Curricular Innovations in Hawaiian Female Seminaries

Carl Kalani Beyer

Abstract

This article reveals that during the second half of the nineteenth century the government of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi and the American Protestant missionaries collaborated to engage in curricular innovations, involving educating Hawaiian females much like the charter schools of contemporary United States. The curricular innovations included the use of manual labor and manual training systems during a period from the establishment of its first seminary in 1837 until the end of the nineteenth century.

The purpose of this article is to make the case that during the second half of the nineteenth century the government of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi and the American Protestant missionaries collaborated to engage in curricular innovations, involving educating Hawaiian females much like the charter schools of contemporary United States. This paper investigates four Hawaiian female seminaries established by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) during this time period to make its case. This study also reveals curricular innovations on the part of the missionary educators of these female seminaries in using manual labor and manual training systems from the establishment of its first seminary in 1837 until the end of the nineteenth century. Agreeing with the contention made by Bernard Bailyn (1960) that research should provide a critique of previous studies and the call by Hayden White (1999) that history is about retrieving the past in order to grasp the present, this paper is an historical analysis, utilizing both primary and secondary resources, and guided by a theoretical framework based upon revisionism. There are two reasons for taking this approach: first, it offers a view of the education for Hawaiians not previously reported, and second, it provides a means to enlighten contemporary scholars as to the innovative educational practices occurring in Hawaiʻi during the nineteenth century.

When one investigates the history of government supported education, there is a distinct difference between funding support for public and private education. Public education is financially supported and private education is not. Beginning in the 1970s, charter schools created a new category of education towards which the government supported financially. Charter schools provide a choice to other public schools but are still considered part of the public education system and are not allowed to charge tuition. While the charter schools are legally and financially autonomous, operating more like a private business, they are accountable for student achievement. Due to their being freed from bureaucratic restraints to which traditional public schools need to adhere, they are generally laboratories of innovation (Chen 2010; Landsberg 2010).

Early Female Education

Western-style education arrived in Hawai’i with the Sandwich Islands Mission (SIM) in 1820. Preparing Hawaiians to read the Bible was the initial purpose for American Protestant missionary education (Alexander 1902). While they would have preferred teaching all Hawaiians equally, schools were established for the chiefs and latter their children first. Even when they established a common school system with mixed gender students, because they mistakenly believed that the traditional Hawaiian culture rated women as second-class citizens, Hawaiian men who excelled in the common schools were offered more education than Hawaiian women (Linnekin 2000). Consequently, when Lāhaināluna High School was founded in 1831 as a training center for religious assistants and teachers, only males were selected to attend. It is interesting, however, that in 1839, when the first education law of the kingdom was written, it specified the importance of educating women.

> [Education] is the appropriate business of all the females of these islands, to teach children to read, cipher, and write, and other branches of learning, to subject the children to good parental and school laws, to guide the children in right behavior, and place them in schools, that they may do better than their parents. (Thurston 1904, 106)

The American Protestant missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) to Hawai'i were prepared for their mission by education, work experience, and the sense of a calling. Their backgrounds were usually rural, and often farming had been the family livelihood. They were from the middle class. Their lives were marked by an acquaintance with a variety of skills, hard work, self-denial, thrift, and personal initiative. Their education had been preceded by engagement in various kinds of work: the employment with charitable or religious concerns; and traveling the northeast with tracts, Bibles, and the missionary message, or the call to revival (Grimshaw 1989). In many cases, the education of the men had also included an experience with the manual labor system, which had become popular during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially among the theological seminaries (Beyer 2010a). The women of the mission were quick, efficient, and multi-talented. Although their families could afford further education for them, they did not have the male privilege of extensive, full-time education for years, which culminated in the granting of a formal qualification. Most had secured their education at intervals, while supporting themselves by teaching, by farm labor, or skilled trade (Grimshaw 1989).

A substantial number of these women did receive their training from the female seminaries emerging during the first half of the nineteenth century in the United States. When the daughters of these missionaries or new recruits from the United States took over the education of Hawaiian females during the last forty years of the nineteenth century, many more were trained in the female seminaries of the United States. While Oberlin College was not a female seminary, due to its curriculum, which included manual labor and manual training and a strong Christian education, the SIM sought its graduates. Many missionary daughters also selected this school for their education as well. Of the American female seminaries, Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary was the most preferred by many children of missionaries to Hawaiʻi and served as a place from where missionary educators were recruited for schools in Hawaiʻi (Bingham 1868; Chamberlain 1889; *Female Boarding* 1866; Turner 1929).

Prior to when education for Hawaiian females was primarily accomplished in seminaries, there was an initial educational experiment involving adult Hawaiian women. Patricia Grimshaw (1989) stated that “soon after their arrival in Hawai'i in 1820, and over the next three decades, New England missionary women embarked on an ambitious plan to transform Hawaiian girls and women to notions of femininity upheld by their culture” (xvii). Of all the cultural practices of Hawaiian women, the missionaries deemed their sexual ones the most abhorrent. Traditionally, Hawaiian commoners had no formal marriage system. Relationships were tenuous and, at times, could involve multiple partners. Moreover, because sexual relations were looked upon as just one of life's pleasures, sexual activity began at an early age (Handy and Pukui 1972). To counteract this practice, the missionaries forced Hawaiians to enter into formal marriages. This was accomplished by getting the high chiefs to proclaim that Christian marriage was to be the law of the land. It was more difficult, however, to eliminate what the missionaries perceived as promiscuity. Secondarily, "sloth and idleness" were also characteristics that the missionaries abhorred among the Hawaiians (Alexander 1902, 23). Consequently, at first the missionaries attempted to use their life style and homes as models for Hawaiian women to emulate (Grimshaw 1989).

When it became apparent that the American Protestant missionaries needed to focus its educational efforts on the young, a second period of educational innovations began. In 1835, at the general meeting of the SIM, a resolution was passed to establish common schools for both boys and girls in the mission districts and promote boarding schools for select Hawaiians. As a result of these efforts, a compulsory education law was established and several male boarding schools and two female boarding schools were begun. These female schools, the Wailuku Female Seminary on the island of Maui and the Hilo School for Girls on the island of Hawai'i, were designed primarily to provide wives for the students at the boys' boarding schools (*Annual Report* 1835). Before the 1850s, both of these schools had closed.

Wailuku Female Seminary or the Central Female Seminary (as it was first called) was the first female school begun by the missionaries. It received its financial support entirely form the ABCFM, the organization that had established the SIM. Like the boys' schools, the schools for girls also experimented with both boarding students and the manual labor system. The school was opened in 1837 under the supervision of Reverend Jonathan S. Green and Miss Lydia Brown (*Extracts* 1836). Reverend Green was educated at Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, where he had experienced manual labor training. He also had some experience with the education being provided the Hawaiian men at Lāhaināluna High School. Miss Lydia Brown had been recruited to serve the mission in Hawai'i as a teacher. Along with teaching academic subjects, she specialized in the teaching of carding, spinning, weaving, and knitting of cotton and wool (*Missionary Album* 1969). They commenced immediately to oversee the erection of a suitable building for the school. On July 6, 1837, the school opened with six little girls. The number increased during the year to become an average of about thirty students. While Reverend Green was busy with the Seminary, Edward Bailey assisted him by tending to mission duties, including teaching at the local common school, superintending the other schools throughout the district, and dealing with people's medical needs. Edward Bailey and his wife, Carroline Hubbard Bailey, were selected to join the mission in Hawai'i for their teaching abilities. In November, Miss Maria Odgen was added to the staff, and the enrollment grew to an average of about fifty students (Holt 1861). Unlike the instructors for the boys' school, who were usually ordained ministers, the girls' instructors tended to be women with teaching experiences who were from the United States and selected for their high ideals and earnest Christian purpose in order that they be models for the girls (Haven 1920; Central

1838). The following statement by Miss Ogden best illustrates this purpose:

> I feel it important as far as our means will allow to root out every vestige of their former manner of living[,] raise them in morals and civilization as high as we can get them. So I am obliged to be wide awake in the school, at the table[,] and in the playground[,] and even follow them into their bed chambers. I am more and more satisfied that nothing but just constant vigil and supervision will accomplish the object we aim at. (Kleinberg 1990, 35)

A great deal of the vigilance pertained to controlling the students' sexuality and this was accomplished by implementing the components of the "virtue of purity:" secluding the girls in individual sleeping areas, assigning them to wear uniforms, requiring daily bathing, and admonishing them to control not only their actions but their thoughts as well (Kleinberg 1990). The academic curriculum was elementary, including reading, writing, arithmetic and geography. Once the school was up and running, the schedule for the usual day included: prayers at daylight; one hour of light labor in the garden; breakfast; miscellaneous work; from about nine to eleven a.m., Miss Ogden (who after Mr. Edward Bailey took over the school replaced Miss Brown) taught them spinning, sewing, knitting, and weaving; bathing and dinner; from two to four p.m., Mr. Bailey instructed them in the academic subjects; from four to five p.m., they labored in the open fields with hoes and other implements mainly for exercise; the day ended with supper and prayers. From the beginning, the students at the school were constantly ill. The labor in the gardens was added as a feature to counteract the students' ill health (Dibble 1854).

The primary outcome of the school was to have the girls marry the boys of Lāhaināluna Seminary. In 1842, the American Board renamed the boys' school as a seminary, in keeping with its newfound desire to train some of the male students to become Hawaiian pastors.

Thus, special attention in the females' training was paid to teaching them to perform all the duties as wives and mothers. This was accomplished by instructing them how to prepare sleeping quarters, prepare meals, set table for eating, wash dishes, and other household chores (Dibble 1854). The missionaries feared that all the good work that they were doing with the Lāhaināluna students would be ruined and the graduates would "sink rapidly to an equality with their companions" if they ended up marrying non-pious, illiterate females. If on the other hand, they married "females of cultured minds, and civilized manners, and especially of industrious habits and pious dispositions," they felt assured that their labor would not have been in vain (Green 1838, 35). Thus, the manual labor portion of the Seminary curriculum was crucial as it was "central to the Western concept of women's domestic sphere" (Kleinberg 1990, 95). Sheldon Dibble (1854), a missionary and first scholar of Hawaiian history, summarized the overall intent of the female seminary best when he stated:

> The plan and design of the Female Seminary is to take a class of young females into a boarding school – away in a measure from the contaminating influence of heathen society, to train them to habits of industry, neatness, and order, to instruct them in employments suited to their sex, to cultivate the minds, to improve their manners and to instill the principles of our holy religion – to fit them to be suitable companions for the scholars of the Mission Seminary and

> examples of propriety among the females of the Sandwich Islands. (106)

When Lāhaināluna was transferred to the government, Wailuku Female Seminary was transformed into a co-educational day school. The General Meeting of 1849 gave Mr. Bailey permission to make this change. The school was re-oriented to offer education to either to Hawaiians or foreigners, whose parents, guardians, or patrons would pay a reasonable fee for tuition. Prior to this change, no tuition was charged the girls for their education (*Extracts* 1849).

This was just one example of the blurring of public and private education in Hawaiʻi during the first 30 years of the arrival of Western education. Technically, the school was no longer a part of the Hawaiian public educational system but in practice, half of its enrollment tended to be full-blooded Hawaiian and the other half was *hapa haole* (half Hawaiians). Mr. Bailey taught the boys and Miss Odgen taught the girls. The Prudential Committee of the ABCFM approved of the changes, released them from their connection with the American Protestant mission, and gave them use of the school property and buildings. The school lasted until 1858, when due to the parents or sponsors of the children not meeting their financial obligations the school closed (*Extracts* 1849).

In 1838, Fidelia Coan, the wife of Reverend Titus Coan, began Hilo Girls' Boarding School. Before her marriage, she had been a teacher at Middlebury Female Seminary in Vermont (*Missionary Album* 1969). Hilo Girls' Boarding School was opened for 20 girls from seven to 10 years old. With the help of Hilo residents, a building was erected and furnished. The school only lasted for eight years and the girls never were old enough to satisfy its objective of providing wives for the boys of Hilo Boarding School. Coan's curriculum was "rudiments of necessary book knowledge, and of singing, sewing, washing and ironing, gardening, and other things." Book knowledge provided learning in reading, writing, geography, natural history of beasts, and arithmetic. Manual labor consisted of the girls helping to maintain a garden alongside the school (Coan 1840, 1882). Titus Coan (1840) expressed the value of the education provided these young girls:

> I never, in any country saw a school of twenty little children so uniformly meek, quiet, gentle, docile, and industrious as these little girls. They are a company of bright faces and happy hearts. Their contentment has seemed perfect from the first. No one wishes to leave the school; no one sheds homesick tears. All are cheerful as the lark, and, by their obedient and affectionate manners, they have entwined themselves closely around our hearts. (9)

Mrs. Coan also noted that the girls who were trained at the school did distinguish themselves "for neatness, skill, industry and piety" (Piercy 1992, 102). Ultimately, the school closed due to Mrs. Coan's failing health (Simpson 1993).

Even before these two female seminaries closed, the missionaries had begun a school system for males and females that offered a common school education. However, by 1840, the missionaries were obliged to turn the common schools over to the government. Bernard O. Wist (1937), the premiere scholar on public education during the nineteenth century, speculated that the cuts in financial support from the ABCFM due to the economic depression in the United States led to the missionaries' encouragement of the government's actions regarding the schools. While the schools were a valuable adjunct to the mission, the only course of action was to surrender the schools to the government because of insufficient funds to build schools and pay teachers. Over the next 20 years, the public school system was reorganized with the cooperation of the government and the missionaries continued to operate private boarding schools (Wist, 1937, 1940).

Government Supported Female Education

By the 1850s, two educational systems existed in Hawaiʻi. All the common schools were formed into a public school system. The missionary boarding schools that were able to finance themselves became the private school educational system. When other religious dominations began to compete for the souls of Hawaiian, they too began their own private schools (Beyer 2010b). Because the Hawaiian public education system had earlier been a product of the American Protestant missionary education effort, the government of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi continued to help the private schools of the missionaries through land donations and financial aid.

While the first experiments in female schools occurred during a period of little interest in educating girls, during the late 1850s, there was much interest in female education (Kuykendall 1932). Evidence of this interest surfaced when the journal, *The Friend*, initiated a journalistic challenge to the *Advertiser* and *The Polynesian*, the other prominent English language journals of that time period, and chided both the government and the ABCFM for not promoting female education. The other papers responded, generating more discussion in promoting female education separate from the common schools (Female education 1857).

There were four dominant groups in Hawaiian society at this time. The Hawaiian Royalty, consisting of all the families who were eligible to become king or queen of the Kingdom, and the American Protestant missionaries were by far the most powerful of these forces. Due to their usual collaboration on education projects, they were staunch supporters of the government financially supporting private schools for female education. While the Hawaiian people generally supported whatever the Royalty proposed, their support was not always guaranteed. However, when Richard Armstrong, the Minister of Public Education, visited schools across the Kingdom, he reported their support for a separate female education system: “what the Hawaiian people want is mothers, mothers, mothers, to train their sons and daughters; to reign in the domestic circle and make homes, quiet, well ordered, clean and happy homes” (Armstrong 1854, 12). The final dominant group was the business community. The three Honolulu newspapers were generally used by this group to express their interest. Consequently, since the news media generated the discussion in favor of supporting female education, it is safe to say that the business community also supported this educational innovation.

Whenever the issue of female education surfaced, it was concerned with improving the ordinary Hawaiian home by removing girls to boarding schools (Report of Education 1866).

> For the proper training of most of the Hawaiian girls, [boarding school] is an absolute necessity if they are to be kept from degradation. This is the age when the Hawaiian girl needs the seclusion of the school-home. (*Minutes* 1892)

Ellen Bond (1923), a founder of one of the female seminaries in this study, confirmed this with her own analysis:

> It is my impression that the school originated in the demand of the time for schools that would give to the Hawaiian girls a higher and broader education then was available at the public schools, and probably in an acceptance of the adage that the character of the nation depends largely on the character of its mothers. (35)

In 1860, the Hawaiian government's first effort to influence the curriculum for Hawaiian females began when Mataio Kekuanaoa, the President of the Board of Education for the Kingdom (the father of King Kamehameha IV and V), authorized the charter for the Makiki Family School, a school for girls. This was the first new school in 20 years (Kekuanaoa 1860). The closing of Wailuku Female Seminary had freed Maria Ogden, its former Principal, and she was called upon to establish this school (*Kawaiahao* 1885). The legislative assembly supported this process when it amended the Civil Code, giving specific authority to the Kingdom's Board of Education to establish family schools for Hawaiian girls and also made it lawful for the schools to be aided by the government even if private organizations or individuals operated them (Kamehameha IV 1860). He devised a government aid formula based upon capitation fees paid per child on the following scale: for every child in a family school (later to include female seminaries) for 6 months, $10; for 1 year, $20; for 2 to 3 years, $25; and for 4 years or more, $30 (Government support 1865). This government aid was indispensable if Hawaiian families were to take advantage of the choice this offered them in educating their daughters due to the financial hardships of the schools and the poverty of Hawaiian families (Chamberlain 1889).

In 1865, Kekuanaoa led the Board of Education to adopt special rules for the governance of these schools. Schools were required to teach reading and writing in either English or Hawaiian, arithmetic, the elements of grammar and geography, and utilize the manual labor and/or manual training systems. The internal arrangements of the schools had to be conducive to the physical and moral well being of the pupils. The schools were to be conducted on Christian principles, but each set of board of directors or trustees was given full discretion as to the form of Christianity they might choose to inculcate. The Government Inspector was required to visit, gather information pertaining to the number of students in attendance, the curriculum, the number of students who left the school and the reasons for their departure, and an evaluation of the value of the education (Kekuanaoa 1865). In this way, the Kingdom of Hawai'i began an innovative system of education which mirrored contemporary American charter schools. The schools received public financing and the government had a say in the general curriculum of these schools.

While the primary motivation for educating Hawaiian girls in private boarding schools was to improve their character, there was also beginning to be more concern about providing the graduates of female schools with the means of a livelihood as well. Besides training the girls to produce household goods or obtaining domestic skills that they could sell, there were also voices calling for the training of Hawaiian females as either missionaries or public school teachers (*Minutes* 1863).

Although the Hawaiian government was willing to financially support female seminaries, it was still up to independent organizations or individuals to establish these schools. The involvement of organizations not connected to public education was another way that Hawaiian female boarding schools mirrored the contemporary American charter school movement. As had always been the case in terms of education in Hawaiʻi, the American Protestant missionaries again took the lead. A circular sent by Reverends Poque and Andrews seeking answers from the various missionaries throughout the Hawaiian Islands helped to fashion the missionaries' policies for a series of new seminaries. The Missionary Letter Collection of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society did not have the circular, but the responses to this circular by the various missionaries indicated that there were four questions being asked: 1) What proportion of unmarried Hawaiian girls who have attained the age of puberty remain physically chaste? 2) Should there be the establishment of female seminaries? 3) Should the seminaries be like Wailuku Female Seminary? 4) At what age should the education begin? 5) How should the seminaries be financed? The consensus of their responses included the following: seminaries were needed like the earlier Wailuku Female Seminary; the girls needed to begin their education at a very young age; the girls should stay at the seminary until they married or found employment; the seminaries should be boarding schools in order to keep the students away from corrupting influences; the seminaries should be located away from major port cities, where the bad influences were greatest; parents or guardians should pay for the expenses of the girls; the seminaries should have at least two instructors, one for academics and one for household arts, and that the pay be high enough to attract competent teachers; and the seminaries should teach in the English language and use a manual labor curriculum, which would help defray the costs and prepare girls for life after school (Alexander 1858; Clark 1858; Johnson 1858; Paris 1858).

Government Supported Female Seminaries

Ka'u Seminary was the first female seminary to be established under the new government support of private female education. This school was located on the island of Hawai'i. The school was founded in 1862, by Orramel Hinckley Gulick and his wife, Ann Eliza Clark Gulick. Both were the children of missionaries and had graduated from Punahou School, the school established by the missionaries for their children. Orramel received all his education in Hawai'i; Anna Eliza was a graduate of Mt. Holyoke Seminary (*Female Boarding* 1866). Due to the isolated location of the seminary, it was difficult to attract many students to attend. As a consequence, tuition and board was free, as long as the girls were placed under the parental care of the teachers of the school until the girls were married or obtained employment (*Minutes* 1863). While later female seminaries charged tuition, the fact that Waialua Female Seminary did not, made it more like a public school than other missionary schools. In 1865, after struggling to attract students to the school, the Hawaiian Board of Missions decided to transplant the school to Waiʻalua, Oahu. They opened the latter school with fifty students, ranging in age from eleven to fifteen. Contrary to the advice of the other missionaries, the students were instructed in the Hawaiian language (*Female Boarding* 1866).

In general, due to the homes of the girls being located in rural areas, the students were raised according to the values and practices of traditional Hawaiian culture. The HEA determined that the objective of the school was to prepare the girls to become New England ladies. In order to transform the girls, the teachers instituted the following practices: dressing the girls in calico as opposed to their usual *holoku*; provide beds rather than sleeping mats on the floor; served meals at a table with silverware instead of on the floor using their fingers. The schedule for the day began with breakfast, followed by each girl reading from the Hawaiian Bible, and after the principal offered a prayer in Hawaiian, they were dismissed to begin the routine work, which encompassed all the work necessary to maintain the school except for carting and carrying firewood, and baking and pounding the taro for poi. The older girls put the food away, washed the dishes, and swept the floor. The younger girls dispersed to do various tasks, which included sweeping and dusting the parlor, the sitting-room or the school-room, gathering up the litter of leaves and branches from the yard and garden paths, or putting the teachers' rooms in order. Some of the girls were involved with preparing the meals. All the girls did washing and ironing clothes once a week. The academic work took place between nine a.m. and twelve p.m. and between one and four p.m. An hour and a half was spent on gardening and farming (Jones 1880). Through this training, according to an instructor, "[i]t is our endeavor, by the course of study and training they shall receive, to fit them for missionaries and teachers, and to be the mothers of a part of the future redeemed Hawaiian nation" (Jones 1880, 436). The curriculum included geography, arithmetic, surveying, astronomy, singing, Bible history, and the Bible in general. Manual training consisted of instruction in cutting and sewing dresses, in washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning house, and painting (*Minutes* 1867).

Based on an original manuscript that provided details on each student enrolled in the school from 1865 to 1870, several features of this school were revealed. First, it was very important to the sponsors of the school that the girls become members of the Christian church. Nearly 58 percent of the students were members. Second, the school did keep the girls until they graduated (40 percent of the enrollment), married (34 percent of the enrollment), were employed (4 percent of the enrollment), left for health reasons (6 percent of the enrollment), or were dismissed for not applying themselves or for bad behavior (16 percent of the enrollment). Generally, bad behavior meant improper sexual behavior, but sometimes it meant stealing or repeatedly lying. The school was also meeting its goal in preparing some of its students to become wives of ministers or missionaries (22 two percent of enrollment) and teachers (12 percent of enrollment) (Female Boarding 1871). Although the teachers would never have called these figures a success, they indeed reflected that their efforts were leading to positive results. No doubt this can be attributed to the rapport between the teachers and the students (Gulick 1867).

In December, 1870, the school closed when the American Board sent the Gulicks to evangelize in Japan (Piercy 1992). The school was reopened April 3, 1871, under the charge of Miss Mary E. Green. She was a daughter of missionaries, educated at Punahou School and Mt. Holyoke Seminary (*Minutes* 1871). Except for the addition of instruction in both the English and Hawaiian languages, the school was conducted mainly as it had in its first six years. English became the language of instruction in the academic subjects while the Hawaiian language continued to be the language to study the Bible and other related Christian studies (Female Boarding 1873). She ran the school until 1882, when due to her ill health, she could do it no longer. The property was sold and the money was given to the trustees of Kawaiahaʻo Seminary in Honolulu for the erection of new buildings (*Kawaiahao* 1885).

The origins of Kawaiahaʻo Seminary was first as a school for the daughters of Dr. L. H. Gulick and South Sea Island girls in a building located just south of the Kawaiahaʻo Church. Corresponding with a quick increase in enrollment, which presented the need for a more permanent organization, was a report issued by the Education Committee of the HEA, expressing the need for a female seminary in Honolulu. The authors of this report wanted this school to be primarily religious, a boarding school with a day school department, taught in both English and Hawaiian languages, supported by tuition paid by parents or guardians of the students. It was also expected to use the manual labor and manual training systems in order that the girls learn how to work and receive training in all that pertains to housekeeping and the domestic arts (Report of Education Committee 1866).

In 1867, the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HMCS) decided to support a girls' boarding school. This was an organization consisting of the children of the missionaries, which operated separately from the HEA. They were looking for a cause to support when this opportunity availed itself. After this initial support, HMCS became a regular contributor to all the Hawaiian female seminaries (Chamberlain 1889). They selected Miss Lydia Bingham as principal, and it was officially named the Kawaiahaʻo Seminary. She was the daughter of Reverend Hiram Bingham, a member of the first company of missionaries to Hawai'i, who returned to the United States to raise his children after his wife died. Miss Bingham had been the principal of the Ohio Female Seminary and had been brought from Ohio earlier that year by Dr. Gulick to assist him with his emerging school (Report of Education Committee 1867). The Hawaiian Board appropriated $1000 for repairs and additions to the buildings then occupied by Dr. L.H. Gulick and the girls in his family school. The capitation aid from the Government was indispensable in helping to keep the price charged for board and tuition low (Chamberlain 1889). The tuition varied from $25 to $33 during the entire history of the school. At first, Miss Lizzie Johnson assisted Miss Lydia Bingham in the management of the school. In January 1869, Miss Elizabeth K. Bingham arrived from the United States to be an assistant to her sister. Elizabeth Bingham was a graduate of Mt. Holyoke and, when she was recruited, was a teacher at Rockford Female Seminary (Bingham 1868). The breaking up of Miss Ogden's school at Makiki in 1868 increased the enrollment and the needs of the school (*Missionary* 1969). Already the enrollment was over fifty students. Throughout the rest of the century a number of assistants and principals came and went. Private contributors, the ABCFM, HEA, and HMCS poured more money into the school. New buildings were constructed, enabling the school to offer a full compliment of manual training programs and increase its enrollment. Between 1881 and the end of the century, the enrollment grew from 57 to 127 students. In 1876, due to the growing expense of the school, the Hawaiian board invited the government to join them in supporting the school. A board of trustees was established. As a result of the government contributing funds, it had a say in the membership of this board. In spite of this arrangement, all the trustees remained members of the missionary group (*Kawaiahao* 1885).

Originally, Kawaiahaʻo Seminary was both a day and boarding school. But from 1871 on, it became an exclusively a boarding school. At first the school was designed to prepare Hawaiian girls to become "suitable" wives for men who were at the same time preparing to become missionaries and work in the South Seas. This objective took the back seat to industrial education as new manual training departments were added. This included sewing, washing and ironing, dressmaking, domestic arts, and nursing. The mainstay of the curriculum involved furnishing complete elementary courses, including music, both vocal and instrumental, and training in the household arts (*Fiftieth* 1914).

While Kawaiahaʻo was both growing and changing into a manual training school, two other female seminaries came into existence. The first of these to be discussed is the Kohala Female Seminary. Originally, in the 1840s, Reverend Elias Bond and his wife, Ellen Howell Bond, had founded both boys' and girls' boarding schools in Kohala, located on the west side of the island of Hawai'i. Reverend Bond was a graduate of Bowdoin College and Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine. Ellen Bond had studied at Gorham Female Seminary and expected to be a foreign missionary. But due to the pressures of other work, they were both forced to close their respective schools (*Missionary* 1969). In 1873, after raising $2500, a school for girls was reorganized as the Kohala Female Seminary. The grounds were cleared, a stone foundation and fences built, water system laid out, and the main buildings for classes and living were constructed. The school officially opened in 1874. Miss Elizabeth Lyons came from the mission at Waimea to be its first principal. Forty-five girls enrolled, but it soon grew to sixty, which outgrew the first dormitory. In 1878, the first schoolhouse was converted into a second dormitory, and a new schoolhouse was erected. The school flourished for ten years. Then a serious typhoid epidemic occurred. Miss Lyons was force to return home to Waimea to care for her aged father. No one could be found to replace her, so the school was closed (Bond 1923; Bond 1954).

In 1887, the Bonds turned over the property for the school to the HEA Board under the conditions that it be used as a boarding school for girls, following the same evangelical principles for which the school had been founded. Katherine Bond (1954), a daughter of the Bond's, says "[t]he aims and ideals of the school have always been to furnish a wholesome Christian home training, together with a practical education such as will fit the girls to become housekeepers, wage earners, and generally good citizens" (2). The girls were allowed to do work in lieu of the tuition and room and board fees, which also minimized the costs for the school. The tuition was $25 per semester throughout the nineteenth century. Manual labor involved washing and ironing clothes, cooking, baking taro twice a week, and raising the potatoes, taro, and other vegetables. The curriculum included arithmetic, history, language, geography, reading, spelling, civics, and the Bible. The manual training program included *lauhala* mat weaving, sewing, cooking, crafts, music, hygiene, and gymnastics. The graduates of the Kohala Female Seminary were preferred, as employees by the manager of Parker Ranch, which is today the largest singly owned ranch in the United States (Williams 1923). A statement made in a journal published in Hawai'i best summarized the attitude about this school:

> It was the original purpose of Mr. Bond to establish a school for girls that should give them a higher and broader education than was available at the time in the public schools, besides giving them a wholesome Christian home training. During these years the school has registered no less than eight hundred girls, many of whom are living lives of usefulness as teachers in the public schools of Hawai'i or as wives and mothers in their own homes. (School 1904, 14)

The last of the female seminaries that was begun by the missionaries was at first called the

Makawao Family School. Reverend Claudius B. Andrews and his wife, Anne Seward Gilson Andrews, began it in 1861 in a location above Makawao Village on the island of Maui. He was a graduate of Western Reserve College and Lane Seminary in Ohio. No mention was made of Mrs. Andrews' education. His purpose was to create a school where the girls were taught, as if they were his own daughters (Turner 1929). Borrowing $3000, which he added to the $1000 he had received from his father for emergencies, he built the house that became the school (Andrews 1866). The curriculum of the school was not based primarily on book knowledge; instead "[the students] would be given the essential elements of the true character building, looking to future development of Hawaiian womanhood" (Turner 1929, 7). A year after the school was begun, Mrs. Andrews died. Throughout the next seven years, Reverend Andrews received help from a variety of people and attendance grew to seventy students. But then in 1869, after the school building burned, the school was closed. It reopened in 1871, as a special project of the Henry P. Baldwin family, under a board of trustees, and after the erection of new buildings, as the East Maui Female Seminary or Maunaolu Seminary (Turner 1929). Henry Baldwin was the son of missionaries, educated at Punahou School and Oahu College, taught for a while at Lāhaināluna Seminary, and, at this time, was amassing a fortune as a sugar planter (Wist 1940). Reverend Andrews along with his second wife, Samantha Washburne Wilson Andrews, were in charge of operating the school. Miss Helen E. Carpenter was engaged as an assistant teacher. Both Samantha Andrews and Helen Carpenter were graduates of Mt. Holyoke Seminary. In 1874, the latter was appointed principal (*Missionary* 1969; Turner 1929).

Throughout the years after the reorganization, the curriculum included the usual academic courses in reading, mathematics, literature, history, language (all instruction was in English), geography, spelling, civics, and the Bible. The manual training departments included sewing, domestic arts, and culinary. During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the school was nicknamed the Mt. Holyoke Seminary of the Hawaiian Islands due to the connection of its instructors with that American seminary and the large number of Hawaiian minister's daughters in attendance. Additions to the buildings and aid from both the government and the ABCFM led to the enrollment climbing to 100 pupils (*Hawaiian Mission* 1881). Ultimately, the school was successful on many levels. Even though the missionary founders no longer aimed to have the women graduates of this school marry graduates from the nearby Lāhaināluna Seminary, this was indeed happening frequently. Many of the graduates became teachers, either at other seminaries or in the public schools (*Missionary* 1969; Turner 1929).

Conclusion

In 1895, the legislature of the Republic of Hawaiʻi terminated the practice of government financially supporting private education (Thurston 1904). This action was taken to enhance the chances that their bid for annexation by the United States was successful by mirroring the American practice of separation of church and state. Nevertheless, three of the Hawaiian female seminaries continued to be educational innovators well into the twentieth century. Throughout their history, the Hawaiian female seminaries were successful in offering Hawaiian females a choice from the rudimentary education offered at the public schools. When one reads the reports of the principals of these seminaries in the Annual

Reports of the HEA and the HMCS, they continuously highlight the successes they were having with training their students to become good, Christian housewives, and models for other Hawaiian women. They exhibited pride in the marriages of their students, especially if their husbands were Hawaiian pastors or missionaries. Towards the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, Kawaiahaʿo, Kohala, and Maunaolu Seminaries expanded their enrollment. Most likely this was due to the success the seminaries were having in preparing its students for paid employment, which coincided with their educational innovations in using manual labor and manual training. By the end of the nineteenth century, each school had a full compliment of manual training departments, which led to the acquisition of industrial skills by the students. Thus, through a period of almost 75 years, Hawaiian female seminaries were curricular innovators through providing an education that led to the success of its students that they would not have had if they had received their education from the common schools.

Besides the curricular innovations the American Protestant missionaries utilized in their female seminaries for almost three quarters of the nineteenth century, my research also reveals evidence that indicates an early form of the charter school movement was taking place in the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. While technically the Hawaiian female seminaries were not a part of the public school system, they did provide an alternative to the public school system and a choice for Hawaiian parents. The female seminaries received financial aid from the government and were expected to account for student success. Thus, the collaboration of missionary educators and members of the Hawaiian government anticipated on their own some of the same elements of this educational system in the United States a hundred years later.

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