

## Chapter Four 1820s-1840s

### I. 'Ōpūkaha'ia, a “Heathen Youth,” Spends Time in Andover; Inspires the American Board

[W]itness his heavenly smile; trace his bright path to glory; behold his immaculate spirit before the throne of God... Worthy is the lamb that was slain.

—The Rev. Lyman Beecher, at the funeral of 'Ōpūkaha'ia

If Samuel Mills hadn't died on his way home from Sierra Leone, he probably would have gone next to Hawai'i; he had already been chosen by the American Board to be among the first missionaries sent there. He had little knowledge of the place, none firsthand, just like the rest of the Americans who would be assigned to what they called the Sandwich Islands. But he had known a Hawai'ian: 'Ōpūkaha'ia (c.1792-1818).

Spelled Obookiah by English-language speakers, who gave him the first name Henry, the native of Hōnaunau-Nāpō'opo'o (a village in today's Kona on Hawai'i Island) was orphaned when he was ten, after his family was killed during the prolonged civil wars that ended in 1795 with the unification of the islands under the reign of King Kamehameha I (c.1758-1819). In 1808, as a teenager and in desperate straits, 'Ōpūkaha'ia is said to have swum out to a China Trade ship, the *Triumph*, anchored in (today's) Keylakekua Bay. Its captain, Caleb Brintnall, allowed him aboard and gave him work on a sealing voyage that included a stop in China to trade skins and other items. The home port of the *Triumph* was New Haven, where 'Ōpūkaha'ia disembarked in 1809. There he had a lucky encounter with a Yale student, Edwin Welles Dwight (1789-1841). Through him, 'Ōpūkaha'ia was invited to live and work as a servant<sup>1</sup> for the family

of Dwight's distant relative Timothy Dwight IV, Yale's president, who had preached a sermon at the opening of the Seminary the previous year. Christianity was highest on the list of things the Dwights wanted to teach 'Ōpūkaha'ia, but Edwin Welles Dwight took it upon himself to tutor him in reading and writing. When the two met, as the story goes, 'Ōpūkaha'ia was sitting on the steps of a Yale classroom building, crying because he lacked these skills.

Mills, too, got to know 'Ōpūkaha'ia, perhaps through Edwin Welles Dwight, while spending time in New Haven after his graduation from Williams, where the two had been college students together.<sup>2</sup> Moses Stuart, who had been minister of New Haven's First Congregational Church before taking his professorship at the Seminary, may also have become acquainted with 'Ōpūkaha'ia, since Mills was boarding with the Rev. Stuart and may have brought him around. In any case,



'Ōpūkaha'ia.

when Mills left New Haven to begin his theological studies in Andover in the fall of 1810, 'Ōpūkaha'ia went with him.

'Ōpūkaha'ia stayed with Sarah and Nehemiah Abbot Jr.; a descendent of the Andover Abbots, Sarah was a close friend of Judge Phillips's widow; a descendant of the Rowley Abbots, Nehemiah was P.A.'s first treasurer (until he resigned "because his colleagues had too grudgingly responded to his request for a stipend."<sup>3</sup>) During his two years with the Abbots, he traveled frequently to Torrington, Connecticut (a historic neighborhood now part of Torrington), where Samuel J. Mills Sr. was pastor of the Congregational church. That was where Gordon Hall met 'Ōpūkaha'ia, while staying the night at the Millses' residence. "I saw the Hawaiian youth and heard him read and spell and say his lessons," Hall wrote in a letter of February 19, 1810."<sup>4</sup> 'Ōpūkaha'ia also frequently visited the Beecher family in nearby Litchfield, where Lyman Beecher was pastor of a flock equivalent to the Rev. Mills Sr.'s. The two ministers often traded pulpits. As a possible measure of the Beechers' familiarity with the Millses, Harriet Beecher Stowe's Father Morris character, featured in her first book of fiction, *The Mayflower; Or, Sketches of Scenes and Characters Among the Descendants of the Pilgrims*, published in 1843, is said to have been based on the elder Mills. ("He was an ingrain New-Englander, and whatever might have been the source of his information, it came out in Yankee form, with the strong provinciality of Yankee dialect.") According to the abundance of lore related to 'Ōpūkaha'ia, the Rev. Beecher and his first wife, Roxana Foote Beecher, are said to have been so impressed by the young man's personal qualities that they named a son, Henry (1813-1887), after him. How much of 'Ōpūkaha'ia's story has been mythologized cannot be known; what is clear is that together the



**The Foreign Mission School. Cornwall Historical Society.**

man and his myth had an outsized effect. "I am what I am because of Henry Obookiah," Henry Ward Beecher told his congregation at Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, New York, in a sermon he delivered on February 13, 1887, about three weeks before his death—and nearly seventy years after 'Ōpūkaha'ia's. "[I]n my boyhood ['Ōpūkaha'ia] came down to my father's house, and produced an impression on me which has undulated, and propagated, and gone on influencing me. Some of the enthusiasm which I have felt for moral conditions came to me from seeing him."<sup>5</sup>

After Mills left on the first of his two trips into the American interior, 'Ōpūkaha'ia endeared himself to members of the nascent missionary movement in Andover by announcing his ambitious intention of

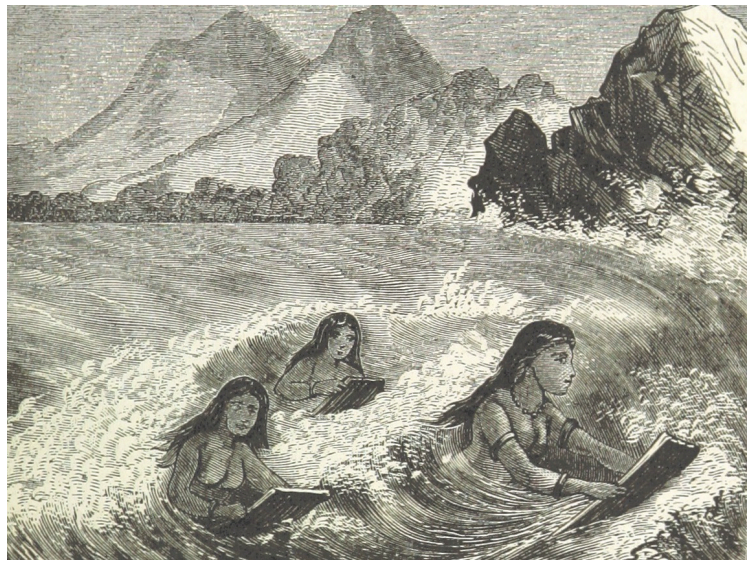
translating religious texts into Hawai'ian. His larger ambition, he said, was to become a missionary back in his homeland—a plan that held wide appeal for the American Board, whose leadership hoped to create a native clergy wherever their missionaries went (just as the American Colonization Society, when it got established, was hoping to do in Africa). To that end, in 1816,

it founded the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, to educate young men brought up “as heathen youth.” ’Ōpūkaha‘ia was one of its charter enrollees.

Four other Hawai‘ians were among the school’s first students. As a fundraiser, *A Narrative of Five Youth from the Sandwich Islands*, a forty-page tract, was published.<sup>6</sup> Students during the school’s first few years also included Marquesans, a Bengali, and some indigenous Americans. (The Foreign Mission School eventually became known as the Cornwall Indian School, after there were more indigenous Americans there than students of any other ethnicity.) ’Ōpūkaha‘ia is said to have begun his translation project in Cornwall, but never got the chance to complete it. He died of typhus on February 17, 1818, age twenty-six.

’Ōpūkaha‘ia lived on, however, in printed words, his own and others’. Mark Twain, no fan of missionaries, told his version of the “Obookia” story in *In Roughing It*, published in 1872. Twain described him as a “sensitive savage” who, “converted and educated, was to have returned to his native land with the first missionaries, had he lived.” The general contours of ’Ōpūkaha‘ia’s life had become well known after *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah: A Native of Owhyhee* was published in 1819. It

had been put together by Edwin Welles Dwight, and, like the tract about the five young Sandwich Islanders, was used as a fundraiser. David W. Forbes, in his *Hawaiian National Bibliography 1780-1900*, wrote that the book did more than any other to interest the general public of New England in supporting the American Board’s Hawai‘ian mission.<sup>7</sup> It became an inspirational text, too. “Obookiah, known to an ever widening circle through his *Memoirs*, had become a Puritan saint,” wrote the biographer of another Cornwall school attendee, Elias Boudinot (1802-1839), whose



**Surf Bathing. *Roughing It*, Mark Twain.**

Cherokee name, Galagina Oowatie (ᄎᄂᄎᄎ ᄎᄂᄎ), was exchanged for that of a prominent statesman of the American Revolution, patron of the school, personal friend of George Washington, president of the Continental Congress, U.S. representative from New Jersey, one of the founders of the American Bible Society, i.e., Elias Boudinot (1740-1821).<sup>8</sup> The statement echoes what was said about Harriet Newell and her memoir. As does this pronouncement by the Rev. Joseph Harvey, a Cornwall school trustee: “God’s infinite wisdom... devised that Henry, by now being raised to glory, should do more good, more to promote the cause in which he was engaged, than he could have done by a long life of active exertion.”<sup>9</sup>

Among those inspired by ’Ōpūkaha‘ia’s story was Hiram Bingham (1789-1869), a farm boy from Bennington, Vermont, who graduated from Middlebury College in 1816, then the Seminary in 1819. By that time, the leadership of the Cornwall school, including the Rev.

Harvey, had petitioned the American Board to send missionaries to Hawai'i. The request was granted and, seven months after 'Ōpūkaha'ia's death, Bingham was chosen to lead the group.

## II. The American Board Dispatches Its First Hawai'ian Missionaries

Can these be human beings? How dark and comfortless their state of mind and heart! How imminent the danger to the immortal soul, shrouded in his deep pagan gloom! Can such beings be civilized? Can they be Christianized? Can we throw ourselves upon these rude shores, and take up our abode for life, among such a people, for the purpose of training them for heaven?

—Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* (1847)

Bingham boarded the brig *Thaddeus* in Boston on October 23, 1819, with his wife, Sybil Moseley Bingham (1792-1848), and his Seminary roommate, Asa Thurston (1787-1868), another former New England farm boy-turned missionary, and his wife, Lucy Goodale Thurston (1795-1876). The Bingham family had been married for twelve days, the Thurstons for eleven.

The couples were at sea for more than five months, finally dropping anchor on April 4, 1820, in Kaluia, on the east coast of today's Oahu. Along with them was a contingent of lay helpers: Daniel Chamberlain, a farmer and his wife, Jerusha Burnap Chamberlain, and their five children; Thomas Holman, a physician, and his wife, Lucia Ruggles Holman; Samuel Whitney, a mechanic, and his wife, Mercy Partridge Whitney; Lucia Holman's brother Samuel Ruggles, a former Cornwall schoolteacher, and his wife, Nancy Wells Ruggles; and Elisha Loomis, a printer and teacher, and his wife, Maria Teresa Sartwell Loomis, who worked with him as a bookbinder.



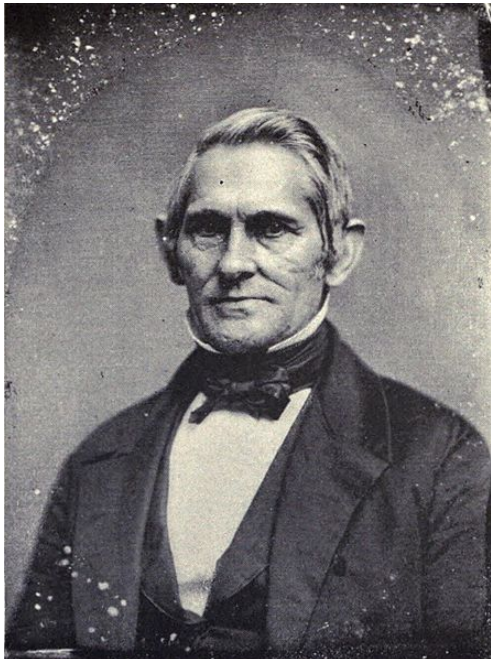
**Four Owyhean Youths.**

All of the missionaries and their wives claimed to believe what had been said at the ordinations of Bingham and Thurston that had taken place in Goshen, Connecticut, a month before their departure. In his sermon, the Rev. Heman Humphrey, a Congregationalist with a pulpit in Pittsfield, Massachusetts (later president of Amherst College), had laid out the Hawai'ian challenge: "To obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible, with skill to read it; to turn them from their barbarous courses and habits...; [and] above all to convert them from their idolatries, superstitions and vices, to the living and redeeming God,—his truth, his laws, his ways of life."<sup>10</sup> He then went wider and deeper, reminding them of the overall goal, stressing that the entire world needed to be "subdued" and "possessed" for Christ.<sup>11</sup>

Onboard the *Thaddeus* as well were four Hawai'ians from the Cornwall school who had been selected to travel back home and begin a life of ministry among their native people. They were Honoli'i or John Honoree; Tennooe or William Kanui; George Tamoree or George Prince Kaumuali'i, who was the son of the king of Kaua'i and Ni'ihau; and Nauhopoouah Hopoo, also known as Thomas Hopoo (sometimes Hopu). S.F.B. Morse painted their likenesses in 1819 and from them engravings were made for another fundraising venture, a broadside issued in 1822. That same year, *Memoirs of Thomas Hopoo* was published. It recounted his departure from his native land as a teenager on Captain Brintnall's ship with 'Ōpūkaha'ia; how he had stayed in New Haven only briefly before going back out to sea, completing twelve voyages in all and being captured more than once by the British during the War of 1812; how, having settled again in New Haven, he resumed the Christian education that had begun during his first stint there; and how, eventually, in 1817, he entered the school in Cornwall, where, when 'Ōpūkaha'ia died, he vowed to return home "and tell them about the Savior whom Obookiah loved."<sup>12</sup>

At least, that is what the book says. But who really wrote it word by handwritten word? Its subtitle claims it was *Written by Himself, a Short Time before He Left America*. But an undated period ink inscription in a copy deposited at Harvard by the American Board and now in the collection of the Peabody Essex Museum's Phillips Library says it was "transmitted to the Corresponding Secretary [of the American Board] by the Rev. Harvey." *Transmitted*. It is an ambiguous word. What is more, a typed copy in the library of the University of Hawaii at Manoa says *Memoirs* was both "Written by himself *and* transmitted to the corresponding secretary by the Reverend Joseph Harvey, August 29, 1822" (emphasis mine)—that is, nearly three years after he left the United States.

The preparer of that undated copy was identified in a note in the University of Hawaii's copy as James Merseberg, likely James Cleveland Kawelolani Merseberg (1884-1955), whose thumbnail biography I was unable to discover. In a further note, John F. Mulholland—chaplain and head of the religious education department of the Kamehameha Schools, private schools for students of Hawai'ian ancestry in Honolulu from 1950 to 1969—attempted to explain the discrepancy, speculating that "a considerable amount of the last part of the manuscript may have been added by the Reverend Harvey to show what a wonderful, religious person Hopoo had become."<sup>13</sup>

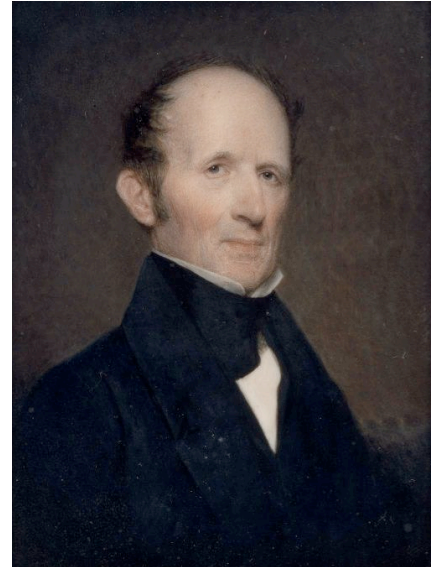


Hiram Bingham by S.F.B. Morse.

What can be stated with certainty is that Harriet Newell, 'Ōpūkaha'ia, and Hopoo all were published with, at minimum, an assist from not disinterested outside editor-compilers. Literary collaborations were a common and acceptable nineteenth-century literary convention in all spheres of memoir publishing. At the least they gave the reader a smoother literary product. But in the case of memoirs related to the missionary movement, there was the hope that they would also inspire fund-giving and new recruits. Publishing was

actually mandated by the leadership since many believed, for the moment anyway, that the printed word, more so than the spoken word, was going bring missionaries closer to their millennial goal. That's why learning the languages of would-be converts and translating religious materials into them was another mandate of the movement. As the Rev. Humphrey said in his sermon at the Bingham and Thurston ordinations: "The Bible must be translated into all languages, and the means of sending it to every human habitation must be provided."<sup>14</sup>

To that end, before Bingham left for Hawai'i, he visited philologist John Pickering (1777-1846) at his home in Salem. Since 1810, Pickering had been studying American indigenous languages. Traditionally, they had no written characters. Pickering was hoping to adopt a uniform orthography for them. Bingham's purpose, Pickering's daughter recalled years later, was to consult with him about "the mode of writing the unwritten dialects" of Hawai'i. He had brought Hopoo with him, "from whom an idea of the sounds of his native language could be obtained."<sup>15</sup> In 1820, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences published Pickering's work. It included a defense of those "neglected dialects" and their speakers, "who have been stripped of almost every fragment of their paternal inheritance except their language." He decried the attitudes of those "with less justice than is commonly supposed" who "have proudly boasted of the superiority of their own more cultivated languages as well as more civilized manners."<sup>16</sup>



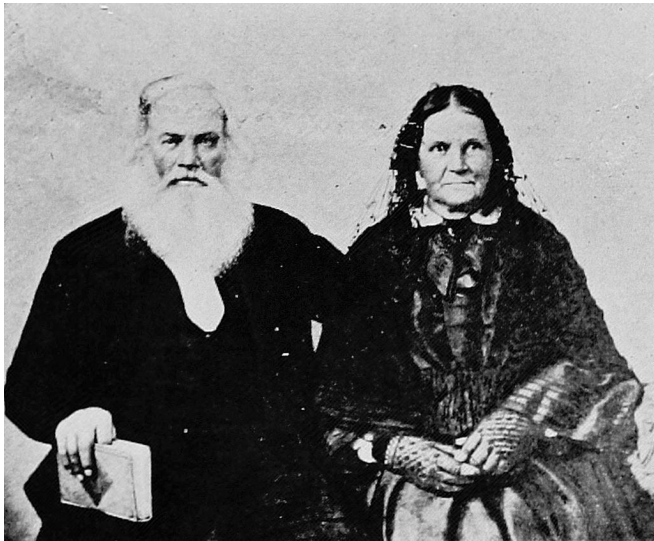
**John Pickering by Alvan Clark.**

Lucy Goodale Thurston's contemptuous attitude toward the Hawai'ian language and culture was clear from her memoir, published in 1882. As this daughter of a deacon, niece of a heavy donor to the missionary cause, and cousin of a missionary in the Middle East, William Goodell (1792-1867), wrote in *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston*: "The first rule to be attended to with regard to children is that they *must not speak the native language*." In fact, she believed that "[N]o intercourse whatever should exist between children and heathen."<sup>17</sup> (She herself didn't mix socially with Hawai'ian adults. As reported in *Life and Times*, she stayed in her own yard for her first four-and-a-half years at the mission unless she was out with an escort.) Even when the Hawai'ian children were "Christianized and clothed," the mother of five felt her separatist rule should apply, especially since she, unlike most missionaries, did not send her children back on the arduous trip around Cape Horn to the United States to be educated—a separation that, it was understood, eliminated the possibility of pubescent romances with natives.

Mrs. Thurston monitored the morals of everyone, not just her own children': Hopoo's, for example—he, who seemed to be working out well as a native missionary. His personal life seemed exemplary, too. His marriage to a Hawai'ian woman was touted as the first Christian union between natives. But in a letter of December 16, 1829, Mrs. Thurston wrote of an instance of adultery committed by him. "[O]ur own beloved Thomas Hopoo is now suspended from the church, has been put in irons . . . having acknowledged himself guilty of breaking the seventh commandment," she wrote. "He appears a real penitent, much borne down both in body & mind.

Indeed it is affecting to see him. His seducer & accomplice is one of the most interesting women of Kaawaloa, & a few weeks previous to the affair, numbered among their converts.”<sup>18</sup>

Hawai’ian sexual customs and practices were a “problem” that the missionaries never did “solve” to their satisfaction. Harvey Newcomb (1803-1863), an American clergyman and journalist, wrote that within a year of George Tamoree’s homecoming, he had fallen into “the [unspecified] immoral practices of his countrymen, and was excluded from the church.”<sup>19</sup> Likewise, the Rev. Newcomb reported, William Tennooe, for reasons having to do with his



**Asa Thurston and Lucy Goodale Thurston.**

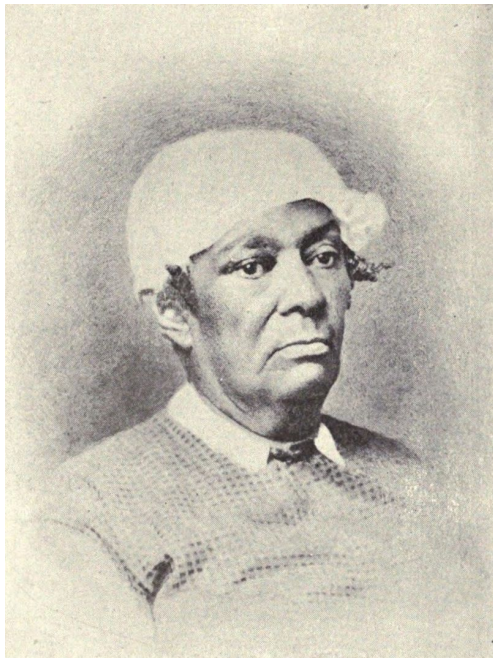
“immoral” behavior, “was publicly excommunicated from the church.”<sup>20</sup> But these transgressions did not compare to those of the Holmans, the Rev. Newcomb wrote. More than the offenses of Tamoree or Tennooe, the mission was “yet more deeply tainted by the unchristian conduct of Dr. Holman, who was excommunicated in January of 1821,”<sup>21</sup> having been charged with “walking disorderly,<sup>22</sup> slander and railing, and covetousness.” Sandra Wagner-Wright, a historian who researched the case of Holman’s offenses, along with those of his wife, found that the covetousness had to do not with amorousness but avarice—the tenth commandment, not the seventh.

The trouble was that the Holmans never committed themselves to the missionary cause, intending all along to break off from the others and find ways to prosper as individuals. The doctor “never possessed a missionary spirit,” in Wagner-Wright’s phrase. “His dislike for authority was immediately apparent, as was his argumentative nature. It was his profession and family connections that secured his place in the company [as these delegations were known], and his need for money that made him accept it... Thomas Holman was being honest when he said he wanted only to acquire property in Hawai’i and then return to the United States.”<sup>23</sup>

Holman did return home, within the year of his excommunication, but did not prosper. On the contrary, he spent the remainder of his life destitute and seeking vindication. He died in Bridgeport, Connecticut, age thirty-three.<sup>24</sup> His widow, on the other hand, seems to have survived the scandal more than well enough. She lived until age ninety-two, having married a second time—a Connecticut senator and prominent man of wealth, Daniel Tomlinson. For a very different reason, the Chamberlains didn’t stay long in Hawai’i, either, leaving for their home in Brookfield, Massachusetts, in 1823. Daniel Chamberlain had been intending to teach the Hawai’ians agricultural practices. Among the list of things that Samuel Worcester, the American Board’s first secretary, had told the Hawai’ian missionaries to do was “aim at nothing short of covering those islands with fruitful fields.”<sup>25</sup> But what did Chamberlain, a New Englander, know about growing foodstuffs in the climate of the South Pacific? Without pointing out the naivety, John Adams Vinton (1801-1877) simply wrote in *The Vinton Book*, an unpublished manuscript

of missionary biographies compiled by himself and others, beginning in 1869: “It was found. . . that at the islands there was no opportunity to teach this most useful art, and the missionary farmer, with full approval of his brethren, returned to this country.”<sup>26</sup>

Replacements came that same year, in the second company. Among them were Seminary graduate William Richards (class of 1822) and his wife, Clarissa Lyman Richards. William’s older brother, James Richards, had been one of the original Brethren; he had died in Ceylon, age thirty-eight, the year before the Richardses got to Hawai’i. With the Williamses came six other couples, including Artemis Bishop and his wife, Elizabeth Edwards Bishop; Charles Samuel Stewart and his wife, Harriet Bradford Tiffany Stewart, and their children; and Betsey Stockton, an unmarried African American who was formerly an enslaved laborer in the household of



**Betsey Stockton.**

Princeton University president Ashbel Green.<sup>27</sup> (Stockton had gained her freedom in 1817 when she became a member of the First Presbyterian Church in Princeton, but in addition to teaching in Hawai’i, she performed domestic duties.<sup>28</sup>) There were, as well, four more young indigenous men from the Cornwall school: William Kamooula, Richard Kalaioulu, and Kupeli’i (Hawai’ians) and Stephen Popohe (a Tahitian).<sup>29</sup> I have not read any reports citing these young men’s transgressions, if any. Besides, there was another major, mostly white group whose morals the missionaries felt were much more in need of being monitored—and condemned: sailors.

“The Sandwich Islands had been regarded as a spot, out of sight of the civilized world, where men might wallow in all moral pollution, and return with reputations untarnished,” Joseph Tracy remarked in his *History of the American Missions to the Heathen*, published in 1840. “The discovery that this privilege was now at an end”—because the missionaries had arrived—“and that whatever they should do at the islands was liable to be known elsewhere, was more than the vicious would bear.

Their rage was unbounded.”<sup>30</sup> That rage was especially directed at Bingham, a big and sometimes difficult personality. A member of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, Reuben Atwater Chapman—the brother and brother-in-law of missionaries who took up their posts in the South Pacific about a decade after Bingham—once wrote: “Mr. B. is a man of some good qualities & has done a great deal of good, but I never knew a man who was such a compound of vanity, self-importance, forwardness, obstinacy, self-complacency, and at the same time kindness, moderation, conscientiousness, firmness & piety. In the early years of the mission, he controlled every thing.”<sup>31</sup>

At least he tried to. A near-riot by sailors coincided with the arrival of that second company. They were angry about new laws imposed by members of the local government who had recently been Christianized by Bingham and his fellow missionaries. The laws attempted to upend the sailors’ two favorite off-duty pastimes by prohibiting the sale of liquor and sex with



native women. So incensed were they that, according to a journal kept by the printer, Elisha Loomis (1799-1836), armed guards were assigned to protect the Rev. Richards from knife-wielding sailors “night and day.”<sup>32</sup> Lieutenant John (“Mad Jack”) Percival, assigned by the U.S. Navy to the Pacific after his successes during the War of 1812, is said to have persuaded the chiefs to relax their prohibitions and quell the sailors’ rage.

John Coffin Jones Jr. (1796-1861), a merchant and shipowner who was the first U.S. consular agent to Hawai’i, sympathized with the sailors, too. Without presenting evidence, he opined that if there was any untoward behavior going on, it was because the missionaries were corrupting the natives. “I believe it is a fact generally acknowledged by all here that the natives are fifty per cent worse in every vice since the missionaries began their hypocritical labours,” he wrote in a letter to one of his former business colleagues at the Boston-based China Trade company Marshall & Wildes; “these blood suckers of the community had much better be in their native country gaining their living by the sweat of their brow, than living like lords in this luxurious land, distracting the minds of these children of Nature with the idea that they are to be eternally damned unless they think and act as they do: O that Providence would put a whip in every honest hand to lash such rascals naked throughout the world.”<sup>33</sup>

Jones was a Unitarian, and so, undoubtedly, biased against the missionaries—and the place where most of them were being trained.<sup>34</sup> He called out the Seminary specifically in the same letter and transparently stated his non-theological concerns: “Trade will never again flourish at these Islands until these emissaries from the Andover mill are recalled.” Of early nineteenth-century commodities, there was, for example, sandalwood.<sup>35</sup> Hawai’i was also the perfect stopping place for whaling ships and other vessels coursing along the Asian trade routes. The missionaries, by their very presence, let alone their proselytizing efforts, threatened to disrupt these profitable operations.

### **III. The Missionaries Mind the Hawai’ians’ P’s and Q’s, But Not Necessarily Their Own**

They live too close to nature or rather too far from civilization & refinement.

—John S. Emerson, in a letter written at the mission in Waialua, O’ahu, October 27, 1833

Pine apples [sic] are often brought us but we think them unhealthy & do not eat much of them... There are likewise some lemons and limes but I have never had any.

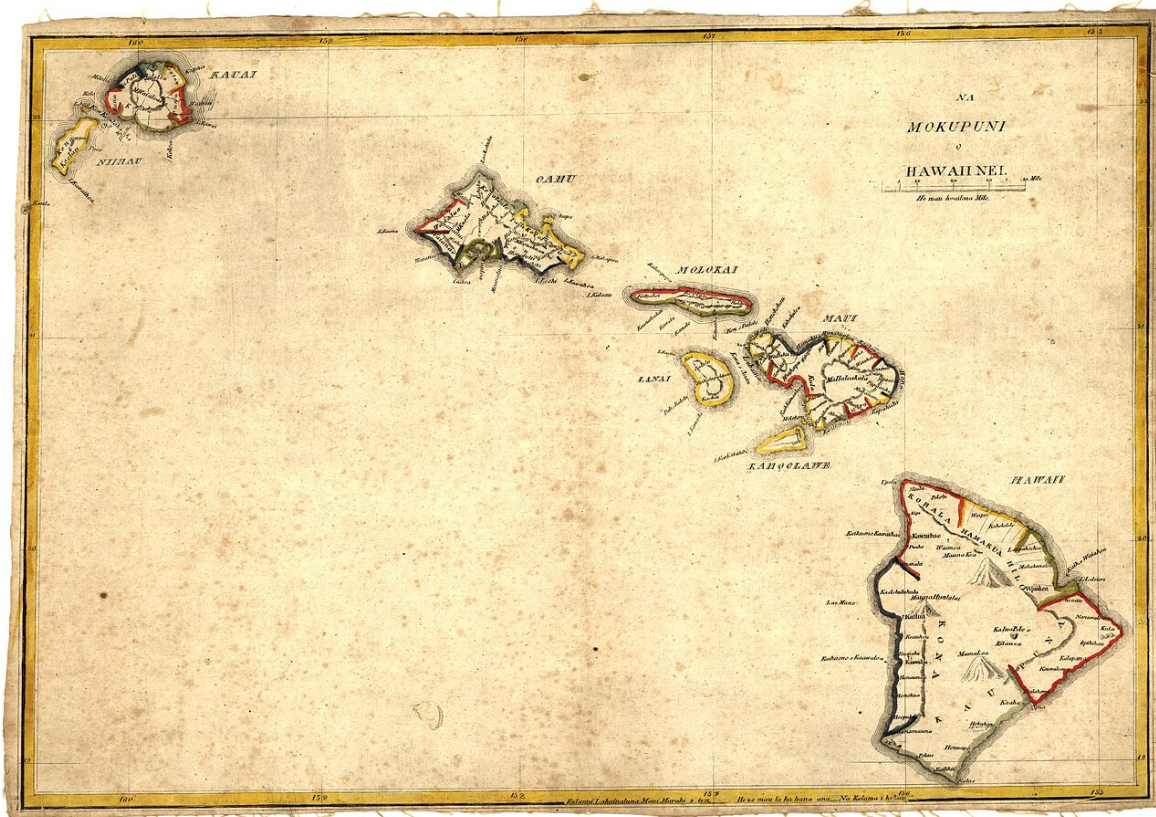
—Ursula Sophia Newell<sup>36</sup> Emerson, August 11, 1834

The missionaries, meanwhile, were setting up their own profitable operations, if souls can be counted as currency. In addition to a church and rudimentary schools for boys and girls, they had managed by 1823 to devise a written alphabet derived phonetically from the spoken Hawai’ian language, and printing was underway. Loomis used the small hand-press and the several fonts of type he had brought with him to produce a spelling book. By 1825, he had produced sixteen thousand copies of it, along with four thousand copies of a tract, and four thousand catechisms despite a scarcity of paper and not enough of the two letters most prevalent in the Hawai’ian language, *k* and *a*. In 1826, a translation of the Bible had begun.<sup>37</sup>

One year later, when, due to his poor health, Loomis and his family returned to the United States, Bingham took over with help from Hawai’ian assistants, and output increased even more. Back in the United States, Loomis regained his health to a degree and continued to print material in Hawai’ian until, towards the end of his life, he went out to the Mackinaw, Michigan, area, to teach and print materials in indigenous languages. Maybe Loomis would have recovered in Hawai’i if he’d had the services of a physician. It’s measure of how much they wanted to be rid of the Holmans that they banished the couple before a new doctor, Abraham Blatchely, had arrived with the second company.

Sandra Wagner-Wright wrote in the conclusion of her study of the Holmans that they did leave something behind. “The scars of the Holman apostasy” made it more difficult to accept the sincerity of indigenous conversions. “If they had been fooled by members of their own culture, how could they trust themselves to correctly assess the religious conviction of a people whom they did not begin to understand?”<sup>38</sup>

Be that as it may, the third and fourth companies arrived in 1828 and 1831, respectively. They comprised a mix of Seminary graduates (Ephraim Weston Clark, Jonathan Smith Green) and ones from the newer seminaries in Princeton and Auburn, New York. The Rev. Green helped Princeton graduate Lorrin Andrews of the third company translate the Bible into Hawa’ian. They and the Rev. Clark, among others, printed Hawai’ian language books and newspapers with student helpers. They also printed graphic materials, including *Na Mokupuni o Hawaii Nei*, an



*Na Mokupuni o Hawaii Nei*. Library of Congress.

1837 map of the islands. As I'll relate, Green and Andrews would engage in more politically consequential activities later on.

The fifth company, including John S. Emerson (1800-1867) and his wife, Ursula Sophia Newell Emerson (1806-1888), arrived 1832. They had become engaged when Ursula was a student at Bradford Academy and John a member of the Seminary's class of 1830.<sup>39</sup> As a missionary couple, they each had their contributions to make. He became known for writing the first English-Hawai'ian dictionary, she for drawing some of the earliest manuscript maps of Hawai'i. But what may turn out to be their most lasting contribution are their journals, portions of which were epistolary, addressed to family back home. Candid in ways that edited memoirs are not, they are also highly detailed, as well as revealing of the missionaries' ongoing struggles to adapt to Hawai'ian climate, flora, fauna—life itself. On September 24, 1832, for example, Ursula wrote to her mother about their housing conditions and how she and John were coping with them: “Mr. E. [as she referred to her husband] has made me two cupboards which I value much. Every thing that is not secured in some way is constantly liable to be destroyed by the herds of vermin with which we are annoyed. The mice & cockroaches leave nothing untouched which is within their reach. [Unless] we use the greatest caution the cockroaches will get into our trunks & drawers & devour our clothing. Some of the missionaries have been obliged to sleep in gloves to keep the animals from gnawing their fingers... & you might as well think of flying away as of ridding yourself of fleas.”<sup>40</sup>



**John S. Emerson and Ursula Sophia Newell Emerson. Courtesy of James E. Arsenault & Co.**

Earlier, on July 27, 1832, Ursula had written disapprovingly of the way Hawai'ian women dressed: “Very few of them have on any clothing excepting the maro or girdle of native cloth about their loins. A few of the principal ones are decently dressed, but only a small part have even a shirt in their possession to wear upon any occasion. When they go to meeting in addition to the maro they wear a large square piece of native cloth, tied up in a knot upon the shoulder & hanging down below the knees. Some keep this on while at work, but it is rather an incumbrance.” On August 20, 1832, John wrote about how their three servants dressed, noting that “they come to us without any except a strip of cloth a yard & 1/2 long & 1/4 of a yard wide.

Whatever we put on them is so much clear gain to them & ... at once they will give it away to someone more needy, perhaps more lazy, than themselves.”

On July 31, 1835, she wrote disparagingly of the housekeeping habits of her neighbors: “I went into one little house where two women were sitting upon the ground pounding out the bark of the... tree [that] makes kapa [a fabric]. They laid down their mallets & gave me a very cheerful aloha. An old man was laid down near them upon a bit of an old mat asleep. In one corner upon another mat lay a girl of 15 with no clothing but a piece of dirty kapa, surrounded with 4 or 5 dogs. With these filthy animals she appeared as happy & as loving as though they were her children.” In attempting to show how they lived “in stupidity & heathenism,” she unwittingly gave evidence of their contentment.

Then, on August 2, 1835, she wrote judgmentally of a more serious matter than hygiene: “The object of the sermon. . . was made more solemn by the relation of a shocking death which occurred last Sabbath at Ewa. A man who was fishing Sab. morning was pierced by a sword fish & in 10 hours was a corpse. Was wounded in the wind pipe—swelled enormously & suffocated or choked to death. Thus the Lord met him & cut him off in his wickedness.”

But while she was passing judgment on someone fishing on the Sabbath, the Revs. Green, Andrews, and others were taking the American Board to task over their failure to take a stand against slavery in the United States. Its Prudential Committee, a kind of board of trustees that included both Calvin Ellis Stowe and the Seminary’s Rev. Woods, declared that it did not

“deem it necessary to discuss the general subject of slavery, as it exists in these United States.”<sup>41</sup> Writing in defense of the group’s neutrality, the Rev. Woods proclaimed that, yes, slavery was an evil but it was “equally evident, that the Board cannot be expected to pass resolutions, or adopt measures against this system, any more than against other specific forms of evil existing in the community. For we are met at once with the question, why we should express [our opinion about] one particular evil, in distinct from others, which are equally obvious and prevalent?”<sup>42</sup> And yet, the Board was coming out against alcohol, the use of opium, caste (in Siam, although not in, say, South Carolina), and against tobacco, gambling, theater-going, and the Sabbath restrictions that Ursula Emerson had been so keen about.



**Jonathan Smith Green.**

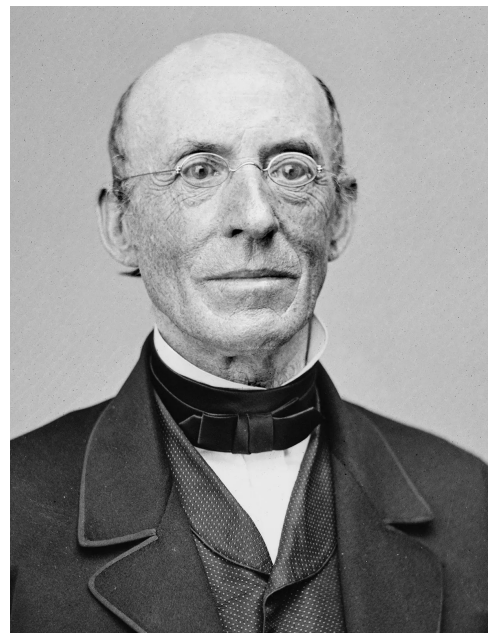
Green and the others also objected to the American Board’s acceptance of funds from slaveowners. They felt so strongly that by 1837 they could no longer merely sit by; they began printing and distributing materials in protest.

This prompted the American Board to object to its presses being used for anything other than missionary business.<sup>43</sup> In response, in 1842, the Revs. Green and Andrews gave up their positions with the American Board, although each stayed on in Hawai’i. The Rev. Green worked as an independent pastor for a few years before becoming employed as a missionary by the American Missionary Association, which was founded as an abolitionist organization in 1846.

The Rev. Andrews left mission work entirely, and, without formal training, became a secular moralist: a lawyer and judge.

Not so incidentally, five thousand miles away (as the crow flies, not by way of the sea route taken by the missionaries, around Cape Horn, which measures 13,000 miles more), the slavery issue had begun to roil the joint P.A. and Seminary campus in Andover. The catalyst was a visit to the town in the summer of 1835 by British abolitionist George Thompson (1804-1878). A lecture tour for Thompson had been arranged by William Lloyd Garrison, who had founded the New England Anti-Slavery Society four years earlier. Auxiliaries were being organized. But when P.A. and Seminary students attempted to form one, they were quickly barred from doing so with an edict that said: “No student shall join any society in the town of Andover without leave of the principal of the institution with which he is connected.”<sup>44</sup>

At around the time of George Thompson’s visit, two Society of Inquiry members at P.A., Sherlock Bristol and Horace Eaton, were scheduled to debate the colonization question. (Debates were a regular part of Society of Inquiry meetings at both P.A. and the Seminary.) Bristol took the affirmative side, Eaton, an abolitionist, took the negative. However, while preparing his argument, Bristol came to the conclusion that colonization was wrong, and at the debate, he capitulated: “Candor compels me to confess that so far as I can see, [Eaton’s] argument is a good one, and I have no heart to dispute it.”<sup>45</sup> What is more, he joined Eaton in the abolitionist cause. In response, in July of 1835, they and dozens of other student-abolitionists were dismissed.<sup>46</sup> An inscription beside Bristol’s name in one of the Society of Inquiry’s handwritten notebooks that recorded its membership and minutes lays it out: “Dismissed from the Academy for being an abolitionist.”<sup>47</sup> It says the same beside Eaton’s.<sup>48</sup>

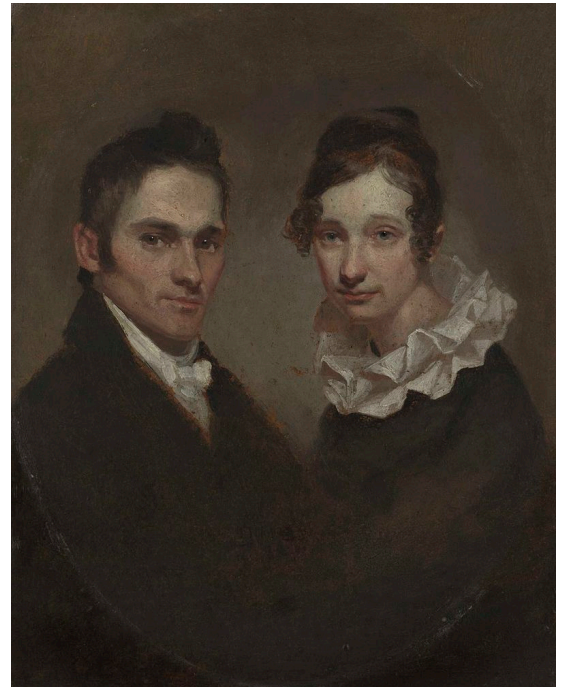


**William Lloyd Garrison.**

In *The Liberator*, Garrison accused the faculty of perpetrating “mean, illiberal, and tyrannic acts” in order to intimidate students who expressed their support of abolition.<sup>49</sup> Equally incensed, the poet John Greenleaf Whittier, who lived in Haverhill, Massachusetts, twelve miles north of Andover, wrote a letter to the editor to the *Commercial Herald* in Philadelphia, saying, “Anti-slavery is going on well in spite of mobs, Andover Seminary, and rum.”<sup>50</sup> (Emphasis his. More about intemperance later.) In his feeble defense, the Rev. Woods gave the reasons why he and the other Seminary faculty didn’t want the slavery question even discussed. The debate, they said, would distract the students from their studies, create enemies on opposing sides, and alienate benefactors. The Rev. Stuart weighed in, too, declaring that the Bible had “no *express* abrogation, and no declaration, that a man shall not hold slaves.” He said he had faith in the idea that slavery could be “regulated,” and also that it would eventually languish because of the spread of Christian principles throughout the world<sup>51</sup>—which pinned his hopes rather shakily on the missionary movement. By then, there were Andover-trained missionaries in Ceylon,

Palestine, Lebanon Armenian, China, Persia, and Africa. But only Hawaii was having measurable success, even though Bingham was presenting a problem to the American Board. In 1840, he was recalled for getting too involved with Hawai'ian politics, and on the evidence of the book he published when he returned to the United States, he was preoccupied with it. A good portion of *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands* is about Hawai'ian royalty and politics.

Despite that long tenure, the evidence also shows, he retained his prejudiced ideas about Hawai'ians as “a destitute and degraded people” with “uncouth and disgusting manners” whose cultural practices of activities like *hula* dancing he deemed “a waste of time.” He didn't even have good things to say about the islands' “climate of perpetual summer,” which he pronounced bad for health, especially women's health. To be fair, the pronouncement may have been the result of his own wife's health. “The exposure of the females of the mission, . . . where there were no other civilized females, and scarcely civilized men, and no physician to be relied on, was among the trials of missionary life,” he wrote.<sup>52</sup> After years of illness, Sybil Moseley Bingham died of tuberculosis in Easthampton, Massachusetts, age fifty-five, the year after her husband's book was published.



**Hiram Bingham and Sybil Moseley Bingham by S.F.B. Morse, 1819, the year before they left the United States for Hawai'i. Yale University Art Gallery.**

#### **IV. At Home, All Roads, at Least for Indigenous People, Lead to a Trail of Tears**

O, talk no more of your commiseration for the Hindoo, and Hottentot, and South Sea Islander. Your charities for men on the others side of the globe will hardly be regarded a pure offering in the sight of God, while you neglect your poor brother who stands pleading at your door.

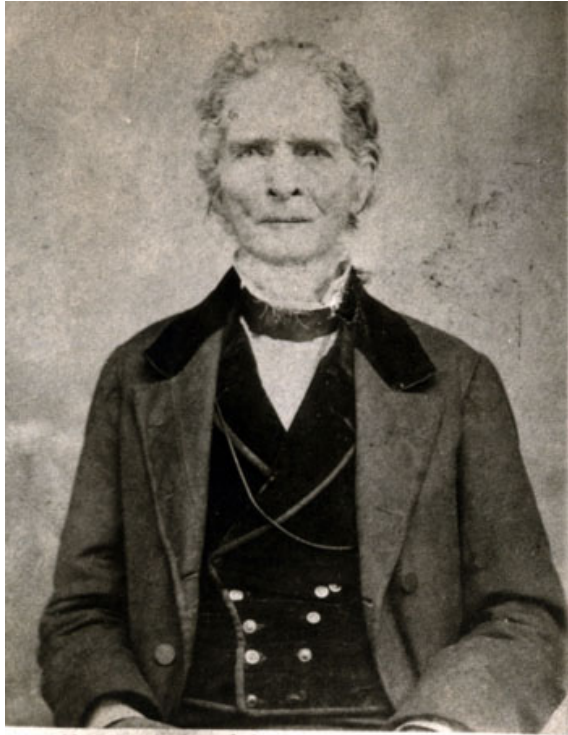
—David Root, *The Abolition Cause Eventually Triumphant*, printed version of a sermon delivered to the Anti-Slavery Society of Haverhill, Massachusetts (1836)

I was raised by a sweet, dear, kind old aunt, who spent her time gathering funds for missionaries . . . but she almost turned our town upside down when Mexicans moved in on our block.

—Al Manners, in Alice Childress's *Trouble in Mind* (1955)

In their earliest years in business, Flagg and Gould, in addition to Hall and Newell's *Conversion of the World*, produced Miron Winslow's *A Sketch of Missions: or, History of the Principal Attempts to Propagate Christianity Among the Heathen*. Winslow (1789-1864) wrote it while still a student at the Seminary, graduating with the class of 1818. In 1819, the year *A*

*Sketch* was published, he and his first wife, Harriet Wadsworth Lathrop Winslow, left for his missionary assignment in Ceylon. The book begins with St. Paul and ends with the American Board's missions to the Cherokees and Choctaws.



**Cyrus Kingsbury. Oklahoma Historical Society Photograph Collection.**

Cyrus Kingsbury (1786-1870), a New Hampshire native who graduated from the Seminary four years ahead of Winslow, was the first missionary assigned to the Cherokees, in 1817. He founded the American Board's mission on the southern border of Tennessee, close to the Georgia line, near Chickamauga, in the region of what is now Chattanooga. To honor earlier missionary efforts among the indigenous people of the northeastern United States, it was named for David Brainerd—he, whose life account had been published by Jonathan Edwards and was now read required reading at the Seminary. Within a year, the Rev. Kingsbury was moved to another new American Board mission, founded for the Choctaws, near what is now Holcomb, Mississippi, and named for another missionary from the past, John Eliot.

Kingsbury was shortly joined there by his classmates Alfred Wright (1788-1853) and Cyrus Byington (1793-1868). Wright and Byington worked with two Choctaws, Joseph Dukes and W.H. McKinney, to create a written Choctaw

language in order to translate the Bible. With their help, Wright would go on to translate many religious works, including the New Testament and the Old Testament books of Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. As for the Cherokee language, a native speaker, Sequoyah (c. 1778-1843), known in the white world as George Guess, completed a Cherokee syllabary in 1821 that was superior to the one that John Pickering had devised, and, after some resistance, it was adopted by the American Board to make reading and writing in Cherokee possible.

All this printing activity happened despite the often-expressed, negative opinion of it by the American Board's Rufus Anderson (1796-1880). Directly after his graduation from the Seminary in 1822, Anderson went to work for the American Board, where he remained until his retirement nearly fifty years later, having reached increasingly powerful positions in the organization. There will be more about him in later chapters, as there will be about Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), whose importance is ranked by scholars of American religious history on par with that of Jonathan Edwards, and who, like the Rev. Anderson, doubted that the answer to more converts was printing as opposed to preaching. "As if God would offer man a mechanical engine for converting the world with the least possible expenditure of piety; or as if types of lead and sheets of paper may be the light of the world," wrote the controversial pastor of Hartford's North Congregational Church.<sup>53</sup> The Rev. Bushnell acknowledged that the press was

“a new tongue given to the church,” but believed that such “talk, without the life to give it power and unction, degenerates into empty noise and clatter.” It was his view that expecting the press to be “a substitute for piety, or a piety-saving machine, [was] an egregious delusion.”<sup>54</sup> But there really was no stopping the presses either abroad or at home, where the faithful, most of whom traveled very little to places not very far away, or not at all, got all their information—true, false, genuine, disingenuous, or otherwise—about the missions they were both financially and spiritually supporting.

On the home missionary front, however, aside from printing itself, the problem of learning the many indigenous nations’ different tongues, none of them in written form,<sup>55</sup> would lead the American Board to pledge, in their oft quoted phrase, to make all indigenous people “English in their language, civilized in their habits, and christian [sic] in their religion.” Translation efforts were seen by certain factions as running counter to that goal, and Jedidiah Morse went on record saying so. “As fast as possible let Indians forget their own languages, in which nothing is written, and nothing of course can be preserved,” he wrote in *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian Affairs*, published in 1822. “I am . . . opposed to the idea of making any very laborious or expensive translations of the Bible, or of any other books.”<sup>56</sup> Two years earlier, the U.S. Government had engaged Morse—because of his so-called

expertise in geography—to undertake an arduous trip to determine the “the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country.”

He had been accompanied by his son Richard, but, being in poor health to begin with, he was barely halfway along when he was deemed too ill to continue, and returned to New Haven. There he wrote up what he could in his *Report*, filling in with excerpts from works by others. One book he used extensively was *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America* by fur trader David Williams Harmon, the first edition of which had been printed by Flagg and Gould in 1820.<sup>57</sup> Typically, while working in the wilderness the fur traders, who were invariably white, coupled with indigenous women, had children with them, and then abandoned them when they went home.

Harmon did not, and was held up as an example of propriety for having brought a Christianized, half-Cree women who had given birth to his children back to his native Vermont, where they were formally wed and, all told, raised a family of fourteen.

Unfortunately, the leadership of the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall displayed a distinct double standard when facing the problem of mixed-race relationships between indigenous men and white women. In the winter of 1823-1824, John Ridge, a Cherokee student, and Sarah Bird Northrup, daughter of John Northrup, a member of the school’s board of trustees,



**David Williams Harmon.**



sparked outrage when they courted and got married. Isaiah Bunce, editor of the *American Eagle*, published in Litchfield, was appalled at the idea that Sarah would “marry an Indian and [be] taken into the wilderness among savages.”<sup>58</sup> Protesting the nuptials publicly in his paper, Bunce blamed Sarah’s father and the other board members, which included the Rev. Harvey and the Rev. Beecher. Those who felt “the girl ought to be publicly whipped, the Indian hung, and the mother drown’d,” he wrote, would “do well to trace the thing to its true cause, and see whether the men above named, or their system, are not the authors of the transaction as a new kind of *missionary machinery*.”<sup>59</sup> (Emphasis his.)

Then, in 1826, Elias Boudinot, who was John Ridge’s cousin, married Harriet Gold, daughter of Benjamin Gold, a deacon in the Cornwall’s Congregational church. The couple was burned in effigy on the Cornwall village green. In response to Bunce and other critics of the Ridge-Northrup marriage, the board had both distanced themselves and absolved themselves of blame. When confronted by the Boudinot-Gold nuptials, they tried to lay the blame on someone, anyone, else: “[W]e regard those who have engaged in or [been] accessory to this transaction, as criminal; as offering insult to the known feelings of the christian community: and as sporting with the sacred interests of this charitable institution.” Further, they claimed to have been among those “who have been laboring to prevent this evil.”<sup>60</sup> The town of Cornwall had fully supported the school initially, contributing \$1400 (about \$32,340 today) “in work, land, and money.”<sup>61</sup> After gaining its measure of fame, the school received donations both from here and abroad, and brought Cornwall into public prominence.<sup>62</sup>



**Thomas Hamitah Patoo.**

To its credit, the American Board did not condemn the marriages. “Can it be pretended at this age of the world that a small variance of complexion is to present an insuperable barrier to matrimonial connexions?” Jeremiah Evarts (1781-1831), the organization’s secretary, wrote to a correspondent.<sup>63</sup> He was not only personally appalled by the bigotry; practically speaking, he was worried about its impact on the missions at Brainerd and Eliot. Tribal chiefs, often of mixed blood, were chagrined by the reaction to the marriages in Connecticut. Just as calamitous, those reactions redounded to fundraising efforts. After the Ridge-Northrup marriage took place, donations diminished; the school might have survived that blow, but not the second. It closed in the same year as the Boudinot-Gold wedding.

Maybe it would have shortly closed anyway. The leadership was grappling with another deleterious issue that had nothing to do with fears about miscegenation. More students besides ’Ōpūkaha’ia’s died of disease in the school’s care. One was a nineteen-year-old Marquesan, Thomas Hamitah Patoo. A little over three months after his arrival, he became the third Marquesan to be buried in the Cornwall cemetery near ’Ōpūkaha’ia—out of a student body that, over the course of the school’s scant decade of existence, numbered only about a hundred. Two years after his death, Patoo’s

memoir was published. Written by Harlan Page<sup>64</sup> of the American Tract Society, it is titled in a way that give the briefest form to the last chapter of his story: *A Memoir of Thomas Hamitah Patoo, a Native of the Marquesas Islands; Who Died June 19, 1823, While a Member of the Foreign Mission School, in Cornwall, Conn.*



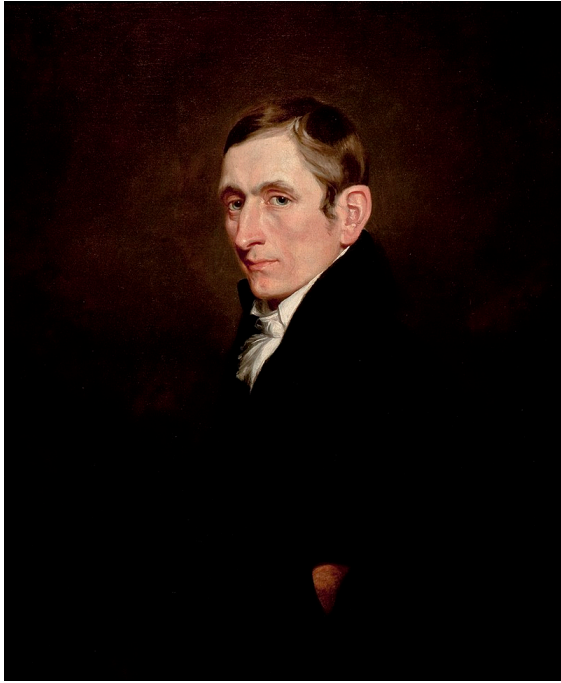
**Samuel Austin Worcester. New Echota State Historic Site.**

Ridge and Boudinot had been recruited for the Cornwall school from Brainerd and that's where the two young men returned when they left Connecticut with their wives. Samuel Austin Worcester (1798-1859), who graduated from the Seminary with the class of 1823, was assigned by the American Board to Brainerd two years later, and collaborated on translations with Boudinot. In 1828, a Cherokee tribal council directed Boudinot to establish a bilingual newspaper using both English and Sequoyah's syllabary, and the Rev. Worcester helped him with that. A lecture tour by Boudinot raised the money they needed to buy a 1,000-lb. printing press and Cherokee type. The equipment arrived in what had become the American Board's new mission headquarters in New Echota, the Cherokees' nation's capital, and three weeks later, on February 21, 1828, the inaugural number of the *Cherokee Phoenix* was issued. It was the first newspaper ever published by and for an indigenous community in the United States. In February of 1829, Boudinot added a phrase to the newspaper's name, so that now it was the *Cherokee Phoenix*

*and Indians' Advocate*, because he felt that advocacy was its true role, and a necessary one as the "removal," long in the making, was about to begin.

*Removal.* It is a euphemistic term if there ever was one for a genocide. (Pekka Hämäläinen, a Finn who teaches at Oxford and studies Native American history, calls it an "ethnic cleansing" in his 2020 book, *Lakota America: A New History of Indigenous Power*.) In December of 1827 Georgia asserted that the Cherokees' title to their land was temporary and that Georgians could take possession of it. Even before the official removal began, indigenous homes were being attacked, especially around Dahlonega—seventy miles east of New Echota—where gold had been discovered. Armed guards were posted to prevent Cherokees from mining it.

American Board secretary Evarts, worried now about what the removal would do to the missions, went to Washington to lobby hard against it and wrote a multi-part series about it that was published in Jedidiah Morris's sons' newspaper, *The New-York Observer*. Morse, for his part, had long been resigned to it. In *A Report to the Secretary of War* he wrote that, when it did happen, indigenous people should not be relocated in a wilderness, lest they "return again to the



**Jeremiah Evarts by S.F.B. Morse. Charles Hosmer Morse Museum of American Art, Winter Park, Florida.**

savage life.” He thought it better for their final destination to be “some suitable, *prepared* portion of our country”(emphasis his)—undoubtedly not New Haven, his home, where he died in 1826.<sup>65</sup>

Andrew Jackson’s administration devised and implemented the removal. Working with that body was John Schermerhorn—he, who had gone into the interior on a fact-finding trip with Samuel J. Mills more than a decade and a half earlier. After the trip, Schermerhorn had become a home missionary, then pastor of a Reformed Dutch Church in Middleburg, New York. In 1824, he campaigned for Jackson’s first, failed run for the White House. When his second campaign was a success, the Rev. Schermerhorn began corresponding with him, and in 1829, he was appointed Indian Commissioner to the West. Of the appointment, historian Claudio Saunt observes that “Schermerhorn lent the administration’s policy of expulsion an aura of pious benevolence.” It is also plausible that, as Saunt asserts, the Rev. Schermerhorn “felt the times demanded extreme

measures—perhaps because he, along with many other evangelicals, expected the final Apocalypse to arrive within the next few decades.”<sup>66</sup>

On May 28, 1830, Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act into law, voiding previous federal treaties with the tribal leadership of indigenous nations and authorizing him to force 80,000 to 100,000 Cherokees and Choctaws as well as Creek, Chickasaw, and Seminole peoples off roughly 100,000,000 acres, including ancestral lands. In exchange they would get nominal sums, plus acreage “beyond the white settlements” west of the Mississippi.<sup>67</sup> Unspecified was exactly how the dispossessed would be transported along what later became known as the Trail of Tears. Still to come, too, was a treaty-signing.

Famously, the Rev. Worcester resisted the whole enterprise, and in the summer of 1831, he, along with other sympathetic missionaries, was arrested, tried, convicted, and sentenced to four years of hard labor at the state penitentiary in Milledgeville. In the end, they were pardoned, but the Rev. Worcester refused the condition that he pledge not to violate the law again. So his sentence did go forth, after which he brought a lawsuit against Georgia to the U.S. Supreme Court. When the justices ruled in his favor, Chief Justice John Marshall wrote the opinion saying that the Cherokee nation occupied its own territory in which the laws of Georgia had no force: the Cherokees’ nationhood was legally reinstated, the Rev. Worcester was released, and *Worcester v. Georgia* 31 U.S. 515 became a landmark case. Jackson was defiant, however, declaring, “John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it!”

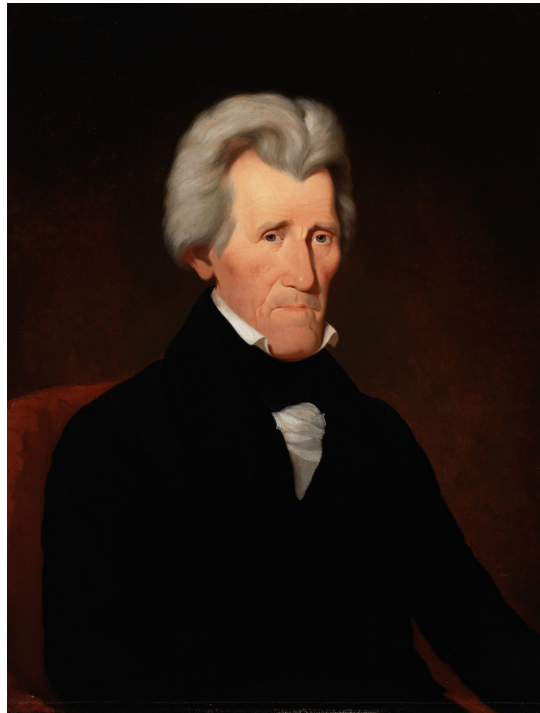
After the Rev. Worcester’s release from the penitentiary, he returned to the Cherokees, determined to start printing again. The press had been damaged in the interim. A larger one and

new type were sent from Boston by the American Board. But besides Jackson's threat, there was another urgent matter: the treaty. In despair over his nation's future in the East, Boudinot had begun urging the Cherokee leadership to sign it. In exchange they would get \$5 million and land in present-day Oklahoma. Twenty did sign, including Boudinot, Ridge, and his father, Major Ridge, a tribal chief. (Ominously, the Rev. Schermerhorn was one of the signatories for the federal government.<sup>68</sup>) As the Rev. Worcester wrote to his sister-in-law in New Hampshire, on June 14, 1838, it was an act "dictated by good motives," but "in my view, entirely unjustifiable," rendering him "so unpopular in the nation, that they will hardly suffer me to continue him in my employment."<sup>69</sup> Boudinot's fate was worse than that. In 1839, he was assassinated by Cherokees enraged by what they felt was his betrayal. So were Ridge and his father.

The Trail of Tears, meanwhile, had begun. An eyewitness, a captain of a steamboat, helped one group who had been dying of hunger, fatigue, and cholera after enduring six days stalled in rising swamp waters of the Mississippi River. He said he saw at least hundred horses standing dead in the mud. Another witness said that those who had been under missionary instruction were twice as easy to "remove" as others. The observation, like the steamboat captain's, was reported in *History of the American Missions to the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time*, published in 1840. Whether they were being obedient or merely hopeless wasn't speculated upon; in any case, it seems to have been meant as a compliment.<sup>70</sup>

As for the fate of the missionaries, Jeremiah Evarts's fears were founded: the removal forced the missions to close and missionaries either to return home or travel the Trail of Tears themselves, establishing new missions in new places. A serious moral problem came along with them, however: among the Cherokees and Choctaws were slaveholders. Indigenous people had been introduced to slavery by white settlers; those who intermarried with whites were most often the holders of enslaved people. Another problem was that missionaries, lacking a reliable labor pool from another other source, had routinely employed those enslaved people to do their manual toil. (The wages, of course, went to their owners.) But in 1845, the American Board didn't find it necessary to discuss the general subject of slavery, and both masters and slaves would be accepted into church "on the ground of their faith in the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>71</sup>

The Rev. Byington, for one, was torn about it, but unwilling to do anything to stop it, futile as it may have been: "We give such instructions to masters and servants as are contained in the epistles, and yet not in a way to give the subject [of slavery] a peculiar prominence. For then it would seem to be personal, as there are usually but one or two slaveholders at our meetings."<sup>72</sup>



**Andrew Jackson by Miner Kilbourne Kellogg. The Diplomatic Reception Rooms, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C.**

The Rev. Wright held a similar view. So did the Rev. Kingsbury. True, slavery was evil. “But what is to be done?” he rhetorically asked. “Shall we desert our churches and schools ... because some among them own slaves?” Besides, he thought that the matter had already been settled “on a scriptural basis.”<sup>73</sup> Anyway, he complained, people buy the products of enslaved labor—cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco. What was the difference?

<sup>1</sup> Although, as mentioned in the previous chapter, “servant” was the euphemism for enslaved people in New England, he was apparently not himself enslaved, although Dwight is known to have owned at least one woman, named Naomi. See <http://www.yaleslavery.org> Retrieved October 12, 2023.

<sup>2</sup> Dwight spent three years at Williams, but graduated from Yale.

<sup>3</sup> Susan McIntosh Lloyd, *A Singular School: Abbot Academy, 1828-1973* (Published by Phillips Academy, Andover; Distributed by the University Press of New England, 1974), 24.

<sup>4</sup> Bardwell, 19.

<sup>5</sup> [https://biblehub.com/sermons/auth/beecher/the\\_passion\\_for\\_immediate\\_results.htm](https://biblehub.com/sermons/auth/beecher/the_passion_for_immediate_results.htm) Retrieved January 2, 2024.

<sup>6</sup> *A Narrative of Five Youth from the Sandwich Islands, Now Receiving an Education in this Country. Published by Order of the Agents Appointed to Establish a School for Heathen Youth* was printed by J. Seymour in New York in 1816.

<sup>7</sup> David Forbes, *Hawaiian National Bibliography 1780-1900, Volume I, 1780-1830* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999) 332.

<sup>8</sup> Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee & His America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 52-53.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Knopf, 2014), 85.

<sup>10</sup> Heman Humphrey, *The Promised Land. A Sermon delivered at Goshen, (Conn.) at the Ordination of the Rev. Messers. Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, as Missionaries to the Sandwich Islands, Sept. 29, 1819* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong, 1819), x.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>12</sup> See *Memoirs of Thomas Hopoo, Written by himself, a short time before he left America*, 54. <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/52024ca7-edc5-4d8b-a184-bc8c26ea0d21/content> Retrieved October 20, 2023.

<sup>13</sup> <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/server/api/core/bitstreams/52024ca7-edc5-4d8b-a184-bc8c26ea0d21/content> Retrieved October 21, 2023.

<sup>14</sup> Humphrey, 14.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Orne Pickering, *Life of John Pickering By His Daughter* (Boston: Printed for Private Distribution 1887), 291.

<sup>16</sup> John Pickering, *An Essay on a Uniform Orthography for the Indian languages of North America, as published in the memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* (Cambridge: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1820), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Lucy Goodale Thurston, *Life and Times of Mrs. Lucy G. Thurston, Wife of Rev. Asa Thurston, Pioneer Missionary to the Sandwich Islands* (Ann Arbor, MI: S.C. Andrews, 1882), 102. The rest of its title says the book's contents were *gathered from letters and journals extending over a period of more than fifty years, selected and arranged by herself*. It was, however, completed by her daughter Persis Goodale Taylor and the Rev. Walter Freer, who is described in the *San Francisco Daily Times* factually as "formerly a missionary in Hawaii" and opinionatedly as someone who, "like most missionaries in those parts feathered his nest while there. The Freers made money in sugar along with their cousins, the wealthy Alexanders, and then they settled in East Oakland." (See the newspaper's *Town Talk*, May 13, 1901.) Whether accurate or not, it is clear that, by the 1880s, as will be show in the later chapters of this book, times had indeed changed.

<sup>18</sup> The text was catalogued and the letter sold by Robert A. Siegel Auction Galleries in its Sale of The Honolulu Advertiser Collection on November 7, 1995.

<sup>19</sup> Harvey Newcomb, *A Cyclopedia of Missions: Containing a Comprehensive View of Missionary Operations Throughout the World: with Geographical Descriptions, and Accounts of the Social, Moral, and Religious Condition of the People* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1860), 649.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. The term "walking disorderly" come from the Bible, specifically 2 Thessalonians 3:6: "But we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you withdraw from every brother who walks disorderly and not according to the tradition which he received from us."

<sup>22</sup> Letter from Bingham to the American Board, January 31, 1821, quoted in Tracy, 93.

<sup>23</sup> Sandra Wagner-Wright, "When Duty is Torn Asunder: The Distressing Case of Thomas and Lucia Holman," *Pacific Studies*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (June 1992), 54.

<sup>24</sup> Jean Hobbs, *Hawaii: A Pageant of the Soil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1935), 143; Wagner-Wright, 55.

<sup>25</sup> Quoted in Bradford Smith, *Yankees in Paradise* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1956), 10.

<sup>26</sup> John Adams Vinton, *The Vinton Book: The North American Indians, the Sandwich Islands, Micronesia, East Indian Islands, Mission to Patagonia, Exploring Mission to South America*, 156. See <https://archive.org/details/vintonbooknortha02vint/page/n9/mode/2up> Retrieved February 5, 2024.

<sup>27</sup> According to the census compiled by Hobbs, Stockton (c.1798-1865) left Hawai'i in 1825 on a return trip to the United States. For more information about her, see <https://slavery.princeton.edu/stories/betsey-stockton> Retrieved January 17, 2024.

<sup>28</sup> These domestic duties were performed for the Stewart family, whom she had known in Princeton. The Princeton University website devoted to the university's slavery ties says that her American Board contract called for her "'to be regarded & treated neither as an equal nor as a servant, but as an humble Christian friend.'" It adds, however, that "Subsequent newspaper reports of her departure gave a bit more clarity to her prospective role, describing her as a 'pious coloured woman, qualified to teach a school and take charge of domestic concerns.'" Other sources note that her agreement offered cold comfort: she was not to be given menial tasks to perform for anyone but the Stewarts. (Smith, 10.) Single white women made their way to the islands through the decades. As for single white men, of the twelve companies who arrived between 1820 and 1848, only one non-native bachelor is listed in the census by Hobbs. That sole bachelor was Lemuel Fuller (b. 1810), a printer, who disembarked on May 1, 1833, and sailed back to the United States six months later, on December 1, 1833, with "impaired health." The American Board did prefer their male missionaries to be married; marriageable women, on the other hand, could prove to be assets when husbands became widowers, as was too often the case in climates less hospitable than Hawai'i's.

<sup>29</sup> Hobbs, 145.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Missions to the Heathen, from their Commencement to the Present Time* (Worcester, MA: Spooner & Howland, 1840), 175.

<sup>31</sup> Letter of July 18, 1844, quoted in David W. Forbes, Ralph Thomas Kam, and Thomas A. Woods, *Partners in Change: A Biographical Encyclopedia of American Protestant Missionaries in Hawai'i and Their Hawaiian and Tahitian Colleagues, 1820-1900* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 2018), 113.

<sup>32</sup> *The Journal of E. Loomis, Hawaii, 1824-1826*, compiled and edited by William D. Westervelt (Honolulu: University of Hawaii, 1937), 48.

<sup>33</sup> Phillips, 102; quoting from the Josiah Marshall papers, Houghton Library. Published *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, October 1920-June 1921, 46. See [https://archive.org/stream/proceedingsofmas5419mass/proceedingsofmas5419mass\\_djvu.txt](https://archive.org/stream/proceedingsofmas5419mass/proceedingsofmas5419mass_djvu.txt) Retrieved November 21, 2023.

<sup>34</sup> It was interesting to learn at the Boston Athenaeum that the first painting acquired by the private library (founded in 1807) was a portrait of Kamehameha the Great. The oil on canvas, approximately four by six inches, was painted in 1816 by an unknown artist, likely Chinese, and probably in the Philippines. Considered at the time to be a piece of documentary art, not fine art, the portrait was in its collection but never displayed in Athenaeum exhibitions until 2022. The little painting was the gift of Jones. In addition to being well known for constantly being in conflict with the missionaries, he is also remembered today for being a philanderer and bigamist. Not a good showing for the Unitarians. His exploits were also very likely another reason why he sympathized with the sailors' revolt against a ban on sexual relations (paid or otherwise) with Hawai'ian women.

<sup>35</sup> The sandalwood trade out of Hawai'i was profitable at least through the 1830s. For more information, see Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), and an earlier book, Sandra Wagner-Wright, *Ships, Furs, and Sandalwood: A Yankee Trader in Hawaii, 1823–1825* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> I found no evidence that she was related to Samuel or Harriet Newell.

<sup>37</sup> *Partners in Change*, 108; Strong, 78.

<sup>38</sup> Wagner-Wright, 54-55.

<sup>39</sup> Oliver Pomeroy Emerson, *Pioneer Days in Hawaii* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1938), 16.

<sup>40</sup> One of the Emersons' seven sons, Oliver Pomeroy Emerson, edited some portions of their journals and published them in 1928; but of much more value are the unedited originals, which are still extant, excerpts of which are now available to read online, thanks to James E. Arsenault & Co., which, at this writing, was offering them for sale. (See <https://www.jamesarsenault.com/pages/books/7941/john-s-emerson-et-al-ursula-sophia-emerson-newell/archive-of-early-american-missionaries-to-hawaii> Retrieved March 4, 2014.) The son's edited version of the paragraph from September 28, 1832, for example, leaves out his mother's vivid details: "I cannot tell you how we are troubled with insects. Mosquitoes, fleas, little red ants, cockroaches and mice overrun us and we must protect everything. My husband has made two cupboards which are very valuable." See *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>41</sup> Charles K. Whipple, *Relation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to Slavery* (Boston: R.F.Wallcut, 1861), 37.

<sup>42</sup> Quoted in Whipple, 20.

<sup>43</sup> "The first open action of the Board in regard to slavery—the first direct reference, in their Annual Reports, to their own complicity with it—is found in the [Annual] Report for 1840..." *Ibid.*, 5.



<sup>44</sup> Sherlock Bristol, *The Pioneer Preacher: Incidents of Interest, and Experiences in the Author's Life* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 22. Originally published in Chicago by F.H. Revell in 1887.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, 23. Anna R. Eaton, *A Memorial of Rev. Horace Eaton, D.D.* (Boston; J. S. Cushing & Co., printer, 1885; 2nd, edition, 1886), 30. Anna was Horace's wife, who based her memorial on his letters and journals. Bristol's account says sixty students were dismissed; Eaton's says thirty-five.

<sup>47</sup> PAA, Student Life and Activities, Constitution and Records of the Missionary Fraternity (Society of Inquiry) 1833–1933, *The Records of the Missionary Fraternity*, Vol. I, November 1833–August 1850, unpaginated.

<sup>48</sup> Bristol, 23.

<sup>49</sup> J. Earl Thompson, Jr., "Abolition and Theological Education at Andover," *The New England Quarterly*, Vol. 47, No. 2 (June 1974), 238.

<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Samuel T. Pickard, editor, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1894), Vol. I, 156.

<sup>51</sup> J. Earl Thompson, Jr., 252; quoting Moses Stuart's *A Sermon Delivered before His Excellency Levi Lincoln Esp. Governor, .... May 30, 1827, Being the Day of General Election* (Boston: True and Greene, State printers, 1827).

<sup>52</sup> Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands or, The civil, religious, and political history of those islands: comprising a particular view of the missionary operations connected with the introduction and progress of Christianity and civilization among the Hawaiian people* (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington; New York: Sherman Converse, 1847), 273, 160, 273, 99.

<sup>53</sup> Horace Bushnell, *Views of Christian Nurture, and of Subjects Adjacent Thereto* (Hartford: Edwin Hunt, 1847), 153.

<sup>54</sup> Horace Bushnell, "The Kingdom of Heaven as a Grain of Mustard Seed," *New Englander*, II (New Haven: October 1844), 606-607. The essay was retitled, "Growth, Not Conquest, the True Method of Christian Progress," when included in *Views of Christian Nurture*, 158-159.

<sup>55</sup> There is at least one notable exception, in pictographs. An exhibition at the Grolier Club, in New York, "Building the Book from the Ancient World to the Present Day," on view from September 28 to December 23, 2022, included an example of the material, *wiigwass* (birch bark), used for centuries by the Ojibwa and Algonquin nations (the Anishnaabeg) and the Cree to create scrolls inscribed with pictographs recording sacred texts, to be used as memory aids by tribal instructors, teaching orally. As an aside, modern Chinese (Mandarin) uses over 50,000 characters many of which were originally pictographs.

<sup>56</sup> Jedidiah Morse, *A Report to the Secretary of War of the United States, on Indian affairs, comprising a narrative of a tour performed in the summer of 1820, under a commission from the President of the United States, for the purpose of ascertaining, for the use of the government, the actual state of the Indian tribes in our country: Illustrated by a map of the United States; ornamented by a correct portrait of a Pawnee Indian* (New Haven: Howe & Spalding, 1822), 356-357.

<sup>57</sup> The full title is *A Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America, between the 47th and 58th degrees of north latitude, extending from Montreal nearly to the Pacific Ocean, a distance of about 5,000 miles, including an account of the principal occurrences, during a residence of nineteen years, in different parts of the country. . .* The journal was heavily edited and rewritten for publication by Rev. Daniel Haskel (1784-1848) of Burlington, Vermont. The ms. was in longhand when Haskel got it. In his words: “The style of this work is not properly my own, nor that of Mr. Harmon, but something between both.”

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Ralph Henry Gabriel, *Elias Boudinot, Cherokee & His America* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941), 61.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 62.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

<sup>61</sup> Sydney K. Mitchell, *Phases of the History of Cornwall* (Canaan, CT: Canaan Printing Company, 1938), 16. A preface says the essay was “in great part delivered on the occasion of the celebration of the two-hundredth anniversary of Cornwall’s settlement.”

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

<sup>63</sup> Letter to the Rev. Chapin on July 5, 1825, quoted in John A. Andrew III, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, the Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1992), 338.

<sup>64</sup> Harlan Page also created the woodblock print portrait of Patoo that was used as the memoir’s frontispiece. He signed it in the bottom right corner.

<sup>65</sup> *A Report to the Secretary of War*, 83.

<sup>66</sup> Claudio Saunt, *Unworthy Republic: The Dispossession of Native Americans and the Road to Indian Territory*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2020), 235.

<sup>67</sup> *President’s Message*, December 7, 1830, 21st Congress, 2d Session <https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llrd&fileName=010/llrd010.db&recNum=431> Retrieved November 20, 2023.

<sup>68</sup> Saunt, 168.

<sup>69</sup> Quoted in Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 218.

<sup>70</sup> See *History of the American Missions to the Heathen, From Their Commencement to the Present Time* (Worcester: Published by Spooner & Howland, 1840), 227.

<sup>71</sup> Quoted in Whipple, 43.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Kingsbury in a letter to S.B. Treat, secretary of the American Board, April 14, 1849, quoted in Whipple, 132-133.