

SEEDTIME AND HARVEST:
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
THE HAWAIIAN REFORMED CATHOLIC CHURCH,
1855-1870

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the collaboration between Anglican missionaries and Hawaiians in establishing the Anglican Church in Hawai'i from 1855 and 1870. In 1862, Anglican missionaries arrived in Hawai'i by invitation from Kamehameha IV who wanted the missionaries to assist with supporting his public policy and educational initiatives. Kamehameha IV envisioned that Anglicanism would reinvigorate the religious morals of his people and assist in educating Hawaiians to take on roles in government that were increasingly being taken by white foreigners. The Anglican missionaries in turn saw the Hawaiian Mission as a laboratory for its Anglo-Catholic theology. However, early on in the Mission's history, the missionaries lost the support of Kamehameha IV due to his unexpected death in 1863. The passing of their royal sponsor made the missionaries even more dependent on others to remain viable. The Mission downsized their operations and as a result were able to complete some of its intended goals on a small scale in Honolulu, O'ahu and Lahaina, Maui. Focusing resources in smaller areas allowed the Mission to build a Hawaiian congregation a few hundred strong, many of whom had ties to the royal family or were loyalists of their King and Queen. Hawaiians from across the country sent their children to single-sex schools established and operated by Anglican missionaries in Honolulu and Lahaina. The Anglican schools built a reputation among Hawaiians as being reliable institutions that prepared young children for adulthood. To continue the work that she and her husband had started, Queen Emma Kaleleonālanī, continued to support the Mission after the death of her husband. Emma traveled to England and completed a year and half long fundraising mission for funds to build the Anglican Mission's cathedral in Honolulu, a church that is still used by the Church's congregation over 150 years later.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments.....	2
Abstract.....	4
Introduction.....	6
Chapter 1 – Mō‘ī and Missionaries.....	27
Chapter 2 – Congregation.....	42
Chapter 3 – Education.....	57
Chapter 4 – Fundraising.....	75
Conclusion.....	102
Glossary.....	106
Appendix A – Hawaiian-Language Newspaper Debates About Anglicanism.....	107
Appendix B – Images of Baptism and Confirmation Records.....	108
Appendix C – Images of Board of Education Reports.....	110
Appendix D – Image of <i>Cartes de Visite</i> of Queen Emma, 1855-1856.....	115
Works Cited.....	116

Introduction

While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease. – Genesis 8:22¹

The first Anglican missionaries arrived in Honolulu on October 11, 1862, after almost two months in transit.² From England, the missionaries sailed across the Atlantic to Panama, crossed the isthmus by land to Mexico, before finally sailing to San Francisco. On September 26, 1862, they left San Francisco and spent 13 days sailing across the Pacific to Hawai‘i.³ The party included the head of the new ministry, Bishop Thomas Nettleship Staley, his two assistants, Reverend George Mason and Reverend Edmund Ibbotson, and their respective families, wives, and hired help. Altogether, the new Anglican Mission was comprised of 13 new people who would call Hawai‘i their new home.⁴

This was the first time Anglican missionaries were sent to Hawai‘i and the North Pacific, earning them the name “The Hawaiian Mission” within the Church of England and Britain. In the early nineteenth century laws of comity between Christian missionary groups established boundaries for different denominations to work in.⁵ The Pacific was divided between British and American Congregationalists from the London Missionary Society, British Anglicans from the Church Missionary Society (CMS), and Wesleyan Methodists.⁶ The Anglican Church was designated the South Pacific to Christianize.

The first CMS mission was established in New Zealand in 1814 by Samuel Marsden, followed by the first Australian mission that started in Wellington in 1825. From these original

¹ Robert Carroll and Stephen Prickett, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version* (OUP Oxford, 2008), 9.

² Katharine Shirley Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, Revised edition (Honolulu: Daughters of Hawai‘i, 1987), 6–7.

³ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, Missions to the Heathen, No. 45 (London, 1863), 2.

⁴ Staley and his wife had 7 children. Reverend Mason brought his wife, daughter and their family governess, Miss Roche. Andrew Forest Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” *The British Columbia Historical Quarterly* XV, no. Nos. 1 and 2 (April 1951): 49; Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 1–2.

⁵ Brij V. Lal and Kate Fortune, *The Pacific Islands: An Encyclopedia* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 178–79.

⁶ Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850–1915* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2014), 119.

stations, Anglican missionaries were trained and sent to New Guinea and Melanesia to continue the spread of Anglicanism in the South Pacific.

While Anglicanism was brought to the archipelagos in the south, Congregationalist missionaries from New England sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) brought the Word of God to Hawai'i in 1820. After gaining the trust of the mō'ī (king), Kamehameha II, and the Kuhina Nui (Queen Regent) Ka'ahumanu, the Congregationalists were allowed to establish churches throughout the kingdom, preach to Hawaiians, and solicit members.

After the death of Kamehameha II in 1825, his successor, Kamehameha III worked extensively with the ABCFM missionaries over the next 20 years. The relationship between the Congregationalist missionaries and the king became highly collaborative in nature. Kamehameha III persuaded many of the American missionaries to leave their positions with the ABCFM and assume positions in his government. The majority of the missionaries that were asked to join the King's government jumped to the opportunity and became trusted political advisors and civil servants of the kingdom. For example, Reverend William Richards left the mission initially to become a translator of Kamehameha III. He also acted as a special envoy to the US and Great Britain in 1842, a member of the King's Privy Council in 1845, a member of the House of Nobles, a government land commissioner, and acted as the first Minister of Public Instruction.⁷ After Richards' passing in 1847, another former missionary, Reverend Richard Armstrong, assumed the position of Minister of Public of Instruction until his own passing in 1860.⁸ After Reverend Lorrin Andrews resigned from the ABCFM, he served as the secretary of the Privy Council and as an associate justice on the Supreme Court of Hawai'i.⁹ The ABCFM's physician, Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, resigned from the mission in 1842 and went on to serve as the Minister of

⁷ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Foundation and Transformation, Volume I, 1778-1854* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1938), 154–56, 207, 233, 263, 280.

⁸ Kuykendall, 238, 249–50, 283.

⁹ Kuykendall, 243–44, 260, 264.

Foreign Affairs, Minister of Interior, and the Minister in Finance.¹⁰ He also acted as a member in the House of Representatives. The former ABCFM missionaries, who came to Hawai‘i to educate Hawaiians in Congregationalism, were able to continue their work from the most privileged seats of the Hawaiian government.

When Anglicanism arrived in Hawai‘i in 1862, the ABCFM’s influence shown itself not only in their political positions their former missionaries held, but also in the percentage of practicing Hawaiian Protestants. In 1853, 33 years after the arrival of the ABCFM in Hawaii, the question of religious adherence was added to the kingdom census for the first time. Of the population of 71,019 people in the country, there were 56,840 Protestants, 11,401 Catholics, and 2,778 Mormons; no one reported himself or herself as not being Christian.¹¹ A report in 1862 published the religious statistics of the kingdom from 1860 stating that of a population of 68,000 Hawaiians, 20,000 were Protestants, 20,000 were Catholics, and 3,000 were Mormons, leaving a remaining 25,000 unconnected to any denomination.¹² The statistics illustrate the religious climate that the Anglican missionaries were entering: a majority Christian country whose citizens were already members of other Christian congregations.

It is no coincidence that Anglicanism arrived in Honolulu at a time when the majority of the Hawaiian population practiced some form of Protestantism and the ABCFM missionaries enjoyed prestige in the kingdom. After coming into power in 1855, King Alexander Liholiho Kamehameha IV planned on improving upon the systems put in place by his predecessor and uncle. This included seeking out new missionaries. The King and his Queen, Emma Rooke, invited Anglican missionaries to establish and work in the islands. Staley was chosen by the Church of England for the bishopric position in 1861, and Staley subsequently recruited his crew of reverends to make the move with him.

¹⁰ Kuykendall, 248–49, 256–57.

¹¹ To what degree Hawaiian religions were still being practiced was not noted in this census. Robert C. Schmitt, “Religious Statistics of Hawai‘i, 1825-1972,” *Hawaiian Historical Society* 7 (1973): 43.

¹² “Arrival of the Episcopalian Mission,” *The Polynesian*, October 18, 1862.

For Staley, accepting the post in Hawai‘i to an already Christianized North Pacific country was strategic. Staley was a follower of the Oxford Movement, a branch of the Anglican Church that asserted that the Anglican Church was the true Catholic and apostolic church. Anglo-Catholics adopted liturgical practices, rituals, and symbols from Roman Catholicism. Although criticized for ritualism and popery by the Evangelicals and Anglicans alike, Anglo-Catholics asserted their desires to change the Church of England from the inside by elevating the sacramental and power of their priests.¹³

Anglo-Catholics saw missions as essential to their goal to connect all lands and people under one true church.¹⁴ They were strongly opposed Evangelical forms of Christianity and believed that the missionary tactics used by Evangelicals in England and abroad often dehumanized those they sought to convert.¹⁵ The Anglo-Catholic approach instead sought to build deeper relationships between Church and person, one that took into consideration the history and culture of Indigenous peoples to the lands they were working in.¹⁶

A farewell service was held at Westminster Abbey prior to the departure of the Anglican missionaries to Hawai‘i. In his farewell sermon, Staley outlined his understanding of the responsibilities of his new position, the work that he felt needed to be done, and how he envisioned going about fulfilling the Mission’s purpose. Layered in his speech of purpose are criticisms of the lack of progress by the Congregationalist Church. Staley used the Biblical passage Isaiah 42:4: “He shall not fail nor be discouraged, till he have set judgment in the earth: and the isles shall wait for his law,” to set the tone for the work that the Anglicans were embarking on in Hawai‘i.¹⁷ Staley believed that the Hawaiian Islands and its people were waiting for the arrival of the Anglican Church and the good. Forty-one years prior to Staley’s speech, this same verse was used by ABCFM missionary Reverend Hiram Bingham to describe how the

¹³ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 113.

¹⁴ Maughan, 113.

¹⁵ David Cannadine, *Victorious Century: The United Kingdom, 1800–1906* (Penguin Books Limited, 2017), 197–98; Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 131.

¹⁶ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 130.

¹⁷ Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 803.

Hawaiian Islands were waiting for their missionary group to bring them the word of the true Christian God. Staley's words are thus layered with provocation. In arguing that the isles were still waiting, he announced his intention of completing the work that the Congregationalists had attempted and failed to complete when they arrived in 1820.

Upon their arrival in Honolulu in 1862, Staley chartered their church under the name the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church to reflect the roots and ideology of Anglo-Catholicism.¹⁸ Staley's approach to missionary work, his refusal to recognize the terms of the Protestant law of comity, and his refusal to work with members of other denominations made him a controversial figure. The historiography on the Anglican Mission in Hawai'i focuses on Staley's opposition against the ABCFM structure and their agents, but few sources look at the role of Hawaiians in the formative period of the Anglican Mission under Staley's tenure.

This thesis illuminates the collaboration between royals, missionaries, and supporters of the Anglican Church in establishing the Anglican Church in Hawai'i. Although the leaders of the Hawaiian Kingdom worked with missionaries and the missionaries had confidence that they would be able to convert Hawaiians easily, the growth and success of denominations were dependent on support from Hawaiian (native born people of the Kingdom of Hawai'i or individuals from foreign lands that sworn allegiance to the Hawaiian government) subjects that converted to its religio-cultural tenets. This was true in the case of Anglicanism. The Anglican Mission received royal sponsorship, but the Mission was heavily reliant on support from its Hawaiian Church members. In this institutional history I investigate how Hawaiians legitimized Anglicanism through their participation with the denomination. Between 1855 and 1870, how and why did Hawaiians express support and disdain for the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic

¹⁸ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, 13.

Church?¹⁹ For those that accepted Anglicanism as their faith, how did they in turn participate and contribute to the activities of the Anglican Mission and its missionaries?²⁰

Three central arguments form this thesis. The first is that decisions of conversion were dependent on whether Anglicanism provided the convert a viable form of reciprocity. The invitation to establish an Anglican Church in Hawai'i arose from Kamehameha IV's desire to have Anglican missionaries assist with his educational vision for the kingdom. Although the King saw the Anglican missionaries as necessary for fulfilling his policies, the majority of his people did not see any benefits in conversion and remained loyal to the churches they were already baptized in. The reluctance to convert arose partially due to the inaccessibility of the Anglican Church to those not living on O'ahu, but were also caused by the identified historic wrongs – murders, the stealing of money, excommunication – committed by the Anglican Church during and after the English Reformation. By the 1850s, Hawaiians already identified as Congregationalists, Catholics, and Mormons and it was Hawaiians of those churches who critiqued and denounced the theology, liturgy, and formation of the Anglican Church in published letter editorials in the newspapers.²¹

The size of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church's congregation never reached numbers comparable to the denominations that it sought to compete with and gained a small following in its first eight years between 1862 to 1870. The district of Honolulu saw more converts than any other region of the kingdom due to the Mission's base at Pele'ula, Honolulu, O'ahu. Baptismal and confirmation records show that within Honolulu, royal residences and areas that had royal affiliation (i.e. residences of relatives of the king and queen, other residences of the royal family) saw a higher proportion of converts.

¹⁹ I chose the cut-off date of 1870 because Bishop Staley returned to England in that year, and was replaced by a second English Bishop two years later. The period of establishment of the Anglican Mission began and ended with Staley.

²⁰ Ioane Kaimiola, "Ka Paio Misionari Helu 4," *Ke Au Okoa*, June 26, 1865.

²¹ In 1840, Kamehameha III's new constitution decreed that, "...no shall be enacted which is at variance with the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of His word. All laws of the Islands shall be in consistency with the general spirit of God's law." Hawai'i was a Christian nation but did not explicitly denote a State denomination. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Foundation and Transformation, Volume 1, 1778-1854*, 116.

The second argument is that while some Hawaiians were choosing a denomination based on their understandings of Christian and Anglican history, this was not always the sole determinant for Hawaiians to convert. For *alo ali'i*, or members of the royal court and retainers of the royal family, the decision to convert affirmed the authority of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma to act as not only royals but also as spiritual leaders, establishing a relationship between church, crown, and people. In this case, legitimization came out of older, established forms of reciprocity; those who were cared for by the royals in turn ascribed to the religion they sponsored.

The last argument I make is that Hawaiian support of the Anglican Mission was not limited to joining the congregation. The survival of the Anglican Mission was reliant on monies and campaigning by Hawaiians in support of the Mission's work. Financial support for the Mission came from neither the British government nor the Hawaiian government. Thus, the Mission's poverty led to Hawaiians contributing their own monies and assisting with fundraising for Mission projects, namely keeping schools open and building a cathedral church.

The Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church established eight schools across the Hawaiian Islands run by their missionaries and English-speaking supporters of the Mission. Although the schools were initially free to Hawaiian congregants, the Mission's financial hardships led to the closure of schools and the need to charge parents' tuition. Tuition costs did not lead to a decrease in enrollment, however. The quality of the teachers, course offerings, and modern school buildings earned the Anglican schools the reputation of elite institutions that attracted Hawaiians from across the kingdom to pay for school tuition, a financial investment on the part of most Hawaiian families of the time.

While Hawaiians supported Anglican schools by enrolling their children, others fundraised on behalf of the Mission. Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālanī Naea Rooke, wife of Kamehameha IV, exemplified her support for the Mission by engaging in a fundraising tour of England between 1865 and 1866. After the unexpected death of Kamehameha IV in 1863, the Mission lost the sponsorship of the reigning sovereign and his personal donations. Emma

continued the work that she and her husband started and intended on building an Anglican cathedral in Honolulu to commemorate him. During her tour, Emma encouraged donations for her cause by displaying herself as a Hawaiian royal and pious Anglican to a British audience. Her journey and the monies she fundraised from foreign donations are illustrative of her devotion to her church, husband, and the Mission.

The title of this thesis, *Seedtime and Harvest*, comes from Genesis 8:22: “While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.” This passage was used by the Anglican Missionaries to understand the process of their work in Hawai‘i.²² In a 1866 farewell sermon for a group of Anglo-Catholic Sisters being sent to to Hawai‘i, Anglo-Catholic Reverend John Keble built upon the imagery of Genesis 8:22,

Your chosen field is far from being altogether wild and rough: others have been labouring there; and you the first mission sisters whom the English Church will have sent out will now have to enter on the fruit of their labours. Be it more or less, it will be an earnest of the Holy Spirit working in the hearts of the people to prepare them for the further help which He has disposed you to offer them.²³

In Keble’s understanding, the process of labor, growth, and harvesting souls was in the hands of the missionaries. This thesis argues differently; starting, supporting, and sustaining the Mission was not solely the responsibility of Anglican actors. Many hands – Hawaiian and British – made the Church a viable denomination in the Hawaiian Kingdom. Without the collaboration of different entities and individuals in England and Hawai‘i, the unique religious connection shared between both nations would not have been possible.

Literature Review

Three areas of nineteenth century Christian history have informed this thesis: Anglicanism and Christianity in Victorian England, Christian denominational tensions and society in the Pacific, and Christianity in Hawai‘i. Histories of the Congregational Church in

²² Carroll and Prickett, *The Bible: Authorized King James Version*, 9.

²³ *Seed Time and Harvest Sermon by the Late Rev. John Keble (Preached for the Sisters)* (London: Lothian and Co., 1866), 7.

Hawai‘i and ABCFM missionary families have become the metonym of Christian history in Hawai‘i, eclipsing the contributions and histories of the other Christian denominations established in the islands in the nineteenth century. In the absence of an official history created by the Episcopal Church in Hawai‘i or a general history of Christianity in Hawai‘i, sources in this literature review contextualized the localized social history that occurred around the Anglican Mission with larger trends in Hawai‘i, the Pacific and England.²⁴

Essential to my understanding of Anglican Missions in the Pacific is how Mission movements to the region occurred as a result of the religious tensions in nineteenth century England. Stewart J. Brown, author of *Providence and Empire* (2008), argues that there are two key features of Victorian England that should not go unnoticed.²⁵ The first is that England was a world power under Queen Victoria in the early nineteenth century – economically, industrially, geographically, and militarily. England’s imperial position was gained through the country’s success in the Napoleonic Wars, the Industrial Revolution, and the rapid colonization of lands in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific and the subsequent gaining of new resources from these lands. Brown argues secondly that the British were very aware of their lofty place in relation to other nations and peoples of the world.

The success of Great Britain at this time led many to believe that Britons were a chosen people with a providential purpose of linking lands under a true, Christian religion, even amid a growing plurality of Christianities beginning to be practiced and have influence in England.²⁶ Not all British citizens were practicing Anglicans, however. Richard Helmstadter in *The Nonconformist Conscious* (1978) argues that religious non-conformity played a significant role in Victorian England, enough to alter and influence the social and political landscape. Non-

²⁴An official history has never been written, despite the episcopacy's continued operation for over 150 years. The two sermons were produced as a pamphlet was published in Honolulu and sold and distributed in England for the purpose of raising funds and garnering support for the Honolulu Mission. Because the Hawaiian Mission was an independent enterprise of the Church of England, the Mission was forced to raise funds on its own. Thomas Nettleship Staley, “Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu” (The Polynesian Office, 1863), Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

²⁵ Stewart Brown, *Providence and Empire: Religion, Politics and Society in the United Kingdom, 1815-1914*, First Edition (Harlow, England; New York: Routledge, 2008), 1–2.

²⁶ Brown, *Providence and Empire*.

Anglicans were moving away from the Church of England and shared common values, social status, and political aspirations, forming a distinctive and significant community all unified about the desire for freedom of conscience (“the right to follow one’s own beliefs in matters of religion and morality.”)²⁷

Non-conformists were greatly concerned about the moral state of the individual and believed that only the individual could work towards their own salvation and atone for their sinfulness.²⁸ Dissenters’ belief in the importance of individual liberties for improving one’s life fueled the campaign that promoted Christian egalitarianism and deemphasized the importance of the Anglican Church structure from their faith. Dissenting aimed to dampen the influence of the state religion on the lives those that did not follow Anglicanism. Politically, non-conformists aligned with the Liberal party of the British government and promoted a divide between church and state, especially in areas of life that required participation in the Church of England. This included the paying of church rates, registration of births and deaths, marriage registration, university entrance, and burials.

Father Aidan Nichols, a Catholic priest and English academic, argues that the growing power and influence of Dissenting Christians spurred the creation of counter movements within the Anglican Church. The Oxford Movement developed in response to Dissention from the Anglican Church, and advocated for a blend of Anglican and Catholic practices and liturgy.²⁹ In response to Dissenting belief in separation from the Church of England, Anglo-Catholics believed that faith was accessed through the tradition and order of the apostolic Church alone, therefore solidifying the relationship between the English Church and State.³⁰ Key characteristics that differentiate Anglo-Catholics from Anglicans included emphasis on practicing Roman rites

²⁷ Richard J. Helmstadter, “The Nonconformist Conscience,” in *Conscience of the Victorian State* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1978), 135, 138.

²⁸ Josef L. Altholz, “The Warfare of Conscience with Theology,” in *The Mind and Art of Victorian England*, First edition (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1976), 143.

²⁹ The name of the Oxford Movement denotes the academic religious circle from Oxford University that the founders of the movement came from.

³⁰ Aidan Nichols, *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism*, First Edition (Edinburgh: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2000), 114, 116. This group of younger clergy was also interested in Romantic inspiration in the past and the mystery and sublime of the spiritual, as seen in their theatrical services and interest in poetry. (Nichols, 118.)

in the liturgy and emphasized the Incarnation versus the Atonement.³¹ These differences, however, created a tension between the Church body and the movement as Oxford Movement leaders like John Keble, John Henry Newman and other Anglo-Catholics wanted to maintain Anglican religio-cultural dominance in England.³²

John Keble, Saint of Anglicanism (1987) by John R. Griffin contextualizes the foundational Anglo-Catholic texts written by one of the Movement's leaders, Reverend John Keble. Griffin analyzes key texts written by Keble during his lifetime (1792-1866), to justify and understand Keble's decision to remain loyal to the Anglican Church rather than convert to the Roman Church like other Anglo-Catholic followers.³³ Keble and another prominent Anglo-Catholic, Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, hoped to reform the Church of England to reflect its position as the true Catholic Church against all other Christian denominations. Although the Oxford Movement did not lead to reform within the Church, Griffin argues that Keble, his literature, and position in the Church of England were more influential than even he realized.

In *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915*, Steven Maughan looks at how British global expansion affected the ways that different branches of the Church of England formed and operated missions abroad. The expansion of British power came at a time when the relationship between Church and State was altering in England, raising questions as to what the relationship between Church and Empire would be. Maughan looks at missionary movements as a British cultural force with varying theological, social, and political dimensions.³⁴ His study of Anglican foreign mission includes the Anglo-Catholic Mission in Hawai'i and he contextualizes the behaviors and ideologies of Staley within a greater context of Anglo-Catholic Missions in Africa and the Pacific. For Anglo-Catholics, Maughan argues that foreign missions were an opportunity to

³¹ Nichols, *The Panther and the Hind: A Theological History of Anglicanism*, 121. This was the first time that the Greek fathers had been recognized in the Church of England.

³² Tractarians take their name from a series of tracts written by leaders of the Movement for other clergy in hopes of inspiring them. Nichols, 119.

³³ John R. Griffin, *John Keble, Saint of Anglicanism* (Mercer University Press, 1987), 109–10.

³⁴ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 5–6.

extend the movement's belief in spiritual equality to Native peoples and forward their religious ideologies.³⁵ This explains why Bishop Staley brought with him to Hawai'i Keble's insistent position of the Anglican Church's Catholic heritage.

While I do not compare the Hawaiian Mission project in Hawai'i with other British missions from around the Pacific, the histories that describe tensions between denominations have been useful in shaping my understanding of missionary vulnerabilities and negotiations with Pacific peoples. W. Niel Gunson authored a series of journal articles on British missionary expansion in the South Pacific, namely Tahiti.³⁶ Most useful to my work is Gunson's "Missionary Interest in British Expansion in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century" (1965), which examines how different Christian denominations from around Europe clashed with British missions in the Pacific. The London Missionary Society (LMS), an independent, Protestant missionary enterprise, desired extending the gospel of English civilization and opening up opportunities for commerce.³⁷ LMS missionaries in Tahiti acted as unofficial agents of the English empire and ran into conflict when the organization targeted French Catholics that had government protection.³⁸ The LMS tried to avoid interfering with Tahitian sovereignty, but in an attempt to keep Tahiti from French rule, the LMS solicited assistance from Queen Victoria's government and adopted pro-annexation views. The conflict between French and British missionaries, Gunson argues, lost the confidence of the Tahitians in the missionaries and stirred up fears of white settlement.³⁹

In *Entanglements of Empire: Missionaries, Māori and the Question of the Body* (2016), Tony Ballantyne focuses on the complex relationship between the Native body and missionaries

³⁵ Maughan, 127.

³⁶ Gunson brings awareness to the prestige of being a missionary in "Victorian Christianity in the South Seas: A Survey" (1974.) At this time, this work does not delve into understanding the pre-missionary lives of the missionaries that were placed in Hawai'i, but Gunson's perspective may be useful in understanding Caucasian-Hawaiian power dynamics in possible future projects. Additionally Gunson's article, "The Deviations of a Missionary Family: The Henrys of Tahiti" (1978) looks at the affects of pious Calvinist missionary instruction, not on Natives but on the missionary families themselves. "W. N. Gunson, "Victorian Christianity in the South Seas: A Survey*," *Journal of Religious History* 8, no. 2 (December 1, 1974): 193.

³⁷ W. N. Gunson, "Missionary Interest in British Expansion in the South Pacific in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Religious History* 3, no. 4 (December 1965): 4, 6, 11.

³⁸ Gunson, 12.

³⁹ Gunson, 15–17, 19.

in New Zealand. Ballantyne challenges the opinion that Māori were immediate victims of the British Empire upon the arrival of Christian Missionary Society missionaries to Aotearoa in the early 1800s. Instead, he argues that the missionaries were vulnerable to Māori support and aggression, counter to the news of success that the mission's organizers were circulating around England. Additionally, Ballantyne argues that in the interactions between missionaries and Māori both groups underwent cultural changes and adapted to each other. His argument is a reminder that the missionaries sought a position of favor with natives and reflects similar patterns of engagement between Anglican missionaries and Hawaiians.

In *Religious Communities of the Anglican Communion Australia, New Zealand and the South Pacific* (2007), T. W. Campbell overviews the history of Anglican religious communities (religious orders, deaconesses, and groups of individuals practicing outside of a traditionally structured religious community) establishing and practicing in Australia, New Zealand, and Melanesia. Although the history of Anglican religious communities has its roots in the Oxford Movement of the 1830s and 1840s, Anglican religious communities started in the South Pacific in the 1880s and into the early 1900s. Individual deacons and deaconesses had typically been trained in seminaries in large cities in Australia (Adelaide, Melbourne) and New Zealand (Christchurch, Auckland) before moving to rural areas to establish their respective communities. The majority of those that belonged to Anglican religious communities were originally from England or America and came to the Pacific to practice. Campbell argues that Although Anglican religious orders may have worked under the same spiritual discipline, most missionaries operated fairly independently from the Church in England, similar to the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church.

In *A Chosen People, A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i* (2014), Hokulani Aikau examines the relationship between Mormon missionaries and Hawaiians, focusing on the ways that Mormonism was adjusted to accommodate Hawaiian culture, race, and identity. Aikau's history of Mormonism in Hawai'i begins in the mid-nineteenth century and connects with the present. *A Chosen People, A Promised Land* was written to understand why

contemporary practicing Hawaiian Mormons continue to have strong relationships with a faith that played a role in colonizing Hawai'i. Aikau's study is useful because her first chapter points to the justifications Hawaiians considered when converting to a new denomination. In the case of Mormonism, many Hawaiians converted because of the promise that they would be able to continue to practice their culture, the Church's emphasis on genealogy, and the argument that Polynesians were descendants of Israel.

The Dark Decade, 1829-1839: Anti-Catholic Persecution in Hawai'i (2004) by Emmett Cahill focuses on early Catholic history in the islands by focusing on the ten year period in which Hawaiian Catholics faced persecution by the Hawaiian government. By 1829, the Hawaiian monarchy had become zealous supporters of the Congregationalists missionaries and accepted their teachings as true. This included the Congregationalists' opinions about Catholics and the Pope. Although French Catholic brothers established a mission in Honolulu, the government began suppressing Catholic practice in the islands, which escalated to the imprisonment of Hawaiian Catholics and the banishment of the French Catholic priests from the kingdom. Cahill points out that few authors before him wrote on this period of Catholic history that illustrates the beginning of the influence of the Congregationalists on the Hawaiian monarchy.

Ralph Kuykendall, Sister Monica Mary Heyes, and Dr. Robert Louis Semes took interest in the convolution of theological politics between Congregationalists and the Anglican missionaries in Hawai'i. Kuykendall devoted a portion of *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Twenty Critical Years, 1854-1874* (1953) to the history and establishment of the Anglican Church between 1861 and 1870. Kuykendall also summarizes much of the debates between Staley and his main Congregationalist opponent, Dr. Rufus Anderson, the foreign secretary of the ABCFM. Anderson, who was responsible for authoring two history books on the ABCFM mission, wrote pamphlets regarding his issues with Staley and the Anglo-Catholics. Anderson's largest argument against the Anglicans was that the presence of the Hawaiian Mission was attempting to

extend the British dominion over Hawai‘i and that the missionaries were intentionally sent to politically interfere with the monarchs.⁴⁰

In her Master’s thesis, *Political Aspects of the Coming of the Anglican Church to Hawai‘i* (1968), Sister Monica Mary Heyes studied the political process taken by the Hawaiian royals, Anglican Church officials, and Hawaiian government officials to establish the position of Bishop of Honolulu. *Political Aspects of the Coming of the Anglican Church to Hawai‘i* is a response to claims by individuals like Dr. Anderson, that Bishop Staley was a British agent and that the British government outrightly showed interest in colonizing Hawai‘i.⁴¹ Heyes vehemently counters this argument made by Anglophobic Congregationalists, stating that anti-Anglican agitation was generated for the purpose of procuring stronger American annexationist movement in Hawai‘i.⁴²

In an article for the *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Dr. Robert Louis Semes similarly tracked the fighting between Staley and the Congregationalists. “Hawaii’s Holy War: English Bishop Staley, American Congregationalists, and the Hawaiian Monarchs, 1860-1870s” (2000) covers the most dramatic moments in the print wars within the decade. Semes argues that Staley’s missionary approach valued the cultural traditions of the Hawaiian people and the monarchy, in affect challenging the dominant “American-introduced puritanical ethos” of Hawai‘i in this period.⁴³ Semes contextualizes the warring between the two denominations by providing the reader information of the larger religious movements with which these two battling denominations were connected. However, Semes’ perspective was sourced primarily from

⁴⁰ Twentieth-century economist John A. Hobson had similar views of the role of missionaries in imperialism. In talking about Catholic missionaries in China, Hobson simplified the steps of imperial progress as such, “First the missionary, then the Consul, and at last the invading army.” J. A. Hobson, *Imperialism: A Study* (Cosimo, Inc., 2006), 215.

⁴¹ Monica Mary. Heyes, “Political Aspects of the Coming of the Anglican Church to Hawaii” (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1968), 28, 34.

⁴² Monica Mary. Heyes, 8.

⁴³ Robert Louis Semes, “Hawai‘i’s Holy War: English Bishop Staley, American Congregationalists, and the Hawaiian Monarchs, 1860-1870,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 133.

English language publications written by clergy from both sides of “Hawaii’s Holy War” for Hawaiian souls.⁴⁴

Sources

In the 1850s and 1860s, Hawaiian was the dominant language spoken in the kingdom, yet Kuykendall, Hayes, and Semes used only English-language sources in their histories on the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church.⁴⁵ The priority given to English-language sources omits the role that Hawaiians played in growing and sustaining the congregation of the Anglican Church. As Dr. Noelani Arista argues, despite the undeniable existence of Hawaiian-language primary sources, “the majority of histories produced about Hawai‘i have been written as if these sources do not exist.”⁴⁶

In different chapters of this thesis, I foreground a number of Hawaiian-language sources, including letter writing, epistolary debates, and newspaper articles. These sources illustrate Hawaiian opinion, decision-making, and action in relation to the Anglican Mission, its activities, and agents. Although Hawaiian literary analysis is not my research focus, I do not ignore the fact that purpose and structure went hand in hand. In my interpretation of the Hawaiian texts I used, I provide a short overview of structural patterns seen in different sources. The study of Hawaiian writing, composition, and function is a growing field and I hope my analysis will be a small but useful contribution.

My experience with Hawaiian language enabled me to locate and review the content of Hawaiian material in various archives on O‘ahu. Queen Emma’s correspondence has been scattered across various archives including the Bishop Museum Library and Archives, the

⁴⁴ Semes, 123.

⁴⁵ The Anglican Church was bilingual in both English and Hawaiian in order to provide services to its multi-lingual congregation.

⁴⁶ Noelani Arista, “I Ka Mo‘olelo Nō Ke Ola: In History There Is Life,” *Anglistica* 14, no. 2 (2010): 16.

Hawai‘i State Archives, and the archives at the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.⁴⁷ Newspaper articles were located using the Office of Hawaiian Affairs’ Papakilo Database.⁴⁸ Whereas authors signed personal correspondences, the writers of letters submitted to the newspapers were not so consistent. When available, I include the name of the author that signed the newspaper articles I reviewed. Although I do not discount the possibility of that writers used pseudonyms to protect their identities.⁴⁹

I also consulted Anglican mission produced texts written by Bishop Staley, Staley’s assistant, Reverend George Mason, and notable supporters of the Hawaiian Mission. Because the Hawaiian Mission was an independent project of the Church of England and needed donations to survive, the publications were intended for a British audience in the hopes of garnering financial support.⁵⁰ News on missionary business and progress was useful in understanding the business of the Hawaiian Mission under Staley and the priorities and challenges the Mission faced as time went on.

Translation

I had the great fortune of having Hawaiian language translator Iāsona Ellinwood, MA, provide the majority of the Hawaiian to English translations for this project. Ellinwood translated all of the Hawaiian newspaper articles that I consulted for this thesis. Jason Achiu, a translator at the Hawai‘i State Archives, created Hawaiian-language translations for all of the letters from the

⁴⁷ Historian of Hawai‘i David Forbes argues that Emma was unusual compared to other Hawaiian monarchs of the same generation because of her habits of writing and saving correspondences. Forbes recently published *In Haste With Aloha: Letters and Writings of Queen Emma, 1881-1885*, in which he compiled and edited Emma’s letters during the last years of her life. David W. Forbes, *In Haste with Aloha: Letters and Diaries of Queen Emma, 1881-1885* (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2017).

⁴⁸ Technological advancement in the fields of digitization and databasing has made Hawaiian language research more streamlined. The Papakilo Database is an online database of digitized Hawaiian-language newspapers and hosted by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA.) The database is word searchable across newspaper titles and time. Although the database consists of an impressive number of Hawaiian language newspaper titles published between 1830-1940, not all newspapers have been digitized yet. The database not only located articles in the newspapers related to my search terms, but has also provided additional articles to add context with the reality of Hawai‘i during the same period.

⁴⁹ Some writers chose not submit their names at all. I hope in the future a larger study on Hawaiian pseudonyms and authorship will be completed to help make sense of this.

⁵⁰As historian Norman Etherington argues, the lack of funds forced the need for fundraising through the sale of general reports and news from the mission, with special attention to successes and celebrations of the Mission’s work. Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, First Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7.

Queen Emma collection (M-45) at the Hawai‘i State Archives that I reviewed for chapter four. Alicia Rozet, MA, also provided translation assistance on letters featured in the footnotes in the fourth chapter.⁵¹

I include the Hawaiian transcriptions with their translations. The translations in this thesis were created to reflect modern syntax and grammar. For the translation of individual Hawaiian terms, I used Lorrin Andrews’ dictionary that was revised by Samuel Parker to provide translations of Hawaiian words. Andrew’s original dictionary was published in 1865 and overlaps with the period that the Anglican Mission was developing. A glossary of Hawaiian words that I frequently used can be found on page 105.

In order to avoid foreignizing Hawaiian language, I choose not to italicize Hawaiian words. This is an academic choice made by many contemporary Hawaiian scholars stemming from Noenoe K. Silva who said, “I have not italicized Hawaiian words in the text in keeping with the recent movement to resist making the Native tongue seem foreign in writing produced in and about a Native land and people.”⁵² I use Hawaiian diacritical marking, the kahakō and the ‘okina, to denote Hawaiian-language spelling taken from the dictionary. The use of diacritics was not standardized in the nineteenth century, however and the transcriptions of Hawaiian newspaper articles have not been edited to reflect what was originally printed in the newspapers.

Chapter Overview

Legitimization of Christian denominations first came with the recognition that different denominations offered and believed in different things. The first two chapters focus on why and how Hawaiians determined whether Anglicanism was a suitable denomination for them. Chapter one, “Mō‘ī and Missionaries,” looks at the relationship between Kamehameha IV and two Protestant denominations of Christianity, Congregationalism and Anglicanism. Kamehameha IV ascended to the throne of the Hawaiian Kingdom at age 22. The King’s public policy aimed on improving the public school system to educate Hawaiians and ensure their competitiveness in an

⁵¹ I note which of these translators assisted with the translations for each chapter.

⁵² Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Duke University Press Books, 2004), 13.

increasingly westernized Hawai'i. The King believed that also educating Hawaiians to a higher moral degree would also combat the depopulation of the Hawaiian people. Kamehameha IV, however, chose not to work closely with the Congregationalist missionaries to accomplish his goals. As crown prince, Kamehameha IV was a student of the Congregationalist missionaries at the Royal School, a school for ali'i (chiefly) children, where he had issues with his ABCFM missionary teachers. This chapter ends with an overview on the process that the Kamehameha IV went through to bring the mission to Hawai'i and a brief biography of the first Anglican Bishop of Honolulu, Thomas Nettleship Staley.

Although Kamehameha IV had labored to bring the Anglican Church to Hawaii, the majority of Hawaiian citizens did not convert to Anglicanism. The second chapter focuses on some of the considerations made by Hawaiians to convert to Anglicanism or remain in their respective denominations. After the Anglican Mission arrived in Honolulu in 1862, Hawaiians publically discussed in the newspapers the legitimacy of the Anglican Church and the Catholic beliefs and practices of the local Anglo-Catholic missionaries. The published debates show that some Hawaiians cited theological and historical issues with the founding of the Church of England as a reason to not convert. The Mission's original baptismal and confirmation records from 1862-1870 also reveal other possible reasons why conversion did not occur. The majority of Anglican converts came from Honolulu, suggesting that access to the Mission and its activities was difficult outside of the kingdom's capital. The majority of Honolulu congregants also had social and familial ties to Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma. This group of converts not only approved of the Anglican Church as pono (good; right; lawful; acceptable) but also recognized the authority of the King and Queen as spiritual leaders of their people.⁵³

The remaining two chapters examine how Hawaiians participated with the Anglican Church activities beyond membership. Chapter three, "Education," begins with an overview of the educational laws that Kamehameha IV enacted in 1859. Despite the changes in the laws that

⁵³ Lorrin Andrews and Henry H. Parker, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Board of Commissioners of Public Archives of the Territory of Hawai'i, 1922), 563.

required all Hawaiian children to attend school, reports from the kingdom's Board of Education stated that there were still issues that inhibited progress of instructing Hawaiian children in English, namely familial poverty. A review of these issues contextualizes the Anglo-Catholic approach to education. The Anglo-Catholic missionaries prided themselves on their role as teachers from past experiences teaching in lower class regions of England with little money. Although they initially made services free, the Mission was only able to maintain four Anglican schools in Hawai'i by end of the 1860s. While the schools were kept open through the pooling of resources from the Anglo-Catholic network, the schools were also dependent on the payment of tuition fees by students and their families. The increased cost in tuition did not slow enrollment, however. I use the growth and establishment of St. Andrew's Priory School in Honolulu as a case study to understand the offerings of Anglican schools and those who participated with them.

Chapter four centers on Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālanī and the fundraising mission to England that she spearheaded between 1865-1866. This chapter looks at the methods that Emma employed to encourage people to donate to St. Andrew's Cathedral, a memorial church for her late husband who had passed in 1863. In towns across England, Emma held at least 15 public meetings to talk about the important work of the church in Hawai'i, as a way to raise money for the construction of a cathedral. Members of the British nobility and clergy of the Anglican Church spoke in support of Emma and the Hawaiian Mission, encouraging the public to donate as a part of their British benevolence. While present at these meetings, however, Emma never spoke, choosing to play up interest in her foreignness to benefit her cause. Emma's tactic to control her image is further confirmed by analyzing another strategy to fundraise: the selling of *carte de visite* photographs of herself. The publicity that Emma received on this trip was hard on Emma's mind and spirit and her private correspondences in Hawaiian are illustrative of the struggles she had with being away from home.

On Names

Although chartered as the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, the Anglican Mission was referred to by a number of names during the first 15 years of its development. I use the

names “Anglican Mission,” “Hawaiian Mission,” and “Mission” interchangeably throughout this thesis depending on the context as all three of these names were used by people of the period. In chapter four, I specifically use the name “Hawaiian Mission” because of its use by the British in reference to the Anglican Mission in Hawai‘i. While the official name of the seat of the head of the episcopate in Hawai‘i is formally called the “Cathedral Church of St. Andrew,” the main chapel building is also referred to as the “Cathedral of St. Andrew” and “St. Andrew’s Cathedral.” I refer to the archives as the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew Archives.

Conclusion

The establishment of a religion in a new field is not the product of a single event but of a long process of negotiation between the missionaries and the people that they sought to convert. In the case of Anglicanism in Hawai‘i, the Mission depended on both the Hawaiian royal family and the country’s people. By the time the Anglican missionaries arrived in 1862, Hawaiians recognized denominational differences and engaged in their own academic traditions like ho‘opa‘apa‘a (debate) to validate and challenge information provided to them by missionaries and other Hawaiians of other denominations. After Hawaiians became Anglicans, those that could aided the Mission with time and money. By surveying and interpreting underutilized primary sources, I aim to shed light on the overlooked collaboration between people, crown, and missionaries that built the Anglican Church in Hawai‘i.

Chapter 1

Mō‘ī and Missionaries

The first Christian missionaries to settle in the Hawaiian Islands were New England Congregationalists from Boston, their mission organized by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM).⁵⁴ Histories on the ABCFM, their agents, and impact dominate the historiography of Christianity in Hawai‘i. But Congregationalists were not the only missionaries practicing in Hawai‘i. This chapter surveys the changing relationship between Congregationalist missionaries and their most influential ally, the mō‘ī (king), prior to the arrival of Anglicanism in the 1860s and looks at how Kamehameha IV differed from his predecessors in approach to religion and public policy. Kamehameha IV was the Kingdom’s first Anglican king and understanding the Congregationalist education he was raised in helps to explain his change in denomination as an adult.

Although Congregationalist missionaries came to Hawai‘i with the intention of evangelizing “savage” peoples, their status as foreigners was initially one of vulnerability. In exchange for aiding the royal family, the ABCFM missionaries were given permission to stay for a year between 1820 and 1821 and could to preach on a limited basis. King Kamehameha II allowed the missionaries to teach literacy and Christianity to two of his closest retainers who lived at court, John Papa ‘Ī‘i and Kahuhu.⁵⁵ The progress of ‘Ī‘i and Kahuhu in the missionaries’ lessons encouraged interest by other ali‘i and intellectuals. By 1825, the Congregationalists had

⁵⁴ By King Kamehameha IV’s ascension in 1855, Hawai‘i had been in contact with Christian ideas for over 75 years since the arrival of Captain Cook in 1778.

⁵⁵ Marie Alohalani Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change: The Life and Legacy of John Papa ‘Ī‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2016), 54–56.

baptized ten of the most politically powerful ali‘i into the Christian faith, who in turn promoted the Hawaiian literacy through the use of Congregationalist teachings across the nation.⁵⁶

The status of the Congregationalist missionaries improved significantly during the first decade of the ABCFM’s work in Hawai‘i. Missionaries acted not only as teachers, but also as advisors, translators, friends, and resources to the ali‘i. The increased status of Congregationalism, however, made little room for other forms of Christianity to practice in the kingdom.⁵⁷ The first Catholic missionaries to the islands, The Brothers of the Sacred Heart, arrived on July 7, 1827 and established a mission in Honolulu.⁵⁸ Although initially welcomed by the Congregationalists, the attitude towards the Catholics quickly changed, as evidenced in a resolution authored by the ABCFM during their general meeting held in January 1830.⁵⁹ The resolution made it the duty of the ABCFM missionaries to educate the ali‘i about the history and practices of Catholicism through the perspective of historic Protestant-Catholic tensions, illustrating the ABCFM’s skepticism of the Catholics and the self-righteous position the missionaries had developed over the ten years of the Congregational Mission in the kingdom.

The ABCFM’s passage of the resolution increased the crown’s prejudice against Hawaiian Catholics and in 1830, Ka‘ahumanu, the wife of Kamehameha I and the Queen Regent to Kamehameha II, banished the practice of Catholicism in Hawai‘i because the Catholics were not given permission to reside and practice in the islands.⁶⁰ Kamehameha II officially banned the Catholic Brothers from the islands in 1831 saying, their “doctrine is at variance with the religion

⁵⁶ Brown, 62.

⁵⁷ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Foundation and Transformation, Volume 1, 1778-1854*, 140.

⁵⁸ Emmett Cahill, *The Dark Decade, 1829-1839: Anti-Catholic Persecutions in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2004), 19, 21. The first church of the Catholic Mission, the Cathedral Basilica of Our Lady of Peace, is open in 1843. The structure is still being used and is located on what is now known as Fort Street in downtown Honolulu.

⁵⁹ Cahill, 27–28; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Foundation and Transformation, Volume 1, 1778-1854*, 141–43.

⁶⁰ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Foundation and Transformation, Volume 1, 1778-1854*, 140–41.

which we profess.”⁶¹ The persecutions of Hawaiian Catholics continued after the missionaries were expelled to California.⁶² Political intervention by the French in 1839 eventually lifted the ban on Catholicism, but the persecution of Catholics emphasized that Congregationalism had prestige as the religion of the mō‘ī.⁶³

The mō‘ī and the chiefs continued to support Congregationalism, and intended that the next generation would also be brought up in the same religion. The heir to the Kamehameha dynasty, Alexander ‘Iolani Liholiho, was born on February 9, 1834, the first-born son of Chief Mataio Kekūānāo‘a and Princess Elizabeth Kīna‘u.⁶⁴ Alexander’s parents were amongst a group of chiefs that requested the missionaries Amos Starr Cooke and his wife, Juliette Montague Cooke, to teach the royal children. The Cookes, who had arrived in 1837 with the eighth company of Congregationalist missionaries, accepted the position, and after resigning from the ABCFM, opened and operated the Chiefs’ Children’s School in 1839.⁶⁵

At its peak, the school boarded 16 royal children who were deemed eligible to succeed to the throne by the 1840 Constitution’s accession laws. Prince Alexander and his older sister Victoria and two brothers, Lot and Moses, were a part of the first cohort of eleven. All students were under the age of ten when they began boarding with the Cooke family. Whereas adult ali‘i had freedom in choosing when to apply and practice Congregationalist lessons in their daily

⁶¹ Cahill, *The Dark Decade, 1829-1839*, 40.

⁶² Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778 - 1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Hawaii: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1965), 143, <https://www.amazon.com/Hawaiian-Kingdom-1778-Foundation-Transformation/dp/087022431X>.

⁶³ Cahill, *The Dark Decade, 1829-1839*, 82–85.

⁶⁴ He became the crown prince when he was named heir apparent by his uncle, Kamehameha III.

⁶⁵ A letter signed by the parents of William Charles Lunalilo, Lot Kamehameha, and James Kaliokalani was sent directly to Mr. Cooke. It read: “Here is our thought to you that you become teacher for our royal children. You are the one to teach them wisdom and righteousness. This is our thought to you.” The Chief’s Children’s School was later known as the Royal School in 1846. An edited compilation of the Cooke’s journals was compiled by their descendant, Mary Richards, and published in *The Hawaiian Chief’s Children School*. Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke, *The Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School* (C. E. Tuttle Co., 1970), 266; Linda K. Menton, “‘Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report’: The Hawaiian Chiefs’ Children’s School, 1839-1850” (University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1982); Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society, *Portraits of American Protestant Missionaries to Hawai‘i* (Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1901), 55.

lives, the ali'i children under the Cookes were fully immersed in the teachings and values of Congregationalism and were expected to comply with them. Linda Menton argues that the teaching style adopted by the Cookes was in response to their belief that Hawaiian children were savage because of the unrestricted lifestyle that came with their rank. To combat heathenistic behavior, students were kept on a rigorous schedule of physical exercise, devotion, moral education, and textbook learning. Translating official documents and newspaper articles, and writing letters to each other and to foreigners emphasized English fluency and literacy.⁶⁶

Additionally, the Cookes tried to minimize intervention by parents and kahu (caretakers) to ensure retention of western learning.⁶⁷ But securing a neutral environment to administer Christian lessons without distraction was increasingly difficult, especially in Honolulu. The world converged in the port-town of Honolulu and introduced Hawaiians to ideas, activities, and people who the missionaries feared would reverse their work. The Cookes responded to “enemies of holiness” with swift correction.⁶⁸ Amos Starr Cooke wrote, “While exercising this authority upon them we have endeavored to make them see and feel that they could be happy even under the control of another; and we believe that they really think we are seeking their highest good.”⁶⁹ Any signs of ill repute, disobedience, and laziness from the ali'i children were punished through physical abuse and isolation tactics.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Amos Starr Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850: A Record Compiled from the Diary and Letters Of Amos Starr Cooke and Juliette Montague Cooke*, ed. Mary A. Richards (Rutland, Vt.: C.E. Tuttle Co., U.S., 1970), 307.

⁶⁷ Andrews and Parker, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 239. “From the commencement we have been watched as with “eagle eyes” by the numerous kahus, who have been extremely jealous of us and our influence over the children, especially since they have been cut off from any intercourse from them.” Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 47–48, 56–57, 107.

⁶⁸ Gavan Daws, “The Decline of Puritanism at Honolulu in the Nineteenth Century,” *The Journal of Hawaiian History* 1 (1967): 32.

⁶⁹ Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 107.

⁷⁰ In addition to corporal punishment, the children were also isolated and sent to bed without food. Amos Cooke wrote, “All things considered, they have been remarkably docile in learning the importance of obedience, and the propriety of submitting all their difficulties to our decision. When we thought the case demanded it, we have not

The Cookes administered discipline to gain obedience from their pupils. Alexander began experiencing the Cookes' punishment as early as age five for his "bad behavior."⁷¹ In a diary entry Cooke described one instance, "Yesterday I became a little more stern with my scholars and had to discipline Moses to make him mind. Today I punished Alexander and Moses replied, "he keiki a ke alii oia nei (he is a child of the chief.) I replied *I was King of the school.*"⁷² Although Cooke may have felt superior to his mentee, his words and teachings had the opposite effect on Alexander, who had developed feelings of disdain rather than respect for his missionary teachers. The ability to teach and impart lessons to the crown prince became more difficult when Alexander became a teenager. Alexander and his brothers frequently left school to listen to bands, dance, smoke, drink, flirt with girls, and play cards, all activities that were prohibited by the Congregationalists.⁷³ The Cookes felt they failed in positively influencing Alexander's behavior, deeming him a "hardened sinner."⁷⁴

Continued issues with the Cookes led to Alexander leaving the Royal School at the age of 14 to engage in "other pursuits."⁷⁵ Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, a physician and former Congregationalist missionary turned Hawaiian government official, took partial charge of the young princes in their late teen years. As Hawaiian Kingdom Minister Plenipotentiary, Judd accompanied Princes Alexander and Lot on a diplomatic mission to England, France, and the United States between 1849-1850 and faced challenges with managing the two princes and their curiosity and interest in

hesitated to use the rod, taking them alone and conversing with them a while before we applied it, and the result has generally been a happy one." Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, 107, 199.

⁷¹ It is important that in the case of Alexander and his brothers, Moses and Lot, the boys' father, Mataio Kekuanaoa, gave the Cookes permission to discipline them as needed. Although in comparison to other ali'i parents, Kekuanaoa did not exhort his children to obey the Cookes. Cooke and Cooke, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 44, 116.

⁷² Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 34. The italicization was added by Amos Cooke.

⁷³ Cooke and Cooke, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 223, 246.

⁷⁴ Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 313.

⁷⁵ This was after the princes made a runaway attempt for Tahiti and Moses' subsequent expulsion from the school. Moses died soon after he was expelled. Cooke and Cooke, *The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School*, 199, 223-24.

popular culture and recreation. Alexander was taken by the pace of life in the European and American cities he visited and especially interested in activities that were frowned upon in Hawai‘i – museums, theater, dancing and the princes’ interest in these activities made chaperoning difficult for Judd.⁷⁶ In observing Alexander’s behaviors, Judd wrote of him, “educated by the Mission, most of all things dislikes the Mission.”⁷⁷

Crown Prince Alexander Liholiho ascended to the throne as Kamehameha IV on January 11, 1855 at age 21.⁷⁸ Alexander’s resistance towards his Congregationalist teachers and his interest in non-Congregationalist approaches to living only persisted when he left the Royal School. His defiance of Congregationalist values would set the tone for his reign as king.

In his first speech to the legislature in April 7, 1855, the King announced two issues that would shape his public policy, and ultimately his reign: the growth and health of the Hawaiian population and intellectual advancement of Hawaiians.⁷⁹ Reverend Richard Armstrong was an appointee of Kamehameha III and became the Minister of Public Instruction in 1848. Armstrong’s duties included overseeing census reports as the kingdom saw education and population as being interrelated; a decreasing population meant that there would be a smaller number of students attending kingdom schools.

Population decline plagued the reign of the Kamehameha III. The 1854 Census report indicated that there were 8026 deaths and only 1513 births.⁸⁰ Armstrong named prostitution and

⁷⁶ Kamehameha IV, *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*, ed. Jacob Adler (The University of Hawaii Press for The Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967), 13.

⁷⁷ Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Volume 2: Twenty Critical Years, 1854-1874* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1953), 35.

⁷⁸ King Kamehameha III died on December 15, 1854 and Prince Liholiho ascended to the throne. The new King took the oath on January 11, 1855.

⁷⁹ The speech was published in Hawaiian and English in the newspapers. Iāsona Ellinwood, who translated the majority of Hawaiian texts in this thesis, looked at both versions of the speech and found no dramatic differences in the translation.

⁸⁰ “Report of the Minister of Public Instruction,” *The Polynesian*, April 14, 1855.

the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and infections amongst Hawaiians as the main cause of depopulation.⁸¹ Kingdom laws were introduced to discourage prostitution, but laws did not deter female agency in participating in the sex trade, nor did laws slow the number of arriving foreigners that continued the prostitution industry.⁸² It was the opinion of Armstrong that,

no law can be framed on this subject that will be practicable and efficient, and not interfere too much with the liberty of the subject. If any remedy is ever found for this tremendous evil, that is fast consuming the native race, it will be in the general moral health of the body politic, resulting from the progress of Christian education and civilization, rather than in legislation, which at best can only lop off the branches, while the root remains.⁸³

Armstrong's recommendations of supporting moral education were echoed in Kamehameha IV's legislative speech.

A subject of deeper importance, in my opinion, than any I have hitherto mentioned, is that of the decrease of our population. It is a subject in comparison with which all others sink into insignificance; for, our first and great duty is that of self-preservation. Our acts are in vain unless we can stay the wasting hand that is destroying our people. I feel a heavy, and special responsibility resting upon me in this matter; but it is one which you all must share; nor shall we be acquitted by man, or our Maker, of a neglect of duty, if we fail to act speedily and effectually in the cause of those who are every day dying before our eyes. I think this decrease in our numbers may be stayed; and happy should I be if, during the first year of my reign, such laws should be passed to effect this result.⁸⁴

⁸¹ "Death of Rev. R. Armstrong D.D.," *The Polynesian*, September 20, 1860; "The Public School System," *The Polynesian*, April 1, 1854.

⁸² A report from G. P. Judd to Richard Armstrong in 1858 more specifically names the sexually transmitted diseases and infections that are the culprits of population decline: "syphilis, ulcerations, erosions, closure of passages, and leucorrhoea." Contracting leucorrhoea was often considered among Hawaiians as a good state of health, and thus the symptoms were treated long after the disease was established. ("G.P. Judd to R. Armstrong," May 15, 1858, Series 262 Reports - 1858 Oahu, Hawai'i State Public Library Archives.)

⁸³ "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction."

⁸⁴ "Opening of the Legislature," *The Polynesian*, April 7, 1855.

The holistic solution to curb the “licentiousness” of his people was to invest in public instruction that would nurture “physical, mental, and moral improvement” as a means of prevention.⁸⁵

Although Kamehameha III had established the national education system, Hawaiian was still the language of instruction. Kamehameha IV saw it his imperative duty to build the infrastructure that would encourage moral instruction through western teaching.⁸⁶

Whereas Kamehameha III’s reign was one of Hawaiian literacy, his nephew’s would be one of English language fluency. There was a sense of urgency to educating children as well, for of the 28 elected members of the House of Representatives present for Kamehameha IV’s speech, 11 were foreign-born elected members. Kamehameha believed that emphasizing the value of education would not only discourage immorality, but also equalize the playing field between Hawaiians and foreigners. The King said, “It is my firm conviction that unless my subjects become educated in this tongue [English], their hope of intellectual progress, and of meeting the foreigner on terms of equality, is a vain one.”⁸⁷ As a result, Hawaiian growth would not only manifest itself in population growth but also in mental aptitude.⁸⁸

Kamehameha IV recognized that missionaries would play a crucial role as teachers and implementers of his educational vision. Recalling his experiences under the care of the Cookes, Kamehameha IV did not see Congregationalism as an option and he sought a different denomination of Christianity to support his vision. The King and Dr. Armstrong worked with R. C. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Relations, to initiate a plan to find a “suitable clergyman of the Episcopal church, who may come to Honolulu and labor for the spiritual good of its

⁸⁵ Kamehameha IV also was very adamant about establishing public hospitals that would specialize in the quarantine of foreign diseases. The threat of a small pox or whopping cough outbreak was unnerving because of the lack of the Kingdom’s lack of preparedness in handling the number of sick. There were promising solutions being reported on in the Pacific, however. The creation of hospitals in Tahiti reportedly helped to managing depopulation. “Opening of the Legislature”; “Our Own Progress,” *The Polynesian*, March 26, 1853.

⁸⁶ “Opening of the Legislature.”

⁸⁷ “Opening of the Legislature.”

⁸⁸ There were 27 members of the House of Representative and a clerk.

population.”⁸⁹ A thousand dollar salary would be provided to the clergyman and a plot of land was also set aside for the construction of an Episcopal Church. Wyllie forwarded the instructions to William Ellis, a famous English missionary with the London Missionary Society, adding,

The king himself, taking all the interest in the education, morals, and religion of his people which becomes him as a sovereign, believes that an Episcopal Church here, besides supplying a want long felt by many British and American families, would operate beneficially in narrowing the existing broad antagonism of the Calvinistic and Catholic creeds, and there by promote that brother feeling between the clergy of both that so well becomes the followers of the same Lord.⁹⁰

Securing a bishop for Hawai‘i was not without difficulty and required hefty coordination between officials in Hawai‘i and England. Manley Hopkins, the head of the Hawaiian Consulate in England, launched a campaign to gain interest in England about sending a mission to Hawai‘i. In England, Hopkins founded the Committee for Promoting the English Church in Polynesia to generate interest in the cause. The committee approached various missionary organizations, clergy, and laypeople for support and received endorsements from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) and notable bishops including Samuel Wilberforce.⁹¹

In 1860, Kamehameha IV, his devout, Anglican wife, Queen Emma, and R. C. Wyllie sent letters directly to Queen Victoria of Great Britain, requesting that she send a Bishop. In 1858, the couple had a son, Crown Prince Albert, named after Victoria’s husband Albert, Prince Consort. The birth of Prince Albert in 1858 provided further impetus for the petition, as an

⁸⁹ Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition Under Missionary Labors* (Gould and Lincoln, 1865), 333.

⁹⁰ Anderson, 334.

⁹¹ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts pledged partial financial (£200 per year for five years) assistance to assist with the issue of the independent mission funding. Through the SPG, Hopkins published *Hawaii: The Past, Present, and Future of its Island-Kingdom* (1862), a historical account of the Sandwich Islands. The book was so popular during Emma’s visit to England that the book was reprinted in the late 1860s. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 89.

Anglican clergyman would train the Crown Prince in the Anglican faith and prepare him for his reign. Hopkins made additional requests on behalf of the royal family to Queen Victoria, her Minister of Foreign Relations, Lord John Earl Russell, and the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁹²

Upon receiving the request from the Hawaiian royal family, debates between Church of England officials and the British government on the issue of sending an Anglican clergyman to the North Pacific took place in 1861. An unofficial law of comity divided the Pacific between Evangelicals to the north and Anglicans to the south.⁹³ Those that opposed the idea of sending a mission to Hawai'i feared that establishing a mission would be seen as an intrusion upon an unwritten goodwill agreement between Protestant missionary groups.⁹⁴ Hawai'i was also an independent kingdom, outside the domain and thus jurisdiction of Queen Victoria.⁹⁵ Because the mission would not directly support British subjects, no state funds would be allowed to fund the Hawaiian Mission and the mission would need to be supported through other means. Despite these legal and theological obstacles, the debate came to a close on December 15, 1861 when Queen Victoria granted a royal license for the Hawaiian Mission and appointed Dr. Thomas Nettleship Staley as the first Bishop of Honolulu.⁹⁶

The ABCFM and its missionaries in Hawai'i immediately submitted letters of protest to the Archbishop of Canterbury, but plans proceeded to bring the Anglican missionaries to Hawai'i in the following year in 1862. In response to the haughtiness exhibited by Congregationalists in

⁹² Kuykendall, 87–88. In various correspondences, arguments for a Hawaiian Mission included notes of earlier petitions made by local residents in support of English clergy. Hopkins also cited earlier requests by Kamehameha I to Captain Vancouver for religious teachers from England, illustrating that the Kamehamehas had been waiting and wanting for Anglicanism for three generations.

⁹³ Members of the Evangelical Alliance, *Evangelical Christendom: A Monthly Chronicle of the Churches*, vol. V, 1864, 604–5.

⁹⁴ Thomas Nettleship Staley, *A Pastoral Address by the Right Reverend The Bishop of Honolulu* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Hawaiian Gazette Office, 1865).

⁹⁵ Hawai'i was not a colonial possession of the British Crown and British politicians feared that a mission would be interpreted as an infringement upon Hawaiian sovereignty. Critics in Hawai'i and England saw the king's invitation as a political move, meant to align Hawai'i with England.

⁹⁶ The debate is detailed thoroughly by Ralph Kuykendall in *The Hawaiian Kingdom: Twenty Critical Years*. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 87–93.

not wanting to welcome the Anglican Church, Kamehameha IV wrote in a letter, “I am sorry to hear that Judd Corwin and Co. are so inimical to the establishment of the Episcopacy here.⁹⁷ I wonder if they really are in earnest in objecting to peoples getting into heaven by any way they please?”⁹⁸ The Congregationalists may have asserted religious control over the King as a child, but the tables were turned when their student’s vision and power overtook their wishes. The King had the power to invite Christian missionaries to the Kingdom and he asserted his right to do so.

Bishop Staley, two other clergymen, and their families were scheduled to leave England for Hawai‘i on August 17, 1862 on the *Atrato*.⁹⁹ The Hawaiian Mission’s farewell service was held on July 23, 1862 at Westminster Abbey. Although Staley was an official representative of the Anglican Church, he himself was a follower of Anglo-Catholicism, a movement within the Anglican Church that sought to revive Anglican piety through the inclusion of pre-Reformation Catholic practices within the Church.¹⁰⁰ Developed in the 1830s, Anglo-Catholicism was a response to the growing power and influence of Dissenting Christians in England. They believed that the Church of England was the true, universal Catholic Church amongst all Christianities and saw Evangelicalism as a “culturally deficient religion of the lower middle classes.”¹⁰¹ The use of Catholic ritual in Anglican ceremony agitated Evangelicals within the Church, creating a schism also between other Protestant denominations that saw Anglo-Catholicism as a form of popery. However, there was more to Anglo-Catholicism than their liturgical practices. The Anglo-Catholic ideology argued that Anglicanism was a truly universal religion in the world and had the power to elevate people and their culture. In their eyes, spirituality was an equalizer

⁹⁷ Dr. Gerrit P. Judd and Rev. Eli S. Corwin were both Congregationalist missionaries.

⁹⁸ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 92–95.

⁹⁹ Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 5. Staley had a family of seven children. Reverend Ibbotson came with his wife and Reverend and Mrs. Mason brought their daughter and her governess.

¹⁰⁰ Steven S. Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good: Culture, Faith, Empire, and World in the Foreign Missions of the Church of England, 1850-1915* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2014), 25.

¹⁰¹ Maughan, 114.

amongst all peoples. The Anglo-Catholic missions abroad were thus spaces to perform the movement's theological ideals.

Class distinction was only one aspect of the divide between Anglo-Catholics and Dissenters; differences between Anglo-Catholics and Puritans widened in their approaches to missionary work. Within England, Anglo-Catholic “slum-missions” were established in impoverished communities, providing women and children with education, healthcare, and employment.¹⁰² In working with non-English peoples, the Anglo-Catholicism believed that all peoples had the potential for moral and spiritual development, a departure away from the mentality of Evangelical missionaries that believed that Native peoples were uncivilized. Anglo-Catholics respected the cultures of those they were working with, believing that missionaries did not need to “denationalize a country in order to Christianize it.”¹⁰³ Rather, they envisioned using the native culture of the nation they were establishing in as a means to spread Christianity.¹⁰⁴

Staley's Anglo-Catholic position is reflected in his farewell sermon, the formative text of the Hawaiian Mission, and the first official declaration of the Mission's goals and duties. The first role of the mission was to elevate “the native races to a higher and purer ideal of their manhood” because Hawaiians had been “hitherto sadly overlooked in that system of Christianity familiar to them.”¹⁰⁵ Staley's claim that Anglicanism would raise Hawaiians to a higher moral degree was a brazen critique of the denominations operating in Hawai'i, particularly Congregationalism. Whereas Congregationalists were unrelenting in their criticisms of “heathenish” Hawaiian behavior, Staley understood cultural practices that the Congregationalists

¹⁰² Maughan, 113–15.

¹⁰³ Staley, *A Pastoral Address by the Right Reverend The Bishop of Honolulu*, 40–41.

¹⁰⁴ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 126–27.

¹⁰⁵ In addition to guiding Hawaiians to a higher degree of morality, Staley stated that the Anglican Missionaries would attend to the spiritual needs of sailors in port to uphold their temporal and spiritual welfare. In this statement, Staley recognizes that “the licentiousness of European and American sailors and others” was also an ongoing issue.

were adamant in eliminating – hula, chanting, wrestling, spear throwing – as the means to access Christianity and the Divine truths.¹⁰⁶

The superior language employed by Staley reflects popular British opinion of the country's purpose. Steward J. Brown argues that Victorian England was characterized by its status as a world power and the providential views that accompanied its global position.¹⁰⁷ After its success in the Napoleonic Wars and the Industrial Revolution, England gained economic, industrial, and military status. Britain also expanded its geographic dominance over other nations thanks to rapid colonization of lands in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific in the second half of the nineteenth century. The success of England at this time led many to believe that Britons were a chosen people with a providential purpose of linking lands under a true, Christian religion, even amid a growing plurality of Christianities beginning to be practiced in England.¹⁰⁸

Although Staley envisioned creating a mission that utilized the customs of the native culture, he agreed with Kamehameha IV that western education was also an important means to introduce Hawaiians to the true Anglo-Catholic Church.¹⁰⁹ Staley cited the King's speeches in his farewell sermon, proof of his desires to align the responsibilities of the mission closely with the King's power and social policy.¹¹⁰ Educational reform was an interest of Staley's, whose work in England was solely in the education field. Dr. Staley was a graduate of Cambridge University, Queen's College and was ordained into the Church of England in 1846. Prior to his

¹⁰⁶ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 120, 126; Staley, "Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu," 6-7.

¹⁰⁷ Brown is a professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Edinburgh. Brown, *Providence and Empire*.

¹⁰⁸ Staley, "Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu," 10.

¹⁰⁹ Local newspapers did not publish the entirety of His Lordship's farewell sermon; it was published for the first time almost a year after the arrival of the mission in Honolulu on October 12, 1862.

appointment, Staley was an educator at St. Marks College, Chelsea, and the principal of Wandsworth College.¹¹⁰

Staley was familiar with the King's concern that educational inequality between Hawaiians and foreigners would be perpetuated without investing in education for Hawaiian children. Thus, Staley planned on making education a cornerstone of the Mission.¹¹¹ Schools would prioritize teaching Anglican religion and morals and be conducted in the English language, which Staley viewed as practical and beneficial for Hawaiians engaged in business with British and Americans. He envisioned creating schools that would service female students to groom "the ladies to a higher appreciation of their dignity as women."¹¹² Establishing an Anglican seminary school to train missionaries for Anglican outposts in Micronesia was also in Staley's plans, exhibiting the Bishop's desires for Anglo-Catholic expansion in the Pacific.¹¹³ Staley had his eyes set on converting Hawai'i to Anglo-Catholicism, if not the entire Pacific.

Conclusion

To ensure the survival and prosperity of his people, King Kamehameha IV aimed to revamp education in Hawai'i by prioritizing religious, moral instruction and the teaching of English language in schools. Despite the long history of the royal family working with Congregationalist missionaries, Kamehameha IV chose not to work with Congregationalist missionaries to implement his educational vision. Rather, the King invited the Anglican Church to Hawai'i to work with him, in the process asserting himself as a new spiritual leader.

¹¹⁰ Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 1.

¹¹¹ Staley's quoting of Kamehameha IV's speeches in his farewell sermon indicates that he had read them previously.

¹¹² Staley, "Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu," 8.

¹¹³ Staley's concerns were perhaps intensified with the news that the Congregationalists had already trained and assigned six Hawaiian Missionaries from Hawai'i to work in Micronesia.

The Church of England assigned Anglo-Catholic Bishop Nettleship Staley to the position. Staley felt that the Anglo-Catholic missionaries were experienced in the field of work they were requested to help with in Hawai'i. The next chapter looks at Hawaiian reaction to Anglo-Catholic presence in Hawai'i and to what extent the King's people were willing to follow their leader in a new religious direction that emphasized the relationship between church and crown.

Chapter 2

Congregation

This chapter looks at two things related to Hawaiian congregations and the ways that Hawaiians decided to convert to Anglicanism. The first section, “Ho‘opa‘apa‘a (Debate),” looks at a selection of denominational debates in Hawaiian-language newspapers brought about by the arrival of Anglicanism. Hawaiians defended the Christian denominations that they ascribed to against those who held other beliefs. Written with the intention to influence and educate readers, the articles are representative of some of the theological, historical, and liturgical concerns that Hawaiians had about the legitimacy of the Anglican Church.

The second section, “Anaina (Congregation),” looks at the membership of the Anglican congregation. Although it is unclear whether the religious issues raised in newspaper debates were the main deterrent against Hawaiians joining the Anglican Church, an examination of the Anglican congregation’s demographics reveals other reasons why most Hawaiians did not convert to the new church. Due to lack of funds, the Anglican Church was unable to build churches on every island, and most of those baptized and confirmed into the Church lived in close proximity to the Mission’s main location in Honolulu. Most new members of the Anglican Church had political and social ties to the royal family, as well, illustrating that for some Hawaiians, religious choice was not solely faith based. Hawaiians with ties to the nobility converted because of socio-political allegiance to their king and queen.

Ho‘opa‘apa‘a (Debate)

The missionaries from the Anglican Church arrived in Honolulu on October 11, 1862, formally beginning the Hawaiian Mission.¹¹⁴ Prior to docking in Honolulu, Staley and his team received devastating news: the son of Kamehameha IV Crown Prince Albert, passed away on August 27, 1862.¹¹⁵ Bishop Staley, who was tasked with baptizing and educating the prince,

¹¹⁴ The missionaries went by way of Panama to San Francisco. They left San Francisco on Saturday, September 26 at 10:00pm. *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, 2.

¹¹⁵ “Arrivals,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, October 16, 1862; *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, 5.

wrote in his journal, “About five A.M on Oct. 11th (Saturday), the pilot came on board, and brought us news of the death of the young Prince of Hawai‘i, five years of age, my intended charge, and the fond hope of the nation. It was a grievous blow to us.”¹¹⁶ Staley had planned to baptize the Prince as a symbolic first convert of the Anglican Mission, and would have prepared the prince for his future reign as king.

The Prince’s death forced the Anglican missionaries to prioritize seeking other converts. The cohort went immediately to work from their base in an abandoned Methodist Church at Pele‘ula, an area of Honolulu where present day Vineyard Street intersects with Nu‘uanu Street.¹¹⁷ To announce their arrival, the missionaries printed handbills, inviting all who wanted to attend the first Anglican service the following day.¹¹⁸

The first Anglican service was crowded on Sunday, October 12 and attended by both Hawaiians and foreign residents alike.¹¹⁹ Staley and his cohort had been preparing for the first services while en route to Hawai‘i, learning Hawaiian and singing hymns and Gregorian chants in four parts.¹²⁰ Staley wrote that the services, especially those performed in Hawaiian, were heavily attended, with every window and door crowded with people. The masses of people attending the Anglican services was an encouragement to Kamehameha IV, who told Staley, “We *must* have our cathedral built soon, where we can go and hear our prayers in our own

¹¹⁶ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862, 5.*

¹¹⁷ That R. C. Wyllie leased the Methodist Church for the Hawaiian Mission is well known; however, information on the Methodist missionaries that had formerly used the building was difficult to find. Pele‘ula is located in the ahupua‘a of Honolulu and comprises of the region where Vineyard and Nu‘uanu streets intersect. In 1855 before the arrival of the missionaries, Pele‘ula was described as being located “between the Nuuanu road and the continuation of Fort Street, immediately mauka of George Risley’s and J. Piikoi’s properties.” The region was named for a kilu playing goddess, remembered for her encounters with Hi‘iaka and Lohiau. “Hiiaka,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 22, 1883; “Hiiaka,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 21, 1883; Ho‘oulumahiechie, “Pele‘ula,” in *The Epic Tale of Hi‘iakaikapoliopole*, ed. Puakea Nogelmeier, Trade Edition edition (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: Booklines Hawaii, Ltd., 2008), 251–57, 271–96; “Na Misonari Enelani,” *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, November 6, 1862; William Webster, “Valuable Building Lots for Sale at Auction,” *The Polynesian*, March 31, 1855.

¹¹⁸ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862, 6.*

¹¹⁹ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862, 6.* Day by day proceedings from Bishop Staley’s journal between September and November 1862 were published for sale and circulation in England through the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Staley’s journal provides insights into the Mission’s earliest days and Staley’s observations of the popularity of the Anglican services.

¹²⁰ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862, 4, 7.* Staley and the clergy chanted “Te Deum” and the Morning Prayer in Hawaiian – both of which were well received. *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862, 13.*

language, without being burnt in the sun, by standing outside and in the trees.”¹²¹ On October 25, the Hawaiian Mission was chartered under the name the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, reflecting the missionaries’ adherence to the Anglo-Catholic belief that the Anglican Church was the true Catholic Church.¹²²

Reports about the new missionaries and their activities at Pele‘ula were published in the Hawaiian-language newspapers like *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, closely detailing all aspects of the service proceedings – what the clergy were wearing, the quality of the service performed by the Bishop, the Bible passages read, and the size of the crowd.¹²³ In addition to the notices of service times, attendees provided accounts of the sermon and wrote their impressions of the Anglican services, which were noted as being surprisingly clear and performed in fairly fluent Hawaiian.¹²⁴ One account published in *Ka Hoku o ka Paikpika* in November 1862 encouraged Hawaiians to come and see the services for themselves:

O na kanaka wale no ke ae ia e komo i ka Halawai pule, Hoomana Enelani, ma Peleula, ma ka la pule e hiki mai ana, nolaila, o ka poe a pau e makemake ana e komo i keia ekalesia Hoomana, e hele no malaila me ke kanalua ole, no ka mea, e hai ia ana ka oihana me ke poolelo, ma ke olelo Hawai‘i wale no, a hiki i ka hora 10 1/2, alaila, hoomaka ka pule ma ka olelo haole.

Only Hawaiians are allowed to join the Service of the Anglican Faith in Pele‘ula this coming Sunday, so for all those who desire to join this Religious congregation, go there indeed without

¹²¹ *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, 9.

¹²² *Extracts from a Journal of the Bishop of Honolulu: September to November, 1862*, 13. The charter allowed the Church to be able to buy and receive gifts of land. The Honorable Justice G. M. Robertson, Captain G. H. Luce, and Thomas Brown approved the charter. After being chartered, the Mission received a lot from Kamehameha IV on Beretania Street. Rianna M. Williams and Rev Canon Kenneth D. Perkins, *From Royal Garden to Gothic Splendor: The History of St. Andrew’s Cathedral*, First Edition (Honolulu, HI: St. Andrews Cathedral, 1996), 20.

¹²³ “Ke kapa, he holoku no a kuia i lalo, a he mau apana hoi a eha, a he pihapiha ma na lima a me ka a-i, ua like no me ko Aarona. E nana ma Kanawailua 22:12 “E hana oe i pihapiha ma na aoao eha au e aahu ai. (The garb was a mantle reaching all the way down, with four parts, and fringes at the hands and the neck, being like that of Aaron [Aaron]. See Deuteronomy 22:12, “Make fringes at the four sides of what you wear.)” “No ka Hoomana hou,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 22, 1862.

¹²⁴ S. D. Keolanui reported to the newspaper, “Ma ka olelo Hawai‘i ka heluhelu ana mai a me ka haiolelo o ke Kahuna a me ka Bihopa. He mea kupanaha loa ka hikiwawe loa o ka loa o ka olelo Hawai‘i, loihi ole aku, mailala ko‘u haohao ana no ka hikiwawe loa. Ua like loa no me ko Paulo ma haiolelo ana i ko na aina e ka hikiwawe loa. (The reading was done in Hawaiian, as well as the sermon of the Priest and the Bishop. The incredible speed in acquiring Hawaiian was amazing, not long at all; there was my astonishment at the great speed. It was just like Paul and company giving sermons to the foreigners with such speed.)” “Ka Bihopa,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 22, 1862, 22; “No ka Hoomana hou.”

hesitation, because the service and the sermon will be given only in Hawaiian until 10:30, and then the service in English will begin.¹²⁵

But news about the missionaries and their activities were not the only material published about Anglicanism in the newspapers. Writers opposed and in favor of the Anglican Church engaged in arguments in the Hawaiian-language newspapers about the church's theology, history, and liturgy. Debating (ho'opa'apa'a 'ana) within the newspaper forum was an old form of deliberation and was one of the means by which the legitimacy of Anglicanism was forcefully argued before a Hawaiian readership. Ho'opa'apa'a, or "to contest in words; to discuss; to argue for and against; to debate; to enter into angry wordy contest," reflects the presentation of proof-based arguments seen in religious debates.¹²⁶ The intention of ho'opa'apa'a is seen in its root word, pa'apa'a, which has double meaning as a noun (a disputing; oral disputation) but also as a verb meaning "to burn; to scorch; to be consumed by fire."¹²⁷ Burning someone's reputation with their words could be just as effective as killing them, a social and very public death of sorts.¹²⁸

Newspapers accepted submissions from all those that wanted to contribute to a discussion. In response to published columns in previous editions, writers wrote letters to the editor to be published in the next edition.¹²⁹ Although letters were intended to correct the letter's addressee, their printing in a public venue signifies that they were designed to persuade and influence a large audience to support their view. Submissions followed a format that identified the article that the writer was responding to and included the name of the author, name of the newspaper, and publication date of the article. Because writers often submitted their responses to

¹²⁵ "Na Misonari Enelani."

¹²⁶ Andrews and Parker, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 189–90. Alternatively, wehewehe.org cites Lorrin Andrew's definition for ho'opa'apa'a as "dispute pertinaciously; to contend; to quarrel; to have a mental contest."

¹²⁷ Andrews and Parker, 190.

¹²⁸ I looked at other examples with the decade 1860-1870 where the word "ho'opa'apa'a" is used. The Papakilo Database found 1,237 examples of the ho'opa'apa'a being used; the word was used frequently compared to other decades. In addition to being used as verb (hoopaapaa ana) within religious debates, the word is also used to describe political discussions, indicating the formal nature associated with this style of debate. ("Ahaolelo Hawai'i Hale o Ka Poeikohoia," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, July 24, 1862; "Ke Aha Kiekie," *Ke Au Okoa*, July 22, 1869; V. Kapooloku, "Halawai ka Ahahui mahiai o Kona Akau," *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, February 13, 1862.)

¹²⁹ "Aole i hoole keia nupepa no ka hookomo ana i na manao hoopaapaa o na aoao hoomana o kela ano; aka, no ka lohe ana aia ua kuikahi ka manao i pili na Oihana Katolika a elua. (This newspaper did not oppose the submission of arguments from religious denominations of every kind; however, because of hearing that the opinion was in agreement concerning the two Catholic Ministries.)" "Ke Kuhihewa o ka Pakipika," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 10, 1863.

their publication of their choice, responses not only engaged writers, but also put newspapers in conversation with each other.¹³⁰

Theological debates are important indicators of Anglican interest. The crux of newspaper debates was whether Anglicanism was an appropriate form of Christianity to follow. Debates questioned the Church's appropriateness and were written in the hopes of swaying people's opinion into one denomination over another. The content of the arguments was a testament to the writer's theological education, comprehension, and the veracity of the cited texts. Combined, these essays proved a denomination's legitimacy to a highly intelligent and critical audience.¹³¹

Due to the sheer size and variety of debates that occurred consistently through the 1860s, I focused on 16 debates published between 1863-1866.¹³² I consider debate structure, etiquette, and sources used to construct proofs that dealt with the two most debated issues about Anglicanism: the history of Henry VIII and the founding of the Church of England and the claim that the Anglican Church is the true Catholic Church. The articles that I analyzed were located online through the Papakilo Database, which made the searching process faster, especially because the debates occurred across newspapers (e.g. *Ke Au Okoa*, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.) The author of the articles sampled for this chapter signed their submissions, although some names were pseudonyms (e.g. Aeiou Y. M.)¹³³ I include the Hawaiian text with the translations I consulted for readers who are fluent in both languages.¹³⁴

Newspapers submissions varied in length from half of a newspaper column to three columns.¹³⁵ The first paragraph usually contained a simple greeting and an insult towards the writer to whom the author was responding. Throughout 1863, two writers, A. M. Kuhele, an

¹³⁰ Cross-publication conversations within Hawaiian newspapers would be an interesting topic for future research.

¹³¹ John Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education - Generations of Hawaiian Culture* (The Pacific Institute, Brigham Young University - Hawai'i, 2005), 288.

¹³² See Appendix A for a full list of the debates I looked at.

¹³³ A, e, i, o, and u are the Hawaiian vowels.

¹³⁴ Iāsona Ellinwood, MA, generously translated all newspaper articles and all other Hawaiian material used in this chapter.

¹³⁵ For more information on the size of the actual columns and the specifications, see Puakea Nogelmeier's *Mai Pa'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (2010.)

Anglican, and Aeiou Y. M., a Catholic, consistently wrote back and forth to each other.¹³⁶ The introductions of their letter submissions are retorts to earlier insults received; both accused the other of mistakes and blunders. The introduction of a submission by A. M. Kuhele intended for Aeiou Y. M. exemplifies the fiery language that Hawaiian Christians were using.

He mea e ka hoopaakiki o Aeiou Y. M., ma ka hoike mau ana i ka aoao kapakahi no ka maua kumu hoopaapaa. A kio hoi ka‘u i olelo ai no kona kuhihewa, aka, me he mea la, ua haalele ia i ke kuhihewa a me ka lalau, a ua hoike mai oia i kona nauupo, e aho paha ia, o ka hupo maoli paha ka mea kokoke aku iloko oia haina. No ke ike paha ona ua haha ka oiaio o na mea i hoikeia mahope o ka aoao o ka ekalesia Enelani.

What a strange thing is the obstinance of Aeiou Y. M., in always showing the biased side of our topic of debate. And he ignores what I have said about his blundering, but it is as if he has departed from mistakes and blunders, and he has demonstrated his ignorance; perhaps it is better, perhaps true stupidity is more accurate perhaps because he knows that the truth has been said about the things reported behind the side of the Anglican church.¹³⁷

For both sides of the debates, where was ‘oia‘i‘o, or truth, sourced? Hawaiians employed and utilized Christian liturgical, theological, and historical texts to construct their proofs, illustrating a sophisticated and advanced knowledge of Christian works that were written in English.¹³⁸ Writers often varied in their textual interpretations of theological sources; in Biblical debates, for example, two writers often used the same source to argue something different.

One of the recurring issues debated was the history of the formation of the Anglican Church as caused by Henry VIII’s split from the Catholic Church. Catholic writer J. B. Hoku scoffed at Kuhele’s calls to join the Anglican Church and responded to him with sarcasm, “Ina e komo malaila pomaikai kakou, pau ka pilikia, aole pomaikai a koe aku; no ka mea, ua lilo kakou a pau he poe Enelani, he poe hoomana no Henere VIII, ka mea nana i kukulu i kela hoomana Episekopale a me Elisapeta kana kaikamahine. (If we join there we will be blessed, our

¹³⁶ To illustrate the difficulty in validating whether the names used in the debates were pseudonyms or actual names, I looked for A. M. Kuhele in the Anglican sacramental records and could not locate him. I am not sure whether this was because he had already been baptized or confirmed or because A. M. Kuhele was not a real name at all.

¹³⁷ “Aeiou Y. M.,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 30, 1863, 30.

¹³⁸ I did not have time to look to see if the sources that were being used in these debates had been translated into Hawaiian in manuscript form or in the newspaper. Many of the authors do cite chapter and page numbers, however, which indicates that they may have had access to an actual manuscript while constructing their arguments.

troubles will be ended, there will be no blessing left out; because we will have all become Anglicans, people of the faith belonging to Henry VIII, the one who established that Episcopal faith and Elizabeth his daughter.”)¹³⁹ For Hoku, joining the Anglican Church without knowing of its history was dangerous; doing so meant morally aligning with a lustful and murderous English monarchs. Hoku paraphrased and took direct quotes from the published works of British scholars David Hume, John Lingard, and William Cobbett to explain that Henry VIII’s desires to marry other women led to the split between the Catholic Church and England, and the subsequent murder of his wife and the robbery of the Catholic monks. Hoku further details the evils committed by Henry VIII continued during the reign of his descendants, Queen Elizabeth and King James, who according to these writers, ordered the taxation, exile, and death of Catholic “antagonists.”¹⁴⁰ Hoku provided the number of people killed because of their faith as measurable proof of the crimes committed by the monarchs to guard Anglicanism.

Hawaiian Anglicans, however, had a different perspective on the “sins” of Henry VIII, and had the criticism for the Catholic Church.¹⁴¹ Ioane Kaimiloa of Ulakoheo, Honolulu, used the same historical facts to present his opinion that the wrongs that the Pope had committed were far worse than the sins of Henry VIII.¹⁴²

...no ka hewa anei o Heneri VIII ka mea i hewa ai ka Ekalesia Enelani? He mea hiki ke hoohalike ae, no ka ino a me ka haumia o na Pope o Roma ka mea i hewa loa ai ka Ekalesia Roma? He mau ninau parelela like keia e hiki ole ai ia R. Luakaha ke hoole. No ka mea ina ua like kekahi ninau me kekahi, e like auanei na haina. Ina ua hewa ka Ekalesia o Enelani, ua hewa ka Ekalesia o Enelani ma o Heneri VIII la, alaila, ua hewa ka Ekalesia o Roma ma o na Pope ia...Aia a haalele ka Ekalesia o Roma i kona hookiekie, hookaumaha, makaee [sic], a me anunu, alaila paha e manao aku ai kana mau keiki e hoi hou aku me ia. Aole i kipi ko Enelani Ekalesia i ko Roma, a aole no hoi i haalele, aka, o Roma kai komo

¹³⁹ J. B. Hoku, “Kokua ia M. Kuhele,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 24, 1863.

¹⁴⁰ Ioane Kaimiloa also utilized Hume to similarly point to the sins committed by Henry VIII. “Ia R. Luakaha,” *Ke Au Okoa*, November 13, 1865; Ioane Kaimioloa, “Ia R. Luakaha,” *Ke Au Okoa*, October 9, 1865.

¹⁴¹ “Ua pelu hou iho no kana mau olelo, i haina no kua mau ninau. (His words have turned right around, as answers for his questions.) Kaimioloa, “Ia R. Luakaha.”

¹⁴² Kaimiloa makes a comment about how the story of Henry VIII’s reign and relationship with women was common knowledge, raising question to how Hawaiians had learned about British monarchical history and in what context. Kaimiloa states, “Ua ike lakou he heluhelu ia ka moololo o Heneri VIII e na mea a pau, e ka poe i komo iloko o ka lakou Hoomana a me aka poe i komo ole.” Kaimioloa.

hewa iloko o Enelani, a hookohukohu iho hoi me he mea la he waiwai nana, a me he mea la hoi he keiki nana. Aia a haalele ka Ekalesia o Roma i keia mau hewa ona, alaila io paha e pau ai ka hewa i hoohia i na Ekalesia a lakou a pau e haehae nei i ke kino o ko lakou Haku ma ka noho ana kuee.

... is it due to the sin of Henry VIII that the Anglican Church is faulted? Can the comparison be made, that due to the wickedness and the filth of the Popes of Rome, the Roman Church can be heavily faulted? These are parallel questions that R. Luakaha cannot deny. Because if a question is the same as another, then the answers will be the same. If the Church of England sinned due to Henry VIII, then the Church of Rome sinned due to the Popes... Only when the Church of Rome abandons its haughtiness, oppression, opposition, and greed, then perhaps its children will want to return to it. Those of the Anglican Church did not rebel against those of Rome, and also did not leave, but in fact Rome was the one that trespassed into England, and pretended as if it was of value to it, and a child of it. Only when the Church of Rome abandons these sins it has, then perhaps will be the true end of the sin afflicting all of their Churches that are tearing apart the body of their Lord by being in opposition.¹⁴³

In explaining the English Reformation Kaimiloa argues that because the Catholic Church was oppressive, it forced England to form the Anglican Church. Kaimiloa suggests that unification between the Anglican Church is possible, but only if the Pope stopped committing sins.

Opponents of the Anglican Church rebuked claims that the Church of England was the true Catholic Church, and in the process, showed their understanding of the history of the Anglican Church and its formative documents. Hawaiians questioned the legitimacy of Archbishop Matthew Parker, one of the authors of the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, the 16th century text that defined the beliefs and doctrines of the Anglican Church following the English Reformation. Additionally, they also questioned the authority of all other bishops that were ordained under *The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* of 1550. In contrast, Anglicans claimed that the line of bishops was unbroken from Augustine in AD 599 to Thomas Cramer in AD 1533. Defender of Anglicanism, A. M. Kuhele, affirmed the Church of England's processes of confirming and ordaining clergy by using ancient,

¹⁴³ Kaimiola.

authoritative Christian laws and codes, citing the canons from the Council of Nicaea (Canon 6), Council of Arelt and the Council of Canthag.¹⁴⁴

In addition to paramount Christian texts that outline canon law Hawaiian Anglicans also pointed to contemporary sources that explained the Anglo-Catholic position in relation to other denominations. Anglo-Catholics believed that the Church of England was “truly universal – transcending class in England and national culture in the world,” as seen in their adoption of the word Catholic.¹⁴⁵ Ioane Kaimiola reported on Anglican services in the newspapers, quoting and translating sermons written by Bishop Staley.¹⁴⁶ He wrote,

Oia ka Ekalesia Katolika, a o ka Ekalesia o ka Bihopa, oia no kekahi o na Lala. Ua ku kona ano i ka Ekalesia o na Aposetolo, aole hoi pela na Ekalesia e ae i ike ia ma ke ao nei. O ke Katolika Roma, aole oia i like me ia. O ke ano o kela hua olelo, Kakolito; oia keia—“I laulaha ia mai kinohi mai.” Ua olelo ka Bihopa, o ka Pope ka i pakui aku he mau mea hou ma ka manaio kahiko a me ka olelo a ke Akua, a o ka poe Kalavina, ua hoemi ae lakou i ka manaio kahiko a me ka olelo a ke Akua. O ka Ekalesia Enelani, aia no ia iwaena konu o keia mau Ekalesia a i elua, a like a like.

It is the Catholic Church, and the Church of the Bishop is indeed one of the Branches. Its nature resembles the Church of the Apostles, and such is not the case for the other Churches seen in this world. The Roman Catholic, it is not like it. The meaning of that word, *Catholic*, is this—“Spread from the beginning.” The Bishop said that the Pope was the one who added on some new things to the ancient faith and the word of God, and the Calvinists, they lessened the ancient faith and the word of God. The Anglican Church is indeed in between these two Churches, exactly in the middle.¹⁴⁷

Closings of submissions varied depending on the writer’s level of interest to continue as usually determined by the skill of his/her opponent. Those who were well versed in theology

¹⁴⁴ “Aeiou Y. M.”

¹⁴⁵ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 114.

¹⁴⁶ In other articles in defense of Anglicanism, Kaimiola also quoted an important text produced in Hawaiian by the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church, *Na Mea e Hana ia ai (Practices of the Brethren Church)* (1863?) *Na Mea e Hana ia ai* takes on a question and answer format, where popular questions about the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church and what it stands for are answered in simple text. Included also a number of Gregorian chants translated in Hawaiian. There is only one existing copy of this text at the Hawaiian Mission Houses (HMH) Archives. According to David Forbes’ *Hawaiian National Bibliography*, the book was described in the HMH’s finding aid as being published in 1863 or 1864 by Archdeacon Reverend Mason, although without the consent of Bishop Staley, which may account for the book’s rarity. David W. Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography, Vol 3: 1851-1880* (University of Hawaii Press, 1998), 352; Ioane Kaimiola, “Ka Paio Misionari Helu 2,” *Ke Au Okoa*, June 12, 1865.

¹⁴⁷ Kaimiola, “Ka Paio Misionari Helu 2,” 2.

were encouraged to write again. For example, despite frustrations with Kuhele’s views, Aeiou encouraged more conversation because of his maintenance of debate etiquette.¹⁴⁸ In instances where a writer wanted to have the last word, the submissions ended with a sharp insult.¹⁴⁹ Such was the case with P. M. Lima of Pāpōhaku, Wailuku, Maui, strongly disagreed with his Anglican opponent William B. Heluhelu, who had previously argued that no Christian denomination came from Jesus.¹⁵⁰ After citing three different Bible verses that contradicted Heluhelu, Lima closed with the following, “Ke manao wale nei au, he wahi kanaka kuewa wale iho no paha oe, e ohi kika ana ma na huina alanui o ke kulanakauhale o Honolulu, e lalau hele ana hoi i o a ia nei, i komo ole aku ai oe iloko o kekahi o keia mau hoomana, e huli ai i ke ola o kou uhane? (“I simply think that you are probably a mere vagabond, begging on the street corners of the city of Honolulu, and wandering from here to there, for you not to have joined one of these religions, to seek the salvation of your soul?”)”¹⁵¹

Lima’s low opinion of Heluhelu’s presumed lack of faith speaks to the importance of Christianity to Hawaiians. While denominations and their community representatives quarreled in the public sphere, assumed anti-Christianity was considered far worse than adopting one denomination over another.¹⁵² Christian ho‘pa‘apap‘a had a polarizing effect on their participants, pushing Hawaiians further into the corners of their respective denominations. Hawaiians exhibited fierce allegiance to their churches and the performance of the discussion gave legitimacy to the denominations that they were defending.

¹⁴⁸ “Aole au e hoowahawaha aku i kou “ili” e kuu makamaka, he oluolu loa no hoi ko’u manao ia oe, no kou helehelena Hawai’i, a ke mahalo aku nei au i kou makaukau ma ka “olelo latina.” Me oe no ka hapai a me ka hapai ole he mau olelo hou. No kou malama ana i na rula o ka paio maikai, nolaila, aole pau o ko’u makemake e kamailio pu me oe. (I will not scorn your "skin," my dear friend; I have quite a nice opinion of you, concerning your Hawaiian appearance, and I admire your skill in the "Latin language." The raising or not raising of further communication is up to you. Because you maintain the rules of good debate, thus, my desire to converse with you has not ended.)” Y. M. Aeiou, “Olelo pane ia A.K.,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 7, 1863.

¹⁴⁹ John Charlot notes that the word for expert, hiapa‘i‘ole, means “someone who does not want to end in a tie;” the word pa‘i is used prominently in ho‘opāpā contests for an exchange in which neither opponent gains an advantage.” Charlot, *Classical Hawaiian Education - Generations of Hawaiian Culture*, 134.

¹⁵⁰ “E akahelu oe i ka hoolilo mai i ka Baibala i hoike nou, no ka mea, ke kue mai nei ka Baibala ia oe. (Be careful in turning the Bible into a witness for you, because the Bible contradicts you.)” P. M. Lima, “Pane aku ia William B. Heluhelu,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 17, 1866.

¹⁵¹ Lima.

¹⁵² Lima.

Anaina (Congregation)

Although the Anglican missionaries sought to convert thousands of Hawaiians to the Church of England, between 1862 and 1870, the Mission baptized a mere 369 people.¹⁵³ Hawaiian Catholics and Congregationalist rejected the Anglican Church and its local missionaries because of the Church's dubious formation by the British royal family. Already established Christian denominations scoffed at the small Anglican congregation; Congregationalist minister Lowell Smith said that the new Anglican congregants were those that had never worshipped before anyway. Debates about Anglicanism show that many Hawaiians were converting (and not converting) to the King and Queen's new faith citing theological and historical reasons. What demographic of Hawaiians then did convert to the Anglican Church?

Formal relationships with the Anglican Church occurred through the sacramental bonds of baptisms, confirmations, marriages, and deaths. These were recorded in one manuscript, the *Register of St. Andrew's Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1*.¹⁵⁴ Of the four records, baptisms account for the majority of the records in the register.¹⁵⁵ I pay close attention to baptisms because they symbolized the incorporation of a person into the Anglican Church system. I also pay attention to confirmations because they provide insight to the number of Hawaiians who were already Anglican and were seeking to recommit themselves with the church, especially in adulthood. Recorded information included the date, name and gender of the baptized, his/her abode, and the officiating ministers.¹⁵⁶ Age was not indicated in the records and it is difficult to distinguish whether the baptized were children or adults.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Schmitt, "Religious Statistics of Hawai'i, 1825-1972," 43.

¹⁵⁴ Access to the register is available to the public through the Episcopal Church of Hawai'i. The register is a great resource for those interested in genealogical research. I hope to break down the baptismal register by different categories to see if more men than women were converting or children or adults.

¹⁵⁵ Baptismal announcements were usually published in the newspapers for significant people of the upper echelons of society (i.e. royalty.) "Bapetisoia," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 22, 1862, 2; "Bapetizo Ia," *Ke Au Okoa*, June 19, 1865; "Bapetizoia ka Moi Wahine," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 25, 1862.

¹⁵⁶ The ministers switched between using b for boy and g for girl and k for kāne (man) and for wahine (woman.) These distinctions are important because Hawaiian names were gender neutral.

¹⁵⁷ The listing of the baptizer's occupation was inconsistently recorded.

The greatest number of conversions occurred on O‘ahu, where the Anglican Mission was situated. The Mission’s expenditures for maintaining its facilities and staff in Honolulu and Lahaina were in the thousands of pounds, which hindered the possibility of establishing stronger congregations on the other six islands.¹⁵⁸ Despite Staley’s baptismal tours around the other islands, O‘ahu, saw the greatest number of converts.¹⁵⁹ Records show that Honolulu was the site of the most Anglican activity with 225 converts, or 61% of the 369 people the Anglican Church converted in the eight years of Bishop Staley’s tenure (1862-1870). Even Nuikolu, on the northern side of O‘ahu, had almost double the number of baptisms than Lahaina did over a span of seven years: 26 to 12.

Although the ahupua‘a (a land division from the mountains to the sea) of Honolulu was listed as a popular place of residence, more specific names (i.e. street names, ‘ili ‘āina or smaller land divisions) were also noted in the records.¹⁶⁰ Included too were the names of the royal residences of Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma, and their immediate family, illuminating a relationship between church, crown, and people. Families and individuals that had historical connections to the royal family as alo ali‘i (chiefs that were members of the royal court) and as kahu (attendants or retainers that often belonged to lesser ali‘i blood lines) converted to the same faith as the royal family they served.

Geographer Renee Pualani Louis argued that Hawaiian place names carried their own significance because they reflected Hawaiian spatial knowledge of the environment.¹⁶¹ Places that were associated with the royal family were common knowledge to Hawaiians, and Hawaiian

¹⁵⁸ “The total receipts on behalf of the Mission from its beginning to the end of 1864, were £7,172’ the receipts in 1865 were about £4,243; the receipts in 1866 were about £3,157,...the total receipts of the Mission during the two years of Queen Emma’s visit to about £8,500.” N. S. Richardson, “The Hawaiian Mission,” *The American Quarterly Church Review* April 1867 (1867): 157–58.

¹⁵⁹ The register recorded a series of converts from the outer islands all baptized on the same day. For example in June 1863, Reverend E. Ibbotson did a baptizing tour of Kaua‘i. He baptized 1 from Kaihiwai, 12 from Hanalei (written as Hanarei), 1 from Koloa, 3 from Waimea, and 1 Nailiili “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1” 1886 1862, 26–31, Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

¹⁶⁰ Some names of areas in Honolulu include Kikihale, Alakea Street, and Waikahalulu.

¹⁶¹ Renee Pualani Louis, “Hawaiian Storied Place Names: Re-Placing Cultural Meaning,” in *Landscape in Language: Transdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. David M. Mark et al. (John Benjamins Publishing, 2011), 168.

Anglicans made their affiliations with these places known as a sign of loyalty to the royals.¹⁶² In the signature of his letters to the newspapers, A. M. Kuhele identified himself as being from Ka‘ōpuaua, the location of Queen Emma’s family home, emphasizing his connection and social proximity to the queen and her faith.¹⁶³ Other royal place names listed in the baptismal register included the “Palace,” Hanaiakamalama (Queen Emma’s royal residence in Nu‘uanu), “Mrs. Rookes,” and “At Emma House.”¹⁶⁴

Staley confirmed 147 people into the Anglican Church. Similar to the baptism records, places of royal association were listed as the residences of those confirmed. The Palace and Rooke House were hubs of Anglican activity and were places where Staley confirmed people privately.¹⁶⁵ Many of those listed in the confirmation records were Hawaiian chiefs and servants of the royal family. For example, on Christmas 1862, the Colonel David Kalākaua, a chief and government agent in Kamehameha IV’s government, was confirmed into the Church. Confirmed with him were two notable kahu of the royal family, John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī, Hiram Kahanawai, and his wife.¹⁶⁶ John Papa ‘Ī‘Ī was a devout Christian and was one of the first educated by the Congregationalists. He was also a trusted royal advisor who helped rear Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma in their childhoods. Marie Alohalani Brown, a scholar on the life of ‘Ī‘Ī, argues that his religious practices changed with those of the different governing ali‘i that he served under.¹⁶⁷

The same pattern can be seen in others that were confirmed into the Anglican Church. Hiram Kahanawai was the grandson of Kahikaheana, a kahu of Kamehameha I and his family. Kahanawai continued his family’s kuleana to the royal family when he began serving

¹⁶² The equivalent would be like Queen Elizabeth II’s resides at Kensington Palace and Windsor Castle or the President’s house is at the White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

¹⁶³ “Aeiou Y. M.”

¹⁶⁴ “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 40–41, 50–51, 62–63.

¹⁶⁵ “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 351, 353.

¹⁶⁶ “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 350. Kahanawai and Po‘omaikelai later served the family of King Kalākaua after the political defeat of Emma in the Election of 1874.

¹⁶⁷ Brown, *Facing the Spears of Change*, 21–22.

Kamehameha IV and Emma as a butler.¹⁶⁸ Kahanawai was married to Virginia Po‘omaikelani, a lady-in-waiting and retainer of Emma, who was confirmed on August 6, 1863.¹⁶⁹ William Ka‘auwai, the son of Zorobabela Ka‘auwai and Kalanikauleleiaiwi III, were confirmed on August 16, 1863. Ka‘auwai would later become the first Hawaiian Deacon in the Anglican Church in 1864.¹⁷⁰

Loyalty was important to Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, both of whom expected continued allegiance from the families and individuals who served them. In an 1883 letter to a friend, Emma explained that there was established understanding between royals and their retainers. The explanation was prompted by a misstep by Hiram Kahanawai, one of her longtime servants, who served as a kahili (royal feather standard) bearer during the coronation ceremony of King David Kalākaua in 1875. Emma wrote, “To us Hawaiians a family servant whose grandparents have been born and lived in your family always, is looked upon as a traitor to the family by serving at such occasions on other families with the consent of their Mistress or Masters.”¹⁷¹ Emma’s quote emphasizes the closeness between chief and servant and the expectation that the servant’s descendants would continue to uphold the relationship. In Emma’s broad understanding of servitude, those with affiliations or relations to the royal family were expected to mirror their chief’s actions, including religious practices.

Conclusion

Although originally confident that they could gain members, the Anglican Church struggled to build a congregation. The Church’s inability to establish mission stations outside of Honolulu was a significant factor that prevented the growth of churches. But a greater issue was the choice of Hawaiians not to switch denominations and remain “no kuu paa i ka waihoooluu mua,” or “firmly dyed in the original color,” a metaphor used to remaining in the Church in

¹⁶⁸ George S. Kanahale, *Emma: Hawaii’s Remarkable Queen* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999), 250.

¹⁶⁹ “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 350.

¹⁷⁰ Andrew Forest Muir, “William Hoapili Kaauwai: A Hawaiian in Holy Orders,” *Hawaiian Historical Society*, 1952, 6.

¹⁷¹ The letter was written to Emma’s long time friend, Flora Jones. David W. Forbes, *In Haste with Aloha: Letters and Diaries of Queen Emma, 1881–1885* (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2017), 91.

which someone was baptized.¹⁷² One reason why Hawaiians did not convert to Anglicanism was because of theological and historical concerns with the formation of the Anglican Church. Hawaiians debated the history of the Anglican Church in the newspapers and argued that that the church was illegitimate. The debates, intended to educate a broad audience, warned others away from the new denomination. An anonymous person wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* his thoughts about Hawaiians converting to Anglicanism, “Aloha no wau ia oukou a pau i ko oukou noho i ke kuhihewa. (“I certainly have pity for you all as you reside in fallacy.)”¹⁷³

For the hundreds of Hawaiians who did convert to Anglicanism, their choice to switch faiths is traceable in the baptismal and confirmation records of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church. The geographic information in the baptismal and confirmation records show that those who had easier access to the Honolulu-based Mission were more likely to convert. There was also increased activity around the royal residences, which indicates that of the population of Anglican converts, many were loyalists to the King and Queen. Retainers of the royal family and ali‘i that converted to Anglicanism upheld the spiritual authority of the royal family while the majority of the country chose not to or were unable to do so due to a lack of proximity to the Mission. Similarly, allegiance to the royal family from maka‘āinana, or commoners, from Honolulu account for the high numbers of conversion in Honolulu. The next chapter explores other ways Hawaiians interacted with and extended support for the Anglican Mission.

¹⁷² “No ka Hoomana hou.”

¹⁷³ Kealoha, “Lalau! Lalau loa!,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 28, 1863.

Chapter 3

Education

On November 30, 1863, the Anglican Church suffered another blow to their plans of establishment. Only a year into the establishment of the Anglican Mission in Hawai‘i, Kamehameha IV died at ‘Iolani Palace at age 29 after experiencing a few months of ill health. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* called the King’s reign “short and eventful,” and printed an article that spoke in depth about the late King’s work in establishing Queen’s Hospital, a charitable institution that serviced Hawaiians who could not afford for healthcare.¹⁷⁴ In 1859, \$5,000 was allotted from the Minister of the Interior to construct a hospital in Honolulu.¹⁷⁵ Through canvassing, the King and Queen were able to fundraise an additional \$14,000 from citizens to pay for the construction of the hospital and establish a fund for patients that could not afford treatment. The *Advertiser* wrote:

We cannot omit to speak here of one act of his short and eventful reign, which will place his name and that of his noble Queen Emma in letters of gold on the pages of his country’s history – and this is the design and successful completion of the benevolent institution, known as the Queen’s Hospital. Well do we remember seeing him in 1859 going alone and unattended through our streets, from house to house, and from store to store, with his memorandum book, and how the addition of \$50 or \$100 to his subscription list brightened up his countenance, and cheered him on in his good work till he saw some \$6,000 pledged to second him in his noble undertaking. You, reader, may remember his quiet, earnest bearing, as he asked you to “allow him the honor of setting your name down for any amount you might choose to give,” accompany his request by a genial smile or by some lively remark. As long as that coral building stands and serves as a hospital, so long will the names of Kamehameha IV, and Queen Emma be cherished and venerated by all their people.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ “Death of His Majesty Kamehameha IV!,” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 3, 1863.

¹⁷⁵ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 71–72.

¹⁷⁶ “Death of His Majesty Kamehameha IV!”

Kamehameha IV's benevolence and compassion was spotlighted in *Advertiser's* celebration of the King's most well known project and illustrates the his utilization of government and public support to provide improvements in his Kingdom. This chapter focuses on education during Kamehameha IV's reign and how the King similarly used his power and influence in the government and with private groups and individuals to improve the lives of Hawaiians under his care. When the King was unable to see his plans through, it was the Anglican Mission who was responsible for implementing his vision.

The first section of this chapter, "Educational Law," looks at the educational laws passed under Kamehameha IV that represented his public policy. Following his ascension in 1855, Kamehameha IV passed a series of educational reform laws that created the Board of Education, a state mandated and regulated bureau of the government. The King's vision of compulsory education was dependent upon funds from the people, however. In this school system, funding for common schools were garnered through the collection of taxes and additional fees from parents. Reports filed by the Board of Education prior to 1862 indicate that educating children was a luxury for Hawaiian families that depended on the income of working children. A Hawaiian family's standard of living determined whether their children would be sent to school.

The next section, "Nā Kula," looks at how the Mission responded to Hawai'i's education problems through the establishment and operation of their own schools. Without Kamehameha IV, Bishop Staley aimed to continue to implement the values of late King's educational vision through the establishment of Anglican schools across the kingdom. The Hawaiian Mission ambitiously opened eight Anglican schools on the islands of Kaua'i, O'ahu, and Maui within the two years of the chartering of the Church. By 1870, only four Anglican schools remained in operation: Lua'ehu School (Lahaina Boys' School) and St. Cross School for Girls in Lahaina and

St. Andrew's Priory School and St. Alban's College in Honolulu, O'ahu. Lack of Mission resources forced the schools to consolidate and charge tuition, although the teachers of the schools, Reverend George Mason and the Sisters of the Most Holy Trinity, sought to assist those less fortunate.

The last section, "Na Kula (Schools)" focuses on the student body population of the Anglican schools. While orphans were welcome students at the Anglican schools, Hawaiian families that had disposable income chose to send their children to an Anglican school versus a public school. I use St. Andrew's Priory and the demographic information from the school register, *The Mother Assistant's Handbook* (1867-1901), as a case study to understand what types of families were paying tuition and what types of curriculum were offered at the Priory. Student records show that Hawaiian children accounted for the majority of the day students at the Priory. Alumna recollections show that the Priory's consistent enrollment can be attributed to the quality of the teachers and the curriculum that prepared girls for the future.¹⁷⁷

Educational Law

Kamehameha IV passed a Joint Resolution in 1856 to revise and codify all existing laws and the reform process was made official with the publication of the Civil Code of 1859.¹⁷⁸ Chapter X and its 74 sections pertained solely to the King's new education program outlined the responsibilities, powers, and privileges of the Department of Public Instruction.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ "The Education of Hawaiians, 2," in *Hawaiian Church Monthly Messenger* ('Iolani College, 1873), 1-3.

¹⁷⁸ The process for creating the Civil Code began in 1856 after the adjournment of the legislature. Progress was delayed however due to the illness and death of Chief Judge William Little Lee who had been chosen to head the codifying commission. Lee was replaced by Elisha Hunt Allen just prior to the completion of the first draft of the Civil Code in June 1858. Five members from each house were selected to form a joint special committee, tasked with reviewing and altering the original draft. The approved Civil Code was published in May 17, 1859 and the Minister of the Interior oversaw the Hawaiian and English language versions of the laws. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 32.

¹⁷⁸ The printed bound copy of the Civil Code covers 120 sections in 515 pages.

¹⁷⁹ The laws were put into effect ten days after their publication in the newspapers in September of 1859. ("The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, September 17, 1859.)

Kamehameha IV's new educational policy was inclusive of all citizens, as the push towards primary education reform required full participation from all people of the kingdom. For the first time since 1840, all citizens were legally obligated to fiscally contribute towards the educational growth of an entire generation or be subject to punishment.¹⁸⁰ Common schools were not supported by tuition fees but were funded through the collection of two dollars from every male citizen between the ages of 20-60, regardless of race or country of origin.¹⁸¹ Monies that were collected from the school tax were divided amongst school boards to be further distributed to individual school administrators to cover school costs.¹⁸² Children between the ages of six and 20 were required to attend.¹⁸³ Parents and guardians who failed to send their children were fined up to five dollars, or were subject to imprisonment and put to hard labor up to ten days. If a child over the age of ten was caught "forsaking" school, he or she would be subject to imprisonment.¹⁸⁴

However, the strictness of the kingdom's new laws did not imply their enforcement. Reports made by the President of the Board of Education in the years immediately following the passage of the Civil Code and prior to the arrival of the Anglican Mission reveal growing pains between the ideals of the kingdom and reality that average citizens faced.¹⁸⁵ Between 1859 and

¹⁸⁰ Although common schools were free, parents were expected to furnish their children with schoolbooks and stationery. If parents could not pay the cost of books, the Board of Education kept a tab. Thus the overlap between the tax and school districts made it easier for tax collectors to keep track of the debt owed by parents and guardians.

¹⁸¹ Richard Armstrong et al., *The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed in the Year of Our Lord 1859: To Which Is Added an Appendix, Containing Laws Not Expressly Repealed by the Civil Code; the Session Laws of 1858-9; and Treaties with Foreign Nations*. (Honolulu, 1859), 170. The law was amended in 1860, lowering the age from 21 to 20.

¹⁸² Because the people were the funding sources for the schools, they were not shy in voicing their concerns regarding the quality of education the children in the community were receiving. Petitions to the Board of Education were frequent, complaining of inadequate teachers. The Board of Education minutes and petitions are available in the State Archives.

¹⁸³ Armstrong et al., *The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed in the Year of Our Lord 1859*, 170.

¹⁸⁴ Armstrong et al., 170.

¹⁸⁵ Shortened versions of the President's reports were published in Hawaiian and English language newspapers but the handwritten reports available at the Hawai'i State Archives provide more detail.

1862, then President of the Board of Education Richard Armstrong and his successor, Chief Mataio Kekuanaoa, published three reports on the state and progress of the schools throughout the country, *An Educational Tour of the Islands* (1859), *Report of the President of the Board of Education* (1860), and the *Report of the President of the Board of Education* (1862.)¹⁸⁶

Armstrong's extensive evaluation tour named the "chief hindrances of the progress of our common schools: parental neglect, indifference, destitution, and incompetency or inefficiency of the school superintendents."¹⁸⁷ Armstrong also observed that the factors that impeded the practice of the educational laws varied from place to place. In many of the districts that he visited, the largest factor was the decision on the part of individual families to prioritize education. For example, Armstrong noted that in the North Kona and in the Hāmākua districts of Hawai'i Island, families were facing a famine due to chronic droughts and could not send their children to school:

The schools in the northern part of North Kona found as I have even done to be very poor and in fact it is extremely difficult to sustain an interest in education as those are. They have on a hot and barren shore, several miles from their cultivated filed inland, which are subject to frequent and distressing droughts, so that the children have a stupid, hungry, and poverty stricken appearance and seem to talk but little interest in anything especially in books. Still the larger scholars can generally read and have some knowledge of the elements of arithmetic and geography.¹⁸⁸

While families in Kona and Hāmākua were unable to send their children to school due to other stresses, those in Waipi'o had the fortune of cash-earning work through harvesting pulu, the wool like material harvested from the bottom of the Native hāpu'u fern (*Cibotium glaucum*.) The pulu trade supplied material for mattresses and pillows for the market in California and beyond.

¹⁸⁶ Richard Armstrong died in office on September 23, 1860. Kamehameha IV appointed his birth father, Mataio Kekuanaoa to succeed him.

¹⁸⁷ Richard Armstrong, "An Educational Tour of the Islands," 1859, 10, Series 262, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁸⁸ Armstrong, 3.

With the demand for material and the promise of cash, Waipi‘o families did not send their children to school because they depended on income gained from their children’s labor.¹⁸⁹

In addition to the observations that Armstrong made, the 1860 and 1862 *Reports of the President of the Board of Education* also named unprepared local teachers and lack of adequate schoolhouses as barriers to educational progress.¹⁹⁰ Addressing these issues took precedence over fulfilling Kamehameha IV’s desires to have English taught in the public schools and enroll more girls in school.¹⁹¹ Hawaiian families had aspirations to educate their children, but individual families faced more pressing issues. Poverty plagued many Hawaiians and the public education system, but those with expendable cash were positioned better to invest in educational opportunities for their children. Students that exhibited a superior aptitude were recommended for enrollment in government select schools, although it was not a free service. Select schools were led by government teachers and employees but supported by tuition paid by parents.¹⁹² For families that could afford tuition, independent schools that were usually run by Christian denominations were another option.¹⁹³ Independent schools survived with little support from the Board of Education and relied mainly on student fees or donations.¹⁹⁴

¹⁸⁹ Dr. Armstrong said in his report, “The schools in Hamakua district I found to be in rather a low condition, excepting those in and near Waipio. In fact I found several of them about as good as broken up and the great course assigned the pulu trade of which that is about the centre. Large numbers of the parcels literally live in the forest, men, women, and children engaged in gathering pulu...If parents leave their homes for a residence in the mountains, it cannot certainly be expected that the children will remain at home alone and be provided for and unprotected.” Armstrong, 8.

¹⁹⁰ Armstrong, 9. Armstrong and Kekuanaoa authored these reports, respectively. In his 1862 report, Kekuanaoa states that due to the lack of facilities, school often took place outside, “sometimes in a shed, under the shade of a kou tree, or a meeting house.” Mataio Kekuanaoa, “Report of the President of the Board of Education 1862,” n.d., 9, Series 262, Hawai‘i State Archives.

¹⁹¹ Armstrong believed that the national welfare depended upon female education. Kekuanaoa, “Report of the President of the Board of Education 1862,” 8.

¹⁹² Some examples include the Royal School or Lahainaluna Seminary. It is important to note that both schools were run and overseen by missionaries of the ABCFM. Admission to these schools was formerly reserved only for those of genealogical pedigree or those that were selected by the king.

¹⁹³ There were some noteworthy successes including an increase in attendance and progress in subjects like geography and vocal lessons that Hawaiian children enjoyed. Kekuanaoa, “Report of the President of the Board of Education 1862,” 8, 13.

¹⁹⁴ Armstrong et al., *The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed in the Year of Our Lord 1859*, 173.

Nā Kula (The Schools)

After their arrival in 1862, the Hawaiian Mission wasted no time in establishing independent schools that attempted to fulfill the educational needs listed in the Board of Education reports. The earliest report on the Mission's school operations was submitted to the Board of the Education in 1864.¹⁹⁵ Staley reported that the Mission's clergy and its affiliates operated eight schools on O'ahu, Kauai, and Maui. The list of schools show that Staley upheld his early desires to create female educational opportunities, opening three schools for girls and five schools for boys at little to no cost to students.

Sometime between 1864 and 1867, the eight schools that were named in Staley's initial report were consolidated or closed down completely. Only four Anglican schools remained open long enough to have more than one report filed to the Board in the 1860s: the Lua'ehu School (Lahaina Boys' School) and St. Cross School for Girls in Lahaina and St. Andrew's Priory School, and St. Alban's College in Honolulu.¹⁹⁶ Due to the cost of running these schools, all schools charged tuition that ranged annually between \$38-80 for boys and \$35-100 for girls.

Anglo-Catholic missionaries taught and managed the remaining four schools. Although charging tuition was a necessity because of the Mission's lack of funds, it did not stop the teachers, Reverend Mason and the Sisters of the Most Holy Trinity, from servicing as many

¹⁹⁵ Section 737 of the Civil Code instructed independent and select schools to report annually of their school's number of scholars, their means of support, and the general character of their school. The report was organized in a table format. Thomas Nettleship Staley, "Report of Schools in Connection with the Hawaiian Reform Church - 1864," n.d., Series 262, Hawaii State Archives; Armstrong et al., *The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed in the Year of Our Lord 1859*, 173.

¹⁹⁶ Many of these Anglican schools went by more than one name, making searches for references of the schools in Hawaiian and English language newspapers challenging. I determined that the names were referring by cross checking whether the names of the teachers were the same. For example, St. Alban's College in Nu'uaniu is also referred to as St. Alban's Pauoa and Ka'ala'a College. All three names refer to the same school, differing in level of specificity of the place name. Non-Hawaiian speakers referred to the Anglican Sisters School on Beretania Street as St. Andrew's Priory School. But in the Hawaiian-language newspapers, the Priory is distinguished by its location next to the Anglican cathedral (kula halepule bihopa.) In the case of Lua'ehu School and Lahaina Boys' School, the historical timeline of the two schools are referencing the same place both run by Reverend Mason. I chose to use to the name Lua'ehu School, the name used more traditionally to refer to the school.

students as possible while under budgetary restraints. Mason and the Sisters were committed to their benevolent work regardless of the cost, and it was for this reason that Staley recruited them as missionaries. Staley said of the missionaries, “It is to me a matter of thankfulness that there are in our party going out, those who, having devoted the best part of their lives to labours of this kind, are eminently fitted to organize and superintend such institutions.”¹⁹⁷

Hawai‘i was not the first place that the Anglo-Catholic missionaries had worked together. The relationship between Reverend Mason and the Sisters of the Most Holy Trinity began in Devonport, England, a port town in South England known for its outbreaks of cholera and its brothels.¹⁹⁸ Around 1856, Reverend Mason with the help of his wife and sister, Emma, established the House of Mercy, a home for fallen women in Devonport.¹⁹⁹ The Sisters of the Most Holy Trinity, one of the first Sisterhoods in the history of the Anglican Church, had already been working within Devonport and its surrounding towns – Plymouth and South Stonehouse. Led by Mother Superior Priscilla Lydia Sellon, the Sisters established schools and services for the needy, with special attention towards female emigrants and orphans of sailors.²⁰⁰ Sellon’s charitable work was self-funded through Sellon’s own inheritance from her grandaunt, allowing her more freedom to do the work she saw needed in the Three Towns of Devon.²⁰¹ In Devonport,

¹⁹⁷ Staley, “Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu,” 8.

¹⁹⁸ *London Medical Gazette or the Journal of Practical Medicine*, 1850, 614.

¹⁹⁹ After receiving his theological education at Wells Theological College in 1852, Mason became a deacon the following year. Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” 47–48.

²⁰⁰ Priscilla Lydia Smith was born in 1821, a year which the publications of the Oxford Movement were being widely circulated around England. The Sellon family included clergy of the Church of England, educators, and leaders who most likely influenced Sellon into choosing her own career path. On New Year’s Day 1848, Sellon listened to a sermon given by Bishop Phillpotts calling for assistance to help improve Plymouth, a poor port town. Sellon found her calling and moved to Plymouth, deciding to devote herself towards educating poverty-stricken children. The first schools she established was an industrial school for girls and a night school for boys between the ages of 12 to 16. Great Britain, *The London Gazette* (T. Neuman, 1847), 48; Baker Peter Smith, *Memoirs of the Rev. William Sellon*, 1852, 48.

²⁰¹ Her family adopted the name Sellon after her maternal grandaunt, Sophia Sellon, left her father a large inheritance. Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” 57.

Sisters created opportunities for “idle women,” establishing a female-run printing press and renting land to tenants at reasonable rates.²⁰²

Mason’s tenure of service in Devonport was shorter than that of the Sisters; he left the House of Mercy under the care of the Sisters when he took on the position of curate of St. Peter’s Plymouth.²⁰³ In the spring of 1862, Mason was recruited to work with Staley in Hawai‘i and Mason moved his wife Mrs. Ellen Mary Mason, his daughter, and his daughter’s governess, Miss Roche, to Hawai‘i where he was given the title of Father Mason.²⁰⁴ Mason was responsible for opening the first Anglican school for boys, St. Alban’s College, in November 1862 on a parcel of land purchased in Pauoa, Honolulu.²⁰⁵ The Mission erected a school building and dormitory at the cost of \$250.²⁰⁶ The school was open to day (non-boarding students) and boarding students and advertised courses in Latin, Greek, Euclid, and Algebra at the cost of \$12 per quarter.²⁰⁷

In 1864, Father Mason was appointed to lead the Lahaina branch of the Anglican Mission after Reverend Scott, who had been originally stationed there, fell into debt and lost the confidence of the community.²⁰⁸ In Lahaina, Mason opened another school for boys, Lahainalalo College, while still maintaining Lua‘ehu School, which had been started by his predecessor.²⁰⁹

²⁰² “Priscilla Lydia Sellon,” *Heroes of the Catholic Revival*, 1933; *London Medical Gazette*, 614.

²⁰³ A curate is an assistant to the vicar, rector, or parish priest in the Anglican Church.

²⁰⁴ Staley and Mason met at the cornerstone laying ceremony for St. Peter’s Mission Chapel in Plymouth. Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” 49.

²⁰⁵ Mason’s main duties were teaching Anglo-Catholic doctrine to both the Hawaiian and English speaking congregations of the Temporary Cathedral. Then colonel David Kalākaua acted as Hawaiian language tutor for Staley and Mason. Muir, 50.

²⁰⁶ In future research, I plan at looking at documents related to the purchase of land for establishing an Anglican Mission. These original documents are not in the Cathedral of St. Andrew archive but are located in the Bishop’s office.

²⁰⁷ Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” 56.

²⁰⁸ Scott arrived later than Staley and Reverends Ibbotson and Mason. Muir, 51.

²⁰⁹ Today, Kamehameha III School is constructed on the former site of Lua‘ehu School. Muir states that one of these schools was exclusively for Hawaiian boys. (Inez Ashdown, “Old Lahaina Prison and Ancient Lahaina,” *Star of Hawai‘i*, April 30, 1941.) Muir, “George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster,” 58; Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, *Place Names of Hawai‘i* (University of Hawai‘i Press, 1974), 134.

Because Mason was responsible with overseeing all activities of the Lahaina branch, he hired G.W. Hart and later Reverend Charles William Turner to aid with the teaching load.²¹⁰

The boys' schools were far from being a profitable endeavor. Parents covered their children's tuition, although some students were supported through scholarships (grants in aid) from King Kamehameha IV, collections from the church, and the Board of Education. Tuition costs went towards teacher salaries, construction costs for new school buildings, and school supplies, but the cost of taking in orphans as students continued to strain school finances.²¹¹ To alleviate the financial burden of having Anglican boys schools on two different islands, the Mission combined the schools in Honolulu and Lahaina into one single school in 1868 called St. Alban's College, Lahaina.²¹² The school moved back to Honolulu in 1870 and took on name St. Alban's College, Pauoa again.²¹³ Consolidation of programs allowed Mason to continue to keep offering his services where they were needed, although to a smaller population of students.

Mrs. Mason carried the responsibility of opening and maintaining schools for girls in the same areas as her husband. She opened the first Anglican girls school in Honolulu upon their arrival in 1862. When her family relocated to Lahaina in 1864, she opened and operated another school for girls.²¹⁴ The work was hard on Mrs. Mason who not only oversaw her own school, but also helped care for orphaned students, expanding the Mason family to include thirty more girls and four boys.²¹⁵ Her responsibilities eventually caused her to fall ill, and after requiring more serious care on O'ahu, she was forced to vacate her position as an educator. Overwhelmed by the amount of work in Hawai'i, Mrs. Mason desperately asked for more support from the Sisters in

²¹⁰ Muir, "George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster," 56–57.

²¹¹ Muir, 58.

²¹² Muir, 57.

²¹³ St. Alban's College later became 'Iolani School. St. Alban was the first British martyr.

²¹⁴ Kanahale, *Emma*, 156.

²¹⁵ Anne Mackenzie, "Hawaiian Mission," in *The Net Cast in Many Waters: Sketches from the Life of Missionaries* (Lothian, 1867), 69.

England. She wrote to the Mother Sellon in England requesting that the Sisters of the Most Holy Trinity replace her role.

Now dear Miss Sellon, won't you help us. If you will write and say you will send out 3 or more sisters, I will send you a written promise from the Bishop of the House and Provisions for at least 6 years. A promise that they shall be protected and unmolested in private rules so as they agree to work under the Parish Priest. It is a grand work and I doubt that in time native sisters would join. The King and Queen much wish for a sisterhood. We are poor now and cannot pay the passage but if you could send them we will gladly thankfully support them.²¹⁶

In exchange for their willingness to send more reinforcements, Mrs. Mason offered the Sisters full control of their own operations apart from the Anglican Mission, allowing the Sisters to possibly recruit Hawaiian girls to become Anglican Sisters themselves. The Sisters took the offer and sent Mother Eldress Catherine Chambers, Sister Bertha, and Sister Mary Clara from England to Maui in 1864. The Sisters assumed responsibility over Mrs. Mason's girls' school, renaming it St. Cross School for Girls.²¹⁷ Father Mason said of the Sisters' willingness to serve,

In this we shall have the advantage, for our English Church Sisters: come to do any work the Bishop may wish; *whatever* there is to do, whether teaching, or visiting the sick or ignorant or hospital work... So now we are afloat here – Priest, Deacon, Sisterhood, good schools both for boys and girls.²¹⁸

The Sisters made sure that their campus had excellent facilities and accommodations. The campus grounds consisted of wooden buildings – a schoolroom, a refectory well supplied with poi and meat, and dormitories where each child had a bed with a mosquito net.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ Ellen Mary Mason, "Ellen Mary Mason to Lady Superior on Work of Hawaiian Mission," November 10, 1863, Wooden Box, 2 Ascot, 2.7, Pusey House Archives.

²¹⁷ Further research is needed to determine where the original location of St. Cross School. In 1872, Mother Sellon purchased 1038 Front Street in Lahaina from Dr. James R. Dow's estate to move St. Cross School. "Historic American Buildings Survey US Marine Hospital" (National Park Service, September 1966), <https://cdn.loc.gov/master/pnp/habshaer/hi/hi0000/hi0011/data/hi0011data.pdf>.

²¹⁸ Mackenzie, "Hawaiian Mission," 71.

²¹⁹ John Sheepshanks visited the school in 1869 and described the school in his travelogue. John Sheepshanks, "A Visit to Lahaina," *Mission Life* September 1, 1869 (1869): 539.

The success of the Sisters' work in Lahaina prompted the Sisterhood to send another group of missionaries to Hawai'i, this time to establish a second school in Honolulu.²²⁰ This school would fulfill Kamehameha IV's vision for an all-girls school and be representative of the vision he had for nationwide female education. Chosen to operate the school were Sister Albertina, Sister Beatrice, and Eldress Phoebe, who arrived in late January 1867 with Mother Sellon and her assistant, Miss Emma Catherine Lysaught.²²¹ The plans St. Andrew's Priory School utilized a parcel of land on Queen Emma Street given previously by Kamehameha IV for the purpose of building a school for girls.²²² Mother Sellon paid for an adjoining lot to increase the acreage of the school and covered the cost for materials and labor for the wooden buildings that she designed.²²³ The completed buildings were some of the most modern in Honolulu.²²⁴ The original campus had dormitories, a refectory, a chapel, and schoolrooms surrounding about a large cross made of coral.²²⁵ After a few months of construction, the Priory opened officially on the church holiday of Christ's ascension into heaven, May 31, 1867.

Boarding schools were seen as ideal places to elevate "the tone and character" of young women, but came at a high cost to students. Similar to Reverend Mason's schools, St. Cross and St. Andrew's Priory were funded primarily through student fees, although the school also received financial support from Mother Sellon and the Board of Education. Although the Sisters operated St. Cross and St. Andrew's as boarding schools, they also opened day schools at both

²²⁰ Mackenzie, "Hawaiian Mission," 71.

²²¹ "Epitome of News," *Surrey Comet*, January 26, 1867, 2. Mother Sellon was half paralyzed following a stroke in England and needed assistance on the journey to Hawai'i.

²²² "Living in Cloisters," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, December 14, 1900.

²²³ The original deeds of the Anglican Church's lands is located in the office of the Bishop of Hawai'i at the Cathedral of St. Andrew.

²²⁴ "Living in Cloisters."

²²⁵ "How Priory Sisters Came to Hawai'i Told in Account Written Years Ago," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 31, 1930.

campuses. Day schools were a popular option for girls after 1870 who were able to still attend school for less than the cost of boarding.²²⁶

In order to maintain their ideals, the Anglo-Catholic teachers constantly negotiated the work that they wanted to do with what was realistic given the costs of running a school in Hawai‘i. Instead of raising the cost of tuition, the Sisters and Reverend Mason scraped monies together and found alternatives to keep their schools open. Through the four Anglican schools that survived the first eight years of the Mission, the Anglican missionaries were able to impact student lives and fulfill one of the Mission’s goals.

Educational Investment

Who comprised the student body population of the Anglican schools? What were the offerings of Anglican schools? Although the Board of Education did not collect official personal school records, the earliest student record from St. Andrew’s Priory’s Day School provides significant insight into the types of families Anglican schools were attracting and the curriculum provided. *The Mother Assistant’s Handbook* (1867-1901) recorded information for some of the day students of the Priory between the years 1867 and 1901.²²⁷ Information recorded included the name of the student, the date of matriculation and departure, whether the student was baptized, names and race of the students’ parents, tuition fee, the name of the person paying for the tuition, and additional remarks.

Official documents from St. Andrew’s show that students were diverse in age and came from across the islands. Twenty of twenty-one female students were of Hawaiian descent with the exception of a half-Tahitian, half-English student.²²⁸ The average age of the students was 11,

²²⁶ *The Mother Assistant’s Handbook* recorded students that matriculated from 1867 until 1901.

²²⁷ “The Mother Assistant’s Handbook (1867-1901)” n.d., St. Andrew’s Priory School Archives.

²²⁸ Primary accounts from St. Cross stated that the Sisters taught girls under the age of 12. Sheepshanks, “Mission Life,” 539.

the youngest 5, and the oldest 16. Most of the day students were from Honolulu, but some of the students were listed as being from the outer islands including Hilo (Hawai‘i), Waihe‘e (Maui), and Kawai.²²⁹ These students were most likely staying with relatives in Honolulu so that they could attend day school at the Priory.

Parents had the option to tailor their children’s coursework for more or less than the average cost of \$100 per year, a tremendous sum for the period. Plantation and coolie labor paid four dollars a month in 1867.²³⁰ Schooling for day students cost 50 cents for the school week and \$1.25 for additional Saturday and Sunday instruction. Some girls were fortunate enough to receive scholarships sponsored by King Kamehameha V, Queen Emma, or other notable figures in the community (i.e. Dr. Mott-Smith, a local politician and dentist), although in most cases parents paid directly out of pocket.²³¹ The dependency on cash made the female students’ attendance vulnerable to the income of their parents. Notes made by the Sisters upon the departure of students often listed that the reason for the sudden departure of students was often because their fathers could not afford to pay any longer.²³² To accommodate girls who wanted to learn English but had no money, Sister Beatrice ran a school that solely taught English. The school remained opened for twenty years, “as long as it was needed.”²³³

The Priory’s curriculum was constructed in order to train “the next generation of mothers for the benefit of the country.”²³⁴ Lessons included in religion, voice and music, drawing,

²²⁹ There were many places named Kawai and I am not sure whether this was a spelling variation of the island of Kaua‘i or a specific place name.

²³⁰ “Chinese Laborers,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 18, 1867; “The Labor Question,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 25, 1867. More research into cost of goods is needed to better contextualize the cost of living in the Hawaiian Kingdom during the 19th and 20th century. As of yet, there is no historiography on economy, labor, and commodities exchange in Hawai‘i. The price of labor was seldom written about in the newspapers and advertisements rarely advertised the price of the goods they were advertising.

²³¹ Dr. Mott-Smith was the first dentist in the kingdom and also held political positions.

²³² “The Mother Assistant’s Handbook (1867-1901),” 14.

²³³ “How Priory Sisters Came to Hawai‘i Told in Account Written Years Ago.”

²³⁴ “Hawaiian Legislature Session of 1886,” *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 24, 1886, 2.

sewing, arithmetic, English, and French.²³⁵ Tuition covered food – poi, bread, meat, potatoes, and milk. Students were also required to do housework around the school; those that refused to do chores were scolded and looked down upon.²³⁶ Sister Albertina recalled, “If I could not get the work done, I would show them that I was not ashamed to do it although I was white.”²³⁷ It was because of this curriculum and treatment of students that the Priory earned the reputation as being “nurseries of the Christian religion,” where the children were “imbued with the principles of Christian faith for preparation into the world.”²³⁸

At the end of the school year, the public attended closing exercises and examinations that showcased student intelligence.²³⁹ Enrollment steadily increased and the Priory gained a reputation as a first-class school. Sister Albertina stated that the Priory attracted girls from around the islands and beyond:

Girls came from all the islands and boarded at the school. Of course the number varied but there were usually about eighty. Some people in California sent their girls here. A number of the best known women in the islands were educated at the Priory.²⁴⁰

Graduates of the Priory went on to work or get married after their time spent at the Priory. The alumnae maintained relationships with their former teachers and continued to support the school and its teachers when possible.²⁴¹

Conclusion

²³⁵ Sister Mary Clara and Sister Beatrice taught English. Textbooks came in from England and to make up the shortage of textbooks, older girls wrote out the whole book for the younger ones. “How Priory Sisters Came to Hawai‘i Told in Account Written Years Ago.”

²³⁶ Many of the students refused to do the work, fearing that they “might degrade themselves by waiting on, or working for, any one of lower rank than they were.” “How Priory Sisters Came to Hawai‘i Told in Account Written Years Ago.”

²³⁷ “How Priory Sisters Came to Hawai‘i Told in Account Written Years Ago.”

²³⁸ “The Education of Hawaiians, 2.”

²³⁹ “St. Andrew’s Priory,” *The Hawaiian Gazette*, August 5, 1885.

²⁴⁰ W. A. S., “Sister Albertina Tells of Friendship With Queen Emma in Old Priory Days,” *The Honolulu Advertiser*, February 24, 1926.

²⁴¹ “Island Notes,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 17, 1883.

The fifteen years between 1855 and 1870 was a period of educational experimentation and negotiation within the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kamehameha IV envisioned providing all children in the kingdom with English language education through the passage of educational laws that required all people to invest in the kingdom's youth. The laws, however, faced difficulty after the passage in 1859 due to the inability of the kingdom's citizens to contribute money towards school taxes. A further hindrance was that children were often unable to attend government schools due to familial dependence on child labor to support the family economy.

Upon their arrival in Hawai'i in 1862, the Anglican missionaries initiated a grand educational plan on multiple islands that addressed the major concerns of the King and the Board of Education. The Anglo-Catholic teachers had a wealth of experience in educating children from the slums of England with little outside support. Confident that they would be able to stay afloat and serve the Hawaiian community, the missionaries opened and operated eight English-language schools on three islands, only charging minor fees to students and their families. However, after prematurely losing the support of political and financial support of Kamehameha IV in 1863, the majority of the Anglican schools were forced to close only a few years after opening due to lack of funds. Alternatively, the Mission downsized its efforts and focused on keeping four schools open on two islands and specialized in single-sex education.²⁴² Again the Mission was unable to keep their services free and was forced to charge its students' tuition. The Anglo-Catholic teachers of these schools, Reverend Mason and the Sisters of the Most Holy

²⁴² By the late 1800, the number of Anglican schools went from four to two. Mother Sellon's death in 1876 caused a reorganization of the Sisterhood, which led to a consolidation of St. Cross and the Priory in 1877. Reverend Mason continued to fight to keep the schools open but the departure of Staley from the Bishop position shifted the priorities of the Mission significantly away from education to keeping the Church viable. Anne Mackenzie, ed., in *The Net Cast in Many Waters: Sketches from the Life of Missionaries*, 1877, 121–22; Muir, "George Mason, Priest and Schoolmaster," 58; Sheepshanks, "Mission Life," 539.

Trinity, shifted their enrollment plan again by opening day schools to accommodate more students, especially orphans that could not afford to pay for boarding tuition.

Yet despite the tuition costs, Hawaiian families continued to enroll their children in Anglican schools because of the curriculum, teachers, and facilities. St. Andrew's Priory School, for example, developed a reputation amongst the Hawaiian community as an elite institution that encouraged both boarders and day students from across the islands. The potential return on investment encouraged parents to pay tuition costs until they no longer could.

The Sisters saw their work as being equally rewarding. After their Sisterhood recalled them back to England in 1892, the Sister Beatrice and Albertina refused to leave because they were caring for children at the Priory campus and did not want to abandon them.²⁴³ The Sisters continued to teach at the Priory until 1900 when an American Episcopal Sisterhood took responsibility for overseeing the school.

Sisters Beatrice and Albertina lived on the campus grounds until their deaths in 1921 and 1930, respectively.²⁴⁴ The Sisters had developed affection for their students and enjoyed seeing them prosper after their time at the school. In a 1929 interview, Albertina said of the Priory's alumna, "It pleases me to have the girls come back as they do so often. They bring their grand children in to see me. Then I realize how very long I've been here."²⁴⁵ The Anglo-Catholics devoted their lives to the education of Hawaiian youth and enjoyed seeing the fruits of their labor.

²⁴³ W. A. S., "Sister Albertina Tells of Friendship With Queen Emma in Old Priory Days."

²⁴⁴ Mary Cooke, "St. Andrew's Priory Founded by Anglican Nuns," *The Honolulu Advertiser*, September 4, 1966.

²⁴⁵ W. A. S., "Sister Albertina Tells of Friendship With Queen Emma in Old Priory Days."

Chapter 4

Fundraising

When I look back and review God's unspeakable goodness to me especially during this year, I feel more and more my utter unworthiness [sic] of His goodness. – *Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālani, 1866*²⁴⁶

Within its first year, the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church outgrew its temporary cathedral at Pele'ula. The growing size of the congregation encouraged Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma, and the Mission to begin plans for a cathedral that would also act as a training center for Anglican missionaries to Micronesia, the Caroline Islands, and Southern Polynesia.²⁴⁷ The process for a cathedral began in 1863 with King Kamehameha IV allocating personal lands for an Anglican cathedral on Beretania and Emma streets in Honolulu.²⁴⁸ However the unexpected death of the King in November 1863 halted any progress and the Mission's lack of money again forced the missionaries to depend on its Hawaiian beneficiaries to bring the realization of a cathedral to fruition.

This chapter focuses on Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālani's 1865-1866 trip to England, the most public and lengthy fundraising campaign by a Hawaiian Anglican.²⁴⁹ This chapter explores the reasoning behind Emma's journey to England, how she sought and collected donations, and the challenges of fundraising abroad for the cathedral. The mission to Hawai'i survived outside of the financial support of the Church of England. The Mission's freedom, however, came with consequences as chronic financial woes threatened the survival of the

²⁴⁶ Emma Rooke, "Emma to Kiliwehi," July 3, 1866, 3, Henriques Collection Box 1 - Letters A-J, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

²⁴⁷ Staley, "Two Sermons Preached in Westminster Abbey and the Temporary Cathedral of Honolulu by the Right Reverend Father in God Thomas, Lord Bishop of Honolulu," 9.

²⁴⁸ The parcel of land that was designated for a cathedral was located directly next to the plot that St. Andrew's Priory was built on in 1867. "I ka Poaha Mei 11, ua hiki mai ka Pihopa iuka nei; a ua ninau mai ia'u i kahi a Iolani i manao ai e kukulu i Hale Pule; ua hele mana e kuhikuhi iaia, a ua ike; o kona manao ane aole i maopopo. Ua ninau mai kela i kahi kupon e pule ai me na Ohua, no kona manao i loihi o kahie iho ai i ka pule o na la noa. (On Thursday, May 11, the Bishop came up here and asked me where Iolani intended to build the church. We went to point it out to him and looked, but as to his opinion I am not certain. He asked for a suitable place to pray with the retainers because he thought of the distance to go for service on weekdays.)" H. Kahanawai, "Kahanawai to Emma," May 16, 1865, Emma Collection, M-45, AH-04, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁴⁹ Emma Rooke had a number of name variations throughout her life. As queen, she was still referred to by as Emma Rooke or Queen Emma Rooke. I refer to Emma by her first name in the majority of this chapter. In the section about her life after the death of Kamehameha IV and her son, Prince Albert (Ka Haku o Hawai'i), I refer to her as Queen Dowager Emma Kaleleonālani.

Church. Tuition payments from Hawaiian parents that were sending children to Mission schools helped the Mission keep afloat, as well as donations from England. The dependence of the Hawaiian Mission on transnational connections for monies and other forms of donations put Hawaiians and their English counterparts in contact with each other in a way that surpassed borders or national agencies. Christian missions and their actors connected distant populations of people by the same cause, although ardent supporters of the mission usually never physically met with their allies on the other side. Emma was the first Hawaiian royal to travel outside of the kingdom for religious purposes and was the first Hawaiian Anglican to travel for her Church. For Britons, this was an opportunity to come face to face with a Hawaiian Anglican, let alone a Hawaiian royal.

In the first section, I introduce Emma by focusing on her upbringing as a girl of chiefly status. In chapter one, I described events in King Kamehameha IV's childhood that attracted him to British religion in his adult life. I do the same here for his wife, Emma, who unlike her husband, had an intimate connection to England through her own family and in the process, developed British mannerisms. Emma's genealogy through both her biological and adopted parents afforded her a place in a society where royal women had power and influence that often exceeded that of male chiefs.²⁵⁰ Thus, Emma's girlhood was a crucial time for training in the chiefly responsibilities that came with her rank. In an increasingly international Hawai'i, education of western culture and how to interact with foreigners was essential. Her parents and governess provided her with a Victorian education that included Anglicanism, letter writing, and philanthropy. Her upbringing was reflected in her habits and attitudes as an adult, as Hawaiians and foreigners alike complemented her charm and politeness. Emma's social fluency played an important role during her trip to England where she maintained her regal composure among Britons of different ranks to receive support for the Anglican Mission.

²⁵⁰ Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 27.

The second section of this chapter briefly addresses Emma's life with her husband and son. The birth of Albert, Ka Haku o Hawai'i (Crown Prince), made the King and Queen more desirous of creating relationships with England, which included a potential visit to England. However, all plans were halted due to the consecutive deaths of her son and husband in 1862 and 1863, respectively. The deaths of the royals were the formative events that drove Emma to visit England independently in order to raise funds for a cathedral church that would be dedicated to her late husband.

In the third section, I describe how Emma fundraised money for the Hawaiian Mission in public and private settings. In a spirit similar to that of her and her husband's canvassing initiative for Queen's Hospital around Honolulu, Emma traveled around England to let people know about the good work of the Anglican Church in Hawai'i to gain financial support. Emma was a celebrity in England and articles on her activities and fundraising efforts are not in short supply, reflecting the level of interest the British had for visiting royals.²⁵¹ Emma's letter collection provides another dimension to her fundraising tour by providing insight into the logistical planning of her travel. Her fame and rank gave her access to an elite social circle of British aristocrats, socialites, politicians, and clergy, which inundated her schedule with social events. Through letter writing, she maintained these relationships and organized her time (i.e. planning, logistics, RSVPs). Emma also capitalized on these relationships on behalf of the mission by selling *cartes de visite* photographs of herself in her expanding social circle.

Emma's letters also reveal information about her mental and emotional state during her time abroad. Emma was bilingual and there is a significant difference between the letters that she

²⁵¹ Previous biographers of Emma's travels only highlighted a selection of events and places that Emma visited during her trip. Alfons L. Korn compiled and edited a significant amount of letters and correspondence sent to and written by Emma during her tour of England and Europe in his book *The Victorian Visitors*. Korn, however, highlights events from Emma's trip gleaned only from the contents of the letters between a few correspondents that were in contact with Emma. Mentions of fundraising meetings for the Hawaiian Mission few in number. In creating a completed timeline of Emma's transit, I used chronological and geographical data from articles published in London newspapers and Hawaiian-language newspapers, *Ke Au Okoa*, and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. I highlight the information regarding the Hawaiian Mission meetings that Emma hosted across England: the guest speakers, the meeting program, the number of people in attendance, and the amount of money collected. With the help of the Digital Arts and Humanities Institute at the University of Hawai'i, I created a digital component of this timeline to help readers better visualize Emma's distance traveled. George S. Kanahela, *Emma: Hawaii's Remarkable Queen* (University of Hawai'i Press, 1999), 189–256.

wrote in English versus Hawaiian.²⁵² In English when speaking with British-European correspondents, Emma presented herself as an aristocratic, polite, and gracious public figure. Her Hawaiian language letters however, present a very different view of Emma as being chronically homesick and filled with anxiety and sadness.²⁵³ In the absence of a travel diary, the surviving Hawaiian letters chronicled the struggles of working far from home and explains how her adherence to Anglicanism helped her to cope with extreme loneliness and uncertainty.²⁵⁴

Victorian Girlhood

After the unification of the Hawaiian Islands by King Kamehameha I in 1810, the Hawaiian royal family sought recognition of and increased connection with foreign countries, including England. This was performed mainly through formal treaties and commerce, but connections with England in the early nineteenth century were also formed through familial ties. This was true for Emma, who was raised by a British father and a Hawaiian mother. Emma's family melded British and Hawaiian cultural ways, providing the young chiefess a level of exposure to British culture and civility that other Hawaiian chiefs of the same generation did not receive.

Emma's adopted father was Dr. Thomas Charles Byde Rooke. Seeking a life outside of Europe, Rooke arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1829 on an English whaling ship and opened a medical practice that served King Kamehameha III, other royal Hawaiians, as well as sailors that

²⁵² Jason Achiu translated all Hawaiian-language letters used in this chapter unless otherwise noted.

²⁵³ Sifting through Emma's letters was a challenge, not because of a dearth of material but rather the opposite. Hawaiian historian and researcher David Forbes argues that Emma was a prolific letter writer and kept the majority of her correspondences throughout her life. Emma's letter collection is divided among various repositories across the Hawai'i, namely the Hawai'i State Archives, the Bishop Museum, and the Daughters of Hawai'i at Hānaiakamalama. The majority of Emma's Hawaiian letters are in the Emma Collection (M-45) at the Hawai'i State Archives, and are accompanied by translations provided by Jason Achiu, translator at the Hawai'i State Archives. Achiu's translations are very generous, especially considering that most archival Hawaiian language material remains untranslated. This was largely the case with Emma correspondence that I found at the Bishop Museum Archives and newspaper articles that reported on Emma's trip. Emma does not use diacriticals when she wrote in Hawaiian, and her use of punctuation is inconsistent. In the Hawaiian language transcriptions of her letters in this chapter, I chose to retain her original words and phrasing. A study of the genre of letter writing in Hawai'i is deserving of its own thesis. In the footnotes for this chapter, I draw connections between Emma's style of writing with other Hawaiian letter examples in the hope that future researchers make connections between the structure and content of Hawaiian letter writing.

²⁵⁴ Emma's personal diary conveys little information, most likely due to her lack of time while traveling around. From time to time, Emma would record gifts she received on her journey from different individuals. Emma's travel diary is located at the Bishop Museum Archives (MS MC K4 Box 2.2, MS MC K4 Box 2.5) while records of gifts received are at the Hawai'i State Archives. Emma Rooke, "Things Received," November 7, 1865, Emma Collection, M-45, AH-03 - Emma Letters 1865, Hawai'i State Archives.

were docked in Honolulu.²⁵⁵ Dr. Rooke's move to Hawai'i made him a participant of what English scholar Janet C. Myers calls "antipodal England."²⁵⁶ Early nineteenth century emigration from England to new colonies and lands was a national trend, creating a more fluid sense of national identity and citizenship for mobile Britons that were living abroad. While Dr. Rooke was geographically separated from England, correspondence between him and family and friends in England suggest that he still maintained his British attachments and national identity through letter writing and consumerism. Family and friends were not only confidants and supporters of Dr. Rooke and his practice, but were also responsible for managing his accounts and ordering British goods and medical supplies for his Hawai'i-based practices.²⁵⁷

Chiefess Grace Kama'iku'i, who was half-British, half-Hawaiian, married Dr. Rooke in 1830.²⁵⁸ Dr. Rooke's mother, Sarah Pallett Rooke (née Draper), was excited about her son's news about marrying a princess and she wrote to a cousin:

You will be surprised that your cousin Charles is married to the Princess Grace, niece of the Queen regent, first cousin to the King and sister to the governor. In due time I expect to be grandmother to a race of Princesses. His practice had increased so greatly that three out of the five medical men had been induced to leave the islands to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Charles supplies the shipping with pounds and provisions so that I think he cannot fail

²⁵⁵ Letters show that Mrs. Rooke, Dr. Rooke's mother, Mrs. Sarah Pallett Draper Rooke (later known as Mrs. Sarah P. Ludlow) frequently made requests and allusions to her son's return out of desire to see her son before her "decrease" due to fears that she would "not live through the voyage." Sarah P. Rooke, "Mrs. Rooke to Her Son, Charles," May 18, 1830, Henriques Collection, Box 2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives. Sarah P. Rooke, "Rooke, Mrs. to Her Son, Charles," May 18, 1830, 1, Henriques Collection Box 2, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

²⁵⁶ Janet C. Myers, *Antipodal England: Emigration and Portable Domesticity in the Victorian Imagination* (Albany, N.Y.; Bristol: State University of New York Press, 2011), 2.

²⁵⁷ Letters were sent frequently between Dr. Rooke and Mrs. Rooke and his medical supplier, Mr. Cole, to fulfill medical supply orders and personal needs (i.e. clothing, pens, paper etc.) Dr. Rooke was also ordering goods, especially clothing, for Emma through her mother. The letters and invoices are retained in the Emma Collection at the Hawai'i State Archives (M-45, NA-55 and AH-11.) Rooke, "Mrs. Rooke to Her Son, Charles."

²⁵⁸ Grace's parents were John Young and Ka'ōnaeha. John Young was a British sailor from the ship the *Eleanora*. He was kidnapped by Kamehameha I when he shipped docked in Kealahou Bay in 1790 and later became a war strategist and trusted official of the king. After the unification of the Hawaiian Islands under single rulership, the king arranged the marriage between Young and his niece, Ka'ōnaeha, the daughter of fathers Keli'imaika'i and Kalaipahala and mother Kaliko'okalani. While Hawaiians and foreigners engaged in varying degrees of intimacy and connection, formal marriage approved of by the mō'ī between nobility and Europeans was uncommon during the late 1700s and early 1800s. Thus, the marriage between John Young and Ka'ōnaeha is notable. The marriage between Ka'ōnaeha and Young produced four children Fanny Kealahou (b. 1806), Grace Kama'iku'i (b. 1808), John Kalaipahala Young II (b. 1810, later known as Keoni Ana.), and Jane Lahilahi (b. 1813.) This was Grace's second marriage; her first was to Governor George Cox Kahekili Ke'eumoku of Maui. Ke'eumoku was 20 year's Grace's senior and Grace became a widow shortly after their marriage. Andrews and Parker, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 415.

in making a fortune. He says he is permanently settled there and shall never return to England.²⁵⁹

Although the couple did not have any children of their own, Dr. Rooke and Grace completed their family by adopting (hānai) Emma, the daughter of Grace Kama'iku'i Young and George Na'ea, in January 1836.²⁶⁰

Sources on nineteenth century ali'i children rearing are few in number, but Emma's British sympathies and interests were developed during her education as a young girl, as training in Victorian gentility and Anglicanism was suitable for a girl of Emma's rank in Hawaiian society.²⁶¹ At the age of six, Emma entered the Congregational Royal School as a day student and remained there for seven years between 1842 and 1849, a period of time considerably shorter than other ali'i.²⁶² Emma's attendance, however, brought added legitimacy to her and her family's genealogy. According to Elizabeth Keka'anī'au Pratt, Kamehameha III and the other high chiefs personally selected the students eligible for enrollment.²⁶³ Although a student at the Royal School, most Emma's education took place at home under the guidance of her family.²⁶⁴ At Rooke House (on the corner of Bethel and Beretania streets), she learned to speak, read and

²⁵⁹ S. P. Rooke, "S. P. Rooke to Fanny Aldous," 1830, Emma Collection, M-45, NA-55, Hawai'i State Archives.

²⁶⁰ Emma was born on January 2, 1836. George Na'ea was also of royal lineage and was chief from Maui. Hānai has many diffenitions including to feed; to nourish as the young or to act the part of a parent towards an orphan; to foster. Andrews and Parker, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*, 104.

²⁶¹ The current historiography on the childhoods of ali'i children has placed a lot of focus on the influence of the Cookes at Royal School. Mary Richards claims that the Royal School claims responsibility for producing monarchs. I think this claim is a bold, especially when considering that the Cookes claimed that the Royal School experiment was a failure due to interference by ali'i parents and the characteristic desire of the ali'i children to misbehave. The school closed in 1849. More research is necessary to understand to what extent the Cookes were seen as adequate kahuna for the next generation of ali'i. Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors: An Account of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1861-1866* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1969), 31.

²⁶² Kanahale, *Emma*, 32. Many of Emma's peers had been attending the school since it opened in April 1840. Some of the students of the alii children of the Royal School were given to the Cookes as toddlers. Emma's mastery of English placed her in the middle class with James Kaliokalani, Peter Young Kaeo (Emma's cousin), and David Kalakaua. *Worcester's Second Reading Book*, *Gallaudet's Book on the Home*, *Emerson's Arithmetic Part I* and science lessons from the Rollo Book series. Political history was learned through *Goldsmith's Abridged History of England*, *Bancroft's History of England*, *Headley's Life of Cromwell*, and *Ashburton's History of England*. Menton, "'Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report': The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850," 81-82; Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 117.

²⁶³ "Calendar," *The Polynesian*, July 20, 1844; Kanahale, *Emma*, 26.

²⁶⁴ While Dr. Rooke's feelings about the Congregationalist missionaries are unknown, his British family was skeptical of American character and Congregationalis. The Rooke's apprehension towards Americans was established prior to Dr. Rooke's settlement in Hawai'i. Mrs. Rooke warned of her son, "Be careful how you deal with Americans. They are great cheats." (Rooke, "Mrs. Rooke to Her Son, Charles.")

write in both English and Hawaiian.²⁶⁵ Dr. Rooke had a substantial library and he encouraged Emma to become an avid reader.²⁶⁶

Emma's governess, Mrs. Sarah von Pfister, shaped Emma's education in her teenage years.²⁶⁷ Mrs. von Pfister (nee Rhodes) came from an upper middle-class family from Stepney, near London.²⁶⁸ The Rookes most likely felt that von Pfister could impart lessons of genteel civility onto their teenage daughter.²⁶⁹ Few sources exist detailing Emma's relationship with her governess, but Emma's adult interests in fundraising, socializing, and letter writing are connected to this formative period under von Pfister.²⁷⁰ Through social activities like playing music and sewing, Emma learned not only how to carry herself around in society, but also to use her position for her charitable interests. In her late teens, Emma's chiefly benevolence led her to found the Sewing Society and Amateur Musical Society.²⁷¹ Gatherings were held at Rooke House and at the homes of other members and encouraged socializing, the drinking of tea, and private musical performances.²⁷² The Amateur Musical Society also staged musical concerts to help local organizations raise money.²⁷³

²⁶⁵ Dr. Rooke also owned portions of Waolani, Nu'uaniu and engaged in coffee growing.

²⁶⁶ Forbes, *In Haste with Aloha: Letters and Diaries of Queen Emma, 1881–1885*, 4–5.

²⁶⁷ The hiring of Mrs. Von Pfister came after the closing of the Royal School in 1849 when Emma was 13. The majority of the nine students that were still enrolled at Royal School went on to be educated another local teacher, Mr. Daniel Fuller. A bill for Emma's schooling between 1842 and 1847 listed the cost as \$1,450. Menton, "“Everything That Is Lovely and of Good Report”: The Hawaiian Chiefs' Children's School, 1839-1850," 236; Cooke and Cooke, Juliette Montague, *The Hawaiian Chief's Children's School 1839-1850*, 279.

²⁶⁸ Godfrey Rhodes was a solicitor with the Bank of England and took on clients of the same social class. Malcom Brown, *Reminiscences of a Pioneer Kauai Family*, 1918, 9.

²⁶⁹ Dr. Rooke was particular about social graces, unafraid to critique royalty for bad mannerisms. A letter to Dr. Rooke from Alexander Liholiho (Emma's future husband) shows how much of an effect Dr. Rooke's critique had on others. "Whenever I go to parties, I dance with whom I please and I ought to know as much about etiquette as people who have lived in Fleet Street all their lives pouring over accounts and foreign correspondence...P.S. Excuse me for this but I speak because it is only a repetition of absurdities in regard to etiquette, and because I despise the attempt of trying to run a piece of board up my back to keep me stiff and straight. I can be stiff enough without starch." Alexander Liholiho Kamehameha, "N.d. - Liholiho to Rooke, 12-31-??," December 31, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

²⁷⁰ Kanahale, *Emma*, 29–30.

²⁷¹ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 31.

²⁷² Kanahale, *Emma*, 43.

²⁷³ "To the Public," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, November 18, 1858; "The Concert on the 16th," *The Polynesian*, June 24, 1854; "Concert for the Sailor's Home," *The Polynesian*, November 20, 1858; "Concert by the Musical Amateur Society Honolulu," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 18, 1859.

In the nineteenth century, letter writing was another skill that Emma would have learned as a teen. In England between 1500-1700, letter writing became an art form that demanded of the writer mastery of literacy, penmanship, orthography and epistolary rules (how to write a letter salutation, signing letters.)²⁷⁴ By the nineteenth century, epistolary arts had become so refined that letters were constructed to have the appearance of spontaneous production.²⁷⁵ Guidebooks and instruction manuals instructed girls and their teachers on the many considerations when writing a letter – the choice of paper, pens, envelopes, all of which were material indicators of class and gender.²⁷⁶ The books listed the appropriate times for certain types of letter writing, all with the goal of appearing as a charming woman on the page. According to one nineteenth century guidebook, *A Girl of the Period, and Other Social Essays*, the social duties and fineries needed to be performed, letter for letter, invitation for invitation.²⁷⁷ Emma’s education in the epistolary arts accounts for the massive archive of letters in her adult life, especially during her time abroad in England.

Marriage, Motherhood, and Purpose

Emma entered the next phase of her life as a wife when she was proposed to in 1856 by King Kamehameha IV.²⁷⁸ King Kamehameha IV and Emma Rooke wed in an Anglican ceremony in June 1856, the first public performance of the couple’s commitment to Anglicanism. Two years later in May 1858, the couple welcomed their son, Ka Haku o Hawai‘i (crown prince) Albert Edward Kauikeaouli Kaleiopapa a Kamehameha.

During her 1861 visit to Hawai‘i, British aristocrat Lady Franklin was a guest of Kamehameha IV. In her personal diary, Lady Franklin wrote extensively about her thoughts and

²⁷⁴ James Daybell and Andrew Gordon, eds., *Cultures of Correspondence in Early Modern Britain* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 6.

²⁷⁵ Ingrid Tieken-Boon van Ostade, “The Language of Letters and Other Text Types,” in *Introduction to Late Modern English*, Edinburgh Textbooks on the English Language (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 121.

²⁷⁶ Hall argues that the artifacts of a writer reveal the social status and training of the writer. In future research, I would be curious to see if there are existing examples of Emma’s writing tools. Nigel Hall, “The Materiality of Letter Writing: A Nineteenth Century Perspective,” in *Letter Writing as a Social Practice* (John Benjamins Publishing, 2000), 84.

²⁷⁷ E. Lynn (Elizabeth Lynn) Linton, *The Girl of the Period, and Other Social Essays, Vol. 1 (of 2)*, 2012, 267.

²⁷⁸ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 128.

observations of the royal Hawaiian royal family.²⁷⁹ She was taken by the royals' level of interest in British culture and impressed in the Britishness of their dress, mannerisms, hospitality, and talents. Emma and her husband, who had already begun exposing their son to Anglicanism as a four year old, spoke frequently with Lady Franklin about their plans to request Queen Victoria to be the sponsor of crown prince's baptism and to also send a clergyman to establish an English episcopate in Hawai'i.²⁸⁰

While Lady Franklin and her niece, Sophia Cracroft, wrote their praises for royal family in their personal diaries, they also frequently wrote about their disdain towards the Congregationalist missionaries, especially the Judd family. The British visitors quickly became loyalists of the royals, criticizing the American missionaries who they observed were "seeking absolute spiritual domination" and wanted to "destroy the Aristocracy of the Land."²⁸¹ Although the pair knew that the American missionaries were Congregationalists, they consciously referred to the missionaries as Presbyterians to demoralize their beliefs. The reaction that Lady Franklin and Bishop Staley had for the American missionaries were congruent with each other, confirming ill feelings that British Anglicans had for Dissenters that they encountered, especially those they felt were a threat against English religious and cultural influence.

When the royals spoke of their desires to visit England, Lady Franklin full heartedly encouraged these ideas, even suggesting that they return to England with her and be her guests.²⁸² Although plans for the royal family to visit England developed while Lady Franklin was in Hawai'i, diminishing kingdom revenue tightened finances and debilitated the ability of

²⁷⁹ Lady Franklin was the widow of famed Arctic explorer Sir John Franklin, was a member of British high society, and had close proximity to Queen Victoria. Lady Franklin and her niece, Miss Sophia Cracroft, were guests of the king and queen during their unexpected two-month stay in the islands. Emma allowed Lady Franklin to use her personal carriage during the duration of her stay. Col. David Kalakaua also guided Lady Franklin and Miss Cracroft on excursions around O'ahu, Kaua'i, on Hawai'i Island (April 24-May 2.) Alfons L. Korn, 27, 32, 37.

²⁸⁰ The royals began praying with their son in the morning and night and having Anglican Sunday service at home. This was the alternative to going to service at Kawaiaha'o Church, the seat of the Congregationalist Mission. Lady Franklin wrote that it was no wonder Emma preferred service on her own; the missionaries had "the habit of preaching as if to a set of children." Alfons L. Korn, 28, 31, 33, 86-87, 120, 142.

²⁸¹ Alfons L. Korn, 73-74, 89-91, 112-14, 120-23.

²⁸² Alfons L. Korn, 34, 89, 102-4, 121, 129.

the royals to leave the country.²⁸³ All plans to visit England were further delayed after the death of Prince Albert on August 27, 1862, just before the arrival of the Anglican Mission to Hawai‘i. King Kamehameha IV passed away 15 months later on November 13, 1863, further hindering upon plans to expand the work of the Anglican Mission.

Emma went through a period of deep mourning, similar to that of Queen Victoria following the passing of her husband, Albert, in 1861. In remembrance of her deceased loved ones, Emma took on the name Kaleleonālani, a name she used until the end of her life. Bishop Staley wrote of the Queen Dowager’s grief, “The Queen never leaves the coffin night and day. She wept for eight days, never ate, could not be induced to take more than a little orange or jelly.”²⁸⁴ Robert Crichton Wyllie, the Kingdom’s Minister of Foreign Affairs and close friend of the royals, wrote to Lady Franklin describing a similar scene.

You will be distressed to hear that the tender-hearted and inconsolable Queen Emma sleeps in the vault along with the bodies of her husband and child, although it is quite damp and badly ventilated. During the day she occupies a tent which she had erected near the door of the vault. The King, the Bishop, and the father of the King have urged her to accept my invitation to sleep in the “rookery” at Rosebank and to take her meals there, visiting the cemetery, which is close to Rosebank, as often as she may wish. She has not positively declined, but says she must remain night and day near the tomb for at least a fortnight.²⁸⁵

By the spring of 1864, Emma’s spirits began to improve and her desire to go to England was reenergized.²⁸⁶ Correspondence between Emma and Mr. Wyllie to Lady Franklin make Emma’s intentions for her trip to England explicitly clear. This was not a trip of leisure or

²⁸³ This was largely due to a decline in whaling. Alfons L. Korn, 105.

²⁸⁴ Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 28–29. Hearing of Emma’s sadness, former guests, friends, and family wrote to Emma to offer their condolences. H. I. M., “Letter from a London Lady, Dated 15th February, 1864, Offering Her Condolence to Queen Emma,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1864; M. H. A., “Letter from a Distinguished American Lady, Offering Her Condolence to Queen Emma,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 11, 1864.

²⁸⁵ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 192.

²⁸⁶ This was after Kamehameha IV’s estate was settled. The King died intestate and left a debt that was estimated at \$42,000. Land parcels (i.e. Kahalu‘u) were auctioned off to pay the late king’s debt. The kingdom never had a Queen Dowager before, and the Supreme Court ruled that Queen Emma and her brother and new king, Kamehameha V, would split the estate of Kamehameha IV. As Queen Dowager, Kamehameha V passed an act to provide Emma with an annual pension of \$6,000 until the end of her life. “Supreme Court In Banco,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 4, 1864; Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 192; “Supreme Court In Probate,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, May 7, 1864; “An Act to Make a Permanent Settlement on Her Majesty Queen Emma,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 21, 1865; “Saturday, January 14,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, January 14, 1865, 14.

enjoyment; she wrote, “From the great good already done by the Episcopal Mission, I believe that to support the mission is one of the best means to save and render virtuous the Hawaiian people.”²⁸⁷ The clarity of Emma’s purpose shows that she believed that the work of the Mission was positively impacting the Hawaiians. She saw it her duty to take charge of the plans set forth by her husband to forward the work of the Mission. Emma also intended on visiting Queen Victoria in person to thank her for agreeing to be her late son’s godmother.²⁸⁸ Victoria, who had become a correspondent of Emma especially after hearing of Emma’s losses, responded to her wishes to visit England by sending a vessel to retrieve her from Honolulu. In late April 1865, the HMS *Clio* arrived in port to take Emma to the other side of the world.²⁸⁹

Royal Visitor

Emma’s trip to England and Europe was the lengthiest trip she ever took away from Hawai‘i.²⁹⁰ She departed Honolulu on May 6, 1865 and returned home one year, five months and sixteen days later on October 22, 1866. Of Emma’s 534 days outside of Hawai‘i, 183 of those were spent in England fundraising for the Mission.²⁹¹ Emma arrived in July 22, 1865, in time for the end of the summer social season.²⁹² She remained in London until early December, when she was ordered to take care of her health for the remainder of the winter in Hyères, south France. She recovered from her illness and took the long way back to England, spending six months visiting famous cities in France, Italy, and Germany. Her second visit to England was short in comparison at 39 days long, before she her departure from England on June 21, 1866.

The official traveling party included William Synge, an escort appointed by the British Foreign Office, the first Hawaiian Anglican deacon, Reverend William Hoapili Ka‘auwai and his

²⁸⁷ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 196.

²⁸⁸ Alfons L. Korn, 199–200.

²⁸⁹ “Vessels in Port - April 29,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 29, 1865; “Naval,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 15, 1865.

²⁹⁰ Emma passed away on April 25, 1885. Edited compilations of Emma’s letters after her return to England have been published on, especially a collection of letters written between her and her cousin Peter Ka‘eo between 1873 and 1876. The letters were edited into a book titled *News from Molokai: Letters Between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876* (1976) by Alfons Korn.

²⁹¹ This is compared to 153 days in transit from Honolulu to London (May 6 – July 14, 1865 and July 30 – October 22, 1866) and 198 days in Italy, France, and Germany (December 5, 1865 – June 21, 1866.)

²⁹² The trip to England took 69 days in comparison to 84 days on her return trip.

wife, Mary Ann Kiliwehi Ka‘auwai, and John Walsh, the Ka‘auwai’s manservant.²⁹³ In England, Charles Hopkins, an official of the Hawaiian Kingdom working in London, also accompanied the party.²⁹⁴ In England, Emma’s accommodations were provided for. She and the Ka‘auwais were initially guests of a very excited Lady Franklin at her estate at Upper Gore Lodge in Kensington for four months. In October of 1865, the British Foreign Office offered Emma a suite at the Claridge’s Hotel in London, a popular hotel among visiting royalty and dignitaries since its opening in 1856. Lady Franklin was upset about Emma leaving Upper Gore Lodge and her departure created a rift between her and Earl Russell, Victoria’s Foreign Secretary, over who would be in charge with hosting Emma.²⁹⁵

Royal travel took an enormous amount of planning, especially because the places that Emma visited wished to host her for as long as her time permitted. Although Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Synge, and Reverend Edward L. Cutts were Emma’s aides, she was heavily involved with the planning of the Mission meetings.²⁹⁶ Emma engaged in hefty corresponding to assist in the formalizing of plans and concluding her trips with notes of thanks to people she had met or had written to her.²⁹⁷ Different types of correspondences – thank you notes, rejecting invitations, planning – demanded varying amounts of time.²⁹⁸ The sheer amount of letters that Emma received, read, and responded to prohibited her from writing back to Hawai‘i in a timely

²⁹³ Although Ka‘auwai was his last name, he was referred usually as Reverend Hoapili and his wife was referred to as Kiliwehi or Hoapiliwahine. Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 203, 221–26.

²⁹⁴ Charles Hopkins was referred to as Hopekini in Hawaiian language correspondence. Alfons L. Korn, 203–19; Emma Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipa,” April 6, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, NA-09 - Letters to Hipa (Fanny), Hawai‘i State Archives.

²⁹⁵ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 253.

²⁹⁶ Emma’s three aides during this trip clashed frequently about planning and Emma’s trip priorities, which are described heavily by Alfons Korn in *The Victorian Visitors*. Alfons L. Korn, 203–25.

²⁹⁷ Some of the more notable clerical correspondents that assisted Emma in planning and speaking at Hawaiian Mission meetings included the Bishop of Oxford Samuel Wilberforce and the Bishop of London Archibald Campbell Tait.

²⁹⁸ Consider also that more time was needed to draft letters and create copies for Emma’s collection and also in the case that Emma had to send letters to more than one location if she did not know where (i.e. which estate) her correspondent was staying at the time. For example, Emma wrote to Sister Catherine, one of the Sisters of the Priory, “I have done a very stupid thing in sending Miss Sellon’s address off to her again without keeping a copy of it...I sat down and wrote a reply in person and found to my annoyance that I knew not her address,” Emma Rooke, “Emma to Sister Catherine,” January 20, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, AH-04, Hawai‘i State Archives.

fashion.²⁹⁹ Emma complained to Mr. Wyllie about her precarious position in the first letter she wrote to him, four months after her arrival in England:

I feel so very guilty for not having written sooner. I assure you it was not from forgetfulness, but from want of time. I dare say you will attribute it to “Fagilm drone.”³⁰⁰ [sic] Many a time have I fervently wished myself in Honolulu to escape the tyranny of the penny post. There is not a day that it brings me a dozen letters all requiring immediate replys [sic] and at the same time. I am expected to be present or just shew [sic] myself a meeting which are being held all over England for the especial good of the Hawaiian Church, receive forty or fifty people of one evening to say nothing of the many that are constantly dropping in through the day see this sight [sic] or that Church until I am almost worned [sic] out with fatigue. Kind pressing invitations pour in upon one so very frequent that it is impossible to accept all but which involves the constant use of the pen, desk, paper, and stamps. Are not all these things dreadful?³⁰¹

Without a secretary to assist her, Emma was managing her correspondences and affairs by herself. The archive of letters produced by Emma during this period shows that she was not exaggerating about being consumed by letter writing. There are over 152 letters written between Emma and correspondents based in England and Europe, a staggering amount compared to the 30 letters sent between Emma and family and friends back home.

The majority of Emma’s letters organized her travel plans around England. At least 20 meetings in 17 towns across England and the Isle of Wight were held on behalf of the Mission. Emma’s planned arrival were advertised in London and regional newspapers at least a week prior to the event. Articles that reviewed Hawaiian Mission meetings provide insight into the structure of the meetings and the points emphasized by the speakers to encourage donations. Meetings were usually a few hours in length and held in the afternoon just prior to dinner.³⁰² The queen

²⁹⁹ Occasionally, Kiliwehi would respond to Emma’s letters if she was unable to do so in a timely fashion. Mary Ann Kiliwehi Kaauwai, “Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon,” September 5, 1865, Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

³⁰⁰ This was possibly a fake syndrome and inside joke between Emma and Mr. Wyllie.

³⁰¹ Emma Rooke, “Emma to R.C. Wyllie,” October 5, 1865, Henriques Collection Box 1 - Letters A-J, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

³⁰² After the meetings, Emma and her party were usually invited to a formal dinner or reception at the home of the local clergy or social elite. Occasionally two meetings were held in one day and instead of a dinner, Emma was invited to a luncheon between meetings. “County Intelligence,” *Kentish Independent*, October 21, 1865; “The Dowager Queen of the Sandwich Islands,” *The Hampshire Chronicle*, October 7, 1865, Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

often arrived by train the day of a Hawaiian Mission meeting and throngs of people at the train station greeted her and her party before being taken by carriage to the meeting venue.³⁰³

No articles report that Emma spoke at any of the Hawaiian Mission meetings.³⁰⁴ She was thanked and admired for her willingness to come to England as an expression of her devotion, which in itself was worthy of donating towards.³⁰⁵ Meetings Emma attended were financially more successful.³⁰⁶ The spectacle alone to be in the presence of the Hawaiian queen attracted a large crowd. For example, when Emma visited Chislehurst, the *Kentish Independent* reported that the “interest excited by this visit of Royalty drew a large audience to the meeting and it was much regretted that a larger assembly-room could not be obtained, many persons having to stand outside.”³⁰⁷

In addition to seeing a Hawaiian queen, the British gentry was attracted to the speakers, deemed by newspaper reports as being “excellent.”³⁰⁸ Meetings usually were held in a meeting hall or church. The speaker panel typically included a local government official who would act as the meeting’s host (e.g. lords, dukes, members of parliament, mayor), a local Anglican clergyman, and a distinguished Bishop (e.g. the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford).³⁰⁹ Reverend Hoapili also acted as a featured speaker. He spoke on at least two occasions at Christ Church, Clapham, London and at the St. Mary the Virgin Parish Church in Saffron Walden,

³⁰³ “The Dowager Queen of the Sandwich Islands”; “County Intelligence.”

³⁰⁴ The speakers often thanked Emma for honoring the meetings with her attendance. “Queen Emma in Sussex,” *South London Press*, September 9, 1865; “The Dowager Queen of Hawai‘i in Liverpool,” *London Evening Standard*, October 27, 1865; “The Queen of the Sandwich Islands at Ely,” *Morning Advertiser*, September 22, 1865.

³⁰⁵ “Queen Emma at Colchester,” *Morning Post*, October 23, 1865.

³⁰⁶ Emma was ordered by her doctor to attend to her health in early December. Emma’s departure from London was unexpected, to the disappointment of people who attended Hawaiian Mission meetings the week following and had hoped to see her. “Last Week,” *South London Press*, December 2, 1865; “Departure Of Queen Emma,” *Morning Advertiser*, December 6, 1865.

³⁰⁷ “County Intelligence.”

³⁰⁸ When Emma visited Chislehurst, it was reported that, “This meeting was one of great interest, not only on account of the presence of Queen Emma, but from the excellent speeches of those gentlemen who addressed the audience on the subject of the Honolulu mission.” “County Intelligence.”

³⁰⁹ All speakers however were male.

Essex. Newspaper reports that covered the Mission meetings praised Hoapili for his efforts in speaking English, although imperfectly.³¹⁰

No two meetings were the same, not only in their speaker lineup but also in the content of the speakers' persuasive speeches. All speeches, however, were constructed a specific narrative in the hopes of gaining empathy and monies from the audience: Hawaiians are a good people, as seen in their monarchs, but are in need of assistance from the superior English Christianity because they have been dangerously misguided by other denominations. The speeches were propagandist in nature, promoting the providential views of natives the British in order to gain money and legitimize the continued need for missions.³¹¹

Speakers typically began meetings with a narrative that Hawaiian history began with the arrival Captain James Cook in the 18th century, sealing the relationship between Hawai'i and England.³¹² In one occasion in challenged the illustrious image of Cook by providing the Hawaiian viewpoint of his death. On the authority of the Queen, speakers stated that Cook was not considered a god and that this was a mistake that arose from "an expectation entertained by that people of some mythical personage."³¹³ Cook stole, spread unknown diseases to the Natives, and "laid violent hands on places that consecrated their worship," all of which provoked his own death.³¹⁴ In ushering in alternative information about Captain Cook and Hawai'i, speakers were seeking to shape the audience's view of Hawaiians as being highly civilized and intelligible and led by noble leaders. The arrival of Christianity, the speakers explained, came after the good reign of Kamehameha the Great.³¹⁵ Thus, Kamehameha IV was described as great a king as Charlemagne for requesting to have a bishop and clergy of the Church of England sent to his

³¹⁰ "Queen Emma in Sussex."

³¹¹ While the Church of England itself could not financially sponsor the Hawaiian Mission, its bishops and clergy helped canvass money by speaking on the legitimacy of Anglican Missions.

³¹² Captain Vancouver was also mentioned in regards to the "beginnings of Hawaiian history." The arrival of explorers in the Pacific in the 18th century is not the beginning of Hawaiian history, although it does signify the beginning of the history of Hawaii's relationship with England. "Queen Emma in Sussex."

³¹³ "Last Week."

³¹⁴ "Mission to the Sandwich Islands," *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, October 1, 1865.

³¹⁵ "Mission to the Sandwich Islands."

kingdom. Kamehameha IV himself, translated the *Book of Common Prayer*, into Hawaiian, a task that exemplified his personal piety.³¹⁶ Emma was equally praised and described in newspapers like the *Kentish Independent* as “the mother of the Church of her people.”³¹⁷

The Bishop of Oxford, Samuel Wilberforce, was a frequent speaker at Hawaiian Mission meetings and explained that Hawai‘i was so advanced a country that it “threw off the bondage of idolatry, priesthood, and chieftainship with ought knowledge of a religion and civilization to adopt in their stead,” even prior to the arrival of Christianity.³¹⁸ However, the “Romish and non-Episcopal Churches” that arrived in Hawai‘i, according to the speakers, had only partially Christianized Hawaiians; the spiritual and temporal welfare of the Hawaiians was at stake due to previous unsuccessful applications of Christianity.³¹⁹ The failure of other denominations, the Bishop of Oxford argued, spoke to the superiority of Anglicanism. Over questions of whether the desire for Anglicanism was a “legitimate call upon the people of the nation,” the Bishop of Oxford responded, “God connected our nation with the people in the way of national interest in a very remarkable manner, although national interest ought not to be the only incentive to Christianize a land.”³²⁰

Collections took place at the conclusion of each of the Mission meetings and totaled anywhere between from 37 and 246 pounds.³²¹ Other donations included a “richly worked altar

³¹⁶ “The Bishop of London and Queen Emma,” *South London Press*, November 11, 1865.

³¹⁷ “Queen Emma in Sussex”; “The Dowager Queen of Hawai‘i in Liverpool.”

³¹⁸ Known for his public speaking abilities, the Bishop of Oxford’s presence at the Mission meetings was often greeted with “loud cheers.” “Queen Emma in Sussex”; “The Dowager Queen of Hawai‘i in Liverpool.”

³¹⁹ “Summary Of This Morning’s News,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 14, 1865; “This Evening’s News,” *Pall Mall Gazette*, October 12, 1865.

³²⁰ In another meeting, the Bishop of Oxford responded to a scoffer against missions, “Did not your Commander-in-chief give you orders to preach the Gospel to every creature, and are not you bound to obey Him?” “Queen Emma in Sussex”; “Last Week.”

³²¹ Collection numbers were based off of information published in articles written after the meeting and also from correspondences between Emma and other correspondents. Some articles did not publish the amounts collected and the telling of collection numbers in letters was also very useful. At Leeds, the collection count was 254 pounds. “Queen Emma in Sussex”; Mary Ann Kiliwehi Kaauwai, “Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon,” October 8, 1865, Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

cloth for the intended new cathedral church at Honolulu.”³²² Although she was making money through appearances, it was at the cost of her declining health. Sometime during the fall, Emma got sick and never recovered. Her health worsened to the point where her physician ordered her away to a warmer climate, fearing that she would not survive England’s winter. Emma canceled appearances during the first week of December and left hastily for Hyères, France on December 5, 1865.

Although Emma moved to France to care for her health, travel expenses followed her and caused her stress. France was not an affordable place to vacation. She wrote to her biological mother, Fanny, whom she called Hipa,

Eia ko makou pilikia. Aohe kala, nui no hoi ka lilo, aole i kauamai, eia makou i kahi kuaaina e noho nei, aka o ka lilo o na pule a pau \$250, i kahi pule pii aku i kahi emi iki, hekakaikahi loa ia, me ka hoopi loa ia la e hoopolelei ai. He komo wale no i ka pelekoki, kakini, lole, hupa onionio i nui ole ka mea holoi.

Here is our problem, no money. The expenses have been tremendous. We are staying in the countryside, but the expenses for the entire week is \$250. Some week it’s more, some weeks it’s less. Having to do with little and being frugal is our adjustment. I only wear a petticoat, stockings, dress, and embroidered hoop so there won’t be much to launder.³²³

Emma’s travels incurred a large amount of fees that landed in her deep debt, to the point where she feared if she would be able to return home. She asked the British government if they could return her back to Hawai‘i on a government man-of-war.³²⁴ But the government declined its

³²² “County Intelligence.”

³²³ Emma Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipa (Fanny Kekelaokalani),” February 20, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, NA-09 - Letters to Hipa (Fanny), Hawai‘i State Archives.

³²⁴ “Ua olelo aku au ia Hopekini i nei mau la aku nei, e palapala aku i kahi kaikuaana ona, e ninaninau wale aku i ka poe pili i ka oihana aupuni o Pelekane, e kokua hou mai ana paha ke aupuni Pelekane iau ma ka hoihoi hou iau mau na moku manuwa o lakou. Aole paha, a ua hai mai nei ke kaikuaana o Hopekini, aole e hiki ke kokua mai o Pelekane ma ia mea no ka mea ke pilikia nei ia i ka kipi haunaele o kahi mokupuni nui ona e pili pu nei o Ireland... I told Hopekini several days ago to write to one of his older brothers to inquire of people associated with the British government if the British government could again assist me by bringing me back on their man-of-war ship. Hopekini’s brother replied that England could not assist in this matter because it is troubled with a riotous revolt on

assistance because they were using their resources in dealing with what was explained to her as an America-supported revolt in Ireland. In addition to the \$18,000 loan from a British “haole,” Sir A. J. B. Beresford Hope, she also had planned to borrow £3,000 from Mr. Stephen Spencer.³²⁵ In late June 1866, \$3,000 was wired to her from Hawai‘i, helping to ease her stress, maintain her appearance as an upper-class figure, and guarantee her fare home.

Nā Lani ‘Elua – Two Emmas

Emma’s private management of her finances are indicative of how she tried to conceal her personal struggles from the public eye. No matter how intense or overwhelming her celebrity was, Emma needed to maintain her public image to continue to profit from it. In addition to her appearances, Emma sold autographs and *carte de visite* photographs to fundraise for the Mission.³²⁶ *Carte de visite* were a new photographic technology that eclipsed the daguerreotype because they were cost effective, portable, and easily reproduced.³²⁷ Photographs were mounted on small cards, making them highly collectable. The sale of *carte de visite* became a market where laypeople could buy photographs of celebrities and public figures that they did not know or might not otherwise even see.³²⁸ Rachel Teukolsky argues that the *carte de visite* thus

one of its large adjoining islands, Ireland.” Emma Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipa,” February 27, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, NA-09 - Letters to Hipa (Fanny), Hawai‘i State Archives.

³²⁵ “Ke mana nei au e aie aku i kahi haole o Pelekane i \$18,000...I lawa iki aku ka lilo, a hiki bu ke uku aku i ko mako hoi ana ma na moku o Hawaii...Kokoke e pau loa na wahi kala a makou e hele nei a ke i ka mai nei, o na wa o makou e hiki ai i Palika me Lakana oia noa kikina oia mau kulanakauhale, a aole ka e emi mai ana, o ka lilo non amea a pau, i loko o ka pule hookahi malalo o \$1,000; no laila kou mea e aa loa nei me ka hopo ole i ka aie ana \$18,000; i anenae lawapono aku ko makou hele ana...I am considering borrowing \$18,000 from a haole form England which will cover my expense and payment for our return on ships to Hawaii...Our funds will soon be gone. And it has been said that when we return to Paris and London, it will be the season for those cities, and the expenses for everything will not be less than \$1000 per week which is the reason I am venturing without worry to borrow \$18,000, which should just cover our trip.” Rooke, 209.

³²⁶ The selling of autographs was a fundraising tactic previously used by Kamehameha IV raise funds for the building of the cathedral. “The King has just been in. He is writing autographs which go to England to be sold for the benefit of a fund for building the Cathedral which will cost, I’m sorry to say, far more than the Bishop imagined – Labour is so dear.” Kaauwai, “Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon,” October 8, 1865, 15; Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 12.

³²⁷ Liz Wells, *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (Psychology Press, 2004), 197; Richard Wichard, *Victorian Cartes de Visite* (Bloomsbury USA, 2008).

³²⁸ Rachel Teukolsky, “Cartomania: Sensation, Celebrity, and the Democratized Portrait,” *Victorian Studies* 57, no. 3 (October 7, 2015): 465.

“heralded the arrival of a new kind of celebrity, one based on image, notoriety, and a fleeting kind of fame.”³²⁹ The popularity of the *carte de visite* portrait rose into a trend in the 1860s and Emma eagerly participated in this fad.³³⁰ Emma was capitalizing on the sensation and publicity of her visit to England caused to benefit for the Mission’s causes.

One of the first activities that Emma did upon her arrival in England was sit for a photos taken by John and Charles Watkins on Parliament Street, London. According to Lady Franklin, Emma “seemed tired and exhausted” when she arrived in London. Her disposition and behavior seemed odd to Lady Franklin, who was used to a young and livelier Emma. Emma would go “up to her room the moment we have left the table and does not return,” or would go “away in the middle of dinner, saying she would be on the sofa in the next room, where the remainder of her dinner was taken to her.”³³¹ Yet, Emma had enough energy to sit for a photograph only a few weeks after her arrival in England.³³² Unsatisfied with the first series of photos, Emma sat for additional portraits in the fall of 1865 taken by William Savage in Winchester and by French photographer Camille Silvy in London (see Appendix D.)³³³ The photographers that Emma worked with allude to her status as well. Silvy, for example, was considered one of the greatest portrait artists of the period. Beginning his career photographing opera singers and actresses in London, he became the photographer of the British upper classes, including members of the British Royal family.³³⁴

³²⁹ Teukolsky, 467.

³³⁰ The sale of the *carte de visite* photographs to benefit philanthropic causes was common in Victorian England.

³³¹ Alfons L. Korn, *The Victorian Visitors*, 236.

³³² In a letter to Queen Victoria, Emma says that the photo by Watkins was “the most successful of the artists whom I have give sittings.” This contrary information from a letter from Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon where it was stated that the first photos Emma sat for were not sufficient and made Emma anxious. Kaauwai, “Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon,” September 5, 1865, 5; Emma Rooke, “Emma to Queen Victoria,” December 12, 1862, 12, Henriques Collection Box 1 - Letters A-J, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives; “The Queen of the Sandwich Islands,” *Morning Advertiser*, July 20, 1865.

³³³ Silvy’s studio was located at 38 Porchester-terrace, Bayswater, London.

³³⁴ J. Paul Getty Museum and Gordon Baldwin, *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum: Photographs* (J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), 40; “Her Majesty the Queen Emma of the Sandwich Islands,” *Morning Post*, November 20, 1865; Teukolsky, “Cartomania,” 468–70.

The majority of cartes de visite photos of Emma were taken in an indoor studio. The portraits were carefully constructed to convey a narrative as Emma as a young, widow comparable to England's own queen. The portraits of Emma were ¾ or full-body portraits that showed her dressed in black mourning dress simply accessorized with earrings, a necklace, and a veil or bonnet.³³⁵ Emma never looks directly at the lens of the camera, her gaze and body always diagonally situated, her hands are crossed in front of her. Other than her brown skin lightly washed in the grey tones of the photo, there are no obvious indicators of Emma's Hawaiianess or royalty; she appears as a stately widow.

Photographs were available for sale through the studios she worked with. In the advertisements promoting the sale of Emma's image, studios noted that the funds collected through the sale of the photographs were for the purpose of "erecting a new English church at Honolulu."³³⁶ Emma distributed photographs to notable women that were interested in selling *carte de visite* of her on her behalf.³³⁷ Lady Emma Bess Purey-Cust, the wife of Reverend Arthur Percival Purey-Cust and daughter of the Earl of Darnley, was one of the women who sold cartes de visite for the Mission.³³⁸ She wrote to Emma of her progress in 1866, "Having been entrusted with 50 photographs of Your Majesty by Mrs. Hoapili, I venture to humble you with the amount of 6.5.0£ received for the some. [sic]...I sold them at 2/6 each."³³⁹

In gratitude for to the assistance she received from her British social circle, Emma gifted autographs, photographs, and copies of the Hawaiian Book of Common prayer to those she felt

³³⁵ Emma also sat for photos taken by C. D. Fredricks and Co. in New York, Matthew Brady in Washington DC, and at Bradley and Rulofson in San Francisco. The photographs that Emma took in the United States were taken on Emma's return home to Hawai'i in 1866 and thus were not sold for the fundraising effort in England.

³³⁶ "Miscellaneous Events," *County Chronicle, Surrey Herald and Weekly Advertiser for Kent*, October 7, 1865.

³³⁷ Kiliwehi wrote to Mrs. Simeon after Emma's first studio sitting at John and Charles Watkins' studio, "The Queen is so uneasy about her photographs that she is about to sit again at another place. What a pity she had none to send now. That you might be able to sell a few of them for the Mission." Kaauwai, "Kiliwehi to Mrs. Simeon," September 5, 1865.

³³⁸ "Arthur Perceval Purey-Cust (1828-1916), Dean of York," NPG.org.uk, n.d., accessed September 8, 2016.

³³⁹ Emma Purey-Cust, "Emma Purey Cust to Emma," July 9, 1865, Henriques Collection Box 1 - Letters A-J, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

fondly towards.³⁴⁰ When Emma prepared to depart from England in the summer of 1866, her European friends wrote touching notes of good wishes of their desire to see each other again. Letters allowed for communication across distance and helped to maintain relationships, but were no substitute for physical contact. Jules Rémy, a French naturalist whom Emma reunited with in Paris wrote to Emma in Hawaiian, “Aole paha halawai hou kaula ma keia honua nei. Aia no like me ka ke Akua (Perhaps we may not see each other again in this world. It is dependent on God’s will.)”³⁴¹

The fear of never seeing again the friends she made along her journey was all too familiar to Emma, who felt similarly in relation to her loved ones in Hawai‘i. Although Emma corresponded in large volume with people in England and Europe, her inner most feelings were shared in letters to home, the most personal of which were written in Hawaiian. Emma's Hawaiian language correspondents included her mother, Grace Kama‘iku‘i, Fanny Kekelaokalani (whom Emma also referred to her as Mama and as Hipa), Peter Ka‘eo, Kapi‘olani, Mataio Kekuanaoa, P. Nahaolelua, Mrs. Mary Hinau, and Mrs. Carrie F. Poor. Although she wrote to those closest to her, she often asked about the status of other friends and retainers in her letters.³⁴²

Emma’s letters are comprised of reoccurring components that need not go unnoticed.³⁴³ She often began with a warm greeting to her correspondent. Emma never spoke about the

³⁴⁰ C. L. Courtney, “C.L. Courtney to Emma,” November 14, 1865, M-45, NA-29, Hawai‘i State Archives; Emma Kaleleonalani, “Emma to Devon,” January 2, 1866, M-45, AH-04, Hawai‘i State Archives.

³⁴¹ Ezéchiél Jules Remy, “Jules Rémy to E ka lani e (Your Majesty),” July 7, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, AH-04 - Emma Letters 1866, Hawai‘i State Archives.

³⁴² “Pehea la o Kuhea laua o Kekii, me Mamaina, ou mau makua hunawai hoi o Namuo laua o Inea, aloha ino ia wahi a laua e nohola, a o Kamahiaia me Moolehua, o pea me Kamakini, a o Moepali hoi o Hanawai ma?...How are Kuhea, Kekii and Mamaina? And my in-laws, Namuo and Inea? It’s so pitiful, that place where they are living. How are Kamahiaia and Moolehu, a Pea and Kamakini, Moepali, and Hanawai folks?” Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipa (Fanny Kekelaokalani).”

³⁴³ In future research, I would like to compare the content and patterns that are apparent in Emma’s letter writing to other ali‘i travel writing. Emma’s homesickness is comparable to that of another Hawaiian who had traveled to England, Timoteo Ha‘alilo. Ha‘alilo was sent to England as a representative of the Hawaiian Kingdom with William Richards after the seizure of Hawaiian sovereignty by Lord George Paulet. During the negotiations in England

progress or thoughts on the Mission meetings, but focused her reader's attention to her homesickness caused by constantly having to talk about her homeland to people unfamiliar with Hawai'i. Her letters communicated the severity of her longing for home by listing the things she missed the most – the places she frequented, the weather, and the activities of her people. In a lengthy letter from Hyère, France, Emma wrote to Kapi'olani describing at length the landscapes and views she reminisced frequently of.³⁴⁴

Ke manao mai nei paha oukou la no ka haalele ana aku nei i ka one hanau, i nui ai a luahine ai hoi, ua poina oukou, ke kai, ka makani, ka ua, ka la, na makamaka, na hoa aloha, a oukou hoi apau, ou makua kuu kane, kuu keiki. Auhea oe e Kapiolani, mai manao oukou pela, o ke mauao mua o ke ala ana ae mai kahi moe, o ka aina, e pa mai ka makani aheahe, o kona iho ia, e wela kikiki mai ka la o Honolulu, o Puuloa, o Lahaina ihola ka hoohalike o ka holu mai o ka lau o ka niu, i ka leo walaau hoi o kauaka o nei aina, o ka olapa, o ka uwila o ka pa makani, ke kui a ke hekili, o mahiai mai o kane me ka wahine me keiki e anee mai ai o kakahiaka nei, e koele mai ai ka oo, o ka aina wale maila no ia mau mea a pau, o ke kamailio mau ia i na la apau, mai ka haalele ana ia oukou a hiki i keia la.

Perhaps you think that, since I left the land of my nativity where I grew up, and have become old, that I have forgotten all of you, or the sea, the winds, the rains, the sunshine, the friends and companions, and that all of you were like parents to my husband and to my son. Hearken, Kapiolani, do not think so, for upon my first rising from the bed, I think of the homeland, the blowing of

between the US and France to formally recognize the legitimacy of the Hawaiian kingdom, Ha'alilo had time to visit Dr. Rooke's mother, Mrs. Sarah Rooke in London. For Ha'alilo, this encounter was an extension of his relationship to his homeland and family. In a letter to Dr. Rooke in Hawaiian, he wrote of Hawai'i similarly to how Emma did twenty years later, "Eia no hoi au ko olua makamaka ma keia aina malihini ia'u. Aka, he maikai no ko'u ola, e noho nei, aohe mai, he oluolu. Aka, o ke aloha ia kakou a me ka aina hanau ka mea kaumaha i hele nei. Auhea olua ua ike au i hoolua makuahine i ko'u wa i ike ai ia ia ma kona hale, alaila, nui ko'u aloha ia olua a kahe no ko'u waimaka, no ke aloha ia kakou. I ko'u nana ana a ku iaia ua hiki loa ia me kona kii e kau ana ma ko olua hale, i kuu manao ana iaia a ia kakou hoi alaila, aole e hiki ia'u ke ke pane, no ke aloha ia kakou, i kuu manao ia wa a makou e noho ana, me he mea la, o olua kekahi i ka ike a kuu maka. Aloha ino no hoi oukou." Jason Achiu and Alicia Pérez translated the above as, "I have so much aloha for you two and all that you are and I carry you both here with me in this foreign land. My health is fine, I am in residence, not ill, and quite comfortable. But it is the love between us all and the birth land which is binding. Listen you two. I visited your mother at her house and my tears fell for the love that I have for you two. When I looked at her, she resembled her picture which hangs in your house, and in my thinking about her, and of all of us too, then, I could not answer because of how much I miss us. I thought of the time we stayed together and it was as if I saw you two with my own eyes. So much aloha for you guys." Timoteo Ha'alilio, "Timoteo Ha'alilo to Dr. Rooke," September 29, 1843, 1-2, Hawai'i State Archives.

³⁴⁴ Kapi'olani was Emma's aunt, the wet nurse of Ka Haku o Hawai'i, and remained a close friend of Emma prior to the 1884 election between Emma and Kapi'olani's second husband, David Kalākaua.

the gentle breezes of Kona, the intense heat of the sun of Honolulu, of Pu‘uloa, and of Lahaina. I meditate on the swaying of the leaves of the cocopalms, and in the loud talking of the people of this land I think of the flashes of lighting, the blowing of the gales, the roar of thunder and the farming folk-men, women, and children crouching low in the early morning, and the rattling of their digging sticks. All of these things are of home. I talk of them every day, and have from the time I left you to the present.³⁴⁵

Emma always demanded updates about seemingly mundane aspects of life at home, which reveal what Emma treasured the most while in Europe.³⁴⁶ This included information on ordinary life including the growing progress of the fruit trees she planted before she left, how her retainers were doing, and any gossip from around town.³⁴⁷ Her request for updates were often followed by instructions to complete certain types of work on her behalf. For example, she instructed Fanny (Hipā) to tell her about how her fruit trees were doing at her Hanaikamalama estate and emphasized the importance of carrying for her crops while she was away,

Pehea au niu i kanu ai i uka o Hanaikamalama me na laau koa liili, kukui, mau, lai, maneko, ua piha paha kuu loi ma ke alo i ka wai a ua ulu loa paha ka kumu ohe i waena o laila ma kahi moku puni, he makemake loa au e ike i ka ulu pono ana oia mau mea ke hoi aku au e hoopai ai oe no ia mea, no ka me e holo aku ana paha kahi poe haole o nei mau aina io kakoula, a he makemake au e ike lakou i ka ulu maikai o ia mau mea.

How are the coconut trees I planted mountainside of Hanaikamalama? And the small koa trees, the kukui, mau, lai, and mango? Is my irrigated terrace in the front filled with water? And has the bamboo tree on the island in the center of the terrace grown? I really would like to see the full growth of all these plants when I return. You must pursue this endeavor, whereas some of the people from these foreign lands may visit us and I would like them to see the healthy growth of all these plants.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁵ This translation was provided by an unknown translator and can be found with the original Hawaiian letter at the Bishop Museum archives (the translator did not provide his/her name.) Emma Rooke, “Emma to Kapi‘olani,” January 22, 1866, Letters in Hawaiian A-KAL, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

³⁴⁶ “Why don’t you write longer letters and tell me everything?” Rooke.

³⁴⁷ “Inform me of any bit of news of your situation. And of those people taking a carriage or walking, who are seen at Polihale.” Ibid.

³⁴⁸ Rooke, “Kaleleonani to Hipā (Fanny Kekelaokalani).”

Although hearing about the status of her plants was important, learning of the health of her sick loved ones trumped all else. Emma’s biological mother, Fanny (Hipā) and her adoptive mother, Grace Kama’iku’i Young, were both ill while Emma was away in England. Although their health stabilized by the end of 1865, Fanny took a turn for the worse in early 1866.³⁴⁹ Emma’s fears of reprimand as a bad daughter may explain why her letters always reminded her reader of the physical and emotional pains of being away from home.³⁵⁰ Emma tried to resolve her internal guilt and anxiety with deep and intense prayer; she included Bible passages in her letters and encouraged her correspondent to pray with her.³⁵¹ Emma saw her struggle as test from God and a constant reminder to complete the work on behalf her deceased husband. To Fanny, she wrote,

He manao no wau, he mau ano lokomaikai no nei a ke Akua iau, e
 hoopuiwa mau nei iau, e hoopuiwa mau nei iau, ma ka
 hookaumaha ana i kou naau, i mea noi e auwana ole aku ai mai ona
 aka a lilo i ka hoowalewale, me ka punihanohano, i nei mau hele
 au e hele nei, a e iki nei no hoi i ka hanohano me ke kaulana,
 mehemela he mea no au nana i makee, aohe makemakemake e
 komoole au i kona mau aupuni nani loa aku i luna o ka lani, no
 laila ho eha mai i kou naau i leha aku kou maka iaia, aole e hele
 lalau wale iho no, heaha la kona mea i koho ai o wau kona kauwa
 lawelawe, e hooholo I ka hana ana i haawi ai i kana kauwa o
 Iolani, e pule oukou nou kekahi i hookupaa ia wau i loko ona i na
 wa a pau.

I believe the blessings I have are here are from God. He continues
 to astonish me by giving me sorrow, that I shall beseech not to
 stray from Him and be lost to temptation and pride on these

³⁴⁹ Following Emma’s departure, P. Nahaolelua wrote to Emma in May 1865 reassuring her that both her mothers were okay and that Emma did not have to worry. “Ua hiki hou mai au i Honolulu nei i ke ia la i ke au i ou mama, he maikai koloua ola mai kou la i haalele iho ai i kou one hanau a hiki i keia la, ua piha ae ka opahapaha o ka papalina o Hipā...I have returned to Honolulu and saw both your mothers. They have been in good health since the day you left your birth land to the present time. The shalldownness of Hipā’s cheeks has filled out.” P. Nahaolelua, “P. Nahaolelua to Queen Emma,” May 17, 1865, M-45, NA-23, Hawai’i State Archives.

³⁵⁰ “My tears fell frequently as my mind desires to go back to see her and what her needs are. But my will is not to be done, only God’s, her Father and mine, the one Father of us all.” Rooke, “Emma to Kapi’olani.”

³⁵¹ “Aka, he maha no kou naau ma ka nonoi ana me ka waimaka me ka naau, eha i mua o ka noho alii i ka lani, I ke mea nana neia mau hua olelo, “E hele mai lou nei, e na mea a pau kaumaha i luuluu. (But have found relief in pained and tearful prayer before the ruling King in heaven who has spoken these words: “Come before me, all who have troubled and burdened.)” The Bible passage comes from Matthew 11:28. Emma Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipā,” January 1, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, NA-09 - Letters to Hipā (Fanny), Hawai’i State Archives.

journeys of mine and to belittle pomp and glory, as Although I am the one he cares for and wants me to enter His beautiful kingdom in heaven. So, he pains my heart so I will lift my eyes unto Him and not go astray. Why has he chosen me to be his servant? So I may complete the task He had given to his servant, 'Iolani. You must all pray for me also, that I shall be faithful to him always.³⁵²

In her letters to Hipa, Emma instructed her correspondent to continue to pray and remain faithful to God, in the hopes that her situation and that of her ill stricken relatives would rebound.³⁵³ But, her deepest fears came true when she received news of the death of chronically ill family members: R. C. Wyllie in October 1865 and her sister-in-law, Princess Kamamalu, and her mother Grace in May and July 1866, respectively.³⁵⁴ Upon hearing of her mother's death, Emma tried to return home as swiftly as possible.³⁵⁵ Two months after her mother's funeral, Emma returned home to Hawai'i on October 22, 1866. Emma's personal sacrifice for the Mission and the construction of the Cathedral was being unable to say farewell to those closest to her.

Conclusion

Reconstructing Emma's activities in England sheds light on the different motivations that brought about ali'i travel.³⁵⁶ Emma's trip was first and foremost a fundraising mission for the Anglican Church in Hawai'i, which speaks to way sin which Hawaiian ali'i looked to and took from foreign counties to support their philanthropic causes. Emma's familiarity with western propriety through her upbringing in Hawai'i allowed her to navigate the European society with ease. She used her position and recognition outside of her kingdom for the benefit causes that

³⁵² Rooke, "Kaleleonalani to Hipa (Fanny Kekelaokalani)," 2–3.

³⁵³ "Ke hele mau nei e like me ia kuwoha i nui ka pule ana e Hipa e lokomaikai mai ke akua ia kakou a e nonoi ikaikai e hooikaika a hoomaikai loa ia o Mama, ooukou nohoi apau, o wai pukekahi, a e hui hou kakou. Kalapopo koula i hanau ai, a, ua piha au i ke kaumaha no laila, aole e hiki iau ke kakau loihi i nei la. (Pursuant to that command, I regularly go to ask in prayer, Hipa, that God bless us all and do fervently ask that Mama be strengthened and blessed, all of you too and me too and that we shall all meet again. Tomorrow is my birthday and I am very depressed so I am unable to write very much today.)" Rooke, "Kaleleonalani to Hipa," January 1, 1866.

³⁵⁴ M. Kekuanaoa, "Kekuanaoa to Emma," May 30, 1866, Emma Collection, M-45, AH-04 - Emma Letters 1866, Hawai'i State Archives.

³⁵⁵ "Ka Hoolewa Ia Ana o Kamaikui," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 25, 1866.

³⁵⁶ In the Hawaiian language, there are multiple words that describe travel. Some of these words include maka'imaka'i, holoholo, holo, hele, ha'alele, ka'ahele, ka'apuni, and huaka'i. The context of these words' usage convey different types of travel that are deserving of more research, especially when these words may not have not have English language equivalents.

were important to her. Her calls for assistance were well received, as evidenced by the £6000 that Emma returned home with for a cathedral.³⁵⁷

Emma considered the charitable work and the people she came into contact with as blessings. She wrote to her Kiliwehi, “When I look back and review God’s unspeakable goodness to me especially during this year, I feel more and more my utter unworthiness [sic] of His goodness.”³⁵⁸ But the trip had its immense burdens too, both financial and emotional. Emma’s health was compromised during parts of the trip, and raised doubts of whether she would be able return home. Even if she survived the journey home, Emma feared for the lives of her loved ones who were also ill. Although Emma is remembered for her British sentiments, distance from Hawai‘i and her family and friends intensified Emma’s attachment to Hawai‘i during this period. To help ease her homesickness, Emma visited her homeland in her mind, although it never freed her from the cycle of emotional distress:

Mai i nohoi oe e o ka lilo io a ia nei, e poina iho ka aina, oukou, na kini, ohua, hale ia mea ae ia meaae, oleloa, o ke kau mau no ia la, o ka hoi ana e moe, o ka noho wale ana o ka la, ka pa a ka makani, ka ua, na mea apau o ka iana pu maila no kahi e awiliwili ai, puoho wale ae no i ke aumoe, helelei ka waimaka, a pauhia hou e ka hiamoe, ala ae o kakahiaka, ka manao mua no ka aina.

Don't say that I am so devoted that I have forgotten Hawai‘i, all of you, the people, the servants, so and so. No. The regular sunset, going to sleep, the daily way of life, the wind blowing, the rain, everything of the land, when they all come together I suddenly awake in the midnight hours, I cry until I am overcome by sleep again, awake to the morning with Hawai‘i being my first thought.³⁵⁹

Hawaiian language became an outlet for her Emma in order to maintain her public persona. Through her ‘ōlelo makuahine (mother tongue) she expressed her joy, sorrow, and guilt to her closest confidants. Her emotional turmoil was less visible in the content of her English language letters. Although gaining new friends and acquaintances, she revealed her vulnerable self only to those at home, a testament to the personal sacrifice she made for her Church.

³⁵⁷ Kanahale, *Emma*, 195.

³⁵⁸ Rooke, “Emma to Kiliwehi.”

³⁵⁹ Rooke, “Kaleleonalani to Hipa (Fanny Kekelaokalani),” 2–3.

Conclusion

During her tour of England, Emma visited a number of cathedrals and churches, paying close attention to styles that might inspire the Honolulu cathedral.³⁶⁰ Emma selected London architects Slater and Carpenter to draw up the plans for the cathedral that reflected its Anglo-Catholic heritage.³⁶¹ The proposed plans called for a “simple cathedral of modified 12th century French Gothic architecture,” which was in vogue in comparison to classical architecture that typified English architecture of the previous century.³⁶² The planned cathedral was a cruciform (in the shape of a cross) that would be 160 feet in length with an average of 60 feet in width in order to one day accommodate 600-800 people.³⁶³

On March 6, 1867, just six months after Emma’s return from England, the Anglican Church held a ceremony to lay the cornerstone of St. Andrew’s Cathedral. A crowd assembled to hear the Bishop’s sermon and witness King Lot Kamehameha V lay the first stone for the cathedral. The first stone of the cathedral was symbolic in many ways. It was quarried from Ka‘ala‘a, Honolulu, O‘ahu, the original location of the Mission’s first school, St. Alban’s College. Placed within the cornerstone were documents related to the initiation of the Mission, the history of the erection of the church, and a Prayer Book with the late Kamehameha IV’s Hawaiian translation.³⁶⁴ A bronze plaque with Latin text was fastened to the stone and the English translation of the transcription read, “To the honor of Almighty God, Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and in memory of the most pious king of the Hawaiian Islands Kamehameha the

³⁶⁰ Beresford Hope, gifted Emma a volume on modern cathedral building and supported her interest in cathedral design. Emma Rooke, “Emma to Beresford Hope,” 1866-1865, Henriques Collection Box 1 - Letters A-J, Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Archives.

³⁶¹ Architect Richard Cromwell Carpenter was an Anglo-Catholic and a member of the Cambridge Movement, which shared views with the Oxford Movement.

³⁶² Another article I found listed a “Mr. Lishman” as the architect of the cathedral but after more research, I was not able to locate anything further. “Living in Cloisters.”

³⁶³ “The Cathedral at Honolulu and the King of the Sandwich Islands,” *Illustrated London News*, June 8, 1867, British Newspaper Archive; “Honolulu Cathedral, Hawai‘i,” *Building News and Engineering Journal* 14 (1920-1860): 24-26.

³⁶⁴ “Ecclesiastical Intelligence,” *Bell’s Weekly Messenger*, July 26, 1862.

Fourth who departed this life on the Feast of the Holy Apostle St. Andrew 1863, this cornerstone was laid by his most upright brother King Kamehameha the Fifth, of March A.D. 1867.”³⁶⁵

Slater and Carpenter decided that due to high cost of masonry labor in Hawai‘i and the lack of freestone in Hawai‘i, materials would be sent from Europe to Hawai‘i for construction. Emma’s collected funds went towards purchasing cut limestone arches and ballast that were shipped to the islands in 1867. But the £6000 pounds that she had procured for the cathedral’s construction dried up shortly after the first shipment of materials. Only 45 feet of the chapel (the foundation for the choir and tower) was laid before all construction was halted.

To raise additional funds for the cathedral’s construction, Bishop Staley did a fundraising tour of his own in England and on the west coast of America in 1870. Staley’s trip was the last task that he completed on behalf of the Mission before he formally stepped down as Bishop in late 1870, most likely due to failing to fundraise enough money. Although the Staley family states that the family returned to England to attend to the education of their children, the congregation and clergy of the Hawaiian Reformed Catholic Church saw his departure as abandoning his position to salvage his own reputation.³⁶⁶

This thesis looked at the formative 15-year period of the Anglican Church in Hawai‘i between 1855 to 1870 and focused on the process of establishment taken by the royals, missionaries, and Hawaiian people. In chapter one, I argued that the invitation from Kamehameha IV to the Church of England was born out of a desire to revamp public education in Hawai‘i. Troubled with a Native population that was declining in numbers and Hawaiians that did not have the qualifications to assume civil servant positions, the King saw education conducted in English as the solution needed to prepare and train the next generation of Hawaiians. In addition to urging the government to codify new educational laws, Kamehameha IV sought the assistance of the Anglican missionaries over the ABCFM missionaries to execute his vision.

³⁶⁵ Williams and Perkins, *From Royal Garden to Gothic Splendor*, 42.

³⁶⁶ Maughan, *Mighty England Do Good*, 2014, 121; Thompson, *Queen Emma and the Bishop*, 4–5.

But plans created by Kamehameha IV and Bishop Staley significantly changed over the first eight years of the Mission's existence. Remaining financially viable was always the top issue for the Anglican Mission, since it received no funding or support from the Church of England or the British government. The Hawaiian royal family initially supported the Anglican missionaries through their personal pocket and donations of land. But the unexpected deaths of Kamehameha IV and his son, Crown Prince Albert, dramatically shifted stable sources of support for the Mission.

Perhaps even more damning was that the majority of Hawaiians did not support the Anglican Church. Catholicism, Congregationalism, and Mormonism preceded Anglicanism in their arrival in Hawai'i and the congregants of these faiths remained loyal to their churches. In Hawaiian language newspaper debates, devout Hawaiian Christians berated and questioned the history of the formation of the Church and the views of the newly arrived Anglo-Catholic missionaries. The Anglican Church managed to secure a small congregation, mainly consisting of residents of Honolulu and people that had ties to the royal family.

Although most Hawaiians chose not to follow the religion sponsored by the King and Queen, the community that did convert made the choice to uphold the relationship between crown and people by converting to Anglicanism. Chapters three and four looked at other forms of legitimization of the Anglican Church by Hawaiians. The Mission opened a number of Anglican English language schools around the kingdom but was forced to consolidate its efforts due to lack of funding. The remaining four institutions in Lahaina and Honolulu were single-sex schools that were taught and managed by Anglo-Catholics and earned a reputation amongst Hawaiians as providing a stable and beneficial learning environment. Enrollment for these schools never ceased despite tuition costs, an indicator that the offerings of the Anglican schools were seen as being worth the investment.

While tuition monies supported the Mission, Queen Emma sought funds from Britons for the purpose of the Anglican Mission's cathedral church. Emma hosted meetings across England over the course of a year and a half, enlisting the help of English gentry to speak on behalf of the

Mission. The combination of Emma's status as an Anglican queen and the fame of her British social circle earned her a significant amount of donations from British laypeople. The journey was not without difficulty for Emma, who was chronically homesick and was unable to say good-bye to her loved ones who had passed while she was abroad.

Although Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma planted the seed of Anglicanism in Hawai'i, the Church's growth was made possible by the labor and care of the missionaries and their Hawaiian supporters. The removal of one of these groups would have prematurely ended the Anglican Mission in the nineteenth century. The congregation of the Anglican Church, although small, has proven its resiliency too. After beginning work on cathedral in the 1860s, the five bishops following Staley and their congregations fundraised to complete work on the Cathedral of St. Andrew. Long after the departure of Bishop Staley and the death of Queen Emma in 1885, the Cathedral of St. Andrew opened in September 1958. The cathedral took 91 years to complete, the finished project a blend of French Gothic design with modern elements. Today the cathedral is still used on a daily basis, and even amidst the bustle of downtown Honolulu's traffic, the cathedral bells still ring loud and clear.

Glossary

ali'i – chiefs

alo ali'i – members of the royal court and retainers of the royal family

anaina - Congregation

bihopa – bishop

ho'opa'apa'a – debate

Ka Haku o Hawai'i – Crown Prince, Corown Prince Albert Kaleiopapa Kamehameha

maka'āinana – commoners

mō'i – king

nūpepa – newspapers

pono – good; right; lawful; acceptable

Appendix A

Hawaiian Language Debates About Anglicanism

<u>Date</u>	<u>Newspaper, Page</u>	<u>Title</u>
1862, 12/13	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 2-3	Ka Moobihopa o ka Ekalesia Enelani
1862, 12/20	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 4	He wahi ninau no na Kumu o Peleula
1863, 1/3	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 4	He wahi kamailio hou me A.K.
1863, 1/10	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 3	Ke Kuhihewa o ka Pakipika
1863, 1/24	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 3	Kokua ia M. Kuhele
1863, 2/7	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , unnumbered page	Olelo pane ia A.K.
1863, 2/21	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 2-3	Na palapala Aeiou Y.M. ia A.M. Kuhele
1863, 3/11	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 4	Aeiou, Y.M. ia A.M. Kuhele
1863, 3/28	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 2-3	Lalau! Lalau loa!!
1863, 5/30	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 3	Aeiou Y.M.
1865, 6/12	<i>Ke Au Okoa</i> , 2	Ka Paio Misionari Helu 2
1865, 6/19	<i>Ke Au Okoa</i> , 2	Ka Paio Misionari Helu 3
1865, 6/26	<i>Ke Au Okoa</i> , 2-3	Ka Paio Misionari Helu 4
1865, 10/9	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 3	Ia R. Luakaha
1865, 11/13	<i>Ke Au Okoa</i> , 2	Ia R. Luakaha
1866, 2/17	<i>Ka Nupepa Kuokoa</i> , 3	Pane aku ia William B. Heluhelu

Appendix B

Images of Baptism and Confirmation Records

No.	Date	Child or Adult Name	Parents' Names	Parish	Place	Off. Minister
4	1863	Christina	Laura Ann	Christina	Honolulu.	Bp of H.
5	Feb 1	Perissa Kuleke	Kaikuaheia		Honolulu.	Bp of H.
12	Feb 1	Wipia Kahikama-hoole	Makanaheia		Honolulu.	Bp of H.
13	Feb 1	Washington	Leluwaiwai-ole		Honolulu	Bp of H.
14	Feb 1	Joseph Harton	Kanawa		Honolulu	Bp of H.
15	Feb 1	Aina	Kakeana		Honolulu.	Bp of H.
16	Feb 4	William Pitt	Kalakana		Honolulu	Bp of H.
17	Feb 6	Sarah Kameahookano	Kewalo and Laakila		Honolulu	Geo. Mason
18	Feb 8	Keakakalani	Manonahu & Ailan		Honolulu	Bp of H.
19	Feb 8	Mary Genevra	Keala & Kookipia		Honolulu.	Bp of H.

Figure 2.1 – Example of baptismal record of Honolulu converts.

“Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 1886 1862. Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

351

Confirmation.

Day 14 March 1864 5th Sunday in Lent.

	Name	Remarks	Admitted to Communion
	Mr Kalakaua		Easter 1864.
	Mrs Karaihuehue.	Kalakaua's nurse.	Easter 1864.
	Mr David Pukoi.		Easter 1864.
	Mrs David Pukoi.		Easter 1864.
	Mrs Kawaha wife	} at Kuleai.	Easter 1864.
	Mr John Deming husband		
	Mrs Kalaninimi (Eiashaka)	Palace Mrs Nookes.	Easter 1864.
	Mr Kahalau	} at Maunaloa.	Easter 1864.
	Mrs Kahalau. (Inez)		
	Mrs Moolohua. (Kamahiaxi)	} near Kuleai	Easter 1864.
	Mr Moolohua.		
	Mrs Maituki. (Laa)	Hopkiri's late's wife.	Easter 1864.
	Mrs Bro. (married Aug. 15/64)		
	Mrs Kama.	Loa's mother.	Easter 1864.
	Mrs Elizabeth P. Bricewood.	Bapt. 5. Ap. 1863	Easter 1864.
	Mrs Manoa	at Rebecca's.	
	Mr. Kamakau.	of the Brotherhood.	
	Mr. Kukio	dead	
	Mr. Simon Peter Kaauapa.	King St.	Easter 1864
	Mr. Kalaniani'ami	Palace.	Easter 1864.
	Mr. Keaw.		
	Mr. William Kalai'ku.	at Leveiro.	
	Mr. Keola	King St. (at school.)	
	Mr. Kani. dead	Soldier.	
	Mr. Kalanikane		
	Mr. Joseph Kaiaia.	at Pele.	
	Mr. Kukona		
	Mrs. Smithies.		
	Mrs. Bolater.		
	Mr. Mrs. Hoopalakalaka.	at Mrs. Nookes.	Easter 1864.
<u>Foreigners.</u>			
1	Mr. Ramsay Von Pflater.		Easter 1864.
2	Miss Fanny Spencer.		
3	Miss Annie Jennie Smith.		Easter 1864 ditto

Figure 2.2 – Example of confirmation record of Honolulu converts.
 “Register of St. Andrew’s Cathedral 1862-1886, Vol. 1,” 1886 1862. Cathedral Church of St. Andrew.

Appendix C

Images of Board of Education Reports

1867

IN ACCORDANCE with Sec. 29 of An Act passed January 10th, 1865, entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter 10 of the Civil Code and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," which section reads as follows :

" Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to forbid the free establishment of select and independent schools, to be supported without assistance from the Government, provided they be not of an immoral tendency. *The teachers of such schools shall annually report to the Board of Education the number of their scholars, by what means supported, and the general character and condition of their respective schools ;*"

You are respectfully requested to report to the Board of Education according to the subjoined form.

Name and place of School. *St. Andrews Priory, Emma Square, Honolulu*
" of Teacher... *Sister Bertha, S. Albertina, S. Beatrix*
When instituted... *April 1865. It has been under the Act, May 1867.*
Number of Scholars. *35*
" Males
" Females *35*
" Foreign Children. *8*
" Half Caste " *11*
" Native " *16*
By what means supported *Children's payments, Capitation Tax \$.80 per Annum to the Dept Mother & Public what is used for & the expenses of the school.*
Principal *E. Bertha S. W.*

Figure 3.1 – 1867 Report to the Board of Education – St. Andrew’s Priory.
Hawai‘i State Archives, Department of Education, Series 262, 1867

IN ACCORDANCE with Sec. 29 of An Act passed January 10th, 1865, entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter 10 of the Civil Code and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," which section reads as follows :

" Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to forbid the free establishment of select and independent schools, to be supported without assistance from the Government, provided they be not of an immoral tendency. The teachers of such schools shall annually report to the Board of Education the number of their scholars, by what means supported, and the general character and condition of their respective schools ;"

You are respectfully requested to report to the Board of Education according to the subjoined form.

Name and place of School. *St. Alban's College - Pauoa Valley*
 " of Teacher. *Charles William Turner*
 When instituted. *January 18. 67*
 Number of Scholars. *13 boarders 3 day scholars*
 " Males. *13 " 3 " "*
 " Females. *0 " 0 " "*
 " Foreign Children. *0 " 1 " "*
 " Half Caste " *3 " 1 " "*
 " Native " *10 " 1 " "*
 By what means supported *School Fees*
 Principal. *Charles William Turner*

Figure 3.2 – 1867 Report to the Board of Education – St. Alban’s College.
 Hawai‘i State Archives, Department of Education, Series 262, 1867

Boarding School

IN ACCORDANCE with Sec. 29 of An Act passed January 10th, 1865, entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter 10 of the Civil Code and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," which section reads as follows :

" Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to forbid the free establishment of select and independent schools, to be supported without assistance from the Government, provided they be not of an immoral tendency. The teachers of such schools shall annually report to the Board of Education the number of their scholars, by what means supported, and the general character and condition of their respective schools ;"

You are respectfully requested to report to the Board of Education according to the subjoined form.

Name and place of School. *St. Andrew's Priory, Honolulu*

" of Teacher. *Sister Bertha, S. Beatrice, S. Albertina*

When instituted. *Easter 1865*

Number of Scholars. *24*

" Males.

" Females. *24*

" Foreign Children. *1*

" Half Caste " *17*

" Native " *6*

By what means supported *From Board of Education \$75.00 per annum (for three children) Children's Payments, & the Rev. Mother*

Principal ... *C. Bertha, S. B.*

15th Dec, 1869

Figure 3.3 – 1869 Report to the Board of Education – St. Andrew’s Priory Boarding School. Hawai‘i State Archives, Department of Education, Series 262, 1869

(Day School)

IN ACCORDANCE with Sec. 29 of An Act passed January 10th, 1865, entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter 10 of the Civil Code and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," which section reads as follows :

" Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to forbid the free establishment of select and independent schools, to be supported without assistance from the Government, provided they be not of an immoral tendency. The teachers of such schools shall annually report to the Board of Education the number of their scholars, by what means supported, and the general character and condition of their respective schools ;"

You are respectfully requested to report to the Board of Education according to the subjoined form.

Name and place of School... *St. Andrew's Priory... Honolulu*.....
 " of Teachers, *Sister Bertha, S. Beatrice, S. Albertina*
 When instituted... *(Coster) 1855*.....
 Number of Scholars... *16 in Upper School... 31 in Lower School*
 " Males.....
 " Females *47*.....
 " Foreign Children *14*.....
 " Half Caste " *11*.....
 " Native " *22*.....
 By what means supported... *Children's payments, and the Rev. Mother*
 Principal *C. Bertha S.W.*.....

15th Dec, 1869.

Figure 3.4 – 1869 Report to the Board of Education – St. Andrew’s Priory Day School.
 Hawai‘i State Archives, Department of Education, Series 262, 1869

IN ACCORDANCE with Sec. 29 of An Act passed January 10th, 1865, entitled "An Act to repeal Chapter 10 of the Civil Code and to regulate the Bureau of Public Instruction," which section reads as follows :

" Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to forbid the free establishment of select and independent schools, to be supported without assistance from the Government, provided they be not of an immoral tendency. The teachers of such schools shall annually report to the Board of Education the number of their scholars, by what means supported, and the general character and condition of their respective schools ;"

You are respectfully requested to report to the Board of Education according to the subjoined form.

Name and place of School... *St. Alban's Coll. Kuanani Valley Honolulu*.....
" of Teacher... *Alatau J. Atkinson*.....
When instituted.....
Number of Scholars... *15*.....
" Males... *15*.....
" Females.....
" Foreign Children... *7*.....
" Half Caste " ... *6*.....
" Native " ... *2*.....
By what means supported... *By Reformed Catholic Church*.....
Principal... *Alatau J. Atkinson*.....

Figure 3.5 – 1869 Report to the Board of Education – St. Alban’s College.
Hawai‘i State Archives, Department of Education, Series 262, 1869

Appendix D

Image of *Cartes de Visite* of Queen Emma, 1855-1856



Figure 4.1 – 1865 *Cartes de Visite* by Camille Silvy

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