. He had been coming by at the break of dawn on most days to check on the building and make sure it was still locked shut. Today’s visit, although part of a routine, was laced with the tension of being the day that the Board was to evict Rev. Pali. Seemingly everyone in Lāhainā had been talking about the approaching confrontation, as police and government officers from around Hawai‘i arrived in their town. Makalua knew that he would not be alone at the church all morning. Around 7:30 a.m. trustees Charles and Ramon Makekau arrived. By eight o’clock, other church members and local bystanders were gathering at the site. The legal advisor and co-leader of the Royalist group, Hon. William Pūnohu White, had set out for the church from his house a little after eight with church member Charles Cockett. It was only a short distance, a few blocks, but on the way they crossed paths with several Lāhainā constables, including Joseph Kalalepua. The group continued on together to the church.

The AEH administration’s representative, Rev. Emerson, arrived at Waine‘e Church on horseback just before White mā⁶⁹. Emerson was there to enforce the Hawaiian Board’s claim that the vast majority of the congregation had in fact been excommunicated and that a new Board had authority over the church. He knew, however, that he was greatly outnumbered and that their stance was contested by the church’s own charter. He would move carefully. Approaching Makalua, Rev. Emerson requested that he and the others with him be allowed to use the church for a meeting they had

⁶⁹ “mā” is a common Hawaiian-language term meaning “any company, associates, friends, others.”

scheduled—a Maui Presbytery meeting that all knew would act further to claim the church.

Makalua stood firm and relayed to the AEH representative that he felt it best that Rev. Emerson and the rest meet elsewhere: he offered them the church's other building nearby, Hale Aloha.⁷⁰ Next, Rev. Emerson moved across the yard to speak with William White. White explained again that Makalua and Makekau were trustees of the church and had the legal right to close the church until the matter of the pastor could be settled. He insisted that the problem could be settled peacefully. White moved to confer with some of the Native police who had gathered at the church including the Deputy Sheriff from Ka'anapali, J. Adam Kaukau. Suddenly, amidst the ongoing patter of scattered conversations, a raised voice was heard: "Where is your authority? Show your authority."⁷¹ Everyone's attention was drawn to the loud voice and a commotion that had broken out at the church gate.

Judge Kahā'ulelio and "new" Church Board President, L. A. Kamau'u, had arrived on horseback and Kamau'u was striking the chains that wrapped the church gate with a hammer and chisel. Ramon Makekau was pulling the same gate towards himself, attempting to make it difficult to strike, and it was he who was asking Kamau'u under what authority he was taking this action. Makalua stepped forward quickly and asked the constable nearest him to arrest Kamau'u for attempting to break the church gate. Deputy Sheriff Kaukau and a Lāhainā constable by the name of Noa grabbed Kamau'u. Kaukau

⁷⁰ Hale Aloha was built by members of Waine'e Church in 1831 approximately two hundred yards to the west of the main church building and was used for meetings and other social events. The building was leased by the Hawaiian Kingdom Government for use as a school until eventually being reclaimed by the Waine'e Congregation.

⁷¹ Transcripts of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, 2-5 August 1893, 32. Those gathered at the church that morning spoke in Hawaiian but the record of events that exists is a translation of the court minutes.

informed him, “I am a policeman and I arrest you for malicious injury.”⁷² Kamau‘u struggled against the two law officers, and when he pulled sharply away, his shirt was torn. A third member of the Lāhainā police force, Simeon, stepped in to subdue Kamau‘u, and the arrestee was led away from the gate. Ramon Makekau testified that White then said to him, “Ua pololei ka hana a na makai.” (The action of the police is correct.)⁷³

The three constables were stopped by an obviously flustered Judge Kahā‘ulelio before they were able to proceed very far towards the Lāhainā courthouse with their captive. He demanded to know where their warrant of arrest was and reportedly “growled at the policeman, saying—Makai lolo, hupo, naaupo. He poe paahao oukou nau i keia la.” (Feeble-minded police, stupid, ignorant—you guys are my prisoners today). The Ka‘anapali Deputy Sheriff responded that they had witnessed the offense with their own eyes and therefore needed no warrant. Rev. Emerson and the notable Lāhainā businessman Fred Horner⁷⁴ approached and joined the conversation. What Judge Kahā‘ulelio did next surprised those on both sides. The judge ordered that Kamau‘u be released and swore out five warrants himself for the arrest of the Royalist leaders of Waine‘e Church on charges of “Riot and Unlawful Assembly.”⁷⁵ The party returned to the church yard where the warrants were handed to Deputy Richard Pikao Hose of the Lāhainā police force who read out the names listed on them: M. Makalua, R. H. Makekau, Charles Makekau, Kuemanu, and William Pūnohu White. He then informed the men that they were under arrest. White and Kuemanu, who by all accounts had stood clear of the fray on the opposite side of the churchyard, joined the others in walking over

⁷²Ibid., 36-37.

⁷³Ibid., 36-37. This quote is one of the scattered Hawaiian-language quotes within the transcript.

⁷⁴ Horner was vice-President of the Maui Annexation Club.

⁷⁵ Transcripts of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, August 2-5, 1893, 38.

to the courthouse. Sheriff Chillingworth would later explain to the Attorney General that in his opinion the matter was simply “retaliation” on the part of Kahā‘ulelio, who had used “his official position to carry out and enforce his views in this Church disagreement.”⁷⁶

Back at the church building, by ten o’clock the doors had been pried open and a small group of men had filed inside. A special meeting of the ‘Ahahui Lunakahiko Kūikawā o Nā Mokupuni o Maui (The Board of the Maui Presbytery) was announced. The Board had been brought together by the visiting AEH executive Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, who was subsequently voted in to this Maui Presbytery meeting as an at-large voting member. The purpose of the meeting was to finalize the claim of the passing of authority over Waine‘e Church to Rev. Pali and the new board. The group that was brought together that day, gathered from around the island of Maui, was nearly unanimous in their support of the current AEH administration, the new government, and the push for annexation to America. There were eight pastors, three church elders, and John Kalua.⁷⁷ The only problem for the supporters of Rev. Pali and the administration was the presence of Rev. Hihio. The pastor from Ka‘anapali was now known to be a supporter of the deposed Queen and the continued independence of the Hawaiian nation. He was also the current Chair of the Maui Presbytery and would, as such, head any meeting of this group. Soon after the meeting within this hotly contested church was called to order, the visiting Hawaiian Board officer, Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, offered a

⁷⁶ Sheriff Samuel G. Chillingworth to Edward G. Hitchcock, July 12, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

⁷⁷ The pastors attending were Oliver P. Emerson of Honolulu; Adam Pali of Lāhainā; Samuel Kapu of Wailuku; Obed Nawahine of Waihe‘e; S. K. Kamakahiki of Olowalu; J. P. Kuia of Ha‘ikū; Hezekiah Manase of Moloka‘i; and John K. Hihio of Ka‘anapali.

motion to remove Rev. Hihio from chairmanship over the meeting.⁷⁸ Rev. John Paul Kuia of the Pā‘ia and Hāiku, Maui churches was placed in charge. A committee of three consisting of Revs. Emerson, Manase, and Kamakahiki, was then appointed by Kuia to decide on the Waine‘e Church matter. The three passed a resolution retaining Rev. Pali as pastor of Waine‘e Church, upholding the earlier excommunication of the sixty-five members, and further, expelling them from the church.⁷⁹ At the request of Kalua, it was resolved that the decision of this meeting would be published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* the following day.

With the completion of this July 8 meeting in Lāhainā, the AEH administration had taken its strongest actions yet against one of its own churches during this evolving, tumultuous battle. Rev. Pali and a congregation of nine others were now in control of the church building, the leaders of the forces against him were locked in jail, and the Royalists within Waine‘e Church had been expelled. The AEH administration seemed to be able to claim a temporary victory. It was, however, a very problematic and troublesome one. Regaining control of one of the AEH churches had meant the expulsion of nearly ninety percent of one of its oldest and most historic congregations. It had enflamed a struggle between long-time neighbors and church brethren. Waine‘e was not an anomaly but rather a symptom of a far-reaching problem throughout the Native churches of the islands and the Hawaiian Board seemed to be choosing the most aggressive response possible in dealing with the issue. The rhetoric surrounding the actions would make clear the divisive line it meant to draw. Either you were with the

⁷⁸ Transcripts of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, 2-5 August 1893.

⁷⁹ “Ka Moolelo o ka Ahahui Lunakahiko Kuikawa o na Mokupuni o Maui,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 22, 1893 and “Na Lono o Lahaina,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 15, 1893. A member who is excommunicated has an opportunity to display remorse and return to membership while those that are expelled are barred from returning.

AEH in its support of annexation or you were to be cut out from the association and more broadly, from God. As the midday sun reached its peak over Lāhainā on this July 8 day, the clergymen gathered within this church whose doors they had pried open, whose gate they had unchained, whose leaders they had seen jailed, and whose congregation they had just expelled, offered up a final dismissal of the Waine‘e Church congregation’s claim on Christianity. Standing in closure, a single bible verse was read aloud—Mataio (Matthew) 5:13:⁸⁰

O oukou no ka paakai o ka honua: aka, ina pau ka liu o ka paakai, pehea la ia e liu hou ai? Aohe ona mea e pono ai ma ia hope, e kiola wale ia i waho e hehiia'i e na kanaka.⁸¹

Ye are the salt of the earth: but, if the salt hath lost its savor, how will it be savory again? It is thenceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under the foot of men.

The church troubles that had roiled Lāhainā and worried those in the AEH administration were far from resolved. Five of Lāhainā’s most prominent Native residents now sat in jail facing criminal charges, and the severe actions taken in the matter were shining an even brighter light on the events. Royalist newspapers looked once again to seize on the notable Maui happenings, including the upcoming court case, to speak to the larger struggle over ultimate control of the nation. *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* rallied behind the Lāhainā men in their cause against the “kahunapule hoohui aina o Lahaina” (annexationist Lāhainā pastor), declaring that Rev. Pali and Kahā‘ulelio were “hoopilimeai” (attached [to the government] purely for personal gain).⁸² The paper also

⁸⁰ “Ka Moolelo o ka Ahahui Lunakahiko Kuikawa o na Mokupuni o Maui,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 22, 1893, 4.

⁸¹ *Baibala Hemolele*, 1868 edition.

⁸² “Hihia o ka Halepule o Wainee Maui,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, August 11, 1893, 2.

published a brief letter signed from a voice within the church that explained: “Ke kipaku nei makou ia A. Pali. Aole ae na hoahanau iaia e noho mai i kahunapule no makou, he kumakaia kana mau hana.” (We are expelling Rev. Pali. The brethren do not agree that he should be our pastor, his acts are treasonous). The writer continued, making clear their reasoning, “Nolaila aole makou makemake iki iaia, he kahuhipa malama pono ole ina hipa. E kipaku ia ana o Pali e na hoahanau oia i ua ae aku oia i ka hoohui aina.” (Therefore, we do not trifle with him, a shepherd that does not care properly for his sheep. Pali is being expelled by the brethren because of his support for annexation.)⁸³

A continuation of the argument and news coverage of the events in Lāhainā seemed to be exactly what the Provisional Government did not want. On July 17, the day of the *Ka Leo* piece, Commissioner Blount had delivered the findings of his report on the Hawaiian situation to President Cleveland. All were holding their breath and awaiting a decision with anticipation. Open challenges to the authority of the Provisional Government continued to hurt its case for annexation. Despite this, AEH officers continued to preach about political affairs in an increasingly confrontational manner. Gaining control of Native Christians at home seemed a priority. Rev. Oliver P. Emerson wrote to the American Board explaining the most recent events and how these “serious and stirring” political affairs were being addressed in the churches: “Yesterday was the funeral of the 3 soldiers shot by the leper at Kalalau. It was the occasion of pointed remarks from the pulpit. Those who have spoken out—two of our best + strongest men—have come into trouble.”⁸⁴

⁸³ “Mai ka Malu Uu o Lele,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, August 17, 1893, 3.

⁸⁴ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, July 17, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

The Provisional Government now had a criminal trial to hold that involved two former Hawaiian Kingdom legislators and three other notable Maui citizens. After reviewing the reports filed by Deputy Sheriff Hose and testimonies from all of the witnesses, Sheriff Chillingworth wrote to Marshall Hitchcock with his determination: “The fact is that (in my opinion), Judge Kahā‘ulelio had been over officious in the whole matter, and has and is using his official position to carry out and enforce his views in this church disagreement.”⁸⁵ He begrudgingly noted, “I have no case, but I shall go to trial on it.” The Lāhainā defendants were indeed tried in the case of “The Provisional Government vs. Makalua, R. H. Makekau, William White, Charles Makekau, and Joseph Kuemanu.”⁸⁶ The three-day trial, August 2-5, 1893, was presided over by Judge William H. Daniels of the Wailuku District court.⁸⁷ The Royalist faction was represented by the Queen’s own personal attorney, John Keone Likikine Richardson.⁸⁸ Judge Kalua led the prosecution.

The forty-nine page court transcripts reveal a straightforward case in which the facts are generally agreed upon and no evidence was presented that any of the defendants had organized or provoked a confrontation at the church on July 8. At the close of testimony, Judge Daniels dismissed the defendants without charge. Although White and the Waine‘e congregants were released, the incident had further consequences. The Provisional Government, seeking to consolidate its power on the outer islands, launched

⁸⁵ Sheriff Chillingworth to Marshall Hitchcock, July 13, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI.

⁸⁶ Records of District Court Case No. 6, Lāhainā District Court, August 2-5, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, HI .

⁸⁷ Daniel Kahā‘ulelio was the Lāhainā District Judge and could not hear the case because of his involvement in the affair. William H. Daniels was the Wailuku District Court justice and was chosen to hear this case.

⁸⁸ John K. Richardson was a prominent Maui Native attorney, businessman, and former member of the House of Nobles and Deputy Sheriff.

an investigation of the Lāhainā police force. On August 5, 1893, Deputy Sheriff Hose wrote to the Attorney General:

I hereby informs [sic.] you that i have made and [sic.] investigation of all the Police Officers under my control this morning upon the information I recieved from you on April 20 and May 20 1893 relating to the identification of the Police to assist the Hawaiian Patriotic League and would say, to assure you, that I am well satisfied upon my investigation of them seperately, that the information that you have recieved to be true. And I find five of them did identified [sic.] themselves to support the Hawaiian Patriotic League and still forms [sic.] that opinions [sic.] which you will see by enclosed statements of each.⁸⁹

The force was reorganized and the members who were rumoured to be Royalist supporters were replaced. At the close of the trial, the *Daily Bulletin* quoted Rev. Pali as saying that the case was clearly in their favor, “but they lost on account of the Judge’s ‘royalistic’ inclinations.” Judge Daniels, despite his popularity within the community and petitions supporting him, would be dismissed from the bench in early 1894.⁹⁰

The trial also did little to settle the specific issues within the church back in Lāhainā. Rev. Pali was once again holding services in the old church building and continued to live in the Waine‘e parsonage, but his greatly depleted congregation could not support him. The Lāhainā pastor was now left to collect his salary from a congregation of less than ten.⁹¹ Here again the AEH administration would intercede. The Hawaiian Board reached out to wealthy donors to assist the Lāhainā pastor who had stood

⁸⁹ Richard P. Hose to William O. Smith, August 5, 1893, Attorney General Letterbook, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu. Perhaps in an effort to further prove his loyalty, Deputy Hose chose to write in English to the Attorney General although he struggled with the language and the Attorney General spoke and corresponded fluently in Hawaiian.

⁹⁰ Judge Daniels would pay dearly for his resistance. He was arrested in the roundup of Royalists after the January 1895 Wilcox Rebellion. After being released from prison he searched for work, eventually settling with his wife and ten children in Huelo, Maui. A 1897 headline reported the suicide of this once prominent Hawaiian Kingdom citizen.

⁹¹ The issue was further complicated by the fact that of the ten remaining members, three were from the family of Rev. Pali.

by them. An August 4, 1893, letter of the wealthy sugar planter and mission son, Henry Perrine Baldwin, in reply to a request of Rev. Emerson states: “Your favor of the 1st inst. relative to Rev. Pali of Lahaina duly to hand. It is too bad he has been persecuted so by Bill White and his gang and I will certainly do something to assist him in a pecuniary way.”⁹² Meanwhile more than seventy Native Christians, still considering themselves the Wainane Church congregation, were meeting down the street in Hale Aloha for church services. They were also continuing the daily prayer-fast meetings calling for the restoration of their Queen and the continued independence of their nation.

Unverified reports concerning the Blount report and the decision of President Cleveland had begun to filter into the Islands. Each steamship that arrived seemed to bring more concerted talk of “a friend with connections” who had seen Blount’s report. Most of the rumors spoke of a damning report for the Provisional Government and either restoration of the Queen or at least a vote on annexation by the people of Hawai‘i—either of which would mean a massive defeat for the PG and those who had supported it. These rumors continued to cause problems for the AEH administration and the Native pastors that stood by them. Rev. Pali still had reason to fear. On September 8 he wrote to the Hawaiian Board: “Ua olelo ae na alakai oia hana hoohaunaele aia a hoi ae ka moi wahine ma kana noho mai. alaila, hoopii hou lakou ia‘u no ka noho ana ma ka hale kahu o ka Ekalesia.” (The leaders of these riotous acts have said that the Queen will soon be back on the throne, therefore they will once again bring suit to have me removed from the church parsonage.)⁹³ Pali, as all of Hawai‘i, would have to wait in this state of tense

⁹² Henry P. Baldwin to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, August 4, 1893, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu, HI.

⁹³ Rev. Adam Pali to Albert F. Judd, September 8, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23.2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

unknowing for more than two months before any official word from the United States would arrive.

While they too waited, the sixty-eight “excommunicated” members of the Wainane congregation did not consider themselves cut off from the church that had been a part of many of their lives for decades. Besides holding services led by Matthew Makalua, those who held other AEH church positions that reached outside of the Lāhainā congregation continued their duties at those sites and within those organizations. Makalua continued to preside over AEH Sunday School Meetings at Olowalu and other sites in his position as President of the Maui Sabbath School Association, and was recognized as such by the congregations. This spoke to the idea that the reach of the AEH administration, and their recognized authority over individual churches, remained limited.

On October 18, 1893, the Blount Report was officially released to the public in the US, and the news of the scathing critique of US involvement in the coup spawned a flurry of reports that restoration of the Hawaiian Queen was eminent. On Thursday morning, November 23, the readers of the *Omaha Daily Bee* were greeted with the front-page news, “Liliuokalani Reigns. State Department Officials Confident the Dusky Queen Has Been Restored.”⁹⁴ The Queen had not yet been restored but the rumors concerning the matter that were circulating were based on some general facts. The new US Minister to Hawai‘i, Albert Willis, had indeed been instructed by the American President to negotiate for the Queen’s restoration and he was in Honolulu doing just that. Amidst these diplomatic meetings, unofficial reports, mostly carrying news of a restoration of the monarchy, continued circulating both in the United States and Hawai‘i. Headlines in

⁹⁴ “Liliuokalani Reigns,” *Omaha Daily Bee*, November 23, 1893, 1.

Honolulu such as “Justice Will Be Done–Self-Government for Hawaii,”⁹⁵ “Aole e Hoohuiia mai ka Paeaina Hawaii” (Hawai‘i will not be Annexed),⁹⁶ and “Restoration! Hip! Hip!! Hurrah!!!”⁹⁷ appeared in differing newspapers. A letter of Rev. Manase on Moloka‘i to Judd warned, “He nui ka hauoli o ka poe aloha aina ma o makou nei no ka lono ua hoi ae ka moi i kona Noho Alii ma ka ae ana a Peresidena Calivalana i hooko ia e Kuhina noho ma Honolulu.” (The patriots are overjoyed in our hearing the news that the Queen is to be restored to her throne by the agreement of President Cleveland carried out by his Minister in Honolulu.)⁹⁸ The Provisional Government was kept busy challenging these reports and attempting to temper the rise in optimism among the Royalists.

Efforts to distance the Royalist faction at Waine‘e Church from any legitimacy as AEH congregants and as Christians were renewed. In a November 25 mocking article within *Nupepa Kuokoa* titled “Ka Hookeai me ka wanana Olohewa” (Fasting accompanied by a Demented prophecy), the paper referred to the ongoing church services being held at Hale Aloha. They termed one of the Royalist Waine‘e leaders, Abel Makekau, as a “kaula wanana” (prophet) and quoted him as saying, “ke hookeai nei kakou, ua hoihoiia ae la ke alii.” (in our fasting and prayer, the alii were returned [to the throne]).⁹⁹ Weeks later they published a letter of Daniel Kahā‘ulelio titled, “Hauoli a Hoka iho Mahope” (Joy and then Disappointment) in which he portrayed their ongoing worship as linked to the Catholic Church and traditional heathen Hawaiian beliefs. He referred to long-time deacon Abel Makekau as “ke kahunapule hapa Bihopa” (the vice-

⁹⁵ “Justice Will Be Done–Self-Government for Hawaii,” *Hawaii Holomua Progress*, October 27, 1893, 2.

⁹⁶ “Aole e Hoohuiia mai ka Paeaina Hawaii,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, November 6, 1893, 2.

⁹⁷ “Restoration! Hip! Hip! Hurrah!!!,” *Supplement to the Daily Bulletin*, December 6, 1893, 5.

⁹⁸ Rev. Hezekiah Manase to Albert F. Judd, November 29, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 23, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu.

⁹⁹ “Ka Hookeai me ka wanana Olohewa,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 25, 1893,

Bishop) and warned that if his declaration concerning the return of the Queen came true, this faction would once again take over the Lāhainā church, Makekau would become pastor, and they would hold services “me ka muumuu ula palani” (in French red garments) and “kalokalo ae i na aumakua” (pray to the ancestor deity).¹⁰⁰ This call to fear a Catholic-looking service had a long history within the Protestant AEH church hierarchy and reached back to the roots of the early American church. This strong anti-Catholic bias based on principles of a needed decentralization of power within church governance was a particularly ironic claim at this point for an AEH administration that had based its new mission in Hawai‘i on a centralization of power away from Native churches into the hands of a very small minority white administrative board.

The aforementioned rumors that had been circulating around Hawai‘i had some authoritative roots. Commissioner Blount had indeed delivered an eviscerating report on the overthrow that made clear the involvement of the US and the illegality of the present minority government. On November 13, the new US Minister to Hawai‘i Albert Willis had begun meetings with Queen Lili‘uokalani at the US legation in Honolulu regarding settlement of her official protest and her restoration to the throne. At these meetings, the Minister informed the Queen of the “President’s sincere regret that, through the unauthorized intervention of the United States, she had been obliged to surrender her sovereignty, and his hope that, with her consent and cooperation, the wrong done to her and her people might be redressed.”¹⁰¹ Excitement was high within the congregation at Hale Aloha. The present year had opened with a devastating blow to their nation and a subsequent challenge to their claims on their church. Their beloved meeting place at

¹⁰⁰ “Hauoli a Hoka iho Mahope,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, December 9, 1893.

¹⁰¹ United States House of Representatives, 53rd Congress, *Executive Documents on Affairs in Hawaii: 1894-95* (Government Printing Office, 1895), 1242.

Waine'e—a church whose cemetery contained many of their most sacred chiefs' bones—had an important mo'okū'auhau (genealogy) and held deep connections to their past. While many of their brethren had left the churches of the AEH, these Native Christians instead had chosen to fight for control of their church. They had not left Ka 'Ekalesia o Waine'e, they had been kicked out. Yet, they had continued their struggle to claim and called on God to return them to their rightful place and their Queen to hers. In this defiance, in this steadfastness, they were not alone.

CHAPTER IV
BE YE SEPARATE: CLAIMING CHRISTIANITY
Ka ‘Ekalesia Hō‘ole Pope o Kaumakapili
(Kaumakapili Protestant Church)

Nolaila, ke i mai la ka Haku, E puka mai oukou mai waena mai o lakou, kaawale oukou;
(Therefore, sayeth the Lord, Come out from among them and be ye separate.)

–II Korineto 6:17 (2nd Corinthians 6:17)

It was unusual for Rev. Hyde to attend the mid-week evening payer meeting at Kaumakapili Church and his presence was causing quite a stir. In a letter of the following day he noted, “No other white person attends.”¹ The Hawaiian Board officer felt, however, that it was past time that he did. Despite its elegant, grand structure that dominated the northern end of the business district in Honolulu, Kaumakapili had always been seen as the AEH’s “church of the common people.”² As such, it often reflected the essence of the condition of the Native Christian congregations across Hawai‘i. In the late spring of 1894, that meant a troubled and torn house of worship where Native Christian patriots with thoughts of returning their Queen to power were at odds with the current government and their own church administration. At Kaumakapili, it also meant a congregation at odds with their pastor, Rev. John Waiamau.³ This veteran pastor of one of the most eminent Native churches in Hawai‘i was supporting the AEH administration and the Provisional Government in their drive for annexation and had thus become a target of his congregations sustained animosity. This church that Rev. Hyde had referred

¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 3, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

² Mary Dillingham Frear, “A Brief Record of Kaumakapili Church,” *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1937), 14.

³ At the annual meeting of the O‘ahu Island Association on April 3, a petition had been presented asking that Rev. Waiamau be dismissed from the pulpit at Kaumakapili.

to as a “nest of Royalists” had recently been the site of some of the most contentious and noteworthy struggles in the ongoing battle over God and nation.⁴ The previous summer’s debacle at the church in Lāhainā had been a black eye for the AEH administration and the PG. It spotlighted an example of a strong Native Christian opposition to annexation within the churches, and strong claims of individual church autonomy. But at least it was on an outer island and less noticeable to an international media that the new government was trying to court. Now, as both organizations continued to seek legitimacy as accepted ruling bodies, negative attention was being drawn to the heart of the Hawaiian mission and the Native community at one the most influential Native churches in the nation’s capitol. The battle between the Hawaiian Board and the elders and congregation at Kaumakapili Church had been ongoing ever since the early morning prayer-fast meetings had begun in the days after the overthrow. Now, more than fifteen months later, the AEH administration would try a new tactic—a simple bible lesson.

Rev. Hyde had earlier informed the Kaumakapili pastor and deacons that he would lead this week’s evening prayer meeting and he approached the opportunity with a confident authority. The New England transplant and Williams College valedictorian had long considered himself a loved, paternal figure to the Native Christians of the AEH. He was fluent in their language, had chaired numerous administrative committees, and as head of the North Pacific Missionary Institute had shepherded numerous young Native students along their ministerial paths towards church pulpits. He had also preached at Kaumakapili dozens of times in the past—it was Rev. Hyde who offered the opening prayer at the dedication of the present church building in

⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 3, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

1888. This wise, elderly man of God, who had been immersed in the center of Native Christianity for the past seventeen years, was certain that he would be able to shepherd these recalcitrant congregants back under the guidance of the Hawaiian Board. It would certainly be no small task. Rev. Waiamau had begun his tenure in the pulpit at Kaumakapili in 1884 as a popular transplant from the church at Kailua, but recently he had inspired bitter anger among his congregation. As the early morning prayer-fast meetings within his church grew to include more than one hundred of his congregants, Rev. Waiamau signed his name in an oath book, swearing to bear true allegiance to the Provisional Government.⁵ He went further by publically declaring his support for the annexation of the islands to the United States.⁶ Rev. Hyde reported that the pastor had been “hounded and abused for this in inconceivable ways.”⁷ Yet on this May 2, 1894 evening, with the seats of this large church filled with an anxious crowd, Rev. Hyde stepped to the pulpit with an assured poise. He trusted in the power of his beliefs, his training, and perhaps more significantly, his ability to persuade.

A custom of the Wednesday evening prayer meetings at Kaumakapili was for the pastor to read a chosen scripture and then ask the congregation to respond with ways in which that particular biblical passage might be applied in their current lives. The practice was meant to bring the word of God into the lives of these Christians in a more immediate and personal way—a hallmark of Congregationalism. Rev. Hyde had given this assignment, as with all of his responsibilities, serious thought. Ongoing AEH

⁵ “Indexed List of Officials Who Have Taken The Oath to Support the Provisional Government,” Attorney General Collection, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

⁶ Rev. Waiamau signed the oath of allegiance on January 30, 1893 and is listed in the “Indexed List of Officials Who Have Taken the Oath To Support the Provisional Government,” Attorney General Collection, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 3, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

administration rhetoric had continuously placed the Native Queen on one side of a distinct line that divided white Christian rule from the heathen ways of the Hawaiian monarchy. Native Christians had strongly rejected the idea and refused to set aside either their devotion to their nation or their Christianity. To loosen them from this inclusive stance, Rev. Hyde could think of no better example to lie before the resolute congregation at Kaumakapili than the appeal of the apostle Paul to the wary and doubtful Corinthians.

After a brief introduction, Rev. Hyde took the pulpit. He straightened his stance so as to be a bit taller and deepened his tone in order to be heard more clearly. His now resonant voice projected throughout the church hall; the words lifted from the pages of his *Baibala Hemolele* (Holy Bible) traveling clearly from the first row to the last. The passage was from Second Corinthians, Chapter 6. Hyde started strongly, offering implied support for Rev. Waiamaui by referencing the legitimate and approved nature of Paul's ministry in the third and fourth verses:

Aole no makou e hoohihia aku i kekahi, o olelo ino ia mai ka oihana kahuna. Aka, ma na mea a pau e hoike ana ia makou iho i poe kahuna no ke Akua, ma ka hoomanawanui, ma ka hoinoia mai, ma ka poino, ma ka pilikia. . . .⁸

Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed:
But in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God, in much
patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses. . . .

Rev. Hyde then positioned himself in relation to the congregation by asserting Paul's status as father to those gathered before him, "ke olelo aku nei au ia oukou me he mau

⁸ II Corinthians, 6: 14-15, *Baibala Hemolele*, 1868 edition.

keiki la” (I speak to you all as unto my children),⁹ before continuing on to the crux of his message:

Mai hoopili ano e ia oukou me na hoomaloka: no ka mea, heaha ke kuikahi ana o ka pono me ka hewa? pehea la hoi e kohu like ai ka malamalama me ka pouli? Heaha hoi ka manao hookahi ana o Kristo me Beliala? heaha hoi ke kuleana o ka mea manaoio me ka mea hoomaloka?¹⁰

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? And what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial? Or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?

Having made clear the incommensurability of Christianity with any degree of “darkness,” Rev. Hyde finished with God’s call to action found in verse twelve. “Nolaila, ke i mai la ka Haku, E puka mai oukou mai waena mai o lakou, i kaawale oukou; mai hoopa aku hoi i ka mea haumia, a e hookipa mai au ia oukou.” (Therefore sayeth the Lord, come out from among them, and be ye separate; touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.)¹¹

It took only a moment for the first of several Native congregants to stand, eager to explain to Rev. Hyde how the verse he had offered up might pertain to their immediate lives. Others followed the first impassioned declaration with like interpretations. In a letter to the American Board, Rev. Hyde spoke of his utter disbelief in the response of the Kaumakapili congregation: “Instead of the application to the pastor’s condition that was natural, the speakers fixed on the verse ‘Come out from among them and be ye separate,’

⁹ II Corinthians, 6: 3-4, *Baibala Hemolele*, 1868 edition.

¹⁰ II Corinthians, 6: 14-15, *Baibala Hemolele*, 1868 edition.

¹¹ II Corinthians, 6: 17, *Baibala Hemolele*, 1868 edition.

and then applied it to Mr. Waiamau and myself. We missionaries had dethroned the queen, robbed the people, etc., etc.”¹²

Ka ‘Ekalesia Hō‘ole Pope o Kaumakapili (Kaumakapili Protestant Church)– Honolulu, O‘ahu

The first converts of the early American missionaries to the Islands were some of the highest Ali‘i Nui in the kingdom and it was around this group and their Ali‘i ukali (chiefly attendants) that the first church on O‘ahu, Kawaiaha‘o, had been formed. Soon afterwards, the Hawaiian Mission had received a special request of the “general population of Honolulu” for the establishment of a new church for nā maka‘āinana (commoners, general populace). The governor of O‘ahu, the Ali‘i Nui Mataio Kekūanā‘o, “begged to express his manao that it should be in the village [Honolulu].”¹³ A site was chosen in the lower part of town near the Nu‘uanu Stream in a district named Kau-maka-pili (perched with eyes closed). The name honored the great bird Kamanuwai, who stood guard over the magical fishhook of the demigod ‘Ai‘ai, a son of Hina and the fishing diety, Kū‘ula.¹⁴

On April 1, 1838, O‘ahu’s second Native AEH congregation was organized with seventy-four founding members: twenty-two received on faith from Kawaiaha‘o Church, two persons from ‘Ewa, one from Kaua‘i, and forty-nine local members. Under the direction of its initial pastor, Rev. Lowell Smith, the construction of a large adobe

¹² Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 3, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

¹³ Mary Dillingham Frear, “A Brief Record of Kaumakapili Church,” *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1937), 14.

¹⁴ Several versions of this story, including “Kaao no Aiai,” are recorded in *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore, Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1916).

meeting house began. The members themselves, with assistance from the Native population of the area, raised a significant portion of the funds needed to complete the church building. The Hawaiian Mission applauded the dedication of the congregation, especially its women, noting the severe financial strains of the period. *The Friend* of July 1843 reported that these women had “contributed about \$400 toward the erection of their house of worship” by sewing and selling bags for shipping sugar, at ten cents a bag.¹⁵ The building was dedicated on August 29, 1839. Attendance at this new house of worship at Kaumakapili grew quickly. The building held up to twenty-five hundred attendees and was often filled for both the morning and evening services.

As the years passed, Kaumakapili Church would mirror the island-wide AEH trend of witnessing greatly decreasing membership numbers. As elsewhere, this degree of loss in church membership significantly outpaced the ongoing general decline in the Native population. The increasing involvement of AEH leaders in the political maneuvers that posed a direct challenge to Native rule—such as the imposition of the Bayonet Constitution—was spurring many Native Christians to transfer allegiance to other Christian denominations. This Native church of the masses, set in the capital of the Hawaiian Islands, noted 990 members on its roll at the June 1866 annual meeting. In 1873 the number stood at 516 and by 1888 church membership had fallen to 296 persons.¹⁶ The church remained, however, an important center of public life in Honolulu

¹⁵ “Yankee Ingenuity, Missionary Instruction and Hawaiian Industry Combined,” *The Friend*, July 1843, 33.

¹⁶ “He Papa Hoike Helu—Ka Ekalesia Hoole Pope o Kaumakapili,” HEA Collection, Churches, Kaumakapili, HMCS, Honolulu. Statistics taken from various annual church census reports for Kaumakapili. Church Records, 1823-1945. Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society Library. Honolulu.

despite the decreasing attendance at religious services. This stately landmark, set in the ‘āpana (district) of Kaumakapili, remained a vital site of Native discourse.

Hālāwai Maka‘āinana ma Kaumakapili (Mass meetings at Kaumakapili)

The Native churches of the AEH were common sites for the political meetings that grew in number and intensity throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century. While the newspapers had offered a textual site for Native voice, the churches where mass meetings were held became the places for Native Hawaiians to express and discuss their opinions, desires, and needs. In Honolulu, that usually meant Kaumakapili, and it was often the leaders of that church’s congregation who organized and conducted these meetings.

George W. Pilipō, appointed to the pulpit at Kaumakapili in 1871 as the church’s first Native pastor, served the community as both a minister and national representative. He was elected to eight terms in the Hawaiian Kingdom Legislature between the years 1860 and 1884. This native of Hawai‘i Island was a graduate of the mission school at Lahainaluna, and had begun his ministry in 1865 by replacing the deceased Rev. Asa Thurston at the AEH church in Kailua. Rev. Pilipō was widely respected as both a pastor and statesmen. Fellow legislators and the press referred to him as “Ka Liona o Kona Akau” (The Lion of North Kona)¹⁷ for his aggressive and determined defense of Native rights and Hawaiian independence, and the mission publication, *The Friend*, referred to him as “noble and independent, a true patriot and Christian. . . .”¹⁸ Rev. Pilipō organized

¹⁷ *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, December 2, 1887, 2.

¹⁸ “First Hawaiian Pastors,” *The Friend*, May 1926, 116.

and chaired many of the fiery public debates held within the walls of Kaumakapili during his tenure as pastor of that church.

In 1873 an explosive issue burst to the forefront of the Islands' political scene. A treaty of reciprocity between the Kingdom of Hawai'i and the United States of America was proposed by some as a means of spurring needed growth in business and government revenues. The idea was strongly supported by the business community but rumors of a land cession by the Hawaiian government as part of the deal stoked strong opposition from a broad spectrum of the Native population.¹⁹ The government of Mō'ī William Charles Lunalilo had initially remained silent on the matter, but by mid-year, rumors about the treaty were rampant. Opposition to the idea was building and Rev. Pilipō was one of the most outspoken critics. In late-June, posters appeared around town announcing a mass meeting to be held at Kaumakaili Church to discuss the supposed treaty and demand that the government reveal its position on the matter. On the evening of June 30, "several hundred of the Hawaiian citizens of Honolulu" were called to order within the halls of Kaumakapili Church by Rev. Pilipō, the luna ho'omalu (chairman) of this public meeting. In an article of July 2, *Ko Hawaii Ponoī* described the general purpose of the meeting as "ka hoike ana o na makaainana o ka apana o Honolulu nei i ko lakou ae ole i ka hoolilo aku i ke awa o Puuloa i mea e aeia mai ai ke Kuikahi Panailike e Amerika Huipuia." (the displaying of the people of this district of Honolulu their rejection of the handing over of the harbor at Pu'uloa by the Treaty of Reciprocity.)²⁰ A set of resolutions was drawn up and passed by the large crowd in attendance. The first stated:

¹⁹ Ralph Kuykendall, in *Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 2* (1953), 255-258 cites several examples of widespread opposition from the Native community.

²⁰ "Ka Halawai Makaainana ma Kaumakapili," *Ko Hawaii Ponoī*, July 2, 1873, 2.

Hooholoia—E hoike aku keia halawai nui i kona manao hoole loa i ka haawi ana ia Ewa no America Huipuia ma ke Kuikahi Panailike no na kumu malalo iho nei: 1. He keehina mua keia no ka hoohui aupuni.²¹

Whereas—The utter opposition of those gathered at this mass meeting to the granting of Ewa to America in the Reciprocity Treaty is based on the following grounds: 1. It is a first step towards annexation.

With opposition to the treaty becoming organized and more public, the government was forced to address the issue. Soon after the meeting at Kaumakapili an “Official Declaration” from Minister of the Interior Charles Reed Bishop appeared in the PCA. It stated in part, “it is thought that an additional inducement may be wisely made by a cession of the lagoon known as Pearl River to the United States for a naval station.”²² It would be two years before an agreement—the 1875 Treaty of Reciprocity—between the two nations was reached and because of the strong opposition from Native Hawaiians to the cession of lands, the United States had been forced to withdraw its demands for the acquisition of the Pearl River Basin.²³

Nā hālāwai maka‘āinana (Mass Meetings) at Kaumakapili increased in frequency during the reign of King Kalākaua—1874 to 1891. The new monarch had begun several significant initiatives at the commencement of his reign. One of the most central being a “reinvigoration” of the Native race that sought to reverse the ongoing decline in the Native population. These efforts coalesced under the aphorism “Hooulu ka Lahui” (Increase the Lāhui). On O‘ahu, the Mō‘ī called together Native leaders for several meetings with the people of the community. These meetings, held at Kaumakapili

²¹ Ibid., 2.

²² “Official Declaration,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, July 12, 1873, 2.

²³ An inclusion of “a clause granting to national vessels of the United States the exclusive privilege of entering Pearl River Harbor and establishing there a coaling and repair station” was made in the renewal of the treaty in 1887.

Church, enabled the drafting of a “Komite No Ka Hooulu Lahui” (Committee for the Increase of the Lāhui) that was to draft plans and direct legislation.²⁴ The Mō‘ī himself attended Sabbath services at Kaumakapili several times during the period, afterwards addressing the congregation to rally support for this central policy endeavor.

On August 14, 1880, the day of the prorogation of the Kingdom Legislature, King Kalākaua moved to replace his former cabinet by demanding their resignations. He subsequently appointed a new cabinet that included the controversial Celso Caesar Moreno as Minister of Foreign Affairs. Though of foreign birth, Moreno was naturalized as a Kingdom subject that same day in order to legalize the appointment. The King’s new Minister was staunchly pro-Native in his support of the King’s policies and had been working with Kalākaua to reorder much of the government under Native leadership.²⁵ While some Native leaders were critical of certain of Moreno’s proposals and his style, his appointment was also seen by the Native community as being a strong contestation of haole claims on power. In a move that appealed to Native Hawaiian Christians, Kalākaua also named the current Kaumakapili pastor, Rev. Moses Kuaea, as the Kingdom’s Minister of Finance.

The announcement of Kalakaua’s new cabinet created a wave of panic in the foreign community. On August 18, “twenty-five of the leading businessmen and lawyers (American, British, German)” met at Bethel Church—one of the two white AEH churches in Honolulu at the time—to discuss how to stop the King from moving ahead with this

²⁴ “Halawai Makaainana Nui,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 1, 1876, 2.

²⁵ A placard appeared around town supporting the King’s appointment of Moreno that said in part: “His [Moreno] great desire is the advancement of this country in wealth, and the salvation of this people, by placing the leading positions of Government in the hands of the Hawaiians for administration. The great desire of Moreno is to cast down foreigners from official positions and to put true Hawaiians in their places, because to them belongs the country.” Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 219.

cabinet. They received word during the meeting that Kalākaua had dismissed Moreno in an attempt to stem the growing tension, but many of the critics were not placated, and the men drew up a petition demanding that the king reconsider all of his cabinet choices. Posters appeared the next morning around Honolulu calling on “all true Hawaiians to assemble on Friday evening, August 20, at Kaumakapili church to discuss public affairs, and express the love and confidence of the people for His Majesty the king.” At the Kaumakapili meeting, resolutions were drawn up that criticized the foreign diplomatic community, expressed confidence in the King, and thanked him “for listening to the voice of the people” and dismissing Moreno.

Pressure from the foreign diplomatic community continued and after another controversy emerged in late September, Kalākaua was convinced to replace his cabinet once again. The new cabinet now contained not a single Native representative. A strong response once again emanated from the Native community and Kaumakapili Church was the site of the newest display of anger. On September 27, an estimated three hundred people gathered to consider “i na mea o ke aupuni, mai ke kulana aku o na Hawaii oiaio o ka Moi. (the condition of governmental affairs from the standpoint of the King’s true Hawaiians.)”²⁶ After a vibrant debate, a resolution was passed that implored the King to listen to the voice of his people and put one or two Natives in his cabinet. The *Saturday Press* took a dismissive, yet clever, jab at the church and its involvement in so many of these meetings saying, “Kaumakapili may now divert its energies from the reconstruction of Ministries to the more legitimate occupation of reconstructing itself.”²⁷

²⁶ “Halawai Makaainana ma Kaumakapili, September 27, 1880,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 9, 1880, 3.

²⁷ *Saturday Press*, October 2, 1880, 3. Kaumakapili Church had recently begun plans to erect a new house of worship.

The AEH church of the common man in Honolulu was not always a site of unquestioning support for the Mō‘ī. Kalākaua had begun his reign with a bitterly contested election, and later often faced strong resistance to many of his efforts and policies.²⁸ While this opposition arose most often from the foreign community, it also found voice among Native subjects. Native leaders such as Iosepa Nāwahī and the aforementioned Rev. George W. Pilipō were not reticent to use the halls of Kaumakapili to organize public opposition to particular policies or actions of the Mō‘ī that they saw as detrimental to the long-term health of the nation. Nonetheless, as the push for control, and eventually dominance, by the foreign community grew—made manifest by the formation of distinct political organizations such as the Hawaiian League and Reform Party—King Kalākaua increasingly saw the Native churches, and Kaumakapili in particular, as a place where he could turn for support against threats to continued Native rule.

Royal Connections

While the eight mō‘ī who ruled Hawai‘i throughout the nineteenth century varied in their support of, and connection to, the American Protestant churches in the islands, all seemed to understand the value of the AEH churches as a significant part of the lives of their subjects. The lands that these dozens of houses of worship across Hawai‘i sat upon came from thousands of acres given to the mission by the Ali‘i. From government proclamations and ceremonial state affairs, to more distinctly spiritual gatherings, the churches of the AEH were sites of continuity and connection between the Ali‘i and

²⁸ For a discussion of some of the problems Kalākaua faced early in his rule in obtaining Native support see: Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, chapter six.

maka‘āinana. Kaumakapili Church, “nursed from its beginnings by Royal patronage,”²⁹ experienced frequent Ali‘i visits throughout its history.

In 1881 the congregation at Kaumakapili sought to replace the old adobe and thatch church with a new, grand brick structure. A committee to oversee the planning and implementation of the project was created by the AEH administration and a specific design plan was drawn up by Rev. Hyde. He envisioned a classic, gothic style cathedral with a single steeple: Kalākaua disagreed. The Mō‘ī exhorted the congregation to be ambitious, suggesting that there should be twin towering steeples, reaching in unison to the heavens. He explained, “as the human body has two eyes, two ears, two hands, two feet, so should the church have two steeples.”³⁰ The recommendation of the king would win the day. A glorious ceremony was planned as the time drew near to set the cornerstone for the new home of this important Honolulu congregation. Her Majesty Princess Lili‘uokalani, heir to the throne, was asked to set the cornerstone, and her birthday, a national holiday, was chosen as the appointed day. Royalty was much in evidence at the event and the celebration, conducted in the Hawaiian-language, was described by *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina* (The Archipelago):

I ka hora 1 o ka auina la o nehinei, Sepatemaba 2, ua hoonohe ka pohaku kumu o ke kihi o ka Luakini hou o Kaumakapili, imua o ke alo o ke Kama Aliiwahine Kahu Aupuni, na Alii o ka Aina, na poe hanohano a me ke anaina nui o na kanaka Hawaii i ui mahiehie e ike i ka hoonoheia ana o ka heiau hou o ke Akua Kahi Kolu.³¹

At the hour of one in the afternoon yesterday, September 2, the cornerstone of the new Kaumakapili Church was set in the presence of the Crown Princess, the Ali‘i of the land, honored guests and a large multitude

²⁹ Mary Dillingham Frear, “A Brief Record of Kaumakapili Church,” *Forty-Sixth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1937), 18.

³⁰ Ibid., 18.

³¹ *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, September 3, 1881, 2.

of beautiful Native Hawaiians that came to witness the establishment of this new church of God.

As Princess Lili‘uokalani covered the cornerstone with mortar, the Royal Hawaiian Band broke into strains of “Hawai‘i Pono‘ī,” the Hawaiian Kingdom national anthem written by Kalākaua in 1874. Certain objects were placed inside the ceremonial stone, creating a time capsule for future congregants, including “na kii o Kamehameha I, II, III, a me kana Moiwahine, Kamehameha IV, a me kana Moiwahine, Kamehameha V, Lunalilo, Kalakaua a me kana Moiwahine, W P Leleiohoku, Liliuokalani, Likelike, Kaiulani, Keelikolani a me Pauahi” (images of Kamehameha I, II, III, and his Queen, Kamehameha IV, and his Queen, Kamehameha V, Lunalilo, Kalakaua and his Queen, W. P. Leleiohoku, Liliuokalani, Likelike, Kaiulani, Keelikolani Liliuokalani, Likelike, Kaiulani, Keelikolani).³² The new building was indeed the grand achievement that Kalākaua had spurred his subjects to envision, with a main hall that offered resounding acoustics praised by visiting pastors and vocalists alike, electric lights throughout the main hall, and the twin wooden steeples Kalākaua had recommended stretching almost two hundred feet into the Honolulu skyline. This new church of the masses also carried in its very foundation images of those Ali‘i Nui who had dedicated their lives to guiding Hawai‘i into the future.

³² *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, September 3, 1881, 2.



Figure 6. Kaumakapili Church, Honolulu,

The beautiful new edifice rising from the ground near where Nu‘uanu Stream met the waters of Māmala Bay was a matter of much pride for the Native Christians who attended religious services at Kaumakapili. It also served the larger Hawaiian community by regularly hosting some of the most significant public events, including the annual celebrations of Ka Lā Kū‘oko‘a (Independence Day). In his continuing effort to inspire Hawaiian nationalism, King

Kalākaua had revived annual celebrations of

that day in 1843 when the governments of agreement recognizing of Hawaiian independence. The events were an opportunity for the Mō‘ī to rally national pride and reaffirm the country’s status as a sovereign nation in both national and international eyes. The 1885 event at the church was marked by a “National Independence Oration” by Robert Hoapili Baker, a member of the Privy Council and Major in the nation’s military forces. At the following celebrations, the King himself and his cabinet ministers offered speeches to the gathered audiences that celebrated the nation’s past while promoting the King’s vision of the future. Kalākaua also often delivered policy speeches at Kaumakapili on topics ranging from his promotion of a Polynesian Federation that would unite the islands of the Pacific in a strengthened resistance to growing European and American

interventions and his ongoing plea for Native Hawaiians to increase the strength and vitality of the nation - Ho‘oulu ka Lāhui.³³

Organizing For the Struggle

The political events of early July 1887 were an inflection point for political organizing in the kingdom. A small but well-organized white minority consisting of both foreign and Hawaiian Kingdom citizens managed to impose a new constitution on the Kingdom and dramatically alter the political landscape in the islands. Although outnumbered by Native Hawaiian, Chinese, and Japanese in Hawai‘i, they had succeeded in imposing a new constitution that not only shifted power away from the Native monarch, but subsequently disenfranchised many Native and Asian voters while awarding the vote to white foreign nationals. Groups opposed to the new constitution and the shift in power began to organize almost immediately into political associations and parties.

The new constitution had required that an election be held to fill both houses of the legislature within ninety days. A date of September 12, 1887, was chosen, a little more than two months away, and the opposing groups held meetings to organize and nominate candidates.³⁴ Ralph Kuykendall writes, “The campaign preceding the election was the first in which there was a formal political party organization, the Reform Party, which was organized in Honolulu. . . .”³⁵ The Hawaiian League, organized politically as the

³³ *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, March 13, 1886, 2.

³⁴ The United States Minister to Hawai‘i, George W. Merrill, wrote to Washington on July 15 asking that an American warship be allowed to stay at Honolulu at least until these elections were completed. George Merrill to Thomas Bayard, July 15, 1887. US State Department Dispatches, Hawaii, 132.

³⁵ Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 406.

Reform Party, and its supporters gathered at the Music Hall on August 18 for a “Nominating Convention”: four AEH officers were involved.³⁶ Opposing forces gathered at Kaumakapili. On two nights, August 19 and 22, Native voters gathered at the church to draft a political platform and select candidates. Throughout this crucial campaign, Kaumakapili Church was a central hub of organization for Native opposition to the new constitution. The church hosted candidate speeches, political meetings, and petition drives that sought to undue the recent impositions of the Hawaiian League.

The results of the September 1887 election under an altered electorate crafted by the new constitution were a cause of frustration for many, as the Reform Party gained even more power in the legislature. Even so, the brief and fevered campaign had acted to provide initial organization to Native Hawaiian political activities. The Bayonet Constitution remained a focus of disdain, and the foundation of political organization that had been crafted was developed into an island-wide political movement. On November 22, 1888, at one of the largest political meetings ever held in the islands, nearly one thousand people met in Honolulu and elected officers for the Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Political Association).³⁷ Branches of the hui were formed on every island and the churches of the AEH were important centers of their activities throughout Hawai‘i; raising money, hosting meetings, and launching petition drives. A central focus of all of these endeavors was the replacement of the Bayonet Constitution. At a July 19, 1890 mass meeting, a committee was appointed to draft a petition calling on the king to convene a constitutional convention where a new ruling document would be drafted. The President

³⁶ “Nominating Convention!” *Hawaiian Gazette*, August 23, 1887, 8. Rev. William B. Oleson, Henry Waterhouse, Nathaniel B. Emerson, and Joseph Atherton were involved.

³⁷ “Political. A Large Meeting of Hawaiians to Organize Party,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, November 27, 1888, 8.

of Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i, James Kaulia, offered the Honolulu “church of the masses” as a site for petition meetings.

On August 14, 1890, officers from Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i, including Asa Kaulia, the Kaumakapili deacon and father of the group’s president James, gathered at the Fire Station on the corner of Beretania and Nu‘uanu Streets, approximately one half mile from ‘Iolani Palace. Fronted by the Royal Hawaiian Band, they marched in formal procession down Nu‘uanu Street before turning onto King Street and arriving at the makai (ocean-side) gate of ‘Iolani Palace. *The Elele* (The Messenger) reported:

Fifty-eight men walked, two abreast, with Kila in front bearing aloft the Hawaiian flag. An engrossed³⁸ copy of the resolution adopted at the mass-meeting was borne by Mr. Palekaluhi. The processionists, all native Hawaiians, wearing tall hats, full dress suits and white gloves, presented a highly respectable appearance.³⁹

The group entered the Palace grounds where they were accompanied by a “quiet and orderly company of men, women, and children to the number of probably about five hundred.” The men of Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i were then escorted to the throne room where they were received by His Majesty King Kalākaua, Queen Kapi‘olani, H. R. H. Lili‘uokalani, Hons. J. O. Dominis and A. S. Cleghorn, and members of the Cabinet. The King was presented with the petition requesting that he call on the legislature to enact a law convening a constitutional convention. Kalākaua did indeed put this request in front of the legislature, sending a message the following day asking that they take such measures to carry out the intention of the people. Pro-annexation newspapers called the

³⁸ “A legislative proposal that has been prepared in a final form for its submission to a vote of the lawmaking body after it has undergone discussion and been approved by the appropriate committees.” West’s Encyclopedia of American Law, edition 2. Copyright 2008 The Gale Group, Inc.

³⁹ “The Constitution,” *Ka Nupepa Elele*, August 16, 1890, 2. This column was part of the English-language page within the newspaper.

demands “incendiary talk,” and warned of the violence that might accompany this “revolution” being demanded by Native Hawaiians. Newspapers on either side linked the determined political work being done by Native leaders to the Christian churches where they were members. The *Hawaiian Gazette* offered that the Native Christians’ minds were being “prejudiced against the grace of the Gospel by the abusive language of prominent political leaders.”⁴⁰

Those whose interests aligned with the Reform Party in the legislature continually rebuffed attempts to call for a constitutional convention, and King Kalākaua died in January 1891 with the nation still under Bayonet. After the accession of the new monarch, H. H. Majesty Queen Lili‘uokalani on January 29, 1891, Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i immediately launched a new petition drive to address the new monarch with their ongoing plea. Once again Kaumakapili Church was a center of these activities on O‘ahu, with committees and hosts formed from the church congregation. Over eight thousand names were gathered on the petitions that were presented to Queen Lili‘uokalani. The political landscape was a challenging one and the Queen moved deliberately throughout 1892, meeting with Native legislators and leaders such as Hon. William P. White, Hon. Joseph K. Nāwahī, Samuel Nowlein and others. Eventually convinced of the possibility of success, Lili‘uokalani ended 1892 resolved to implement a new constitution. The first weeks of 1893 would bring to an end the most recent legislative session, and many within Honolulu were aware, at least in a general sense, that the Queen was planning a bold move to reassert authoritative Native rule in the kingdom. On Tuesday evening, January 10, hundreds gathered at Kaumakapili Church for an organ

⁴⁰ “Oahu Evangelical Association,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 8, 1890, 7.

concert.⁴¹ Once the house was seated and quiet, a large royal portrait of Queen Lili‘uokalani was raised at the front of the hall and the first notes of Her Majesty’s own composition, “Aloha ‘Oe,” emerged from the pipes.⁴²

Overthrow

On the Tuesday following the organ concert held to honor the Queen at Kaumakapili Church, a much smaller crowd came together about a mile away at the government building. This group, numbering about twenty, had come not to praise the monarchy, but rather to topple it. This Tuesday witnessed claims of an abrogation of the Hawaiian monarchy and the quick recognition of that group as the de facto government by the US Minister. It witnessed the flag of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i, a symbol of Hawaiian sovereignty for the past fifty years, lowered and removed from the ceremonial staff at ‘Iolani Palace, to be replaced with that of the United States. The actions of the white leaders of the AEH and HMCS since the handover of ecclesiastic autonomy in 1863 had been geared towards crafting a new mission. They had rebuffed the ABCFM, resisted a succession of Native monarchs, and fought the Native Christians in their own congregations. They had insisted that white rule over Hawai‘i in both church and state was God’s will and their destiny. They would wake on January 18 to see the American flag flying over Hawai‘i and their new mission nearly complete.

The near-immediate and powerful responses to the events of the overthrow from the congregation at Kaumakapili Church were led by one of its longest-serving and most

⁴¹ The grand organ at Kaumakapili, with its thirteen hundred pipes, was a cherished instrument, having been purchased in London in 1888 at a cost of forty-five hundred dollars.

⁴² “Pictures on Canvas,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, January 17, 1893, 6.

prominent trustees, John W. Alapa‘i. As a leader at the church and President of Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i, Alapa‘i had played a central role in claiming Kaumakapili as a site for Native Christian patriotism during the struggles of this period. He had led the early morning prayer-fast meetings at the church, drafted and delivered petitions seeking the ouster of its pastor, and chaired evening political gatherings that organized work against the Provisional Government. He was one of the most biting thorns in the side of the AEH administration.

On February 14, 1893, an article authored by Rev. Sereno Bishop appeared in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* accusing the Kaumakapili deacon of “terrorizing this large and important church.”⁴³ The lengthy attack linked the political desires for annexation by the United States to spiritual protection from the gross heathenism that directed both Alapa‘i and the Queen. Rev. Bishop explained:

One great reason may now be understood why we children of the missionaries, in our love for and deep loyalty to the Hawaiian people, do most ardently welcome the protection and succor of the American flag, which comes to set that suffering people free from the ghastly persecution and terrorism under which the late monarchy has so long held them captive.⁴⁴

Marking the Kaumakapili deacon who was at the forefront of efforts within that church to return to the Queen to power, Rev. Bishop noted, “This man Alapa‘i was the leader of the Hui Kalaiaina who presented to the Queen the petition for the new constitution which she had herself drawn up.” The *Liberal* of the following day brought the accusation against Alapa‘i to its Hawaiian-language audience, again noting his prominence in political affairs:

⁴³ Sereno E. Bishop, “Reply to Mr. Theo Davies,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, February 14, 1893.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

Ma ka palapala [a] Sereno E. Bishop onehinei ma ka *Advertiser* i ike iho ai makou, he akua unihipili ko J. Alapai o Palama a me kana wahine pu. A o J. Alapai ka Lunahoomalu o ke Komite “Kalaiaina” nana i lawe ae ke Kumukanawai hou i manao ia ai e kukala e ka Moi i kela la 14 o Ianuari.⁴⁵

By means of yesterday’s correspondence of Sereno E. Bishop in the *Advertiser* we have come to know of J. Alapai of Palama and his wife’s possession by a spirit. And J. Alapai was the chair of the “Kalaiaina” Committee that delivered the new constitution supposed to be proclaimed by the Queen on that day of January 14.

Inside the church Rev. Waiamau launched a formal investigation of the church trustee and deacon concerning charges of “heathenish practices.” Rev. Oliver P. Emerson reported on the situation at Kaumakapili to Rev. Smith in Boston: “The notorious Alapai has all along been one of its deacons while at the same time practicing his sorceries as a heathen Kahuna. Charges have been brought and tomorrow he is to be expelled from the church.”⁴⁶ Over the next four weekends “long and tedious” closed-session hearings led by Rev. Waiamau were held with a body of twelve deacons of Kaumakapili Church as judges. Witnesses were called both in prosecution and defense of Alapa‘i and he himself read a “long document prepared like a lawyer’s brief”⁴⁷ that stretched on for nearly an hour. After considering the case in full, the committee returned a verdict of not guilty.⁴⁸ A formal charge of embezzlement was levied by several deacons against Rev. Waiamau nearly simultaneously to the action brought against Alapa‘i. These charges were also dismissed.

⁴⁵ “Kela me Keia,” *Liberal*, February 15, 1893, 4.

⁴⁶ Rev. Oliver P. Emerson to Rev. Judson Smith, February 24, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁴⁷ “Alapai in Luck,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 28, 1893, 5.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 5. While the report from the *Gazette* describes a body of twelve deciding seven to five for acquittal, a letter of Rev. Hyde gives the verdict as ten to six with the same verdict. I was unable to locate official records of that particular meeting. Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, February 28, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

Despite the formal rebuttal of charges against Alapa‘i, public attacks on him and his family by certain newspapers continued. On March 21, the *Hawaiian Gazette* ran a full-column story under the headline “Kahunas. Mrs. Alapai’s Familial Spirit” with an introduction titled “More Heathenism” offering “some facts in regard to the superstitious practises in the family of J. W. Alapai, one of the deacons at Kaumakapili Church.”⁴⁹ The story accused the wife of this “heathen old deacon of Kaumakapili Church” of having those under her spell digging for a silver mine on Punchbowl. The paper attempted to connect these heathenistic deeds of the Alapa‘i family to the larger issue of the state of the monarchy by concluding the story with information from an informant who was assured by other Hawaiians that the ex-Queen patronized kahunas.⁵⁰ Rev. Waiamau also continued the formal church discipline case against Alapa‘i despite the verdict of the church’s elders. The AEH pastor sought support from the bodies that had been the instrument of Hawaiian Board control in the Waine‘e Church and other cases, the Island Associations. There, small committees could be stacked with supportive pastors and at-large delegates like Rev. Emerson. Charges of heathenism were filed against J. Alapa‘i with the ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o O‘ahu. The case was scheduled to be heard at its upcoming semi-annual meeting on April 5.

The issues for the AEH administration within Kaumakapili Church were much larger than just the case against Alapa‘i. In spite of the turbulent atmosphere and ongoing contestations of Hawaiian Board authority by the congregation, the AEH administration seemed to continue to believe that the recalcitrant members only needed the right sermon to be convinced to change their thinking. In late-March, the Hawaiian Board informed

⁴⁹ “Kahunas. Mrs. Alapai’s Familial Spirit,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 21, 1893, 2.

⁵⁰ “Kahunas. Mrs. Alapai’s Familial Spirit,” *Hawaiian Gazette*, March 21, 1893, 2.

Rev. Waiamau that a special guest would be delivering a speech from the Kaumakapili pulpit on the upcoming Sunday. The honored speaker who accompanied Rev. Hyde to Kaumakapili Church was Mary Clement Leavitt of Boston. Mrs. Leavitt was the president of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. This international organization "linked the religious and the secular through concerted and far-reaching reform strategies based on applied Christianity."⁵¹ Leavitt was in the midst of traveling the globe promoting the organization's message of abstinence and Christian morality. On the appointed Sunday, Rev. Hyde served as translator for the visiting American moralist as she delivered her lecture to the Kaumakapili congregation. Leavitt, a supporter of the annexation of Hawai'i, took the opportunity to speak to the gathered audience of Native Christians about the recent political events in Hawai'i, about "idolatrous practices," and about the Queen in particular. The congregation was not pleased. *The Friend* reported: "Over twenty of the audience took offense, and left the assembly," and added the commentary, "It goes to prove how deeply royalty has succeeded in corrupting the native and how closely royalty and idolatry are identified in the native mind."⁵²

The Spring 1893 semi-annual meeting of the 'Ahahui 'Euanelio o O'ahu (AEO) was scheduled to take place at Kaumakapili Church. The officers of the Hawaiian Board were not completely sure of the reception they would receive, despite the fact that the majority of those who would attend were generally supportive of the AEH administration. Rev. Hyde wrote the day after the meetings ended, "I had feared that we

⁵¹ Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World / Woman's Christian Temperance Union: the Women's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective, 1800-1930* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press), 2.

⁵² *The Friend*, April 1893, 29. Mrs. Leavitt had spoken earlier at Kawaiaha'o Church and the results had spurred *Hawaii Holomua* to report, "We understand that a committee of the leading Hawaiian members of the Kawaiaha'o church will call on their pastor to-day and object to further political lectures or abuse of the Queen by Mrs. Leavitt or other strangers." *Hawaii Holomua* (English version) January 23, 1893, 1.

might have trouble in our Association meeting because of the unstable state of affairs and several cases of discipline were to come up.”⁵³ The group gathered on April 5, 1893 within the halls of Kaumakapili Church to hear several cases including charges of heathenism against J. Alapa‘i. Rev. Waiamaui had refused to accept the verdict within his own church and now he was trying once more to rid the church of one of the leaders of the movement against himself. Before that could happen a new problem appeared for the Kaumakapili pastor. A delegation representing his own congregation entered the hall. The group was led by the well-respected senior minister, Rev. J. S. Kalana. Rev. Kalana had served as a district magistrate in Puna, Hawai‘i Island, and at the head of several Native AEH congregations including those at ‘Ewa on O‘ahu, Haili in Hilo, and at the church on Ni‘ihau. On this day, the veteran pastor appeared before many of his long-time colleagues in the ministry to deliver a petition against one of his own. The petition asked the Association “e kipaku i ke kahu o ka Ekalesia o Kaumakapili” (to remove the pastor of Kaumakapili Church).⁵⁴ Officers of the AEO set discussion of the petition to the next day’s sessions and moved forward to address the official agenda which included the case against Alapa‘i. After this second hearing on the charges, in this new forum, the Kaumakapili deacon was once again found not guilty. The committee would subsequently rule likewise on the matter of the petition of the Kaumakapili congregation when it was discussed on the following day. The ending of this meeting of the O‘ahu Island association brought no change to the status of either the pastor or deacon at Kaumakapili. Nor did it mean an end to the troubles within the church.

⁵³ Rev. Charle Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, April 6, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁵⁴ “He Hana Aloha Ole,” *Ka Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa Me Ko Hawaii Paeaina i Huiia*, April 10, 1893, 1. Where Waine‘e Church members had accessed their own authority to expel their pastor, Kaumakapili sought to do it within the larger framework of AEH polity using the Hawaiian Board.

Pro-annexation newspapers were quick to use Rev. Kalana's support of the Kaumakapili congregation to position yet another steadfast Native Christian on the "wrong" side of the Christian vs. Royalist binary. In a front-page article titled "He Hana Aloha Ole," *Nupepa Puka La Kuokoa* criticized Rev. Kalana, declaring, "He hana aloha ole maoli keia a keia Kahunapule, ka hele a kue mai i kona hoa o ka oihana e hele mai" (The work of this pastor is truly without aloha, to come and oppose his fellow pastor).⁵⁵ The *Hawaiian Gazette* took a broader view and used the struggle by both parties within Kaumakapili Church to question the fitness of Natives for leadership in general. In an editorial of April 11, titled "A Typical Case" they wrote:

. . . this whole disgraceful episode, beginning with the trial of Alapa'i for sorcery is a sad commentary on the fitness of Hawaiians for self-government whether in matter religious or political. Alapa'i has been around coaxing and wheedling, rubbing the members and the deacons the right way, until he has persuaded them in spite of themselves that they are all of his way of thinking. The political story is the same.⁵⁶

When the congregations pushed back against claims that they had no right to rule, their actions were characterized as inherent proof that Hawaiians were incapable of self-rule. Other papers focused on using the episode to reinforce the idea of a fundamental opposition between Christianity and support for a return of the Queen. The *Hawaiian Star* published an article with the headline "The Heathen Raged," that reported "the leader of the heathen and Royalist faction in the church" had lost his bid to remove the Kaumakapili pastor. The paper declared, "This result is a triumph of the Christian party

⁵⁵ Ibid., 1.

⁵⁶ "A Typical Case," *Hawaiian Gazette*, April 11, 1893, 2.

in Kaumakapili not only over Alapai and his friends but over the palace gang which has been trying for some years to gain the church to its side and use it in politics.”⁵⁷

The AEH administration seemed to be underestimating the depth of commitment on the part of the Native Christians at Kaumakapili. This church, into whose very foundation had been inserted images of all of the past Mō‘ī and their royal spouses, housed a congregation that had no intention of being led by a pastor who supported the end of both the monarchy and the nation’s independence. Alapa‘i, seeking to make the issue more public, took the issue to the Hawaiian Board itself. He informed Rev. Hyde that a meeting had been set by the church leaders for May 3, and that they wanted an officer of the Hawaiian Board in attendance. Although wary of taking part in a meeting where he would certainly be outnumbered, Rev. Hyde agreed to come. He wrote privately, “I do not know what may come of it.”⁵⁸

On May 1, the new issue of *The Friend* took subtle note of the struggles against Rev. Waiamau and the other pro-annexation Native pastors, writing “The present is necessarily a time of somewhat painful solicitude for the spiritual welfare of our Hawaiian churches.”⁵⁹ The paper gave recognition to these “best and ablest” who stood for annexation, saying that these were the Native Christian leaders who had “long mourned the poisonous influence of the heathenizing Court upon the life of their churches.”⁶⁰ The *Friend* encouraged these men to move forward “undeterred by denunciation,” knowing that all true Christians were behind them.⁶¹

⁵⁷ “The Heathen Raged,” *The Hawaiian Star*, April 6, 1893, 3.

⁵⁸ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, April 26, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁵⁹ “Special Interests of Hawaiians,” *The Friend*, May 1893, 33.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

When Rev. Hyde met with the delegation from Kaumakapili on May 3, he came prepared to be on the offensive. He would not only deflect the attacks on Waiamau but would present an aggressive case against Alapa‘i. Rev. Hyde, once again resorting to a consolidation of authority in order to dismiss the wishes of a Native congregation, formed a committee from the Hawaiian Board that consisted of himself as chair and two other pastors, Revs. Ezera and Kaili.⁶² At the meeting, the Kaumakapili deacons presented the Hawaiian Board representative with another petition calling for the ouster of Rev. Waiamau. After a brief discussion, the three-person committee found the complaints in the petition of the Kaumakapili congregation did not merit any action. Rev. Hyde reported “I have just closed out the renewed attempts of some Kaumakapili people to oust their pastor.”⁶³ His attempts to deflect the attacks back on Alapa‘i, however, were also unsuccessful. He wrote, “The Kaumakapili deacon terrorized the witnesses, so that no recent hoomanamana doings could be proved, + he was acquitted.”⁶⁴

Some within the Kaumakapili congregation, frustrated by the fact that Rev. Waiamau remained behind the pulpit of their church after repeated and explicit demands that he be removed, decided to fight from outside the church. Kaumakapili deacon Samuel Kamakaia led a faction of the church that left to begin attending services of the Ho‘omana Na‘auao church—a church founded by former Kaumakapili congregant John Kekipi. Kamakaia was a well-regarded, confident man who had held fast to his deep love of both God and country. He was a coronet player and officer in the Royal Hawaiian

⁶² Rev. Ezera, a strong supporter of his administration and the new government, would later be commended by *The Friend* after the suppression of the January 1895 Royalist attempt to reseal the Queen as one who was “up with any white man in his loyal service” for “he it was who, clear eyed and spry, took his gun to the front. *The Friend*, Feb. 1895, 15.

⁶³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, May 6, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁶⁴ Rev. Sereno E. Bishop to Gorham Gilman, May 4, 1893, Children of the Mission, 1826-1910, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, Honolulu.

Band who had resigned rather than take the oath to support the Provisional Government, and who had served as a deacon at Kaumakapili for many years. He had been a part of the prayer-fast meetings and other actions of the church. He would later become a reverend in his new church and an inspiration to many others. In a lengthy article published in *Ka Leo o ka Lahui*, a Native Christian wrote supporting Kamakaia and “na hoahanau o na Ekalesia o Kaumakapili, Kawaiahao, Lahaina a me na wahi e ae” (the brethren at the churches of Kaumakapili, Kawaiaha‘o, Waine‘e and other places). The writer offered a clear and confident manifesto that laid claim to a Native Christianity that need not defer to any higher man-made authority. The writer insisted:

1. Ua lawa ka ike o ka lahui Hawaii i keia manawa i ka manaoio ia Iehova Ihiihi a i ka Haku ia Iesu Karisto a me ka Uhane Hemolele e hoomana me ka oiaio a me ka naauao.
2. Ua lawa ka manawa o ka noho hoopepe ana malalo o na alakai hookamani, hoopunipuni ana a na mamo a na misionari a me kekahi poe e ae.
3. Ua lawa ka manawa a kakou e lulu ai i na mahina hou malalo o ka lakou mau ao ana, a me na hoolilo ana i na dala mahina hou mao ka Papa Hawaii la.
4. Aole loa he mea e hoahewaia ai malalo o na kanawai o ke Akua a me ka aina, ke huki mai kela a me keia ekalesia pakahi mai ka noho mana ana o ka poe hookamani, hoopunipuni, a i ka noho kuokoa ana me ka malamalama nui, a lanakila ke euanelia [*sic*] a Karisto iloko o kakou a pau loa e like me kona makemake.⁶⁵

1. The knowledge of the Hawaiian people at this time regarding their faith in Holy Jehovah and in the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit is sufficient for them to worship in truth and wisdom.
2. Long enough has been the time of being treated like babies under the hypocritical, lying leadership of the descendents of the missionaries as well as others.

⁶⁵ William Abraham Kiha, “He Manao Kakoo ia S. K. Kamakaia,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, November 22, 1893, 2.

3. Long enough we have given our monthly offerings under their instruction and had these monthly funds turned over to the Hawaiian Board.
4. This is not something that anyone would be condemned for under the laws of God and the land; the withdrawal of individual churches from governance by deceitful liars, to exist independently in enlightenment until the gospel of Christ is victorious in each of us in accordance with his wishes

The writer, William Abraham Kiha, made an important point of differentiating the sons of the mission from their fathers, giving thanks to “Binamu ([Rev.] Bingham)” for bringing the torch of enlightenment of God’s blessed word. He felt that around 1868 and a little after there had been a change in the mission: “A ma ka 1887 a hiki i keia manawa, ua ahuwale lakou imua o ka lahui e like me ka moakaka o ka la i ke awakea, ka lakou mau hana ma na ano a pau loa.” (And in the year 1887 and until this time, they [mission sons] and all their deeds have been exposed to the lāhui as clearly as the sun at midday.) He steadfastly insisted that Native Hawaiian Christians should now lead their own spirituality and tied the troubles in the Kingdom to a call from God that Native Hawaiians should come to His word and take an active role in church and state governance. He made a strong claim for Native ownership of Christianity under God’s blessing.

Ke manaoio nei au, o na popilikia i loaia kakou mai ka 1887 a hiki i keia manawa, i pili i ko kakou aina, ko kakou Moiwahine i aloha nuiia. He leo keia no Iehova e kahea ana i kona poe haipule oiaio a puni ka Pae Aina, mai ka Moiwahine haipule oiaio Liliuokalani a hiki i kona mau makaainana. Ke i mai nei Oia ia kakou, ‘Ua Isabeka lakou, ua hala ka nani o ka lakou mau alakai ia oukou, [o] ko‘u poe kanaka iloko o kuu berita mau loa.’⁶⁶

I am full of confidence about the troubles we have had from 1887 until now concerning our country and our beloved queen. This is a voice from God calling on all of his true, devout believers throughout the islands, from the sincerely devout Queen, Lili‘uokalani, down to her people. He is proclaiming to us. They

⁶⁶ Ibid.

have become like Isabaka,⁶⁷ the right in their leadership over you, my people with whom I have made a personal and eternal covenant, has passed.

Kiha's reference to God's personal covenant with individual Christians was a central tenet of Protestant Congregationalist worship and reinforced his call to toss of the leadership of the Sons of the Mission. The words of this native Christian carried significant weight in the community. He was a lawyer by trade and served as "kumukula o ke Kula Kuokoa ma ka Olelo Beretania ma ka luakini o Kaumakapili" (head of the Independent English-Language School at Kaumakapili). He was known to have an extensive knowledge of the Bible and was a former head deacon at the Honolulu church. He stood as a confident and determined leader of the people and his vibrant letter could leave no doubt about Native claims on Christianity and country in this period. It passionately and clearly rebutted the rhetoric of white Christian leaders and offered a manifesto for an ongoing Native Christian patriotism.

The Struggle Continues

The mid-October release of the Blount Report and the arrival in November of news that the Queen would be restored gave the congregation at Kaumakapili a renewed sense of confidence that they carried into Sabbath services. *The Friend* reported that Rev. Waiamau was "howled out of his pulpit by the Royalist majority who were emboldened by the news of the 24th that President Cleveland had ordered the restoration of the Queen."⁶⁸ Rev. Hyde also remained a target. In a letter to the American Board, he wrote:

⁶⁷ Ishbosheth, son of Saul, was the last of his family to rule over Israel. The Isrealite tribes, however, rose up against him and he was killed in his bed.

⁶⁸ "Impending Doom to Native Pastors and Churches," *The Friend*, December 1893, 91-92.

“I am accused also of keeping the Kaumakapili people from having their own way. They want to get rid of their pastor because he is opposed to the queen’s misrule, and they charge me with balking their plans to accomplish their wishes, as if it was a crime!”⁶⁹ The anticipated restoration was not to be, however, and as 1893 came to a close, although the congregation had not paid him his salary in nearly a year, Rev. Waiamau remained in his position as pastor. At mid-year, when AEH representatives came together for the association’s thirty-first annual meeting on June 8, a delegation from Kaumakapili Church once again was prepared to present a petition calling for the ouster of their pastor. For the third time they presented the memorial and for the third time it was rebuffed. The matter moved on.

The problems for the AEH administration at Kaumakapili Church were not simply going to go away. The Hawaiian Board decided to attempt once again to engage the Kaumakapili congregation through a Native emissary who might hold more sway over the group. Rev. Enoch Timoteo was asked to meet with the congregants and report back to Rev. Hyde on possible solutions. Rev. Timoteo had indeed garnered much respect from many in the Kaumakapili congregation and other Royalist Christians throughout the islands. He had managed to cross back and forth over a line that the AEH administration had been so diligent about declaring impenetrable. He was a friend of the Queen’s, and despite the government proclamation demanding that all civil employees sign the oath of allegiance, Timoteo had refused.⁷⁰ His name appeared prominently on a compiled list of those who had not signed. He had even attended, and offered up the opening prayer, at

⁶⁹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 1, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁷⁰ After her release from house arrest in 1895, Queen Lili’uokalani spent two weeks with Rev. Timoteo and his wife at her home in Waialua.

many of the meetings of Hui Kālai‘āina Hawai‘i and had openly declared his support for the Queen and opposed annexation.⁷¹ Yet the Hawaiian Board continued to call on him to assist them in troubled congregations. He seemed to offer them perhaps one of their few true links left to the Native Christians that made up the AEH congregations. Rev.

Timoteo met with the leaders of Kaumakapili Church in open and forthright dialogue. On June 12, 1894, he penned a lengthy letter to Rev. Hyde that left no doubt about the determination and depth of feeling that existed among the Kaumakapili faithful.

Rev. Timoteo said that although he greatly loved his brother pastor, the answer to the problem seemed clear: “Ke manao nei au hookahi hana pono wale no, oia no Ko Waia mau waiho i ka hana no ka Ekalesia o Kaumakapili.” (I believe there to be only one right action, Waia mau must leave Kaumakapili Church).⁷² The congregation had also made clear that it would like to have Rev. Timoteo as their new pastor. Perhaps there was a solution. Rev. Timoteo wrote that his heart lay with the church at Waialua and that he would not give up the work there for “ka miliona dala” (a million dollars), but he believed that this seemed to be the right thing to do in the name of the Lord. Rev. Hyde, after his recent embarrassment at the hands of the Kaumakapili congregation, was in no mood to accept demands. After hearing from Rev. Timoteo, he wrote Rev. Smith in Boston, saying, “I would like to see an example made of Kaumakapili people, who owe two years salary to their pastor. Then inf this enforcement by law is once comprehended, we shall have little trouble in bringing other Churches up to their duty.”⁷³ The next Island

⁷¹ On September 9, 1896, Rev. Timoteo presided over the funeral of the President of Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, Iosepa Kaho‘olahi Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u.

⁷² Rev. Enoch S. Timoteo to Rev. Charles Hyde, June 12, 1894, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁷³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, June 23, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

Association meeting was met with the delivery of a fourth petition for the removal of Waiamau, which it again dismissed.

Kaumakapili Church continued to serve as a site of organization and support for the struggle against the new government throughout the period. After the unsuccessful January 1895 military uprising that sought to unseat the Republic, over three hundred Native Hawaiian political prisoners were confined inside O‘ahu prison. Ke Kokua Manawalea ma Kaumakapili (The Relief Society at Kaumakapili) hosted a concert fundraiser to assist the wives of the political prisoners. Musicians dismissed from the Royal Hawaiian Band for refusing to take the oath played. The support from the congregation at Kaumakapili and the larger community was overwhelming. *Ka Oiaio* (The Truth) covered the concert in a lengthy column with a subtitle, “Le‘i Kohala i ka nuku Na-huapala”⁷⁴ (Kohala is crowded to the very mouth with handsome folk), which referred to the massive crowd that attended.⁷⁵ Even *The Friend* noted that the gathered crowd “tested the capacity of the house.”⁷⁶

The standoff within Kaumakapili continued on but without one of its lead fighters. John W. Alapa‘i died on January 15, 1896. He was laid to rest in the cemetery at Kawaiaha‘o Church. The death of Alapa‘i did not dampen the fight of the others inside Kaumakapili. Rev. Waiamau continued to feel the brunt of his congregation’s anger on various fronts. Petitions for his ouster continued to appear at each subsequent AEH and

⁷⁴ This title plays on two traditional sayings “Le‘i Kohala i ka nuku na kānaka” (Covered is Kohala with men to the very point of land) and “E Kohala i ka huapala kau i ka nuku” (O Kohala with the handsome folk to delight the eyes). Pukui explains the first as referring to a battle at Kohala in which the invading Maui army had received intelligence that the land was nearly barren of men yet when the invaders arrived they found a great number of men ready to defend their homeland. The writer of the *Oiaio* was noting the great amount of people who had shown up at the church to support the band men who had opposed the government. Mary Kawena Pukui, *‘Ōlelo No‘eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1983), 213.

⁷⁵ “Le‘i Kohala i ka nuku Na huapala,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, August 2, 1895, 2.

⁷⁶ *The Friend*, August 1895, 62.

Island Association meeting. In November of 1896 the Hawaiian Board reported that Rev. Waiamau had fallen ill, and that a special meeting of the Board would be held concerning who would preach from the Kaumakapili pulpit. On December 28, it was voted that AEH member Rev. Ormell H. Gulick take over the pulpit. Handed an opportunity seemingly to resolve the long running dispute with the Kaumakapili congregation by appointing Rev. Timoteo as pastor, the Board choose otherwise. The health of Rev. Waiamau would rally, but in early January 1897, Rev. Hyde would write, “there is so much dissatisfaction with Waiamau, that he cannot stay any longer as pastor of the Kaumakapili Church.”⁷⁷ By the spring of 1897 it was apparent to all that the presence of Rev. Gulick, another strongly pro-annexation minister, in the pulpit at Kaumakapili would only continue to feed the problems of the AEH administration.

On Sunday, April 25, 1897, the congregation at Kaumakapili began morning services with a new minister. Rev. Enoch Semaia Timoteo, a representative for the Native patriotic group Hui Hawai‘i Aloha ‘Āina, stood behind the pulpit as the official minister of this proud congregation. Those in attendance that morning had passed through four tumultuous years, steadfastly refusing to walk away from the church that had been their spiritual home, refusing to cede something that was such a vital part of who they were. They had remained there and struggled. This spring Sabbath, a week after Easter, was a time to celebrate for Kaumakapili. There would be more battles ahead, but for at least this one day the congregation could look to the front of their church hall and see a leader who fought beside them. The congregation rallied around Rev. Timoteo and pledged to renew

⁷⁷ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith January 6, 1896, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

the financial support of the church pastor that had been withheld from Rev. Waiamau.

The Friend wrote about his installation saying,

The new pastor has earned a high reputation for piety and active judicious labor for many years at Waialua. He stands foremost among his native colleagues in the esteem of the church. It may be hoped that under his devout and able administration this formerly prosperous church may go forward and recover its former influence and Christian fruitfulness.⁷⁸

The Hawaiian Board seemed resigned to the fact that they would not be able to have any true control over the Native Christians at Kaumakapili.

Ka 'Ekalesia Hō'ole Pope o Kaumakapili closed the nineteenth century as one of the Native churches of the 'Ahahui 'Euanelio o Hawai'i. Yet its role within that association remained complex and was seen differently from different vantage points. To those within the church, it was the church of the Native taro farmer, the local newspaper boy, and the elderly guardian. It was a site where Honoluluans came together to continue to declare their devotion to their Ali'i, the love of the lands of their birth, and their worship of a glorious and loving God. Kaumakapili Church reflected something that the administration of the AEH had always seemed unequipped to see: a Native self-assurance. Remaining within the walls of Kaumakapili had never meant a deference or an acceptance of anything less. It was at this church, at this site, that Native Hawaiians continued to be Hawaiian, to be Royalists defenders of their Ali'i, and to be Christian. It was here that they continued to come out from among all that they despised, and be separate.

⁷⁸ "Pastor Installed at Kaumakapili," *The Friend*, May 1897, 38.

CHAPTER V

Po‘e Karitiano ‘Oia‘i‘o (True Christians)

White administrators of the AEH, facing persistent calls for a handover of leadership to Native Christians, launched an effort to defend their positions of influence and control by crafting a purposeful narrative concerning Christianity that claimed an inherent white supremacy and Native deficiency. As the concomitant struggle over political leadership of the nation intensified, these ecclesiastical leaders again turned to, and amplified, a narrative of Native incompetence. White dominance would naturally deliver the inherent progress in both the temporal and the divine that God has afforded those of His elect nation, America. This appeal for the shaping of a more civilized Christian nation in Hawai‘i, and for a “better” Christianity, was based on the foundational premise that only whites could truly lead such a nation.

God’s Arbiters¹

The apex of white racial ideology was reached when it was assumed that white domination was a God-given right.²

–Richard Wright (1945)

In both personal correspondence and public rhetoric, the white Christian elite in Hawai‘i laid claim to rule of both church and state in the Islands. They coupled that claim with an assertion that their minority-led governance was God’s will. Under this rubric

¹ I borrow this term from Susan K. Harris’s 2011 text, “God’s Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902,” which examines the role of religious thought on American policy during that conflict. Susan K. Harris, *God’s Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898 -1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

² Richard Wright, “Intro to Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City,” (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), xxxi.

anyone who contested the claim or opposed the new government was opposed to God's will and therefore not a true Christian.

In *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898–1902*, Susan K. Harris examines the role of religious thought in the decision-making that directed US policy in the Philippines after the close of the Spanish-American War. Harris quotes US President William McKinley, when explaining the reversal of his initial opposition to annexing the Philippines, as having, “after a night of prayer and soul-searching,” concluded that it was the duty of the United States “to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and civilize and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the best we could by them.”³ The author highlights the point that although the Native people of the Philippines had been supposedly “civilized and Christianized” under three hundred years of Spanish rule, the American President claimed “a need to Christianize” as motive for imperial maneuvers. The explanation was that the Catholicism of the Natives was not a good enough Christianity.

White Christian leaders in Hawai'i were making a similar claim in arguing for a continuation of white leadership in the Islands. Although missionaries had arrived more than seven decades prior and the mission society that sent them had in fact declared Hawai'i “a Christian Nation” in 1852, Native Hawaiians in 1893 were simply not Christian enough. They certainly were not the spiritual equals of the whites who currently held the reigns over the ecclesiastic associations that ran the mission. In April 1893, the Hawaiian Board defended its position in a letter to the ABCFM:

³ Susan K. Harris, *God's Arbiters: Americans and the Philippines, 1898-1902* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 14.

When you speak of the Hawaiians as Christianized and civilized, that's true; but it is like saying of a babe 'there is perfect humanity.' So it is, but it is not humanity in its typical ideal fully realized. While it is true that the Hawaiians are civilized and Christianized, it is not right to put upon these words in that connection the same significance as with our own people. It is not true that because the Hawaiians are civilized and Christianized therefore it is right that they should have the privilege of ruling this country as they would choose to rule it.⁴

The logical continuation of the argument was that as spiritual missionaries and leaders, the men of the AEH leadership had a duty to rule. Harris argues that this rhetoric of the White Man's Burden⁵ greatly assisted the push for the take-over of the Philippines by the United States, and explains how this narrative was used to overcome strong moral and legal arguments against the project: "The incorporation of 'Christian duty' into Americans' conversations about overseas expansion was a logical consequence of these assumptions and a means of transcending the Constitutional issues raised by the struggle over annexation."⁶

This rhetoric that imagined a Native Christian who was left lacking by nature and needed ongoing direction by an inherently superior white brethren in Christ had been offered up by the AEH in Hawai'i in support of the 1887 revolution and the subsequent call for a re-missionization of the islands. In 1893 it was used to push for the idea of a distinct end to Native rule over the nation and for annexation to America. While white mission leaders could instruct and guide Native Christians on their spiritual path, becoming part of God's favored nation would provide the ultimate benefits of spiritual growth for the Native populace. Indeed, the leaders of this new movement reached back

⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, April 26, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁵ Harris notes that the *London Times* published Rudyard Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" on February 4, 1899, two days before the Senate debate on annexation.

⁶ Harris, *God's Arbiters*, 15.

to arguments that justified the initial 1820 mission—whites needed to Christianize a heathen population—thus regurgitating the tropes of barbarism more than seventy years later in order to serve their new “mission.” James Austin Wilder, Harvard University student and nephew of Hawaiian Board President Albert Francis Judd, wrote to his uncle from the university on May 3, 1893 with assurances that the non-Christian “heathenism” rhetoric could be effective:

Should the annexation question resolve itself into blood and carnage I shall hurry home—but until then I wait breathlessly Mr. Blount’s report to the Secretary of State. I had the pleasure of being an appreciable factor (he himself acknowledges it) in the sudden conversion to ‘Annexationism’ of Professor Snow, History Department, who is now preparing an article for the North American Review on the subject. I have talked ‘partial relapse into grossest heathenism’ and ‘general inability to govern’ to him incessantly.⁷

The claim that white rule over Hawai‘i was God’s will did not spring unsupported from the minds and hearts of the mission sons in Hawai‘i. The recurrent themes of Manifest Destiny and the territorial expansion of the United States had found a second breath in this period, and notably in this arena, as that country sought to develop its role as a world power by dominating the Pacific.⁸ While some in the AEH administration were born and raised in the Islands, all of the men involved had spent crucial years of their education at religious-based institutions in the United States such as the Oberlin Theological Seminary, Andover Institute, Princeton College, Williams College, and Yale, where themes that fronted the responsibility of the white man to bring the model of

⁷ James Wilder to A. F. Judd, May 3, 1893, Judd Family Papers, MS Group 70, Box 64.2.14, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Honolulu.

⁸ The religious themes within Manifest Destiny were supported by pragmatic action. A buildup of US Naval Power had been spurred by officer Alfred Mahan and his publishing of the text “The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783” that challenged the complacency of previous US policy and mandated the necessity of taking control in the Pacific. Alfred Mahan, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History: 1660-1783* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1889).

America to the world dominated instruction in the second half of the nineteenth century. As the Protestant missionary and leader of the Social Gospel movement, Rev. Josiah Strong had insisted, whites were indeed their brothers' keeper.⁹ White Christian leaders in Hawai'i built a justification for their actions in this period on an understanding that it would be a dereliction of Christian duty for them not to lead. White leadership was God's will.

In the wake of the failed January 1895 military attempt to restore the Queen, *The Friend* ran a headline titled "A Manifest Divine Protection." The article stated, "Our Government and our City have just been delivered from a great and deadly peril."¹⁰ The mission paper then drew connections between a white victory in Hawai'i and God's will. In response to its own question "To what do we owe this deliverance?" the paper offered pragmatic reasons including, "the vastly superior courage and prowess of the white man in battle with those of a weaker race," before speaking to the prominence of deific assistance: "The devout and thoughtful mind will look behind these causes as secondary means, and will attribute the existence and success of these means of victory to the merciful gift of the Divine Protector, who 'teacheth our hands to war, and our fingers to fight.'" The paper claimed that those of American and European blood had accomplished a lofty goal in their defense of minority white rule, and that "our Gracious God has once more, with a peculiar care and protection, blessed and smiled upon this young and

⁹ For more on Manifest Destiny and Hawai'i, including the theories and effects of Rev. Strong, see: Julius W. Pratt, "The New Manifest Destiny" in *Expansionists of 1898* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1936), 1-33; William H. Berge, "Voices for Imperialism: Josiah Strong and the Protestant Clergy," *Border States: Journal of the Kentucky-Tennessee American Studies Association*, No. 1 (1973); and Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 3*, 634.

¹⁰ "A Manifest Divine Protection," *The Friend*, February 1895, 9.

favored nation of Hawai‘i.”¹¹ After assuring its readers that God was also with the white leaders who had recently departed on their mission to Washington and that He would guide their journey, the paper ended by declaring, “It is the manifest destiny of Hawai‘i to become the permanent home of a Christian civilization of the highest order.”¹²

Despite the persistence of rhetorical claims of God’s blessing for their mission, the Hawaiian Board was making no headway in convincing its most direct audience. Native congregants of the AEH churches continued to defiantly contest these claims. Two years after the overthrow of the Queen, the churches of the AEH persevered as centers of the struggle against the government and the AEH administration. The great mass of Native Christians remained steadfastly resistant to attempts to separate them from their Queen. The AEH administration searched for new ways to deliver the same message.

The heavily oligarchic characteristics of the new government and its incestuous relationships with the white leaders of the AEH enabled men in both groups to access a wide variety of institutions and sites to platform their rhetoric concerning their enemies—the “Heathen Royal party.” The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (BPBM) in Honolulu, founded in 1889 by the American businessman Charles Reed Bishop in honor of his late wife the Princess Pauahi Bishop, was the pre-eminent anthropological showcase in the Pacific and held many of the most important treasures of the Hawaiian nation. In 1895, the museum’s list of trustees included Hawaiian Board officer Rev. Charles Hyde and three of the central members of the group who had overthrown the Queen in 1893: Samuel Mills Damon, William Owen Smith, and Charles Montague Cooke. In the

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² “A Manifest Divine Protection,” *The Friend*, February 1895, 9.

summer of that year, as the battle over control of the nation waged on, the main display area of this anthropological institution, Polynesian Hall, would become a site of directed political discourse aimed at bolstering the posited binary between Christianity and support for Queen Lili‘uokalani. Earlier that month, AEH pastor Rev. Samuel Kapu approached his former teacher, Rev. Hyde, with the news that his uncle, Joe Oku‘u¹³ had recently died. Oku‘u had been a kahuna and member of King David Kalākaua’s Hale Nauā. Rev. Kapu had gone to the deceased man’s home to collect the belongings for the family. In doing so, he had come across items that he believed were linked to his uncle’s position within the Hale Nauā, and had brought the items to Rev. Hyde back in Honolulu.

A June 17 letter from Rev. Hyde describes what became of the materials: “One of the Hawaiian Ministers, whose uncle has recently died, brought to me the Kahuna’s outfit which he found in his uncle’s house. I took it up to the Museum and Prof. Brigham displays it with the title “Modern Heathenism, articles used in praying for the restoration of the queen, June 1895.”¹⁴ Hyde continued on to describe the museum display:

There are two small mats, covered with a piece of Turkey red cloth. On this are arranged some ki leaves, and ferns, held down by four stones, one in each corner. On opposite sides are bottles of whiskey and gin, with corkscrews inserted, ready for the spirits to get at the spirit. All this was laid out in front of a stone idol of modern manufacture. The god’s name, invoked in these prayers, is Lononuiāehu. There was also a peculiarly shaped stone—a phallic emblem—of the god Lewalu, and a curiously shaped stone pounder, used only in worship, for preparing the noni fruit as an offering to Lewalu. The man was a member of the secret order of the priesthood, established by Kalakaua, as head of the Hale Naua, and his

¹³ Notes within the accession files at the museum list the gentleman as Joe Oku. Hawaiian-language newspaper obituaries however list a “Joe Oku‘u” as dying in Wailuku, Maui on that day.

¹⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, June 17, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

yellow silk apron with an embroidered fig leaf is one of the curious articles on exhibition.¹⁵

A text card within the actual display reads “Implements Used in Heathen Worship In Honolulu, June. 1895. The kahuna, after offering to the modern stone idol whiskey and gin dropped dead. His frightened companions bundled the apparatus in haste and sent it here.”¹⁶ The exhibit’s narrative omits the primary role of the Hawaiian Board officer, Rev. Hyde, in deciding to deliver the materials to the museum, and also describes dramatic circumstances surrounding the death of Mr. Oku‘u that are not relayed in the Hyde letter, Rev. Kapu’s correspondence concerning the matter, or the accession files of the museum.¹⁷ The museum created context for the items that worked to exoticize an already extreme characterization of those who support the Queen. Within this arena that sought to define Hawaiian culture in an historical and anthropological context, a pedagogic space was created for the current-day rhetoric of the AEH administration that sought to defend the church’s new “mission.” This defining of the Queen’s supporters as heathens, in an authoritative space, engaged local and international audiences.¹⁸

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Text taken from original photograph circa 1895, BPBM, Honolulu.

¹⁷ The author of this new narrative, almost certainly Museum director William Tufts Brigham, repeats the contradictory information, adding “The people in the house not being accomplices in these heathen proceedings. . . .sent the whole outfit (including the gin and whisky bottles *empty*, also fern leaves and awa unwithered) to the Bishop Museum where it is now on exhibition” in one of the museum’s first academic publications. William Tufts Brigham, *Stone Implements and Stone Work of the Ancient Hawaiians* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1902), 50-51.

¹⁸ The original guest book of the museum, held in the office of the Vice President of Cultural Resources, notes foreign visitors in the month of June 1895 from Austria, Bremen, Congo, England, China, Japan, Berlin, San Francisco, Ohio, and Portland. The exhibit was displayed in the main hall of the museum, Polynesian Hall, from 1895 until at least 1902.



Figure 7. "Modern Heathenism, Articles Used in Praying for the Restoration of the Queen," museum exhibit, Polynesian Hall, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1895-



Figure 8. Close-up of "Modern Heathenism, Articles Used in Praying for the Restoration of the Queen," museum exhibit, Polynesian Hall, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 1895-

There is a large body of contemporary work on the role of the museum in both educating and shaping/controlling societal behavior. Gillian Rose, in a chapter titled “discourse analysis II: institutions and ways of seeing” within the text *Visual Methodologies*, references the writings of Michel Foucault¹⁹ and others to point out the ways in which certain discourses are empowered and become dominant because they are located in socially powerful institutions.²⁰ In *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics*, Tony Bennett also adapts Foucault by linking his text, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, to the modern museum, writing:

The museum, in providing a new setting for works of culture, also functioned as a technological environment which allowed cultural artefacts to be refashioned in ways that would facilitate their deployment for new purposes as part of governmental programmes aimed at reshaping general norms of social behavior.²¹

Bennett explains further, that the museum “is involved with ‘showing and telling’: that is, of exhibiting artefacts and/or persons in a manner calculated to embody and communicate specific cultural meanings and values.”²² The idea of representing “specific cultural meanings and values” was at the heart of the AEH’s attempt to define their political enemies—the supporters of Queen Lili‘uokalani and her restoration—as heathen and uncivilized and their relations within and to the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum gave them access to a socially powerful institution. The “Modern Heathenism” exhibit was on display at the museum during the continuing struggles over the position of the Queen,

¹⁹ See: Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972) and *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

²⁰ Gillian Rose, *Visual Methodologies* (London: Sage Publications, 2001), 164-186.

²¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* Culture: Policies and Politics (London, New York: Routledge, 1995), 6.

²² Ibid. For more on the topic, see also: E. Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 1992).

through the heated annexation debates that dominated the political landscape, and on into the period that saw the creation of organic acts that began a process of the Americanization of the Hawaiian Islands.²³

“E ku e na hoahanau!”²⁴ (Rise brethren!)

The effects of evangelical-based theories such as Manifest Destiny on the forces of imperialism and conquest that overran Hawai‘i in this period have been written about extensively and become part of a general narrative describing a loss of power for Native Hawaiians.²⁵ What has been sorely under-examined are the ways in which Christianity played a central and complex role in the Native Hawaiian struggle against these forces. The African-American intellectual, historian, and author W. E. B. Dubois addressed claims of white spiritual superiority and black dismissals of that authority in an early nineteenth century essay titled “The Souls of White Folks”:

Of them I am singularly clairvoyant. I see in and through them. I see the working of their entrails. I know their thoughts and they know that I know. This knowledge makes them now embarrassed, now furious. And yet as they preach and strut and shout and threaten, crouching as they clutch at rags of facts and fancies to hide their nakedness, they go twisting, flying by my tired eyes and I see them ever stripped, ugly, human.²⁶

²³ Records did not reveal when the exhibit was removed from public view but a BPBM publication that speaks of the display being “now on exhibition” was published in 1902, confirming a minimum viewing life of seven years for the exhibit.

²⁴ William Abraham Kiha, “E Aha Ana O Kaumakapili a me Kawaiahao e Ulolohi Nei,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 25 [26], 1894, 2-3.

²⁵ Some prominent examples are Julia Flynn Siler, *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii’s Last Queen, the Sugar Kings, and America’s First Imperial Adventure* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004); Sarah Vowell, *Unfamiliar Fishes* (New York: Penguin Group, 2011).

²⁶ W. E. B. Dubois, “The Souls of White Folk,” in *Darkwater: Voices From Within The Veil* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), 29.

Native Christians of this period saw clearly the hypocrisy upon which the declarations of their AEH leadership were based. Congregants within AEH churches refused to accept the inherency of white control over their churches, and vehemently denied the AEH administration's claims over these churches, their Christianity, and an understanding of God's will. They boldly declared that the recent works of those same white Christian men were incommensurable with the teachings of Christ, insisting that the "Christians" involved in the overthrow of their Queen were the ones who did not truly understand Christianity. Queen Lili'uokalani herself pointed to this paradox, noting that while she was attending church services on Sunday January 16, 1893, the white Christian leaders were busy plotting her overthrow. The actions of these supposedly Christian men in the weeks after the overthrow were troubling to her. In speech after speech, and sermon after sermon, these men of God viciously attacked not only the acts of her government, but her character as well. Writing in her diary on February 5, 1893, she insisted, "I never saw a more unchristian like set as these Missionaries, and so uncharitable as to abuse me in the manner they do from the pulpit."²⁷ Native Christians of this period confidently claimed that theirs was the cause of righteousness, and that the omniscient, almighty God of their faith was with them. Repeatedly, in dozens of incidents throughout this period, Native Christians defined for themselves who was truly Christian.

Writers to Native newspapers found plenty of material that provided examples of the un-Christian-like behavior of their administration. Native Christians continually challenged those in power to act as "poe Karitiano oiaio (true Christians)."²⁸ The first issue of *The Friend* following the overthrow of the Queen had declared the recent events

²⁷ Diary entry of Queen Lili'uokalani, February 5, 1893, Lili'uokalani Manuscript Collection, MS 73, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu.

²⁸ "Haipule Mau ma Kaumakapili," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, February 15, 1893, 2.

“A Wonderful Week,” in which the Queen’s white partisans had “cast off the incubus of her caprice and arrogance.”²⁹ It was followed the next day by an article in *Hawaii Holomua* titled “He Nupepa ‘Hoaloha’ Io Anei?” (A Truly ‘Friendly’ newspaper?)³⁰ The piece pointed out that while the publication and its editor claimed to be “he nupepa no ka hoolaha ana i na manao karistiano” (a newspaper for spreading Christian thought), it continually did things that “hiki ole hoi i kekahi kanaka karistiano oiaio ke hana” (a true Christian could not do).

Sometimes the criticisms of this hypocrisy were even more direct. In the January 25, 1894, issue of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, William Abraham Kiha launched a stinging rebuke of those within the Christian community who had overthrown the Queen and supported annexation. He opened his lengthy missive with a call to Native Hawaiians to toss off the false leadership of these supposed Christians:

Ua hala ka wa e hoolohe ai i ka lakou nei ma’e mau alakai poholalo hookamani, hoopunipuni, pakaha luna ike hala, pakaha aina, pakaha aupuni, pakaha mana, pakaha waiwai, pakaha oihana, pakaha hanohano, pakaha ola, pakaha pukiki, hookamani daimonia a pela wale aku. E ku e na hoahanau! E ku e na luna ekalesia! E lawe i ka mana alakai ou e Kaumakapili a me Kawaiahao, e kipau aku i na kahunapule hookamani, hoohui aina, kipi i ke aupuni moi, kipi i ka moi, kipi i ka aina, kipi i ka lahui, kipi i ke Akua kiekie loa kue i kana mau kauoha. Aloha i ke alii, e hoolohe i ke alii, e malama i ka ke alii mau kauoha e pule no ke alii.³¹

The time has passed for listening to their deceitful, hypocritical, lying leadership that covets our consciences, our land, our government, our authority, our resources, our jobs, our pride, our lives, our strength, their demonic pretense, etc. Rise brethren! Rise deacons! Take on your leadership roles at Kaumakapili and Kawaiaha’o, overturn the pastors who are hypocrites, annexationists, rebels to the monarchy, rebels to the queen, rebels to the land, rebels to the lāhui, rebels to the Highest God, opposing

²⁹ *The Friend*, February 1893, 9.

³⁰ “He Nupepa ‘Hoaloha’ I’o Anei?” *Hawaii Holomua*, February 2, 1893, 2.

³¹ William Abraham Kiha, “E Aha Ana O Kaumakapili a me Kawaiahao e Ulolohi Nei,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 25 [26], 1894, 2-3. The use of “ma’e” in the initial sentence of this passage is incongruent and possibly a mistake.

his commandments. Love the queen, listen to the queen, heed the queen's requests to pray for the queen.

The call of this former Kaumakapili congregant is a powerful demand for the recognition of the competency of Native Christianity and leadership. Kiha gets to the fundamental nature of the struggle, placing God wholly in the camp of an independent Hawaiian Christianity and against the cause of annexation. His biting response to the actions of the white AEH ministers was joined by many others.

A repeated target of Native claims of hypocrisy within the mission was the group of Emerson brothers who were prominent leaders within both the AEH and the political, educational, and social organizations of this period. Rev. Oliver Pomeroy Emerson and brothers Joseph Swift Emerson and Nathaniel Bright Emerson were three of the seven sons of the missionary couple John and Ursula Emerson who arrived as part of the fifth company of missionaries to Hawai'i in 1832. These three brothers were raised in the Hawaiian Islands and sent to the United States for their collegiate education—all three returning to take up both active and prominent roles in Hawai'i.³²

Youngest son Oliver had left the islands in 1868 to attend Williams College and Andover Theological Seminary. Deciding to stay on in the United States after his graduation, Oliver was appointed to pastorates in Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. After seventeen years as a pastor in the United States and twenty since his departure from Hawai'i, Rev. Oliver P. Emerson returned to Hawai'i in 1888 in response to the desperate call of the AEH administrators to join their new mission as an officer of the Hawaiian Board. In the heated atmosphere of the post-Bayonet revolution, he played

³² Rev. Oliver Pomeroy Emerson attended Williams College and Andover Seminary. Brother and fellow pastor Rev. Joseph Swift Emerson graduated from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology with an engineering degree. Brother Nathaniel Bright Emerson graduated from Williams College and Harvard.

a valuable role as the point man in attending to the new mission's aim of enforcing Hawaiian Board authority and control over local churches. He served as head of the AEH committee on church discipline, and regularly traveled to "problem" churches to oversee actions that led to the excommunication of congregants and often long-serving deacons. The "Missionary Album," published by the HMCS, says of his return,

This was a difficult time of political upheaval, a transition period from the last years of the Hawaiian Monarchy to Hawai'i's first years as a Territory of the United States. The native-born Mr. Emerson was able to be of great help. He understood the Hawaiians, spoke their native language fluently, and had a rare tact in guiding the Hawaiian pastors and their people.³³

Rev. Oliver P. Emerson signed the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government on February 4, 1893, and was a vocal proponent of annexation to the United States, delivering the message of the benefits of white rule over Hawai'i to the US Congress, American churches, and newspapers.³⁴

His brother Joseph S. Emerson returned to Hawai'i from the United States in 1874 and took up a job as a government surveyor. He developed a study of a wide variety of traditional Hawaiian beliefs and knowledge, publishing extensively on these topics, including such works as, "Lesser Hawaiian Gods"³⁵ and "Kahunas and Kahunaism."³⁶ His writings often denigrated Native traditions and beliefs, casting them and those who practiced them as primitive, vile, and disgusting. The mission paper, *The Friend*,

³³ *Missionary Album: Potraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1969), 94.

³⁴ Oliver P. Emerson is documented in the "Indexed List of Officials Who Have Taken The Oath to Support The Provisional Government" as having taken the oath of allegiance on February 4, 1893.

³⁵ Joseph S. Emerson, *Lesser Hawaiian Gods* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1892).

³⁶ Joseph S. Emerson, "Kahunas and Kahunaism," in *Mid-Pacific Magazine* 31 (June 1926).

however, trumped his work, saying of Joseph Emerson, “So thorough was his knowledge of native lore that he became known as the ‘white kahuna.’”³⁷

Nathaniel studied law and medicine in the United States and returned to the Islands in 1878 as Inspector of lepers and leper stations. Like his brother Joseph, he took up a study of Hawaiian tradition, focusing on Hawaiian mythology. He published translations of histories provided by the Native historian David Malo and other traditional works, including “Unwritten Literature of Hawai‘i: The Sacred Songs of the Hula,”³⁸ and “Pele and Hi‘iaka: a myth from Hawaii.”³⁹ He was also a founding member of the Hawaiian League and was credited with being a chief architect of the Bayonet Constitution.

The Emerson brothers were at the heart of the struggle over authority in Hawai‘i. Their long-standing claims to an authoritative knowledge of Hawaiian tradition, history, and culture supported the more recent claims of non-Native religious and governmental authority. Native Christians such as William A. Kiha railed about the Sons of the Mission coveting Hawaiian mana (authority) and waiwai (resources). For many on both sides of the struggle, the Emerson brothers were manifestations of the rhetoric that claimed a white superiority. On February 9, 1893, *Hawaii Holomua*, in the English-language page

³⁷ “Joseph Swift Emerson,” *The Friend*, May 1930, 115.

³⁸ Nathaniel Bright Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: The Sacred Songs of the Hula* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909).

³⁹ Nathaniel Bright Emerson, *Pele and Hiiaka: A Myth from Hawaii* (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin Limited, 1915). Emerson, and other “collectors and translators” of traditional stories have recieved strong critique for their translations and editing of Hawaiian “legends,” for their work as cultural interpreters, and for their appropriation of these works without granting credit to Native informants and assistants. See: Cristina Bacchilega, *Legendary Hawai‘i and the Politics of Place* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 85; Noenoe Silva, “E Lawe I Ke Ō: An Analysis of Joseph Mokuohai Poepoe’s Account of Pele Calling the Winds,” in *Hūlili* 6 (2010): 237-266; Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians: An Analysis of Emerson’s *Hawaiian Antiquities* as a Guide to Malo’s *Mo’olelo Hawai‘i*,” in *Hūlili* 7 (2011): 91-132;

within their paper, printed a lengthy, scathing critique of the Emerson brothers, in the form of a poem, titled “The Kapuukolo Church Scandal,”⁴⁰

The Kapuukolo Church Scandal

There is a saintly son of a gun,
Whose name is J. S. Emerson,
Who goes about in pious style,
To ease his anti-monarch bile.

And enters with his devout brother, Hawaiian’s
[sic] meeting: tries to smother, All aloha for
their Queen and land,
By fairy tales of witchcraft brand.

And sweetly says: ‘My christian friends, In
order now to gain our ends,
Will you ally yourselves with one,
Who being but a native son.

Has dared to infringe the haole’s plan
And make himself (deceitful man)
The priest of God and Baal too?
Shall such associate with you?

Perish the thought! No! brethren dear,
Not though my father’s sons, ‘tis clear, Have
robbed you of your lands and living,
And taught you *not* that way to heaven.

We’ll sweetly sing, in chorus clear
The haole takes the government here
Having taken all else, and let your Queen,
Rely on none who here are seen.

Associate she with heathens foul,
Pig, kahunas, chickens, awa bowl!
Shall such be helped with christian prayer,
And our God asked for her to care.⁴¹

He stayed his speech and called for votes
The answer from indignant throats,
Came fast and furious on his ears:
‘Take out from here your lying sneers.

Hypocrite! usurer! rebel! beast!
Such words become your family least,
Who live on what the royal hand,
Gave bounteous of Waialua’s land.

As pay for early prayer and praise,
Raised by your father in those days,
When missionaries first came here,
And taught us a new God to fear

Go, hound! unto your wealthy home,
Reflect on whence your creature comforts come,
Think if you can what doom will be,
Ingratitude’s God will bring to thee.

Hide your grey locks in deepest shame
Let another take your father’s name,
Go, and ne’er again pollute,
This sacred place with your foul boot.’

They went: None blessed their homeward way:
All seemed relieved: Arose the lay,
Of praise to God: and all agree,
To pray for Queen and Hawaii

⁴⁰ Printing the critique of the Emerson brothers in the English-language section of the paper would ensure reaching an audience that included the white Christian leaders of the day.

⁴¹ “The Kapuukolo Church Scandal,” *Hawaii Holomua*, Feb. 9, 1893, 4.

The Emerson brothers had recently attended one of the prayer-fast meetings held at Kaumakapili Church in an attempt to convince the congregation that supporting the Queen was not only wrong but also immoral and displeasing to God. The writer of the piece in *Hawaii Holomua* challenges the claims of these Sons of the Mission on both the definition of Christianity and the ownership of God's grace. Joseph Emerson's Christianity is only "pious style" and merely a convenient outlet for his "anti-monarch bile." The writer insists that Native Hawaiians see clearly that Joseph and his brother have only used their heathenizing rhetoric—"fairy tales of witchcraft"—to further a cause of taking over the nation and enriching themselves further. The writer continues by laying out what has been done by the "father's [early missionary, John Emerson] sons." The missionary sons have robbed Hawaiians of their "land and living" and "taught you *not* the way to heaven." The writer's own emphasis makes clear to the reader the challenge to AEH claims on Christianity. The Native congregation replies to Emerson: "Take out from here your lying sneers." The writer tells the Emerson brothers of their un-Christian behavior and lack of graciousness in that they attack Native leadership while living comfortably on lands bequeathed to their father and family by past Ali'i. Claiming the religious site itself, the writer describes the Native congregation telling Joseph Emerson to leave "This sacred place," never to return and "pollute" it again. The poem concludes by describing the Christian character of the church congregation that concludes the event by praising God and praying for their Queen.

"The Kapuukolo Church Scandal" referred to an incident that had happened three days earlier, on February 6, at a Native AEH church in Honolulu. An article titled "Devotions Disturbed. Disruption of a Prayer Meeting With Political Dynamite" in the

Daily Bulletin the morning after the affair described the turbulent events of that Monday evening at “the little native church at Kapuukolo near the fish market.”⁴¹ The congregation had assembled for the regular prayer meetings to pray for the restoration of the Queen. After the meeting was underway, Joseph Emerson had entered and asked to address the gathering. He spoke for some time on “the relations of Christians with the monarchy” before getting around to a direct attack on the Queen and her character as a Christian. *The Bulletin* reported: “Some of the congregation arose in a body and demanded that Mr. E. close his mouth or he would be summarily removed.” The Native Pastor S. Kaloa stood and challenged Emerson to tell the gathered group “who dethroned the Queen, was it her people?” and followed up by inquiring, “did Mr. E. consider that the members of the [Provisional Government Executive] Council, where not a single Hawaiian was present, represent the people?” Concerning the event, Joseph Emerson reported that while he had indeed spoken out against praying for the restoration of the Queen, his brother, Nathaniel had counseled those gathered that they should “pray for her soul.”

The sanctimonious haranguing of the Emerson brothers, like that of their white brethren within the church leadership, fell on deaf ears. Native Hawaiian Christians were confident in their relationship with God and made their own decisions on God’s will and distinctions about who was and was not a true Christian. Their god and the churches in which they worshipped him were a foundational component in the ongoing struggle over the life of their lands. Those who stood against them in their fight needed to be removed

⁴¹ “Devotions Disturbed,” *Daily Bulletin*, February 7, 1893, 3. The article notes that the report of the meeting was taken from several native Hawaiians were present and a later interview with Rev. Emerson.

from these houses of worship. This group of enemies stretched beyond the easy targets that were the mission sons.

“Kahunapule Hoohui Aina” (Annexationist Pastors)⁴²

Race was the foundational issue upon which the calls by AEH officers for white leadership over church and state in Hawai‘i were based. A white Christian was inherently the superior citizen, pastor, and leader. It was this claim that allowed them to navigate the difficult challenges raised by the democratic nature of Congregationalism and American political governance. It is important to note, however, that while race was without question an issue on both sides of the struggle within the AEH, it was not at the center of Native Christian claims and actions. The supposed white/Native binary that dominates past and current histories of this conflict is significantly complicated by a detailed examination of Native Christians actions of the period. Any analysis that seeks to homogenize the struggle within the AEH churches and the Hawaiian nation by using race as the central component ignores the presence of Native pastors and other Native Hawaiians who supported the provisional government and annexation, and the spirited and meaningful conflict around them.

Following the January 1893 overthrow of the Queen, a significant number of Native pastors at the helm of AEH churches in the islands supported their church administration, the new government, and the call for annexation to the United States. Without records from all of the AEH churches of the period, it is impossible to give exact numbers as to how many Native pastors were supporters of the ending of Hawaiian

⁴² Headline of an April 20, 1893, *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* article calling out the Native pastor from Hanalei, Kaua‘i for his support of annexation and offering that his fate will be the same as others—he will be kicked out of his pulpit.

national independence, yet, writing and records from, and about, some AEH pastors clarify their positioning. In the wake of the unsuccessful January 1895 military attempt to reseat Lili‘uokalani on the throne, *The Friend* wrote of “the score and a half of men of the Hawaiian pastorate who have so wisely read the signs of the times, and proved their loyalty to good government by taking the oath to support the Republic”⁴³ The article continued on by naming these pastors and what the writer saw as their positive qualities:

Waiamau and Kekuewa are there, and staunch Pali and Kekahuna and Manase most forbearinhg of men [*sic*]; also Kuia, Waiau and Kalaiwaa, Desha and Sam Kapu, Kamau and Hanaike, Kanoho and Kopa, and up with any white man in his loyal service is Ezera - for it is he it was who, clear eyed and spry, took his gun to the front.⁴⁴

The article once again uses race, and more specifically claims concerning the superiority of white Christianity, as an issue in the positive achievemnets of these pastors. The charcterization of Rev. Ezera as being “up with any white man in his loyal service” to the new government was an attempt to reinforce the claims that white rule over Hawai‘i is both right and destined.

The motivations of these Native pastors and the depth of their support for annexation were complex and varied. In some cases, reasons for supporting the new government seemed largely pragmatic. It had been over a decade since the AEH administration had cut off direct support to pastors, insisting that the individual congregations should be responsible for the pastor’s salary, and with an increasingly

⁴³ *The Friend*, February 1895, 15.

⁴⁴ Ibid. Revs. Iosepa and Kauhane are mentioned later in the article as strong supporters. My research has independently identified eighteen Native pastors of the period who took active pro-annexation stances, adding Rev. Helekunihi to the seventeen mentioned in the *Friend* article. Two other Native pastors, Revs. Kaho‘okano and Kaho‘ohalahala were appointed as District Magistrates under the Republic of Hawai‘i government, but other evidence of active support of annexation was not found and I sought to be judicious in classifying Native pastors as “pro-annexation.”

smaller congregation from which to draw financial support, many Native pastors struggled to meet the basic demands of taking care of their families. A common method of supplementing these decreasing salaries was to perform marriages—an activity for which they were paid but also one that required licensing and therefore made them government employees. These Native pastors, to retain these government-issued licenses in the aftermath of the January 1893 coup, had to sign the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government. Some Native pastors, however, were true and staunch supporters of the new government and the idea of annexation to the United States. A commonality among this small, but notable, subgroup of Native Hawaiian Christians seemed to be an acceptance of the AEH administration’s rhetoric concerning the “heathenism” of the monarchy and the inherent, progressive, benefits that annexation to America would bring—a stand that the great mass of their congregations, and other anti-annexation pastors, had immediately and steadfastly rejected.⁴⁵

Irrespective of reason, any support for a government that had removed the Queen and was seeking the hand-over of the nation to a foreign country enflamed passions within the churches and caused dramatic conflicts that played out in very public confrontations.⁴⁶ These Native pastors, many with lengthy and deep ties to their congregations and communities, faced immediate, formidable, and often vehement opposition from not only their Native congregations but the larger communities as well. Where they had previously held positions of respect and authority among their communities, now they became very public anathemas. The difficulties that these Native

⁴⁵ A commonality among a majority of the pro-annexation pastors was their service as students at Ke Kula Kahunapule o ka Pakipika Akau under the principalship of Rev. Hyde. There are, however, notable examples of staunchly pro-Royalist graduates such as Rev. Ione Hihio, pastor at Ka’anapali, Maui.

⁴⁶ Government intervention in these struggles, though acts such as placing pro-annexation Native pastors who were in trouble in their congregations into government positions, are discussed later in this chapter.

pastors faced were amplified by the fact that the white AEH administration and government oligarchy, desperate to highlight any Native support for their annexation plans, continually platformed the pastors' controversial choice. The pastors themselves were not the only ones used in this fashion: their families were often also targeted by both sides. A May 1893 brief news piece in *The Hawaiian Gazette* reported: "Twenty of the students of the Kamehameha School have signed the annexation papers. Among them are the sons of Revs. Iosepa and Kauhane."⁴⁷ While Native students whose decision to sign the annexation rolls were likely somewhat protected within the walls of a school led by Rev. William B. Oleson, the Native pastors of the AEH who made such decisions were working within sites distinctly claimed by a great mass of Native Hawaiians who vehemently supported the continued independence of their nation and the return of their Queen.

Pro-annexation Native pastors were howled from pulpits, removed from parsonages, and treated as villains in the Royalist newspapers that were the main news source for the vast majority of Native Hawaiians.⁴⁸ Announcements of Native pastors who had taken the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government were printed with accompanying disdain in these newspapers. Columns such as "*Kahunapule Hoohui Aina*" (Annexationist Pastor),⁴⁹ "*Ka Hookamani nui o na Kahunapule*" (The Great Hypocrisy of the Pastors),⁵⁰ and "*He Kumakaia i ka Ekalesia o Kaumakapili, Owai oia?*"

⁴⁷ *Hawaiian Gazette*, May 2, 1893, 8.

⁴⁸ As discussed earlier in this text, the pro-annexation Hawaiian-language newspapers struggled to find even the smallest audience within the Native community.

⁴⁹ "Kahunapule Hoohui Aina," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, April 20, 1893, 3.

⁵⁰ "Ka Hookamani nui o na Kahunapule," *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, March 28, 1893, 2.

O L. D. Keliipio No Ia” (Traitor at Kaumakapili? Who is it? L. D. Keliipio)⁵¹ challenged these Native pastors and called into question their understanding of Christianity, sometimes with a ferocity that matched anything printed by the AEH leadership. Nine months after the brethren at Ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e had voted to oust Rev. Pali, the action taken by these Native Christians was still being touted as an example for all to follow. A February 9, 1894 letter to *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* offered praise to the Christians who had kicked out this “Kahunapule kamakaia” (Traitorous pastor): “Mahalo makou i ko Lahaina mau hoahanau, i ka puni ole ana aku i keia keiki a Satana.” (We thank the brethren of Lāhainā for not being charmed by this child of Satan.)⁵² Dozens of articles throughout the period offered examples to readers of the actions of Native congregations as they rose up against these pro-annexation pastors in churches on every island.

On April 19, 1893, a delegation from the Annexation Club of Kaua‘i met with US Commissioner James Blount to offer testimony in support of annexation. Rev. J. Kanoho, pastor at the Native AEH church in Hanalei, was part of the delegation.⁵³ The following day an article in *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* titled, “Kahunapule Hoohui Aina (Annexationist Pastor)”⁵⁴ called out this Kaua‘i pastor who had traveled to Honolulu in support of annexation. They challenged his knowledge of Christianity and recommended that he meet the same fate as other pastors who had been driven from their pulpits: “Ua poina auanei oe e keia Kahunapule i na olelo o ka Baibala. He mea kupono i na hoahanau o kou kihapai e kipaku loa mai ia oe, e like me ka hana a na hoahanau o Hana ia Iosepa.”

⁵¹ “He Kumakaia i ka Ekalesia o Kaumakapili, Owai oia? O L. D. Keliipio No Ia,” *Ka Lei Momi*, August 5, 1893, 1.

⁵² “Mai Lahaina Mai,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, February 9, 1894, 3.

⁵³ Rev. Kanoho is listed as vice-president of the Līhu‘e Annexation Club in a column titled “Annexation Roster” in the *Hawaiian Star*, December 12, 1893, 3.

⁵⁴ “Kahunapule Hoohui Aina,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, April 20, 1893, 3.

(You've actually forgotten, Pastor, the words of the Bible. It is a proper thing of the brethren of your congregation to expel you, like the brethren of Hāna did to Iosepa).⁵⁵ An angry congregation awaited the reverend when he returned to Kaua'i the following day. Within the next two weeks, Rev. Kanoho was forced out of the pulpit at the Hanalei church.

While the Royalist paper offered the expulsion of the pastor at Hāna, Maui as an example for the congregation in Hanalei, Rev. John Kekahuna Iosepa of Wānanalua Church had not yet been officially removed from that pulpit. He had, however, faced an angry and increasing backlash from his congregation over his public support of the new government and its plans for annexation. After taking the oath of allegiance to the Provisional Government on February 8, 1893, Rev. Iosepa had assisted its cause by also testifying in support of annexation in front of Commissioner Blount. In early March, he had agreed to become assistant editor of the new Hawaiian-language, pro-annexation newspaper, *Puka La Kuokoa*. The Hāna congregation insisted it would not tolerate an annexationist pastor and that he must go. Royalist papers attacked the reverend again and again. The August 18 issue of *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui* featured four separate articles critical of Iosepa and his works. On September 7, 1893, the Hawaiian Board removed Rev. Iosepa from the pulpit at Wānanalua Church. Weeks later, on September 30, the PG supporter was given a position with the new government. The Hawaiian Board noted publically, "Though no longer pastor of a church, the Rev. J. K. Iosepa is doing good work in his old parish as Deputy Sheriff."⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ *Thirty-First Annual Report of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association* (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Board, 1894), 17. Iosepa would go on to become a delegate from Maui to the 1894 Constitutional Convention that drafted the governing document of the Republic of Hawai'i.

Royalist newspapers such as *Ka Oiaio* highlighted the growing list of pastors who faced angry congregations, including Rev. W. Kamau whose congregation was incensed because, “piha o kona waha i na mea pelapela, a no kona kumakaia i kona aina.”(his mouth was full of indecent things and because of his traitorous acts concerning his land).⁵⁷ Rev. William Kamau had been given charge of both the Kalapana and ‘Opihikao Churches in Puna after his graduation from the Native pastor training school, Ke Kula Kahunapule o ka Pakipika Akau, under Rev. Hyde. In the months following the January 1893 overthrow, the Waiehu, Maui native had been causing a furor with his open support of the AEH administration and the new government. While being nearly alone in his support for annexation within his church, Rev. Kamau had hung on in his pastorship there throughout a tumultuous year. As the call for annexation faltered, Rev. Kamau increased his support of the idea and did not hesitate to engage the topic from his pulpit. In 1894, his church became a site of open contestation.

Dueling claims over authority within the church led to the claimed excommunication of all in the congregation who supported the Queen—leaving the church with two members. The effect of the action was disputed and termed illegitimate by church trustees. A letter of Rev. Kamau to AEH President Judd on June 16 asked for assistance. Getting directly to the point, Rev. Kamau opened his letter by stating “Ke hoouna aku nei au i keia leta ano nui ia oe, oia: 1. Ua Hooholo na Ekalesia Hui o Kalapana ame Opihikao e hoopau i ko‘u noho kahu ana ma ka 9 o Iune nei, a ua hoopau mau ia‘u.” (I am sending you this important letter, thus: 1. The joined Kalapana and ‘Opihikao churches have decided to end my sitting as pastor on this June 9, and

⁵⁷ “Na Hoike a Puni ka Pae Aina,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, July 27, 1894, 3

permanently dismissed me.)⁵⁸ He explained further that the congregations had also decided to discontinue making their monthly contributions to the Hawaiian Board. They would instead keep their monetary offerings local. Further, they would not recognize the authority of the ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Mokupuni o Hawai‘i (Hawaiian Island Association). On June 22, *Nupepa Ka Oiaio* reported on the incident:

O kela kahunapule waha lepo i piha i na olelo kuamuamu i ka lahui a me ka Moiwahine, ua kipakuia mai oia e na hoahanau o ka Ekalesia o Kalapana ma Puna, Hawaii. He hookahi wale no wahi hoahanau i kokua ia ia, oia o Naaikauna. Ua kukala ae o Kamau ua oki aku oia i na hoahanau a pau loa o ka ekalesia huiia a Kalapana, koe wale no kela Naaikauna; a oia ka hoohanau hookahi o ia Ekalesia wahi a Kamau. O keia ka hopena o ke kahunapule hoopunipuni a waha palu inu uwala o Nawaieha mai; ka mea i haalele maoli i ke Akua oiaio a lilo i ka puni waiwai alunu o keia ao.⁵⁹

The brethren at Kalapana Church in Puna, Hawai‘i, dismissed their blasphemous pastor who was filled with reviling speech about the lahui and the Queen. There was only one brother who supported him, Na‘aikauna. Kamau announced that he had excommunicated all of the brethren of the church congregation at Kalapana, and that only Na‘aikauna remained, and he was the only member according to Kamau. This is the result of the lying pastor and his drinking of the rotten sweet potatoes of Nawaieha; because of his real leaving of God’s truth and changing sides to be taken by the greedy riches of this world.

This congregation of Native Christians, as others throughout Hawai‘i, defined their pastor’s support for the new government as an act that took him away from the true word of God. The Native Christian patriots of Puna claimed God and nation. Rev. Kamau officially resigned his pastorship over the Puna congregations. As with other cases of pro-annexation pastors being forced from their pulpits, he was immediately offered a position by the government, and on September 1, 1894, he was appointed District Magistrate for

⁵⁸ Rev. William Kamau to Albert F. Judd, June 16, 1894, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁵⁹ “Hoopau ia o Rev. Kamau,” *Nupepa Ka Oiaio*, June 22, 1893, 3. The two congregations of Kalapana and Opihikao had a combined membership of 186 in June 1894.

Puna, Hawai‘i.⁶⁰ Native Hawaiian supporters of annexation were continually sought out by the new government in order to platform a claimed, but admittedly false, Native acceptance of the loss of independence.⁶¹ Pro-annexation Native pastors of the AEH were especially valuable, as they could be offered up as examples of Native support and as evidence of a true Native Christianity, one that recognized the claimed will of God for a white led nation. Putting these pastors into government position worked to offer the white oligarchy in Hawai‘i some degree of rebuttal to repeated criticisms that their desire for annexation was a minority one within the islands.⁶²

A Native Christian Patriotism

The Native Hawaiian congregants within AEH churches had delivered a clear, forceful, and persistent message to their administration. Their support of their Queen and their nation’s independence would not waver. From the pre-dawn meetings called by the deacons of Kaumakapili, to the ousters of annexationist pastors around the islands, these Native Christians had made clear that they had rejected the binary of Christian Annexationist and Royalist Patriot. Significantly, while rejecting their AEH leaders, they had not rejected Christianity. They had in fact claimed it as a Native institution and rejected the AEH administration as false Christians. A return to the story of John Henry

⁶⁰ Government Office Holders Records, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

⁶¹ The anti-annexation position of the majority of people in Hawai‘i was admitted to by both sides there. US Secretary of State, W. Q. Gresham, wrote to US President James Cleveland on October 18, 1893: “Mr. Blount states that, while at Honolulu, he did not meet a single annexationist who expressed a willingness to submit the question of annexation to a vote of the people.” W. Q. Gresham to Cleveland, October 1, 1893, *Affairs in Hawai‘i, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1894* (Washington: US Government Printing Office, 1894), 462. The desire of the new government to avoid any vote of the people of Hawai‘i is also referenced earlier in this work in a quote cited as note 35 on pages 83-84.

⁶² A chart with details of some of these appointments, titled “Pro-annexation Native Pastors Appointed or Elected to Government Positions, 1893–1902,” is included in Appendix C of this dissertation.

Wise, the young Native Hawaiian sent to Oberlin Theological Seminary, offers an ideal example.

In the late 1880's, amidst a heated political scenery where a small group of white men—several of them AEH officers—had forced a new constitution of the Native monarch, the Hawaiian Board had sought a Native leader for a new 'Euanelio Hō'eu'eu (Evangelistic Revival) that might quell rising dissent. John Wise, an intelligent, well-spoken, future Native pastor, seemed the perfect candidate. But the new mission had grown even more complicated during Wise's three-year stay in Ohio. He had been immersed in a full Christian evangelical training at the renowned Oberlin Theological School. He was undeniably strong in his faith, and his letters home reveal his deep commitment to the work set before him by his AEH administration. He believed deeply in his God and in his mission, and he worked tirelessly to equip himself for the most important of tasks. Yet upon returning to his land, to his people, confident in his understanding of the AEH's plan and the field that lay before him, he witnessed something different.

Wise was aware of the basic facts concerning the political situation in his homeland, even while living more than four thousand miles away. He was, however, the recipient of a directed narrative. The Ohio newspapers, as others across the country, had carried reports on "the Hawaiian situation" throughout the early part of 1893. These stories supplemented the even more directed correspondence on the topic that arrived from Rev. Emerson and the Hawaiian Board. *The Friend*, sent to Wise monthly from Honolulu, offered up a summary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government

on the front page of the February issue. An exultant column offered an explanation for the ending of the Hawaiian Monarchy:

Then, least looked for, and most dramatic of the series came the tragic, scenic, self-murder of the monarchy; when, encouraged by kahunas, the half-maddened Queen broke her oath, and discarded the Constitution, to the horror of her white partisans, and to the exulting hope of the people she was betraying, who now saw clear the way to cast off the incubus of her caprice and arrogance which they had so wearily and patiently endured. At once sprang forth the wrath and power of the conservative and long suffering whites.⁶³

Those living in Hawai‘i over the past three years had witnessed the broad and determined calls by Native Hawaiians throughout the islands for a new constitution, both in the Kingdom legislature and in mass petitions presented to their Queen. They saw the Sons of the Mission, the men who were so desperately calling for a re-missionization of Native Hawaiians, challenged by their congregants as to who was really being Christian and they had heard early morning church bells ringing, calling Native Hawaiian Christians to their churches for prayer meetings that beseeched their God for the return of their beloved sovereign. The AEH churches were beset with an internal struggle that pitted Native congregations against an administration that had supported the takeover of the nation and promoted an annexation of their islands. John Wise was returning to a situation that would challenge the two strong devotions of his life. When the steamer *Australia* arrived in Honolulu Harbor from San Francisco on June 14, 1893, the recent seminary graduate was tossed into the middle of a bitterly divided nation in turmoil. His Queen had been overthrown and the independence of his nation was being offered up for

⁶³ “A Wonderful Week,” *The Friend*, February 1893, 9.

the taking by a minority government. It would not take long for his place in it all to become clear.

By the time Wise arrived home, the idea for a Native-led revival amidst the increasingly divisive climate in the islands seemed a necessity to the mission. After having him deliver a brief sermon at Kawaiaha'o Church in Honolulu the Sunday following his return, the Hawaiian Board drew up a plan for a Native evangelistic group. The Kōmite Hō'eu'eu (Evangelistic Committee) that was created to travel throughout the islands consisted of John Wise and Revs. Waiamau, Ezera, and Timoteo. Some officers of the AEH were still wary. Hyde wrote, "I have often written about this. My ground for hesitation in regard to John Wise is the race characteristics, which so far have prevented the Hawaiians from any leadership in right directions to any great success."⁶⁴ Yet Hyde was a realist. He knew well the condition of the Native congregations. Soon, Wise would also. In a letter reporting on his brief trip home to visit his mother in Kapa'au, Hawai'i Island, the Kohala native wrote of preaching to a large audience at 'Iole church. He explained to Emerson, "they are going to try and kick Kekuewa [Rev. S. W., the pastor] out of church just because he was one of the Native Ministers who went to see Pres. Dole."⁶⁵

Wise returned to Honolulu and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* announced the beginning of the important mission: "Eia ke hoomaka nei ke Komite Hoeueu a ka Ahahui mai o ka Pae Aina, oia na Rev. E. S. Timoteo a me J. M. Ezera a me John Wise, i ke komo kauhale ma Honolulu nei, a mahope aku i na mokupuni eae." (Here's the beginning of the

⁶⁴ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, April 26, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁶⁵ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, June 26, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

Evangelistic Committee of the Association of the Islands, it is Rev. E. S. Timoteo and J. M. Ezera and John Wise, in this town of Honolulu, and afterwards in the other islands).⁶⁶ Traveling to other congregations offered Wise not only an idea of the breadth of the problem within the churches, but also a clearer picture of one source. Writing to Rev. Emerson about their labors on O‘ahu, he declared that a “drawback that we are having and a very bad one too, is Mr. [Serenio] Bishop’s articles in the papers.”⁶⁷

The committee traveled on to Kaua‘i in October, visiting with Native Hawaiians both within the churches and in their homes. Wise stayed with Native congregants, hearing from those amidst the struggle and witnessing their actions to claim their churches. In church after church he saw actions by the great mass of congregants against an AEH administration that supported a government that vilified their Queen and offered up their nation as bounty to a foreign people. As Wise traveled from town to town, island to island, speaking with Native Hawaiians, his one-time mentor was on his own mission, back in the country Wise had returned home from. Rev. Oliver P. Emerson was in Washington D.C. doing his part to promote annexation. In Hawai‘i the new AEH mission was faltering. After the Evangelistic Committee returned to Honolulu, Wise did not appear at several of the prayer meetings called by Rev. Hyde.

In mid-November, Rev. Hyde wrote an exasperated letter to the American Board saying “I am afraid that John Wise, whom the Board sent to Oberlin and kept there three years, is not proving any great help to our work.”⁶⁸ The picture was becoming transparent for everyone. Rev. Hyde wrote on December 4, “John Wise has been doing nothing for

⁶⁶ “Nu Hou Hawaii,” *Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 5, 1893, 3.

⁶⁷ John Wise to Rev. Oliver P. Emerson, September 13, 1893, HEA Letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁶⁸ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, November 16, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

about a month, has espoused the cause of the Royalists, and does not seem to have much heart for the work any way.”⁶⁹ It seemed clear, as he had so eloquently written on the eve of his return, where John Wise’s heart lay. In a January 1, 1894, letter, Rev. Hyde questioned why the AEH was paying Wise “when he won’t come near any of us but spends his time riding a bicycle or playing croquet with royalists?”⁷⁰ The next day a special meeting of the Hawaiian Board was called to discuss the situation. The Board wrote directly to Wise on the third with its recommendation that he seek other employment. The letter went on to say that “after some protracted discussion” it was decided that Wise could remain on for the following three months, at a pay totaling \$100 if he agreed to such work as Rev. Hyde would assign and superintend. It closed with the note, “I trust that this action of the Board will be satisfactory to you.”⁷¹ A return letter the next day from Wise replied: “I am sorry to say that it is not satisfactory to me.”⁷²

Rev. Hyde could no longer hide from what he had known for a while now. The new mission’s chosen Native star, a pupil who had received the most thorough training that could be offered, had chosen to betray the plan that his white “fathers” had developed for him. He was simply uncontrollable. Rev. Hyde outlined the situation to the American Board: “John Wise whom we have been educating at Oberlin for 3 years at a cost of over \$2000 has been doing nothing but advocating restoration + associating with royalists, never coming near one of us, not even Calling on Mr. Jones, who paid \$500 a

⁶⁹ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, December 4, 1893, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁷⁰ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 1, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu.

⁷¹ Rev. Charles Hyde to John Wise, January 4, 1894, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

⁷² John Wise to Rev. Charles Hyde, December 5, 1893, HEA letters, HMCS, Honolulu.

year for 3 yrs towards his expenses.”⁷³ Within months of Wise’s return to his homeland, after three years of training at Oberlin and elsewhere, the Board’s plan for him had failed completely. After all that the Board had invested, they had cut him loose. Yet their dealings with John Henry Wise were far from over.

When the oligarchy that had ruled since the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom Government in January of 1893 failed to realize its plan of immediate annexation to the United States, a more permanent form of government was needed to promote the appearance of legitimacy. On July 4, 1894, the Republic of Hawai‘i was declared. The move did not engender the desired peace and stability that had been hoped for. Special Agent reports by government informants filed throughout 1894 spoke of attempts to amass arms and ammunition by several Native groups seeking a restoration of the Queen. Agents in Honolulu recorded the presence of John Wise at several important military planning sessions of the Royalists.

In a pre-emptive strike against a suspected insurgency, Native patriots Joseph Nāwahī and John Bush were arrested on December 10, 1894, for “wickedly devising and intending to levy war against and oppose by force the authority of the republic of Hawaii.”⁷⁴ Both men, charged with treason, were imprisoned while awaiting trial. In the following weeks a shipment of guns would be landed at San Souci in Waikīkī. Reports had John Wise cleaning and hauling the main shipment of guns that arrived in preparation for a counter-revolution. On January 6, 1895, a Republic patrol discovered a group of

⁷³ Rev. Charles Hyde to Rev. Judson Smith, January 5, 1894, ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, HMCS Library, Honolulu. Peter Cushman Jones financed the bulk of Wise’s education at Oberlin and was a frequent and generous donor to the AEH. Jones was an AEH officer, past president of the YMCA, a founding trustee of the Hawaii Sugar Planters’ Association, a founding member of the Hawaiian League, and at the time of Wise’s return to the islands was one of the four members of the Executive Council of the Provisional Government.

⁷⁴ Republic of Hawaii vs. John E. Bush and Joseph Nawahi, First Circuit Court, February 4, 1895, Republic of Hawai‘i, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

men with the guns. Gunfire was exchanged. Republic of Hawai'i soldier Charles L. Carter was killed and government forces descended on the area. The attempt to remove the Republic leaders from power, still in its planning stages, was foiled, and the insurgents, led by Robert Wilcox were pursued and eventually arrested.

Martial law was declared in the wake of the military uprising and a round-up of Royalist leaders and sympathizers produced the arrest of over three hundred men. John Henry Wise was charged with conspiracy. He was found guilty of misprision of treason⁷⁵ knowing at a military tribunal and sentenced to five years imprisonment. After the trials, Native Hawaiian women gathered regularly at the prison to pray for the release of the men. Outside petitions followed, along with prisoner requests for pardons, and over the course of 1895 the bulk of the men arrested were released from prison. John Wise wrote two letters of request for pardon during that year; both were denied.

By the end of 1895 only eight of the more than three hundred original prisoners remained locked away. The *New York Times* noted the affair, saying in a November 23, 1895, article titled "Honolulu May Release All Prisoners," that "It is probable that the few remaining native insurgents will soon be released, except John Wise, a native educated at Oberlin, who has proved a fractious prisoner."⁷⁶ Wise, although convicted of a lesser charge than many who had gained their freedom earlier, was in the last group released. In its first issue of 1896, the newspaper *Ke Aloha Aina* joyfully announced "Ua Hookuuia Mai. Ma ka La Makahiki Hou nei, mawaena o na hora 8 a me 9 A.M., ua hookuu pau loa ia mai la na poe paahao Aloha Aina i koe aku ma ka Halepaahao o Kawa." (Released. On this New Year's Day, between the hours of 8 and 9 A.M., the

⁷⁵ "Misprision" is the failure to perform a public duty and misprision of treason is knowing of a plan to overthrow the government and not reporting it.

⁷⁶ "Honolulu May Release All Prisoners," *New York Times*, November 23, 1893.

remaining patriotic prisoners were fully released from the Kawa jail.) *The Hawaiian Gazette* described the scene, saying “There was a large crowd of natives outside the gates, and when the Hawaiians came out they were greeted with loud cheers.” *Ke Aloha Aina* reveled in the fact that the last of the patriots had returned to be one with their families, loved ones, and friends, declaring “Hauoli Hape Nuia pu kakou i keia wa!!” (Now is a Joyous Happy New Years for us all!!)⁷⁷

After his release from prison in 1896, Wise served as a pastor in the Ho‘omana Na‘auao Church in Honolulu, a non-AEH Protestant church, and both he and his daughter Ella–“Mamma Ella”–Wise founded offshoots of the Ho‘omana Na‘auao churches throughout the islands. His work as a minister in this period had a profound effect, as more than a dozen Native churches around the islands today trace their roots and history back to the work and words of John Wise.⁷⁸ He continued to define himself as Congregationalist in the biographical information sent back to Oberlin College for yearly annuals, and an obituary lists him as “Rev. Wise.” His Christianity was an uninterrupted presence at the fore of his nearly seven-decade-long life.

What this staunchly patriotic Native Hawaiian and the greater mass of AEH congregants rejected were assumptions by the white Christian administrators that Native Hawaiians were unable to define and direct their own spirituality. They rejected representations of God’s will that included a relinquishment of Native ties to a land which their kūpuna (ancestors) had descended from and had served, and to which they were fundamentally and forever tied.

⁷⁷ “Ua Hookuuia Mai,” *Ke Aloha Aina*, January 4, 1895 [1896], 8.

⁷⁸ This link to current churches and Native Christians is discussed in the epilogue to this dissertation.

CONCLUSION

Claiming Christianity as a Tool of Native Struggle

E paio i ka paio maikai no Karisto Iesu.
(Fight the good fight for Jesus Christ.)¹

–William A. Kiha, January 25, 1894

In a series of letters published in *Ke Aloha Aina* and *Ka Leo o ka Lahui* in late-1893 and early-1894, Hui Kālai‘āina officer and former Kaumakapili church trustee William Abraham Kiha delivered an impassioned plea to fellow Christians throughout the Islands, calling on them to rise and fight. There was much at stake—the battle at hand was one over God and nation. Would the Hawaiian Kingdom, founded by Kamehameha Pai‘ea in 1810 and recognized as a sovereign state in 1843, be subsumed by a foreign power? Would the claims of white Christian leaders of a divine support for white rule over Hawai‘i be accepted, reinforcing and expanding their current positions? Or would the nation retain its independence under a strengthened Native leadership? Would Native Christian calls to fight the good fight for Jesus Christ help engage the lāhui and secure a return to Native rule over these islands?

Change had been a major theme of the past century in Hawai‘i as this once isolated archipelago interacted with and adapted to new peoples, technologies, and ways. It had, however, been Native leaders, seeking to navigate the future while retaining the foundations of Hawai‘i’s past, which had directed that change.² Now, as the nineteenth

¹ William Abraham Kiha, “E Aha Ana o Kaumakapili a me Kawaiahao e Ulolohi Nei,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 25[26], 1894, 2.

² Native Hawaiian efforts to strengthen the nation by incorporating outside technologies and ways are discussed in works such as Niklaus R. Schweizer, “King Kalakaua: An International Perspective,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 25 (1991) 103-120; Stacey L. Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2009); Kamana Beamer and T. Kao Duarte, “I palapala no ia aina – documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: a colonial venture?” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009) 66-86; M. Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum

century came to a close, an oligarchy of white men sat in governance over the nation and was proposing to hand the reins of power over to a developing world power, the United States of America. The current struggle offered vastly different futures for Hawai‘i.

Kiha’s calls to fight for a return to Native leadership in both church and state were clear, insightful, and marked with an impassioned ferocity. They were direct contestations of the assertions of white church leaders who clung to a narrative that posited an ongoing need for their guidance, their leadership, and their control. This plea did not come from a docile, “missionized” Hawaiian. For Kiha, these “mamo a na misionari” (descendents of the missionaries) who had been his administrative superiors were “alakai poholalo, hookamani, hoopunipuni” (underhanded, hypocritical, lying leaders).³ His voice confidently claimed an authority and competency for Native Christianity and governance, and it did so in the name of God.

The voice of William Abraham Kiha was joined by a multitude of others from around the islands who wrote similar letters published in newspapers, by hundreds of Native Christian congregants who voted to evict annexationist pastors from church pulpits, and by thousands who filled Native Christian churches with prayers to God for the return of their Queen. It was joined by the pre-dawn clamoring of the Kaumakapili Church bells and by the extensive anti-annexation petitions delivered to the US Congress. Kiha’s voice stood amidst the resounding call of a nation of Native Christian patriots.

Press, 2010); Keanu Sai, *Ua Mau Ke Ea* (Honolulu: Pū‘ā Foundation, 2011).

³ William Abraham Kiha, “He Manao Kakoo ia S. K. Kamakaia,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, November 22, 1893, 2; William Abraham Kiha, “E Aha Ana o Kaumakapili a me Kawaiahao e Ulolohi Nei,” *Ka Leo o Ka Lahui*, January 25[26], 1894, 2.

An Altered Mission

The year 1863 was a significant inflection point for the Hawaiian “mission” — both as an ecclesiastic institution and a determined plan of action. The American Board, noting the progressive difference between an evangelical mission and a group of associated local churches, mandated a change in its forty-three year presence in Hawai‘i. The ABCFM had declared Hawai‘i “A Christian nation” ten years prior, and now sent its executive officer, Rev. Rufus Anderson, to the islands to demand the transformation in person. While in Honolulu, Anderson had written a letter to King Kamehameha IV, in which he declared that the Christian community in Hawai‘i was “so far formed and matured, that the American Board ceases to act any longer as principal, and becomes an auxiliary.”⁴

In an explanation of the American Board’s demands for Native authority over the former Hawaiian Mission, Anderson later wrote a prescient note that foreshadowed the turbulent times to come, explaining, “it seemed obvious, that if the native clergy and people did not soon have conceded to them as much agency in the management of their religious affairs as they already had in the affairs of state, serious evils must ere long arise.”⁵ The American mission to the Sandwich Islands had been meant to mature into a self-reliant and self-governing group of local Native churches, and now the time to hand over autonomy to the Hawai‘i-based ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i was at hand. The ecclesiastic landscape envisioned for Hawai‘i’s future by the ABCFM left little room for the white pastor and administrator within Native churches.

⁴ “Dr. Anderson’s Letter to the King,” in *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, at its Annual Meeting in Honolulu, June 3, to July 1, 1863* (Boston: Press of T. R. Marvin & Son, 1864), 118.

⁵ Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition Under Missionary Labors* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1864), 27.

The era was one of considerable and broad change in the Islands, and in the early 1860s the Sons of the Mission found themselves virtually overwhelmed by both challenges and opportunities in relation to their place within Hawaiian society. In September 1861, the first Native owned and operated newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Ka Pakipika* (The Star of The Pacific), was founded as the first paper outside of government or mission control. Classified by Noenoe Silva as a “resistance” paper, *Ka Hoku* soon became the target of attacks by those seeking to control public discourse in Hawai‘i. Weeks after the first issues appeared, another new Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, was founded with mission support. Edited by mission son Henry Whitney, *Kuokoa* developed a fierce rivalry with the native-run *Ka Hoku*. Silva speaks to this struggle between the two papers, and quotes from Abraham Fornander, editor of an English language newspaper, *The Polynesian*, concerning the move by Native Hawaiians to begin their own paper free of mission control:

The greatest opposition. . . come from the Protestant Missionaries, who . . . use every endeavor to crush the Hoku and stop its circulation. . . The editors of the Hoku are defending themselves valiantly, and the contest has led to some very plain talking as regards the limits of clerical interference with the political and economical relations of the people.

Speaking on Whitney’s decision to start *Kuokoa*, Fornander wrote:

It is true that a foreign publisher. . . has offered to issue a journal in the Hawaiian language to supply the intellectual wants of the native people, and that his offer has been most warmly seconded and espoused by the Missionaries, but...the natives repudiate it. . . because it is calculated to drive their own paper out of the field, and because they apprehend that is will not be a true reflex of their own opinions and thoughts.⁶

⁶ Noenoe K. Silva, “Ke Kū‘ē Kūpa‘a Loa Nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization,” (PhD dissertation, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1999), 37-38, from *Polynesian*, November 23, 1861.

Ka Hoku became a site of strong and continued public demands for Native leadership. When Rufus Anderson arrived in July of 1863 to demand a transfer of ecclesiastic authority to Native Christians, white Christian leaders were already facing expanding challenges to their influence in Hawai‘i.

The effects of the previously discussed exodus of Native Christians from the churches of the AEH to other denominations were exacerbated in this period by monarchical support for a link between church and state that did not involve the churches birthed from American Protestantism. In 1862, the year prior to Anderson’s visit, Mō‘ī Alexander Liholiho introduced the Anglican Church into the islands, offering the traditionally British institution significant monetary and administrative support.⁷ The King and his wife, Emma Rooke,⁸ along with Prince David Kalākaua, were baptized as Anglicans, and on November 6, 1862, the church was incorporated under Hawaiian Kingdom law. On March 3, 1867, King Kamehameha V laid the cornerstone for St. Andrew’s Cathedral in a ceremony in Honolulu. Kalākaua became a trustee of the “Anglican Church in Hawaii” in November 1873, months before being elected as

⁷ In 1861 the Bishop at Oxford, England, announced “That the King of the Sandwich Islands was most anxious to see a Bishop of the English Church established in his dominions.” Thomas Nettleship Staley, *Five Years’ Church Work in the Kingdom of Hawaii* (London, Oxford and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1868). Although the Kingdom’s 1852 constitution prohibited the establishment of an official state religion, Alexander Liholiho could and did support the Anglican Church in numerous ways, including encouraging it to incorporate under Hawaiian Kingdom law so that he could grant title to land for the establishment of churches and schools.

⁸ Queen Emma was the granddaughter of the British advisor to Kamehameha I, John Young.

Hawai‘i’s next king.⁹ Anglican churches and schools, begun with the crown’s support, were challenges to the AEH mission.¹⁰

In “Hawai‘i’s Holy War,” Robert Semes writes, “While the Civil War raged in America, a conflict of another kind flared between two Christian groups in the Hawaiian Islands: the American Congregationalist community and a newly arrived Church of England mission.”¹¹ The Anglican school in Lāhainā, Maui, Lua‘ehu School, had strong connections to the throne, and after acquiring a printing press, the young male students there published a proposed national anthem for the Kingdom whose first stanza read, “God save our gracious King, Long may we see him reign; God save the king! Send him prosperity, And may no enemy O’erthrow his dynasty; God save the king!”¹² When Alexander Liholiho died in 1863, his brother Lota Kapuāiwa rose to the throne, and after refusing to swear allegiance to the existing constitution, promulgated a new governing document for the kingdom that delivered significantly more power into the hands of the Native monarch. Jonathan Osorio notes succinctly in *Dismembering Lāhui* that in regards to the 1864 Constitution, there was “no shortage of haole who were strongly opposed to so powerful a king.”¹³

⁹ The church was incorporated as “Synod of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church” on November 6, 1862. A petition to change the name of the corporation to “Trustees of the Anglican Church on Hawaii” and naming Kalākaua as a trustee, was granted on November 7, 1873. “Articles of Incorporation, Reformed Catholic Church of Hawaii,” and “Amendment to Charter,” Department of Interior, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

¹⁰ The original Anglican school in Lāhainā, Maui, named Lua‘ehu and referred to colloquially as “Lahainalalo” (lower Lahaina) was founded in 1862 and had a mission of training future leaders for the Kingdom government and church, a mission similar to the American Protestant school less than a mile upland, “Lahainluna.” (Upper Lahaina)

¹¹ Semes, “Hawai‘i’s Holy War: English Bishop Staley, American Congregationalists, and the Hawaiian Monarchs, 1860-1870,” (2000): 113-138.

¹² *Hawaiian Gazette*, September 16, 1868, 3.

¹³ Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 144.

In addition to these significant challenges, motivating opportunities were also presenting themselves to the white administration of the AEH. Ralph Kuykendall has written concerning this era, “In no respect is the transitional character of the period more marked than in the sphere of economics.”¹⁴ The year 1863 was the first in which the value of exports from Hawai‘i topped one million dollars and the Hawaiian sugar industry was exploding in both size and value.¹⁵ Mills, machinery, transportation, and related businesses all expanded extensively at this time and offered large profits for stakeholders. The generous business expansion and large profits drew a sharper contrast between competing interests in the Kingdom, and many of the Sons of the Mission, who had become deeply involved in these economic developments, clashed strongly with Native monarchs over more than just issues of morality. As these conflicts intensified, influence over the still numerically dominant Native populace became a growing site of struggle.¹⁶ Calls for a handover of power within the AEH could not come at a worse time for the white administration. Faced with this situation, the white Christian leadership developed a new “mission” for Hawai‘i that called for a strong centralization of power under a white missionary governance that would necessitate their continued hold on power—a far cry from their individualistic Puritan roots.

In writing on “The Tenets of American Puritanism,” Ning Kang explains that in the view of the Puritans, Catholicism had undermined the relationship between God and the individual. Puritanism posited that individual Christians could read and understand the bible, and could have a personal relationship with God. When assembled together,

¹⁴ Ralph Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Vol. 2*, 135.

¹⁵ The American Civil War, begun in 1861, interrupted sugar production in the US in the midst of a rise in demand.

¹⁶ The 1860 census of Hawai‘i lists 67,084 natives and 7,189 foreigners. Hoike no Elua Makahiki a ka Peresidena o ka Papa Hoonaauao 1860-1862.

“The congregation of saints chooses its members, hires and fires its ministers, and recognizes no other religious authority.”¹⁷ Kang credits Puritanism for laying the foundation for “one of the most important values of American people,” American individualism. Likewise, Nathan Hatch, in *The Democratization of American Christianity*, characterizes Puritanism as a foundational building block of the democratic process that is proudly proclaimed as essentially American.¹⁸

The new plan shaped by the white leaders of the AEH for the Native Christian churches in Hawai‘i was an ironic claim to authority coming from the offspring of an ABCFM that had been a party to the 1832 “Worcester Ruling” of the US Supreme Court granting nationhood status to the Cherokee.¹⁹ The Sons of the Mission in Hawai‘i, with new interests to consider, had built their new “mission” around claims of white supremacy; however, and as the African-American intellectual W. E. B. Du Bois has written, “This assumption that of all the hues of God, whiteness alone is inherently and obviously better than brownness or tan leads to curious acts.”²⁰

Native Christians throughout the struggle repeatedly made a distinction between the early and later missions. Letters and editorials published in newspapers repeatedly differentiated between “na mamo o na misionari” (the descendants of the missionaries) and their forerunners, with some offering gratitude for the work of many within the early mission. An October 23, 1893, article in *Ka Nupepa Puka La Aloha Aina* (The Daily

¹⁷ Ning Kang, “Puritanism and Its Impact upon American Values,” *Review of European Studies* 1 no. 2, (December 2009): 149.

¹⁸ Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

¹⁹ ABCFM missionary Samuel Worcester was the named plaintiff in the Supreme Court lawsuit that sought to prevent the state of Georgia and the United States federal government from removing the Cherokee from their land: *Worcester v. Georgia* 1837.

²⁰ W. E. B. Du Bois, “The Soul of White Folks,” *Writings*, edited by Nathan Huggings (New York: The Library of America, 1986), 923-928.

Aloha ‘Āina) referenced the late revered Native pastor, author, and historian David Malo to note a prescient warning concerning a change in mission:

Ka Wanana a David Malo!

Ma ka makahiki 1837, ua wanana mai o David Malo maloko o ka luakini o Wainee, Lahaina, Maui, imua o ke anaina halawai haipule, me keia mau huaolelo o ke kupaianaha mai loko mai o ka Halelu a Davida, iaia heluhelu ai ma ka Halelu 115 a maka pauku 5, penei kana mau huaolelo wanana la: "E kipi ana na misionari, aole nae o lakou nei, aka, o ka lakou mau keiki, a i ole ia, o ka lakou mau moopuna. O ke alii e ola ana ia wa, e ku olohelohe ana oia, a o ke aupuni e kukulu ia ana ma ia hope, oia ke aupuni paa o Hawaii nei."²¹

The Prophecy of David Malo!

In the year 1837, within Wainee Church, Lāhainā, Maui, David Malo made a prediction before the congregation, supported with extraordinary words that he read from the Psalm of David, Psalm 115 verse 5. Here are the words of his prophecy: ‘The missionaries will rebel; not them, but their children, or perhaps their grandchildren. The king living at that time will be stripped bare as will the government he has built, and there will be another government formed after, and that will be the permanent government of Hawai‘i.’

The nation’s memory of David Malo as a Native Christian pastor and devoted patriot who followed his beliefs while steadfastly retaining the ability to critique things he saw as detrimental to his nation was used by the staunchly Royalist daily *Aloha Aina* to forward criticism of the current white leaders of the AEH and not Christianity itself.

A Clarity of Purpose

Native Christians, facing immediate and direct threats to the independence of their nation, turned assuredly to their Christianity as a central tool in the struggle over national governance and in the process, laying claim to both God and country. These claims were

²¹ “Ka Wanana a David Malo!” *Ka Nupepa Puka La Aloha Aina*, October 23, 1893, 4.

direct denials of the authority of their ecclesiastic administration and its new religio-political mission. Actions by Native Christians throughout the struggle complicate general narratives that homogenize understandings of Christianity, and offer only representations of this social institution as a tool of imperial/colonial power wielded by white men. Christianity, to the Native leaders of this struggle, was not a hindrance to their fight. It was, in fact, often the source and the site of their claims and they did not abdicate to their administration the use of the bible to justify a claim on God. Native Christians were not timid about invoking the same potent warnings concerning God's will that their white administration had used in its ineffective attempts to bring them under control. Queen Lili'uokalani herself, a near constant target of public AEH administration attacks characterizing her as a heathen and vile non-Christian, issued her own prophecy in an 1897 call to an American audience debating the annexation of the Hawaiian nation:

Oh, honest Americans, as Christians hear me for my down-trodden people! Their form of government is as dear to them as yours is precious to you. Quite as warmly as you love your country, so do they love theirs. With all your goodly possessions, covering a territory so immense that there yet remain parts unexplored, possessing islands that, although near at hand, had to be neutral ground in time of war, do not covet the little vineyard of Naboth's, so far from your shores, lest the punishment of Ahab fall upon you, if not in your day, in that of your children, for 'be not deceived, God is not mocked.' The people to whom your fathers told of the living God, and taught to call 'Father,' and whom the sons now seek to despoil and destroy, are crying aloud to Him in their time of trouble; and He will keep His promise, and will listen to the voices of His Hawaiian children lamenting for their homes.

Speaking directly about the upcoming congressional vote on annexation, the Queen finished by stating,

As they deal with me and my people kindly, generously and justly, so may the Great Ruler of all nations deal with the grand and glorious nation of the United States of America.²²

The Queen's bold call for justice to a Christian America was published in 1898 as part of her memoir intended to address the new push for annexation that had come about in response to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War. It was excerpted in several publications across the US, including "Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper."²³

The self-assurance of Native Christians of this period in their identity as both Native and Christian contrasts to an oft-present, modern-day supposed dichotomy between the two. Academic attention has been focused around answering the assumed "problem" of Native Christian identity.²⁴ Indeed, one of the most common questions asked of this author following academic and community presentations of research for this dissertation was whether I believed that these Native Christians thought of themselves more as Christian or Native—questions based on the assumption that there was an inherent choice to be made. This question does not seem present in any of the thousands of pages of Native writing surveyed for this work.

Recent scholarly work has begun to challenge ideas of a strict Native/foreign binary and complicate questions concerning cultural authenticity. Kamana Beamer and T. Kaeo Duarte have written of active and purposeful Native appropriations of introduced

²² Lili'uokalani, "Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen," 373-74. The biblical story that the Queen references is found in I Kings 21: 1-24.

²³ "Hawaii's Story," *Christian Work: Illustrated Family Newspaper*, 64 (March 3, 1898): 347.

²⁴ The publisher's description of James Treat's 1996 anthology "Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada" describes the book as a collection of "essays by indigenous writers in the US and Canada on the problem of native Christian identity." James Treat, *Native and Christian: Indigenous Voices on Religious Identity in the United States and Canada* (New York and London: Routledge Press, 1996). For Hawaiian Christian examples see: John Charlot, "Towards a Dialogue between Christianity and Polynesian Religions," *Studies in Religion/Sciences Religieuses* 15, no. 4 (Autumn/Fall 1986): 443-450 and Akihiro Inoue, "An Ethnographic Study of the Construction of Hawaiian Christianity in the Past and Present" (PhD dissertation, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2003).

ideas and technologies, characterizing them not as detriments to Native identity but rather as Native claiming of, and impositions on, an evolving landscape. Like Christianity, introduced ideas such as the surveying and mapping of lands have been represented as imposed tools of foreign colonization. In the 2009 article “I palapala no ia aina—documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: a colonial venture?” the authors write:

In the midst of considerable socio-political and cultural upheaval, the mapping of the lands of Hawai‘i during this period was largely due to the agency of the Ali‘i (chiefs) and other Hawaiian nationals. It is argued that these adaptations of Western techniques were intentional and strategic attempts to aid in the development of the Hawaiian State and secure national lands.²⁵

Documentation of Native claims on these introduced ideas and institutions, and their use as tools of Native struggle, complicates our understanding of Native relationships to these tools in both past and present. In the introduction to a re-publication of *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawai‘i*, Noelani Arista argues for a newer historical approach that “seeks to locate its production within the broad cultural, political, educational, and religious currents of socially cosmopolitan, nineteenth-century Hawai‘i.”²⁶ She explains, concerning the work of writers of this period, “because their writings emerge out of their negotiation of multiple intellectual traditions, their texts will continue to be compelling sources not only to enrich our knowledge of the Hawaiian past, but also as a window into the multi-layered present in which each author lived.” Recognizing the complexity of nineteenth-century Native Hawaiian thought and action, and building our histories from this recognition, can work to animate and individualize Native figures and choices often homogenized by dominant theories and narratives.

²⁵ Kamana Beamer and T. Kao Duarte, “I palapala no ia aina—documenting the Hawaiian Kingdom: a colonial venture?” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 66-86.

²⁶ Noelani Arista, “Foreward,” in *Kepelino’s Traditions of Hawai‘i*, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Bulletin 95 (Honolulu: Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, 2007), iv.

Christianity as a Native Institution

The record of Native voice and action during this period calls for a new, more complex understanding of the terms “Hawaiian mission,” “Christianity in Hawai‘i,” and “Native Hawaiian Christian” as they apply to the late-nineteenth century in Hawai‘i. A previous reliance on the records of white missionaries and their descendants has created general understandings of the missionaries that greatly exaggerate their presence and actual influence in Hawai‘i.²⁷ What is today universally referred to, in both academia and the public sphere, as the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was an organization of thousands of Native Christians from dozens of individual congregations throughout the islands, referred to by these members as Ka ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i. In the Native churches across Hawai‘i that made up the AEH, religious services, local prayer and administrative meetings, baptisms, annual Sunday school presentations, and other church functions were conducted in Hawaiian and dominated by the presence of Native Christians. A select few white Christians, almost entirely from within the white AEH church in Honolulu, dominated the AEH’s administrative board and were the entirety of its officers.²⁸ The role of this Honolulu-based administration in the decisions and religious lives of individual congregations and congregants throughout the archipelago varied and altered over time.

²⁷ One recent example comes from a news article which quotes Hawai‘i Pacific University professor Justin Vance: “Vance also estimates there were about 5,000 American missionary families living in Hawai‘i at the time of the Civil War.” William Cole, “Native Hawaiians served on both sides during Civil War,” *Honolulu Advertiser*, May 31, 2010. A census of missionaries produced by Hawai‘i State archivist Rhoda Hackler list a total of 148 missionaries sent to Hawai‘i in the entirety of the mission from 1820 to 1902. By 1861, the time of the American Civil War, there had been only 112 missionaries sent to Hawai‘i, some of whom had died or returned to the US. While there are no exact accounts of how many missionary families were present circa 1861, the number would most likely be less than even five percent of the figure quoted.

²⁸ There were two white AEH churches on O‘ahu, Fort Street Church and Seaman’s Bethel Chapel, until November 13, 1887, when they combined to form Central Union Church.

For many of the Native churches, especially on outer islands, interaction with the Hawaiian Board was rare, coming mostly during the annual meetings held in Honolulu, when churches would send delegates to attend. Authority within these Native Christian churches mostly lay with the often long-serving deacons, trustees, and prominent local families who compromised the congregations. Pastors served at the pleasure of these groups.²⁹ As the white leaders of the AEH moved to alter the mission to achieve new aims, they sought to assert a much more active authority over the Native churches throughout Hawai‘i. These moves were steadfastly contested. Native Hawaiian Christians fought for control over the houses of worship that had served as the spiritual centers and community gathering spots of their families for generations. They had always seen, and would continue to see, these churches, this religion, as theirs.

Native Agency and the Historical Record

For much of the twentieth century, a historical research methodology that relied almost exclusively on English-language sources dominated the production of historical narratives concerning Hawai‘i. This flawed but enduring historiographical structure was developed amid a hegemonic framework that allowed for the dismissal of Hawaiian-language sources.³⁰ Histories of Hawai‘i void of Native-language sources filled academic bookshelves, public libraries, and people’s minds, eliding Native accounts and much of

²⁹ In addition to an informal understanding of this relationship, which is discussed more in the epilogue of this work, many of the churches of the AEH had incorporated under the Hawaiian Kingdom Government and formal authority over the “corporations”—the power to buy and sell church assets and land, elect and dismiss officers, etc.—was legally held by the church trustees as recorded in the corporate charters.

³⁰ For more on historiography and Hawai‘i see Ronald Williams Jr., “‘Ike Mōakaaka. Seeing a Path Forward: Historiography in Hawai‘i,” *Hālili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 7 (2011): 67-90.

Native voice. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes in his book on Haitian history, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*:

As sources fill the historical landscape with their facts, they reduce the room available to other facts. Even if we imagine the landscape to be forever expandable, the rule of interdependence implies that new facts cannot emerge in a vacuum. They will have to gain their right to existence in light of the field constituted by previously created facts.³¹

This elision is very much an active process, as Trouillot explains:

the presences and absences embodied in sources or archives are neither neutral or natural. They are created. As such, they are not mere presences and absences, but mentions or silences of various kinds and degrees. By silence, I mean an active and transitive process: one “silences” a fact or an individual as a silencer silences a gun. One engages in the practice of silencing. Mentions and silences are thus active, dialectical counterparts of which history is the synthesis.

The men who had taken control of Hawai‘i in 1893 laid the groundwork for the silencing of Native voice in Hawai‘i by both removing the Hawaiian language as a medium of education in the schools and concurrently flooding the landscape with their own histories, both academic and public. The use of English-language sources to tell Hawaiian history became normalized over the twentieth century. Noenoe Silva has written concerning this acceptance of foreign-language sourcing:

By the mid-twentieth century, the idea that English was the language of Hawai‘i seemed natural, especially because, except by some persistent Kānaka, Hawai‘i was no longer regarded as a separate nation with its own people having their own history and language. When historians and others composed their narratives, they “naturally” conducted their research using only the English-language sources.³²

Author Gavan Daws’s aforementioned 1968 note explaining that he had tried to

³¹ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995), 49.

³² Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 3.

understand Native Hawaiians “by merely trying to make sense of what their white contemporaries said about them” did not deter wide acceptance of his text as Hawaiian history nor its use in academic and public forums.³³ His claim that Native sources were “all but intractable”³⁴ excused a problematic paradigm that, although now challenged, continues to find use as an explanation for an ongoing elision of Native voice. In his 2003 doctoral dissertation “An Ethnographic Study of the Construction of Hawaiian Christianity in the Past and Present,” Akihiro Inoue wrote:

The main historical materials I utilize in this chapter are not of Christian Hawaiians, but of white missionaries and ministers. This means that I interpret the history of Hawaiian Christianity through the eyes of the outsiders who intruded into Hawaii with an intention of converting Hawaiians. Therefore, it may be difficult to find Christian Hawaiians, the leading character of Hawaiian Christianity, in my analysis. However, in the case that there is actually *no easily accessible material* left by Christian Hawaiians who had a different understanding of Christianity from that of white missionaries, *we have no choice* but to analyze the materials left by the outsiders, including white missionaries, in order to investigate Christianity for Hawaiians at that time. [my emphasis].³⁵

A plethora of Native-language writings and oral recordings on a broad variety of historical and social topics are available to researchers within the archives of Hawai‘i and elsewhere, including the more than 125,000 pages of Hawaiian-language newspapers that have been termed “the largest collection of indigenous-language written literature in the Pacific.”³⁶ Large collections of Hawaiian-language correspondence, reports, and

³³ Gavan Daws’s 1968 text *Shoal of Time* was the textbook used in the HIST 284, “History of Hawai‘i” course taken by this author in 2001 at University of Hawai‘i Maui College.

³⁴ Gavan Daws, “Writing Local History in Hawaii—A Personal Note,” *Hawaiian Historical Review* 2 (10) (1968): 417-418.

³⁵ Inoue, “An Ethnographic Study of the Construction of Hawaiian Christianity in the Past and Present,” 44.

³⁶ Keiki K. C. Kawai‘ae‘a, Alohalani Kaluhiokalani (Kaina) Housman, Makalapua (Ka‘awa) Alencastre, “Pū‘ā i ka ‘Ōlelo, Ola ka ‘Ohana: Three Generations of Hawaiian Language Revitalization,” *Hūlili* 4 (2007): 183-233. The collection of Hawaiian-language newspapers has been available on microfilm since the 1970s and has been in the process of being digitized and uploaded online since 2003. Currently, approximately forty-five thousand pages are available online. Thousands of hours of oral interviews with

government documents can be readily accessed at local repositories such as the Hawai‘i State Archives, Hawaiian Mission Children’s Museum Library, Hawaiian Historical Society, and the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum among others.

Again and again, histories of Hawai‘i are reviewed as being “thoroughly researched” while being void of a single Native-language resource. This paradigm has produced histories of Hawai‘i from a very small, preferenced group of voices, resulting in the domination of histories about Hawaiians, not from them. That time is ending.

Accessing and foregrounding Native-language sources in historical works not only opens doors to the self-reflective thoughts and actions of Native actors, but also humanizes these actors and histories by revealing complexities within a group that has most often been homogenized by both the English-language sources and the subsequent analysis of them.

A developing broad awareness and use of Native-language sources is generating challenges to a wide range of long-dominant representations within Hawaiian history. Questions of Native agency, in scope and degree, are being examined and negotiated. In particular, characterizations of the relationship between a posited powerful and dominant white colonizer and a docile, overwhelmed Native victim are being challenged on several fronts. In this work I argue that Native Hawaiian Christians of this period actively asserted confident and determined claims on Christianity, and that they used their Christian faith and its institutions as central tools in the ongoing struggle over political rule in Hawai‘i. Accessing and foregrounding Native-language record of this period is crucial to making this claim.

kūpuna that speak to a wide range of historical and social topics, conducted in Hawaiian-language from 1941-1990 are held by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and the University of Hawai‘i.

The extant but long-elided record of Native Christian action and writing of this period introduces an entirely new dynamic into our understanding of the relationship between the Sons of the Mission, Christian institutions of the period, and Native Hawaiians. The AEH administration sought the implementation of a new mission for Hawai‘i, but at every turn the presence and actions of Native Christians forced them to adapt their plans, their rule, and their documents. Examples such as the formation of a new association to remissionize Native Hawaiians that was designed to be free of Native leadership, the centralization of authority over local churches, the unilateral changes to church polity, and the excommunication of nearly ninety percent of the Lāhainā church congregation are all blatant changes to the plans of the white Christian leadership that left complicating marks on the historical record. All were adjustments forced by the actions of the great mass of Native Christian congregants. Native Christians of this period claimed an identity as Native Christian patriots who incorporated both a once-foreign institution and a love of land/nation that was present in the roots of their existence as a people in Oceania. They made these claims with a voice that we now hear clearly more than a century later, a voice that resounds like a determined church bell on a pre-dawn winter morning.

EPILOGUE

A Genealogy of Experience

He was the first to stand—he was kupuna (an elder). The crowded room sat in patient silence as he rose deliberately, an orange kīhei (ceremonial shawl) knotted above his left shoulder, hung elegantly across his still-broad chest. An air of solemn authority surrounded him, and the deep lines in his handsome face hinted at a wisdom gained from decades of dedicated service to his people. Many within the crowd gathered inside Hale Keōpūolani on this Sunday afternoon seemed to have burning questions, yet all followed an unspoken cultural protocol: Kūpuna speak first. I had been invited by the trustees of Waiola Church (previously named Waine‘e) in Lāhainā to present research from my dissertation focusing on the history of their congregation and its role as a center of the struggle over God and nation in Hawai‘i. Having just completed the talk, I asked for questions or comments. ‘Anakala Les Kuloloio¹ spoke deliberately, assuredly, and with the commanding presence that seems common among genuine community leaders. He began with his mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy), linking himself to this place, these lands, and this nation. Next, he offered his mana‘o (thoughts):

These things you’ve given us, this true history of our kūpuna, from their mouths, is pono. It is something we have always felt, but did not know. By knowing the things that they did, their struggle for right, for pono, we can be proud of them, and then be proud of ourselves. We can know who they were, and who we are. I thank you for this today; what you’ve done is good, and my kūpuna thank you.²

¹ ‘Anakala (Uncle) is a term of respect in the community for a male older than the speaker.

² Comments of ‘Anakala Les Kuloloio, November 8, 2012, audio recording of *Claiming Christianity: The Struggle over God and Nation in Hawai‘i 1880-1900. He Mo‘olelo o ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e*—a presentation of research to the Waine‘e Church congregation and community as part of “E Ho‘i ka Nani i Waine‘e” grant project. Lāhainā, Maui.

‘Anakala Les spoke eloquently about the connections between past and present, between generations.



Figure 9. ‘Anakala Les Kuloloio, ‘Īao, Maui. January 18, 2013

When he had finished, George Kaimiola rose to speak. I had worked with George in this wahi pana (sacred area) of Ka Malu Ulu ‘o Lele twelve years earlier as an alaka‘i (leader) and mea oli (chanter) under my kumu (teacher) Akoni Akana for The Friends of Moku‘ula, giving cultural history tours of Lāhainā, but I hadn’t seen him since leaving to go to university on O‘ahu more than a decade ago. Today, George is a strong Christian, dedicated community activist, and tenacious researcher of his people’s past. He maintains lo‘i kalo (taro patches) in ‘Īao Valley, re-connecting the community and the land. He also does evangelical work for Aloha ke Akua ministries.³ At Waiola church that afternoon,

³ This non-denominational ministry declares, “Our goal is to provide indigenous people, missionaries and Christians with information, training and materials that show the true nature of Jesus; that his way is not to

George shared how the knowledge of the unapologetic embrace of Christianity as both a guiding faith and a tool of Native patriotism by his kūpuna had freed him from any remaining vestiges of doubt about his path:

I felt these things were true, and I mahalo you for bringing this important ‘ike (knowledge) to us today. Our kūpuna were strong in their Christianity and their love for the lāhui. It is so important that we hear these things, that we know that our path is not one that was foreign to our kūpuna. To hear about their works in the churches for our Queen, and for Ke Akua, all that they did, knowing this gives us strength today.⁴

Others followed, standing and sharing similar mana‘o (thoughts) in a humbling reminder to everyone gathered that what these Native Christians felt and believed today was built upon a foundation constructed by their ancestors. Several spoke of the words and deeds of their ancestors as makana (gifts), passed down through the years, through the churches, so that the people gathered may be who they are today. The recognition of the claims made by their forebears on Christianity as a Native institution and of its use as a tool to defend the things that were fundamental parts of who they were—love of nation and the land to which they were tied—lent an air of solemn contentment to the room.

For myself, one of the most significant impacts today of reshaping our understanding of the role of Christianity in the lives of nineteenth-century Native Christian patriots was made evident at a 2013 event scheduled to mark the one hundred and twentieth anniversary of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom government. I was

be a foreign religion that destroys people groups and their cultures, but one that brings people groups and their cultures to their highest fulfillment.” <http://akaministries.tripod.com/aloha/> Aloha Ke Akua website accessed August 19, 2013.

⁴ Comments of George Kaimiolo, November 8, 2012 audio recording of *Claiming Christianity: The Struggle over God and Nation in Hawai‘i 1880-1900. He Mo‘olelo o ka ‘Ekalesia o Waine‘e*, a presentation of research to the Waine‘e Church congregation and community as part of “E Ho‘i ka Nani i Waine‘e” Hawai‘inuiākea Community Engagement Grant project, Lāhainā, Maui.

asked to present research at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College on January 17, 2013, with an evening speech that capped a day of events that included the filling of the university lawn with thousands of flags inscribed with the names of those who signed the 1897 Kū‘ē petitions against the annexation, a ceremonial raising of the Hawaiian Kingdom flag by Nā Koa Kia‘i Royal Hawaiian Guard, speeches on issues surrounding Hawaiian sovereignty by Kalei Kalekoa, Lynette Cruz and others, and a historical re-enactment titled “The Queen’s Women” that portrayed the experience of gathering the anti-annexation signatures. I had been invited to share this research with the community by the sponsors including Kahu (Pastor) Hanalei Colleado, senior pastor of Pu‘uhonua O ‘Īao. Kahu Colleado had attended a community research presentation of mine the year prior.

Now, on this historic date, as a long day passed to evening and a still-energetic crowd gathered inside a large hall on the college campus, Kahu Hanalei introduced the presentation concerning Native claims on God and nation—*Kani i ka Pō* (Resound in the Darkness)—with eloquent and succinct testimony:

You know, all my life, almost had to defend myself, my own faith, when I around other kanakas, ‘Oh, here comes another believer!’ You know, like I one part of that usurping body. And I always feel like I gotta put up one wall, you know what I mean, to protect myself. When I heard this bruddha speak, he kept me at the edge of my seat. And everything that he had to share brought confirmation to everything that I’ve held by faith for a lifetime.⁵

These voices of the kūpuna, of Native Christian patriots, who fought and struggled using every tool at their disposal to defend and protect their lāhui, resonate powerfully within

⁵ Comments of Kahu Hanalei Colleado, January 17, 2013 recording of *Kani I ka Pō* (Resound in the Darkness), a community research presentation at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College.

the community today. While the twentieth and twenty-first century evolution of Native Christian churches and issues around Native Christian identity are beyond the scope of this work, the relevance of the historical work to a modern-day community is clear. The outpouring of thought and emotion at Waiola Church and Maui College replicated the experience at more than a dozen different community presentations of the research on O‘ahu, Maui, and Hawai‘i Island over the past four years.

The issue of the place of Christianity within an evolving renaissance of Hawaiian culture, politics, and voice that arose in the 1970s and has sought to highlight “Native” understandings remains complex and oft-times disconcerting. Polarizing representations of Christianity that had been so steadfastly refused by Native Hawaiian Christians at the end of the nineteenth century seem to have made significant headway by the close of the twentieth. Today, many Native Christians speak of an ongoing struggle, to varying degrees, between a Native identity and a dominant narrative that characterizes their religion as an imposed, foreign institution. The refocusing of the historical lens on the words and actions of Native Hawaiian Christians at the close of the nineteenth century offers a re-connection to claims on God and nation made by the kūpuna.

Kahu Hanalei wrapped up his introduction that evening on Maui by mentioning my own position as a non-Christian. He revealed, “And the beautiful part is that Ronald wen share in his previous presentation that he was a Buddhist. He not even one Christian. It blessed my heart.”⁶ Indeed, in the early stages of this research, as a non-theist, I’d entered the topic of Native Christianity with a healthy dose of trepidation, and in all honesty, a bit of cynicism. In fact, I’d begun this research in 2003, drawn in by the

⁶ Ibid.

exciting, published story of the June 28, 1894, burning of Waine‘e Church in Lāhainā by an angry mob of Royalists.⁷ I saw the story as another of the many unexplored examples of Native kū‘ē (resistance, struggle) against institutions of colonialism. Coming to the University of Hawai‘i that year, I began my research in the Hawaiian-language resources expecting to find a plethora of evidence of “true” Hawaiian patriots who, in defense of their nation, had burned an architectural symbol of the foreign usurper and his ways. What I was instead presented with, were accounts from the mouths of Native Christians of the period that proved the story false and turned my expectations upside down.

The subsequent decade of research on the topic laid bare a broad and powerful story that contested previous assumptions and centered around a nation of Native Christian patriots who sat at the epicenter of struggle against the white Christian administrators of their churches. When these ecclesiastical administrators challenged Native Hawaiians to choose between God and nation, Native Christians steadfastly refused the idea that the two were separate. They instead immediately and forcefully claimed both, using their Christianity to fight for their Queen and nation. The research also revealed an institution that by the latter part of the nineteenth century had become something fundamentally different than previous histories had portrayed it.

While many Native Christians had left the churches founded by the American Protestant missionaries, many others had remained, deciding to fight for these churches and claim them as their own. I came to understand the ‘Ahahui ‘Euanelio o Hawai‘i, and

⁷ P. Cristiaan Klieger, *Moku‘ula: Maui’s Sacred Island* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1998), 94. Despite more than a dozen texts that carried this incendiary account of the 1894 fire, research in the Hawaiian-language archive revealed that the fire was in actuality an accidental blaze. The accounts and analysis is contained in the M.A. thesis: Ronald Williams Jr., “‘Onipa’a Ka ‘Oia’i’o. Hearing Voices: Long Ignored Indigenous-language Testimony Challenges the Current Historiography of Hawai‘i Nei,” (master’s thesis, UH Mānoa, 2008).

the Christianity that it represented for its Native congregants of this period, as very much Native Hawaiian institutions.

In bringing this research into communities around Hawai‘i, I witnessed a continuity of understanding, a genealogy of experience. At the many church services, trustee meetings, annual ecclesiastic conferences, and church lū‘au I attended, there was a recognition, for myself, of something familiar, recognizable. The depth of honest commitment to their churches, the sincere faith of the Native Christian congregants, the way they used their ecclesiastical lives to support and enrich their devotion to their land and nation tied these experiences to the accounts from Native Christians that I had been reading for years in the nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers and correspondence. There was an obvious genealogy to this modern experience.

Preserving the Link: Native Churches as “Cultural Kīpuka”⁸

Many of the Native Christian churches in Hawai‘i today stand as direct contestations of supposed binaries between Christianity and a posited “true Hawaiianess.” They do so enabled by a link to the past that has carried more than just a history and more than just information. These churches have been sites of preservation and nourishment for some of the most central aspects of Native Hawaiian culture amidst more than a century of economic, political, and social pressures that sought to Americanize the Islands following the 1898 taking of Hawai‘i by the United States.

⁸ The Pukui/Elbert dictionary defines kīpuka as “Variation or change of form (puka, hole), as a calm place in a high sea, deep place in a shoal, opening in a forest, openings in cloud formations, and especially a clear place or oasis within a lava bed where there may be vegetation.” I borrow the idea of cultural kīpuka from Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor.

Native Christian churches have often stood as places of refuge for Hawaiian language, knowledge, and leadership.

In her book, *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture*, Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor speaks of particular geographic places throughout the islands, small towns or isolated communities, where the foundational aspects of Hawaiian culture were preserved amid a bombardment of foreign influence. She terms these places cultural kīpuka. In her words, “These rural communities are special strongholds for the perpetuation of Hawaiian culture as a whole.”⁹ She explains the concept of kīpuka:

Even as Pele claims and reconstructs the forest landscape, she leaves intact whole sections of the forest, with tall old-growth ‘ōhia trees, tree ferns, creeping vines, and mosses. These oases are called kīpuka. The beauty of these natural kīpuka is not only in their ability to resist and withstand destructive forces of change, but also their ability to regenerate life on the barren lava that surrounds them.¹⁰

McGregor uses this idea of natural oasis to characterize communities that maintained a continuity of Hawaiian culture. I would like to posit that within the communities that McGregor speaks of, and elsewhere throughout the islands, the Native Christian church was often a center of that preservation. Today, predominantly ethnic Hawaiian churches such as Ka Hana O Ke Akua Church in Wai‘anae, Keawala‘i Church in Mākena, Maui, and the churches of Ka Makua Mau Loa throughout the islands, continue a tradition of Hawaiian language incorporation into services long after the practice ended elsewhere. Historical ties to Native Hawaiian understandings of the past are valued here and throughout the larger community, both Hawaiian and foreign, these

⁹ Davianna Pōmaika‘i McGregor, *Nā Kua‘āina: Living Hawaiian Culture* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2007), 6.

¹⁰ Ibid., 9.

churches are often referred to as “Hawaiian” churches. They have also been sites of strong claims for Native Hawaiian rights and political justice.¹¹

At the aforementioned community research presentation in Lāhainā, I was struck by something shared by Kumu Kīʻope Raymond. Raymond, an associate professor of Hawaiian Language and Studies at the University of Hawai‘i Maui College, has been a determined believer in and fighter for the Native language and Hawaiian nation for many years.¹² In his comments that day, he pointed out the ties between the Native Christian churches and the survival of the Hawaiian language, offering that the person who had initially taught him Hawaiian was the mother of ‘Anakala Les Kuloloio, and that their lessons, vocabulary, and conversations had almost exclusively focused around the church and Ka Baibala Hemolele. Native Christian churches in Hawai‘i have been places where many kūpuna gathered to worship, talk story, and share memories in their mother tongue, offering a deep well of Hawaiian understanding to the Christian experience.

I ka Wā Ma Mua, ka Wā Ma Hope (The future is in the past)

Genealogical links between Native Christian churches in Hawai‘i today and those of their ancestors are not only metaphorical. Lineal descendants of the nineteenth-century Native Christians patriots highlighted in this work remain as congregants in these churches throughout the islands. Rev. John Henry Wise, after leaving the churches of the AEH and becoming an early member of the re-formed Ho‘omana Na‘auao church, helped

¹¹ In an ironic twist on the dominant narrative which characterizes Christianity solely as a tool of American colonialism, activist Kenneth Conklin, recognizing the connection between these churches and current Native Hawaiian issues, wrote an internet essay entitled “The Role of Religious Leaders and Churches in Pushing Hawaiian Sovereignty Today,” in which he attacks “established ethnically Hawaiian churches” that “have been politically active both historically and at present.”

<http://www.angelfire.com/hi2/hawaiiansovereignty/religleadchurch.html> accessed August 24, 2013.

¹² Kīʻope Raymond is a co-founder of the Hawaiian-language immersion program Aha Pūnana Leo that began in 1984.

found the churches of Ka Makua Mau Loa. His daughter Ella Wise carried on the work after his death, founding several branches of the church across the Islands. These churches today mandated by their constitution and by-laws, continue to do biblical readings, sing the service songs, and conduct other parts of their services in Hawaiian. The churches have a noted focus on the history of their churches and are regarded by the community as “Hawaiian churches.”

In the summer of 2013 I was invited to present research on John Henry Wise and the larger story of Native Christian claims on God and country at the week-long annual ‘Aha Pae‘āina of the Ka Makua Mau Loa churches, which brought together kahu (pastors), kahu hope (assistant pastors), and other representatives from the branch churches around Hawai‘i. This year they gathered at Ka ‘Ekalesia o Ka ‘Uhane Hemolele o Ka Malamalama in Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawai‘i. The host church had set aside a day, Saturday, July 19, in the busy program to focus on history.¹³ In the printed program for the week-long ‘Aha Pae‘āina, Kahu Billie Keawekane-Berre, daughter of Ella Wise, wrote:

Solomon, wisest of all Kings, reminds me of all of God’s elected who are no longer with us in presence but are surely with us today in spirit. Let the names of yesterday NEVER BE FORGOTTEN. Teach them to your children and your grandchildren and your great grandchildren, forever more. For that is our purpose, to perpetuate our teachings in history, in culture, in mele (song), in language, in scriptures, in stories. Let them know that what we do today was done by all of yesterday.¹⁴

¹³ Unbeknownst to the event organizers, July 19 was the birthday of Rev. John Henry Wise.

¹⁴ Billie Keawekane-Berre, “Message from Mama Billie,” program of 2013 ‘Aha Pae‘āina July 14–21, 2013, hosted by Ka ‘Ekalesia o Ka ‘Uhane Hemolele o Ka Malamalama, Keaukaha, Hawai‘i.

At the conclusion of the presentation on Rev. John Wise that day, four generations of Wise descendants from within the churches that he had helped found gathered for a group photograph.



Figure 9. Four generation of Wise ‘ohana at Ka Aha Pae‘āina o na ‘Ekalesia o Ka Makua Mau Loa, Ka ‘Ekalesia o Ka ‘Uhane Hemolele o ka Mālamalama, Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawai‘i, July 19, 2013

Other examples are found in churches on every island. The congregation and Board of Trustees at Waine‘e Church contain members of the same Lāhainā families that more than a century ago served their churches and communities. An “Engaged Scholarship / Community Involvement grant”—E Ho‘i Ka Nani i Waine‘e—awarded in 2012, has worked to provide volumes of primary and secondary source documentation concerning Waine‘e Church and Cemetery to Nā Kia‘i o Waine‘e, greatly enhancing the ability of

the community to access histories of those who attended the church and those who are buried at the historic cemetery. The project, and other presentations in 'Īao Valley, Maui, Honolulu, O'ahu, and other communities, have uniformly involved interaction with descendants of those within the stories who have left their mana'o (thoughts) and 'ike (knowledge) from the past.

The power of history to link past and present has a long and affecting record. In Hawai'i the ongoing shift towards accessing Native voice and action within histories of the Hawaiian nation offers new generations links to a complex past that can both resonate and inspire. Reconnecting to the powerful claims on God and nation made by Native Christian patriots at a time of immense challenge to them offers another history, another genealogy, to those in the present, looking to navigate the future, with foundation from the past.

APPENDIX A

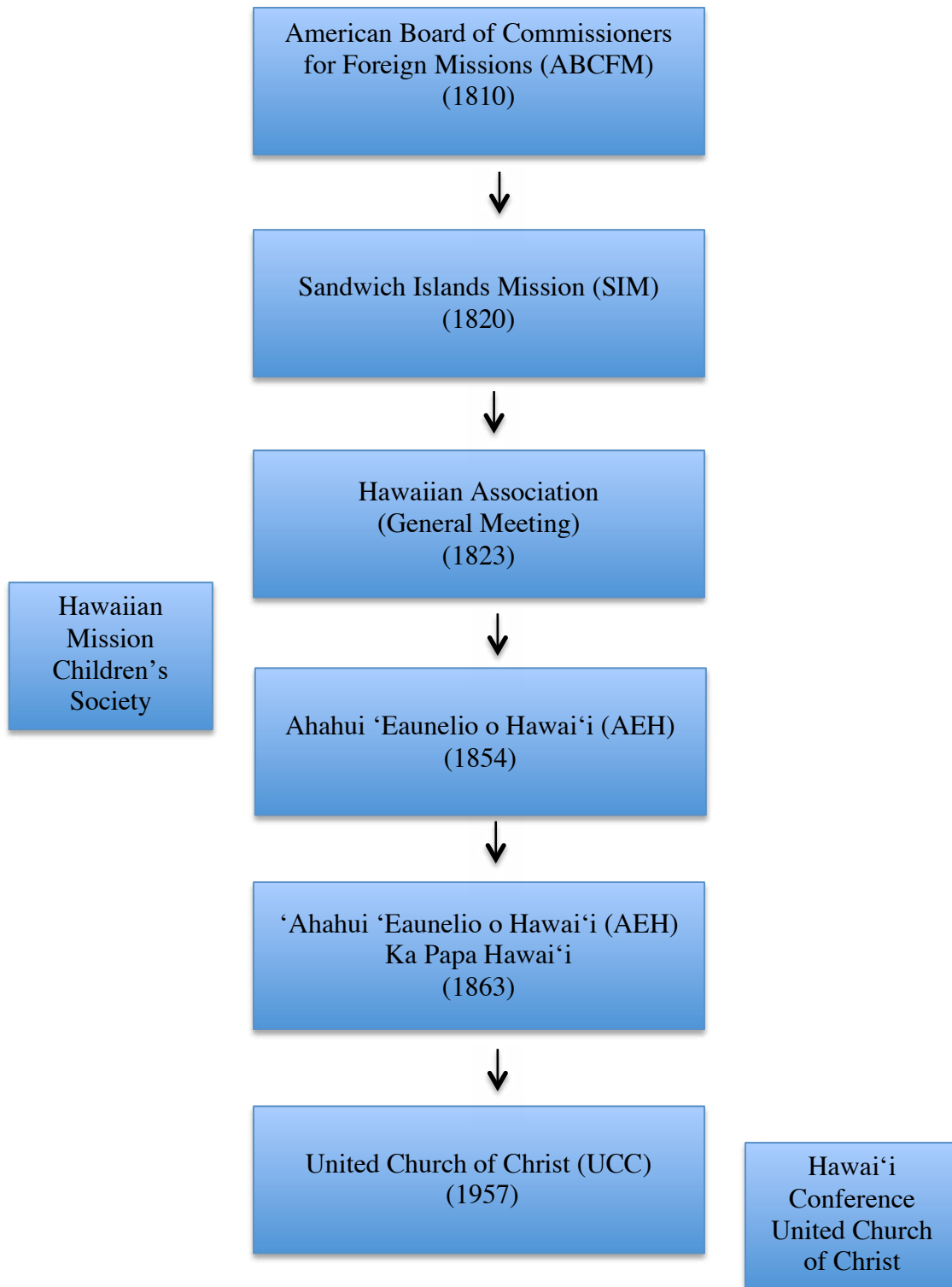
Oligarchic Connections of Officers of the AEH and HMCS, 1880-1900

Name	Ecclesiastical	Governmental	Business
Albert Francis Judd (1838-1900)	President, Hawaiian Board, AEH Vice-President, HMCS President, co-founder, YMCA	Chief Justice Supreme Court, PG Chief Justice Supreme Court, Republic	
Henry Waterhouse (1845-1904)	Vice-President, Hawaiian Board, AEH Vice-President, HMCS Major donor to AEH	Member, Committee of 13, (1893 coup) Advisory Council PG Advisory Council Republic of Hawai'i Board of Health PG Senator, Republic of Hawai'i	Founder, Waterhouse Trust Co. Co-founder, Hawaiian Pacific Cable Co.
Joseph Ballard Atherton (1837-1903)	Officer, Hawaiian Board, AEH Co-founder, YMCA Major donor to AEH	Member, Committee of 13, (1893 coup) Officer, Labor Commission, Republic Officer, Trade Commission, Republic	Founder, <i>Hawaiian Star</i> newspaper President, Castle and Cooke Co. Co-founder, Bank of Hawai'i Officer, Hawaii Sugar Planter's Assoc.
William Richards Castle (1849-1935)	President, HMCS Major donor to AEH	Member, Committee of 13, (1893 coup) Annexation Commissioner to US Hawaiian Minister to US, Washington DC President Board of Education Commissioner of Public Lands	Founder, Honolulu Rapid Transit Co. President, Honolulu Gas Co. Co-founder, Ewa Sugar Plantation Officer, Castle and Cooke
Peter Cushman Jones (1837-1922)	President, Hawaiian Board, AEH Co-founder, YMCA Major donor to AEH	Executive Council, PG Minister of Finance, PG Commissioner of Crown Lands, PG	President, C. Brewer and Co. Co-founder, Bank of Hawai'i Founder, Hawn Safe Deposit and Inv. Co. Officer, Hawaii Sugar Planter's Assoc.
Sanford Ballard Dole (1844-1926)	President, HMCS Co-founder, YMCA	President, PG President, Republic of Hawai'i	
William W. Hall ()	Co-founder, YMCA Officer, Central Union Church	Board of Education, PG Board of Education, Republic of Hawai'i	President, E. O. Hall and Sons President, Hawaiian Electric Co. Officer, Hawaiian Pacific Cable Company
William Owen Smith (1848-1929)	President, HMCS Member, Hawaiian Board, AEH	Member, Committee of 13, (1893 coup) Executive Council, PG Attorney General, PG Attorney General, Republic President, Board of Health, Republic	President, Bishop Trust Co. Trustee, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Trustee, Alexander and Baldwin Trustee, Inter-Island Steam Navigation

* This table is by no means comprehensive, but rather is meant to highlight some of the most crucial church/state/business connections among the white Christian leadership in Hawai'i during the period examined in this dissertation.

APPENDIX B

Genealogy of Churches of the 'Ahahui 'Euaunelio o Hawai'i



BIBLIOGRAPHY

I group source materials into sections for ease of use. The sections are Books and Articles, Manuscript Collections, Government Documents, and Newspapers and Serials. The manuscript collections, the foundation of this work, have been annotated.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS (annotated)

ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library (Harvard), 1820–1900. Houghton Library, Boston.

This extensive manuscript collection, 1261 linear feet, housed at Houghton Library, Harvard, is on loan from the United Church of Christ. Letters written by the missionaries of the Sandwich Islands Mission to the ABCFM office in Boston. Includes reports of the various mission stations, business affairs, land transaction records, miscellany.

ABCFM-Hawaii Papers, Houghton Library (Harvard), 1820–1900. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

This collection held at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Museum consists of microfilm, print duplicates, and digital copies of portions of the original collection held at Houghton Library, Harvard.

Children of the Mission, 1830–1900. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

Letters and papers of the children born to or adopted by the American Protestant missionaries to Hawaii who arrived between 1820-1848. Arranged by author.

Church Records, 1823–1945. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu.

Holograph manuscripts, primarily in books, English and Hawaiian-language, some translations. Early membership lists, accounts of missionaries and churches, minutes of church and Clerical Association meetings and some parish records. All islands.

Judd Family Papers, 1823–1899. MS Group 70. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives. Honolulu.

This collection of Judd family materials covers the lifespans of Geritt P. Judd, Albert Francis Judd, and many other Judd family members. Geritt P. Judd (1803-1873) was a close adviser to Kamehameha III and served as Minister of Foreign

Affairs for the Kingdom. Albert Francis Judd (1838-1900) served as head of the AEH churches in Hawai'i and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. As the records of two of the most central government, church, and business officials in Hawai'i during the nineteenth century, this collection holds a wealth of pertinent materials on a wide range of topics. The collection was deposited in the museum "for safekeeping" in 1922 by President of the Bishop Museum Board of Trustees, Albert Francis Judd II. Access was denied to anyone but the Judd family. In 1974 a formal accession agreement was signed between Albert F. Judd III, his sister Dorothy Judd Jackson, and the museum in which "access to these papers is to be restricted to A. F. Judd III and D. J. Jackson and qualified Bishop museum staff until the deaths of Albert F. Judd and D. J. Jackson. The surviving sibling, Albert F. Judd III, passed in 2006, opening the collection to the public.

HEA Archives, 1853–1947. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu.

Church business correspondence, pastor's reports, letters in Hawaiian (some translated) sent and received by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). The name of the association changed in 1963 to United Church of Christ, Hawaii Conference. Mostly original material.

Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Archives, 1852-. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu.

Historical records from the beginning of the Society; includes anniversaries, celebrations, agreements, contracts, correspondence, property descriptions, meetings, membership, operations, educational endeavors, Micronesia-Marquesa involvement and publicity.

Journal Collection, 1819-1900. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society. Honolulu.

Diaries and journals of the missionaries to Hawai'i, a few of the children of the mission and non-missionary early settlers. Originals, typescript, photocopies.

Lahaina Restoration Foundation Notes, 1840s. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu.

Copies of notes taken during research by the Lahaina Restoration Foundation for restoration, 1946–1966. Bound photocopies.

Mission Station Reports, 1822–1865. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library. Honolulu.

Reports sent yearly to General Meeting in Honolulu by individual missionaries of twenty-two mission stations on the four major Hawaiian Islands. Arranged by island. Originals and typescript copies.

Oberlin File, 1823–. RG 21. Letters, Oberlin Students, 1835–1999. Oberlin College Archives. Oberlin.

The Oberlin File is a collection of single items by or about Oberlinians and the College. It is an artificial collection comprised of many small accessions or items transferred without deed of gift.

Queen Liliuokalani Collection. M-73. Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu.

Correspondence, legal documents, and personal items from and relating to Queen Lili‘uokalani.

Samuel Chapman Armstrong Collection, 1826–1947. Williams College. Williamstown.

General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, son of missionary Richard Armstrong, was born on Maui, attended the Royal School in Honolulu, and left to attend Williams College in 1860, graduating in 1862. He served in the American Civil War and later became a founder of the Hampton Institute, a “normal” school for the training of African-American teachers. He kept a prolific correspondence with many of the business, educational, ecclesiastic and social leaders of Hawai‘i for several decades and was involved in many of the institutions produced there. This collection contains the personal and professional papers of Armstrong, his first wife, Emma Walker Armstrong, and their extended families.

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