

CHARLES WILLIAM MILLER

The Voyage of the *Parthian*: Life and Religion Aboard a 19th-Century Ship Bound for Hawai‘i

What wonder that we so long for release from this little prison-house!
—Laura Fish Judd (1828)

THE CRIES OF “Land O, Land O” echoed throughout the small ship. Many passengers, both men and women, scrambled on deck, ran to the ship railings, and strained their eyes to behold, for the first time, their new home emerging from the cloudy horizon. Below deck, the excitement became too much for one passenger as her emotions got the best of her. Her screams alarmed some of those who remained in their berths, including one passenger whose recent miscarriage had kept her in bed for over a week. It was not land, however, but only “Cape-fly-away” and, as the passengers watched, their new home dissolved before their eyes. They returned below deck sorely disappointed. The cry went up again that evening, “Land O, Land O,” but once again, it was nothing but clouds.

The following morning, all eyes searched the western horizon, with each person questioning the other, “Have you seen land yet? Have you seen land yet?” The answer always came back, “No.” Land birds were sighted, but not the land. Sailors cursed, passengers prayed, and

Charles William Miller teaches in the Department of Philosophy and Religion at the University of North Dakota. He is a biblical scholar whose primary research interests focus on the importance of social location in the interpretation of biblical texts. His current project is an examination of the biblical hermeneutics of 19th century missionaries to Hawai‘i.

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everyone became increasingly anxious. All wished to catch a glimpse of land before nightfall. By late afternoon, however, the sky darkened, the winds increased, and a gale struck the ship, drowning, in the dense clouds and the heavy rain, all hope of sighting land that day. After another night of seasickness for some and oppressive confinement for all, on the morning of March 29, 1828, the rising sun revealed a point of land on the far horizon and, closely thereafter, the snow-covered peak of a high mountain. Even the invalid, physically unable to climb the stairs to the deck, was placed in a chair and hoisted by pulleys, so that she would not be deprived of that first view of their long awaited destination, the Sandwich Islands. On the following day, the *Parthian* arrived at Honolulu, after having sailed from Boston Harbor on November 3, 1827. The ship had been at sea for 148 days.¹

Almost all of the passengers on board the *Parthian* were members of a small band of missionaries sent under the auspices of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). They were the third of 12 such companies dispatched by the ABCFM between 1820 and 1847.² Every group of missionaries arrived by ship, sailing from New England, around Cape Horn, and finally reaching the Hawaiian Islands usually after a five-month sea voyage. Although a great deal has been written about the many aspects of the lives of the missionaries once they arrived in Hawai‘i, much less exists that focuses on the first few months of their mission—that is, the ocean trip to their new home.³ The focus of this essay is on one of those voyages, that of the third company of missionaries who sailed on the *Parthian*. This voyage is of particular interest because it is well documented, it was an eventful journey, not in small part because of the antipathy that existed between the missionaries and the captain of the ship, and because it involved some of the most significant and long serving missionaries of the Sandwich Island Mission. Let us begin with a look at those missionaries.

The ABCFM sent 20 persons with the third company, including four ministers and their wives: Lorrin Andrews and Mary Ann Wilson Andrews; Ephraim Weston Clark and Mary Kittredge Clark; Jonathan Smith Green and Theodotia Arnold Green; and Peter Johnson Gulick and Fanny Hinckley Thomas Gulick. Of these four ministers, three

had only just graduated from seminary in September: Clark and Green from Andover Theological Seminary and Gulick from Princeton Theological Seminary. The fourth, Andrews, had attended Princeton for a short time, but, for the previous two years, had been employed as a school teacher in Kentucky.⁴ A physician and his wife accompanied the ministers: Dr. Gerritt Parmele Judd and Laura Fish Judd. Dr. Judd was sent to replace Dr. Abraham Blatchely, who had left Hawai'i the previous year because of poor health. Stephen Shepard, a printer, and his spouse, Margaret Caroline Slow Shepard, were last minute additions to the party. The ABCFM had hurriedly replaced Henry R. Stockton, originally scheduled to go with the third company as the printer, when news of a financial scandal, possibly involving Stockton, reached the Prudential Committee.⁵ There were also four single women among the missionaries: Maria C. Ogden, Maria Patton, Delia Stone, and Mary Ward.⁶ The inclusion of these women was an experiment of sorts.⁷ The ABCFM was concerned about the "great failure of health among the females of the Sandwich Islands" and had concluded that the issue was not the tropical climate, as some had suggested, but rather the "severity of their domestic labors and cares," as well as the problem of inadequate housing.⁸ To combat the latter, the ABCFM shipped two frame houses with the missionaries on the *Parthian* and, to address the former, they sent these four single women to serve as domestic help for those families that had been longest at the islands and who were most in need of such assistance. The single women, however, were considered missionaries and not merely paid domestics, as the ABCFM Report for 1828 makes clear:

The single females will have it in their power . . . to comfort and aid the wives of the missionaries, in their various cares and domestic duties, and to improve the condition of native females. The last is an object of great importance, and, if faithfully pursued, will abundantly repay all the labor bestowed upon it.¹⁰

The final four members of the missionary group were native Hawaiians, who had attended the Cornwall Foreign Mission School, in Connecticut: Samuel J. Mills, John E. Phelps, Henry Tapeetee, and George Tyler.¹¹ Although they were not considered missionaries, the

ABCFM paid for their passage, for which, according to the agreement signed by the men, they promised to:

labor for the mission, as a compensation therefore, in such way as a majority of the missionaries shall think most useful to the cause of Christianity, and with a special view to the good for the mission, provided we [the four men] have comfortable food & lodging & decent raiment, while thus employed.¹²

The members of the mission company ranged in age from 21 (Samuel Mills) to 35 (Theodotia Green, Maria Ogden, and George Tyler). Of those who had come with spouses, none had passed their three-month anniversary. The Shepards, in fact, had yet to celebrate the end of their second week together. Along with the missionaries, the ABCFM sent 200 tons of supplies for the Sandwich Island Mission, including, as already mentioned, two complete frame houses, as well as a printing press and an assortment of printing equipment.¹³ The freight, provisions, and the 20 members of the missionary group left very little room on the *Parthian*, especially considering they represented only half of the people who were on board the ship.

The *Parthian* had a crew of 19: Captain Richard D. Blinn and his two officers: First Mate Symms and Second Mate Thompson. There were also a steward, a cook, a carpenter, and 13 sailors, many of whom were in their late teens.¹⁴ The youngest member of the crew was a Hawaiian, named Piro, who served as cabin boy.¹⁵ In addition to the missionaries and the ship's crew, the *Parthian* had two other passengers: Captain Charles Taylor, who was on his way to Honolulu to pick up a ship he was to command on its voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America, and the young, teen-aged son of the owner of the ship, Josiah Thompson Marshall. Maria Patton was especially struck by Marshall's good looks, describing him as "a beautiful young man" and "the handsome young Unitarian." Even after her opinion of his character suffered because of his actions during the voyage, she was able to write, "My heart aches to see so young so handsome a person given up to the service of satan and bent on his own destruction."¹⁶ With passengers and crew, the *Parthian* carried a total of 41 persons, all of the freight scheduled for delivery at Hawai'i, and sufficient supplies for the five-month ocean voyage—all of these persons and

things in a ship 103 feet long, 30 feet wide, and 19 feet deep. There was hardly room for a person to turn around and the lack of space led to very crowded living conditions for everyone.

The Judds and Shepards each occupied small staterooms located amidships away from the others in their party. The four single women had individual berths within a shared stateroom, the door of which opened into the main cabin.¹⁷ Situated within that main cabin were the berths of the four ministers and their spouses.¹⁸ Maria Patton, one of the single women, who shared her room with three others, offered a vivid description of the living conditions:

It [the stateroom] is 7 feet wide and 5½ feet long, and has a window about the size of a tea cup directly over my berth. You will scarcely believe me when I tell you that it contains a bureau, 8 trunks, 4 band-boxes, each of us a writing desk, 8 bags, 4 baskets, beside a number of smaller bundles of different kinds, and over all these, those who occupy the higher berths have to climb before we can get into them. And what is still worse, not a breath of fresh air can get in, and the cockroaches are so thick, they crawl over us and the smell is intolerable. My berth is the highest in the place, so high that there is only 12 inches between my head and the deck.¹⁹

The crowding on the ship was also evident in the passageways. Stephen Shepard observed that “the way to our room is blocked up with potato bags and other provisions, so as to render it almost impassable; having to scramble over a large quantity of luggage to get in or out.”²⁰ The Shepards were not alone in their difficulties, Lorrin Andrews commented that, along with the Shepards, the Judds “have to crawl on their hands and knees several feet to get to their berths at all.”²¹ As the voyage progressed, however, the passengers used many of the ship’s supplies, so that after a few weeks, there was more room for movement throughout the ship. On the other hand, the trunks, boxes, and freight remained underfoot until they were unloaded at Honolulu. Several of those items were stored in the main cabin located in the stern of the ship. This cabin was the primary gathering place for the members of the missionary company, where they ate their meals and held their meetings. It was more than twice as large as any of the staterooms, approximately 9 by 12 feet, but still overcrowded whenever it filled with 20 occupants.²² In the middle of the

room was a large table surrounded by ten chairs. These, in turn, were encircled by an assortment of the passengers' luggage. Laura Judd complained, "You cannot see the floor [for] trunks, boxes, bags and bundles of various descriptions."²³ Since no more than ten could sit around the table at any one time, for half the company each meal became an exercise in dexterity. They found themselves forced to sit upon the boxes and trunks that lined the edge of the room and attempt to balance their dishes, food, and selves as the ship rolled and rocked through the ocean waves. The motion of the ship made it difficult even for those fortunate enough to sit at the table: "The vessel so rolls," wrote Theodotia Green, "that we cannot keep our dishes on the table and sit, and here we take our teacups in our hands, for we cannot hold saucers."²⁴ As their journey began, however, other, more immediate, problems demanded the attention of the missionaries.

The missionary company set sail on a cold and damp Saturday afternoon, several days after their scheduled departure date.²⁵ Before the ship had sailed much beyond the safety of the harbor, it was hit with strong winds and heavy seas. Everyone, except Theodotia Green and the four Hawaiians, became increasingly seasick and all were soon confined to their berths. As the next day dawned, few could find the strength to rise from their berths. This would be the only Sunday when a religious service was not held, although in the evening, according to Andrews, "some of the sisters sang a hymn, which was like life from the dead."²⁶ It would be Thursday, five days into the voyage, before most of the company would be well enough to drink some black tea and several days more before they would begin to feel the effects of the illness diminish significantly.²⁷ During these early days, because of the rough seas, the deadlights were in, so no light or fresh air was available below deck.²⁸ The ship soon filled with the stench of vomit. Gerritt Judd graphically described those early days on board the *Parthian*:

We were hardly able to stand even by holding on with both hands and every now and then we were called to belch up the contents of our stomachs without discrimination. O such a horrid appearance as we presented—it is enough to sicken me even now as I recollect the scene . . . The floor has not been visible since our embarkation owing to the

super-abundance of grime and filth of every description—such a horrid stream as issues from the cabin is quite enough to sicken anybody.²⁹

Although this bout of seasickness would eventually end, the illness would be a constant companion for many of the party throughout the voyage. Even after five months at sea, several of the passengers became sick in the gale that met the ship just off the shores of Hawai'i.³⁰ Seasickness was not the only health issue encountered during their journey. Theodotia Green, although never seasick, did record, in her journal a time when she vomited in the morning, blaming it on the fact that “there are 15 vomiting round almost constantly.” She had occasion again to comment on her health in late November, when she wrote, “I am far from being well, though I am not in the least sea sick.”³¹ It is likely that during the month of November, Green came to realize that she was pregnant. Later in the voyage, she would suffer a miscarriage, as, in all probability, did Laura Judd.³² It was the seasickness, however, that dominated the lives of much of the company early in the voyage. As the health of the members of the missionary company improved during the initial days of their trip, they found themselves confronted with a situation they were little expecting and for which they were ill-prepared.

When Gerritt Judd had recovered sufficiently from his initial attack of seasickness to take some air on the deck, Captain Blinn informed him “his orders from Mr. Marshall were to supply the missionaries with wood and water only.”³³ He went on to tell Judd that the missionaries could not depend on the ship’s steward or cook to prepare their meals for them. They would be required to provide for themselves for the remainder of the voyage. After viewing a letter written from Evarts to Judd, Captain Blinn acknowledged that there was an expectation on the part of the ABCFM that the missionaries would share his table. He, nevertheless, insisted that the missionary group must fend for itself, since he possessed no written orders to the contrary.³⁴ There was, in fact, a written agreement between the ABCFM and Josiah Marshall, the owner of the ship, that expressly stated that Marshall would “provide a Steward & Cook to take care of the stores and provisions of the said passengers and to cook their food.”³⁵ Moreover, included with the original memorandum was a statement signed by Captain Blinn that read: “I hereby acknowledge

the above to be a true copy of the orders & instructions received this day from Marshall and Wildes, which I promise to follow & obey.”³⁶ The missionaries, however, were unable to locate their copy of the agreement to show the captain.³⁷ Without these papers, the missionaries could not change the captain’s mind and so quickly abandoned their efforts. The news that the missionaries were now on their own to provide meals for themselves came as a severe blow to the company. Patton wrote, “we are left destitute of things absolutely necessary for our comfort . . . I do not know what we shall do.”³⁸ Hectic and confused mealtimes followed for a couple of days. Laura Judd offered a graphic description of meals during this time, writing that “we don’t set the table, but take a bit in our hands, and eat and live more like barbarians than teachers of civilization.” Her spouse, Gerritt Judd, in very similar words, lamented that the missionaries “eat like hogs.”³⁹ The missionaries, realizing that this problem had to be addressed, met on November 12 and decided on a course of action. After a “long consultation,” they determined that the women would work in pairs preparing the meals, as well as doing the housekeeping. One of the Hawaiian men would assist them with the cooking. The women would rotate these chores on a weekly basis, so that each woman would not be required to work more than one week out of five.⁴⁰ It is not difficult to imagine how ill-prepared most of the women were to plan, to organize, and to prepare three meals per day for 20 people, especially when called upon to do so within the highly unfavorable conditions present on the *Parthian*.

The ABCFM had made ample provisions of food for the voyage, but neglected to include some basic items, including salt and pepper.⁴¹ Moreover, there were not enough eating utensils for everyone. For 20 people, there were only a half dozen knives and forks, given to them by Captain Blinn, as well as 12 teaspoons and six tablespoons found by Gerritt Judd among the missionaries’ stores. Even after the captain gave them an additional six knives and six forks two weeks later, there were still not enough for each person to have their own set of utensils.⁴² In her journal, Green described the situation to her sister: “We have only seven knives and forks for twenty and sometimes I have knife and fork, sometimes I have neither. You would smile to see me eat fried pork with a spoon, yet we are cheerful and happy.”⁴³ The difficult work of preparing meals was made all the more arduous

because of the location of the caboose, where the women actually cooked the food. It was at the other end of the ship from the main cabin.⁴⁴ Food would be prepared for cooking in the cabin, transported and cooked in the caboose, and then brought back to the main cabin. The trip back and forth was made through a narrow passageway crowded with freight and baggage. The constant motion of the ship, especially in rough seas, made the journey from cabin to caboose to cabin fraught with danger. Moreover, the missionaries were not allowed to cook their food when the caboose was in use by the ship's cook. Meals were often prepared and eaten at irregular times and according to an unpredictable schedule.⁴⁵ There was another issue associated with the new eating arrangements that the company was forced to address, which, again, no one had anticipated.

When it was thought the missionaries would eat at the captain's table, it was assumed the Hawaiians would take their meals separately. In the personal instructions, Jeremiah Evarts gave to Gerritt Judd, he states: "The four natives will eat after the rest of the passengers at such time as the captain shall agree upon; but they are to have their meals regularly, & to be allowed sufficient time for eating."⁴⁶ After it became necessary for the missionaries to provide for themselves and for them to eat apart from the other passengers and officers, Gerritt Judd, on November 20, suggested to the men of the missionary group that the Hawaiians be allowed to eat with the missionaries. There was apparently strong opinion on both sides of the issue and a committee was formed to examine the case. By the end of the day, however, it was agreed, "All eat together and associate more than before."⁴⁷ Not all were comfortable with the decision. In Shepard's journal entry for that date, he writes:

Morning has passed very comfortably and pleasant, with only one exception; the natives sent home by the board, by peculiar circumstances brought into the same mess with ourselves, our intercourse with them is rendered delicate and perplexing. May the Lord give us all that grace which we need, to direct us in wisdom toward them and each other.⁴⁸

The presence of the four Hawaiians among the company represented a challenge to the missionaries in several ways, not the least of which

was their religious piety. Gerritt Judd observed that it was the four Hawaiians, not the missionaries, who took the lead in speaking to the sailors about Christianity. Less than two weeks into the voyage, he wrote in his journal:

Yesterday I heard some of the natives speaking on the subject of religion. Today I heard Phelps rebuke the captain for swearing & Tyler gave the carpenter the swearer's prayer. On the other hand none of our missionaries have been heard to say a word to any of them on the great momentous concerns of Eternity. I have much reason to doubt my missionary spirit if I do not work to day if I do not embrace the opportunity now furnished for doing the work of the Lord.⁴⁹

On the day following the company's decision allowing the Hawaiians to eat with the missionaries, there was scheduled a special time of prayer and thanksgiving for the returning health of the missionary family, as well as a time "to implore [God's] blessing on the great work" to which each of them felt they had been called. There were prayers spoken, hymns sung, and "appropriate remarks" offered.⁵⁰ Usually on these occasions, all five of the missionary men offered prayers on behalf of the company. On this day, however, one of the Hawaiian men, John Phelps, astonished the gathering by taking it upon himself to lead the community in prayer. Although Theodotia Green characterized the prayer as "simple" and "artless," no one, including Green, suggested those words were anything but deeply pious.⁵¹ From that time on, it was not unusual either for Phelps or for Samuel Mills to add their prayers to those of the other men.⁵² The opportunity for prayer came quite often for all of the members of the company, since they met regularly several times every week for religious services.

The most important meetings of the week were held, as might be expected, on Sunday. The company was too seasick to have a service on the first Sunday at sea, but, on November 11, there was sufficient health among the group to begin a weekly observance. On the first two Sundays, the community held one morning service in the main cabin, but, on November 25, after obtaining Captain Blinn's permission, an afternoon service was held on deck.⁵³ Peter Gulick's sermon, in the words of Gerritt Judd, "arraigned the consciences of the Sailors before God's eternal truth, told them that if they dared to swear,

drink & profane the Sabbath as some of them did that they had no faith in his word which forbids such things of necessity—he that believeth not shall be damned.”⁵⁴ It was the only time during the voyage a service was held on deck. For the rest of the trip, the community remained in the main cabin for both Sunday services. The ministers decided, therefore, to alter the content and delivery of their sermons. The morning service, directed primarily to those who were a part of the missionary company, would be delivered from notes and/or a manuscript. However, in the afternoon, the sermon would be extemporaneous and focused on those non-believing crew members who might be in attendance.⁵⁵ More often than not, however, the missionaries lamented the lack of attendance by the ship’s crew at any of the services and expressed concern for the fate of their eternal souls. Most attributed the sailor’s absence at meetings to indifference, but Andrews wrote that “more than one sermon was preached that might literally be called brow-beating—the result was that our congregation became thin.”⁵⁶ Responsibility for the sermon, which was the focal point of Sunday’s services, was shared among the four ministers and rotated on a weekly basis. During the week following the delivery of the sermon, that same minister also took the leadership in the daily religious gatherings.

Every day began and ended with “family worship.” In the morning, at 9:00 a.m., or immediately after breakfast, one of the ministers would read a chapter from the Bible and then lead the group in prayer. Again in the evening, at around 8:00 p.m., the missionaries would gather for a “prayer meeting,” consisting of readings from scripture, the singing of hymns, and the offering of prayers from several members of the community.⁵⁷ On Saturday evenings, to help everyone prepare for the next day’s services, the meetings were extended by the addition of a few brief remarks from the minister in charge. These daily prayer meetings were also used as “conference” times, when the missionaries would discuss and decide important issues faced by the company.

One such issue, which arose very early in the voyage, was the perceived lack of seriousness among the missionaries. To combat this problem, they determined to “avoid all appearance of levity” among themselves and also in the presence of the ship’s crew.⁵⁸ The issue, however, was not resolved satisfactorily in the eyes of everyone.

Andrews, not long after this conference, complained in his journal that there was too much trivial talk about the food they were eating.⁵⁹ A few weeks later, Ephraim Clark reported that the community decided to “set apart a certain number of hours every day as study hours, during which time [all] agreed to observe silence in the cabin.”⁶⁰ By this time, it had become apparent that the target of this resolution was the women. Andrews wrote, on the day the resolution was passed, that he didn’t “know how our ladies will stand it” and, on the following day, he commented that the new resolution had been easy to keep that day since “many of the ladies were sick and no temptation to break over.”⁶¹ Jonathan Green, in a letter to Rufus Anderson, offered his perspective:

The ladies, some part of the time were allowed to talk—a privilege [*sic*] you may smile to hear gravely said was allowed them. But I can assure you, dear Sir, our ladies were cheerful in this submission to laws, which tho seeming severe, were indispensable to the prosperity, yea, to the very existence of our little republick [*sic*].⁶²

Only one of the women commented in her journal about this new policy and she merely states, “Some rules have been adopted relative to study.”⁶³ The women, regardless of the men’s estimation of their conduct, were equally concerned to find ways to express their deeply held religious sentiments both together and as individuals. To that end, during the first week of December, the women organized a “female prayer meeting” and met together, as often as they could, each Thursday afternoon from 2:00–3:00 p.m.⁶⁴ It was a time of “social prayer and religious conversation,” where tearful confession and shared opinion mixed with solemn hymns and pious promises.⁶⁵ Not long after the women organized their weekly meeting, the whole community decided to devote a half-hour each day to “the cultivation of sacred music.”⁶⁶ Andrews, who apparently had some experience in teaching music, became the master of their music school.⁶⁷ After the first lesson, Andrews noted in his journal that he was “dissatisfied,” but then observed some three weeks later, “Our singing goes on slowly but gradually—I think we are improving.”⁶⁸ Improvement, or not, there were those on board who were not so appreciative of the group’s efforts. Captain Blinn and the two passengers who were not a part of the missionary group, Taylor and Marshall, amused themselves

for a time by sitting directly above the music school and singing as loudly as they could “the most filthy, lascivious and blasphemous” songs they knew.⁶⁹ Moreover, they would mimic the procedure followed by the music school and “line” their songs, so that one of the three would say the line to be sung and then the others would sing it afterwards.⁷⁰

The blatant mockery of these men, however, did not usually extend beyond the singing school. Marshall, in fact, would occasionally be present at a Sunday service. Taylor, on the other hand, attended only once and Captain Blinn never went to any religious meeting throughout the voyage.⁷¹ Among the ship’s crew, only First Mate Symms and Piro, the cabin boy, joined the missionaries on a regular basis. During the religious services held by the missionaries, the captain did not actively interfere, although he did thwart their enjoyment of the Sabbath on several occasions. It was usually merely a matter of his swearing and obscene talk on Sundays, or his preference for bed rather than religious services, but on one occasion Captain Blinn’s orders to the crew precipitated a major conflict.⁷² On Sunday morning, February 24, Jonathan Green, Gerritt Judd, and Andrews noticed the crew painting the ship. This action, they felt, was a “high-handed insult” both to God and to the missionaries. After they consulted together, they decided that Green should go and speak with the captain about this matter.⁷³ By all accounts, after an initial angry exchange between the two men, Green and Captain Blinn discussed the issue rationally for an hour. The long conversation, however, had no effect on the orders to paint the ship. The crew continued their work, although they did so in a noticeably quieter manner.⁷⁴ At one point, Gulick attempted to address the crew directly concerning their breaking of the Sabbath, but his words were met with insults rather than cooperation. This incident led Gerritt Judd to write, “I feel as if we are in a nest of the most polluted men.”⁷⁵ The keeping of the Sabbath was obviously of great importance to the missionaries. The extent to which the company felt compelled to keep the Sabbath may be observed in their actions following their arrival at Honolulu. Although they had been confined to the *Parthian* for five months, they refused all invitations to travel to land, believing, in the words of Maria Patton, “we are determined by example as well as precept to show we reverence this holy day.”⁷⁶ As is clear in their

efforts to keep the Sabbath, the significance of all corporate and personal pieties was not merely for their own sake, but, more importantly, as a means of converting unbelievers to Christianity.

Each member of the missionary company attempted to live up to the words of instruction offered to them by Jeremiah Evarts, Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM, a few days before they left Boston:

[P]iety is indispensable to the happy prosecution of your work. Without it, you can neither hope to benefit your fellow sinners, nor be approved by God. But let me say, that eminent piety, a deep and all-pervading sense of religion, evident progress in the divine life, are to be sought, not for your own sake merely, but as the means of saving sinners.⁷⁷

The primary purpose of the missionary enterprise was the work of “saving sinners” and, to that end, all of the missionaries had set sail for Hawai‘i on the *Parthian*. The question for many of them, however, was whether or not they were sufficient to the task. Their journals were filled with expressions of self-doubt and self-criticism. These misgivings grew in number and in seriousness as they approached their final destination. Less than two weeks prior to their arrival at Hawai‘i, Clark recorded in his journal, “As I draw near the field of my future labours, I am almost overwhelmed with a sense of my responsibility. I never more deeply felt my deficiency than at present. I sometimes fear I am totally unprepared for the great work before me.”⁷⁸ Clark, unknowingly, echoed the sentiments of many of his co-workers, who were often found lamenting the inadequacy of their personal piety and mourning their unworthiness to be missionaries. Gerritt Judd wrote at one point, “I am so wicked that it seems impossible that I can ever be of any use in the work of the Lord,” and Patton exclaimed in frustration, “I am astonished at my insensibility and hardness of heart.”⁷⁹ Even at the end of the voyage, when reflecting on the lack of response by the ship’s crew to the missionaries’ message, it was difficult for the missionaries not to attribute it to their own inadequacies:

In addition to preaching, we endeavoured as occasion offered, by conversation & by distributing tracts to promote the spiritual good of the seamen. But *owing to our unfaithfulness*, & some obstacles over which we had no control, we have reason to fear but little good was affected. We

cannot but hope, however, that some good impressions were made, which will not soon be effaced (emphasis added).⁸⁰

Regardless of the missionaries' feelings concerning their readiness to engage in the missionary enterprise, or their regrets about the outcome of their ministry to the sailors, on March 31, 1828, all of them, with the exception of Lorrin Andrews who would follow the next day, disembarked from the *Parthian* to begin their new life as missionaries among the Hawaiians.⁸¹ Almost all members of this small company would spend their lives on those islands. Not all of them would continue in the service of the ABCFM. All but one of them, however, would remain in the Hawaiian Islands until death or retirement. Twelve of the original 16 died and were buried in the Islands. The Gulicks retired to Japan in 1874, where one of their sons was a missionary, after having served in Hawai'i for 46 years. Ephraim Clark, following 36 years of ministry in the Islands, returned to the United States in 1864 to oversee the printing of the Bible in the Hawaiian language. He retired a few years after his return. Only Margaret Shepard, following the death of her spouse in 1834, would return to the United States after only a few years of service. On that sunny day in 1828, however, thoughts of the distant future were far from most of the missionaries. After 148 days confined on board their "little prison-house," they were just happy to make landfall and, in all likelihood, many shared Theodotia Green's sentiments, written several days later, regarding the ship that brought them to these distant lands: "The Parthian sailed today. She goes to Canton and will probably return in the fall. I do not regret at all that I am not going in her . . ." ⁸²

NOTES

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¹ Sources used for the opening paragraph are as follows: Lorrin Andrews, journal, March 27, 1828, March 28, 1828, March 29, 1828; Ephraim W. Clark, journal, March 29, 1828; Theodotia Arnold Green, journal, March 29, 1828; Ger-

- ritt Parmele Judd, journal, March 27, 1828, March 28, 1828, March 29, 1828; and Maria Patton, journal, March 29, 1828.
- ² For a convenient summary of the basic information regarding each of the 12 companies of missionaries, see *Missionary Album: Portraits and Biographical Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: HMCS, 1969) 7-12.
- ³ For an interesting account of the voyage of the *Thaddeus*, see M. Zwiep, *Pilgrim Path: The First Company of Women Missionaries to Hawaii* (Madison/London: U of Wisconsin P, 1991) 3-53.
- ⁴ There is no indication that Andrews completed his course of study before leaving Princeton. He did not mention being a graduate in his letter of candidacy, but merely stated that he “studied theology at Princeton, NJ” (Lorin Andrews, letter to Jeremiah Evarts, April 26, 1827, ABCFM Letters of Candidacy, HMCS). In their letter of recommendation for Andrews, Miller and Alexander stated that he “quitted our Seminary” and said nothing of him having graduated (letter to Jeremiah Evarts, June 29, 1827, ABCFM Letters of Candidacy, HMCS).
- ⁵ Jeremiah Evarts, confidential letter to Sandwich Island missionaries, October 25, 1827, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS. It is interesting to note that John Stockton was among those well-wishers who assembled on the docks to witness the departure of the third company (G. P. Judd, journal, November 10, 1827).
- ⁶ Only Ogden would remain unmarried during her 46 years of service as a missionary to Hawai‘i. Each of the other three women married missionaries attached to the mission: Patton married Levi Chamberlain in September of 1828; Stone, Artemis Bishop on December 1st of that same year; and Ward, Edmund Horton Rogers in 1833.
- ⁷ Andrews, journal, November 3, 1827.
- ⁸ *MH* 22/7 (1826) 209.
- ⁹ Jeremiah Evarts, letter to Sandwich Island missionaries, October 26, 1827, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS; letter to Sandwich Island missionaries, November 3, 1827, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS; *MH* 23/12 (1827) 387.
- ¹⁰ *Report of the ABCFM at the Nineteenth Annual Meeting* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1828) 63.
- ¹¹ Three of the men adopted, or were given, American last names and all had American first names. In one instance, at least, the full name was taken from an individual important to the mission movement (Samuel J. Mills was one of the founders of the ABCFM). As might be supposed, each man also had a Hawaiian name, although the spelling of that name varied significantly according to the available documents. In the *Missionary Herald* report of the *Parthian’s* embarkation (23/12 [1827] 386-387), Mills was also identified as “Paloo;” Phelps, as “Kalaaauluna;” and Tyler, as “Kielaa.” Tapeetee appears as “Tahiti” in most documents, including the above cited *Missionary Herald* article. In the only document, where he spelled his own name, he wrote “Tapeetee” (Agree-

- ment between the four Hawaiians and the ABCFM, November 3, 1827, ABCFM-HEA Papers, HMCS).
- ¹² Agreement between the four Hawaiians and the ABCFM, November 3, 1827.
- ¹³ *MH* 23/12 (1827) 386-387. The memorandum of agreement between the ABCFM and Josiah Marshall (October 23, 1827, ABCFM-Hawai'i Papers, HMCS) specifically mentioned the two frame houses, but did not itemize the other supplies.
- ¹⁴ G. P. Judd, journal, January 6, 1828. Patton, although she didn't mention their age, stated that they were "quite young" (journal, November 10, 1827).
- ¹⁵ Piro (also Piero and Peero) was mentioned in the journals of all of the missionaries, except Shepard. His age was given as eleven (Patton, journal, December 11, 1827), twelve (Clark, journal, December 24, 1827), and thirteen (Andrews, journal, November 3, 1827).
- ¹⁶ Patton, journal, November 10, 1827, December 1 [2], 1827, December 30, 1827. Andrews also described Marshall as "very handsome in his person" (journal, November 3, 1827).
- ¹⁷ Shepard described his stateroom as "6 or 8 feet long, and 4 feet wide" (journal, November 5, 1827). As noted below, Patton gave the dimensions of her stateroom as "7 feet wide and 5½ long" (journal, November 10, 1827). Laura Fish Judd did not offer specific measurements, but she did write that her stateroom was "larger than any others, for they have no room to sit down at all" (journal, November 12, 1827).
- ¹⁸ The four couples traded living spaces about half way through the voyage (January 14). The Greens exchanged with the Clarks and the Andrews with the Gulicks. Both Andrews and Clark commented on their improved living conditions after the change (Andrews, journal, January 14, 1828; Clark, journal, January 14, 1828).
- ¹⁹ Patton, journal, November 10, 1827. Although not mentioned by Patton, Andrews commented, "Besides this, all our berths are as hard as they could be" (journal, November 3, 1827).
- ²⁰ Shepard, journal, November 5, 1827.
- ²¹ Andrews, journal, November 3, 1827.
- ²² Andrews, journal, November 3, 1827; Green, journal, November 14, 1827; L. F. Judd, journal, November 5, 1827.
- ²³ L. F. Judd, journal, November 5, 1827.
- ²⁴ Green, journal, November 10, 1827. See, as well, Andrews, journal, January 8, 1828.
- ²⁵ The company was originally scheduled to sail on October 30 (memorandum of agreement between the ABCFM and Josiah Marshall, October 23, 1827), but was delayed four days. Although the *Missionary Herald*, in its report, did not offer a reason for this delay (*MH* 23/12 [1827] 387), the probable cause was the late arrival of the Shepards. Stephen Shepard stated in his journal that they did not arrive in Boston until 4:00 a.m. on November 2 (journal, November 2, 1827).
- ²⁶ Andrews, journal, November 4, 1827.

- ²⁷ Green, journal, November 8, 1827. On November 12, almost two weeks into the voyage, Mary Kittredge Clark, Maria Ogden, and Delia Stone were still unable to rise from their berths without assistance (Patton, journal, November 12, 1827). It was not until November 24 (22 days into the voyage) that Andrews wrote, "Have all recovered from sickness, so as to be cheerful about ship" (journal, November 24, 1827).
- ²⁸ L. F. Judd, journal, November 5, 1827; Andrews, journal, November 7, 1827.
- ²⁹ G. P. Judd, journal, November 10, 1827; for similar descriptions, see L. F. Judd, journal, November 5, 1827; Andrews, journal, November 7, 1827.
- ³⁰ Andrews, journal, March 28, 1828; G. P. Judd, journal, March 29, 1828; Shepard, journal, April 4, 1828.
- ³¹ Green, journal, November 9, 1827, November 27, 1827.
- ³² G. P. Judd, journal, March 21, 1828. On Laura Judd's possible miscarriage, see G. P. Judd, letter to Jeremiah Evarts, December 4, 1827 [March 22, 1828] ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS. See, as well, P. Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1989) 90.
- ³³ G. P. Judd, letter to Jeremiah Evarts, December 4, 1827, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS (single and double underlining appear in the original manuscript). The reason Captain Blinn spoke with Judd and not one of the other missionaries is that the ABCFM appointed Judd "to keep oversight of the stores for the voyage" (Jeremiah Evarts, letter to G. P. Judd, November 2, 1827, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS).
- ³⁴ Jeremiah Evarts, letter to G. P. Judd, November 2, 1827; G. P. Judd, letter to Jeremiah Evarts, December 4, 1827.
- ³⁵ Memorandum of agreement between the ABCFM and Josiah Marshall, October 23, 1827.
- ³⁶ ABCFM-HEA Papers, HCMS.
- ³⁷ *MH* 25/1 (1829) 29.
- ³⁸ Patton, journal, November 9, 1827. Green expressed a similar sentiment, in almost the same words, "What is to be done we know not" (journal, November 9, 1827).
- ³⁹ L. F. Judd, journal, November 10, 1827; G. P. Judd, journal, November 10, 1827.
- ⁴⁰ Green, journal, November 12, 1827; Patton, journal, November 12, 1827. The single women were each paired with a married woman. The pairings and the order of their service were as follows: Green/Ward, Gulick/Judd, Andrews/Patton, Clark/Stone, and Ogden/Shepard.
- ⁴¹ G. P. Judd, journal, November 10, 1827. The failure to include some basic spices was not all the ABCFM overlooked. Judd also mentioned the lack of feed for the live chickens and the shortage of oil for the lamps.
- ⁴² Patton, journal, November 12, 1827; Green, journal, November 17, 1827, November 28, 1827.
- ⁴³ There is a discrepancy as to the number of knives and forks the missionaries had. In this journal entry, less than a week after Green had written that they

had only six, she increased the number of available eating utensils to seven (journal, November 22, 1827). Seven is also the number of utensils that appeared in the report of the voyage made to the ABCFM by the men of the missionary company (Andrews, Clark, Green, Judd, and Shepard, letter to Evarts, May 1828).

- ⁴⁴ Green, journal, November 9, 1827.
- ⁴⁵ Andrews, Clark, Green, Judd, and Shepard, letter to Evarts, May 1828.
- ⁴⁶ Evarts, letter to G. P. Judd, November 2, 1827.
- ⁴⁷ G. P. Judd, journal, November 20, 1827.
- ⁴⁸ Shepard, journal, November 20, 1827.
- ⁴⁹ G. P. Judd, journal, November 14, 1827. See, as well, Judd's journal entries for both November 13 and 15, 1827.
- ⁵⁰ Green, journal, November 21, 1827; L. F. Judd, journal, November 21, 1827; G. P. Judd, journal, November 21, 1827; Patton, journal, November 21, 1827; Shepard, journal, November 21, 1827.
- ⁵¹ Green, journal, November 22, 1827; Patton, journal, November 21, 1827; Shepard, journal, November 21, 1827.
- ⁵² L. F. Judd, journal, November 23, 1827; Patton, journal, November 23, 1827, January 20, 1828, January 22, 1828, February 2, 1828; L. F. Judd, journal, February 16, 1828; Patton, journal, March 22, 1828.
- ⁵³ Shepard, journal, November 25, 1827. Laura Fish Judd had been a proponent of holding the Sunday services on deck, but others in the company initially resisted this arrangement (journal, November 18, 1827, November 25, 1827).
- ⁵⁴ G. P. Judd, journal, November 25, 1827.
- ⁵⁵ Andrews, journal, December 16, 1827.
- ⁵⁶ Andrews, journal, March 9, 1828. In her journal, Theodotia Green blamed it on Captain Blinn's lack of attendance: "And why should we expect [the sailors] would come, the Captain sets the example and is it strange that they should follow?" (journal, December 23, 1827). The report of the voyage sent to the ABCFM by the members of the third company also faulted the Captain: ". . . he gave assent to the attendance of his men, yet it was evident to us all that he had no desire that they should be present" (Andrews, Clark, Green, Judd, and Shepard, letter to Evarts, May 1828).
- ⁵⁷ Patton, journal, November 23, 1827; Shepard, November 25, 1827.
- ⁵⁸ Patton, journal, November 17, 1827; G. P. Judd, journal, November 18, 1827.
- ⁵⁹ Andrews, journal, December 12, 1827.
- ⁶⁰ Clark, journal, January 10, 1828.
- ⁶¹ Andrews, journal, January 10, 1828, January 11, 1828.
- ⁶² Jonathan Green, letter to Rufus Anderson, June 9, 1828, ABCFM Sandwich Island Correspondence, HMCS.
- ⁶³ Green, journal, January 11, 1828.
- ⁶⁴ Green, journal, December 6, 1827; Patton, journal, December 5 [6], 1827. The women were not able to meet together as often as they would have liked due to inclement weather that kept the men from leaving the main cabin (Green, journal, December 13, 1827; Patton, journal, January 24, 1828).

- ⁶⁵ Patton, journal, February 14, 1828; L. F. Judd, journal, February 21, 1828; Patton, journal, February 21, 1828.
- ⁶⁶ Andrews, journal, December 12, 1827; Patton, journal, December 13 [12], 1827.
- ⁶⁷ Green, journal, December 15, 1827.
- ⁶⁸ Andrews, journal, December 13, 1827, January 5, 1828.
- ⁶⁹ Andrews, journal, March 6, 1828, March 7, 1828.
- ⁷⁰ Green, journal, March 7, 1828; G. P. Judd, journal, March 7, 1828; "Passage of the Parthian," *MH* 25/1 (1829) 30.
- ⁷¹ G. P. Judd, journal, January 13, 1828; Andrews, journal, January 27, 1828; L. F. Judd, journal, February 3, 1828; Andrews, journal, March 9, 1828; Green, journal, March 10, 1828; Patton, journal, March 9, 1828.
- ⁷² Andrews, journal, December 9, 1827, December 23, 1827, March 2, 1828; Patton, journal, December 9, 1827, February 17, 1828.
- ⁷³ Andrews, journal, February 24, 1828.
- ⁷⁴ G. P. Judd, journal, February 24, 1828. Both Theodotia Green and Patton stated that the crew stopped painting after the conversation between Blinn and Jonathan Green, although Theodotia Green was not sure if it was the conversation that ended the work, or if the crew had accomplished all they had set out to do that day (Green, journal, February 25, 1828; Patton, journal, February 24, 1828).
- ⁷⁵ G. P. Judd, journal, February 24, 1828. See, as well, G. P. Judd, letter to Evarts, December 4, 1827 [February 25, 1828].
- ⁷⁶ Patton, journal, March 30, 1828. See, as well, Andrews, journal, March 30, 1828; Shepard, journal, April 4, 1828.
- ⁷⁷ Jeremiah Evarts, "Instructions of the Prudential Committee, addressed to the Missionaries, who embarked for the Sandwich Islands in the Parthian," November 2, 1827, ABCFM-HEA Papers, HMCS (underline appears in original text).
- ⁷⁸ Clark, journal, March 19, 1828.
- ⁷⁹ G. P. Judd, journal, November 21, 1827; Patton, journal, November 18, 1827.
- ⁸⁰ Andrews, Clark, Green, Gulick, Judd, and Shepard, letter to Evarts, April 27, 1828.
- ⁸¹ Peter and Fanny Gulick, as well as Mary Andrews, did not go ashore with the other missionaries that morning, but followed separately in the evening. Shepard included in his journal the following curious remark regarding Lorrin Andrews: "On Tuesday afternoon several of the brethren went on board the ship (then in the harbor) and when they returned Mr. Andrews accompanied them" (journal, April 4, 1828). No reason is offered in any of the journals for Andrews' apparent reluctance to go ashore.
- ⁸² Green, journal, April 17, 1828.