

THE
PRINCETON REVIEW.

OCTOBER 1848.

No. IV.

ART. I.—*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.* By Hiram Bingham, A. M., Member of the American Oriental Society, and late Missionary of the American Board. Hartford and New York. 1847. pp. 616.

It is possible that among the readers of Mr. Bingham's volume are some who read, at the time of its appearance, the history of that voyage of Captain Cook, Clerke and Gore, which gave to the world the first information of the existence of the Sandwich Islands. To much younger persons, however, as well as to these, the two works must appear in wonderful contrast, even when superficially consulted. Between the times of King Terreeboo, when to be publicly invested with a linen shirt was a high mark of royalty; when the solemn offering of swine, in the successive stages of the living, strangled and baked animal, was the most distinguished honour that could be returned to the foreign "Orono," and that too as a religious sacrifice—and the times of the

Kamehamehas, when mirrors, damask curtains, cut-glass lamps, and silk dresses, figure in the apartments of the court, and the deceased members of the royal family lie in state in coffins covered with crimson velvet, and the nobility of France and England negotiate with the Sandwich monarch, in behalf of their respective courts—there is a difference which seems to require more than a life-time to be realized. But above all is this comparison amazing when we compare the embellishments of the two works—the era of discovery in 1778–80, and the missionary era of 1820–47—and see the thatched “Morai” and its crowd of unclothed idolaters in the one, and in the other the Christian churches, built by the people themselves, at their own suggestion, and accommodating, some of them, a native congregation of several thousand willing worshippers, including a thousand communicants. The history of such a change is worthy the pen of a Southey or a Prescott. Their graphic skill and clearness are constantly missed in the volume before us, but it makes great amends to be guided through the progress of the transformation by the very pioneer himself—the first missionary, and after a “residence of twenty-one years.” The work is cumbrous, indigested and heavy, but it is the repository of a mass of authentic facts, which will make it valuable until a more skilful *redacteur* shall take the subject in hand. We shall demand of such an one much condensation and arrangement of the abundant materials scattered in this volume, in the series of the *Missionary Herald*, in the chapters of Captain Wilkes’s narrative of the *Exploring Expedition* and other voyages which give the observations of candid and disinterested visitors, besides the published notes of the Rev. C. S. Stewart and other missionaries. We shall also be disposed to insist on a goodly supply of pictorial embellishments. The natural scenery of these islands must be of a variety scarcely to be found elsewhere in the same compass. The tropical mountains covered with snow, the volcano to which Vesuvius and Etna must be but squibs or rockets, the cascades of five hundred feet and precipices of a thousand, the placid bays, broad ocean and gentle streams, the landscapes enriched with the cocoa nut, bread-fruit, banana, plantain, sugar cane, and cloth plant, must furnish rare subjects for the pencil, even without introducing the thatched cottages, stone churches and living groups that would be scarcely less novel or pleasing to our eyes.

The first visit of an American vessel, twelve years after Captain Cook's discovery, gave little reason to anticipate that civilization and the gospel were to come from our quarter. In February, 1790, two natives stole the boat of Captain Metcalf's ship, and killed a seaman who had charge of it. The people of the island to which the criminals belonged, coming out innocently to trade, Metcalf managed to get their boats collected in a mass on one side of his vessel, and caused a murderous discharge of his guns upon them, which killed more than a hundred of the unsuspecting savages. In a few weeks a remarkable opportunity of revenge offered, and was taken advantage of. Metcalf's own son, not older than eighteen, arrived at the island, as captain of a schooner. A chief, on whom Metcalf had inflicted the degrading punishment of whipping, went on board with a few of his people, threw the lad into the ocean, where he perished, killed four of the crew, and took possession of the vessel.

The history of the several islands, from the period in which they became known to the rest of the world, is one of jealousy and war among the respective chiefs, of every vice in the habits of the people, and of the lowest barbarism in their whole condition. Murder, incest, polygamy, human sacrifices, were fixed customs. The persons of the inhabitants, their hovels, and their habits, were filthy in the extreme. Besides all these destructive causes, vice had introduced diseases which threatened to depopulate the whole country. At this crisis, the hand of Providence opened a wide and effectual door for their permanent relief.

In 1809, Obookiah and Hopoo, two lads belonging to the islands, sailed with an American captain to New York, and accompanied him thence to New Haven. They both consented to remain there and receive the education that was kindly offered them. Obookiah, in the course of a few years, embraced Christianity. These young Hawaiians were among the foreign youth whose condition induced the American Missionary Board to institute their school at Cornwall, and Obookiah died whilst still a pupil. They appear, also, to have awakened that interest for the Sandwich Islands which led the American Board, in 1819, to the resolution of making that group one of their stations. Mr. Bingham, then at the Andover Seminary, was the first to offer himself as a candidate, and he, with his class-mate, Mr. Thurston, being ordained with this view, took their departure in Octo-

ber, 1819, with a physician, two schoolmasters, a printer and farmer, with the wives of the seven, and taking home with them Hopoo and two other Hawaiians. The vessel arrived off Hawaii in the following March; and before the passengers landed they received the amazing intelligence that idolatry had been formally abolished by the authorities of the island. Mr. Bingham's account of this step is not clear, but it is enough to say that it was probably the result of the increasing intercourse with Christian nations, and the desire of the licentious court to throw off from themselves and people certain restraints or "tabus," connected with their superstition. It was, therefore, so far as they were concerned, no better than an atheistical movement, although one that at once removed a mountain out of the way of the Christian missionaries.

The first station occupied was Kailua, on the western coast of Hawaii, under the care of Mr. Thurston, who retains it to this day. Mr. Bingham proceeded at once to Honolulu, on the island of Oahu, distant thirty-six hours by sea. This latter division soon detached two of the teachers to Waimea, on the island of Kauai, and all were favorably received by the rulers, so far as being permitted to make the great experiment. The whole population of the group was then estimated at one hundred and thirty thousand. During the first year the missionaries were enabled to open schools to teach the natives reading and writing in their own language, and to a few English. Of course their writing tasks and primers furnished texts for the first elements of religious instruction, and something was done towards conversing with and even preaching to the people in their own tongue. Early in the second year a church was erected at Honolulu, to the expense of which the chiefs and foreigners contributed. The number of strangers at the islands began about this time to increase, in consequence of the recent discovery of whales off the coast of Japan and Nippon, which made the Sandwich group a convenient harbour for the whaling vessels. These visits, whilst they multiplied opportunities of witnessing the habits of civilized nations, counterbalanced all such advantages by the licentiousness and intemperance which they encouraged. In twenty years from 1824, the arrivals at the port of Honolulu exceeded the annual average of one hundred.

In twenty months after their establishment, the missionaries

had invented an alphabet of the Hawaiian language and had set the press to work. Twelve letters were found enough to express all the sounds of the pure dialect, viz: a, e, i, o, u, h, k, l, m, n, p, w. But to preserve the identity of foreign and scripture names, and to accommodate the written language to some kindred Polynesian dialects, the consonants *b, d, f, g, r, s, t, v* and *z* were incorporated. The chiefs and people began eagerly to examine the primers where they found the strange phenomenon of visible sounds, and were soon able to exchange epistolary notes with one another.

In 1822 the first marriage was celebrated in the forms of Christianity, both the parties being natives, and the man Thomas Hopoo, the Cornwall student, and now a member of the church. In 1823 the Christian rites of burial were first witnessed at the interment of an infant child of one of the missionary families. Three days afterwards, at the king's request, similar services were substituted, at the funeral of one of his relatives, for the usual sacrifices of animals, and the depositing, by night, of the uncoffined remains in the enclosure of the idolatrous *morai*. Soon afterwards the royal authority of Oahu was induced—by what considerations Mr. Bingham does not fully state—to require the observance of the Lord's day, so far as to prohibit labour and amusements. Even the food for the Sabbath was prepared on Saturday. The king was, at this time, a habitual drunkard, though he had fixed a time—five years—to “turn and be a good man.” One of his excuses for not encouraging public worship by his presence was, “I am tipsy, and it is not right to go to church drunk; when I have got through I will come.” One of the courtiers said “when the king attends I will attend;” and another whom the invitation found at cards, “I have business and cannot go—my heart will be with you, though my body is here”—so primitive are these fashionable hypocrisies.

In 1823 the first reinforcement of the mission arrived. Their introduction to the royal family made a decided contrast with the first sight of Sandwich majesty which Mr. Bingham's company had. *Then* but one of the chiefs was decently clad, and that was in a white dimity jacket and nankeen pantaloons, whilst one of the barefooted ladies of rank soon threw off the

cotton gown she had endured through the beginning of the ceremony, and appeared in a robe of unwoven bark cloth. But Mr. Stewart and his companions were received by the king of Kauai in a full dress of silk velvet, and by the principal female chief in robes of yellow and purple satin, and a coronet of splendid feathers.

In that same year the Christians had the happiness of baptizing at Lahaina the mother of two kings, who had persevered, at an advanced age, in learning to read, received gospel instruction with faith, assisted in erecting school houses and a church, and on her dying bed enjoined upon all around her to love Christ, observe the Sabbath, instruct the children in Christianity, protect the missionaries, and follow wholly "the God by whom we may have eternal life in heaven."

At this time occurred one of those detestable attempts to thwart the increasing influence of the ministry upon the morals of the islands, which, proceeding from the very countrymen of the missionaries, as well as others, threw greater obstacles in the way of gospel-civilization than did the heathenish associations and debased minds of the natives. Even while the king was sobered by the death and Christian funeral of his mother, an American resident deceived him into drunkenness and revelry: and another party of foreigners was employed in persuading one of the governors to reject the commonest moral restraints that follow the influence of Christianity. Two men, French and American, went so far as to open a public meeting every Sabbath, with the intention of diverting the people from the services at the church. This project was broken up by its happening on one occasion, that the person whose turn it was to officiate at the mock worship, was so intoxicated that he could not proceed. We mention these incidents because they are specimens of a kind of opposition which religion has had to contend with at the islands from the beginning. In promoting temperance, pure morals and Sabbath-keeping, the missionaries trenched upon a licentiousness that a great number of the sojourners at the ports would fain have maintained untouched.

By the spring of 1824, there were six stations throughout the group, where the missionaries were enjoying the welcome and protection of the chief authorities. One of these was at Kaawaloa, the very spot in Hawaii (we do not become re-

conciled to this new spelling of the Owlyhee of our youth) where Captain Cook was shot in 1779. To this place the Christian ministers had not only been invited, but some of the people, under the encouragement of the chiefs, had actually anticipated their coming by beginning to form schools and maintain religious worship, according to the amount of knowledge they had picked up on visits at the stations. The whole work in Hawaii was now promoted by the zeal of Kaahumanu, a female chief, to whose hands the regency was committed by the king Liholiho, who about this time had sailed on his visit to England, where both he and his queen died in July, 1824. The regent avowed her faith in the gospel, openly announced her determination to make it the religion of her people, and was never wanting in any example to accomplish the great object.

Of Kapiolani, another woman of rank, an interesting incident is related. To appreciate its grandeur, we ought to have in our minds an idea of the stupendous volcano of Kilauea, and associated with it a knowledge of the reverence it had for ages inspired in the minds of the islanders as the residence of their idol Pele. Mr. Bingham's comparisons of this terrific mountain of fire and lava are "a chasm five or six times the depth of Niagara falls, and seven or eight miles in circumference,"—"it would take in entire the city of Philadelphia or New York"—"the fathomless, molten abyss, seven times hotter than Nebuehadnezzar's furnace," and, as a consummation. "had Vulcan employed ten thousand giant eyelops, each with a steam engine of one thousand horse-power, blowing anthracite coal for smelting mountain minerals, or heaving up and hammering to pieces rocks and hills, their united efforts would but begin to compare with the work of Pele here." The size, sight, and sounds of this crater must make it exceed any object of terror known in the natural world. To make this the throne and dwelling of a stern and irresistible deity would seem to place its hold on the superstitious heathen mind beyond the reach of any but such a moral power as must be as great in its kind as that of the hidden fires and sulphur of the volcano among physical forces. But thither went the female Kapiolani, and descending below the rim, over which few are courageous enough to look except after first lying flat on their

faces, she exclaimed, "Jehovah is my God. He kindled these fires. I fear not Pele. If I perish by the anger of Pele, then you may fear the power of Pele; but if I trust in Jehovah, and he shall save me from the wrath of Pele when I break through her *tabus*, then you must fear and serve the Lord Jehovah. All the Gods of Hawaii are vain. Great is the goodness of Jehovah in sending missionaries to turn us from these vanities to the living God and the way of righteousness." The whole company then united, where they stood, in a hymn of praise, and at the chief's suggestion, one of the Christian natives offered up thanksgiving and prayer. It would be difficult to find another scene so sublime as this in the pictures of all history.

We have been struck with the incidental proofs of the superior character and talents of the women mentioned in this history, as compared with the men; and the designation of female regents, premiers and chiefs seems to indicate that this eminence is perceived among themselves. A series of beautiful portraits (moral and intellectual—not physical, probably, for the average weight of both male and female chiefs is said to be two peculs of sandal-wood, or nearly 267 pounds,) might be selected from the passing delineations of this volume. Of Kaahumanu we have spoken. Several examples of her quickness are given. Hearing the question asked, what should be thought of those who prayed for the conversion of others and yet withheld the means, she observed, "such prayers miss their mark." Her reply to a missionary, when they parted on a journey, to go in different directions, was worthy of Queen Elizabeth: "I shall go with you, and you will stay with me." When one of the Romish priests tried to entrap the Princess Kapiolani by asking why pictures were placed in the Protestant religious books, she replied, "to illustrate the subjects taught; and when we understand the subject, we can tear the pictures or throw them away: but you bow down to yours and pray to them." This princess, at a time when the young king gave tokens that he was disposed to relax the wholesome restraints of the temperance laws, uttered the following impromptu:

"Love to thee, my sister Waahila,
My sister Waahila, rain of Kona,
In the days of Kanaloa, descending gentle and fine,
Enlarging the opening blossoms of the *Ohia*."

Thou didst crown thyself with a rainbow coronet,
 Richly adorned was the interior of Naniuapo,
 Then flourished the shrubbery of Waiakekua.
 Thou playest a god to trample down without cause,
 Recklessly to confound the right policy :
 The bud, the tender shoot, the stem is broken by thee,
 The shoot of that which is excellent and holy."

But a still more striking effusion is quoted from a poem written by an old woman, who was a queen at the time of Cook's discovery. She was now a Christian, and visiting at the cottage of a missionary, had her attention arrested by a grape vine shading the door, which at once suggested the evangelical association to be noticed in the following translated passage :

"Once only has that which is glorious appeared ;
 It is wonderful and holy altogether.
 It is a blooming glory of unwithering form ;
 Rare is its stock, and singular, unrivalled :
 One only true vine—it is the Lord.
 The branch that adheres to it becomes fruitful :
 It bringeth forth fruit ; it is good fruit,
 Whence its character is fully made known.
 Let the fruitless branch of mere show be cut off,
 Lest the stock should be injuriously encumbered,
 Lest it be by it wrongfully burdened."

More than once it happened, that whilst the heathen of all ranks were in different ways publicly testifying to the supremacy of the only Divine authority, and giving their countenance and coöperation to the plans of the missionaries, visitors of rank and influence from Christian nations not only cast contempt on the advancing reformation, but openly took the side of its enemies. Thus in 1826, the schooner *Dolphin*, of our navy, having put into Honolulu for repairs, began a course of irreligious examples, by appointing the Sabbath for the time of exchanging salutes with the authorities of the island. The reply of the heathen chiefs to the Christian commander was, "we keep sacred the Sabbath, and observe the word of God." The Americans, notwithstanding, made their noisy salute on the Sunday, but the fort on shore reserved its return till the following day. Then the chief officer of the *Dolphin* alleged that the law prohibiting the former custom of licentious females going out to every ship on its arrival, was an insult to the American flag. The *Regent*—the *new* *Kaahumani*, as she was called by the people since her marked conversion—maintained the ground taken by the laws which she was bound to administer. The gallant

commander threatened her with the violence which his men would commit in the town if the old sources of corruption were not re-opened; he charged her with being under the influence of the missionaries, and one of his lieutenants deposed at the official investigation made on the return of the vessel, that the commander had said that the sailors would serve the missionaries right if they should pull down their houses. They did something like it; for coming on shore on the Sabbath, they repaired to the house of the young heir of the throne, where several of the chiefs and others had assembled for worship, broke the windows, demanded with threats that women should be furnished to the crew, and then proceeded to Mr. Bingham's residence, armed with clubs and knives, in pursuit of the missionary. His life was already attacked, when a number of the natives arriving at the house, drove off the assailants with stones and clubs. The commander of the Dolphin had the houses repaired, and two of his men put in irons; but the islanders signaled the vessel by naming it "the mischief-making man-of-war."

In contemplating the success of the word in these islands, it is highly important, as well for the instruction of the precedent as for historical connexion, to take notice of the powerful auxiliary that was found in the rulers and heads of the people. As a general fact, the course of the missionaries was not only sanctioned, but actively promoted by the influential chiefs and officers. Many of them, even of the highest ranks, became pupils, and not a few of them converts. Of the latter some showed their zeal by making journeys, for the express purpose of investigating the moral state of their subjects, and of recommending and patronizing the schools and churches. The regent, Kaahumanu, made such a tour of Oahu for a whole month, in 1826, accompanied by Mr. Bingham and more than two hundred followers. These were not merely the retinue of a royal "progress." It was a travelling school, proceeding slowly on their way, the greater number being on foot. Their *insignia* were spelling-books and slates. The Regent addressed the people in their village assemblies, and sometimes offered prayer in meetings of women; the missionary preached, and read the gospel of Matthew, which he had now completed in their own language, and some of his hearers took notes of his

expositions with their slate-pencils, as they sat about on the ground. A head-man of one of the villages on the route, had prepared a spacious tabernacle, screened with cocoa-nut leaves from the sun, and was one of the first inquirers after Christ. "*Aloha ino!*"—*great affection!* he exclaimed with tears, as he listened to the narrative of redemption, and in time became one of the most useful members of the church.

Even on the small scale of a Sandwich island sovereignty, we may observe the natural advantage in favour of Christian missions, when the public authority is on their side. In the dread of a mere state religion, of worldly alliances and reliances, let us not forget the voices of prophecy, reason, and experience, which tell us that in evangelizing a heathen nation, much time may be gained by directing the earliest efforts to the persuasion of those whose conviction of the superiority of Christian institutions would at least remove from the highway many stumbling blocks of prejudice and legalized opposition. Might not the time which is given in such countries as British India, for example, to desultory efforts in collecting straggling groups from the crowds of a *bazaar* or a *mela*, to listen to a few moment's inopportune exhortation, or in a promiscuous scattering of tracts from a boat as it floats along the banks of a river or canal, be given with better prospects of eventual results, to some more direct and elaborate efforts to move the civil power on behalf of the Bible? Not to "the isles" only, but to "the Gentiles unto the end of the earth," "the land of Sinim," and "these from the north and from the west," it is promised that "Kings shall see and arise, princes also shall worship," "Kings shall be nursing-fathers, [nourishers] and their queens nursing mothers" to the spreading church. Should not the instrumentality be accommodated to the direction of the terms of the prediction? At all events, without neglecting the humbler means, might not more be hopefully attempted of direct approach to Rajahs and Sultans, Emirs and Khans, Honorable Companies and Mandarins, Imams and Emperors?

The prohibitions of the moral law were so faithfully regarded by the civil power in the islands, that the malice of the vicious, when [disappointed in their object—and such were generally foreigners—was levelled at the religious teachers, whom they charged with introducing the innovation. But here was one of

the strongholds of Christianity. The law was on the side of the truth. The government had adopted the Bible. Vice could no longer riot by legal license. The missionary was protected; for every assault on him was an attack on the law of the land. But he could repel the charge by declaring "we have inculcated on the chiefs, not only the common duties of morality, but we have also taught them that he that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of the Lord. We have endeavored to convince them that they were set for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well. We have given them general principles derived from the word of God, together with scripture examples of their application, neither withholding instruction, nor interfering with their authority." Mr. Bingham does not divulge cabinet secrets, but we do not see that any impropriety is chargeable upon the missionaries, if it be true that they used their influence in shaping the course of the inexperienced rulers upon fit occasions, for the maintenance of what was, according to the inspired standard, right. In this incipient stage of their civilization, the rulers, who had just laid aside the club and lance as the chief modes of their administration, were not qualified to govern without advice, and who were more likely to give them good advice than those who had devoted their lives to promote the best interests of the whole people?

Another suggestion on the general economies of foreign missions arises from a plan proposed, though unsuccessfully, by the united missionaries and chiefs in the year 1836. We do not cite the case as entirely approved by our judgment of what is the proper sphere of evangelical action, but as furnishing some illustration of what might be hoped for in not a few countries where the public authorities could be led to originate or second a plan for their fuller civilization. The proposition referred to was substantially as follows. The preaching of the gospel and the introduction of education having prepared the way for the elevation of this once savage people to the rank of a Christian nation, they were now in a condition to receive that kind of refinement and to make that advancement to the higher civilization, which demand a more extensive introduction of the arts and manners of the educated world than could be communicated by the direct application of

missionary labour. The civil policy of the government, also, and the science and application of political economy in relation to commerce, trade, and other great interests, were subjects which required special regard, and seemed to be demanded from other sources than those which had enough already to do in supplying religious instruction. The rulers felt their need of direction, in the enlarged relations of their dominions to the civilized world, the increase of intelligence, and the diffusion of religious principles. The people needed instruction in the handicrafts and professions which the improving state of society demanded. They were in fact Christian children, who had almost every thing to learn to make them capable of directing their government and turning their capacities to the best advantage. It was therefore made the subject of a memorial to American Christians, that a company should be formed, independent of the mission and its immediate supporters, which should encourage the cultivation of whatever the soil could produce, and whatever manufactures could be put into operation. Such a company, it was suggested, might send to the island a superintendent, who should be an able civilian, four agriculturists, a merchant, and a cotton-manufacturer. To these were to be given a competent number of mechanics who should teach the natives their respective trades, and the company should have at least one ship at their service.

Is it visionary to entertain the conception that our Christian laymen will one day find in such auxiliary plans as this, a noble field for their more enlarged and independent contributions to the diffusion of Christianity and its attendant civilization? Is it, indeed, much more than an extension of those high and noble schemes of education which the missions of almost every church now adopt?—the putting into practice the lessons of the seminaries, high-schools and colleges which form a large feature of their operations?

Although the large plan above-mentioned was not effected, the Rev. Mr. Richards was employed in 1838, by the king and chiefs, as their exclusive chaplain and interpreter, and teacher of political economy, law, and the science of government. Of course he resigned his missionary office when he entered on this important employment.

In 1827 a new enemy to the progress of the truth appeared

in the prosperous islands. It came with the sign of the cross and the title of Apostolic Prefect of the Sandwich Islands. It was a Roman Catholic mission, imposing itself on the defenceless tribes under the double authority of Leo XII and Charles X. The queen-regent refused to permit the residence of the priests; but the prohibition was not regarded, and they took up their abode at Honolulu. Their use of pictures, images, rosaries, crosses, smoke, and priestly shows, was eminently calculated to seduce the large number who, by the introduction of Christianity, had lost their idols but had not found Christ. In fact some of those who professed to be converted to Romanism spoke of their deity as a French or Papal being, and different from the God worshipped in the simple rites of the other churches. We see great cause for acknowledging the hand of Providence, that these intruders had not appeared at a less advanced stage of the evangelization of the islands, and that even when they did make their most ungracious onset, their success was so inconsiderable among a people peculiarly liable to be led off by showy appearances.

The Romish priests were repeatedly required to withdraw, but they sometimes denied the authority of the Hawaiian rulers, and sometimes deluded them with pretences of waiting for a passage. The "Apostolic Prefect" himself reported to his French constituents that he kept himself in the islands by a trick, feigning to be unable to pay for the transportation of his company when an opportunity occurred, and when a cheap or gratuitous passage was offered, taking means secretly to persuade the captains to change their minds and demand such an exorbitant sum that it was impracticable to raise it. "The poor governor had a great desire to rid himself of us, but he was still more anxious to keep his money." Such was the guile of this apostle. It was successful until the end of 1831, when the chiefs fitted up their own brig, and positively requiring the priests to embark in it, dispatched them to California.

Effects of the example and principles of the great delusion were now and then manifest in forms strongly illustrative of its true character. At one time a native woman, of immoral life, attempted to make proselytes with the aid of a manuscript directory with which she had been supplied, and at length

undertook to administer baptism, as permitted on emergencies, by the Roman rubrics. The idolatry of the virgin was so congenial to the imagination of the less enlightened, that some of the inhabitants of Puna, a district of Hawaii, canonized a woman who died there, and built a temple for her worship in connection with that of God. Her remains were enshrined and pilgrimages proclaimed as a means of salvation, the authors of the blasphemy maintaining at the same time, that they embraced the gospel in a purer form than that preached by the missionaries. This effort was soon suppressed by the local chief, and the temple destroyed.

In 1836 a new effort was made to secure a foothold for Romanism. A priest was sent from France, and the two who had been deposited in California were directed by their ecclesiastical superiors to return. The young king was now in authority, and directed them to leave the islands. By his order, they were put on board the British vessel in which they had arrived; but no sooner had they touched the deck than the commander and crew left the ship, carrying off their flag, as a token that they considered their rights piratically invaded. The commander of a British ship of war, which just then arrived, set the priests on shore and dismissed the vessel. After several conferences between British and French officers and the king, it was agreed that the Papists should be allowed to remain until they could find a good opportunity of departure; and that in the mean time they should not attempt to exercise their functions. The king, unfortunately, was induced to sign, reciprocally with the French commander, a sort of treaty in which the French and the islanders were allowed to visit each other's dominions freely. This document, which the king doubtless understood as excepting the forbidden residence of the priests, was afterwards made the pretence of gross impositions. At present, however, the priests, including one who at a later date arrived from South America, withdrew. But in July, 1839, the memorable Captain Laplace appeared at Honolulu, in his frigate, the *Artemise*, commissioned, as he set forth in a manifesto, by the king of the French, "to put an end, either by force or persuasion, to the ill-treatment to which the French have been victims at the Sandwich Islands." He demanded, in the name of his government, as the conditions of friendship, equal privileges for the

Roman as the Protestant faith; the donation of a site for a French church; the liberation of any Romanists who might be in imprisonment on charges growing out of their professed faith; and the deposit of twenty thousand dollars by the king of the island, as a security for his good conduct towards France; which sum must be carried on board the frigate by one of the principal chiefs, together with the treaty of friendship, and the frigate be saluted by the batteries of the island. The brave Frenchman closed his message with a significant allusion to "the laudable example" of the queen of Tahiti, in admitting the Romanists, and with a still plainer declaration that if this treaty should be refused, a devastating war should immediately be opened.

Even were the positions sustainable by the law of nations, which are here assumed as to the right of the French king to demand of an independent power the toleration of another religion, and to require a pecuniary pledge of the weaker party when none was offered by the other, it would be still monstrous and disgraceful for a people that had either civilization, religion or chivalry, to make such exactions in such a style. But the Frenchman came flushed with the glory of his success in silencing the poor Tahitians with his cannon, and forcing them to receive the priests and their mummery. He proceeded to make preparations for a bombardment of the town, first offering an asylum in the frigate to such Americans as wished to be out of danger, but expressly excepting the American missionaries. It was evident that there was but one way for the defenceless islanders to save their habitations and their lives from destruction, and their country from subjugation. They must yield to the French frigate whose guns were already pointed on their homes and churches and schools. The king had to make up the sum demanded of him, by borrowing at a high interest. He signed the extorted treaty, and had to submit to the further humiliation of having the peace of the Sabbath disturbed by a parade of the French soldiers, and its worship mocked by a mass publicly celebrated on the shore. But the outrage did not even end here. After the whole prescription had been followed and the salutes exchanged, several additional stipulations were forced upon the king, one of which was that the importation of French wines and brandies should

be allowed at a low duty. The design and effect of this article may be easily judged of, when it is understood that the existing laws, for the purpose of arresting the fearful intemperance which had prevailed, prohibited the importation or distillation of spirituous liquors, and laid an almost prohibitory duty on wine.

If the monarch who lately fled from the Tuilleries before a furious mob, and is now allowed by the charity of his son-in-law to take refuge at Clermont, ever meditates on the retributive dispensations of Providence, he may not consider as too trivial an affair to be put in the list of the provocations of the judgments he is suffering, the mission of the *Artemise* to the islands of Tahiti and Oahu.

We pass over the attempt of the French Captain Mallet, in 1842, and the still more blustering and wanton outrage of the English Lord Paulet, in 1843, (the latter of whom actually took possession of the Islands in the name of the Queen,) because the act of Paulet was immediately disavowed by his government, and both France and Great Britain soon afterwards followed the example of the United States in acknowledging the independence of the Sandwich Islands. We only add here as the latest item of information on the subject of Romanism, that thirteen fresh labourers arrived at the islands in 1846, making the whole number of that faith twenty-two.

In 1831 a school was opened at Lahainaluna, on the island of Maui, for young men who were willing to be qualified as preachers and school-masters. Sixty-seven attended in the first year, being selected from all quarters as the most suitable for the purpose of the institution, and in view of the wants of their respective districts. The course of instruction was laid out for four years. The Report of the American Board for 1847 states that more than a hundred of the graduates of this institution were then engaged in teaching in different places, that more than forty others were in government offices, besides many more in private stations. The mission presses now keep the schools supplied with elementary books, besides the Bible and various religious and other useful works including the *Pilgrim's Progress*, a volume of sermons, *Wayland's Moral Philosophy*, a history of the islands, hymn-books, catechisms and tracts.

A school for the children of foreigners, under one of the mis-

sionaries who resigned his office as such for the purpose, and the settlement of a chaplain, by the Seamen's Friend Society, were among the means of advancing the improvement of the islands caused by the state of religion among the natives. The "Bethel Flag" was thus added to the other signals of a Christian port. "The Hawaiian Teacher," a semi-monthly paper, introduced that mark of popular refinement. Two thousand copies were published. A smaller paper had been issued some months previously, for the benefit, chiefly, of the principal Seminary. Such was the Prussian zeal for education in some parts, that the viceroy of Maui required all the children over four years to attend school, and forbade marriage licenses to be granted where either party was unable to read.

One of the most striking features of the religion of these islands, is the thoroughness of its diffusion from the outset. Christianity pervaded the nation and became part of all its institutions. It was thorough, also, in its being carried out in modes which we are accustomed to associate only with a long-established and advanced religious condition. It would be much to say that in the eleventh year of the mission spacious churches—some of them holding regularly from three to four thousand hearers—were to be found at six stations; that there were fifty thousand readers and learners, more or less, under the direction of Christian superintendents—and that the immemorial license of prostitution and drunkenness had given way to the rigid prohibition of every form of public vice. These were unusual triumphs for the time. But this was not the whole extent of the progress of religion. In 1830, weekly assemblies were held for prayer and conference, such as only the pious and seriously-disposed could be expected to attend, and the aggregate number of those who were accustomed to meet, was not less than fifteen thousand. The sexes held these meetings separately, so that the female members of the mission-families might have the opportunity, so very important in the circumstances, of instructing the converted and serious women, and become better acquainted with their characters. Sometimes divisions or classes were formed, with the best of the native believers as assistants to the missionaries. Then special means were adopted for the instruction of mothers, as heads of families, and their children were from time to time called to

attend meetings of this kind together. Let it increase our admiration of the work of Divine grace to remember, that among the hundreds of mothers thus assembled, happy to have their little ones participating in their new blessings, were many who had with their own hands and feet deposited in the ground, and trodden upon the covering earth, their living offspring! Special meetings for the aged and infirm were also largely attended. "More than a thousand women attended the Friday prayer-meeting on the 8th." This was at Honolulu, the whole population of which district was not more than twelve thousand. How many churches of New York or Philadelphia would it take to make such an aggregate for any week of the year? At another time we read of more than two hundred attending a daily prayer-meeting, in the village of Kailua, beginning an hour and a quarter before sunrise.

Some fine scenes were witnessed in the public gatherings of the transformed generation: as when at a visit of the chiefs to one of the stations in Hawaii, the schools met at night to exhibit their progress in study, and came in single file from all quarters, winding around the precipices at the head of the great bay, carrying torches of the candle-nut, and sounding conchs. They collected with their hymns and scripture lessons, at the spot where Cook fell under the clubs of their grandfathers, perhaps their own fathers. At another time, when a new church was dedicated at Honolulu, and its whole area of 196 feet by 63 was covered with the natives, seated on new mats, the young king, not yet fifteen years old, arose spontaneously, (if we understand the narrative) and uttered a devout thanksgiving to God, and solemnly devoted his kingdom, as well as the house, to His glory. This lad, on other occasions also, made public addresses and prayers, in a very serious and impressive manner, although he was not considered as furnishing evidence of conversion. If he acted purely on his own impulse, the proceedings speak strongly in favour of the impression made on his youthful mind by the sight of Christian order and devotion, and it might have been wrong for the missionaries to check him; but if his public performances of this kind were at all assigned to him as a part for which he was trained, we must consider it at least an injudicious experiment.

Speaking of the advanced standard at once adopted in the

islands, we may add that the highest ground on the question of temperance in drink was willingly taken by a large number of the people, including many chiefs, before there had been much encouragement given in the example of the older Christian countries. There was, indeed, good ground at the Sandwich ports, if any where, for denunciation of "the rumseller." The islands were the great dram-shop of the Pacific. The vessels, not only the whalers but the men-of-war, stopped there to revel and to lay in stores of liquor. For the government and people to oppose the traffic and renounce drink, was, therefore, to make a sacrifice of their pecuniary advantage, as well as to deny a strong appetite, and besides, to excite the hostility of some of the most influential residents, not excepting Consuls. Total abstinence from the use of spirituous liquors may well be understood as the only safe injunction under these circumstances, and a refusal at that time to consent to such an agreement, for the sake of its example, might well awaken suspicion of the sincerity of an applicant for church-membership; though we conceive it to be beyond the prerogatives of any church to demand a pledge of this kind as a condition of reception. We have not noticed in this volume any record of such a rule in the churches of the islands; but we are sorry to see that a majority of the mission have gone even beyond this, having as lately as 1843, required of their candidates the entire disuse of *tobacco*. To justify this regulation, the ground is taken that "the cultivation and use of tobacco is an immorality." We do not lament the increasing conviction of the uncleanness, unhealthfulness and impoliteness of the common usages of this odorous and stimulating vegetable; but we were pained, on much higher grounds, to see a body of respectable and pious ministers, teaching a nation just elevated from barbarism, that the smoking of a pipe is an immorality that excludes one from baptism and the Lord's table; in other words he that uses tobacco cannot be regarded as a Christian. If it were not for these relations of the subject, it would be no more than ludicrous to read a condemnation of tobacco, as an "intoxicating solid," and of a Christian solemnly adjudged to be "guilty of smoking." We quote from the report of the American Board for 1846. (p. 180.) We are sorry to find that these views are encouraged by some popular expositors of the scriptures. In

Mr. Barnes's notes on the ninth chapter of first Corinthians, we find the doctrine strongly implied that the use of wine and tobacco is incompatible with "striving for the crown that fadeth not away," and yet no higher immorality is there pretended to be charged against the use of tobacco than that it is "filthy, offensive and disgusting." Mr. Barnes asks with great emphasis, "can a man be truly in earnest in his professed religion; can he be a sincere Christian, who is not willing to abandon anything and everything that will tend to impair the vigour of his mind, and weaken his body, and make him a stumbling block to others?" All this may be, and yet neither church nor commentator may be allowed to decide for the consciences of others what is clean or unclean in meats, drinks and refreshments, and what may or may not impair their usefulness, so as to deny them the name of Christians. It may be very "filthy, offensive and disgusting," for a man to neglect ablution, or shaving, or changing his linen; or in the matter of diet to feast on train oil. It may be well to persuade or shame such an one from his habits, but it would not be well to make a soiled shirt, or neglected beard, or unsavoury dinner, a bar to church privileges, either in America or Kamschatka.

The decease of Kaahumanu the Queen Regent in 1832, was a great affliction to the missionaries and a loss to the church. The dying scenes of the converted islanders are among the most impressive evidences of the intelligent and cordial faith with which the gospel was received. Collected, fearless but humble, thoughtful of all around her, how affecting to hear the once savage woman ejaculating with her dying breath from a Hawaiian hymn—

"Now will I go to Jesus,
My Lord who pitied me,
And at his feet lie prostrate
For there I cannot die;
Lo, here am I, O Jesus,
Grant me thy gracious smile:
But if for sin I perish,
Thy law is righteous still."

The king being still in his minority, Kinau, his sister, was chosen to succeed Kaahumanu as Regent, but soon afterwards the youth of eighteen asserted his competency to take the sceptre in his own hands. Kinau made no resistance—"we cannot war with the word of God between us," was her salutation

and abdication, as she met her brother in the national assembly which he had convoked. He retained her in his council, or cabinet. The young ruler did not fulfil the promise of his childhood when he prayed and spoke at the dedication. He was disposed to yield to some of the chiefs and residents in the new struggle to repeal the prohibitions of selling and using liquors. An infidel chief made strong efforts towards a revolution. Kinau proclaimed a fast. The great body of communicants sustained the more rigid principles. The wavering monarch had to confess "the kingdom of God is strong."

The progress of religion was steady and diffusive throughout the islands from the beginning. Stations, churches, schools, and missionaries had increased beyond what the limits of our rambling sketch have permitted us to mention. But the years 1838 and 1839 are marked as the era of a "great revival." The attention to religion extended to every district. Thousands sought for personal direction and advice. The churches and other places of meeting were thronged. The gospel was preached as often as there was opportunity, and the best efforts made to instruct the awakened. The applicants for church-membership were usually retained on probation for two or three months; yet by midsummer five thousand had been received, and twenty-four hundred left on trial. Six hundred children and youth were reckoned among the converted. The mission-schools were greatly blessed. The whole population appeared to feel the influence of the work. Theft and intoxication were scarcely known, and the Sabbath generally respected. In 1839 the additions to the eighteen churches amounted to 10,725, nearly one half of which were to the one church of Hilo.

In 1839 the whole Bible was printed in the Hawaiian language, the translation having employed a number of hands for fifteen years. In 1840 the king and chiefs adopted a civil Constitution or Bill of Rights and a code of laws, the first fruits, doubtless, of their instructions from Mr. Richards. In these documents the supremacy of the Word of God is solemnly acknowledged, protection guaranteed to all forms of worship, the succession to the throne established in the heir nominated by the king and chiefs, or if no nomination shall be made in the king's life-time, the designation to be by the chiefs and representatives. The islands were to be under the immediate ad-

ministration of four governors, each having his particular district. The chiefs or nobles, together with representatives chosen by the people, form a council, meeting annually to legislate coordinately with the king; the organization being very similar to that of the British Parliament. The judges of each island are appointed by the respective governors, and the king, the premier, and four judges chosen by the representatives, form a Supreme Court. The nobility are limited to the king, a female premier, the four governors, four women of rank and five chiefs. The number of representatives at first was only seven. This sketch shows, perhaps as clearly as any thing else, how radical was the change wrought by the spread of intelligence and religion in the institutions of a country that until this recent epoch had known no law but the will of an ignorant and violent despot.

We should like to transfer to this page the engraved view of a church opened for worship at Honolulu in 1842: a church built of coral rock, 144 feet by 78, with basement, gallery, tower and clock, at an expense of \$20,000, contributed chiefly from the funds and labour of the people, the king heading the list with a subscription of \$3000. In erecting this building the male communicants divided themselves into five companies, who gave their labour in rotation. About the same time that this church was built in Oahu, another stone church was erected in the island of Hawaii 120 feet by 57. The builders were the members of the church. They carried the stones on their shoulders, dived into the bay to bring up coral to be used for lime, to burn which others carried wood from the mountain, and the women took the burnt coral, sand and water, in calabashes or gourds to the place of building; the female part of the work alone being estimated to be equal to the drawing of three hundred and fifty wagon-loads a quarter of a mile.

Mr. Bingham's twenty-one years' residence ended in 1840, the declining health of his wife obliging him to return to the United States. From the annual Report of the American Board for 1847 we gather the latest particulars of the state of the missions. At the dates comprised in that report there were seven stations in Hawaii, five in Maui, one in Molokai, five in Oahu, and three in Kauai, making twenty-one stations. These were supplied with twenty-five missionaries, (including wives,) ten

male and forty-one female assistant missionaries, four native preachers and two physicians, making a total of eighty-one. There were seven boarding-schools, containing two hundred and ninety-three pupils, including thirty-three children of missionaries. The whole number of communicants admitted to all the churches from the beginning to May 1846 is above 33,000. The number now in the churches is about 23,000. Yet according to the table before us the average congregations on the Sabbath cannot much exceed (allowing for two or three imperfections in the report) thirteen thousand. Some of these disparities appear to be very great; as for example the whole number of communicants in good standing belonging to the single church of Hilo is put down at six thousand four hundred and twenty, whilst the average congregation is given at eight hundred and fifty. But on turning to the report for 1846 we find that the people of Hilo assemble every Sabbath in about thirty congregations in different parts of the district. These local meetings have been probably omitted in the table. It is painful to observe that of the whole number of members in all the churches one thousand two hundred and eighty-three were suspended and four hundred and thirty-one excommunicated in the two last years of the table. In two years the different churches contributed in cash \$9300 for building and repairing their churches, supporting preaching and schools, and for other benevolent purposes. In twenty-two months, of the latest date, three hundred and thirty-nine thousand copies of school-books, the New Testament, and the newspaper were printed. In one district singing-schools had suddenly awakened great enthusiasm, so that where the missionary was formerly the only chorister and sometimes the only singer, native choirs and leaders were found to have qualified themselves for this inestimable service. The islanders, however, let it be observed, are beyond the barbarism of giving up the work of singing to representatives. Persons of all ages flocked to the school that they might learn to sing in church.

Whilst so much is to be found in the results of this mission to prove the practicability of evangelizing an entire heathen nation, and the concurrence of all social and civil advancement with the progress of a people in gospel knowledge, and to excite the praise of God's people everywhere for His blessing on

the enterprize, and their prayers for its continuance, yet it should not be concluded that the Sandwich Islands constitute a paradise, in comparison with all the rest of the world. Degradation, sin, hypocrisy, back-sliding, are to be found there, as elsewhere, even among professed Christians. Few of the pious natives have been found suitable for ordination as preachers, and none, as yet, for the pastoral office. Education has not yet had time for its full development among a people whose intellectual strength had degenerated before the counteracting remedy had been applied. The nation is not yet strong enough to stand alone either in its religious or civil concerns. Let not the Missionary Board grow weary of their work in helping them on, nor Christians in sustaining the Board.

Wm. A. Alexander

ART. II.—*Sketches of Moral and Mental Philosophy. Their Connexion with each other, and their bearings on Doctrinal and Practical Christianity.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. and LL.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Edinburgh, and Corresponding Member of the Royal Institute of France. New York: Robert Carter, 58 Canal Street and Pittsburg, 56 Market Street.

SOME persons entertain the idea that there is very little benefit derived from the study of mental and moral science. They are of opinion, that plain common sense and the Bible, are our surest guides; and that the speculations of philosophers have tended rather to perplex than elucidate the great practical principles which should be the guide of our lives. No doubt there is some truth in these opinions. Men who are governed by the plain principles of common sense, without further inquiry seldom err widely from the truth; while speculative men, misled by their own reasonings, on metaphysical subjects, arrive at conclusions contradictory to evident, intuitive truths. But this very thing evinces the necessity of paying diligent attention to these subjects; in order that the errors of speculative men may be refuted, and that truth—which always has evidence and right reason on its side—may be established, on its true founda-