

BOB DYE

“A Memoria of What the People Were”: The Sandwich Island Institute and *Hawaiian Spectator*

“I HAVE LITTLE TO DO with the missionaries,” Abram Fayerweather wrote home to New Canaan, Connecticut, in 1831. His father would be disappointed to read that. Like other New Englanders, he supported the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) obedience of Jesus’ final command to go out into the world and evangelize heathens. Now a son revealed that those sent to Hawai’i “spend their time mostly in trading and oppressing the natives . . . have the laws in their hands and do as they please; the natives dare say nothing for fear of them.” While the natives live in “the lowest state of degradation,” the Rev. Hiram Bingham, the missionary leader, has “a new house over his head which in America would cost six thousand dollars and in Oahu not less than fifteen thousand dollars.” In Fayerweather’s eyes, the purpose of the mission was to improve the lot of natives, not the lifestyle of missionaries. Unless that happened, he thought his family should no longer donate to the ABCFM.¹

Young Fayerweather, plagued by a liver ailment, had been medically discharged from the American whaling ship *Ploughboy* on 6 May at Honolulu. He was placed under the care of Stephen Reynolds,

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acting as agent for American seamen and commerce, and was befriended by him.² From the irascible Reynolds, Fayerweather undoubtedly derived much of his low opinion of Calvinist missionaries. Reynolds, once their supporter, had turned against them in favor of the Catholics and had his youngest children baptized by them. But other of Fayerweather's observations were based on startling eyewitness evidence: "God forbid that any female relations of mine shall ever visit this part of the world . . . for you may at all times see a naked man or woman."³

Despite the best efforts of Calvinists to promote modesty among the natives of the Sandwich Islands, public nudity remained commonplace. For a dozen years missionaries had warned that such undress led to licentiousness. "For a man or woman to refuse a solicitation for illicit intercourse was considered an act of meanness," a missionary reported. Drunkenness played a part, of course. This missionary found evidence of that vice wherever he looked, and he seemed to look everywhere—"emptied bottles strewn about in confusion amongst the disgusting bodies of men, women and children lying promiscuously in the deep sleep of drunkenness."⁴

True, it was easier to buy a beer than borrow a book in Honolulu. Ever since whalers first dropped anchor there, the port was known as a watering hole, not a cultural haven. "This place of all others in my knowledge is the dullest," lamented Fayerweather; "there is not a friend to be depended on and but very few of a colour similar to my own." Overwhelmed by loneliness, the young bachelor pleaded with relatives to send him books—any books. His older brother sent a copy of Goldsmith's *Essays*.⁵

To support himself and earn money for a passage home, Fayerweather kept the account books of an American trader. And he did some trading on his own, from which he profited 75 percent to twice that amount on items he sold. He learned to speak Hawaiian and did a lively trade with the natives. But after paying \$70 rent, wages of \$3 a month to a native helper, and himself a dollar a day, the operation netted him not much. That precious little stayed saved, however, because there was virtually no amusement for him to spend money on that wouldn't ruin his good reputation or give him a disease.⁶ Fayerweather lived in a thatched house on the dry flats near the har-

bor. Close by were nine trading establishments, making the area a self-important center of haole influence, they thought. Calvinist missionaries who lived at the edge of town knew otherwise. It was they who influenced the king.

With the arrival of more sojourners like Fayerweather, the character of the white population of Honolulu changed from one of mostly drifters and beachcombers to one enriched and enlivened by “gentlemen” from Boston’s best merchant families. They brought “with them their native character for shrewdness and knowledge of mankind having been in the school of refined life,” wrote Fayerweather.⁷ Some of them studied the natural and poetical history of the small kingdom. But despite this diversion into an exotic culture, they longed for those cultural institutions of home—amateur theatricals, lending libraries, museums of curiosities, associations of gentlemen—and groused that there were none at hand.

Just as the number of entrepreneurs increased, so too did the ranks of evangelicals. One of them was Chaplain John Diell, the first minister sent to the Pacific by the American Seamen’s Friend Society, in May 1833. He brought with him a carpenter and a building frame for a bethel, which was erected “in the very center of iniquity,” and “without the aid of ardent sprit,” on the southwest corner of Bethel and King Streets. In the coral rock basement of the Mariners Church, which was popularly called the Bethel, Diell dedicated space for a library and museum.⁸ In the main meeting room he conducted services for both those resident merchants who refused and those who were denied the ministrations of other missionary preachers. These profane men, mind you, considered themselves, if not each other, to be as religious as any Calvinist missionary, perhaps more so. Fayerweather joked, “We must all go the right way now for they will drive us into the gate, like a flock of sheep.”⁹

Until the chaplain’s arrival, John Coffin Jones, Jr., who carried out the duties of American consul, conducted Unitarian services at Major Warren’s hotel and performed burial rites for those souls deemed unacceptable by Calvinists. Before that he attended services conducted by those Catholic priests who, at the prompting of Calvinist missionaries, were expelled by Queen Ka’ahumanu. But now Jones attended Diell’s church, which may have caused the chaplain some

discomfort. Jones, a cultural relativist, had modified his Boston manners to conform with those fashionable in Honolulu, keeping multiple sexual partners and otherwise celebrating life by playing cards, dancing, and drinking. Diell, a moral absolutist, disapproved of any recreational activity that whet natural appetites. He was a blue-nose, teetotaler, and crashing bore when insisting others adhere to his rigid moral standards.

By day, Diell's church cast its shadow over those grog shops around it. But as night fell, it was women in doorways, beckoning sailors inside, who cast the shadows. Since March, when Kamehameha III suspended all laws except those against theft and murder, the waterfront area was a sinkhole of sin. The chaplain entered the neighboring rum houses to entice lonely men there to his prayer sessions. Instead, he was himself removed and threatened with a whipping if he persisted in hurting business.¹⁰

The Reverend Diell also confronted another enemy of man's salvation—theatrical entertainments. On 17 January 1834, a group of Americans, Jones and others of Diell's flock among them, organized a drama club. The first production of the Oahu Amateur Theatre, staged on 5 March 1834 at the palace, was "Raising the Wind." And it did. In a sermon preached the following Sunday, the Reverend Diell denounced such secular entertainment as evil: The theater of God's glory was church. But his pronouncements had no binding force. So, the chaplain and other missionaries persuaded the king, who had stage-managed the play, to withdraw the palace as a venue. Unrepentant and uncowed, the angry thespians moved the stage to Warren's Hotel, at the makai-ewa corner of Fort and Beretania Streets.¹¹

During this agitation, the Reverend Diell paid a call on Fayerweather, delivering a letter from the merchant's younger brother in Connecticut. Fayerweather was upset. Why, he demanded to know in a letter back to his brother, would he bring him

in contact with that man or any of that class of men. I have hitherto in *this place* avoided even speaking of them. You know well the real as well as apparent want of education and knowledge of mankind of all the clergymen who have been sent to these islands and that *bigotry* and *ill directed zeal* is the predominant trait in the [ir] character. . . .¹²

Had these evangelicals forgotten the bare fact of priority—that the entrepreneurs were in Hawai‘i first? That the cross had followed the dollar sign, not the other way about? The unfortunate result of this insensitivity was mean-minded backbiting and pious posturing, and that hurt missionary and merchant alike. Clearly there was need for more pragmatism and less ideology. For Americans to be rewarded with material success, and to prosper above all other haole, these two Yankee elites must coalesce. There were some promising signs. Arriving only a few days too late to ring in the New Year of 1835 was a three-hundred-pound bell for the Bethel, a gift from shipmasters, foreign residents, the king, and other *ali‘i*.¹³

Evangelicals and entrepreneurs came to recognize a similarity in their professional behavior that was more important than any differences. The desideratum of missionaries was to save souls by increasing the size of congregations; the desired goal of merchants was to enlarge capital by increasing the number of customers. This strong similarity between the practice of evangelism and entrepreneurship opened the way for understanding and cooperation between the two groups of Americans. But could they unite without offending other haole, those pesky French Catholics and bellicose Anglicans?

Who first proposed an association of gentlemen for evangelicals and entrepreneurs to interact benignly is not known. But whoever it was recognized that directing their energy into achieving a common goal—such as self-betterment—might possibly calm national rivalries, bridge the social gulf between missionaries and merchants, and even settle amicably the vexatious question of religious toleration of Catholics.

Such an organization of Christians called for a noble purpose, some charitable benevolence. The choice was collection of those artifacts of an endangered Polynesian civilization that came easily to hand. If extinction of these native people could not be prevented, this haole institution would preserve its host’s material products in a museum and transcribe accounts of its spiritual heritage in a journal. In October 1837 Diell wrote to a friend, “We are getting up a new work—‘The Hawaiian Spectator,’ a periodical quarterly ‘to be conducted by an association of Gentlemen.’”¹⁴

“Society in this place is improving,” Fayerweather, now a bookkeeper with Peirce & Brewer, wrote home:

[W]e have here an Institution similar to the Mercantile Library Association in New York. The title is "The Sandwich Island Institute" and its object is "Mutual instruction and collection of information on all subjects." We have already a small Library which is to be increased, and a cabinet of curiosities which also we hope to see much enlarged hereafter.¹⁵

A debating society for "Illuminata" was what crusty old Stephen Reynolds sarcastically called it, and he refused to participate. But the Reverend Diell was impressed by the society's potential for good:

I cannot but hope this new institution will prove to be one of great permanent benefit, not only to the young men by whom, principally, it has been established, but in collecting and circulating authentic information respecting the numerous and, to a great degree, unknown groups of Polynesia.¹⁶

Chaplain Diell offered to host the institute in the basement of his church. To get its museum and library off to a good start, Diell lent those artifacts he had collected for the Marine Museum—a dozen bows and arrows from Fiji and shells from the Pacific's shores—and transferred the five hundred volumes in the Seamen's library to that of the institute.¹⁷ The library had been little used by those it intended to serve, most sailors being illiterate. Its frequent borrowers were students from the Oahu Charity School, an English-language school established four years earlier by merchants and sea captains, primarily for the education of their children by Hawaiian women. Diell also became a proprietor and associate editor of the *Spectator*, the first issue of which was already on the mission press in Honolulu.¹⁸

The institute was formally organized on the evening of 14 November 1837 at a meeting held in the Bethel. There were thirty-one regular and eleven honorary members enrolled. Among them were leading merchants and missionaries, men wary of the other's motives. Fayerweather was elected to the Board of Managers. The choice for president was the editor of the *Spectator*, Peter Allan Brinsmade, an entrepreneur who had attended Andover Theological Seminary and Yale Divinity School. Elected vice-president was Dr. Thomas Charles Hyde Rooke, a scholarly English physician whose

personal library contained twice the number of books found at the institute.

The contrast between the top two officers was great. Dr. Rooke, jovial by nature, was comfortably established, married to an *ali'i* of high rank, and reasonably content with the status quo. Brinsmade, a restless newcomer married to a woman in Boston, was a Yankee go-getter, a man eager to shape the destiny of the Islands. Before the first meeting was held, on 12 December, Brinsmade sailed for Washington, D.C., to lobby on his own behalf to replace Jones as U.S. agent for commerce and seamen in Hawai'i. He took with him letters of support from the mission and from six merchant captains in port who expressed outrage that Jones kept three mistresses.¹⁹

As agent for the past seventeen years, Jones had survived earlier attempts to sack him. Most of his past diplomatic problems were brought about by a bad temper and reckless behavior—the worst instance of which was “slandering” the king’s sister. He was otherwise obtrusive, driving around town in a horse-drawn contraption painted red, white, and blue, corraling deserters from American whaling ships, and holding himself above all local laws.²⁰

Jones seemed to be a part of every controversial subject, someone to argue about. So intense were the discussions that Dr. Rooke began his inaugural address to the institute with this admonition: “[I]t is to be understood, that whenever we meet together in this room we are supposed to meet with an unshackled cordiality, free from all the trammels of national, sectarian or party spirit, that we may meet as citizens of the world and as brothers bound by the easy bond of our constitution.” The by-laws prohibited members from using “personalities or indecorous language during debates.” It was clear that men paid the three-dollar annual membership fee for intellectual stimulation, not fraternity. Members pledged themselves to present a learned paper each year. Failure to do so resulted in a one-dollar fine. The subject matter was up to the member. Topics, however, were screened and guidelines established, which prompted Reynolds to dub the institute the Censor Club.²¹

Dr. Rooke urged members to write about Hawai'i—“the Sandwich Island race is fast diminishing, in but a few years it is to be feared that they will be spoken of as a people that were, but are not.” An effort

must be made "to preserve a memoria of what the people were," he said.²² The Rev. Reuben Tinker was so inspired he composed a poem:

Hail, Institute! Be free; around thy trunk
 No girdle; let thy boughs o'er earth expand;
 Thy roots run to and fro till they have drunk,
 At all the streams and wells of every land;
 Let those who sit beneath thy shade be fanned,
 By breath of wisdom whispering in their ear—
 "Examine, weigh, read, ponder, understand,
 Search and find truth; when found speak clear,
 And loud and long with voice which all the world shall hear."²³

The first presentation, after Rooke's inaugural thesis, was on the day following Christmas, when Dr. Gerrit P. Judd, a medical missionary, delivered "Remarks on the Climate of the Sandwich Islands, and its probable effects on men of bilious habits and on constitutions predisposed to pulmonary affections." His main message, however, was the natives' lamentable lack of appreciation for the benefits of Western medicine and their stubborn adherence to native medical practices. This disregard of a gift of civilization accelerated the decline in the native population, he said, which was regrettable. Most of those in the audience accepted the extinction of the Polynesian people as a historical and scientific inevitability. For missionaries, this added urgency to the cause of conversion and baptism. The Rev. Lowell Smith noted: "The fact that some 5,000 of the Sandwich Islanders have died the past year is enough to make me tremble."²⁴ When the physician's talk was selected for publication in the *Spectator*, Judd boasted to his parents that he "never thought it fit to be printed."²⁵ Others agreed. Attitudes that were acceptable when spoken to one's fellows became less so, or not at all, when later read by outsiders. When published, Judd's article would launch a contentious debate on population decline that continued throughout the short life of the institute and beyond. The drop in the native population was dramatic. Just since Fayerweather's arrival there were some 22,000 fewer Hawaiians.²⁶ At this rate of decline, they would be extinct in another twenty years. Who was to blame, if anyone?

The inaugural issue of the *Hawaiian Spectator* appeared in January,

making it the first quarterly review published in the Pacific. A hymn and all but one of the eight articles were written by missionaries. One of those articles, by the Rev. Artemus Bishop, attacked drunkenness and debauchery, claiming they were the cause of depopulation: "the guilt of extinction will adhere to those who poisoned the foundations of a nation's blood." Despite some raised eyebrows among the merchants over Bishop's claim that foreigners opposed to the mission were "using every means in their power to quell virtue and promote vice," the journal was generally well received. But a missionary in Kailua, Hawai'i, was worried that each mission family would be asked to subscribe: "If we all take it, it will make something of a bill."²⁷

From China, S. Wells Williams, with the American Board in Canton, shrewdly suggested: "It would not be remiss in such a work to review those publications which have been written about the Islands . . . showing cause for their erroneous statements and making a sort of comparison between the islanders then and now . . . do much to set people right. . . . We wish it all reasonable success."²⁸ The Sandwich Island Mission had not had universally good press, and the *Spectator* was the best available vehicle for improving its image.²⁹

Fayerweather, for one, was not won over. He wrote his father:

I think there is not much love lost either way, for with the exception of religion they are rather below par . . . appear ignorant of the forms and manners of refinement and of course are rather insipid company. Those I have seen I like very well so far as respects kind feelings but they appear to have been brought up in the bush.

Nevertheless, Fayerweather sent copies of the *Spectator* to a maternal uncle in New York. Abraham Richards wrote his nephew that it was "certainly a respectable pamphlet and does much credit to that young and flourishing Island."³⁰

Actually, the *Spectator* was raising havoc at home. While Judd's views on population decline stirred up a new controversy, a pious trader revived old ones. In an address titled, "Remarks upon the Natural Resources of the Sandwich Islands," William Ladd, a business partner of Brinsmade, contended that it was not the chiefs alone who were "responsible for the poverty and insignificance of the Islands," that white residents had influenced them not to develop the natural

resources. He bemoaned the fact that this lack of development denied the natives "even the common blessings of civilized society." He then questioned "whether the value of all marketable produce of these Islands is equal in amount to the known expenditures of the Chiefs."³¹

Dr. Rooke had said the goal of these meetings was to enlighten, not enrage. And so it was to be. Talks on travel and physical science were scheduled. In April Dr. F. H. Tresilian presented "Remarks on Christmas Island," a place on which he was shipwrecked; in May the Reverend Diell spoke on "Atmospheric Pressure"; and in June Dr. Rooke gave two talks—on the chemical properties of the atmosphere and on "vapour." And on a damp evening that month, Dr. Judd spoke on electricity. He offered "to shock" anyone in the audience willing to be "thunderstruck in miniature." There was a volunteer. Dr. Judd turned a crank, the man grasped a chain, and "by the convulsions of his countenance it was evident that the sensation which had darted through his system had been one of pleasure." Following lectures by Dr. Rooke on "Combustion" and "Heat," the institute recessed for the summer.³²

The museum became a visitor attraction by displaying a stuffed black bear and the snow shoes of the late David Douglas, the eminent botanist who discovered the Douglas fir tree. He had left them at the home of the Reverend Diell shortly before being killed in a cattle trap near Hilo on 12 July 1834. Tragic accident or terrible murder? People still wonder.³³ Dr. Richard Brinsley Hinds, a naval surgeon, found the institute collection "One of the most interesting things at Honolulu" and added a few shells from his own collection. To assist donors like him, the Board of Managers published a circular containing detailed directions for the preparations of objects of natural history.³⁴

The institute suffered its first major setback when Chaplain Diell, its host and driving force, became seriously ill. He was advised by Dr. Judd that he could not continue his responsibilities. On the first day of 1839, Judd wrote Diell's superior in Boston, asking for a replacement. The mission itself could not afford the expense of staffing the Bethel, he said. That August the ailing chaplain left on a cruise, hoping to restore his failing health. The Reverend Tinker, who earlier

had served as chaplain for seamen at Lahaina, Maui, temporarily assumed Diell's chaplaincy as well as those duties for hosting the institute and editing the *Spectator*.³⁵

There were two more lectures given before the institute that we know about:³⁶ on 28 August, Edwin O. Hall, a mission printer and assistant secular agent, gave an amusing account of a tour of O'ahu, and on 6 November Dr. Judd lectured on the bones of the skull while displaying bleached samples of such. He was praised for presenting "solemn facts in a sweet coating of dry humor."³⁷

When Brinsmade returned to Honolulu on 6 April 1839, he immediately relieved Jones of his official duties and promptly resumed editorship of the *Spectator*.³⁸ He soon found himself embroiled in a controversy over censorship. Another of his business partners, William Hooper, had written an article for the *Spectator* on "depopulation." When members of the mission's publication committee read the page proofs of the essay, they found it objectionable and refused to print it. Reynolds noted, "They joined together against Mr. Brinsmade, the editor, by jawing and threats. The editor withdrew it. For why? Are they afraid of Truth? Oh yes, it is hateful to their ears."³⁹ Apparently, Hooper put the blame for depopulation on the missionaries. The Rev. Lowell Smith noted in his journal that Hooper "affirmed that this mission have not done any good but have been the means of all the evils that now exist in this nation. Consul Brinsmade has laboured hard to give it a place in the *Spectator*, but finally yielded the point. The enemies of all righteousness in this vilage claim Hooper as one of their champions."⁴⁰

Hooper was responding to a damning accusation in the *Spectator* by David Malo, a native teacher. Described as a man of "violent prejudices" and "passionate in temper,"⁴¹ Malo claimed that haole had made the Hawaiian Islands "one great brothel." It was they who spread the venereal diseases that brought about the decline in the native population, he charged.⁴² Captain Cook's sailors truly had introduced those diseases. In fact, the very day and place of the first infection was known: Friday, 23 January 1778, on Kaua'i. The diseased man's name was Will Bradley.⁴³ But for this cheeky native convert to indiscriminately tar all haole with the same brush was unfair, respectable white merchants complained. One wrote the *Gazette* to

remind readers that the *Spectator* was an enterprise of the mission, that only those foreign residents who were “intimately connected” with the missionaries supported it with articles, that no foreign residents “have any part in the superintendence of its publication.” As for Malo’s assertion, he asked, if foreigners are infected with those diseases, how come their native wives aren’t?⁴⁴ Besides, there were more causes of population decline than syphilis and gonorrhea. What about the native practice of infanticide? James Jackson Jarves, Judd’s nephew, also added his voice to the rebuttal of Malo: “Could there be a more slanderous, malicious, base and abusive invective cast upon any community, than this?” he asked. Jarves claimed there were fewer deaths and diseases in the foreign quarter than elsewhere, and that proved the falsity of Malo’s assertion.⁴⁵

But as noisy as the depopulation debate became, it was overwhelmed by the oratorical pyrotechnics of the *L’Artemise* affair. The bare facts are these: On 9 July, Captain Cyrille P. T. Laplace of the French frigate *L’Artemise* threatened to bombard Honolulu unless complete religious freedom was granted to Catholics and a reduction of duty was given to French products, including wines and brandies, these to be guaranteed under a \$20,000 bond from the chiefs. But if bombard he must, Laplace promised “asylum and protection” aboard his ship to all haole other than American missionaries. The chiefs caved in to Laplace’s demands, borrowed the bond money from merchants, and *L’Artemise* sailed off with treaty and booty, leaving in its wake a more severely divided American community—endangered missionaries versus spared merchants.

Jarves was persuaded to write an account of the event. It appeared in the July issue of the *Spectator*. “Everyone agitated about Mr. J. J. Jarves’ piece in *Hawaiian spectator*,” noted Reynolds. Jules Dudoit, the French consul, claimed it was scandalous, a libel against him, and insisted the king punish Jarves. The case went to arbitration, and the decision was unsatisfactory to both men. Jarves refused to apologize, which would have been refused. Dudoit demanded a duel, which was ignored.⁴⁶

As a result of the controversy, Brinsmade decided that as an agent of the U.S. government he could not be editor of a journal that offended another nation. He resigned, leaving in doubt his firm’s

continued subsidy of the publication.⁴⁷ Although the mission decided to keep the *Spectator* going, if possible, it could not take over its financial support. Reuben Tinker became editor, put out the October issue, and then moved to Kaua'i to await an answer to his request to be released from the mission. Tinker objected to the board's censorship of anything printed by the mission for circulation in the United States.⁴⁸ The Bethel was left vacant, and, presumably, the museum and library were closed. Despite his stand against censorship, Tinker continued to work on the January issue of the *Spectator*. The issue would include an article on infanticide.⁴⁹ The depopulation debate would not die.

Tinker continued to seek support for the *Spectator*: "I would not have taken it up, if I had not thought it worth sacrifices and efforts on my part, as well as on the part of my brethren." But only a short time later, Mrs. Tinker told Jarves, the journal "is pau." Jarves wrote Judd: "I am sorry to learn that there is to be no periodical for the Islands, but think it is as well if it cannot be on a perfectly independent basis."⁵⁰

By 17 December even Tinker had given up hope. He wrote to Levi Chamberlain: "It seems to me as to you, that it [*Spectator*] will stop. If it does I shall make no great lamentation—one hundred miles from the press, weak eyes, poor brains, little faith, and no money—unpropitious conditions truly for the editor of a quarterly."⁵¹ At year's end, Chamberlain wrote to Dr. Judd:

Ladd & Co. will not become responsible to pay the bills for printing the work unless they can find good reason to believe that the work will sustain itself. The prospect is that they will lose on the last volume. They owe nearly \$500 for the last two numbers. At least it is charged to them in account, and they are considered as pledged to pay the amount. They wish to hear from home before they pledge themselves for another year.⁵²

A positive response was not forthcoming. Debates over depopulation and the *L'Artemise* affair would have to move to the pages of other publications.

In January Fayerweather and his employer, Henry A. Peirce, organized a testimonial dinner for the maligned Jones, who was retiring

to California. They collected more than \$3,000. On the 22nd, sixty men crowded into the banquet room at Warren's Hotel, the largest such gathering ever in Honolulu, they thought. They toasted Jones for his strong stands on religious and political freedom. He responded with a ten-minute speech in which he "touched lovingly" on the events of his years in Hawai'i, for which he received "deafening cheers."⁵³

Although the institute suspended its meetings and the *Spectator* ceased publication, cooperation between merchants and missionaries on other projects of mutual benefit continued. One example was building a bridge across Nu'uanu Stream, a project promoted by the Rev. Lowell Smith. Fayerweather, who a few years earlier had refused even to speak of Calvinist ministers, sought contributions from the old antimissionary merchants for the scheme. Even Stephen Reynolds gave him five dollars for the project.⁵⁴

Later that spring, on 23 May, Peirce, Fayerweather, Jarves, and others "got up a prospectus for a new newspaper . . . not to be advocate of any sectarianism," noted Reynolds in his diary that day. The newspaper would be printed on the mission press, however, which assured its editorial bias. On 6 June, a Saturday, under the editorship of Jarves, the *Polynesian* appeared. The choice of name for the paper was a sign that its American owners intended to erase all trace of Britain's former dominance in Hawai'i. (The first two English-language newspapers had in their title "Sandwich Islands," the British name for the place.) In October the *Polynesian* urged readers to use "Hawaiian Islands" rather than the "awkward compound adjective, 'Sandwich Islands.'"⁵⁵

That summer E. O. Hall had presented for display in the cabinet of curiosities fifty birds he shot and stuffed while on a trip to Oregon. There were by then some eight thousand volumes in the institute's library. But with its subsidy gone and ranks now depleted—Brinsmade, Hooper, and Ladd alienated and no longer active members, Diell, Tinker, and some others removing to the mainland—there was no one with sufficient interest or resources to revive the institute. Relics of its short existence may have found their way into Bishop Museum and the Hawai'i Public Library. Presentation of learned papers is carried on by the Social Science Association of Hawai'i, and

scholarly articles about Polynesia are published by the Hawaiian Historical Society.

Of historical importance, this early alliance of Yankee evangelicals and entrepreneurs, tenuous though it was, suggested that by further cooperation, and co-optation of other haole, Americans could achieve political and economic supremacy. The depopulation debate resulted in a consensus on the inevitability of the extinction of Hawaiians and the need to replace them with cheap and dependable foreign labor for expansion of the fledgling agricultural industry. A decade after the last meeting of the institute many of the evangelicals and entrepreneurs who had been its members organized a Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, a primary goal of which was to import cheap and dependable foreign labor for agricultural enterprises. They got enacted a prejudicial indenture law that allowed them to benefit, often enormously, from the labor of others. The first of these indentured servants, Chinese from Fukien, arrived in 1852. In the last decade of the nineteenth century, another generation of evangelical entrepreneurs toppled the precarious Hawaiian monarchy and made final the dependency of the Hawaiian Islands on the United States through annexation in 1898.

NOTES

¹ Fayerweather Letters, 13 Apr. 1832, 12 Aug. 1831, AH; Stephen Reynolds Journal, 5 Aug. 1831, typescript, HHS; John B. Carney, "In Search of Fayerweather," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 573 (January 1990): 3 and 581 (January 1992): 75-76; Mary Louise King, *Portrait of New Canaan* (Chester, PA: New Canaan Historical Society, 1981) 133.

² Reynolds Journal, 6 May 1831; Fayerweather Letters, 12 Aug. 1831.

³ Fayerweather Letters, 13 Apr. 1832.

⁴ Sheldon Dibble, *A History of the Sandwich Islands* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1909) 106, 107.

⁵ Fayerweather Letters, 13 Apr. 1832.

⁶ Fayerweather Letters, 17 Nov. 1832.

⁷ Fayerweather Letters, 2 Mar. 1838.

⁸ *The Sailor's Magazine* (March 1834): 238; "Rev. Mr. Diell's Report for 1836," *The Sailor's Magazine* (October 1837): 41-42; Charles E. Peterson, "Pioneer Prefabs in Honolulu," *HJH* 5 (1971): 28.

⁹ Fayerweather Letters, 8 May 1833.

¹⁰ "The Journal of John Colcord, 1793-1845." Typescript, AH.

- 11 Helen P. Hoyt, "Theatre in Hawaii—1778–1840," *Sixty-ninth Annual Report of Hawaiian Historical Society for the Year 1960*. (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1961).
- 12 Fayerweather Letters, 1 Feb. 1834.
- 13 *The Sailor's Magazine* (July 1835): 347; *F* June 1933.
- 14 Diell Letters, 12 Oct. 1837, HMCS.
- 15 Fayerweather Letters, 2 Mar. 1838.
- 16 "Rev. Mr. Diell's Report for the Year 1837," *The Sailor's Magazine* (October 1838): 43.
- 17 Theodore-Adolphe Barrot, *Unless Haste Is Made* (Kailua: Press Pacifica, 1978) 37; Diell's Report, 267; Judd Letters, 29 Oct. 1838, BPPM.
- 18 Diell Letters, 10 Sept. 1838.
- 19 Chamberlain Diary, 4 Dec. 1839, HMCS; Ross H. Gast, *Contentious Consul: A Biography of John Coffin Jones* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1976) 152–53.
- 20 Gast, *Contentious Consul* 8, 113–15.
- 21 *Sandwich Island Institute Constitution and by laws of the Sandwich Island Institute*. Honolulu, 1838. Hamilton Library, U of Hawai'i.
- 22 *Hawaiian Spectator* 1.2 (1838): 26–27.
- 23 Tinker Diary, 27 Nov., 18 Dec. 1837, 14 Feb. 1838; *Spectator* 1.2 (1838): 54–63.
- 24 Reynolds Diary, 26 Dec. 1837; Lowell Smith Journal, 1 Jan. 1837, HMCS.
- 25 Judd Letters, 24 Feb. 1838.
- 26 Robert C. Schmitt, *Historical Statistics of Hawaii* (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1977) 12.
- 27 Judd Letters, 18 Mar. 1838.
- 28 Judd Letters, 10 Mar. 1838.
- 29 See William Orme, *Defence of the Missions in the South Seas and Sandwich Islands* (London, 1827); Lowell Smith's Journal, 10 Jan. 1837.
- 30 Fayerweather Letters, 8 Apr. 1839.
- 31 *Spectator* 1. 2 (1838): 18–27.
- 32 *SIG* 9 June, 16 June, 14 July 1838.
- 33 William Morwood, *Traveler in a Vanished Landscape* (New York: Potter, 1973) 217–20; Joseph Theroux, "The Mauna Kea Killing," *Honolulu Magazine*, November 1989.
- 34 E. Alison Kay, ed., "The Sandwich Islands, from Richard Brinsley Hinds' Journal of the Voyage of the *Sulphur* (1836–1842)," *HJH* 2 (1968): 128; "Circular of the Sandwich Island Institute: Containing Directions for the Preparation of Objects of Natural History, Compiled by The Board of Managers." Honolulu, 1839. HMCS.
- 35 Judd Letters, 1 Jan. 1839.
- 36 Not all lectures merited reprinting in the *Spectator* or reporting in the *Gazette*.
- 37 *SIG* 10 Nov. 1838.
- 38 Gast, *Contentious Consul* 162.
- 39 Reynolds Journal, 3 July 1839.
- 40 Smith Journal, 3 July 1839.

- ⁴¹ Nathaniel B. Emerson, "Biographical Sketch of David Malo," in David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1976) XIII.
- ⁴² *Spectator*, April 1839.
- ⁴³ O. A. Bushnell. *The Gifts of Civilization: Germs and Genocide in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1993) 137.
- ⁴⁴ *SIG* 30 Mar. 1839.
- ⁴⁵ *Sandwich Island Mirror and Commercial Gazette*, 15 Sept. 1839.
- ⁴⁶ Chamberlain Journal, 1 Aug. 1839, typescript, HMCS; Francis Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1951) 32-37.
- ⁴⁷ Steegmuller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* 37.
- ⁴⁸ Tinker Diary, 26 Apr. 1838; *SIG* 30 June 1838; "Seventy-ninth Annual Report of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society For the Year Ending April 18, 1931" (Honolulu: Star-Bulletin, 1931). HMCS.
- ⁴⁹ Judd Letters, 3 Dec. 1839.
- ⁵⁰ Judd Letters. 17 Dec. 1839.
- ⁵¹ Tinker Letters, 17 Dec. 1839. HMCS.
- ⁵² Judd Letters, 30 Dec. 1839.
- ⁵³ Reynolds Journal, 22 Jan. 1840; Gast, *Contentious Consul* 165-66.
- ⁵⁴ Reynolds Journal, 7 May 1840; Robert C. Schmitt, "Early Hawaiian Bridges," *HJH* 20 (1986): 152.
- ⁵⁵ Quoted in Russell Clement, "From Cook to the 1840 Constitution: The Name Change from Sandwich to Hawaiian Islands," *HJH* 14 (1980): 55.

