

foreigners, and punished the guilty. He told the king and chiefs of the true God, pointed out the follies of heathenism, and offered to send them missionaries from England. To Captain Cook Kamehameha was a brutal savage: to Vancouver he was an enlightened sovereign. The visit of the former was a disgrace to civilization, that of the latter was one of the most beneficial of its kind, undoing as far as possible the evil which had preceded it. Vancouver used his intimacy with the native conqueror to establish order and justice, and his good work still bears fruit. It nearly resulted in establishing British control, for had he not died, English missionaries would have occupied these islands twenty years before those from America landed there, and the key to the great tranquil sea would to-day have been in the hands of Great Britain.

By this time trade had greatly increased; the desire for the useful had somewhat supplanted that for the ornamental; woolen clothes, printed cottons, linen, hardware, and staples generally were in demand. The wits of the natives were quickened, they became as shrewd at a bargain as the traders, and equally adept in the art of deception. Contact with foreigners was, in itself, a rude education in values, in individual rights, in fair dealing, and in those usages of civilization which the Anglo-Saxon carries everywhere. Idolatry was unbroken; but from the talk and conduct of foreigners, an idea of its weakness had taken root, and led later to the most marvellous revolution of its kind in all history.

The golden age of Polynesian barbarism was undoubtedly from this date, 1800, till the death, in 1820, of Kamehameha I., whose equal as warrior or ruler has never appeared in the annals of Oceanica. He apportioned the conquered islands among his favorite chiefs, and arranged the traditionary law as clearly as a written code. Huge fish-ponds were walled in from the sea, roads were constructed, water-rights established, lands were cultivated, forts were built, a fleet of twenty-one well armed schooners was created, every subject was obliged to keep his weapons in fighting order, for every man was a soldier, foreign seamen, artizans and experts of all kinds were well treated,—in short, nothing escaped the eye of the great chief. Like the Khedive of Egypt he owned everything and amassed vast

wealth, especially by the trade in sandal-wood, which in one year amounted to four hundred thousand dollars. His far-sightedness is shown by the fact, that while this precious wood was attracting the argosies of every nation he never permitted a young tree to be cut down,—that was left for his successor. His word was never broken, and never doubted, he conciliated his enemies and inspired his followers with awe and loyalty. The greatest crime was to be above him. His people, though held as serfs, subject to caprice and cruelty, still prospered and improved under his reign. He denied them the use of wine, and while making the carousals of his favorites and wives one of his amusements, indulged but moderately himself. He was a shrewd judge of men, quickly detecting the power of the whites and the difference between the good and bad among them, appointing as his personal counsellors two foreigners whose lives he had saved, John Young and George Davis, who were of great assistance to him, and who won his last great battle, at Nuuanu Valley, against heavy odds, chiefly by a piece of artillery which they had procured.

To a religious man he said, "You say, God will save Christians from all harm. If that is true, cast yourself from that precipice, and if you are not hurt I will believe in your God." Later on, however, he learned of the great changes made by Christianity in the Society Islands, and desired much to know of the Supreme Being worshiped by foreigners; but there was no one to tell him, and he died in the heathen faith. His successor was his son, Liho-liho, a talented, yet pliant youth, addicted to liquor, but restrained from excess by his father during his lifetime.

The genius of Kamehameha was fatal to the idolatrous system of which he was the staunchest supporter, for with a dark heart he had a clear head. By fostering trade he drew a small community of foreign residents into his kingdom, besides many others who visited his ports. These despised the gods, desecrated the temples, violated the tabus, especially when in liquor, and did not fulfil by instant death the expectations of the terrified natives. Even intoxicated Hawaiians helped to break the spell; for, after crossing as they did the "dead line" of the *tabu* with impunity, they naturally began to suspect that the

priests were liars and the tabu contemptible. Trade made business general, and, directing the minds of the people from their all-absorbing idolatry, gave them freedom and strength to think.

A few white men like Young and Davis spoke of God and goodness, but in the main those with whom the natives came in contact were utterly reckless. Yet in obedience to a law working beyond their ken, these men scattered ideas in spite of themselves, and quickened the mental life of the Hawaiians, while they sowed the seeds of both physical and spiritual death.

This double influence, helpful and harmful, runs through all the commercial intercourse of the Pacific Islanders. Those who destroyed idolatry have been equally destructive of the Christian work of later years. Heathen are far more amenable to the teachings of Christ than are the outcasts or adventurers from civilization, who are the worst foes of missions everywhere. It is curious to notice, that while idolatry and the tyranny of the most complex and exacting tabu system ever known were apparently unbroken, yet in the latter part of Kamehameha's reign they were in reality tottering to their fall, undermined by the action of the superior mental vigor of the whites, upon the soft and pliant but quick-witted native mind.

The new king, influenced by the dowager queen Kaahumanu, the favorite wife of his father, and an extraordinary woman, made a royal feast, at which, in the presence of the leading chiefs and foreigners, he deliberately rose, went and sat down at the table of the women, violating the traditions of centuries, and striking down by a single act as powerful a religious system as paganism has produced. "The tabu is broken" was cried out all over the land: feasts were everywhere spread for men and women together, the temples were destroyed, and the idols burned. The old high-priest Hewa-Hewa was the first to apply the torch, and consume the sacred relics of ages, and his example was generally followed. Idolatry was abolished by a proclamation, and there was a wide-spread jubilee. As was natural, a reaction came, affording an opportunity for rival chiefs. The fate of idolatry was staked on a pitched battle, in which the royal party, aided by superior weapons and by white men, destroyed the enemy, though the latter fought with rare courage, even the women carrying water, weapons, and the in-

spiration of their cries into the thick of the fight. The wife of the champion of idolatry fell dead across her husband's body.

Here, then, was a nation of habitual worshipers without a religion, and a nation, too, of no mean possibilities. They were a people whom the perpetual *qui vive* and struggle of savage life had made brave and self-reliant, led by chiefs whose peculiar regimen of life had produced an aristocracy of noble, physical as well as mental, proportions, the fittest to survive out of generations of conflict, able to execute large enterprises, and to hold their own with men from civilized lands. There were giants in those days. As a boy I remember them, on state occasions, in splendid uniforms, towering above the foreign dignitaries about them, poised and stately, conscious of their rank and ancestry, peers of the nobility of any age, descendants of kings whose exploits were celebrated in an unwritten lore of wonderful simplicity and beauty, which for hundreds of years has been transmitted from bard to bard. White Ghost, Iron Bull, and other Indian chiefs whom I have seen, strikingly resemble the old Hawaiians, both as to personal presence and bearing, and in character and thought.

There is little to admire in the average heathen, not much perhaps in the average product of civilization; but I believe in noble savages, as illustrated by the finer types, among whom we find splendid largeness and symmetry and force. They have a conviction, from the course of history and the experience of their own lives, of a God innate in all things. They see Him in nature, in a thousand ways, and so they worship Him in a thousand images and objects: images because of his personality, natural objects because they are from Him and He is in them. They believe in a present, not a far-off, Deity; and it is natural that they should give most of their time to religious duties.

One sees all this in our Indian delegations from the West, who have none of our conventional knowledge, but who seldom get the worst of an argument, and are often morally above the statesmen whom they meet. "They learn to lie at Washington."

But no characters in Hawaiian history shine so brightly as those of the noble women, wives of Kamehameha and his chiefs, powerful, arbitrary, and sensual, saturated with the savagery of

their past, who finally embraced the Christian faith, became softened, gentle, and good, though none the less queenly, and who gave the Bible to their people as the law of the land. When they died there were none to fill their places, for the conditions which created them no longer existed. Their children were petted and spoiled, and as a rule fell victims to their own base passions. The iron hand of Kamehameha was better for their weak natures than any persuasion.

In tracing the development of Christianity in these islands, we speedily discover that the commercial instinct of New England was far stronger than its religious enterprise. During the thirty years before any mission work was begun, foreigners were known to Hawaiians as "Boston men," who, along with rum, powder, and disease, introduced many of the staples of life, some civilized ideas, and in a few cases excellent counsels. By their indirect influence idolatry had been suddenly destroyed; commerce, in their persons, had exerted the power inherent in it in all ages; their merchant-ships had done for Polynesia what caravans have done for Asia Minor and Northern Africa, factories for the Gold Coast, and East India Companies for Southern Asia. That is, they had prepared the way for the coming of Christianity and a better civilization, so that when in 1820 the brig Thaddeus dropped anchor at Kailua, the five mission families whom she brought, who had left Boston six months before, expecting to find a nation given up to pagan rites and worshiping at bloody altars, learned instead with gratitude and joy, that the priesthood was abolished, and idols and altars destroyed. This mission was the outgrowth of some ten years' suggestive circumstances, chief of which was the presence of several Hawaiian youth in New England, where an effort had been made to meet their demand for education by establishing a school in Cornwall, Conn., attended not by Hawaiians only, but by Indians and Asiatics. Three of the first mentioned nationality (Hawaiians) accompanied the pioneer missionaries to their former home. The little mission party left at Kailua was obliged to await the decision of the weak, but well disposed young king, Liho-liho (for by law no foreigner could land without permission), who yielded easily to the persuasions of the grand old dowager Kaahumanu and of his own equally

noble wife, and so without opposition these first Christian teachers raised their standard upon the shore of Hawaii. Hewa-Hewa, the high-priest of the old faith, and very near the throne, had long seen the folly of idolatry, and said, "There is but one great God dwelling in the heavens." He had favored the burning of the wooden gods and temples, and when his "brother priests," as he called them, arrived, he gave them a fraternal welcome, and in a few months embraced the Christian faith.

To counteract these influences the vicious whites in the train of the king suggested that he might have to give up some of his wives and other indulgences, and advised him but without effect, to expel all Americans from his kingdom. Here began the bitter and never-ending attack upon missionaries by foreigners whose lusts rather than profits would be checked by missionary influence. Blind to the fact that Christianity would be the best possible conservator of their fortunes, they, not without honorable exceptions, flung their hatred and jeers at the men whom the savages welcomed to their shores as the bearers of the gospel of life and immortality. The record stands as evidence to the fact that those whose lives have been spent in darkness, respond to the light far more readily than those who have rejected it. The hardest mission work is at our own doors, hard because it often lacks the cheer and enthusiasm found in foreign mission fields, where frequently life, in spite of its terrible strain, is full of inspiration.

The chiefs at first claimed a monopoly of education, and the Hawaiian court became a primary school of infant giants. Churches sprang up at the bidding of the rulers, and were filled with listeners. The first pupil to pass the first public examination was Queen Kaahumanu, who stood up majestically and spelled from her primer. Then Kalanimoku, Kapiolani, and other nobles joined the Christian church. Conversion worked wonders in their lives, changing *hauteur* and pride into kindness and humility, and their faces fairly shone with the new light. Within two years two thousand people had learned to read, and fifty were fitted to give primary lessons, for the missionaries, first work was to create a written language. The Sabbath was generally respected, vice was restrained and a healthy moral

influence brought to confront the wide-spread corruption. The young king was in school during part of every day, but much of his time was spent with dissolute whites along with his chiefs, who, having been successful in the sandal-wood and other trade, had plenty of money. But, as the cutting down of the young trees brought these men near the end of their resources, they became reckless, drank deeply, spent their money wildly, were thoroughly demoralized, and with their king at length forsook the Christian teachers. The people had from all time followed their rulers, in war, in peace, in righteousness, or in dissipation; and now a double example was before them. Foreigners denounced the influence of missionaries, and sought to establish their own power by playing upon the lowest passions of the natives; and Christianity diminished as rapidly as it had spread among these unstable people.

Just at this time Kamehameha II. (Liho-liho) decided to visit England with a small suite, partly for national purposes. He left Kaahumanu dowager as regent and never returned. English hospitality proved too much for him, and he, with others of his suite, died in a foreign land.

The Queen regent continued to rule during the minority of Kamehameha III. A youth named Kauikeouli, supported by other chiefs, led the people back from the license and misrule, of which they themselves were weary, to the safer guidance of the missionaries. The descent was led by rulers corrupted by men from Christian countries: the ascent was, under missionary influence, led by chiefs like Kalanimoku and women like Kaahumanu, Kapiolani and others, equal in nobility to the women of any age. I know nothing finer of its kind than the story of Kapiolani's grand defiance of the goddess Pele, the terrible ruler of the volcano Kilauea, whose native worshipers had never dared to turn away from her. The brave queen declared her intention of descending alone into the crater, in order to prove to her people the folly of their faith; and, in spite of their persuasions and threats of vengeance awaiting her, she accomplished her purpose, singing, as she went to face the wrath of the goddess, a Christian song, and returned unharmed a living witness against the false gods, from whose sway she had herself so lately escaped.

Foreign opposition to missionary work culminated in the demand of Lieutenant Percival, U. S. N., commanding the "Dolphin," that the native women whom the chiefs had forbidden to go on board foreign vessels, should have the freedom of the ships in port. Aided by his guns and his marines he had a brief success; but Commodore Jones, arriving in the war-sloop "Peacock," investigated the case and reprovved his subordinate, who was afterwards court-martialed for his conduct. Commodore Jones, sailing from island to island, did much for Christ's kingdom and for humanity, and happily the same can be said of more than one U. S. naval officer. Captain Finch, Commodores Shubrick, Stockton, Dupont and others, joined cordially with the missionaries, even preaching in their pulpits; and their names remain to-day as household words in all the old mission families.

Among English naval officers the name of Lord Byron (a cousin of the poet), who commanded the ship in which Liho-liho's remains were brought back from England, is held in affectionate remembrance for his good influence and wise counsels. Most deeply embalmed, however, in the hearts of Hawaiians is the name of Rear-Admiral George Thomas, who, when his subordinate Lord George Paulet in 1842 hoisted on the most absurd pretences the English flag over the islands in the name of King George, sailed to the spot, examined and rescinded the act, and compelled Lord George to restore the flag of the nation he had dishonored, and salute it with his own guns; all of which was duly approved by the British Government. The story of this interesting bit of unwritten history as told by one of its heroes, General Marshall, my associate in the Hampton School, appeared in last September's number of *Harper's Magazine*. So serious an experience was it for the Hawaiian government that July 31st, the day of restoration, was made a national holiday, and Admiral Thomas, whose cool head and sense of honor prevented a most unfortunate complication, is forever held in grateful remembrance.

The French nation had always had an eye on this important group, and in 1837 the first Roman Catholic priests, encouraged by the anti-missionary party, appeared in Honolulu. Backed by the French navy, they had already forced themselves on the

Society and Marquesas Islands, but the Hawaiian authorities objected to them as hostile and exciting influences, and, though their worship was at first permitted, it seemed to the people to be the counterpart of the idolatry which they had just cast away. After a time the priests were excluded from the kingdom by law, and their followers were persecuted with intemperate zeal—a course which, though not unprovoked, was an inexcusable blunder, a stain on the nation, resulting, finally, in the enforced landing and reestablishment of the priests, under the guns of a French corvette. French rum was also introduced under the same auspices, accompanied by various outrageous demands on the part of the French commander, Captain La Place.

In ten years from the beginning of the mission there were two hundred Protestant schools, and an attendance of ten thousand children, under teachers only a little above their own level: all facing in the right direction, but still far from acknowledging in their daily lives anything like a fixed standard of morality, such acknowledgment, indeed, being made almost impossible by the surrounding conditions.

The young King Kamehameha III. was, meanwhile, the point about which raged perpetual battles for ascendancy between sycophants and Puritan teachers. The regent Kaahumanu and other chiefs had established the Bible as the basis of law, and, so far as law and example could do it, the vices of the people were held in check. But a band of foreigners, led by the English consul, finally obtained complete control of the king, who, steeped in every form of self-indulgence, had, in 1834, proclaimed himself autocrat, and, assuming full powers, set aside the laws of the land, both by personal example and formal action. A moral revolution followed; schools were deserted; churches were abandoned; the wildest orgies inaugurated; right-minded chiefs hardly dared show themselves, and the missionaries were threatened with expulsion.

At this crisis the whole face of affairs was changed by one of the dramatic revulsions common in Hawaiian history. In the presence of a vast concourse, called together to witness King Kauikeouli renounce the good Kaahumanu as premier of the kingdom, and substitute for her a more pliant queen, thus

ensuring a reign of license, the dissipated monarch electrified the assembly by turning to the premier and confirming her in office. From that moment he took a stand on the side of righteousness, which he never abandoned. The discarded laws were reestablished, and the struggle of opposing influences was over. External order and morality, at least, have been upheld ever since.

The manliness, dignity, and wisdom that characterized the Hawaiian rulers in all their dealings with the representatives of foreign powers in the early days, before recognition, were worthy of the Romans. While attempting no unavailing resistance to the war-ships, which they knew could annihilate them, they did not for a moment cower or fear to speak their convictions; they were like the Indians, who have been conquered but never subdued.

In the year 1843 the King voluntarily surrendered his absolute power, and granted written laws and constitutional freedom to his people, who had never dreamed of such things. What other races have had to struggle for this monarch gave before it was demanded. Power was as sweet to him as to other men, but he had a clear head and a kind heart. Judges were appointed, a popular vote was cast, and a legislature was organized; life and property were as secure, and justice as sound as in Massachusetts; and it is only fair to call this the fruition of the seed sown by American missionaries. In the same year England and France recognized and mutually guaranteed the independence of the Islands, a pledge still binding and perhaps worth remembering.

In the following year the United States took similar action, and from that time till now American sentiment has been expressed in the words of Daniel Webster to a Hawaiian diplomat, "If England takes those islands, we'll make a fuss about it."

The result of the King's noble action was, in 1847, the grand "*makele*" or division, which broadly stated was this, "The King reserved his own private lands as his individual property; one-third of the remaining lands was set aside as the property of the Hawaiian Government, one-third to the chiefs in proportion to their possessions, to have and to hold forever; and the re-

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maining third to the tenants, the actual cultivators of the soil, to have and to hold forever."

In addition to this, Kamehameha, realizing how necessary it was that there should be a public domain, the proceeds of which should go to the national treasury, and from which his subjects could purchase the lands they needed, "proceeded to set apart for the use of the government the larger part of his own royal domain, reserving to himself what he deemed a reasonable amount of land for his own estate. By this great act, Kamehameha III. showed his sympathy with his people, and set an illustrious example of liberality and public spirit. The whole transaction was a severe test of patriotism, reflecting great credit also on the Hawaiian aristocracy, which thus peacefully gave up a portion of its hereditary rights and privileges for the good of the nation,"—a direct result of Christian teaching.

Desiring additional knowledge as to their duties under the new form of government, the chiefs, in 1835, sent to the United States for a teacher of Political Economy. Failing in this, they employed the Reverend William Richards, who gave up his strictly missionary work in order to lecture before the aristocracy on the science of government and the duties of public officers; he also officiated as royal chaplain. The result of the combined influences was an excellent constitution and code of laws. Education in the mechanical arts and agriculture were encouraged by special legislation; but in 1845 a combined application of the government and missionaries to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions for a carpenter, mason, tailor, and shoemaker, was refused as beyond their means, and not of vital importance. This action was fatally unwise. A reverse policy could hardly have averted their final extinction, but would have, as I believe, created a needed physical and moral strength, together with the conditions of better living, and none the less of religious life. From 1820 to 1854 there were sent to the Hawaiian field forty clerical missionaries, six physicians, twenty lay teachers, four of whom were printers, and eighty-three women, most of them wives of the members of the mission. The people learned what they were taught, viz., Christian doctrine and duty, and incidentally, of course, much about practical life. But while industry and thrift generally were en-

couraged, the practical object-lessons which are as important as preaching were furnished in a meagre way. What was done in this direction was chiefly the work of the women, who by visiting the natives in their thatched huts and gathering them together in sewing classes, taught them the use of the needle and other civilized arts. A reinforcement of mechanics to train and harden the soft Hawaiian hand, to establish industrious habits, and thus to supply a stamina which the native character lacked, would have been wise missionary work even had it necessitated decreasing the number of clerical teachers. It was a matter of critical importance. The redeeming effort at the Islands was in the manual labor schools for boys at Lahaina, Waimea, and Hilo. The former, however, was partially abandoned on its practical side when it became a government school and took up advanced studies, educating some of the worst and best men in the kingdom. The school at Lahaina has been a warning against a too exclusively mental culture of a soft and pliant race, the one at Hilo an illustration of an equilibrium of mental, moral and industrial force.

These schools, over which my father as Minister of Education had for fifteen years a general oversight, suggested the plan of the Hampton School. The negro and the Polynesian have many striking similarities. Of both it is true that not mere ignorance, but deficiency of character is the chief difficulty, and that to build up character is the true objective point in education. It is also true that in all men education is conditioned not alone on an enlightened head and a changed heart, but very largely on a routine of industrious habit, which is to character what the foundation is to the pyramid. The summit should glow with a Divine light, interfusing and qualifying the whole mass; but it should never be forgotten that it is only upon a foundation of regular daily activities that there can be any fine and permanent up-building. Morality and industry generally go together. Especially in the weak tropical races, idleness, like ignorance, breeds vice. The best of sermons and schools amount to little when hearers and pupils are thriftless, live from hand to mouth, and are packed at night either in savage huts or in dirty tenement houses. Morality, though founded in spiritual life, de-

pends very much upon outward and social conditions; and, if man is to work out his own salvation, he must learn how to work. Granted that character in its highest sense is the objective point, then mission work evidently should be organized with reference to supplying the conditions under which morality and the creation of character are feasible. Practical men, if possible, should go with preachers to study, and in some measure to develop, local resources of labor, of land, or of production, thus creating industries, occupation, and the conditions of Christian living. The right men can do much in this way with little capital other than their own brains. The man is half the battle. "Progress through self-help," is the motto of our best missionaries to-day; but ability to carry out the principle is rare. What is impossible with one is possible to another. Seldom will a man of mere theoretical education appreciate the power of seemingly destitute savage people to help themselves. They can do more than he thinks. The reaction of self-help upon character is the best result of it. The English missionaries in Madagascar seem to have worked on the right principle, leading those people primarily in their industrial life. Labor as a moral force, is not yet fully recognized in the missionary field.

Where the work is *parental*, as among the childish Polynesians, Africans, and Indians, as distinct from *controversial* among Mohammedans and Chinese, the people accept missionaries as superior beings and become even more religious than those who inherit Christian ideas, in so far as religion consists in the outward expression of rites and ceremonies. Their language is rich in words of reverence and adoration; it makes prayer easy; and, on the spiritual side, their lives flower out without effort and with a grace and beauty wholly their own. Mentally, too, they are far from stagnant. But of true morality they have little or none, because they do not possess its conditions, which require self-control rather than pure devotional life. In our own highest civilization morality is common, but spirituality is rare.

But the Hawaiian missionary was sent to proclaim the gospel, to convert the heathen. Conversion is, indeed, the starting-point of a better life: it is to character what the seed is to the ripe fruit. The choice of God's service is the initial step: the goal is the rounded, perfect, Christian life. To take the step requires

the decision, possibly, of a moment: to reach the goal is the struggle of a lifetime. Viewed thus, one understands that it is not the planting of the seed that costs, but the wise and vigilant care of the growing crop. Much of the missionary work of the world has been a patient, unselfish sowing of seed, which, taking root at first, has in its early frail growth been choked by the vicious weeds about it.

The Hawaiians, who stand as a type, soon learned to read the Bible and to pray to God; yet in two entire generations they have not escaped from the surroundings and the habits that make virtue impossible. That, in the second stage of work on the Islands, certain mistakes were made, seems evident. For example, until the year 1855 the native girls were comparatively neglected. The few boarding-schools established for them amounted to little. The sexes were not educated together, on moral grounds.

On this point the testimony from Northern teachers of the negro race has a direct bearing. Contrary to the strongest convictions in the South, Northern teachers have been able, in the leading institutions for those who lately were slaves (whose weakness is on the moral side), to bring the sexes together most successfully during the past fifteen years. The plan is equally good with Indians, and I believe for all people in the early, if not in every stage, of progress. The way to strengthen the weak is constantly to test them under favorable conditions. To change low ideas of their mutual relations into higher ones they must be trained, not in the abstract, but in the concrete. Separation will not teach practical wisdom in future intercourse, any more than by being kept out of the water can a boy be taught to swim. If it be granted that the sexes of a race cannot on moral grounds, with good management, be educated together, then that race had better be given up—it is doomed to immorality. When I was in the Hawaiian Islands in 1880 I found no one who believed in such coeducation, though the other plan was a failure on the side of morality. To-day there is hardly a ray of hope for the Hawaiian woman. In spite of African degradation and the loose morals of slave life, many of the colored girls of the Southern States, trained by the side of their black brothers, have in and after school made a record of noble stead-

fastness. Separate schooling would I believe have left them far weaker, and less able to protect themselves. Stronger teachers and more expensive buildings are required for mixed schools; but if a race is to be saved it is by creating the unit of Christian civilization, the family, and that is only possible when equal chances are given to both sexes, and they find each other out in the contact of school life.

Our experience at Hampton forces us to consider carefully the future relations of the young men and women whom we are training, and we are more and more convinced of the power of virtuous family life. It promises, in the future, to be the cornerstone of our work for both races.

Since the year 1855 the Hawaiian mission has given more attention, with liberal assistance from the government, to female education; but always in separate schools, and with no encouraging results. The mistake is irretrievable.

The acquirement of the English language by the negro is a wonderful help to his elevation. So the best Hawaiian families are those who have dropped the vernacular and speak English. Savage dialects are a part of a low, sensuous life, that must be forsaken together with its other belongings. English is a tonic for both mind and soul.

I would draw attention to the now almost universal experience of the disappointing results of attempting the higher education of uncivilized races as a part of mission work. The reasons for this seem evident enough. The sharp brain of the savage easily outstrips his sluggish moral nature. With him mental attainment is merely a matter of ready memory and of usually congenial effort. Moral strength is the result of long and patient struggle. The mental food which is given him creates a sense of power, over which his blunt sense of obligation has little control. "Knowledge comes, but wisdom lingers," and especially is this true of the races which lie directly in the path of progress, and are the prey of the advance-guard of traders and adventurers. Every power but that of self-control is stimulated. In some quiet eddies of the great world-current, as in British America and parts of Oceanica, where only good influences have entered, there are undisturbed fields for simple Christian teaching, where God's word entering the heart works

out into well-ordered righteous living; but liquor and licentiousness have spared a very small part of humanity.

Education of the heathen, and of all backward races, must be of the head, the hands, and the heart, a judicious proportion being always maintained. This is our relation to the negro, though we bid him God-speed in every endeavor for the highest culture. The majority of thinking people will admit that we of the civilized races do not need so much what we are getting as this training of the whole life, for lack of which our average types of manhood and womanhood are weakened and point to no very hopeful future. One can well believe the truth of what is said of some sections of Europe, viz., that in their thrift and prosperity they still show the influence of their early monastic teachers, who were laborers and leaders among them in all practical arts.

In making a *résumé* of Hawaiian history, I find that it divides itself into three periods of thirty years each, as follows:

1. From 1790 to 1820, the generation preceding the mission, a time of mental activity and material progress, and the beginning of the nation's physical decay, all due to the presence of foreign discoverers and traders.

2. From 1820 to 1850, in which the people embraced the Christian faith, and civilized institutions were established through the efforts of American missionaries, working against tremendous obstacles. During this period, and even before, the harbors of Hawaii were the annual rendezvous of from fifty to three hundred and fifty whale-ships, the crews of which, during weeks of refitting between voyages, were paid off, and while indulging themselves almost without restraint, made the fortunes of the merchants and ruined the natives.

3. From 1850 to the present time. These years, all of which come within my own personal knowledge, present a curious record. The line of ancient chiefs has become extinct, the people have become indifferent to religious duties, being anxious to assert their political power, and the influence of the missionaries has greatly decreased, especially since 1875. Great commercial prosperity exists, due to the treaty with the United States, and to the increase of the sugar crop from 10,000 to 60,000 tons a year. The five thousand male Chinese adults of 1870 have

increased to twenty thousand in 1883, creating a serious disproportion of sexes, resulting in polyandry and in rapid demoralization. Another element has been added in the presence of some thousands of Portuguese and other Europeans, besides many Malays. The decrease of morality has kept pace with the increase of wealth. Leprosy has made terrible progress, affecting at least ten per cent. of the native population, whose death-rate has gained alarmingly on the birth-rate. A strong race-feeling has sprung up; and to-day the Hawaiians as a people are *anti-haole* (opposed to foreigners) especially to Americans, not because Americans, but because Americans are the strongest. There are but few natives of any strength left. This last period is preëminently one of decay, offering much food for thought, especially to those who are interested in mission work for like races in other parts of the world.

THE MISSIONARY PERIOD.

To us who were born under the palm-trees of Hawaii, and whose earliest and closest associations are with the work which our parents initiated, it is around that work that the chief interest of Hawaiian history centres. That which I designate as the "missionary period" includes certain developments worthy of consideration, and mistakes full of suggestion.

While progress was from the first remarkable, there was constant unsteadiness among the people, corresponding always to the action of the chiefs, who stood between two influences, wavering weakly between good and bad. In the year 1834, as has been stated, the young King Kamehameha III took a public and dramatic stand in favor of Christianity; but, in spite of this, his life and that of his successor, furnished examples which have always justified, rather than condemned, the moral relapse of the natives.

About 1837 there occurred at the Islands one of the greatest religious revivals of modern times, which continued for several years. Sixteen thousand natives were enrolled in the churches, and the well-known Father Coan of Hilo baptized seventeen hundred in one day. But the missionaries, knowing the people, were on their guard, were slow to accept mere professions, and endeavored thoroughly to test their converts. Natives camped

by thousands near the churches in order to hear the gospel, and built huge houses of worship, dragging timber from the mountains by hand, and diving fathoms deep into the sea for coral to make into mortar. Long before 1850 a church was in sight from every hamlet, the Bible was in every hut, and the people were giving more to religious charities, according to their means, than any people in Christendom. There were over 10,000,000 of printed pages in their own language, mostly educational matter, and in 1843 eighteen thousand children attended school. This was the maximum. There were all the outward signs of a nation of steady habits; but the energy of the whites was behind and sustained it all; the people were passive, plastic, practically infants. Of the white men's signatures on the public papers of that day one-half was made by marks, while only one native failed to write his own name. In reading and writing the natives were the equals of the average New Englander; but, being made of very unequal stuff, the growth was not from within outwards. The two races were, in effect, two thousand years apart in real civilization.

The Hawaiians in their little Pacific Paradise were like Adam and Eve in Eden without hardship, and it is a question whether humanity can develop well under paradisaical conditions. They accepted civilization, but did not adopt it: they did not know what it meant. Take, for instance, the use of clothing. In warm, sunny weather they dressed richly for display, and in rainy weather wore next to nothing, which resulted naturally in an increase of colds and fevers. The Kanaka on Sundays wore a broadcloth coat, and on work days a breech clout; the woman was arrayed perhaps in a satin dress, hanging from her shoulders, which she probably valued as much as her character. They had little idea of the fitness of things. Yet they had reached an important stage—they were humanized.

This being in brief the state of affairs, the American Board of Missions in Boston in 1848 adopted the conclusion that the Islands had been virtually Christianized, that the nature of the work had therefore changed essentially, and that what was needed was pastors rather than missionaries. It was asserted that proper materials for pastors could be found among the many thousands who had been called by the Holy Spirit in the

churches. In reply, the Hawaiian missionaries urged the instability and moral weakness of even their best converts; but they were finally overruled, and in 1863, in connection with the visit of Reverend Dr. Rufus Anderson (Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions) to the Islands, independent native pastors were appointed as the equals of the missionaries in rank and councils. The missionaries accepted the change with deep misgivings, and in 1880 told me that they regarded it as a serious mistake.

The Roman Catholics, who hold at least one-third of the native population, have to this day maintained a strong foreign priest-hood, never having received a single native as their peer, though they have used them in a subordinate capacity with success. Business men told me that while they put much responsibility upon native Hawaiians, they never gave them control. It is significant that of the six hundred business houses in Honolulu not one is conducted by a native, while two hundred are controlled by Chinese.

White men are as necessary in Government administration to-day as they were thirty years ago, and by no means all the native clergy can be trusted with the church collections, or are above reproach otherwise.

The Hawaiian mission was professedly an experiment; and when, in 1835, it was decided that an extraordinary force of both men and women should be sent there, it was in the hope, "That, should it be found possible to complete the work in the space of one or two generations, these Islands would become a glorious exemplification and proof of the power of the gospel in missions for the encouragement of the church of God in its efforts for the conversion of the world." At the religious convocation of 1863 Dr. Anderson said, "The mission, having through the blessing of God, accomplished the work specially appropriate to it as a mission, has been as such disbanded and merged in the community." Control of the churches was given to the ecclesiastical bodies of which a majority were Hawaiian. The veterans were to depend for their influence solely on their age, experience, and superior attainments. No official power was left them except a certain control over the grants to the native churches.

I believe that while a democratic form of church organization is natural and fitting for highly civilized people, it is of doubtful value among weak Polynesians, and the like. Fitness to control is rather a question of the state of society than of the individual; an intelligent public sentiment in a race, is its best qualification to take the helm in any department of economic, political or social life. It has become a matter of experience, in my opinion, that in guiding a race through the process of development everything should be given it but the helm. Self-help and self-control should be taught from the first: entire control should be given only at the last. The action of the American Board must, in the light of results, be put down as a mistake as to facts and an error in judgment. But, on the other hand, the missionaries have undeniably the right to claim that in 1863, and even long before, they had accomplished that which in 1820 was their professed object: they, "had converted the Islands to Christianity, established gospel institutions, and prepared the ground for the native pastors." In thirty years they had received into church membership fifty thousand souls, of whom twenty thousand had died, while eight thousand had been excommunicated; and the Hawaiians, judged by the standard of church attendance, Sunday schools, education, etc., were a Christian people. The distance between this condition and the era of heathen temples, bloody altars, universal crime and darkness, is as great as that accomplished by any race in the same time. I believe this progress to be unparalleled in history, but as a matter of fact the nation was still far from Christian civilization.

But this admission again only forces us closer to the conclusion that granting the Hawaiian mission to have been successful in its appointed object, viz., "The preaching of Christ," then, under modern conditions, in mission work which is to be progressive and permanent, something more than preaching is needed,—something which under ancient conditions was less imperative. The world has changed; there are new factors in the problem; we meet with difficulties that did not exist in the days of the Apostles. The work which I criticize is as near me as my own, and far more sacred; but I believe in a science of Christian philanthropy as much as of sociology, and the one de-

mands as close a study as the other. While we are, perhaps, wiser now in these things than our fathers were fifty years ago, yet we know little, and we need all the lessons within our reach. Both in its success and failure the Hawaiian mission has something to teach us, and an honest survey of the ground will possibly show us what that is.

In the year 1851 I accompanied my father, who was then Minister of Public Instruction in the Hawaiian Cabinet, on a tour of inspection of all the schools on the Islands: we were most of the time guests of the natives. With rare exceptions we found them living in thatched huts as of old, cooking and eating their food as their ancestors had done, wearing clothes when convenient (but with no strong opinions on the subject of garments), while the entire family, as well as the stranger within their gates, slept in one room, with occasionally a curtain across the raised end. In every hut there was a Bible, and family prayers were offered. Yet pleasure seekers saw and reported another side: not that the natives were altogether hypocrites, but that hospitality and a desire to please are national traits, and that they easily took the point of view of their guests. They had then, and to this day they have, no family name. It was my father's last public effort in 1860 to create this basis of family union; but the families were, and still are, simply flocks held only by nature's ties. Morality was required by the churches, was preached in season and out of season, was punished by frequent excommunication, and enforced by the laws; but the conditions of it did not exist in their surroundings or in the indolent routine of their lives. As I look back upon all this, I realize how far behind them they had left the old life of cruelty, crime, and shamelessness; I also realize how far they were from the standard which had been set before them; and I know that from that day to this, the tide has been gradually setting back, the process of decay steady.

Could anything have checked it? Where was the mistake, the point of failure? What was possible to these indolent, happy Island children, placed by Providence as heirs of the kindest soil and climate on earth? Nordhoff says truly, that no effort can make these heathens into Puritans. Bishop Pattison demonstrated the uselessness of attempting to make

English Christians of the Melanesians, believing that character was not an absolute result but the best that the conditions would permit. Is it not true, that it is not daily victory which we should expect, but daily struggle? A convert from barbarism may neither be strictly truthful, nor honest, nor virtuous, and yet he may be a Christian. He tries to do better, asks God for help, and, with occasional relapses, works slowly along to better things. The best man is he who makes the best fight. Does it not then seem evident that the highest success of mission work will be in proportion to the possibility of providing the conditions which are necessary to the growth of individual character; which help each man to stand, and, if he falls, to rise again? The object of Christian missions assuredly is the formation of character, the inspiring of men permanently with higher views of duty and a stronger sense of truth,—an ethical product rather than emotional piety. The inspiration of the work lies simply in the constraining love of Christ and of men, and is above creeds; it is simple and direct; it knows no sectarian differences; and it keeps men near God. The men and women who take it up, are sure, through difficulty and darkness, of a mighty consummation at the end, and they work in that consciousness. The ideal missionary of to-day needs to be a linguist, a scholar, an adept in the knowledge of men, an organizer of society, of infinite tact and untiring energy, ready for any emergency, a man in short such as Hamlin was in Constantinople, or Livingstone in Africa. He must not be hampered by directors at home, but must go as an officer in command of a foreign expedition, however stuffed with instructions with full liberty to act in the end as he may think best.

The one great lesson of the Hawaiian mission is, I believe, that we must more and more recognize the value and the necessity of practical training of the whole life. In the whole of the movement under discussion there was too little of this; and not enough practical recognition of the fact, that great movements begin with the individual, that religious results however brilliant for the moment cannot be permanent unless there is coincident with them a high individual type. Self-reliance and decent living must not only be preached, but pushed upon the convert, whose well-ordered life should be a daily lesson. There was

no formal union of church and state in Hawaii, but practically there was a similar result. The faith went from the chiefs to the people, among whom there was little deep conviction. They were swept as by a current, or rather rose and fell as upon vast tidal waves. This was possibly *the* misfortune of the mission; its mistake lay in giving no lack of exhortation, but far too little of that practical training in every-day living, which alone can make an uncivilized people into Christians, in whom is to be found steadfastness and a capacity for progress, in whom Christianity has literally "leavened the lump."

The methods by which this may be accomplished cannot be discussed here; but the splendid work done of late years in the African field, in India, China and Japan, and in our own land, shows that the tendency of modern educational thought and of missions is strongly in the direction of better man-building. We have learned how to make money, but not how to make men. Everywhere Christianity is hopefully struggling with idolatry, and the semi-heathen faiths, and with the worst degradation of all, that of corrupt civilization. Its ideas must conquer, for they alone meet the needs of all men; but the life which it demands must always be slow of growth. A maxim of mission work might well be, "Ideas take root in a moment, habits only in generations."

THE PERIOD OF DECAY.

While in the division of my subject I speak of the "period of decay," and date it from the year 1850, when the causes at work came as it were to the surface, it is true that the decrease of the native population began much earlier. In 1820 they numbered probably about eighty-five thousand, in 1850 sixty-five thousand, at the present day forty-three thousand, the rate of decrease being now more rapid than ever, at least one thousand a year. Following King Liho-liho and Kamehameha IV., were his brother Lot, William Lunalilo, and Kalakaua, all since 1850, over whom the missionaries had little influence, and unscrupulous men a great deal. The first two were of high rank and ability, and received much of the ancient reverence given to kings. The last two were elected by the legislature; and Lot having waived his right to name a successor, Lunalilo was

chosen by acclamation. This popular young king was talented, but was his own worst enemy, and soon died from drink. Kalakaua's election in 1874 was due to the manipulation of the legislative electors by Americans, who feared the very popular Queen Emma, dowager of Kamehameha IV., because of her English proclivities.

King Kalakaua has now at the head of his government an ex-Mormon priest, a talented unscrupulous man, whom no one trusts or respects, holding his position entirely through his ability to handle the weak and conceited monarch, who though amiable and intelligent is utterly without executive capacity or wisdom, and is esteemed by none. The eight thousand and Hawaiian voters have to-day their own way with the six hundred white voters, whose representatives until lately have always led their councils. Through now wholly set aside, the missionary and decent element is awaiting the logic of events. The last legislature, having repealed the act prohibiting the sale of liquor to natives, intemperance is increasing frightfully. The people are eaten up with syphilis in its secondary stage; about fifteen hundred are lepers, and as many more have the taint of it.

Yet the Hawaiians are working harder than ever before; their labor is the best to be had, and is in steady demand at good prices with fair treatment on the sugar plantations. But plantation life is not wholesome for them, certainly not promoting domesticity, and it removes them from the influences which they especially need. Hawaiian slavery, at one time so extensively advertised in this country, is an absurd invention. There have no doubt been individual cases of injustice, but the higher courts are in good hands, and the local judges and juries are not in the planter's interest, so that even the Chinamen have got beyond the "knock-down period," and go to the law for redress. In the scarcity of labor the working class has the advantage, and when in 1880 I visited nearly all the plantations, I found the employees as a rule very gently handled. The better class of natives in both town and country appear exceedingly well, and are still the light-hearted attractive people of old, dancing gaily to their doom, careless of fate, always smiling. In graceful costumes, decked with wreaths, mounted on gar-

landed horses, they ride like centaurs, creations of air and sunshine, knowing no future. One thinks of them in their gay childishness and wonders if they were ever meant to be "a people of steady habits." Have they reached the condition which Mr. Charles Loring Brace believes is a possible one? "There comes a period," he says, "in the history of the decadence of a race, when its moral condition seems to be beyond the reach of any system of morality, or of the purest religion."

The darkest shadow, cast across the future of the Islands, comes from the presence of the Chinese. As already stated, their twenty thousand male adults have increased the majority of men over women to over twenty thousand, in a total of sixty-seven thousand souls,—a terrible disparity of the sexes which in itself is fatal to morality. A people able to defeat Americans on their own ground, can easily overcome the yielding Hawaiian: its influence is already everywhere felt. A Chinaman, with a jug of gin, hires himself cheaply to a native, learns his business, gets him through liquor into debt, and in two years owns the homestead, hiring his former employer by the day. A few of them marry good native women, and are bringing up an excellent class of children, an improvement on the aborigines. But there are several hundred Chinese Christians in the Islands, and an earnest effort has commenced which, under God, may lead to a glorious result. It is a sign of hope: this mission to the Chinese in Hawaii is now the most important work there. The real Chinese question everywhere is not one of money but of morals; they add fifty millions of dollars a year to the wealth of California; they are steadily enriching the Islands; but what of their moral effect? Outnumbering already in Hawaii the male population of all other nationalities, there is nothing to check their increase of power or to keep them from claiming the suffrage. Peaceful, money-loving, industrious, they have no fear of competition from any quarter; and they are not ignorant of the power which is steadily drifting into their hands. Nearly all are armed. "The Chinese monster is turning in its bed," said President Garfield. China's armies are receiving European equipment and drill. Sailors are being trained for her on every Oriental steamship, and skilled officers can be hired to command the navy which she is buying in the best European ship yards.

The Hon. William H. Seward once said, "The Pacific Ocean is destined to become the theatre of the world's greatest events." When ships shall cross the Isthmus of Darien, and trade shall spread her navies over the surface of this great sea, the commercial nations will be anxious for its control. China may then be felt slowly assuming with her vast resources the place she shall choose to take.

The Hawaiian Islands are the most important strategic point in the Pacific, and the logic of events is pushing them under Asiatic influence. Eastern and Western civilization have met there, the one with numbers, the other with wealth and ideas. Once more Pagan worship appears on their shores, and there is no prophet to tell us what the end may be. In this conflict the Hawaiian hardly counts.

Civilization is represented by a highly intelligent class of Americans, English, Germans, and other Europeans, numbering about twenty-five hundred (with a handful of natives), not all exemplary in their manner of living, but making a refined society in which there is a remarkable proportion of college-bred men and cultivated women. The preponderating influence is that represented by the descendants of missionaries, who, though they now hold few government positions, are active in business and in the professions. They appreciate the natives and are their true friends. This legacy of the fathers is a noble contribution to Hawaiian civilization, the nucleus of the forces forming the hope of the Islands. One of them is the Chancellor of the kingdom, the Supreme Court being the last stronghold of decency in the government, though it has been seriously weakened by late legislation restricting its power over the inferior judges.

The Reciprocity Treaty with the United States, which admits to this country Hawaiian sugar free of duty, has strongly stimulated production, and money has become plenty and living high. Business is active, but is not altogether on a sound basis, for the present prosperity depends upon the continuance of the Treaty, which may expire within a year. Its abrogation would cause the collapse of probably one-half the plantations; many of the better class would leave the kingdom; and a desperate effort would be made for a favorable English or other alliance. The Chinese, who can live where other men starve, would then

be sure of their future on the sugar plantations, as they already are in rice growing, which they have widely introduced on the homesteads they have won from the natives. The financial argument for the Treaty may be disputed—the political one cannot be, for on it depends not only the fate of Hawaiian civilization, but of the vast and growing interests of this country in the Pacific Ocean. The risk to us is that we may not as a nation see our need of these Islands until it is too late.

The summing up of Hawaiian history as it presents itself today is, that from the reign of Kamehameha the Great to that of Kalakaua there has been a swift adoption of the externals of civilization, hand in hand with a steady physical decay, and a promising but suddenly arrested moral development.

To speak of the results of the mission work in the Islands, or of its future, is by no means so easy. If Hawaii had remained only a trading-port or whaling-station the native population would, with few exceptions, have ere this been swept away by the torrent of vice let loose upon them. As it is tens of thousands have lived in the light, and died in the faith, true disciples according to their strength, and if not victors, yet to be counted as honestly enlisted in Christ's service.

The veteran missionaries in this work are asking of late years, "Is it true that the success so widely heralded to the world is, after all, a failure?" One hesitates to reply to a question involving so much, but surely it is true that there is growth in mission work only as it shall accept candid criticism, study the science and the philosophy of the life it deals with, consider heredity, development, and environment, and not expect morality and character under conditions in which they would be impossible for one of our race. When Bishop Pattison, the model missionary, said, "The second stage of mission work is the most difficult," he knew whereof he spake. The first is mainly upon the heart, the second is more directly upon the life of converts, who are more or less puffed up by mere knowledge, are headstrong, unconscious of their weakness, and test the tact of their teachers far more severely than they did in their original ignorance and simplicity. It demands the uplifting of the whole man by God's grace, and by every means that human wisdom suggests, and then by protecting him from the harm he would

do himself, until he is thoroughly established in well-doing, which must be a matter of time and habit. I believe that whatever it may have been in the past, the present system of the American Board of Foreign Missions, and of all other progressive associations, tends to coincidence with the views of this paper.

As I leave my subject I have only to refer to one success of the Hawaiian Mission in the few really strong and fine individuals whom it has produced, who have never hesitated to make the sacrifices for others which their teachers, as they fully recognized, had made for them. When a company of native Hawaiian missionaries, which for some years had been stationed at the Marquesas Islands, was sent for to return, because salaries could no longer be paid, its members elected to stay and support themselves by hard labor, rather than leave a savage people whom they had learned to love. One of them, Kekela, offered his own person as a hostage to a hostile tribe for the life of an American seaman whom they had captured. The tribe finally accepted other ransom, and President Lincoln, hearing the story, sent to the missionary a watch, with some expression of his respect for the act. The teacher's reply was that, 'White men had saved his soul, and he could well afford to give them his body.' Hawaiian Christian missionaries, supported from home, have worked long and faithfully in the Mortlock Islands, close to the shore of Asia, and in Micronesia and the Gilbert and Marshall Groups. Some, indeed, have sadly failed: they have done best under the supervision of white men.

The same men left in Hawaii as independent pastors might have yielded to the temptations about them; but under the stimulus of the self-denying life they have chosen, like those who burned their ships, they have lived nobly for God and man.

This soft and gentle race, full of generous impulses, equally receptive of good or bad teaching, and unfit to meet the strong advance of Anglo-Saxon civilization, is yet, in its blind descent to decay, scattering the seeds of Christian life, received by it from distant lands, among its wilder brethren. And may it not be that the torch lit in Hawaii shall shine across the islands of Polynesia even to the far shores of the Pacific Sea?

LESSONS
FROM
THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

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