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Sons and Daughters of Hawaiʻi: Kamehameha Schools and the "Native Problem" in the Territorial Era

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in History

by

C. Makanani Salā

Dissertation Committee:
Professor Adria L. Imada, Chair
Associate Professor Andrew R. Highsmith
Professor Sharon Block

2023

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DEDICATION

To

Kamalu, Mahi, and Teuila

for all they have taught me

and for their unconditional love

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES	iv
LIST OF TABLES	v
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vi
VITA	vii
ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION	viii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: Reshaping the Mind	15
CHAPTER 2: Retraining the Body	53
CHAPTER 3: Rebuilding the Home	83
CONCLUSION	120
WORKS CITED	124

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Map of Independent Religious Schools and Affiliations, circa 1887	24
Figure 1.2	Photograph “Class of 1903”	43
Figure 2.1	“Practical Education” 1918	53
Figure 2.2	“Na Kula Kamehameha” 1918	53
Figure 2.3	Photograph “Army Officers, Midkiff, and Sponsors Watch the Drill,” undated	59
Figure 2.4	Untitled Photograph, (faculty and boys in uniform), undated	62
Figure 2.5	Photograph “Dairy,” undated	69
Figure 2.6	Photograph “Hahaione Farm,” undated	71
Figure 3.1	“Kamehameha School Girls Learn to Be Cooks,” 1924	86
Figure 3.2	“Kamehameha Teaches Childcare,” 1924	87
Figure 3.3	Untitled Photograph, (girls in front of Girls’ School Main Hall), undated	89
Figure 3.4	Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Kamehameha Schools, 1914	90
Figure 3.5	Class of 1897	91
Figure 3.6	Untitled photograph, (girls seated in the dining hall) , undated	102
Figure 3.7	“Sprout in Mufti,” 1938	106
Figure 3.8	“Mrs. Charles B. Lemon, Jr.,” 1928	112
Figure 3.9	Hawaiian Girls Basketball Team, 1926	116

LIST OF TABLES

Table i.1	Nationality of Pupils Attending School in the Territory of Hawaiʻi	6
Table 1.1	Chart of KSB Enrollment	23
Table 3.1	School for Girls enrollment by year and Urban/Rural Dwellers	92
Table 3.2	KS Alumnae occupations by decade	111

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VITA

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Sons and Daughters of Hawaiʻi: Kamehameha Schools and the "Native Problem"

in the Territorial Era

by

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Irvine, 2023

Professor Adria L. Imada, Chair

The first trustees of Kamehameha Schools (KS), a group of five White, pro-annexationist entrepreneurs, attempted to engineer social solutions for the territory's problem with Native Hawaiian youth. They proposed to cure rural and urban youth perceived to have unfit minds and unhealthy bodies. The trustees, administrators, and teachers enacted a curriculum designed to transform the ways Native youth thought about themselves and the world around them; worked in the modern, capitalist economic system; and lived with their families in their own homes. This project of deracination was built on a curriculum of military discipline, the inculcation of a Protestant work ethic, and the proper performance of masculinity and femininity. Bernice Pauahi established KS during a period of tremendous change as the booming sugar plantation economy led to dispossession of Natives from their land, competition with immigrant labor, and public policy which stripped Native Hawaiian monarchs of political power. These settler colonial forces complicated constructions of ability and disability, which were ascribed unevenly on subjugated peoples. Moreover, colonialism introduced foreign diseases which decimated the Native

Hawaiian population, leading to the popular perception that Natives were an unhealthy, unfit, dying people. This dissertation is an institutional history of KS, exploring its evolution from an industrial boarding school to a modern college-preparatory institution for Native Hawaiians. It uncovers the varied methods KS used to solve the “Native problem,” and create “fit” Natives who knew how to “properly” think, work, and live.

Introduction

December 19 is a critically important date each year at Kamehameha Schools, a private school system located in Hawaii whose admissions policy gives preference to children of Native Hawaiian ancestry. The Schools were founded by Princess Bernice Pauahi Bishop (1831-1884), great-granddaughter of King Kamehameha I (c. 1758-1819) who unified the islands of Hawaiʻi into the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi in 1810. According to the school's website, Kamehameha's mission is "to fulfill Pauahi's desire to create educational opportunities in perpetuity to improve the capability and well-being of people of Hawaiian ancestry."[1] The 13th codicil of the Princess' last will and testament provided for the establishment of two schools—one for boys and one for girls—to be accessed by both boarding and day students.[2] Admissions preference is given to children of Native Hawaiian ancestry with a caveat for the advantaging of orphans and others in "indigent circumstances." The Schools' responsibility was to provide a "good education in the common English branches, with instruction in morals and in such other useful knowledge as may tend to make good and industrious men and women."[3]

Each year on the Princess' birthday, current students, faculty and staff, administration, alumni, and community members gather to lift their hearts and voices in song and dance honoring Pauahi, who succumbed to cancer in 1884, some three years prior to the School for Boys' opening. In beautiful, four-part harmony, students sing "be firm and deny, ye, oh Sons of Hawaiʻi, allurements that your race will overwhelm. Be true and rely, ye, oh Sons of Hawaiʻi, on God, the prop and pillar of your realm." Even now, as I write this, I'm beaming with inherent (or programmed) pride as an alumna of the Schools myself, having attended Kamehameha from

[1] "About Us," Kamehameha Schools, (https://www.ksbe.edu/about-us accessed Aug 20, 2023).
[2] "Pauahi's Will," Kamehameha Schools, (https://www.ksbe.edu/about-us/about-pauahi/will accessed Aug 20, 2023).
[3] Ibid.

1992 to 1999. That choral sound that Kamehameha students are so well-known for, I must admit, brings back fond memories.

We wore what the Schools call "dress whites," formal attire for ceremony at Kamehameha—boys in white slacks, a white long-sleeved shirt, white shoes and socks, and a blue sash tied about the waist; girls in long, white *mu'umu'u* (dress) with white, close-toed shoes or white, Japanese *tabi* (thick sock-like footwear). We were the image of the ideal race, giving thanks, annually, to the benefactress and founder of the educational institution that set the path for my own life and, undoubtedly, thousands and thousands of others.

At the inaugural Founder's Day in 1888, Princess Pauahi's husband, Charles Reed Bishop, a banker and businessman originally from New York who was very much responsible for the support and execution of the late Princess' wishes, made a prolonged statement worth reviewing here at length:

> [Bernice Pauahi Bishop] intended to establish institutions which [would] be of lasting benefit to her country; and also to honor the name of Kamehameha, the most conspicuous name in Polynesian history, a name with which we associate *ability*, *courage*, *patriotism*, and *generosity* [emphasis added]. The founder of these schools was a true Hawaiian. She knew the advantages of education and well-directed industry. Industrious and skillful herself, she respected those qualities in others. Her heart was heavy when she saw the rapid diminution of the Hawaiian people going on decade after decade and felt that it was largely the result of their ignorance and carelessness.[4]

Together with the contemporary portrait of the quintessential Native Hawaiian put forth at Founder's Day ceremonies each year, and in aligning that quintessential quality with the descriptors of those embodying "ability," "courage," "patriotism," and "generosity" with the name, Kamehameha, Bishop's assertions illuminate the image of the ideal Native. More than that, as a "true Hawaiian" in her own right, Pauahi herself acknowledged the advantage of "education" and "well-directed" industry. Most striking, Pauahi saw fit to establish the Schools

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[4] C. R. Bishop, "The Purpose of this School" *The Handicraft* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 1889).

in the face of continued, rapid decline in the population of Native Hawaiians owing to disease since 1778 and the arrival of Captain James Cook in Hawaiʻi.

Where did the ideals of ability, courage, patriotism, and generosity originate? And how did they align with "industry" in this context? What role did education play in effecting well-directed industry? More, what is education, and how does it accomplish the goals of this project? The notion of the pure, Native Hawaiian ideal as the Bishops proclaimed, was a value to be sought after and flew in the face of what others considered the reality of the Hawaiian situation. In an 1880 address, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong articulated what he considered the "Native problem."[5] Armstrong was the son of Richard Armstrong who arrived in 1832 as part of the second wave of missionaries sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) for the sole purpose of converting Native Hawaiians to Christianity.

Educated at Punahou School, a private school for missionary children, with summers spent at the Hilo Boarding School on Hawaiʻi island, Samuel Chapman Armstrong joined the Union Army, attaining the rank of General, leading the 8th United States Colored Infantry during the American Civil War. In the post-war period, in effort to train and educate the newly emancipated African American population, he founded the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in 1868. The Institute was modeled after Hilo Boarding School, endeavoring to use Christianity as a foundational curriculum platform to teach students to be teachers themselves and to further proliferate the gospel.

General Armstrong asserted a correlation between the African American and Native Hawaiian populations. In his estimation, both were problematic. Neither population was capable of appreciating suffrage and citizenship because "they received as a gift that which others had

[5] "The Native Hawaiian Problem" *Hawaiian Gazette Supplement* (August 20, 1880).

attained by struggle."[6] These citizens, as new voters, were dangerous, "not because they [were] bad but because they [were] weak" and "easily misled."[7] He considered Native Hawaiians an ignorant, "plastic people"[8] who were wholly unprepared to wear "the mantle of a superior race."[9] Armstrong painted the Kingdom of Hawaii as the child-like ward of the US: "This is the only savage race ever raised by foreign aid to sovereignty over those who ruined it. And been recognized and maintained by the powers as a peer."[10] According to Armstrong, the Hawaiian monarchy was content in their misguided complacency thanks to the "benevolent" force of the United States government.

Charles Reed Bishop's Founder's Day commentary continued: "[Pauahi maintained a] hope that there would come a turning point, when, through enlightenment [and] the adoption of regular habits and Christian ways of living...natives would not only hold their own in numbers, but would increase again like the people of other races...."[11] In this way, then, the Kamehameha Schools was established to fill a gap between the then-current status and station of the Native Hawaiian population as "ignorant and careless" and the prevailing ideals of the time.

Born in 1887, Kamehameha Schools was founded to solve the "Native problem" through an education paradigm that employed a curriculum based in eugenics to reshape the mind, deployed a Protestant work ethic and military discipline to retrain the body, and prescribed a revised standard for the rehabilitation of the household to rebuild the home. This dissertation positions Kamehameha at the intersection of American colonialism at the turn of the 20th

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[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] C. R. Bishop, "The Purpose of this School" *The Handicraft* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 1889).

century, the application of disability theory and race as ascribed social construct, and (Native) education as catalyst for indoctrination and deracination.

An Overview of Education in Hawai‘i

“Education” in Hawai‘i in the nineteenth century was a missionary-led endeavor focused on spreading the word of God. Accordingly, missionaries quickly learned the basics of the Hawaiian-language and used it to translate the Bible for Native consumption. Consequently, literacy became a tool for proliferating the gospel. Hawaiians learned to read and write, and they began to engage in religious texts and hymnals and, later, Hawaiian-language newspapers with their newfound skills. These items, including the earliest Hawaiian-language newspapers, were created and curated by early Protestant missionaries to Hawai‘i.[12]

By the early 1900s, however, Hawai‘i was a cosmopolitan archipelago and home to diverse peoples: Native Hawaiians, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, and *Haole* (white foreigners). These immigrant groups had educational needs in addition to that of the Native people. Though Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians accounted for 75 percent of school pupils in 1888, that number decreased to just 49 percent by 1900. Portuguese were the next largest immigrant group at 15 percent in 1888, which increased to 25% in 1900. The number of Asians (Japanese and Chinese, combined) saw the most rapid increase from just 2% of school pupils in 1888 to 17% by the dawn of the twentieth century (see table i.1). This increasingly multicultural population, most of which came to Hawai‘i specifically to become plantation laborers, had diverse educational needs and, for the most part, possessed little to no facility in the English

[12] For more on the history of Hawaiian-language newspapers and literacy in Hawai‘i, see Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Paa i Ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010) and Noenoe K. Silva, *The Power of the Steel-tipped Pen: Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017). Additionally, Nogelmeier and Silva recenter Hawaiian-language newspapers as vital, underutilized primary source material in histories of Hawai‘i.

language. Consequently, education turned from its formerly religious focus in the early nineteenth century, with missionaries spreading the gospel in Native languages. Education instead kept pace with the US's turn toward industrial and vocational training and, secondarily, English-language training.

NATIONALITY OF PUPILS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN THE TERRITORY OF HAWAII.
COMPARATIVE TABLE FOR THE YEARS FROM 1888 TO 1900.

	1888	1890	1892	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900
Hawaiian	5,320	5,599	5,353	5,177	5,207	5,480	5,330	5,406	5,043	4,977
Part-Hawaiian	1,247	1,573	1,866	2,103	2,198	2,443	2,479	2,568	2,721	2,631
American	253	259	371	285	386	417	484	526	601	698
British	163	139	131	184	200	256	280	234	213	232
German	176	199	197	208	253	288	302	319	337	320
Portuguese	1,335	1,813	2,253	2,551	3,186	3,600	3,815	3,818	3,882	3,809
Scandinavian	40	56	71	83	96	98	106	112	84	114
Japanese	54	39	60	113	261	397	560	737	1,141	1,352
Chinese	147	262	353	529	740	931	1,078	1,170	1,314	1,289
South Sea Islanders	16	42	36	35	29	23	10	30	30	28
Other Foreigners	19	25	21	39	60	90	78	77	124	87
Totals	8,770	10,006	10,712	11,307	12,616	14,023	14,522	14,997	15,490	15,537

Table i.1 "Nationality of Pupils Attending Schools in the Territory of Hawaii"[13]

Early educational endeavors in Hawaiʻi focused on conversion to Christianity, so missionaries used it to spread religion quickly and easily amongst the Native population as early as the 1820s.[14] Missionaries began teaching in informal settings designed to convert the *aliʻi* (royal class).[15] Soon after their arrival, the Protestant missionaries began teaching the young King Kamehameha II, Liholiho, who unfortunately died in 1824, less than a year after beginnig his studies.[16] Though select members of the chiefs' retinue were permitted to attend the missionary fathering, as were children of foreigners, the chiefs largely prevented commoners

[13] Table is taken from: Alatau Atkinson, "Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii" (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co, Ltd., 1901), 94.
[14] The first formal School founded by early Protestant missionaries was Lāhaināluna in 1831. For more on literacy and conversion to Christianity, see: Kathryn H. Au and Julie Kaomea "Reading Comprehension and Diversity on Historical Perspective: Literacy, Power, and Native Hawaiians" in *Handbook of Research on Reading Comprehension* (Routledge: Milton Park, 2014), 595-610.
[15] WB Elkin, "Early Education in Hawaii" in *Pedagogical Seminary* (January 01, 1903) p86-95.
[16] For more on the early missionary initiatives in Hawaiʻi, see William Ellis, *Journal of William Ellis: A Narrative of a Tour Through Hawaii in 1823* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd., 1917).

from participating until they had first evaluated the usefulness of education.[17] After Liholiho's death, his "step-mother," Kaʻahumanu, learned to read and decreed that all Hawaiians do the same.[18] Her decree increased public interest and helped to develop the "common schools" where teachers were unpaid and taught in *hale pili* (grass-thatched huts) built by the community.

This village-based educational system carried commoners through to developing the first boarding school, Lāhaināluna Seminary, in 1831.[19] Though boarding schools became more prevalent in the 1830s and beyond, commons schools continued until 1846 when the Kingdom government established the a department for Public Instruction to support and evaluate the common schools with government spending and oversight.[20] This consolidation of common schools became the foundation of the public school system in Hawaiʻi. By 1900, the territory had 140 public schools and 55 private schools with an attendance of more than fifteen thousand pupils.[21]

Though public schools outnumbered independent schools in the nineteenth century, Hawaiʻi's fifty-five private schools accounted for just over four thousand individuals, or 25% of the total pupils in 1900. Accordingly, private schools educated a sizable chunk of school aged youth in Hawaiʻi. There were several prominent and well-attended sectarian educational institutions predating KS, including Oʻahu College (later Punahou School), which was created in 1840 for missionary children and descendants to be educated locally (Protestant, Congregationalist); St. Alban's College (later ʻIolani School) in 1863 (Protestant, Anglican); St. Louis College (later St. Louis School) in 1880 (Catholic, Marianist); St. Andrew's Priory in 1867

[17] Elkin, "Early Education," 1903, 88.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid., 93.
[20] "Report of the Minister of Public Instruction" (Honolulu: Charles E. Hitchcock, 1847), 5.
[21] Ibid., 93.

(Protestant, Episcopalian).[22] Each of these schools had an *aliʻi* who championed its creation and, in many cases, helped to raise funds for its establishment.

Significance and Contribution of Knowledge

Though scholars have studied education and Americanization within the public-school context, the implications of private educational institutions on the Native Hawaiian population remain understudied.[23] This dissertation is an institutional history which analyzes KS's curricula, policies, and procedures during its early years. Today, KS is lauded as the premier college-preparatory institution for Native Hawaiian students, but the current, dual academic and cultural foci represent a clear shift from KS's origins as an industrial school. The recent turn towards culture-based curricula and Hawaiian language revitalization in the mid-to-late twentieth century and into the twenty-first century has largely obscured KS's role in the deracination of Native Hawaiian youth during the territorial period. KS remade the way students thought, worked, and lived. The application of scientific racism and ascribed disability on Native Hawaiians was rooted in racial elitism and campaigns to constrain Native identity and cultural practice. Additionally, military discipline and intense physical training created docile laborers for the burgeoning agricultural and industrial economy. KS transformed private, in-home habits and practices by policing of non-instructional time and interpersonal relationships. Each arm of KS's deracination project supported the extension of American colonialism in the islands.

The last two decades of the nineteenth century saw immense political and social change

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[23] For more on public education in Hawaiʻi, see: Maenette K. P. Ah Nee-Benham and Ronald H. Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawaiʻi : The Silencing of Native* (Mahwah: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1998); Carl Beyer, "The White Architects of Hawaiian Education" in *American educational history journal* 44.2 (2017): 1–18 Tina Grandinetti, Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, and Aiko Yamashiro, "Decolonization and Public Education in Hawaiʻi" in *The Value of Hawaiʻi 2* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2014); Derek Taira, "Embracing Education and Contesting Americanization: A Reexamination of Native Hawaiian Student Engagement in Territorial Hawaiʻi's Public Schools, 1920–1940" in *History of Education Quarterly* 58.3 (2018): 361–391.

for Hawaiʻi's Native and multiethnic citizenry. King David Kalākaua signed the so-called Bayonet Constitution in 1887, which ceded Pearl Harbor to the US Navy in exchange for the free export of sugar to the US.[24] A decade later, in 1898, a group of haole (foreign) businessmen illegally overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, and the first "treaty" of annexation was sent to President Harrison almost immediately. It would, however, take the next five years—and the beginning of the Spanish-American War—for the foreign oligarchy to finally ensure annexation through the Newlands Joint Resolution in July 1898.[25]

The paradigm of Native citizenship and nationality, already complicated by the influx of Asian and European immigrants who had become citizens and taken prominent positions in the Hawaiian Kingdom had shifted fundamentally. Whereas citizens were once loyal to a Native Hawaiian sovereign, their fidelity became linked—for a time—to staunch imperialist President William McKinley and the American Republic.[26] Consequently, Native Hawaiian land and the people of Hawaiʻi became subjects of the U.S. empire and its laws, transforming life's social, political, and economic fabric. The so-called "Native problem" was an obstacle for the development of the American territory.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, amidst population collapse due to

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[24] The 1887 Constitution, nicknamed the "Bayonet Constitution" because King Kalākaua was forced to sign it under duress, moved power from the regent (Kalākaua) to the legislature. A small militia called the Honolulu Rifles threatened violence should the King refuse to sign the new constitution.

[25] While annexation was not fait accompli, considering the Palapala Hoopii Kue Hoohui Aina (Native Hawaiian Petition Protesting Annexation), Native Hawaiians were no longer the majority voice or vote in the islands. By 1890, "Natives and Half-castes" comprised only 42% of the population of Hawaiʻi, while European, American, and Asian foreigners made up the other 58%.

[26] Scholars have long cataloged how President William McKinley demonstrated his propensity for American imperialism from 1898-1900. See Thomas A. Bailey "Was the Presidential Election of 1900 a Mandate on Imperialism?" in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 24.1 (1937): 43-52; Thomas McCormick, "Insular Imperialism and the open door: the China Market and the Spanish-American war" in *Pacific Historical Review* 32.2 (1963): 155-169; and Robert L. Vie, "William McKinley: Advocate of imperialism" in *Western Journal of Communication* 36.1 (1972): 15-23.

foreign disease, Hawaiʻi's Native people were rapidly disappearing.[27] From an estimated 683, 200 in 1778 to just 39, 711 in 1880, *kānaka* experienced a 94 percent decrease in population numbers in the one hundred years following contact with the western world.[28] The waning population, combined with swirling narratives of Native Hawaiian indolence, drunkenness, and lawlessness, worked in tandem to paint *kānaka* as inherently savage. Popular travelogues and periodicals with widespread readership in the continental US and abroad sold Hawaiʻi as the next playground for the affluent yet weary traveler.[29] Even Bernice Pauahi Bishop, the Schools' founder foresaw the "extinction" of the Hawaiian race due to Native ignorance and the rapidly changing landscape.[30]

Several *aliʻi* (royal) trusts emerged in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to combat the poor health and low birth rate of the Native Hawaiian population.[31] Though these

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[27] HMS Captain James Cook's arrival in 1778 brought starving and diseased seamen to Hawaiʻi's shores, eager to partake of the islands' bounty and enjoy the comfort of island women. In a scene so familiar to Native people worldwide, those first carefree liaisons quickly became ground zero for the spread of venereal disease amongst kānaka. Once Cook put Hawaiʻi on the world map, industry (and more disease) inevitably followed. After epidemics of measles, tuberculosis, influenza, bubonic plague, and leprosy, the previously healthy, thriving Native Hawaiian population rapidly declined.

[28] For a recent population estimate and a data analysis of previous estimates, see David A. Swanson, "A New Estimate of the Hawaiian Population for 1778, the Year of First European Contact" in *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 11:2 (2019) pp 203-222.

[29] See John L. Stevens and W. B. Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii; a charming description of her unique history, strange people, exquisite climate, wondrous volcanoes, luxurious productions, beautiful cities, corrupt monarchy, recent revolution and provisional government* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1894); and John L. Stevens and W. B. Oleson, *Riches and Marvels of Hawaii; A Charming Description of her unique history, strange people, exquisite climate, wondrous volcanoes, luxurious productions, beautiful cities, corrupt monarchy, revolution, provisional government and annexation* (Philadelphia: Edgewood Publishing Co., 1900). Both *Picturesque Hawaii* and *Riches and Marvels of Hawaii* were coauthored by Kamehameha Schools' founding president, W.B. Oleson and former US Minister to the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi John L. Stevens, President Grover Cleveland dismissed the latter by 1893 for his inappropriate conduct in the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. For more on John L. Steven's role in overthrowing the Kingdom, see James Henderson Blount and United States Congress, *Foreign Relations of the United States, Appendix 2: Affairs in Hawaiis*(Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1895). Mid-Pacific magazine was printed by the Hawaiian Gazette in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, and sent throughout the US and abroad. It featured numerous articles detailing the past times of Native Hawaiians and descriptions of their cheerful and demure nature. It provided a glimpse into the culture of Native Hawaiians, and it showcased the natural beauty of Hawaiʻi through images. Explore the archives of *Mid-Pacific Magazine,* which would later become known as *Pan Pacific*, https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000065058.

[30] C. R. Bishop, "The Purpose of this School" *The Handicraft* vol. 1 no. 1 (January 1889).

[31] A majority of the aliʻi (royal) trusts were devoted to the health and well-being of Native Hawaiians (and others):

entities made marked strides towards improved healthcare and social services, their singular aim was to improve the physical health of Native Hawaiian bodies. Burgeoning eugenics movement focused on race and procreation destabilized this mission. The scientific and academic community sought to solve the Native problem by engineering a future Native Hawaiian race that was "fit" for survival. Eugenic theory addressed issues of a supposedly genetically inferior race which was economically deficient, physically degenerate, and socially inept within the sphere of the increasingly intrusive modern, western cultural beliefs and practices in the Territory of Hawaiʻi.

The first chapter, "Reshaping the Mind," interrogates the methods by which Kamehameha Schools sought to reshape the way students thought about themselves and the world around them. By limiting the use of Native language in the classroom setting and by centering western narratives and subject matter, KS teachers and the administration constrained students' worldview and self-conception. KS faculty also introduced a eugenics curriculum that showed students how to identify "unfit" Native bodies and modeled ways to prevent the "degeneration" of their own bodies and minds. "Reshaping the Mind" highlights ways KS alumni demonstrated both the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of KS's deracination campaign through their lifeways. This chapter traces KS's system of deracination through an examination of two influential figures in the early twentieth century discourse on eugenics and racial rehabilitation in Hawaiʻi: Uldrick Thompson, Sr., a staunch eugenics proponent, and Akaiko Akana, a Hawaiian Chinese Protestant reverend, and KS alumnus. Both figures sought to

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Queen's Hospital in 1859; Lunalilo Home (to serve poor, destitute, elderly Native Hawaiians) in 1879; Kapiʻolani Maternity Home in 1890 (for Native Hawaiian maternal health); and Liliʻuokalani Trust (to serve orphan and indigent Native Hawaiian children) in 1917. In planning for her estate, Bernice Pauahi Bishop—presumably recognizing the excellent work of her fellow aliʻi class—chose to funnel the resources from her estate to fund educational initiatives for Native Hawaiian children.

transform Native youth into worthy citizens for the American territory and combat the perceived "degeneracy" among Native Hawaiians, commonly associated with declining physical, psychological, or emotional health.

The concept of "degeneracy" employed during the early years of KS intersecting with pseudoscientific terms from the American eugenics movement. Scholars have argued that the eugenics movement was “supported by a broad spectrum of American intellectuals” and influenced major public policies on sterilization.[32] Moreover, Steven Selden contended that “American Mendelian eugenicists naively applied Mendel’s notions [on agricultural experiments] to all complex human traits. They argued that moral, intellectual, and social qualities could be easily explained by reference to the workings of heredity.”[33] More recent scholars have shown how both public and private institutions in the US have applied eugenic theory and practice to marginalized peoples.[34]

Chapter 2, “Retraining the Body,” uncovers the ways KS retrained Native bodies to labor in agricultural and industrial fields. Educational theory during the Progressive Era emphasized career readiness and job placement, but this targeted approach was applied unevenly based on gender, class, and race. Accordingly, middle and upper-class White students trained to become managers and entrepreneurs, while poor, Native, and non-White immigrants trained to become laborers. Private interests presumably influenced programming as KS served as a major research and data collection partner for the US Agricultural Experiment Station. KS was also aligned with the Hawaiʻi Sugar Planters Association (HSPA) which sought to increase the production capacity

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[32] Steven Selden, *Inherting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America* (New York: Teacher’s College, Columbia University, 1999), 1-2.
[33] Selden, *Inheriting Shame,* 3.
[34] Robert Jarvenpa, *Declared Defective: Native Americans, Eugenics, and the Myth of Nam Hollow* (Lincoln: UNP - Nebraska, 2018); Christine Rosen, *Preaching Eugenics: Religious Leaders and the American Eugenics Movement.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2015).

and quality of sugar. Thus, KS's industrial educational programming aligned with the capitalist tendencies characteristic of American imperial expansion into the Pacific.

Kamehameha Schools (KS) sought to address the perceived weakness and degeneration of Native bodies through military, agricultural, and industrial training, along with the inculcation of Protestant work ethic. Popular discourse framed the Native problem, both mentally and physically, as a medical and scientific issue. In practice, however, the construction of the Native problem was rooted in social inequities and settler colonialism. KS combined educational training with workforce development to create healthy bodies for labor in the plantations and factories.

Chapter 3, "Rebuilding the Home," interrogates institutional practices at Kamehameha School for Girls (KSG) to show how the Schools remade Native girlhood through training in the domestic arts and reshaping cultural practices within Hawaiian homes. KSG garnered attention in local newspapers for its groundbreaking facilities and new domestic arts curriculum, which showcased Native girls engaging in food preparation and demonstrating proper infant care in formal settings, adhering to their "appropriate" roles as submissive domestic laborers. At the turn of the twentieth century, popular narratives and travelogues framed Native men as diseased, degenerate bodies. Those same narratives created Native women as delinquent and sexually promiscuous individuals. KS sought to rebuid the Hawaiian home by re-teaching Native women to care for themselves and their families in classes dedicated to Mothercraft and Domestic Arts.

Chapter 3 highlights how Domestic Arts courses, particularly Mothercraft and Cooking, aimed to remake Native Hawaiian women into capable homemakers and mothers. This emphasis reshaped perspectives on interpersonal relationships and the nuclear family, with the potential for long-term change in the home. As the alma mater "Sons of Hawaiʻi" seems to suggest, Native

Hawaiian women were (and perhaps still are) an afterthought. Though Bernice Pauahi explictly created space for a Boy's School *and* a Girl's School, the Schools' curricula evidences a clear tendency towards educational and occupational opportunities for young Native men. Though much of the girls' curriculum was reified Victorian conceptions of womanhood, KS also expanded occupational training for Native women. Vocational programs were gendered but they did prepare women for non-domestic wage-earning labor in the marketplace, increasing a woman's capacity for financial independence *without* marriage.

Bernice Pauahi selected five White trustees to operationalize KS, which purported to improve the lives of Native Hawaiians. The first, Charles Reed Bishop, was Pauahi's husband, who founded Bishop and Co., the first chartered bank in the Kingdom. Next, there was Samuel Mills Damon, Bishop's business partner who later acquired Bishop and Co., which then became First Hawaiian Bank. Damon was a supporter of the overthrow and became the Vice-President of the Provisional Government. Third, was Charles McEwen Hyde was a Princeton Theological Seminary graduate and ABCFM missionary to Hawaiʻi in 1877. Next was Charles Montague, son of Chiefs' Children's School founders Amos and Juliette Cooke, who was an attorney by trade, who later went on to found the Bank of Hawaii. Last, but certainly not least, was William Owen Smith, college roommate to Charles Montague Cooke. Smith was an active member of the "Committee of Safety" which overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893. He also drafted the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution" which took decision making power from Hawaiʻi's sovereign and placed it in the control of the foreign dominated Cabinet. While these were the most powerful, visible architects of the schools' mission and ideology, I also pay attention to the role of teachers, matrons, and administrators in the execution of the trustees' vision in the classroom, on the farm, and in the schools' workshops.

Chapter 1 - Reshaping the Mind

As long as civilization lasts in the blessed isles, the beneficent influence of...Bernice Pauahi Bishop will endure. A thousand years from now, men and women wiser than we are and more capable of appreciating great gifts will rise to bless the Founder of the Kamehameha Schools.
Uldrick Thompson, "Reminiscences," 1921

Both missionaries and a foreign oligarchy-controlled private and public education in the Hawaiian kingdom and, later, Hawaiian territory. More specifically, individuals who came to Hawaiʻi as missionaries beginning in the early nineteenth century soon became the oligarchy. Missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions (ABCFM) infiltrated the *aliʻi* (royal) class when they taught the King and his retinue to read and write. Missionaries ingratiated themselves to pivotal members of the Hawaiian monarchy who would eventually convert to their monotheistic, Christian religious belief system. High ranking *aliʻi* converts began issuing edicts which pushed animistic, Native spirituality practices into the margins of society.[35] By the early to mid-nineteenth century, religious institutions became some of the first foreign landowners in the Hawaiian Kingdom and any dividing lines between church and industry began to dissolve.[36] To that end, missionaries first organized small, community-based schools in villages throughout the archipelago to further their civilizing and Christianizing mission in the Hawaiian language.[37]

[35] Kaʻahumanu, one of Kamehameha I's wives, ruled as Kuhina Nui (regent) with Kamehameha II after Kamehameha I's passing in 1819. Historians have argued that she was the primary influence on Kamehameha II which led to the dismantling of the ʻaikapu (Hawaiian system of religion) in 1820. Kamehameha II was only twenty -two at the time and began learning to read and write shortyly after missionary arrival. Kaʻahumanu would be baptized by the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in 1825. See Chester Raymond Young, "American Missionary Influence on the Union of Church and State in Hawaii During the Regency of Kaahumanu" *Journal of Church and State 9,* no. 2 (Spring 1967): 165-179.
[36] For more on the role of missionary entrepreneurs in the transformation of land ownership, see: Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaiʻi?* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2007); Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea la e pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1997); and Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwoʻole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2022).
[37] Historian Noelani Arista covered Native Hawaiians' early interactions with missionaries and the way those relationships influenced governance and the sociopolitical landscape. See Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawaiʻi and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

From these humble religious beginnings, missionaries and the Hawaiian Kingdom government built a more expansive "common school" and "select school" system which would make way for widespread public education in the kingdom.[38] Finally, when Kamehameha III codified Hawaiʻi's first constitution in 1840, he combined the common and select schools to establish the public school system. This new system of school governance transferred the administrative and financial responsibility of running these previously community-based schools from local churches to the local government. In this transition, churches and missionaries relinquished their ability to force religious membership and/or certain religious practices on students who wished to enroll. As an independent school, however, Kamehameha Schools was not subject to this same governmental bureaucracy. This extra layer of autonomy allowed KS and other independent schools to safeguard their religious-related requirements. KS was essentially free to unilaterally determine the schools' direction and the fate of its students. The schools' founder, Bernice Pauahi Bishop, left that fate to a group of five *haole* (white) trustees.

"Reshaping the Mind" explores the methods KS used to recondition the way Native students' viewed themselves and the world around them. While students at Native American boarding schools and First Nations residential schools in the United States and Canada endured pervasive physical and sexual abuse, this was not the case at KS in its early years. Though KS was not immune to incidences of physical violence, I argue that the school was prone to forms of psychological violence designed to deracinate students.[39] To deracinate is to remove an

[38] See C. Kalani Beyer, "The Shifting Role of the Language of Instruction in Hawaii during the 19th Century" *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* vol. 5, no. 2 (December 2009): 157-173.
[39] Though instances of overt physical violence are not central to this dissertation, it is not because Kamehameha was violence-free throughout its history. In 2018, Kamehameha Schools made major headlines locally and nationally after 32 former students were awarded a more than $80 million settlement in a sexual abuse lawsuit against the school. The abuse was ongoing from the 1950s to the 1980s at the hands of a school psychologist at an off-site hospital. The lawsuit alleged that faculty and administration were aware of the abuse but did not report it to authorities. In 2020, eight more students brought a similar case against KS. See Marcel Honore, "Victims Say

individual from their community, family, and/or social context and sever deep-seated connections to origin and culture by transplanting them to a new context. The United States and Canada practiced and perfected a form of deracination in Native youth at boarding and residential schools throughout the North American continent. Boarding schools, the colonial government, and religious institutions took students from their homes, displacing them from their cultural and social context and cutting them off from their communities. They then isolated students in a carefully controlled environment where colonial language, culture, and religious practices supplanted Native language, cultural, and social influences.

"Reshaping the Mind" proceeds in three main parts: the first interrogates the way KS — as an extension of the U.S. colonial project—figured students as disabled in need of rehabilitation. It shows how the forced use of English slowly transformed perspective and worldview, which had ramifications both inside and outside of Kamehameha Schools. As the basis for education, instructors used the English language to frame all instructional subjects and courses, no matter the content. The second section of this chapter interrogates former KS president Uldrick Thompson's plan to combat the supposed degeneracy of the Hawaiian race through the inculcation of eugenic theory. His work shaped perspectives and practices at KS and—to some extent—throughout Hawai'i. Finally, the chapter turns to a Hawaiian perspective on the "rehabilitation" of the Native population, namely from that of Reverend Akaiko Akana.

$800M Kamehameha Schools Settlement Not Just About Money," *Honolulu Civil Beat* February 16, 2018, https://www.civilbeat.org/2018/02/victims-say-80m-kamehameha-schools-settlement-not-just-about-money/ accessed May 24, 2023; Yoohyun Jung, "New Lawsuit Filed In Kamehameha Schools Abuse Case" *Honolulu Civil Beat* November 16, 2020, https://www.civilbeat.org/beat/new-lawsuit-filed-in-kamehameha-schools-abuse-case/ accessed May 24, 2023; and Lynn Kawano, "Part I: Kamehameha Schools Sex Abuse Victims 'monster' Stole Our Childhoods" *Hawaii News Now* December 12, 2017, https://www.hawaiinewsnow.com/story/36935158/kamehameha-schools-concedes-sex-abuse-happened-but-continues-legal-fight/ accessed May 24, 2023; Rob Perez, "Kamehameha Schools Abuse Case: Victims Sought," *Honolulu Advertiser*, November 14, 2017; and Rob Perez *Honolulu Advertiser* "Sex Abuse Victim Calls Dispute a 'Knife Fight' June 16, 2019.

Akana was a 1903 KS graduate who went on the work at KS for a short time. Akana became the first fully-fledged Native Hawaiian *kahu* (pastor/priest) of the flagship ABCFM church, Kawaiahaʻo. Akana actively contributed to discourse on the Native problem by proposing a plan to "rehabilitate" Native Hawaiians by putting them back on the land through a homesteading bill.

While there are no records of long-term, sustained communication between Thompson and Akana, there were only 160 students enrolled in the manual school along with twenty-six faculty in 1903. Considering faculty functioned as both teachers and dormitory advisors, it is likely Thompson and Akana had ample occasion to interact as Akana was enrolled in manual training courses throughout his time at KS. Eugenic theory aside, Thompson and Akana were active in parallel discourses focused on eradicating disability from the Native Hawaiian community. This chapter does not present an exhaustive comparison of the many voices and perspectives contributing to eugenic discourse in Hawaiʻi but highlights two differing perspectives on the larger theme of Native disability in a Hawaiian context.

Colonial Education and Disability in Hawaiʻi

In Hawaiʻi, all early schools were private endeavors until the emergence of the Minister of Public Instruction in the mid-nineteenth century. Many of those previously independent schools transitioned to public educational institutions and were later administered by the government. Consequently, a study of public or private educational institutions is also inherently a history of settler colonialism and missionary-influenced governance. The primary goal of education was to provide an appropriate education to the appropriate population. For Native Hawaiians, this meant becoming a productive and dutiful workforce. In Hawaiʻi, the earliest government officials charged with Public Instruction were missionaries who quickly became entrepreneurs. Thus, educational institutions conflated fitness for labor with fitness for eternal

salvation. As agricultural and industrial enterprises expanded, business owners needed able-bodied laborers for participation in the capitalist economy. Good citizens of the Hawaiian Kingdom and, later, the American territory became defined by their ability to conform to transforming economic, social, and religious systems. Colonialism, however, ensured Native Hawaiians remained irreversibly disabled.

Historian Adria Imada has shown how colonialism employed the notion of disability against subjugated peoples to further the imperial project.[40] On the one hand, Imada argued, colonized peoples' inability or outright refusal to perform correctly ensured they were "always already figured and constituted as disabled."[41] On the other hand, colonialism also weaponized disability to target colonized peoples who over-exceled in the performance of colonial ideals and behaviors. Overeducated and overly successful Native Hawaiians were then subject to accusations of lost vitality and physical prowess.[42] Thus, in the colonial setting of Hawaiʻi, the Hawaiians were disabled for being too Hawaiian or too much like the haole colonizer.

Kamehameha Schools' own late nineteenth-century discourse highlighted the unattainable goals set forth by the school, and how Native youth failed "to live up to American and European ideals of trustworthiness."[43] At KS, the "ideal working man" was not "ground down…by Old World royalty and feudalism" but was a "working man" who labored in a factory and whose status in life was determined on what he did rather than who he was.[44] The supposition that Native youth were incapable of meeting KS imposed constructions of trustworthiness demonstrates how colonialism applied disability to advance its own ends.

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[40] Adria L. Imada, "A Decolonial Disability Studies?" *Disability Studies Quarterly* vol. 37 no. 3 (Summer 2017) https://dsq-sds.org/index.php/dsq/article/view/5984/4694.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *The Handicraft* (January 1894).
[44] "Our Aim in Work" *The Handicraft* (January 1894).

"American and European ideals of trustworthiness" were subjective measures by which to judge the fitness of Native students. The notion of the "ideal working man" eschewed Native Hawaiian ideals of kinship and the lineal passage of *mana* (spiritual power) by arguing that a man was the sum of his actions, and not his birth. Thus, colonialism in Hawai'i constructed Native youth as disabled; and Kamehameha Schools sought to then rehabilitate some of those Native youth. On some level, Kamehameha Schools needed colonialism and its construction of disabled Native youth to justify its own existence. Ostensibly, KS's goal of solving the "Native problem" both supported and legitimated colonialism.

During this period, pseudoscientific eugenics discourse utilized terms like "degeneracy" to refer to "undesirable individuals." "Degeneracy" was employed during the early years of KS—to denote an individual who had experienced a decline in physical, psychological, or emotional health, whether actual or perceived. Historically, the term "degeneracy" intersected related social science terms in vogue during the American eugenics movement, like "unfit," "imbecile," and "feebleminded," amongst others.[45] Scientific and popular discourse often used these terms interchangeably to identify individuals who displayed non-conforming physical characteristics or non-compliance to socially accepted beliefs systems.[46] Accordingly,

[45] For more on the history and utilization of eugenics terms in the period, see: Franz Boas, "Eugenics" *The Scientific Monthly* 3.5 (1916): 471-478; GK Chesterton, *Eugenics and Other Evils* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1927); Francis Galton, "Eugenics: Its definition, scope, and aims" *American Journal of Sociology* 10.1 (1904): 1-25. For recent analyses of Eugenics and related terms, see Theodore M. Porter, *Genetics in the Madhouse: The Unknown History of Human Heredity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018); Steven Selden, Inheriting *Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999); Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016).

[46] The prevalence of these terms in Hawai'i mirrors the usage of such terms in the United States and Canada during the Progressive Era. Disability studies scholars like Jay Timothy Dolmage, Douglas Baynton, and Susan Schweik have taken these terms and others and used a disability studies framework to illustrate the ways race can constitute a disability. Each of these disability studies scholars is concerned with *ascribed* disability. That is, the burgeoning field of disability as a social construction and as a tool to oppress women, the poor, and people of color. See Jay Timothy Dolmage, *Disabled Upon Arrival: Eugenics, Immigration, and the Construction of Race and Disability,* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2018) and Susan Schweik, *The Ugly Laws: Disability in Public*, (New York: New York University Press, 2009).

individuals with a perceptible physical deformity or anomaly were grouped with social nonconformists like Natives who, for example, refused to abandon traditional pagan beliefs. Both categories of individuals were perceived to have a disability.[47] Popular and scientific discourse conflated physical, psychological, and emotional "degeneracy" with social nonconformity. Government agencies were then free to use these equivocal social categories to ascribe disability to poor and "deviant" individuals with impunity.[48] At KS, administrators desired students to demonstrate a Protestant work ethic and adherence to Christian constructions of morality and respectability.

Historically, KS was in the business of making laborers and this focus forced a transformation on the largely rural students in the early years. For the 1903-1904 school year, 86% of students came from rural areas, with the vast majority from the neighboring islands of Maui, Hawaiʻi, Kauaʻi, and Molokaʻi. Accordingly, new students' labor experience was limited to communal, subsistence-based family farms in their own villages. KS introduced students to a capitalist farming structure when they created a real-life work site in the urban core. In this space, assimilating students to a Western concept of time, specifically, was a major challenge. For Native Hawaiian students' notion of time was rooted in cultural beliefs related to the environment and natural phenomena, the transition to the rigidity of clock time was rough.[49] KS

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[47] The term "disability," a noun denoting an individual incapable of a certain task by a physical or mental issue, is distinct from "inability," a verb denoting an individual's lack of knowledge or skills required to complete said task.
[48] Historian Douglas Baynton has shown how government authorities used ascribed disability against suffragists, women, and African Americans to prevent them from accessing full rights of US citizenship. See Douglas C. Baynton, "Disability and the Justification for Inequality in American History," *The New Disability History: American Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); 33-57.
[49] A Native Hawaiian concept of time is based on chunks of hours representing certain times of the day corresponding to natural phenomena, i.e., sunrise and sunset. Basic terms for Hawaiian time: early morning - kakahiaka nui, morning - Kakahiaka, mid-morning - awakea, ʻo lolo kū - noon, ʻauinalā - afternoon, ahiahi – evening, ʻaumoe - late night. Uldrick Thompson instituted a bell system whereby a designated student would ring a bell to indicate meal times, study periods, and work periods. Still, each of those was by the student's "best guess." However, a whistle blew in Honolulu precisely at noon each day, recalibrating any classes that had gone off track during the day. See Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1941, 117.

was part of larger time keeping issue in urban Honolulu as the only reliable timekeeping method came from a factory whistle that sounded in town daily at noon. At Kamehameha, the noon whistle would prompt a reshuffling of any courses which had inadvertently gone overtime.[50]

Daily prayers, hymns, weekly church services, and membership in religious extracurricular groups ensured students displayed allegiance to God in formal and informal individual and group settings. After the dedication of the first Bishop Memorial Chapel on the grounds of the Boys' School, KS solidified the role of religion and God in school operations. Prior to the opening of the schools' chapel, graduations and conferences were held off campus at Protestant churches: Kaumakapili Church, which was located less than a mile away, and Kawaiahaʻo, the first formal church building erected on Oʻahu. Many, if not all, aspects of KS fed the two imperatives of imbuing a Protestant work ethic and conservative, Christian construction of morality and respectability. Upon her death, Pauahi's will decreed: "The teachers of [Kamehameha] schools shall forever be persons of the Protestant religion, but I do not intend that the choice should be restricted to persons of any particular sect of Protestants." Additionally, though Pauahi named her initial five trustees, she directed that should a trustee need to be replaced or removed, "the selection [was to] be made from persons of the Protestant religion." Though that caveat was struck down in 1993 as a violation of the Equal Opportunity Employment Act, KS was Protestant-exclusive for more than one hundred years.[51] Accordingly, every trustee and faculty member for the past century added to KS's religious foundation and

[50] Ibid.
[51] For more details on the original court case and subsequent appeal by the Equal Opportunity Commission, see Jon M. Van Dyke "The Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate and the Constitution" *University of Hawaii Law Review* 1995 vol. 17, p. 413; and Kaliko Warrington, "Preserving the Religious Freedom and Autonomy of Religious Institutions After Equal Opportunity Employment Commission v Kamehameha School/Bishop Estate *University of Hawaii Law Review* 2003 vol. 26 (1), p. 203.

adherence to Protestant morality and work ethic, whether overt or subsurface; Protestant values supported the eugenic curriculum at KS.

	Oʻahu Urban	Oʻahu Rural	Neighbor Island Rural	Total Rural
Year 6	0	2	8	10
Year 5	6	1	9	10
Year 4	2	1	19	20
Year 3	6	4	14	18
Year 2	2	8	22	30
Year 1	0	9	14	23
Special	2	0	1	1
Total	18	25	87	112
Percentage	**13.8%**	19.2%	66.9%	**86%**

Figure 1.1 Chart of KSB Enrollment by Year

Thompson and Akana sought to remedy traces of disability in Native youth by creating good American citizens, but they did so in distinct ways. Thompson was an active contributor to eugenics discourse in the public and academic spheres, and his plan to remake Native youth was heavily reliant upon eugenic principles like strategic eradication and, secondarily, conditioning Native Hawaiians to fulfill their appropriate role as laborers. Conversely, Akana planned to rehabilitate Native Hawaiians by returning them to their "former glory" as land stewards and agriculturalists through a homesteading bill premised on coercive assimilation. As both Thompson and Akana have been understudied by historians, this chapter links them not only to each other but to the imperial project in Hawaiʻi.

Language Is Life

Education and formal schooling were central to Americanization in Hawaiʻi, and Kamehameha Schools served as ground zero for this imperial project. Though KS was not the first industrial boarding school—it was preceded by both Hilo Boarding School on the Big Island and Lāhaināluna Seminary on Maui—it was a nexus for innovation in manual and industrial

training and vocational education for Natives on Oʻahu.[52] For the imperial project to properly assimilate the Natives, it needed to penetrate personal and collective beliefs and values in Hawaiian culture and religion as absolute truths. As Kenyan scholar Ngugi wa Thiongo has argued, the most effective method for assimilation was to limit the use of the Native language.[53]

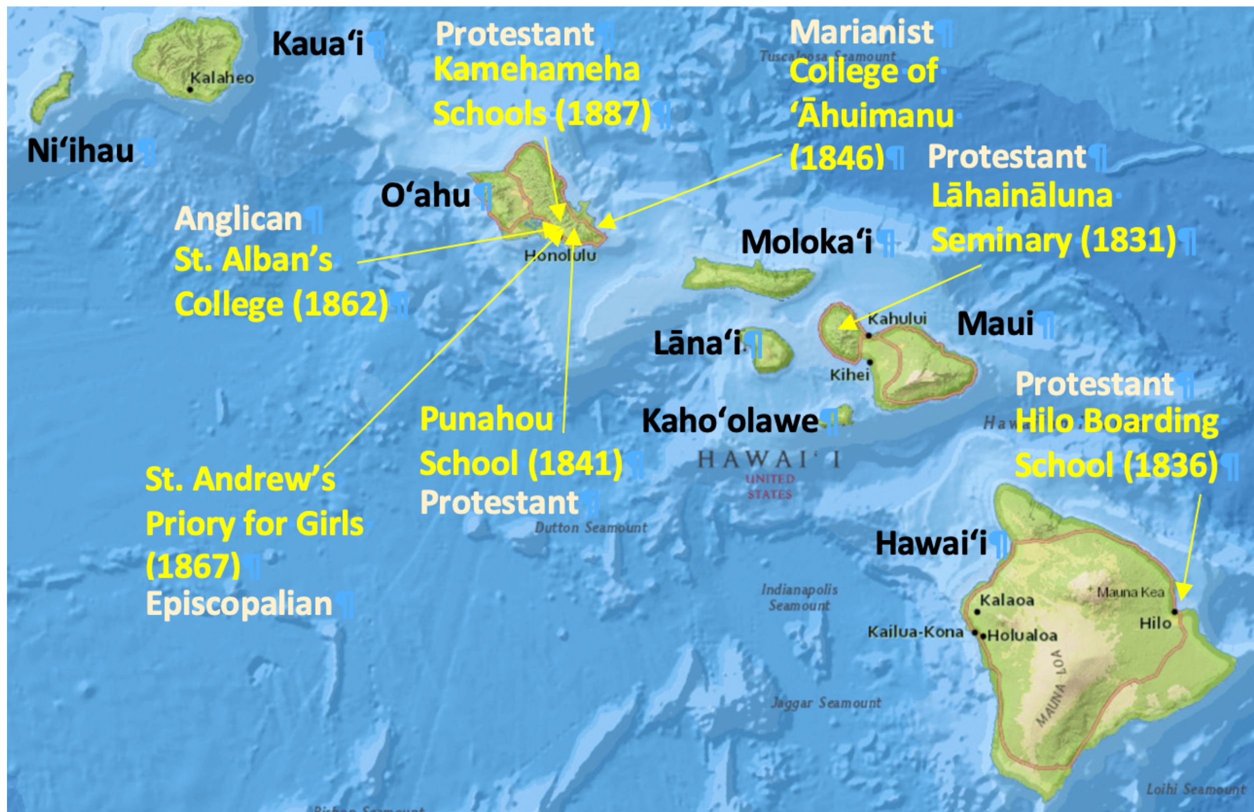

Figure 1.1 Map of Independent Religious Schools and Affiliations, circa 1887.

Accordingly, the imposition of a colonial language imposes a colonial worldview. Language frames perspective and demonstrates cultural values as the primary carrier of culture. In Hawaiʻi, for example, more than two hundred distinct names exist for rains found throughout

[52] During this period, "manual training" Lāhaināluna Seminary was the first formal Western-style educational institution in Hawaiʻi, established in 1831 on the island of Maui. Lāhaināluna incorporated a boarding program in 1835, just one year before the establishment of Hilo Boarding School on Hawaiʻi island in 1836.
[53] See Ngugi wa Thiongo, *Decolonizing the Mind: The Language and Politics of African Literature* (Rochester: James Currey, 1986).

the islands.[54] These names emphasize the centrality of natural resources and water in the Hawaiian universe, but they are also keepers of stories and genealogies. In Honolulu, two valley rains—*Ka-Ua-Waʻahila* and *Ka-Ua-Kiʻowao*—were named for twin children (*Waʻahila* and *Kiʻowao*) who were abused by their stepmother.[55] In this story, the twins fled their home in the lush valley to escape her cruel treatment. Likewise, the corresponding rains come and go, disappearing over opposite valley walls, barely leaving a trace. Consequently, each time the name of the rains is spoken, the story of these twins is remembered, as are the lessons learned from the tale. In Hawaiian, this phenomenon is termed "*I ka ʻōlelo ke ola, i ka ʻōlelo ka make"* or "in language there is life, in language is also death." In short, in this case, one can speak things to life or speak them to death. Accordingly, in changing names from Hawaiian to English or forgetting the names of specific rains or winds, they cease to exist.

As KS administration removed the Hawaiian language as means of communication, it presumably affected students' worldview and perspectives. The multiplicity of meanings for more than two hundred rains connected to people, places, histories, and genealogies, ceased to exist. What was once *Ka-Ua-Waʻahila* became a generic "light, misting rain," largely imperceptible from another light, misting rain elsewhere in Hawaiʻi. No longer were the names and the story of *Waʻahila* and *Kiʻowao* spoken and retold to generations of kānaka. The lessons inherent to the tale and the scientific knowledge held therein were obscured because the English language was insufficient to properly define Hawaiian-rooted concepts and values. In just a few generations, stories, histories, and cultures at KS withered. Ngugi wa Thiongo to the English

[54] For details on Hawaiian rain names and the naming of other natural phenomena, see Colette Leimomi Akana, *Hānau Ka Ua: Hawaiian Rain Names* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2015). This work is acknowledged as the most comprehensive listing of Hawaiian rain names to date.
[55] For the full story of the twins, see Thomas G. Thrum, *Hawaiian Folk Tales: A Collection of Native Legends* (Chicago: A.C. McClurg, 1912). This collection of essays was originally printed in various issues of Thrum's *Hawaiian Annual*. The story of Ka-Ua-Waʻahila and Ka-Ua-Kiʻowao appears in "The Punahou Spring" (p133), which was contributed by Mrs. Emma Metcalf Nakuina.

language as a "cultural bomb" responsible for this phenomenon which destroyed worldview and deeply held cultural and community values.[56] Kamehameha Schools used the English-language “cultural bomb” in classroom contexts as a basis for assimilation and deracination.

For the 1903-1904 school year KSB used English to “train pupils to speak, to read and to write good English and to enjoy and to profit by the literature. Pupils must…feel the desirability and necessity of speaking good English…a desire to make ideas clear and interesting to others, and a wholesome ambition for a desirable standing in the future.”[57] Though English-language education was foundational to learning, direct lessons in grammar and syntax were secondary to manual training. However, the KS curricula infused English language and American culture into all formal instruction time. Moreover, literature courses focused on the consumption of English-language texts and classical musical arrangements. KS eschewed traditional Native stories opting instead to teach early nineteenth century pieces like Sir Walter Scott's *Lady of the Lake* and Washington Irving’s *Rip Van Winkle*.[58]

KS systematically controlled and deracinated students with their English-centered curricula. Though Native Hawaiian stories were a small part of the curriculum, those stories were no longer told in Hawaiian; students read them in English. As books and music spread stories of faraway lands and people, and as *haole* teachers created curriculum from their perspective, students began to excel in English. Their daily routine regularly included diverse literature, music, and culture from across the world. Accordingly, KS began to utilize their English-language skills and expanded worldview to tell their own stories, in English, in school run newspapers. The schools’ newspaper, *The Handicraft* (1889 - 1900), was created by staff and

[56] Ibid.
[57] *Register of the Kamehameha Schools 1903-1904* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1903), 17.
[58] *Register of the Kamehameha Schools 1912-1913* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1913), 18.

faculty, with occasional student contributions from the School for Boys, but—by 1904—a fully-fledged, student-run newspaper, *The Blue and White,* emerged. Covering topics internal to the schools themselves, as well as detailing pertinent events in Hawai'i and abroad, and the latest happenings of the Kamehameha Schools' Alumni Club, *The Blue and White* became only the first in a series of KS student publications. The inaugural publication of the school annual, *Ka Moi* (*Ka Mō'ī),* was in 1924.[59] By 1926 KSB and KSG combined forces to create *The Cadet*, another student-led newspaper with public advertisements and a wide distribution list in Hawai'i and across the United States.

KS further centered the acquisition of proper English to their project of deracination by linking English directly to economic self-sufficiency. In an early issue of *The Handicraft* KS argued that Native Hawaiians in the printing trade were "defective" in the use ofhe English language, which caused them to lose business in the lucrative printing of English-language materials.[60] KS argued that the schools alone were in the right position to give Native students "great advantage" in future prospects by providing both manual training in printing and intensive English-language instruction.[61] Consequently, KS venerated English as a means for modern communication while positioning Hawaiian language as a relic. KS's subtle move to promote English to improve job prospects also undermined the Hawaiian language as a useful tool for the future. Seemingly innocuous, KS's discourse on the practicality of the English language supported and justified the schools' English-language medium policy. Market capitalism and the growing printing industry in Hawai'i exacerbated this English – Hawaiian language binary and solidified English as the language of the future.

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[59] For local newspaper coverage of the first issue of *Ka Moi*, see: "Kam School Notes" *The Honolulu Advertiser* (April 20, 1924).
[60] *The Handicraft* (January 1889).
[61] Ibid.

With the centrality of the English language as the medium of instruction, Hawaiian-language facilities amongst KS students began to wane. Perhaps even more insidious than the exsanguination of Hawaiian language within the walls of Kamehameha Schools was the way students' attitudes and perspectives towards their mother tongue changed permanently, over time. Kamehameha School for Girls' alumna class of 1925, Martha Poepoe Hohu, described how Hawaiian-language practices within her family transformed. Hohu's older sister, Helen, was a KS alum and schoolteacher that ensured all English spoken in the home was "nothing but the best," and completely error free. Though Hohu grew up speaking both Hawaiian and English, she recalled: "I suppose I'm too lazy to think [in] Hawaiian, for English is my number one language."[62] As Hohu saw it, most conflicts in the classroom resulted from what she called "two English languages," that is the broken English spoken at home and the proper English taught in school. Though Hohu remembered her sister being strict, she was appreciative of Helen's perseverance. Helen's influence endured when Hohu utilized her sister's methods to teach and prepare her own grandchildren to use proper English: "at no time [were] they allowed to make an error…and the correction [was] done even in the presence of company." For Hohu, enforcing strict rules of acceptable grammar and syntax was her way setting her grandchildren up for success in the classroom. Hohu maintained that: "when they [went] to school…[it is] no problem to…understand the teacher. She will speak just the way Grandma and Mommy do." Moreover,

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[62] See "Martha K. Poepoe Hohu" in *The Watumull Foundation Oral History Project* (Honolulu: The Watumull Foundation, 1979), 10. (Martha K. Poepoe Hohu (born Martha K. Poepoe) was a daughter of Lucia Awai Poepoe and Reverend Henry K. Poepoe of Kaumakapili Church. After graduation from KSG, she attended the Territorial Normal School and the University of Hawaiʻi before returning to KSG as a music teacher. She later worked at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum and is a well-known composer and music researcher. She also directed the Hawaiian Electric Employees Glee Club and the Kaumakapili Church Choir. According to her interview, Hohu also wrote the music for the 1951 film *Bird of Paradise*, starring Debra Paget. Though Hohu is not formally credited in for the original songs appearing in the movie, it is apparent there was a Hawaiian music specialist advising, scoring, and contributing to musical arrangements.

Hohu credited this adherence to proper English as "the reason the children [did] as well as they [did] because we [helped] at home so that the thinking [was] the same."

Martha Poepoe Hohu's sister, Helen Poepoe White, was a graduate of Kamehameha School for Girls and the Territorial Normal School. Accordingly, she was subject to the same expectations as Hohu. In a familial setting, they both outlined acceptable behavior, and constrained use of the Hawaiian language. Moreoever, they venerated "proper English" as a sign of intelligence and social status. Hohu's recollection demonstrates how Native students furthered KS's deracination mission in their homes, with their families. The ability to use proper English was a badge of honor for the Poepoe family and a skill at which they worked tirelessly to improve. Accordingly, though not purposefully in the Poepoe family, Hawaiian-language skills became secondary to the usage of "proper English." As English became the primary mode of communication for *both* school and home, Hawaiian families—perhaps both intentionally and unintentionally—slowly diluted Hawaiian cultural practices and belief systems. Thus, the transition from the Hawaiian language to the English language disrupted worldviews, and Native children inched further from their cultural connections.

Faculty and staff were integral to the teaching and modeling of proper English and manual training at Kamehameha Schools. Serving as both dormitory advisors and classroom instructors, these individuals spent copious amounts of time with students in the classroom, at mealtimes, and during leisure time. Accordingly, the mostly White faculty and staff at KS functioned as teacher, mentor, disciplinarian, and surrogate parent to these Native youths. Many of the early faculty and staff at KSB hailed from the eastern half of the US from institutions like: Oswego Primary Teachers' Training School in New York, Oberlin College in Ohio, and Massachusetts Agricultural College. When they came to Hawaiʻi to join the faculty ranks at KS,

each of these individuals brought with them their own experiences and perspectives on how to solve the "Native problem. "

A Eugenic Experiment

Mr. Uldrick Thompson, a new teacher out of Oswego Primary Teachers' Training School, was one such faculty member who arrived at KSB with clear attitudes and perspectives towards his role in this new work with Native Hawaiian youth. By the time Thompson made his debut at KS, he was a reasonably seasoned teacher. After a short stint at a small village school outside of Greenwich, Thompson followed a friend to Oswego where Edward Austin Sheldon's "object learning" piqued his interest.[63] In early 1889, Thompson received a letter from General Samuel Chapman Armstrong urging him to consider a position at the new Kamehameha School for Boys (also known as "The Manual"), and by the fall of that same year Thompson found himself sailing to Hawaiʻi to build up KSB's manual education program.[64] Soon after Thompson's arrival at KSB, then Principal William B. Oleson dismissed his Vice-Principal (VP), Harry Townsend, and moved Thompson, his wife, and their four children into the former VP's campus cottage.[65]

Once settled into life in his new home, Thompson wasted no time building his program and joining the popular and academic discourses on education and social science. Thompson actively contributed to literature on eugenics and better breeding in Hawaiʻi, nationally, and internationally. In many cases, these articles became a call to action for the government to solve

[63] Object learning was pioneered by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and became the foundation of the educational movement known as the "Oswego Plan." Object learning was based on three main tenets: (1) education is connected to the natural development of human faculties; (2) instruction should be based on observation of objects and events; and (3) education should provide beyond rote memorization with the goal of developing the senses. In short, the Oswego Plan moved education towards the practical rather than the philosophical. See Ned Harland Dearborn, *The Oswego Movement in American Education* (New York: Teacher's College of Columbia University, 1925).
[64] Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1941, 72.
[65] Ibid., 118.

myriad social issues with the implementation of innovative public policy. In 1905, Thompson's discourse targeted "drunkards, gamblers, burglars and tramps" as a "menace to all who are self-supporting."[66] He argued that if these degenerates were allowed to "reproduce their kind," social ills would continue to increase in an endless cycle, thereby exhausting the resources made possible by the responsible, White, tax-paying citizens of Hawaiʻi.[67]

Thompson argued that any good, functioning government "owe[d] self-supporting men and women absolute freedom from parasites."[68] In other words, Thompson subscribed to the belief that all citizens should be equally responsible for their own well-being and livelihood, no more and no less. Moreover, Thompson's remarks suggest that an individual's inability or refusal to care for their own needs was a mark of disability. Though economic and social issues were of grave concern to Thompson, he also saw Native Hawaiians as predisposed to poor health and immorality. He framed them as antithetical to the impending modernity because of their propensity towards alcoholism, perceived sexual deviancy, and gambling. After working with these Native students for a few years, Thompson's attitude took on an increasingly paternalistic tone as he spent his days teaching young *kānaka* to become self-sufficient, able-minded, and able-bodied individuals.

In 1913, a little more than twenty-five years after Kamehameha Schools was founded, the schools adopted a eugenics curriculum and accompanying textbook authored by Thompson, *Eugenics for Young People: Twelve Short Articles on a Vital Subject*. Primarily relying on the theories by widely known eugenics scholars, Thompson simplified ideals of selective breeding and heredity to make them understandable for his audience of Native Hawaiian adolescents in

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[66] U Thompson, "Parasites and the Public," *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (May 21, 1901).
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.

the early twentieth century. In *Eugenics for Young People*, Thompson conflated "fit"-ness with Euro-American culture and practices, while he accused Native Hawaiian culture and practices of making *kānaka* "unfit." Likewise, scholars have shown how disability has been mobilized historically to rationalize inequality amongst marginalized racial minorities, women, the poor, and disabled.[69] This application of perceived disability as a tool of oppression, particularly with the intersection of American imperial expansion, is useful in the analysis of KS. If, however, the "Native problem" was based on cultural and racial elitism rather than *actual* racial degeneration, then eugenics was the method by which to legitimize the deracination crusade.

Eugenics for Young People is made up of twelve short articles, most of which were individually printed in *The Handicraft* and *The Blue and White,* in the early 1900s. *Eugenics for Young People* was written for the students KS, and it introduced the science of heredity and the notion of selective breeding as a solution to the financial and "public nuisance" caused by children of "poor heredity." In it, Thompson rationalized: "We study agriculture to learn how to raise a better crop of cane. We should study eugenics to learn how to improve the Human Race."[70] Thompson presumably highlighted the success of heredity in agricultural contexts as illustrative of the potential for eugenics to do the same for humans.[71] Thompson's rhetoric mirrored that of Charles Davenport, a committed Mendelian eugenicist.[72]

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[69] Douglas C. Baynton, "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History," *The New Disability History: American Perspectives,* (New York and London: New York University, 2001).
[70] Thompson, *Eugenics,* 6.
[71] In *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Racism in America,* Steven Selden argues that the eugenics movement was not concentrated only in the sciences but that it was "supported by a broad spectrum of American intellectuals" and influenced major public policies on sterilization. He identifies the "rediscovery" of research by Gregor Mendel in 1900 as a pivotal event in forwarding the American Popular Eugenics Movement among these varied intellectuals. Mendel completed several experiments on the texture of pea plants and the ratio by which they inherited dominant characteristics — through genes — from the parent plant. Selden contends that "American Mendelian eugenicists naively applied Mendel's notions to all complex human traits. They argued that moral, intellectual, and social qualities could be easily explained by reference to the workings of heredity." See Steven Selden, *Inheriting Shame: The Story of Eugenics and Race in America* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1999).
[72] Ibid., 13.

While Thompson was not a scientist by trade, his intellectual production appeared widely in public newspapers and scholarly publications, and—likely—consumed by politicians, social scientists, academics, and the public. Though he was but a single voice in the American eugenics' movement, his was a prominent, pro-eugenic perspective in Hawaiʻi in this period. While Hawaiʻi was not subject to widespread compulsory sterilization laws like those instituted elsewhere in the United States, public and private educational and reform institutions applied eugenic theory in other ways.[73] More specifically, Thompson presented *Eugenics for Young People* to a group of Native Hawaiian adolescents adapting to adulthood in Hawaiʻi's turbulent transition from constitutional monarchy to incorporated territory of the United States of America—and every political status in between.[74] Thompson's consistent contributions to eugenic discourse along with his work in the schools and community positioned him as a voice of authority.

The "Unfit"

Eugenics for Young People, and eugenic theory writ large, sat at the intersection of biological and social science. It was built upon the defining and categorizing of humans according to perceived personality traits and physical characteristics. Predictably, the

[73] In 1907, Indiana became the first state to pass a compulsory sterilization law. It aimed to sterilize those who were deemed "imbeciles" or "feebleminded," though those terms could only be loosely defined. This pliability in definition of terms allowed for sexually promiscuous women, minorities, and other non-conforming individuals to be targeted for sterilization. For more on sterilization and eugenics laws in the American context, see Mark A. Largent, *Breeding Contempt: The History of Coerced Sterilization in the United* States (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008); Johanna Schoen, *Choice and Coercion: Birth Control, Sterilization, and Abortion in Public Health and Welfare* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); and Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Faults and Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

[74] The constitutional monarchy, also known as the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, was illegally overthrown by a small faction of foreign businessmen in 1893. The conspirators, known as the Committee of Safety or the Committee of Thirteen, then proclaimed a Provisional Government until a republic could be formed in 1894. The Republic of Hawaiʻi stood as a defacto ruler until the United States "annexed" Hawaiʻi in 1898. I use the term annexed in quotation marks because annexation was passed through Congress through a joint resolution, with no treaty being signed by Queen Liliʻuokalani of Hawaiʻi.

classification of human beings was a complicated and inexact process. In the sphere of eugenics, the socially constructed and pliable definition of terms like “unfit,” “degenerate,” and “feebleminded” allowed the government, medical community, and educational and reform institutions discretion in the diagnostic process. Though “unfit,” “degenerate,” and “feebleminded” have historically referred to individuals who displayed a perceptible physiological or psychological abnormality like deafness, blindness, or “hysteria,” and those same scientific terms could then be applied to individuals demonstrating non-conforming cultural practices, or those experiencing poverty.

In *Eugenics for Young People*, Thompson applied the term “unfit” to Native Hawaiian adolescents. He defined the “unfit” as any individual who “cannot earn their own living;” was a “burden” on society; “defectives” or “degenerates”; those who inherited “insanity” or “idiocy”; individuals who are “instinctively criminal;” the “deaf or blind;” those who had inherited a disease that has exhausted personal vitality; those who have inherited a disease that may affect health of children, and, lastly, those who exhibit “exhausted vitality in any dissipation.”[75] Thompson demonstrated an expansive view of the types of characteristics that constituted "unfit." In his wide perspective, loosely defined social categories masqueraded as scientific absolutes. Characteristics like “exhausted vitality” or “idiocy,” for example, were pliable terms that were highly subjective and susceptible to misinterpretation. Thompson’s construction of “unfit” shows how the measure(s) determining "fit"-ness was socially constructed and ungirded by a general prejudice towards poverty. Further, Thompson argues that the rehabilitation of degenerates is a futile effort for any governmental or public institution as long as the unfit keep producing degenerate children. His solution? Compulsory sterilization. Though the territorial

[75] Thompson, *Eugenics for Young People,* 13.

legislature never approved compulsory sterilization for widespread use, there are records of it being performed from the 1930s to the 1950s.[76]

Thompson's construction of the "unfit" was foundational to *Eugenics for Young People* and the resulting educational curriculum. Beginning in the 1912-1913 academic year, KS taught eugenics to fifth, sixth, and seventh-grade boys at the Manual School.[77] Students met to discuss simple concepts during a once-serving as the course textbook. Every Sunday boys would gather in their dormitory common room to hear a faculty member read a eugenics paper aloud.[78] Thompson designed the weekly classes as lectures accompanied by lantern slides that explained the building blocks of eugenic theory. Though Thompson's *EYP* was the primary means of engagement with eugenic theory, students also read works of leading eugenicists through supplementary assignments and their weekly Sunday meetings. Though the formal eugenics curriculum was somewhat limited in scope, eugenic rhetoric extended beyond those grade levels. In addition to its use within the classroom, *Eugenics for Young People* was printed as a serial in *The Handicraft*, one of KS' early student and faculty-run newspapers, which also enjoyed limited consumption by supporters outside of KS.

Article 4 of *EYP*, "To a Remnant," employed a popular trope of *kānaka* as model physical specimens "perfect in stature" and "possessed with courage" to describe the ideal blueprint for a young Native Hawaiian man.[79] Moreover, Thompson illustrated this impressive

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[76] Thompson, *Eugenics for Young People,* 13-14. While there are no compulsory sterilization laws in Hawai'i, scholars have identified its use in more isolated cases amongst the leper population on Moloka'i, Native Hawaiian mothers with large families in Honolulu's urban core in the Interwar period, and on different plantations as a maternal health measure. For more on compulsory sterilization laws and practices in the Hawai'i case, see Aaron Gilette, *Eugenics and the Nature-Nurture Debate in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007); and Julius Paul, *'Three Generations of Imbeciles Are Enough': State Eugenic Sterilization Laws in American Thought and Practice* (Washington DC: Walter Reed Institute of Army Research, 1965).
[77] Kamehameha Schools, *Register 1913-1914* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1913), 23.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Uldrick Thompson, *Eugenics For Young People*, 9.

courage and physical prowess with an exoticized and imagined narrative of a *kānaka* "plunging from a canoe underneath a fifteen-foot shark, with only a rude knife in hand."[80] Thompson tempered this sensationalized imagery of brute force and raw instinct with the assertion that "old-time Hawaiians" were also possessed of social characteristics and practices of the highest and most civilized order: patience, perseverance, hospitality, and intelligence.[81] Accordingly, *EYP* conjured a nostalgia for this perfect Native Hawaiian man, both physically and socially superior in every way, but of whom there was left only a "remnant." His words conjured images of a chiseled brown body which was both in tune with nature and spirituality in such a manner as he was able to overpower a shark. According to Thompson, this "remnant" of a man was the ideal citizen and a model Native for his young KS students.

His argument hinged on an assumption that full-blooded Hawaiians were physically and morally superior to mixed-race, modern Hawaiians. Consequently, Thompson's remnant referred to early Hawaiians whose blood had not yet been "tainted" by Asian immigrants. Engaging both positive eugenics, where "fit" individuals bred the future race, and negative eugenics, where the "unfit" were prevented from breeding, Thompson classified the Hawaiian race into two separate categories of "fitness" based on their blood purity. With this eugenic framework, he identified heredity as *the* defining factor in the creation of a superior population. Accordingly, Thompson identified racial mixing as the cause of a steady degeneration amongst Native Hawaiians. Thompson's argument implied individuals of pure blood were fit regardless of environmental factors and that they would continue to thrive despite external social factors. Conversely, Thompson argued that mixed-race Native Hawaiians were inherently disabled and that his eugenics curriculum would assist in solving the Native problem. Thompson emphasized the

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[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.

importance of his students remembering and relearning habits from Native ancestors: “It remains for this remnant of a great people to learn how best to keep and…transmit, to their children, the qualities that they are proud to say their ancestors possess[ed]. And they must learn these things and act upon this knowledge before it is everlastingly too late.”[82] Presumably, KS alumni would reclaim appropriate labor and religious values and pass them on to their children and families, who would then pass them on in perpetuity.

Throughout Thompson's thirty-three years as faculty at KS, he continued to actively participate in and drive eugenic discourse, which used KS students and recent graduates as proof of concept. Ever defensive of the work in which he and his colleagues were engaged, Thompson took any opportunity to debunk misinformation about the schools and their teaching methods. In a 1915 address at Central Union Church, Thompson took aim at detractors who argued: "The Kamehameha Schools are a failure; the money spent there is wasted."[83] In response, Thompson quoted statistics of recent, successful KS alumni:

> There are scattered over these islands and in the States 276 living graduates. Of these, 104 are employed as mechanics, 56 are doing clerical work, 41 are either teaching or attending other schools, 23 are employed on plantations, two are in charge of ranches, three are in the Army, having graduated from West Point, and one is in the Navy. One graduated from Harvard Medical, second in his class of about 400, and is now taking his hospital training in Providence, RI...[84]

With job placement as a primary performance metric to evaluate KS’s role in solving the Native problem, KS was successful. Despite these successes, KS had inculcated a less visible but perhaps more enduring result. With a separate boys' school and girls' school, KS was able to curate interpersonal relationships and opposite-sex interactions carefully. According to

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[82] Ibid., 10.
[83] Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1922, 187.
[84] Ibid., 188.

Thompson, the boys' limited interaction with female students allowed them to "get new ideals of women" and led the boys to "marry better women than they would have otherwise married; and so, have better homes and better environment for their children."[85] Though KS did have early success with many students, there were also those who either dropped out of school or who graduated but failed to thrive post-KS. According to Thompson's eugenic ideals, those students were unfit to reproduce. Consequently, Thompson created a plan to ensure this population of "unfit" individuals did not multiply.

Strategic Eradication

Though Thompson was chiefly concerned with his students at KS, his work in eugenics extended beyond the schools. He actively contributed to eugenic discourse and linked Hawai'i to national and international debates in the related field of "sex hygiene."[86] To that end, Thompson began spreading his message on the importance of hygiene and eugenics in the public forum throughout the territory. He became interested in the growing birth control movement in the US and traveled to New York to meet leading birth control advocate Margaret Sanger. After learning of Sanger's multiple arrests and subsequent exile, Thompson was compelled to learn more.[87]

Thompson flew to New York and cold-called the *Birth Control Review* to request an interview with Sanger.[88] Two days later, the two met face-to-face for more than an hour in her humble apartment on West 14th Street. After years of work as a nurse on the East Side, Sanger surmised that the high death rate was due to overpopulation by the "poorer classes," which was

[85] Ibid., 189.
[86] The early Progressive Era was a period of growth for the eugenics movement and the related "social hygiene" and "sex hygiene" discourses. Social Hygiene societies popped up throughout the United States in the early twentieth century. They were designed to address health and social issues related to health pandemics and sexually transmitted diseases and to advocate for public policies to govern hygiene practices in the US. See William Truant Foster, Ed., *The Social Emergency: Studies in Sex Hygiene and Morals* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1914).
[87] Uldrick Thompson, "Birth Control," *The Friend: Oldest Newspaper West of the Rockies* vol. XCI no. 1 (January 1922): 31-32.
[88] Ibid.

an issue unsolvable by money or by social programming.[89] Frustrated by her inability to make sweeping social change and hampered by the political landscape in the US, Sanger took to Holland, where birth control clinics had been in existence since 1881. Upon her return to the US, Sanger promptly opened her own birth control clinic in Brooklyn, New York. She was repeatedly arrested both for the clinic and for disseminating literature on birth control.[90] Thompson was taken by Sanger's passion and philosophy on the potential role of birth control as a "humane" method of population control. By the end of their time together, Thompson said that Sanger dif for the birth control movement what Harriet Beecher Stowe and John Browne had done for the slavery question."[91] Sanger was a polarizing figure in the US, but she gained a true believer and supporter in Uldrick Thompson.

Just a few short months later, in May of 1922, Margaret Sanger would stop in Hawai‘i en route to Japan. Thompson approached to the men of the Harvard University Club – Honolulu to sponsor Miss Sanger's lecture, but they promptly denied.[92] Luckily, former territorial governor Walter M. Frear's wife convinced the Women's College Club to host the event on Frear's behalf. Sanger spoke before an audience of more than five hundred in a community hall in the heart of Mānoa Valley and began garner support from prominent Hawai‘i citizens. One such supporter was Mrs. Sterrit, principal of the Girls' Industrial School. Mrs. Sterrit needed to mitigate issues

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[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Ibid. Harriet Beecher Stowe was an abolitionist and author of the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1851, which detailed the deplorable conditions for enslaved Africans throughout the American South. She came from a staunch Calvinist family and attended the Hartford Female Seminary in Hartford, Connecticut. John Brown was a Connecticut-born abolitionist who led numerous anti-slavery missions in Kansas. He was the first person in the US to be convicted of and subsequently hanged for treason, a violent slave insurrection in Virginia. For more on John Brown's conviction, see: "Treason in the United States" *The Elizabethtown Post* (Elizabethtown, New York, December 3, 1859).
[92] Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1922, 304.

of overcrowding and "elimination of the unfit," so Sanger's birth control methods became an useful tool.[93] Sanger described her visit to Hawaiʻi in *My Fight for Birth Control:*

> Mr. Uldrick Thompson had arranged a meeting in Honolulu … Immediately afterward, we drove over to the Lester Dancing Academy, where five hundred chairs had been placed to accommodate the audience. We arrived to find…[the] space filled by the crowd, and the windows crowded with interesting, alert faces. Judge Sanford B. Dole, known as "the good old man of the Blessed Isles," took the chair and introduced me to the enthusiastic, picturesque audience. During my few hours stay, the nucleus of a Hawaiian Birth Control League was formed.[94]

The Hawaiian chapter of the American Birth Control League held their first meetings shortly following Sanger's departure, and more than thirty prominent citizens—primarily *haole*—became its first members.[95] Uldrick Thompson provided a formal presentation at this initial meeting and was subsequently voted Secretary/Treasurer for the budding organization. The creation of the Ahahui Kaupalena Hanau (Birth Control League) was supported by elite haole, but the notion of birth control was not easily accepted by *kānaka*. In *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Thomas K. Maunupau, a community advocate and expert on "Hawaiiana," voiced his disdain for the haole who supported birth control for *kānaka*:

> The people of this society [The Hawaiian Birth Control League] are influential men and women,…they do not have many children, some have only a dog to care for, and they are teaching this offensive lesson [about birth control] to a great number of people…It is imperative for the Hawaiian Civic Club, The Hawaiian Protective Association, and the other Hawaiian Societies to think about this and to be vigilant in their stance for the lives of the Hawaiian nation…The question before us today is the question of growing the nation; it is not to control birth rates or reduce the nation; death will complete that

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[93] Ibid., 305.

[94] Margaret Sanger, *My Fight for Birth Control* (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1932), 228.

[95] "League for Birth Control Organized at Local Meeting" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (May 28, 1922). Original members to the Honolulu Birth Control League: UldrickThompson, Sanford B. Dole, Sadie Sterritt, FE Steere, Mrs. Uldrick Thompson, Alma McColla, Mrs L Smith Hiorth, Mrs. O.H. Otterson, Mrs. Madeira, Mrs. F.G. Kruass, Mrs George R. Ewart, Jr., Thomas McVeigh, F.G. Krauss, Florence Wood, Helen Wood, Mabel Smith, Vivian Mize, Lucy Barber, W.F. Kingston, Mrs. Leona Zivem Elwood Wilder, Mabel Whittle, Jos. I Whittle, R.M. Faulkner, C. Chan, W.E. Boyd, Olga Smith, BW Ratcliffe, Mrs. Alva Glvoer, and Janet Dewar.

> task…This is the time for us, the true Hawaiians, to stand united, work, and support each other for the prosperity and progress of the nation…[96]

Maunupau's strong criticism of the Hawaiian Birth Control League included a reference to King Kalākaua's imperative that Hawaiians should *"Hoʻoulu lāhui"* or grow the nation. Uldrick Thompson's popularization of birth control and the Hawaiian Birth Control League directly opposed Kālakaua's 1875 declaration to *kānaka* to "grow the nation." Whereas the response of the *mōʻī* (regent) to combat the "dying Hawaiian race" was for *kānaka* to have more children, the elite *haole* response was for *kānaka* to stop having Hawaiian babies. For Thompson and like-minded individuals, birth control became the vehicle by which to strategically eradicate the worst of the Hawaiians. Birth control was a materialization of the negative eugenic theory taking hold in Hawai'i in large part because of Uldrick Thompson.

Thompson's multi-layered approach to solving the Native problem spanned the medical, educational, and social science fields. Though for a time he preached compulsory sterilization, Thompson later settled on birth control as the preferred method of population control. Thompson argued that heredity was *the* primary determinant of life expectancy and potential social contribution, but he also believed KS could combat heredity and any predilection to degeneracy by immersing students in a carefully curated educational environment. Thompson underwrote his multi-layered approach with *Eugenics for Young People,* the eugenics textbook that clearly outlined characteristics of the "unfit" and showed students how to recognize those disabled Native bodies. As Thompson leaned into this undefined and ambiguous definition of what

[96] "Ahahui Kaupalena Hanau,"*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,* July 20, 1922. Full text in Hawaiian: He poe koʻikoʻi wale no na lala o keia ahahui [Ahahui Kaupalena Hanau], na kane ame na wahine,…aole no paha he nui o ka lakou mau keiki, he ilio ke keiki a kekahi poe e malama ai, a pela lakou i manao ai e aʻo hewa mai ai [e pili ana i ke kaupalena hanau] i ka nui lehulehu…Ke hoakaka nei au he mea pono i ka Hawaiian Civic Club, ka Hui Puuhonua, ame kekahi mau ahahui Hawaii e ae, e noonoo i keia mea, a e ku makaala no ke ola ame ka pono o ka lahui Hawaii…O ka ninau nui iwaena o kakou i keia la, o ia no ka ninau hooulu lahui, aole o ke kaupalenaia o ka hanau a hoemi lahui, na ka make e hana nei ia hana…O keia ka manawa no kakou e na Hawaii aloha oiaio, e ku lokahi ai, hana like a huki like, no ka pono ame ka holomua o ka lahui…

constituted the ideal Native, he demonstrated the way colonialism and colonizers applied the notion of disability to subjugated peoples in conflicting ways. Though Thompson was a primary force in KS's battle to solve the Native problem, he was not alone. As the schools' enrollment and influence increased, young Native Hawaiian KS alumni began to join the crusade against Native degeneration.

A Christian Endeavor

Though Uldrick Thompson was, as required of KS faculty, a practicing member of the Protestant faith, God and religious practice did not figure prominently into his plan to save Native Hawaiians. However, for Thompson's former KS student, Akaiko Akana, God would become answer. An alumnus from KSB class of 1903, Akana hailed from the rural Oʻahu community of Waialua on the North Shore. Son of a Hawaiian mother and a *Pākē* (Chinese) father, Akana is perhaps best remembered as the first Native Hawaiian pastor of the famed Kawaiahaʻo Church on the island of Oʻahu.[97] After graduating from KS, Akana went on to the Territorial Normal School before being assigned his first teaching appointment as an assistant at Kāneʻohe School on the Windward side of Oʻahu.[98]

[97] The first missionaries to Hawaiʻi were sent by the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missionaries (AMCFM). They sailed from Boston and landed on Hawaiʻi island in March of 1820. See Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawaiʻi and the Early United States,* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea la e pono ai?,* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

[98] Modeled after "Ecole normale," 16th-century French model schools with model classrooms that modeled teaching practices, Normal Schools became popular in the US in the mid-nineteenth century. The goal of "Normal Schools" was to create standards and "norms" that regulated education across socioeconomic and geographic lines.

Figure 1.2 “Class of 1903” Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive Photo Collection vol. 4 15-c, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1903. [Akaiko Akana is standing in middle of last row]

An active member of the Christian Endeavor Society (CE) and Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), Akana demonstrated his faith, work ethic, and leadership skills to the community. The Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA), which governed Congregational Protestant churches in Hawaii after the ABCFM, would soon after choose Akana as the inaugural scholarship student from Hawaiʻi to the Hartford Theological Seminary (HTS) in Connecticut.[99] HEA and HTS struck a cooperative agreement that ensured financial resources for a select group of *kānaka* to attend HTS over the next few years.

As HEA’s mission work continued and the population of Christians increased, there was a corresponding demand for new churches and qualified men to lead them. The HEA board was

[99] The first missionaries to Hawaiʻi arrived in 1820 and were part of the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions (ABCFM). Just a few short years later, several more companies of missionaries came to Hawaiʻi and established churches throughout the Hawaiian Islands. These churches incorporated and created the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA), which is, today, affiliated with the United Church of Christ (UCC).

concerned that the need for more resources would soon eclipse the waning supply. Though there was pressure to increase services, HEA had specific ideas of who, what, when, and how those services should be employed. The association expressed a clear desire for pastors who understood the American experience and had lived American values.[100] Accordingly, HEA worked with HTS to put select Native Hawaiian students—including Akaiko Akana—in "intimate touch with the heart of the American people."[101] Accordingly, HEA needed to secure funding for the acquisition of land to build more houses of worship, and the allocation of funds to properly train the next generation of pastors.[102] Ostensibly, HEA sought to immerse these new Native pastors in the conservative ideology of the Calvinist sect of Protestantism which was foundational to the New England brand of Christianity the American Board of Commissioners to Foreign Missions (ABCFM) peddled.

Scholars have argued that this conservative ideology was rooted in the Protestant Reformation, moreover that it emphasized individualism and the development of a work ethic which supported self-sufficiency and responsibility.[103] German sociologist Max Weber credited Protestantism with encouraging and developing individual enterprise and the accumulation of assets.[104] Weber linked physical labor in agriculture and industry with service to God. Consequently, capitalism and the accrual of wealth *became God's work*. Akana became the first Native Hawaiian to undertake God's work in this program at HTS, where he exceeded all expectations.

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[100] "Hawaiʻi's First Hartford Scholar," *The Friend,* Honolulu: October 1906.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Christoph A. Schaltegger and Benno Torgler, "Work Ethic, Protestantism, and Human Capital" *Economics Letters* vol. 107 no. 2 (May 2010): 99-101.
[104] Max Weber, *Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (Blue Ridge Summit: Start Publishing LLC, 2013). This version is a translation and new edition of the original Weber's original 1905 publication *Die Protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*.

Akana was awarded a Bachelor of Pedagogy was elected president of his 1911 graduating class at the seminary.[105] Akana also delivered the commencement speech in which he highlighted the most important lessons gleaned from his time at HTS: “to think, to work, and to live.”[106] The three simple yet foundational values central in this early public address remained consistent to the end of his career. Akana’s belief that Native Hawaiians could improve their situation and prospects through hard work and religious devotion countered Thompson’s primary obsession with heredity as the main determinant for success. Akana’s philosophy intersected discourse on racial uplift emerging in the American South and within the vocational educational movement imposed on African Americans.[107] In this context, as in the Hawaiian case, popular opinion linked hard work and faith to prosperity and salvation.[108] Samuel Chapman Armstrong drove African American education at the Hampton Institute *and* influenced Native Education at KS.

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[105] “The Seventy-Seventh Anniversary,” *The Hartford Seminary Record* Vol. 7 Iss. 3 (Hartford: Hartford Theological Seminary, July 1911), 186.
[106] Ibid.
[107] In particular, Akana's role within his community is reminiscent of Booker T. Washington's role in political and social movements in the South. Both came from families with little wealth, power, or resources, but they rose quickly once formal education was acquired. They became a party to an upper crust of society and were able to move—somewhat freely—among both the elite White and elite Black/Native Hawaiian communities. For more on Booker T. Washington's controversial place in the history of racial uplift, see Desmond Jagmohan, "Booker T. Washington and the Politics of Deception" in *African American Political Thought*, edited by Melvin L. Rogers and Jack Turner (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2020), 167-191.
[108] The ‘aikapu was the religious system that governed behavior and gender roles within Hawaiian society. ‘Aikapu is literally translated as "sacred eating," and it (1) prevented women from cooking and (2) made eating a religious act. A major tenet of the ‘aikapu system was that men and women worshipped separate gods in separate heiau (places of worship). Men and women were also required to eat separately, and women were prevented from eating several types of food because they were believed to house the reproductive power of male gods. Kamehameha I was a staunch supporter of the ‘aikapu system until his death in 1819 because he believed in the gods who gave him the right and the power to rule Hawai‘i. In 1819, just prior to missionary arrival in Hawai‘i, then-King Liholiho (son of Kamehameha I, also known as Kamehameha II) sat with his mother, Keōpūolani, and another of Kamehameha I's most politically savvy wives, Ka‘ahumanu, to have a meal. This single act is known as the ‘ainoa (free eating) and signaled the beginning of the end of the Hawaiian religion. Though Ka‘ahumanu ordered all idols and figures destroyed at heiau, there were many Hawaiians who fought against the ‘ainoa and refused to abandon the old gods. While, technically, the old religion was rejected by Hawai‘i's regent, the ‘ainoa did not prevent the population from continuing their worship practices.

Both institutions were based on ABCFM's Hilo Boarding School and centered Protestant work ethic in the curriculum.[109]

Unlike so many of his contemporaries, Akana experienced and participated in American culture and way of life—amongst "real Americans"—during his five years in Hartford, Connecticut. He quickly acclimated to the harsh weather and loved the cold. Though he was busy with his studies, Akana was often invited to attend events and to give speeches about his island home. After he spoke at the Haystack Prayer Meeting to an audience of more than six thousand, Akana became a bit of a celebrity in the Northeast. [110] Though he was a skilled preacher and was known for his English-language ability and sermons, churches in the neighboring towns were more interested in hearing him speak on the subject of Hawaiʻi, as he was the first Hawaiian most had ever seen.[111] Akana was enthusiastic about the opportunity to share information about Hawaiʻi and to preach about God, so he appeared at nearly every invitation with the intention of spreading the gospel and seeing as much of the US as possible.[112] At one of these talks in New Britain (a small city about nine miles southwest of Hartford) Akana was surprised at the number of church members who did not support foreign missions.[113] Despite the number naysayers, he singlehandedly "proved to them the fact that missionaries [were] needed to carry to gospel to the darkest parts of the world, that the world [could] be Christianized, and that Christ [was] for the world."[114] Clearly, the young Akana made a lasting impression on the citizens of Hartford and the surrounding towns. To meet a Native Hawaiian so

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[109] See Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Culture, and Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996).
[110] "From Hartford," *The Friend*, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi: February 1907. Letters received from Akaiko Akana were often reprinted in *The Friend*, the newspaper of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid.

faithful and well-educated, who was an apt speaker and a wonderful musician, set the bar for what was possible for Hawaiʻi's Native population. Akana skillfully demonstrated an aptitude for the English language and an interest in American values and ideals.

While Akana's foray into North America was an educational and religious mission, his success at HTS made him the ideal, docile native in the eyes of the church. An editorial just one year after Akana's letter to Mrs. Baker was published argued: "[Hawaiʻi's] native people are consumed with the right ambition to be not only citizens but at the very forefront in ideal Americanism. To keep them isolated from the most vital and intimate association with our national life would be a grievous error."[115] Akana was proof of the success of HEA's program. The plan to fully immerse Native Hawaiians in American culture and the English language could create—and had already, perhaps, created—a perfect, obedient colonial subject.

The Reverend

Upon his return to Hawaiʻi in 1911, Akana became the president of the Christian Endeavor Society (CE) and, later, superintendent of the Young People's Society of the Christian Endeavor (YPSCE) where he began mentoring youth.[116] In each speech or sermon he gave, Akana advocated the importance of practicing a Protestant work ethic and displaying devotion to God. He believed that Native Hawaiians were unprepared to live the modern, American, capitalist way. Akana charged *kānaka* with the causation of their own demise: "We, to a certain extent, are partly responsible for the new conditions existing in our land today, and we have accepted the modern standard of living under which we are staggering."[117] Akana's raw, biting

[115] "Hartford and Hawaiʻi," *The Friend*, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi: June 1908.

[116] Christian Endeavor was created in 1881 in Portland, Maine, by Reverend Francis Clark as a non-denominational Christian fellowship organization for young people. By the turn of the twentieth century, Christian Endeavor had more than a million members across the globe. See "Founder Clark Spends a Day in Honolulu" *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* January 7, 1904.

[117] "Hawaiian Board Work for Young People Told," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* October 7, 1916.

rhetoric became his hallmark as his career as he consistently called on Native Hawaiians to put in the work in order to support themselves.

In 1918, Akana was named reverend of Kawaiahaʻo Church, which effectively positioned him in an elite class of Native Hawaiians. His appointment marked the first time a Native Hawaiian occupied the top position at the prestigious religious institution. This same year, Akana published *The Sinews for Racial Development* which outlined his view on the Native problem and his method to solve it. *The Sinews* demonstrated how KS's eugenic pedagogy was carried out through the lifework of its students. In it, Akana identified the "sinews" of his plan to improve the Native Hawaiian race: (1) "race consciousness," which he defines as self-respect and respect for other races and cultural beliefs; (2) "broadmindedness," or appreciating the best qualities of each race; (3) education; (4) home life; and (5) "systematic living" (healthy living).[118] In both structure and content, *The Sinews* bore similarities to Thompson's *Eugenics for Young People.*

Both Thompson and Akana constructed the Native problem in relation to Hawaiʻi's diverse population. For Thompson, Native Hawaiian social status was triangulated against the *haole* elite plantation owners and entrepreneurs, and the growing population of Asian laborers. Accordingly, *Eugenics for Young People* used a pliable colonial worldview that made Natives disabled, yet also physically superior.[119] For Akana, every race in Hawaiʻi had something to offer Native Hawaiians: honesty from the Chinese, aggressiveness from the Americans, "unshaken unity" from the Japanese, efficiency from the Germans, steadiness from the British, appreciation of aesthetic beauty from the French, "loyalty under severe hardship" from the

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[118] Akaiko Akana, *The Sinews for Racial Development,* (Honolulu: Akaiko Akana, 1918), 9.
[119] Uldrick Thompson

"colored race," deep religious sense from the Koreans, and aloha from Native Hawaiians.[120] Akana situated the Native problem as a community issue that could be solved provided each race offered its own unique gift/skill to the collective.

For Akana, another major issue for Native Hawaiians was urbanization. He viewed the loss of farmland and the ability to be self-sustaining as the major cause of Native Hawaiian degeneration. Loss of land and the ability to farm forced *kānaka* into the city where they found work in the growing industries based in urban Honolulu. Though *Eugenics for Young People* did not focus on relocating Native Hawaiians from urban Honolulu to rural areas, it did focus on the importance of manual labor and agricultural practices which would provide essential physical stimulation young Native boys needed. While many of the notions in *Eugenics for Young People* and *The Sinews for Racial Development* would remain philosophical musings, Akaiko Akana created and helped to implement measurable legislative change in his plan to return Native Hawaiians to the land. Along with several prominent Native Hawaiians, Akana formed the Ahahui Puuhonua o na Hawaii (Hawaiian Protective Association or HPA) which sought federal aid for various Native Hawaiian projects.

HPA was the major force behind the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA), known as the "Rehabilitation Act," which Territory of Hawaiʻi Representative Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole championed in U.S. Congress in 1921. HPA desired Native Hawaiians to regain land, fostering self-sufficiency, self-determination, and cultural preservation.[121] HPA voted to send Akaiko Akana to Washington, District of Columbia as their lone emmisary to testify in

[120] Ibid., 10-11.
[121] For background on the HPA and analysis of the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act and its implications on the Native population, see Marylyn Vause, "The Hawaiian Homes Commission Act, 1920: History and Analysis" (MA Thesis, University of Hawaiʻi, 1962), and Frank Bailey, "ʻĀina Hoʻopulapula: A Contested Legacy, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole's Hawaiian Homes Commission Act during the Territorial Years, 1921-1959," (PhD Dissertation, University of Hawaiʻi, 2009).

support of HHCA and to counter narratives seeking to limit the homesteading bills for Hawaiians.[122] One of HHCA's most vocal opponents was Parker Ranch, a privately-owned operation which stood to lose 90,000 acres of leased government land should the law pass.[123] In his testimony, Akana outlined the ways immediate and downstream effects of rapid colonialism decimated Native Hawaiians who failed to properly "assmiliate" to a modern American way of life.[124] Akana responded to claims that the HHCA was "un-American" by connecting the plight of Native Hawaiians to that of the "Indians," recently discharged WWI soldiers, Allies in Europe, the Philippines, and Cuba, all of which had already received or been pledged assistance.[125] Moreover, Akana cogently summarized colonization's role in the Native problem: "Are not the Hawaiians real American citizens, and as such, do they not deserve America's material assistance, especially when they have accepted her desire, through the missionaries, to renounce their natural way of living and to live up to her ways for which she, in the past, did not make adequate preparation for them?"[126]

Nearly two decades later, Akana's message remained consistent: to be successful, Native Hawaiians must learn "to think, to work, [and] to live" as modern, Americans.[127] For Akana, a modern, American (and Christian) life was built on physical, agricultural, or industrial labor. As Protestant work ethic would dictate, physical labor became "God's work" so that in properly laboring in the capitalist economy, Hawaiians would inch nearer to salvation. While Akana's

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[122] J. Kēhaulani Kauaui provides an analysis of the HHCA and the related congressional hearings, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002). One of HHCA's most vocal opponents was Parker Ranch, a privately-owned operation which stood to lose thousands of acres of leased government land on Hawaiʻi island should the HHCA pass.
[123] "Hawaiian Homes Commission Act of 1920, Hearing Before the Committee on Territories United States Senate," Sixty-sixth Congress (1921) (Testimony of Akaiko Akana), 7.
[124] Ibid., 45-7 and 52-3.
[125] Ibid., 53.
[126] Ibid.
[127]

work seems a departure from the eugenic discourse espoused by his former teacher, Uldrick Thompson, his dual faith and work-based method also legitimated the "Native problem." Reshaping the minds of these young students did not happen in an instant, rather, it was a process of negotiation over time. Kamehameha Schools accelerated the process of shaping these minds through both overt and discrete means. Modeled on an imported New England pedagogy and philosophy, KS's curriculum highlighted the deficiencies of Native people in the context of the transforming modern, American landscape. KS deracinated students by controlling all aspects of daily life. Though Akana did not openly support the violent application of eugenic methods on students, i.e., compulsory sterilization, he was a vocal proponent of social reform to solve the Native problem. Together, Thompson's and Akana's intellectual production agreed on the importance of making Hawaiian youth a competent, obedient, and God-fearing labor force.

Though Akana was a star student and model Native Hawaiian, he was of mixed Hawaiian Chinese heritage. In the early twentieth century, anti-Chinese sentiment in popular media succeeded in influencing public policy designed to limit Chinese immigration to the US. Though much of this racist legislation could be traced to the post-Gold Rush era in the American West, Hawaiʻi had its share of anti-Chinese attitudes and perspectives. For Thompson, "mixing the races" created "a conglomerate mass of...degenerates, liars, thieves, parasites, murderers, kidnappers, dope friends, swindlers, [and] more politicians!"[128] In every way, however, Akana—a half-Chinese, half-Hawaiian student overachiever—was an enigma. A proponent for racial purity, Thompson argued that mixing races was at fault for the steady degeneration of the population and society. The exception to his rule was if one could confine racial mixing to only

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[128] Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi, 1922, 308.

fit men and fit women to improve society rather than degrade it. Though much of his popular rhetoric belied the fondness and care he had for his students, the constant inner dialogue and conflict is evident in his writings. Throughout his career, Thompson worked towards improving methods of training Native Hawaiian men. Though he was decidedly anti-racial mixing, many of his students, like Akaiko Akana, were mixed-race children of the plantation era.

Thompson and Akana's relationship was a microcosm of Kamehameha Schools. Though the schools were touted as Hawaiian-only, the leaders in power were all *haole* teachers and a principal that supported and, in the case of first KS principal William B. Oleson, facilitated the overthrow and annexation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Conversely, the student body were all Native Hawaiian youth who were destined to submit to KS's authority. That Akaiko Akana legitimated the Native problem and created his own plan to solve it, demonstrates the effectiveness of KS as a colonizing, deracinating agent. The unbalanced power dynamic between *haole* faculty and *kānaka* students constrained expressions of culture and Native language that were perceived as antagonistic to the mission. Accordingly, KS's curriculum sought to control the way students viewed themselves and the world around them. This reshaping of the mind was just the beginning of a measured plan to solve the Native problem.

Chapter 2 – Retraining the Body

There are many children who are so incorrigible that it is well-nigh impossible for their parents to govern them. There are others, also, who do not receive attention from their parents…to keep them from going astray and becoming idle and dissolute persons in later years. This might be obviated by organizing industrial schools…It is a pity to see…our girls and boys becoming vicious…through no fault of their own…but by lack of example and proper discipline.[129]

- Minister Public Instruction, 1897

Figure 2.1 "Practical Education," *The Maui News* (Wailuku August 23, 1918); and
Figure 2.2 "Na Kula Kamehameha" *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu August 23, 1918).

By 1918, the same year Akaiko Akana became the first Native Hawaiian pastor of Kawaiahaʻo Church, Kamehameha Schools had more than thirty years of educational experimentation under their belt. Accordingly, KS began to expand their capacity to serve Native Hawaiian students and update their facilities to support industrial and vocational labor training. That year, KS took out two ads in two different newspapers, with two different messages, presumably, for two different audiences. The first, an English-language advertisement, appeared

[129] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaiʻi for the Biennial Period Ending December 31, 1897* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1898), 12.

in Henry Martyn Whitney's *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* a periodical founded in 1856 as an opposition paper supported by the *haole* population in Honolulu. The second was a Hawaiian-language ad in *The Maui News*, which was Maui's first newspaper and owned by prominent businessman Henry P. Baldwin.

These advertisements focused on aspects of enrollment seemingly appealing to prospective Native boys and their families, but perhaps also served to sway public opinion. Consistent with the move towards "manual education" in the late nineteenth century, the use of the term "practical education" was a related and supportive idea. While "education" had traditionally focused on acquiring a theoretical understanding of academic concepts, manual education was more "practical," particularly during the Progressive Era. Hence, "practical education" denoted training in skills that were useful to acquire a well-paying job. According to this KS advertisement, "here [boys] will learn to do useful things in an orderly skilled way," thus becoming a contributing member of the transforming society.[130] In this ad, KS peddled its programs to solve the Native problem from a colonial perspective. It emphasized an education that readers of the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* would likely view as appropriate and necessary for Native Hawaiians: military, moral, and athletic training. The ad also featured just a single image of livestock, which decentered Native boys from the narrative.

In contrast, the Hawaiian language advertisement seems aimed to recruit Native students who desired lucrative job training. The highlight was "Hana Mikini, Hana Uwila, Hana Kamana, Hana Hao" or "Machine Work, Electric Work, Carpentry, Steel Work." With three images of Native boys engaged in the actual trade work, the advertisement was presumably targeting Native boys and their families. With Maui's more rural population, the readership of *The Maui*

[130] "Practical Education," *The Maui News* (Wailuku August 23, 1918).

News suggests the ad was perhaps more focused on garnering parental support rather than student interest. Prospective students needed to possess English facility to enroll as KS. Their rural parents and grandparents, however, may have been prone to Hawaiian, at least in KS's perspective. Accordingly, KS's Hawaiian-language advertisement pandered to their perceived audience. Both advertisements highlighted the need for physical work to make weak Native bodies, strong. KS attempted to solve this physical aspect of the Native problem through the application of military drilling and the implementation of agricultural and industrial training.

This chapter, "Retraining the Body," proceeds in three main sections: the first shows how military discipline and marching were used to control students' behavior and to elicit proper performance of duties. From weekly drills and marching reviews to providing security services for the campus to the creation of the first Junior Reserve Officers Training Program (JROTC) in Hawaiʻi, military-style discipline was a foundation of KS's pedagogy from its outset. Though the focus was on training students' bodies for endurance—and, later, for labor—through marching drills, this training also constrained Native bodies by controlling dress and grooming standards and requiring adherence to military time. The second section of this chapter shows how KS employed agricultural and industrial training to strengthen Native bodies to withstand the requirements for long hours laboring on plantations or in factories. During this era, KS made marked strides in this type vocational training even up to creating a fully functioning enterprise to support the schools. The final section of this chapter explores the ways KS boys both inside and outside of the schools grappled with the implications of their education and training.

The language of educational theory at the turn of the century highlighted career readiness and job placement as significant and measurable outcomes. While KS was a major force in vocational training, it also provided "appropriate education" to Native Hawaiians because, as

scholars have shown, "all cannot have and do not need the same education."[131] Predictably, disparate groups of learners were largely separated along socioeconomic, racial, and geographic lines, with the upper class trained for managerial work. In contrast, the lower class trained to labor in the agricultural and industrial trades. KS's system of labor training supported the US's larger campaign of imperial expansion into the Pacific. To those imperial dreams, Hawaiʻi held the key.

Though Hawaiians were to be an integral piece of the budding capitalist economy in Hawaiʻi, late nineteenth and early twentieth century eugenic perspectives and practices were still driving forces in the scientific and educational spheres. KS combined these eugenic perspectives with its Protestant work ethic and moral belief system to properly retrain weak Native bodies. Though KS sought to solve one aspect of the Native problem through reconditioning the mind, as discussed in chapter one, it also needed to address the perceived weakness and degeneration of Native bodies. The solution to this physical aspect of the multi-layered Native problem was to combine educational training with workforce development to create strong bodies capable of physical labor in the plantations and factories. During this same period, immigration to Hawaiʻi soared, and experienced Asian workers began to organize against unfair treatment and employment practices.[132] The rise of this organized and powerful Asian workforce created a labor issue for plantation owners who needed a skilled yet *docile* labor force to satisfy the

[131] Frank Mitchell Leavitt, *Examples of Industrial Education* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1912), 1-2.
[132] Asian plantation laborers organized and began striking for better treatment and wages at plantations throughout the Hawaiian archipelago. Hundreds of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean laborers were beaten, fired, deported, and in some cases, killed during strikes. For more on Asian unionizing in Hawaiʻi in the early twentieth century, see Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1985); Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2011); and Jessica Wang, Agricultural Expertise, Race, and Economic Development: Small Producer Ideology and Settler Colonialism in the Territory of Hawaiʻi, 1900 – 1917.

increasing agricultural and industrial projects in Hawai‘i at the turn of the twentieth century. Kamehameha Schools was poised to supply that demand.

Reforming the Body through Military Training and the JROTC

Established post World War I by the U.S. War Department—precursor the U.S. Department of Defense—the National JROTC program was created to instill "the values of citizenship, service to the United States (including an introduction to service opportunities in military, national, and public service), and personal responsibility and a sense of accomplishment" in high school students throughout the U.S.[133] Administered by each branch of the military, national JROTC programs employ retired military officers to teach marching, discipline, and dress. Though JROTC programs did not come into existence until 1916, KS had already been utilizing military training to teach proper behavior to students.

From its earliest emergence as an educational institution in 1887, Kamehameha Schools was concerned with public perception and discipline. By 1888, KS established a military-like training program to teach organized marching and to police foot travel to and from town and to church.[134] Though U.S. War Department had not yet formally admitted KS as a military school, they institutionalized military practices in the administration of the schools. By 1903, prospective candidates for admission to the Manual Department of the School for Boys needed to be over thirteen years of age and in good physical health in preparation for the rigorous military training to which they would be subject.[135]

[133] 10 U.S. Code § 2031.
[134] “Kamehameha School Military Training – Timeline,” Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 2009.
[135] “Register of the Kamehameha Schools 1903-1904” (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1903), 12.

Upon entrance to the schools, students were required to purchase a military uniform and khaki suit for use throughout the Fall and Spring terms.[136] All students—once admitted to KS—automatically became a part of the school battalion and were subject to military-style rules of behavior where they were made to:

> wear the school uniform at drills and inspections, at all public exercises, and whenever off the school grounds. Their officers have general charge of the school discipline. No boy [would] be retained in the school who does not render prompt and cheerful obedience to teachers and officers and who [did] not comply with the school regulations.[137]

With the military structure framing interpersonal relationships for students, the school was not safe space for free expression. Even out of the gaze of teachers and administrators, students became subject to the power structure which gave other students control over their bodies. Students often engaged in soldiering and maneuvering as part of their training, which was designed to supplement classroom lessons.[138] In one case of these practical exercises, sophomore cadets completed a twenty-four-hour guard watch cycle that had them policing school grounds.[139]

On a particular evening in the fall of 1926, Corporal Norman Kauaihilo and his sentinels took the first watch at 6:45pm, with Corporal Daniel Namahoe leading the second watch and third watch by Corporal Lawrence Chang.[140] Changing watches every three hours, the sentinels caught four individuals loitering on campus grounds and placed them in custody. They were "held as prisoners in the guard house."[141] While it is unclear what came of the "loiterers" or to what kind of punishment they were exposed, the student corporals took their charge seriously

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[136] Ibid., 13.
[137] Ibid., 14.
[138] "Sophomores on Guard Duty" *The Cadet* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools), 1926.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid.

and followed protocol from their supervisor. In a school that had the potential to galvanize students as a single ethnic group moving towards a common goal, the military training aspect of the curriculum assured that there were distinct lines between students. More than socioeconomic differences or political issues, these students were separated by power structures that allowed one group the freedom to dole out punishment to another.

Student-to-student discipline made these Hawaiian boys complicit in the training and disciplining of other Native bodies. The twenty-four-hour watch cycle was built on a regimented patrol schedule and had the boys waking every 3-6 hours to change shifts. Though the schedule may not have risen to a sleep deprivation level, it did condition their bodies to be on-call at all hours. This type of labor required a body that was healthy and fit and that could operate effectively to make good judgments on a lack of sleep. Accordingly, this intense student work schedule retrained Native Hawaiian bodies to become successful, obedient cadets in the US military.

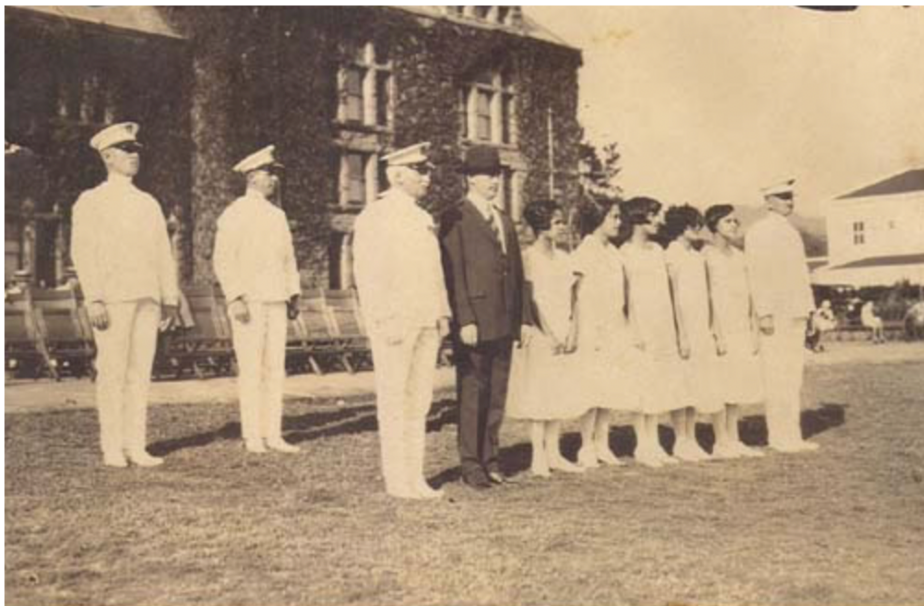

Figure 2.3 “Army Officers, Midkiff, and Sponsors Watch the Drill. Charles P. Ahue, Jr. Album, b12. Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive.

Physical conditioning and military marching was ongoing and intense at KS. Annually, the US government inspected the territory wide JROTC at a large-scale drill. In 1915, Lieutenant Colonel B. W. Atkinson of the 2nd Infantry conducted this inspection on school grounds.[142] The JROTC program was led by another member of the 2nd Infantry, 1st Lieutenant Alfred J. Booth. That year, there were a total of 158 cadets, all of whom were required to appear in full dress uniform and to complete pre-arranged military marching maneuvers as part of the review.[143] After an inspection of the dormitory, the highlight of the exercise commenced. Students engaged in a "war game" complete with rifles and blank munition cartridges.[144] Exercises consisted of many militaristic "games" and parades which showcased these Native Hawaiian students as US military operatives. As these Native Hawaiian bodies began to mimic war in these "games" designed by the US military—with the consent and support of KS—they were practicing for their future. With access to rifles, ammunition, horses, and practice space, KS students transcended their own perceived disability and began to live towards a predestined future in military service. Consequently, supplemental aspects of the military curriculum also supported the rehabilitation of "degenerating" Native Hawaiian bodies.

A 1916 parade saw the KS cadets become part of a celebration for George Washington's birthday along with nearly seven thousand soldiers and cadets from the Hawaiʻi National Guard; the 1st, 2nd, and 25th Infantries, and the 1st Field Artillery from Fort Shafter, including the 1st Hawaiian Brigade; 4th Cavalry from the Naval Station; Coast Artillery companies from Forts Ruger, DeRussy, and Armstrong; and the1st Infantry from Schofield Barracks.[145] Decked out in their gray uniforms and led by their own bugle corps, 130 Kamehameha Schools cadets skillfully

[142] "Cadets Have a Chance to Show What They Know" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (May 17, 1915).
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] "Oahu's Military Strength and 'Preparedness' are Displayed" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (February 26, 1916).

marched in the parade.[146] Their appearance at these types of parades demonstrated to the community how KS students could become ideal Hawaiian American citizens. According to one member of the public, “In town and on dress occasions, they appear in their cadet uniforms. And I will say that nowhere may be seen a physically sounder or finer set of boys than these lads. Many are very handsome. Some are almost pure white, and several are so thoroughly Caucasian that one wonders where the streak of native blood can possibly come in!”[147] The cadets’ appearance in neat and tidy uniforms demonstrated their readiness to serve the American Republic. These brown bodies demonstrated physical health and a proximity to whiteness that made them more desirable. The above quote demonstrated how popular opinion conflated fitness to whiteness so that the mixed-race students of KS moved farther from the Native problem as displayed Whiteness. Their frequent public appearances were likely an important part of garnering community support and demonstrating KS’s viability as a rehabilitating institution.

[146] The parade in memory of George Washington's birthday was a major event in Hawai‘i, with English-language coverage of the event specifically naming the Kamehameha Schools and highlighting the student's professionalism and preparedness. In contrast, Hawaiian-language media coverage does not engage and sensationalize Kamehameha cadets within this context. These competing narratives demonstrate how the media was actively seeking to skew perspectives on K.S. cadets for consumers of English-language newspapers. In the Hawaiian case, coverage focused on who George Washington was and his importance to the creation of the Union. See "Hoomanao ka la hanau o Wakinekona" *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (February 25, 1916) and “Oahu’s Military Strength and ‘Preparedness’ are Displayed” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (February 26, 1916).
[147] Mrs. Weston Coyney, “Training the Island Youth” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (December 25, 1900).

Figure 2.4 Untitled photo. Abbie H Newtown Photograph Album D, b16. Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive.

Though less apparent than their physical training, KS normalized Native students in uniform, alongside actual members of the United States military.[148] Where popular media was rife with issues of Native Hawaiian drunkenness, declining health, and economic and social strife, Kamehameha Schools demonstrated how the next generation of Native Hawaiians could successfully contribute to American society. In the early 1900s, Kamehameha cadets were a regular recurrence within the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* column “Army and Navy News.” Often seen around town in full dress uniform, the cadets projected “a very favorable impression” and were considered a “very soldierly looking body of young men.”[149] Coupled with their many appearances in parades and public inspections by military personnel, these casual jaunts into

[148] “The Native Hawaiian Problem” *Hawaiian Gazette Supplement* (August 20, 1880). A reprint of an address given by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong to the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) at the Lyceum in Honolulu, Hawaiʻi. Armstrong’s influence is perhaps no more clearly visible than in K.S.' devotion to military training. His views on the "Native Problem" were based on his experiences with former slaves in Hampton, Virginia, where he created the Hampton Normal and Agricultural School. Hampton instituted marching and uniforms similar to those at K.S.
[149] “Army and Navy News” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (May 25, 1909).

town on days off presumably strengthened the image of KS students as appropriate and deserving US citizens.

Reforming the Body through Agriculture and Industry

As a companion to military discipline, the tenets of a good Kamehameha Schools' education were job training in the industrial trades, agriculture, and farming. Students spent their mornings in academic work and their afternoons doing manual training across several disciplines. Academic work in 1903 consisted of lessons in English, History, Civil Government, Mathematics, Music, Geography, Nature Study, Agriculture, and Mechanical and Architectural Drawing.[150] During the manual study, also known as "hand-work," students studied Sewing and Tailoring, Printing, Elementary Carpentry, Wood-turning, and Forge Work for their first three years.[151] Following mastery of those courses, students moved to either Practical Agriculture or they specialized in Carpentry, Forging, Machine Work, Painting, or Electrical Work.[152] Each of those trades represented a growing industry in Hawai‘i with the opportunity for well-paying employment on the island or abroad.

KS administrators ensured industrial training provided real-world, hands-on experience in a lab-like setting for the study of farming and agriculture. Situated in Honolulu's urban core, KS was in close proximity to various industries was central to economic growth in Hawai‘i. KS also had the capacity and resources to scale training and production in the agriculture field.[153] Unlike public educational institutions and common schools, KS's status as an independent school

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[150] *Register of the Kamehameha Schools 1903-1904* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1903), 14.
[151] Ibid.
[152] Ibid.
[153] With 364,000 acres, Kamehameha Schools is the third largest landowner in the State of Hawai‘i, behind the State and Federal governments. In addition to the land assets utilized as campus locations, K.S. controls commercial, conservation, and agricultural 'āina (land) throughout the archipelago, with the largest portion on the "Big Island" of Hawai‘i. See https://www.ksbe.edu/aina/.

provided freedom to create new and innovative curricula, and connections to local business ventures. Thus, KS began creating a skilled workforce to labor on plantations and in factories.

The 1887 Hatch Experiment Station Act was the first significant legislation creating continued, large-scale government funding and support for research and experimentation in the agricultural field. Before its passage, US states employed various degrees of cooperation and shared information on the science of farming.[154] Thanks to an 1899 report endorsed by the Secretary of Agriculture, US Congress appropriated $10,000 to establish an Agricultural Experiment Station in Hawaiʻi. Dr. W. C. Stubbs, previous Director of the three experiment stations in Louisiana, was chosen as the inaugural head of the Hawaiʻi station.[155] With extensive experience in the growing and processing of sugarcane within semitropical and tropical climates, Stubbs was a fitting choice to lead the endeavor.[156] During his first trip to Hawaiʻi, Stubbs noted that an agricultural station established and controlled by the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) was already functioning and adequately servicing the needs of the sugar industry.[157] He recommended the impending Hawaiʻi Agricultural Experiment Station (HAES) focus its concerns outside of the sugar industry on fruit, vegetable, and coffee growing, raising of stock, dairying, irrigation, forestry, and the study of plant diseases.[158] Stubbs gestured towards necessary cooperation with the HSPA as they already had a "competent entomologist," Professor A. Koebele, in their employ. He could be contracted as needed.[159]

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[154] In the years prior to the Hatch Act, Nebraska, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Colorado, Ohio, Mississippi, Maine, Missouri, Wisconsin, and New York each had a gathering of farmers and agriculturists preceding the formal creation of Farmers' Institutes. See Jeffrey W. Moss and Cynthia B. Lass, "A History of Farmers' Institutes" *Agricultural History*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1988, pp. 150–63. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3743290.
[155] Report of the Secretary, 191.
[156] Ibid., 191.
[157] Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association was established in 1895 and was a voluntary membership organization of sugarcane plantation owners throughout Hawaiʻi.
[158] Ibid., 191-2.
[159] Ibid., 192.

HAES, as the official agricultural station of the U.S. government, worked in tandem with local and statewide organizations focused on improving agricultural science in Hawaiʻi, including HSPA and the Farmer's Institute. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Farmer's Institutes popped up throughout the continental United States, modeled after the Normal School but focused on the education for farmers.[160] As agricultural experiment stations were established with more frequency throughout the US, so did Farmers' Institutes. The organizations work cooperatively to disseminate the results of agricultural research to the farming industry. In the Hawaiʻi case, Kamehameha Schools was a major proponent and participant in the Farmers' Institute, which was a precursor to the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. From its beginning as a nexus of industrial training, the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts later became the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa.

KS was a consistent, committed partner to the Farmers' Institute programs. In January of 1904, all KS cadets attended a Farmers' Institute meeting where Principal Dyke contended that "every Kamehameha boy" is a farmer.[161] Moreover, Dyke argued that Kamehameha Schools produced more farmers than any other institution in the Hawaiian Islands. Principal Dyke had lofty goals for the Native Hawaiians students in his charge and took pride that they were "enjoying [the] advantages in getting a knowledge of farming, of which the white boys here were practically denied at present."[162] Emma Nakuina supported Principal Dyke's words and urged students to apply for government land by which they could build homesteads and establish small

[160] See Jeffrey W. Moss and Cynthia B. Lass, "A History of Farmers' Institutes" *Agricultural History*, vol. 62, no. 2, 1988, pp. 150–63. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3743290.
[161] "Farmers at Kamehameha" *Star Advertiser* (January 31, 1904).
[162] Ibid.

farms.[163] She added promises to exert influence over her son, “a prominent legislator,” to provide a section of land for the cadets “to put their school knowledge into practice.”[164]

Nakuina’s comments came just a few short months after the territorial Land Commission had announced it would grant land leases in Pūpūkea, on Oʻahu’s rural North Shore, to qualified graduates of Kamehameha Schools.[165] Those lands were set aside after Bishop Estate requested the territorial government support the scaling of agriculture through the establishment of small farms. According to the *Hawaiian Gazette,* Kamehameha students were overqualified as simple laborers, and there were no jobs appropriate to their training at farms in Honolulu.[166] Consequently, job placement for students well-trained in practical agriculture was difficult and forced KS alumni to take positions on other islands or to change specialties away from the agricultural field.[167]

Together, the territorial government and KS collaborated to create new opportunities to benefit these recent graduates. Under their agreement, the Land Commission of the territorial government surveyed and leased twenty-acre tracts of land—free of charge—for the creation of homesteads in Pūpūkea. It became KS’s job to ensure students’ success by providing funding for homes and necessary infrastructure and additional financial support as deemed necessary.[168] There was a concern about the length of time it might take these farmers to become self-sustaining, so a third partner emerged in this agreement. A “mainland” settler, Mr. R. Anderson, acquired a 100-acre lease in the adjacent Pūpūkea /Paumalū area for an agricultural experiment

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[163] Mrs. Emma Nakuina was the product of a Native Hawaiian mother and a foreign sugar planter father. She held several high government positions before being named Hawaiʻi's first female judge. Her son, Frederick William Beckley, Jr., served in the Territorial House of Representatives as Speaker of the House. He was educated at Kamehameha Schools and became the first Hawaiian-language professor at the University of Hawaiʻi.
[164] “Farmers at Kamehameha,” *Star Advertiser* (January 31, 1904).
[165] “Kamehameha Boys Will Get Chance at Farming” *Hawaiian Gazette* (October 20, 1903).
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

in the farming of rubber trees.[169] He was intended to be just one of several other "mainland" settlers with which to create a farming colony in the area. The territorial government suggested that KS farmers might find "additional work" assisting in the preparation of the *haole* farmsteads as well.[170]

One might argue Kamehameha alumni were the best-prepared young adults on the island to succeed in the Pūpūkea experiment. They were provided with every tool necessary to prosper, including the proper training, land leases, startup funds, and access to infrastructure. Part of their extensive training was rooted in experimentation and innovations in farming and crop development. As a major research and data gathering component for Hawaiʻi's growing agricultural industry—portions of it coming from Pūpūkea —KS kept copious amounts of data and shared it widely in the public forum.[171] Though Pūpūkea showed promise at the outset, there was a measurable difference between what was given to KS students and what was provided to American settlers being lured to Oʻahu's North Shore. With just twenty acres for students versus one hundred acres for American homesteaders, student success was obviously not a priority for KS or the territorial government.

In organizing the Pūpūkea experiment KS projected the idea that the schools' work was a success and that they were creating the solution to the Native problem. In practice, however, these students were destined to fail at Pūpūkea. The government gave students a fraction of the acreage available to neighboring *haole* homesteads and then they suggested that students might

[169] The term "mainland" was often used colloquially to describe the continental United States throughout the twentieth century. Modern Native Hawaiian resistance movements, however, have flipped this narrative of the U.S. mainland and the island colony and instead refer to the U.S. as "America," "the Continent," or "the continental U.S." For these Native Hawaiians, Hawaiʻi will always be their mainland.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Beginning in 1902, Kamehameha Schools began publishing a Monthly Garden Calendar in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*. The calendar synthesized recent research innovations and provided tips for both the recreational and commercial farmer.

find “additional work” assisting *haole* farmers in field preparation[172] The territorial government in partnership with KS, essentially placated Native students will small tracts of land to ensure a labor force for the soon-to-be *haole* homesteaders. The government gave students only enough land as to occupy a fraction of their time. Where their productivity and profitability was directly related to the amount of arable land to which they had access, students were prone to supplementing their income at neighboring farms. KS had strategically prepared these students to be docile, skilled laborers, and Pūpūkea was the materialization of their mission.

Kamehameha Farm and Dairy

The luxury of a dedicated school dairy came as the result of former teacher and Principal Uldrick Thompson’s urging. Upon arrival at KS, he noted that the milk available in the school's dining hall “was the thinnest and the bluest milk” he had ever seen.[173] When his wife attempted to feed their infant son, Robert, the bluish milk, “he tasted it, yelled in rage and threw the bottle from his homemade crib.”[174] Thompson argued that the cows providing milk for the school—and most of the cows on the island—were what he called “an inferior grade of cattle.”[175] Consequently, he searched until he found a suitable replacement and purchased the cow from Mr. Rice on Kaua‘i. When he served this new milk to his son, “he drank every drop, then held up his bottle for more.”[176] Bolstered by this small success, Thompson invested in two more cows from Rice and proceeded to prepare an area in which to care for and feed his animals. Just two Thompson was able to convince KS to begin their own dairy operation.[177] Trustee Damon loaned

[172] “Kamehameha Boys Will Get Chance at Farming” *Hawaiian Gazette* (October 20, 1903).

[173] See Uldrick Thompson, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii with Account of Early Life*, Unpublished manuscript, Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, 1922, 158.
[174] Ibid.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid., 159.

the school ten of his own Holstein cattle to increase production capabilities, and the schools set forth to prepare supplies and space for a pasture.[178]

Figure 2.5 “Dairy.” Mr. and Mrs. Uldrick Thompson, Sr. Album, b13. Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive.

From this humble beginning, KS standardized and administered the gold standard of cow care in the Hawaiian Islands. They instituted hygiene practices to ensure the safety of milk, created a feed blend using several types of corn and sorghum, and optimized the economic viability of the commercial dairy enterprise.[179] Kamehameha Dairy attributed much of its success, however, to science and the specificity to which each breed of cattle was treated in a manner that provided them with the most suitable environment. Secondarily, however, KS lauded the reliability of the students who were charged with animal care and feeding. Agriculture Professor Frederick Krauss argued that the reason Kamehameha cattle were doing so well was because of the capable Native Hawaiian students, but the reason others were doing so poorly was

[178] Ibid.

[179] “Modern Methods in Local Animal Husbandry” *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* (December 24, 1903).

due to “ignorant Japanese and Chinese [who] help feed, milk and generally superintend the dairy.”[180] Krauss’ comments demonstrate that in a single way, the science of breeding animals and the better breeding of humans became intertwined in the early twentieth century. The notion of heredity was bolstered by the application of appropriate care and feed for animals. In the human case, heredity provided the basis by which education and training could either improve or degrade a subject’s viability. Thus, a subject’s worth and propensity for improvement was a predetermined characteristic of their existence. KS’s dairy grew incrementally as they began to increase production capacity to sustain the dairy needs for all aspects of the schools. They became well known throughout the community as KS began to make the rounds at territorial fairs and entering their livestock in competitions. In 1918, KS won the grand prize for boars and first, second, and third place for dairy cows in the Territorial Fair. Additionally, KS walked away with twelve first-place awards, four second-place finishes, and two third-place awards for their Holstein cows.[181]

Haha‘ione Farm School

The Pūpūkea experiment was a post-high school endeavor in job placement and enterprise that was never fully realized and was quickly disbanded after evidence of shortcomings became clear. This failed experiment did not deter the KS trustees from attempting, once again, to create space for more manual agricultural training as part of the normal curriculum of the schools. In 1925, the trustees agreed to devote fifty acres of land to the establishment of a dedicated farm school in Haha‘ione Valley. As a partnership with the Hawai‘i Sugar Planters' Association and the University of Hawai‘i, Haha‘ione Farm School and the Haha‘ione Valley Farm provided training in crop maintenance, husbandry, nursery practice,

[180] Ibid.
[181] “Livestock Judging at Fair Complete; Awards Made” *Honolulu Advertiser* (June 13, 1918).

forestry, and sugar production through its three main facilities: a piggery, a hennery, and a dairy.[182] Haha‘ione Farm School, or *Kula Hanai Holoholona a Mahiai o Hahaione* (school for raising animals and farming at Hahaione) as it was known in Hawaiian, was built to (1) provide manual training in raising animals and farming, and (2) to provide food supplies for KS.[183]

Figure 2.6 “Hahaione Farm,” Mr. and Mrs. Uldrick Thompson, Sr. Album, b13. Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive.

Established as an integrated program in 1925, Haha‘ione became a distinct entity under Kamehameha Schools proper in 1931. Twenty male students ages 16 and over lived and worked on the farm in an apprentice-style program designed to function as a working farm. Haha‘ione housed thirty-five cows from which milk and cream were sold back to KS and to private consumers.[184] Unlike the dairy, which was run by an experienced industry professional, the piggery—with more than 350 animals— was largely under the supervision of the students.[185] The poultry department at Haha‘ione was run by a 1926 KS graduate, Samuel Vida. More than

[182] Shalene Chun-Lum and Lesley Agard, *Legacy: A Portrait of the Young Men and Women of Kamehameha Schools 1887-1987* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1987), 30.
[183] “Ke Kula Hanai Holoholona a Mahiai o Hahaione” *Ke Alakai o Hawaii* (January 7, 1932).
[184] *Ka Buke o Kamehameha: History, Administration, Courses, and Student Activity* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1933), 32.
[185] Ibid., 34.

2500 hens were housed in small pullet houses, which the students constructed, along with a flock of 150 Muscovy ducks. These three enterprises made up most of the curriculum, with the boys rotating every three months over the course of a three-year program. Unlike the academic subjects, students who showed extraordinary aptitude for the work could complete their studies in less time. Supplemental to their manual training, students had courses working to improve their English-language skills.[186]

Students at Hahaʻione were employed year-round and received $1 per day with the potential for fifty cents extra per day, for a $1.50 maximum daily compensation rate.[187] Over a six-day workweek, the pay range for these young men hovered between $6/week on the low end and $9/week on the high end. Hahaʻione Farm School did not charge tuition but did assess a $10 annual fee for medical and dental costs. Students were also responsible for paying their own room and board, which cost an average of 86 cents per day, or $6.02 per week.[188] With a low average of $6/week earnings against a $6.02/week cost of living, students barely broke even after applying their meager earnings to their incurred expenses. In 1929, the average wage for minor workers on sugar plantations in Hawaiʻi was in the range of 61 cents/day to $2.33/day depending on the type of contract.[189] While compensation varied widely, standard contracts included housing costs and basic living expenses covered by the sugar plantations.

Hahaʻione Farm School was lauded as an innovation in real-world training for students but was built on a form of near-indentured servitude where students labored for little to no pay. The tiny—and sometimes non-existent—margin between wages and expenses was hardly

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[186] Ibid.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.
[189] *Labor Conditions in the Territory of Hawaiʻi 1929-1930* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1931), 49.

enough for students to create savings post-program completion. Though the farm school did train students for employment in the agricultural industry and related trades, it is unclear how many later matriculated to these professions. Unlike Kamehameha Schools proper, where education was the primary mission, no such lofty goals undergirded operations at Haha'ione. The farm school filled a necessary function for KS by supplying milk, cream, eggs, and meat for the student body and staff. Accordingly, production at Haha'ione was twelve months of the year, with students allotted three weeks of vacation pay. Though the farm provided welcomed experiential learning opportunities, those came secondary to ensuring proper functioning of the agricultural systems feeding the schools. Unlike the small gardens and plots on the KS campus, the farm was producing at scale and selling back to KS and outside consumers.

Haha'ione was just one of the many agricultural endeavors in which KS engaged during its first decades of existence. Along with the Pūpūkea Experiment and the many smaller-scale garden plots and animal-raising operations on the Kalihi campus, there was a concerted effort to build programming that trained students to labor in these industries. While satisfying some of the school's immediate logistical and operational necessities, they also trained students to become docile laborers in the plantation industry. The strong partnership with the Hawai'i Sugar Planters' Association (HSPA) likely influenced the types of programs offered and the heavy focus on agricultural production. This emphasis became increasingly important during the first two decades of the twentieth century as both Japanese and Filipino laborers began demanding wage increases and better working conditions.[190] Well-trained, *docile* Hawaiian youth presented

[190] The Higher Wage Association, which later became the Japanese Federation, organized against the HSPA to increase wages. This agitation from Japanese laborers caused HSPA to import more Filipino workers to offset strikes and the need to hire Japanese labor. Filipino workers then rallied to create the Filipino Labor Union, which sometimes coordinated with the Japanese Federation but mainly ran independently. For more on labor organizing in Hawai'i in the Filipino and Japanese contexts, see Miriam Sharma's "The Philippines: A Case of Migration to

a viable solution to the ensuing labor unrest from the immigrant population. KS had created a reliable stream of strong and able-bodied young men fit to provide labor.

Though KS spent a significant portion of the curriculum focused on training for agricultural pursuits, both the Pūpūkea experiment *and* Haha'ione Farm School failed. With subject matter experts, industry partnerships, and no shortage of funding at their disposal, Kamehameha students were poised to become leaders in the farming industry. What then caused such failure for the Pūpūkea experiment and Haha'ione Farm School? In short, the students' (and perhaps their families) lack of interest. Enrollment in the Haha'ione Farm School dwindled, and the administration could not keep enough boys to staff the farm adequately. The literature does not directly point to low wages as the impetus for low enrollment, but that fact could have easily contributed to waning interest from students and families. Anecdotally, however, students were more inclined to seek employment in the higher paying technical trades centered in urban Honolulu.[191] Haha'ione was closed for good in 1934, and new President Homer Barnes destabilized vocational education in favor of college preparatory courses that would ensure his vision of opportunities for upward mobility.

Creating the next generation of Hawaiian leaders was big business in the early territorial years. From electricians to automobile mechanics to farmers and politicians, Kamehameha Schools prepared Native Hawaiian youth to fill many professional roles and responsibilities. Years of strict military and industrial training created strong physical bodies who were cautiously ambitious and deferent to authoritative power. KS students were bred to conform and

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Hawaii: 1906 to 1946" in *Labor Immigration Under Capitalism* Lucie Cheng and Edna Bonacich, Eds. (Oakland: University of California Press, 2021); Lui V. Tedoro, Ed., *Out of this Struggle: The Filipinos in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009);

[191] Sharlene Chun-Lum and Lesley Agard, *Legacy: A Portrait of the Young Men and Women of Kamehameha Schools 1887-1987* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1987), 30.

rewarded for submissiveness. Uniformed from dusk until dawn and even through the night, students were forced to eschew individual identities to portray allegiance to school and the country. So much of the positive public persona of KS was due to the many jaunts into town with well-dressed, carefully groomed, loyal young Hawaiian men, an apparent anomaly at the turn of the twentieth century. Discourse in newspapers echoed widespread sentiment that KS boys were the ideal Hawaiian man, hence, a solution to the Native problem.

KS Students Push Back

KS students did not all become the ideal, obedient, Hawaiian men that KS had envisioned. Throughout the twentieth century, from World War I to Vietnam, KS students began to unmake some of the training and expectations that were thrust upon them. Though KS clearly imposed discipline and training designed to control students, these young Native Hawaiian men pushed back the walls to make for themselves a more expansive and inclusive space in the world. This space allowed them to recreate connections that were often severed due to Kamehameha Schools' practice of deracinating students.

In the wake of the increasing American support for the First World War—through troop reinforcements to the Allied forces in Europe—Kamehameha students made the transition from good citizens to good soldiers for the Republic, serving in the American army. As military training and operations ramped up both on foreign soil and in the U.S., Kamehameha alumni emerged as participants and leaders of this operation. In 1918 several K.S. graduates wrote home to KS President E. O. Webster to describe their experience and involvement in the military. Corporal David K. Simeona of the 47th Engineer Brigade of the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) and a 1917 K.S. graduate, while his company was in England awaiting transfer to France, described King George V's hospitality to all American soldiers and Simeona's own excitement to

finally arrive in France on the front lines of the war.[192] David Simeona said that King George V was exceedingly pleased at the arrival of the reinforcements from the United States. Ahoi K. Simeona wrote from his post at Camp Humphreys, Virginia, where he saw every type of race in the training camp.[193] Though the trip was long, Simeona said he never got homesick but that he and his friends kept their spirits up together.[194] In his time getting to know the other soldiers, Simeona says they were shocked at how well Hawaiians could speak English and that they were also adept at writing in English.[195]

At the time of his letter, Simeona had been promoted to leading marching training for new recruits at Camp Humphreys, a position for which Simeona felt Kamehameha Schools had aptly prepared him.[196] Simeona saw his interaction with the many diverse races with whom he came into contact as opportunities to counter the perspective that hula is the only work Hawaiians are capable of doing.[197] It is interesting—though unsurprising—that even in 1918, during the First World War, Simeona already felt misjudged and misunderstood as a Native

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[192] "Na Keiki o Kamehameha Iloko o ke Koa" *Nupepa Kuokoa* (September 13, 1918). The American Expeditionary Forces were formed during American participation on the Western Front of World War I. The "doughboys," as they were called, were the first American soldiers to land in Europe in 1917, which would begin the large-scale American involvement in World War I as part of the Allied powers. See Timothy K. Nenniger, "Unsystematic as a Mode of Command": Commanders and the Process of Command in the American Expeditionary Forces, 1917-1918," *The Journal of Military History*, vol. 64, no. 3, 2000, pp. 739-768.

[193] "Na Keiki o Kamehameha Iloko o ke Koa" *Nupepa Kuokoa* (September 13, 1918).

[194] Ibid. Simeona writes: "Mahope iho o ko makou haalele ana aku ia Hawaii, na Enekinia, ua kauliilii ko makou puulu ma kela ame keia wahi, aka noʻu iho aole au i loaa i ka maʻi noonoo no ka home aka e hoohauoli ana iaʻu iho me na hoa." Translation: After we left Hawaiʻi, the engineers, we stopped here and there, but for me, I was never homesick because my friends kept me happy.

[195] Ibid. "Ua hookahahaia aku kekahi poe o lakou i ka ike ana mai i ke akamai o ke kanaka Hawaii i ke kamailio i ka olelo Enelani me ka maikai, a o ka oi loa ma ke kakau ana me ka pololei." Translation: Some of the people were shocked at how smart the Hawaiian was in speaking English and that he was a great writer.

[196] Ibid. "Ma keia mea nae i lilo ai koʻu makaukau maloko o ke Kula Kamehameha i mea kokua nui loa iaʻu, ua kokua nui aku ia ia Anakala Sam ma ka hoolilo ana i kona mau makaainana i poe koa makaukau." Translation: In this thing [English-language fluency], I was prepared and supported by K.S., and this in turn supported Uncle Sam in transforming his citizens into capable warriors.

[197] Ibid. "Ua haawi mai no hoi ia loko oʻu i manawa maikai e hookomo aku ai iloko o ka poe hou, e pili ana no Hawaii, ka poe i loaa na manao kuhihewa, o ka hula wale no ka hana hiki ia Hawaiʻi. Translation: I wanted to share—at an appropriate time—to these new people about Hawaiʻi, they have erroneously thought that hula is the only thing that a Hawaiian can do.

Hawaiian in the U.S. military, serving abroad. His disdain was perhaps due in part to nineteenth-century travelogues and publications which hawked the image of exotic yet indolent *kānaka* to the world. That narrative of the carefree wandering native was transported to the U.S. and consumed widely.[198] When added to Hawaiʻi's numerous presentations at nineteenth-century World's Fairs, the U.S.—and to some extent the world—consumed messaging that both supported and contradicted this narrative.[199] Though Simeona was eager to differentiate himself from this imagery, others were more accepting of this and similar Native Hawaiian tropes.

A fellow member of the 47th Engineer Brigade, Private John Kahunalii, wrote home in mid-1918 pleading with friends to send him an ʻukulele and guitar. According to Kahunalii, "The Hawaiian boys are always expected to play the ukulele wherever they go. The men in the army camps believe that a Hawaiian boy is not a real Hawaiian unless he plays the ukulele and dances the hula."[200] This article asserted the "island boys want to keep up the reputation," so the community should come together to support them in purchasing two guitars and three ʻukulele. Kahunalii was also savvy enough to send his regards to Mayor Fern via public letter so as to gently encourage him to grant this request.[201] Less than one month later, in September of 1918, it was announced that enough money had been raised to supply those Native Hawaiian boys with

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[198] See Mary Hannah Krout, *Alice's Visit to the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: American Book Company, 1900); John L. Stevens and W. B. Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii; a charming description of her unique history, strange people, exquisite climate, wondrous volcanoes, luxurious productions, beautiful cities, corrupt monarchy, recent revolution and provisional government* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1894); and Charles M. Taylor, Jr., *Vacation Days in Hawaii and Japan* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1898).

[199] In the long nineteenth century, Hawaiʻi made formal presentations at the 1867 Exposition Universelle – Paris; the 1876 Centennial Exhibition – Philadelphia; the 1888 Women's Industries and Centenary Fair – Sydney, Australia; the 1889 Exposition Universelle – Paris; the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition – Chicago; and 1901 Pan American Exposition – Buffalo. According to Stacy Kamehiro, there was a marked change in the Hawaiʻi presentations for these fairs once no longer under the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. What was once curated historically relevant displays and performances had become centered on a narrative that diminished the role of Native Hawaiians in the history and future of Hawaiʻi. For more on Hawaiʻi's participation in the World's Fairs, see Stacy L. Kamehiro, "Hawaiʻi at the World Fairs, 1867-1893," *World History Connected* October 2011 <https://worldhistoryconnected.press.uillinois.edu/8.3/forum_kamehiro.html> (February 4 2023).

[200] "Hawaiians Pine For Ukuleles in Camp in Mainland" *Hawaiian Gazette* (July 30, 1918).

[201] Ibid.

their instruments.[202] This brigade was a novelty of sorts, an all-Hawaiʻi based crew of twenty-five soldiers—including four KS graduates—being sent to the Army engineer officers' school in Virginia.[203] In May, just prior to their departure, a grand Aloha Parade was organized, running through the streets of the city and ending at the wharf where their ship was docked.[204]

Kahunalii's desire to step into the role of the Native Hawaiian as a music-playing, hula-dancing exotic was diametrically opposed to Simeona's disdain for this narrative. Though their methods diverged, their goal was similar: both Kahunalii and Simeona sought acceptance. For the latter, acceptance came in his quick rise in the military ranks to a trusted and capable officer in command of men of all races. For the former, however, acceptance was a socially driven concept that was tied to his ability and willingness to conform to expectations of his race. Together, these students charted a new space for themselves according to their own desires, likes, dislikes, and ambitions.

Thirty years later, by the middle of the twentieth century KS students' anti-military sentiment had grown and they were unafraid to express it to the school. Glenn I. Teves, KS alumni class of 1970 and County Extension Agent for the Department of Tropical Plant and Soil Sciences, Molokaʻi Extension Office, wove a different tale of his experience. From his orientation as a Freshman, Teves said, "All our ideas on independent thinking and individuality

[202] "To Supply Ukuleles" *Richmond Times-Dispatch* (Richmond: September 8, 1918).
[203] "E Kaihuakai ana no ka Hanohano o na Keiki Hawaii" *Nupepa Kuokoa* (Honolulu: April 26, 1918). Twenty-five soldiers from Hawaiʻi included: Albert A. Ahiu, Edward K. Akiu (K.S. Class of 1916), Samson Among (K.S. Class of 1915), Albert Areia, Antone P. Correa (K.S. Class of 1915), Emanuel J. Freitas, Harry Chang, Charles H., John B. Kaahunalii, Fred Kiesel, Alexander Kong, Julius K. Lewis, John Puhiwa, David K. Simeona (K.S. Class of 1917), Gerald B. Erving, James Kawainui, John Gouveia, Clarence C. Blake, Robert Kaawa, William Yee, Paul Richards, Jr., Manuel G. Batailyo, Manuel P. Pontes, Selmo F. Ross, Russell M. Harvey, and William K. Ioane.
[204] Ibid., "Ma ka manawa e haalelo iho ai ia poe keiki o Hawaii nei, no ka haawi ana uku i ko lakou ola...no ka pono o ke aupuni o Amerika ame kona mau lahui kanaka..." Translation: [The parade was held] at the time those Hawaiian boys were ready to leave their Hawaiʻi to give their lives for the good of America and their fellow Hawaiians.

were quashed." When everyone went right, we were demanded to do the same thing or else.[205] Accordingly, students were subject to the discipline doled out by fellow student cadets even outside of the view of military and school instructors. Teves argued that high-ranking JROTC students wasted no time punishing lower-ranking students for minor and major infractions during orientation week, which also became dubbed "Hell Week." Teves retold stories of "Simon Says" where cadets were made to jump but were punished for landing because "Simon" did not say they could come down.[206] In that case, cadets were assigned twenty push-ups for disobeying orders.[207]

Teves' descriptions of "Hell Week" described how students were required to stand in formation for long periods in the midday sun, with several fainting from exhaustion, demonstrating the level to which serious military training inculcated the JROTC program. At the time, though participation was voluntary, JROTC programs were popular throughout public high schools. KS had the only full-time mandatory program in Hawaiʻi where students were engaged in military science, maps and plotting quadrants, and the handling and maintaining of weapons.[208]

According to Teves, civil rights movements in the sixties—most notably, the Anti-Vietnam War Movement—had infiltrated Kamehameha Schools' tightly-knit community.[209] Teves recalled certain notable upperclassmen, Malama Solomon, Haunani Trask, Keola Beamer, and Jon Osorio, donning black armbands in solidarity with students throughout the country

[205] Ibid., 2.
[206] Ibid.
[207] Ibid.
[208]
[209] Ibid., 4.

protesting the Vietnam War.[210] During this same time period, students protested KS's involvement with the American military by painting the school's cannon pink and filling it with nails. When the cannon was fired the next morning during review by Schofield Barracks and Washington DC brass, Teves recalled how nails shot out of the cannon and into the surrounding coconut trees as if they were machine gun bullets.[211] During that same incident, students vandalized the JROTC building by spray painting obscenities, including "FUCK ROTC" across its walls.[212]

This episode demonstrated ways students pushed back against KS and their control of Native bodies and behaviors, but it also was a clear display of virility and masculinity. KS's controlled and trained Native bodies for labor, and encouraged the display of Western, -introduced notions of gender and sexuality. That conditioning was based on reifying ideals of masculinity—namely, Christian manliness—via military training and industrial education.[213]

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[210] Black armbands became a symbol of protest in the U.S. in 1965 when a group of three teenage students donned black armbands with white peace symbols to a school in a district expressly forbidding it. The ensuing landmark court case Tinker v. Des Moines Independent Community School District was eventually decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in a 7-2 vote. It was the first Supreme Court decision involving freedom of speech for high school students and is known as "the Black Armbands Case." For more on Tinker v. Des Moines, see "Facts and Case Summary – Tinker v. Des Moines" *United States Courts* https://www.uscourts.gov/educational-resources/educational-activities/facts-and-case-summary-tinker-v-des-moines. Teves' notable upperclassmen each became political activists. Malama Solomon later went on to become a Hawaiʻi State Senator; Haunani Trask founded the Center for Hawaiian Studies at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa; Keola Beamer became a Grammy-nominated slack key artist; and Jon Osorio became Dean of the Hawaiʻinuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa.

[211] "Choosing Your Battles" *Molokai Native Hawaiian Beginning Farmer Program* August 2014, Hoʻolehua, Hawaiʻi, 4.

[212] Ibid.

[213] The related terms "Victorian manliness" and "Muscular Christianity" define the worth of man similarly as related to his physicality, virility, health, and devotion to God. For more on Christian manliness, see K. Boyd, "Victorian Manliness, Upper-Class Heroes and the Ideal of Character,1855–1900," *Manliness and the Boys' Story Paper in Britain: A Cultural History, 1855–1940 Studies in Gender History* (Palgrave: London, 2003) https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230597181_4; Tony Ladd and James A. Mathisen, *Muscular Christianity: Evangelical Protestants and the Development of American Sport* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1999); Clifford Puttney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America 1880-1920* (Harvard University Press, Cambirdge: 2003); and Norman Vance, *The Sinews of the Spirit: The Ideal of Christian Manliness in Victorian Literature and Religious Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

The term “Christian manliness” gained traction in England during the nineteenth century and it became vehicle for Victorian clergy to connect Christian religious devotion to secular notions of physical prowess and moral character. Historian Norman Vance defined Christian manliness as “all that was best and most vigorous in man.” Accordingly, Christian manliness saw man’s most valuable and honorable characteristics as his abilities to pray, work, and be honest in all dealings. The notion of Christian manliness aligned with Akaiko Akana’s construction of the ideal Native Hawaiian as one who could think, work, and live appropriately. In other words, the ideal Native man not only labored properly but he adhered to conservative Christian notions of masculinity. These conservative ideals pushed Native notions of gender and sexuality to the margins and created their own unattainable measures for appropriate masculinity *and* femininity at KS.[214]

While Native Hawaiian sociopolitical rule of law, the *‘aikapu,* clearly delineated gender roles and separated gods for men and women, same-sex relationships were common. Native scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa has argued that homosexual sex was considered “safe sex,” not in the modern sense of the term, but in the sense that no child could result from homosexual sex.

[214] While Native Hawaiian sociopolitical rule of law, the *‘aikapu,* clearly delineated gender roles and separated gods for men and women, same-sex relationships were common. Native scholar Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa has argued that homosexual sex was considered “safe sex,” not in the modern sense of the term, but in the sense that no child could result from homosexual sex. *Kānaka* of the ruling class practiced incest to assure their power moved from generation to generation, as a child resulting from a careless liaison with an *ali‘i* of a lower class or a commoner would challenge the validity of future heirs to the throne. Moreover, these Christian based ideals of masculinity and femininity eschew the spectrum of sexuality and gender that existed in Hawai‘i and elsewhere throughout the Pacific. Complicated terms like *māhū,* which began as a cultural designation for individuals who did not clearly belong in the male-female binary, but later became pejorative terms used widely both within and outside of the Native Hawaiian community. Even noted Native Hawaiian scholar and cultural expert Mary Kawena Pukui defined *māhū* as “hermaphrodite” when publishing the groundbreaking *Hawaiian Dictionary* in 1957. Whether that definition was her own or the result of negotiations with her co-author Samuel H. Elbert, the conception of the term *māhū* changed along with the historical circumstances and context of the time. The term *aikāne* in Pukui and Elbert’s dictionary is defined as “friend” of “to become a friend,” though when examined contextually in stories and songs, it becomes clear that *aikāne* embodies a clear sexual undertone, more, a same-sex sexual undertone. For more on Native sexuality and gender roles, see: Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1994); Ty P. Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai‘i* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

Kānaka of the ruling class practiced incest to ensure their *mana* (spiritual power) moved from generation to generation. A child resulting from a careless liaison with an *aliʻi* of a lower class or a commoner could challenge the validity of future heirs to the throne. Christian rooted expectations on masculinity and femininity eschew the spectrum of sexuality and gender that existed in Hawaiʻi and elsewhere throughout the Pacific before contact with the western world. Complicated terms like *māhū,* which began as a cultural designation for individuals who did not clearly belong in the male-female binary, later became pejorative terms used widely both within and outside of the Native Hawaiian community. Even noted Native Hawaiian scholar and cultural expert Mary Kawena Pukui defined *māhū* as "hermaphrodite" when she published the groundbreaking *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Whether that definition was her own or the result of negotiations with her co-author Samuel H. Elbert, the conception of the term *māhū* and the fluidity of gender and sexuality changed along with the historical context.

Chapter 3 - Rebuilding the Home

We found this Home upon Christian principles; by the formation of a sisterhood of women, who will dwell together in peace and harmony, bearing and forbearing, living a significant family life, as broad as the gospel of Christ...[215]

- *The Handicraft*, 1898

With the abundance of Native Hawaiian women *aliʻi* (royals) active in both the political and social spheres in the nineteenth century, one might consider Hawaiʻi a feminist nation according to popular perspectives on women and domesticity.[216] Though Native women were civically engaged and active in governance up until the early twentieth century, their social and political mobility were constrained as new attitudes towards women and their role in society took root in Hawai'i.[217] Discourse on the "cult of domesticity" and "true womanhood" outlined appropriate standards of behavior based on white womanhood. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, this meant that women—primarily middle and upper class white women—were expected to demonstrate religious piety; to keep their bodies pure; to labor in the home; and to submit to their husbands.[218] Public policy, religious instruction, and social and familial pressures ensured that these behaviors were encouraged and enforced in multiple public and private

[215]"The Girls' School," *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, October 1898).

[216] The last reigning monarch of the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi was Queen Liliʻuokalani, who was the sister of the last king of Hawaiʻi, David Kalākaua. Native Hawaiian female royals endowed some of the most well-known and lucrative charitable trusts and organizations in Hawaiʻi: Queen's Hospital and Queen Emma Land Trust (Emma Kaleleonālani), Kamehameha Schools Bishop Estate (Bernice Pauahi), Kapiʻolani Maternity Home (Kapiʻolani), and Queen Liliʻuokalani Trust (Liliʻuokalani).

[217] Though female *aliʻi* were commonplace in Hawaiʻi leading up to the twentieth century, the transition from constitutional monarchy to unincorporated territory of the US began to constrain the role of women in society. Once the monarchy was dissolved, the *aliʻi* class became less relevant and possessed only waning power. Women of royal blood could no longer participate directly in governmental affairs and were relegated to civic engagement in community circles. There were however, exceptions to this rule as Native Hawaiian woman and *aliʻi* descedant Emma Nakuina became a curator, judge, and commissioner for the territorial government. It should be noted however, that her direct involvement in government affairs was atypical for Native women in the early twentieth century. For more on the role of Native women in Hawaiian society, see: Jocelyn Linnekin, *Sacred Queens and Women of Consequence: Rank, Gender and Colonialism in the Hawaiian Islands* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990).

[218] Christine E. Bose "Dual Spheres" in *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1996) pp. 278-279; Mary Louise Roberts, "True Womanhood Revisited" *Journal of Women's History*, 14 (1) 2002: 150– 55; and Barbara Welter "The Cult of True Womanhood." *American Quarterly*, 18(2) 1996: 151– 74.

contexts. Accordingly, women were provided “appropriate” educational and social opportunities, further fortifying the existing gendered power structures. With its seemingly unending resources, Kamehameha Schools became a leader in providing this “appropriate” education to Native Hawaiian women.

This chapter, “Rebuilding the Home,” shows how Kamehameha School for Girls, and to some extent the School for Boys, used training in the domestic arts to rebuild and reconfigure cultural and personal practices within Hawaiian homes. KSG created conditions designed to transform Native Hawaiian women. This chapter proceeds in three main sections: the first is dedicated to showing how the Domestic Arts, particularly courses in mothercraft and cooking, were used to ensure Native Hawaiian women would become capable homemakers and mothers. Further, the focus on Domestic Arts reshaped perspectives on interpersonal relationships and the nuclear family, which had the potential to effect long-term change in the home. This chapter's second section highlights how KS destabilized Victorian conceptions of womanhood as they revolutionized vocational education for Native women in the early twentieth century. Though the vocational programs were gendered, and relegated women to specific acceptable fields of work, they also prepared women to participate in non-domestic wage-earning labor. This training expanded opportunities for women to accrue wealth and become financially independent without being married. Lastly, this chapter considers the implications of the domestic and vocational curriculum on students. Though the boys’ school curriculum was focused on military discipline, the girls’ school attempted to change how Native girls mothered the next generation of Hawaiians. To what extent was this curriculum effective? In what ways was it contested?

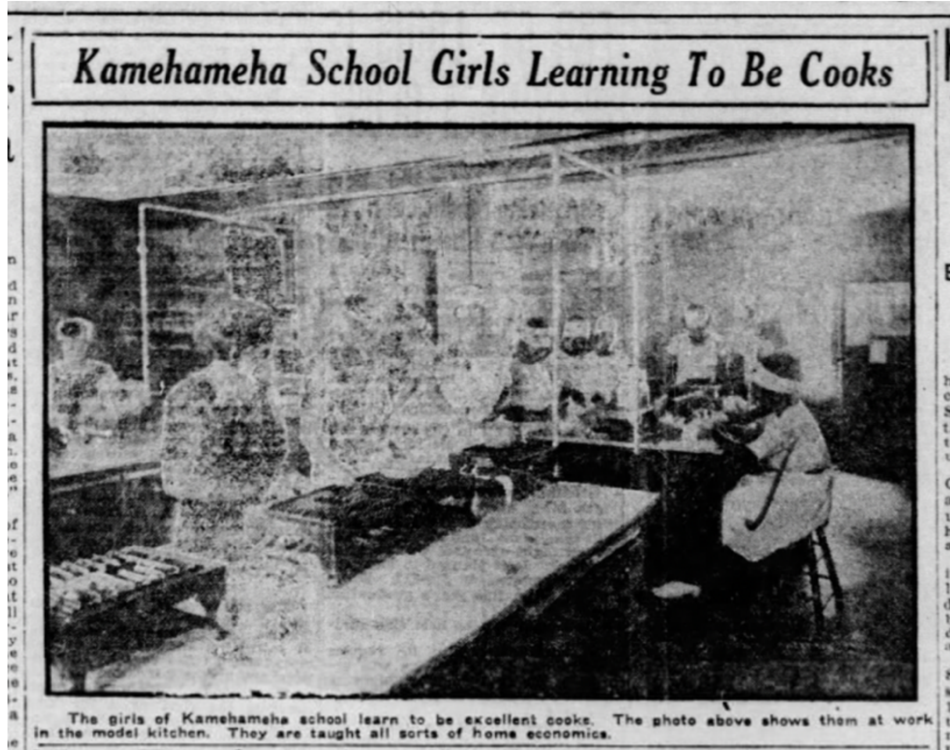
Unlike government schools, Kamehameha Schools was independently run and funded and therefore capable of creating a curriculum requiring specialized instruction staff, facilities, and supplies. KS was governed by five trustees who hired principals to oversee the Preparatory Department, Boys' School (often called the "Manual School"), and Girls' School, all of whom were *haole* (white foreigners).[219] As discussed in chapter two, the boys' school required special equipment and faculty to operationalize their military and industrial educational goals. The same was also true for the girls' school which instituted Cooking, Sewing, and Mothercraft courses, all of which required dedicated resources for implementation. Each of these additions to the curriculum aligned with nineteenth century Victorian ideals of "true womanhood," which argued that women belonged in the home, caring for the family.[220]

KSG's affiliation with the Protestant church bolstered this emphasis on domesticity, which idealized biblical constructions of womanhood. Accordingly, a woman's worth was directly related to her ability to properly care for herself, her family, and her home, and by her adherence to the teachings of the Christian God. Consequently, KSG was dedicated to solving

[219] The first five trustees of Kamehameha Schools were named in Pauahi's will: (1) Charles Reed Bishop, Pauahi's husband, who founded Bishop and Co., the first chartered bank in the Kingdom; (2) Samuel Mills Damon, C.R. Bishop's business partner who later acquired Bishop and Co., which became First Hawaiian Bank; (3) Charles McEwen Hyde was a Princeton Theological Seminary graduate and ABCFM missionary to Hawaiʻi in 1877; (4) Charles Montague, son of Chiefs' Children's School founders Amos and Juliette Cooke, he was an attorney and went on to found Bank of Hawaiʻi, (5) William Owen Smith, was a college roommate to Charles Montague Cooke, he helped to draft the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution" and was an active member of the Committee of Safety which overthrew the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi. For more on white influence during the creation of Kamehameha Schools, see Carl Kalani Beyer, "The White Architects of Hawaiian Education" *American Educational History Journal* vol. 44, no. 2 (2017): 1-18; Carl Kalani Beyer, "A Century of Using Secondary Education to Extend an American Hegemony Over Hawaiʻi" *American Education History Journal* vol. 39, no.1/2 (2012): 515-535; Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua, "Domesticating Hawaiians: Kamehameha Schools and the Tender Violence of Marriage" *Indian Subjects: Hemispheric Perspectives on the History of Indigenous Education* (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2014).

[220] For more on the origins and implications of "true womanhood" discourse in the nineteenth century, see: Monica F. Cohen *Professional Domesticity in the Victorian Novel: Women, Work, and Home* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Linda K. Kerber "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History" *The Journal of American History*, vol. 75, no. 1, 1988, pp. 9–39; Charles E. Rosenberg "Sexuality, Class and Role in 19th-Century America." *American Quarterly*, vol. 25, no. 2, 1973, pp. 131–53; and Barbara Welter "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860" *American Quarterly*, vol. 18, no. 2, 1966, pp. 151–74.

the female Native problem through transformative education designed to teach women to work, pray, and obey appropriately. Local newspapers followed progress at KSG and often reported on their innovative domestic arts curriculum.



Kamehameha School Girls Learning To Be Cooks

The girls of Kamehameha school learn to be excellent cooks. The photo above shows them at work in the model kitchen. They are taught all sorts of home economics.

Figure 3.1 “Kamehameha School Girls Learning to Be Cooks” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (27 May 1924).

Kamehameha Teaches Child Care

Child care and home hygiene are emphasized in the instruction at the Kamehameha School for Girls. The photo above shows a girl in uniform demonstrating, with a large doll, the proper way to handle a baby in lifting it from the cradle.—Photo by City Photo Co.

Figure 3.2 “Kamehameha Teaches Child Care” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (27 May 1924).

Popular discourse in local newspapers highlighted KSG’s new domestic arts curriculum in groundbreaking new facilities using the latest technologies. Native girls were shown dressed in white in a fully equipped model kitchen, actively engaging in food preparation (Figure 3.1). A girl in a nurse uniform stood at the foot of a baby bassinet and demonstrated the proper method of carrying an infant (Figure 3.2). In both cases, Native girls were shown in formal settings, fulfilling their “appropriate” roles as submissive domestic laborers. Thus, KSG began demonstrating its ability to create ideal Native girls through education. As mainstream English-language newspapers peddled KSG propaganda throughout the archipelago, more residents became aware of the work happening at KS.

While the turn of the twentieth century narratives of *kānaka* indolence framed Native men as degenerate, unhealthy, and savage bodies, those same narratives also framed Native women as delinquent and sexually promiscuous.[221] Thus, the presumed Native problem in men was distinct from that in women. Officials from KS sought to rehabilitate Native men's "lazy" bodies through industrial training and military discipline and to rehabilitate Native women through domestic training and vocational education. Remaking Native women revolved around transforming beliefs and practices on kinship, mothercraft, and domestic labor. The rehabilitation of degenerate Native women undergirded the KSG curriculum and prioritized reconditioning the mind and body to proper ways of thinking and being. These new, appropriate ways of thinking and being centered on the tenets of "true womanhood" and the proper display of piety and submissiveness. Though young women at KSG endured similar discipline and manual training as KS boys, young Native women focused on restructuring the Native Hawaiian home. Utilizing courses in cooking, sewing, home hygiene, and mothercraft, amongst others, KS sought to inculcate a Victorian-era attitude towards respectability and domesticity in young Native

[221] See Mary Hannah Krout, *Alice's Visit to the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: American Book Company, 1900); John L. Stevens and W. B. Oleson, *Picturesque Hawaii; a charming description of her unique history, strange people, exquisite climate, wondrous volcanoes, luxurious productions, beautiful cities, corrupt monarchy, recent revolution and provisional government* (Philadelphia: Hubbard Publishing Co., 1894); and Charles M. Taylor, Jr., *Vacation Days in Hawaii and Japan* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1898). Additionally, representations of Hawai'i and Hawaiians proliferated as the government began its own foray into "selling" Hawaiʻi as a tourist destination in 1903. The territorial legislature created the Hawaiʻi Promotion Committee and charged them with luring visitors to the islands to boost the economy. For more on the representation of Native bodies for tourism, see: Jane C. Desmond "Invoking 'The Native': Body Politics in Contemporary Hawaiian Tourist Shows" *TDR (1988-)*, vol. 41, no. 4, 1997, pp. 83–109; Jane C. Desmond "Picturing Hawai'i: The "Ideal" Native and the Origins of Tourism, 1880-1915." *positions: east asia cultures critique*, vol. 7 no. 2, 1999, p. 459-501; Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America Hula Circuits Through the US Empire* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012); and Haunani-Kay Trask "Lovely Hula Hands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture in *From A Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1993).

women.[222] As central figures in the family unit and within the home, women would become an important influence on her family's attitudes, perspectives, and practices.

A Home Away From Home

Figure 3.3 Untitled photo. Abbie H Newtown Photograph Album D, b19. Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive, undated.[223]

Kamehameha School for Girls was an edict in Pauahi's will, though it did not materialize until 1894, just over seven years after the opening of the boys' school in 1887. The girls' school buildings were erected across Kalihi Street, about one mile from Honolulu's urban center (see Figure 3.4). Nestled between a pineapple cannery, an industrial warehouse, and a public

[222] Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu theorized *habitus* as the socialized norms that guide behavior and perspectives. *Habitus* created and constantly changed by our interaction with society and is influenced by the interplay of both existing power structures and the application of individual free will. Moreover, Bourdieu theorizes that *habitus* is created unconsciously without any deliberate pursuit. For more on Bourdieu's *habitus*, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and O. Lizardo "The Cognitive Origins of Bourdieu's Habitus" *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour* vol. 34, no. 4 2004 pp. 375-448.
[223] Image of Kamehameha Schools students fronting the main KSG campus building. Image courtesy of the Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive Abbie H. Newton photograph collection. Newton was principal at KSG from 1915-1927.

elementary school, the Girls' School was comprised of several small structures built around a central hall which housed most of the classroom instruction, and a dining room (see Figure 3.3, photo of girls fronting the main hall). The Girls' School occupied only a fraction of the land allotted to the sprawling boys' campus, but both campuses would eventually become the property of the territorial government.[224]

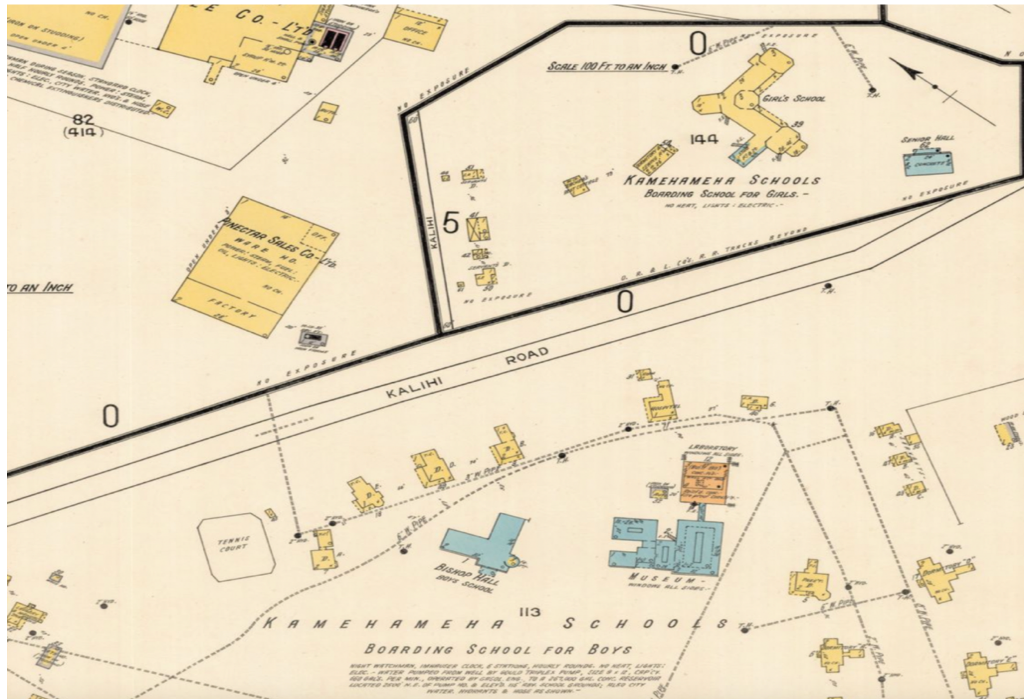


Figure 3.4 Sanborn Map Company, "Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps" (Honolulu, Territory of Hawai'i: 1914) https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/items/79abcab8-16c8-493c-8392-050f5f189d71, accessed 25 June 2023.

Ida May Pope, the first principal of the Girls' School, was responsible for creating and implementing KSG's original curricula. She graduated from Ohio's Oberlin Collegiate Institute in 1886 and moved to Hawai'i to staff Kawaiaha'o Seminary after a short stint in Ohio's public school system.[225] Though Kamehameha Schools had officially opened in 1887, it took several

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[224] The old Girls' School grounds became a public park (Kamehameha Community Park) while most of the lower portion which housed the Boys' School was condemned to create Wallace Ryder Farrington High School and Kamehameha Homes, a Section 8 housing project. See"Wallace Ryder Farrington High School Dedication Sunday" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* December 9, 1939.

[225] Briefly known as the Honolulu Female Academy, Kawaiaha'o Seminary was a school for girls located on the grounds of the Mission Memorial Building on King Street in Downtown Honolulu. It began as a home-based school

years before KSG was finally established in 1894. By the time KSG was ready for students, Pope's work Kawaiahaʻo Seminary led her to become the top choice to lead the school. When Pope transferred from Kawaiahaʻo to KSG, she brought several students from Kawaiahaʻo with her, including Lydia Aholo, who was the *hānai* (adopted) daughter of the recently deposed Queen Liliʻuokalani.[226]

Figure 3.5 "Class of 1897" in *Preparatory and Girls School 1888-1900* (Honolulu, Hawaiʻi) https://blogs.ksbe.edu/archives/timelines/preparatory-and-girls-schools-1888-to-1900/ accessed June 25, 2023.

in 1864 taught by former missionary to Micronesia, Louisa Gulick, until the school joined forces with the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HCMS) to create Kawaihaʻo Seminary. Gulick's husband, Luther, was a missionary doctor and the secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) Board. For more on Ida May Pope and Kawaiahaʻo Seminary, see Sandra Bonura *Light in the Queen's Garden: Ida May Pope, Pioneer for Hawaiʻi's Daughters, 1862-1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2017) and Derek Taira, "Making 'Womenly Women' or 'Servants of Civilization': Ida Pope and Native Hawaiian Female Education, 1894-1914" *Pacific Historical Review* 92:1 pp 30-61 (2023). Ida May Pope had charge over seven teachers at Kawaiahaʻo Seminary, she brought three of them, Miss Bertha Sears, Mrs. Ida Sturgeon, and Miss Jennie Denzer, with her to Hawaiʻi from her hometown of Bucyrus, Ohio. See "New Teachers form Ohio for Kawaiahao Seminary" *The Hawaiian Gazette* (August 29, 1893).

[226] Hānai is a Native Hawaiian cultural practice that can be loosely equated to the Western notion of "adoption." In hānai, however, the adoption is non-legally binding and the child in question is—many times—placed with an extended family member. In some cases the child is given to honor a high-ranking family member or in others a child is given to a childless family member to care for. Like with Western adoption, a child can also sometimes be given when a couple is unable to care for the child. In this case, Lydia Aholo's father was a close advisor to King Kalākaua, and she was given to Liliʻu after her mother's passing. Aholo spent her childhood in Washington Place with the Queen and in the Queen's summer home at Muʻolaulani. For more on Lydia Aholo, see "Lydia Kaonohiponiponiokalani Aholo" *Kaʻiwakīloumoku Pacific Indigenous Institute* https://kaiwakiloumoku.ksbe.edu/article/kanaka-insights-aholo-lydia-kaonohiponiponiokalani. For more on the concept of hānai and Hawaiian kinship, see E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi* (Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 1989).

Those Kawaiahaʻo transfer students, and a few others would become the first graduating class of the Kamehameha Schools for Girls in 1897.[227] The student body at KSG was primarily comprised of students from rural communities on the neighbor islands, with an additional one-third of the student population from urban Honolulu.

	Oʻahu Urban	Oʻahu Rural	Neighbor Island Rural	Total Rural
Year 5	1	0	7	7
Year 4	2	0	13	13
Year 3	2	0	13	13
Year 2	5	1	19	20
Year 1	10	2	13	15
Special	4	0	7	7
Total	42	3	72	75
Percentage	35.8%	2.5%	61.5%	**64.1%**

Table 3.1 Chart of KSG enrollment by age and Urban/Rural dwellers for 1903-4[228]

For all intents and purposes, the schools ran as separate entities with Ida May Pope guiding principles and values grounding the Girls' School. Her values and perspectives mirrored popular attitudes toward women in the nineteenth century. Historian Barbara Welter identified four tenets of "true womanhood": piety, purity, submissiveness, and domesticity, which—when put

[227] The first commencement for KSG took place at Kaumakapili Church on July 5, 1897 with fifteen graduates: Lydia Aholo, Julia Akana, Kalei Ewaliko, Miriam Hale, Lewa Iokia, Helen Kahaleahu, Elizabeth Kahanu, Malie Kapali, Hattie Kekalohe, Elizabeth Keliinoi, Kelina Kiwaha, Julia Lovell, Jessie Mahoahoa, Elizabeth Waiamau, and Aoe Wong Kong. "Closing Exercises: Kamehameha School for Girls" *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu: 6 July 1897).
[228] Statistics for this table taken from: *Register 1903-1904* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1914), 79-82.

together— “spelled mother, daughter, sister, wife—woman.”[229] This western construction of womanhood was built in stark opposition to a Native perspective on women. In eighteenth century Hawaiʻi, society was still governed by the *ʻaikapu* system which delineated appropriate gender roles. Men and women worshipped separate gods in a religious system that made eating a sacred, religious act that men and women did separately. Conversely, in the *ʻaikapu*, sexual contact was to be celebrated and enjoyed.[230] In this way, Native religion was a near inversion of a building block of Christianity which saw eating as an act to be enjoyed freely by all, while sexual contact was heavily restricted and policed through public policy.

In the century since contact with the western world, however, Victorian ideals on domesticity became pervasive in the uppermost echelons of Hawaiian society. In a 1910 interview at the Hotel Vendome in Boston, Massachusetts, Hawaiʻi's own (former) Queen Liliʻuokalani argued, “A woman's place is at the head of her household, and thus every woman can be a queen.”[231] Liliʻuokalani clearly outlined her expectations for women in her time in response to a woman's attempt to win elective office in Boston in 1910:

> I have been hearing much of late about a certain woman who has been trying to get into the legislature. You cannot fancy how absurd that seems to me. The time is coming, and I hope it will come soon, when women will give up such foolish notions. It really is amusing…to allow women to become members of the Senate or the House of Representatives…The fact is, that when it comes to an argument with a woman, no man has the ghost of a show.[232]

Liliʻuokalani's perspective on women and their “foolish notions” was complicated. As a royal who ascended the throne upon her brother's death, Liliʻuokalani was not an elected official.

[229] See Barbara Welter, “The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860” *American Quarterly* Vol. 18, No. 2, Part 1 (Summer 1966), pp. 151-174.
[230] For an in-depth explanation of the ʻaikapu religious system, see Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea la e pono ai?,* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).
[231] “Our Queen Gives a Reason” *The Hawaiian Star* (Honolulu, Hawaiʻi) February 24, 1910.
[232] Ibid.

Though she did not run for office and was unable to vote until the Nineteenth Amendment passed in 1920, Lili'uokalani was the Head of State for the official Hawaiian Kingdom government.[233] She inherited the power and resources which put her into her leadership position. Her pedigree solidified her "fitness" for public office. Like Pauahi, Lili'uokalani was raised to be an *ali'i* and educated at the Chiefs' Children's School amongst other Native Hawaiian royals. Consequently, their missionary teachers shaped their collective attitudes toward women and women's place in society.

Lili'uokalani's words clearly positioned her as an outsider, separate from women who aspired to public office whom she viewed as—perhaps, unworthy of the leadership role. As a child of noble parentage and a sister to the elected King, her leadership role was preordained regardless of her popularity or ability. Her opinion was not only openly disparaging to non-royal women, but also to men. However, as she expressed her distaste for women in office, she also conveyed her opinion that, in an argument, men had no chance against women. Her complex perspective on women as unsuitable for office but perhaps also intellectually superior or more skilled than men hint at her own complex relationship with political office. As a royal, Lili'uokalani was an exception to the ideals of "true womanhood," but she reified these same ideals for common women. This notion that there was an "appropriate" role and place for *most* women—however complex—became a central ideology to early KSG curricula.

From the outset, KS trustees set out to make the school a home which would transform girls into "capable, useful and worthy women."[234] Unlike the Boys' School, which focused on paramilitary disciplinary tactics and industrial training to create an obedient workforce, the Girls'

[233] For more on Native women organizing for more rights, extra governmentally, see Noah Patterson Hanohano Dolim, "Organizing 'Ōiwi Futures: Native Hawaiian Women, Governance and Sovereignties Beyond the Nation-State" (Ph.D. diss, University of California – Irvine, 2023).
[234] *The Prospectus* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1894).

School was to be distinct in both approach and results. Operating largely independent of the Boys' school, KSG revolved around making ideal Native Hawaiian women. Accordingly, they used pseudo-scientific approaches to teach a wide breadth of domestic skills and mothercraft to be used for labor inside and outside the home.[235] Kamehameha School for Girls was open to Native Hawaiian women of thirteen years and over, preparing them for domestic work, wage earning in the handicraft sector, or teaching in government schools.[236] Though KS included a "normal" course upon the School's opening in 1894, it was short-lived as the Territory of Hawaiʻi had begun expanding its own teacher training program. By 1896, the Department of Public Instruction opened the doors to their reconfigured Honolulu Normal and Training School.[237]

Just as the Boys' School sought to create "ideal" Native Hawaiian men, the Girls' School worked to create "ideal" Native Hawaiian women. These ideals were mutually constitutive and primarily based on a particular [white] construction of masculinity, femininity, and Christian morality. In other words, KS students needed to fulfill their duty as either "breadwinners" or "homemakers." These roles were well-defined in that men would take their place as financial providers and heads of household, while women were responsible to care for the husband, home, and children. Accordingly, KS newspaper *The Handicraft* argued: "The wives of the intelligent self-respecting, aspiring young Hawaiian mechanics (may their number increase) ought to be skilled in cooking…Training which prepares Hawaiian boys to become breadwinners and Hawaiian girls to become homemakers is doing the future Hawaiian race an untold service."[238]

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[235] *Kamehameha School for Girls Catalogue* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1897), 3.
[236] Ida May Pope quoted in: "Teaching Hawaiians: Kamehameha Schools for Girls in a Flourishing State" *Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu, Hawaiʻi Octoboer 30, 1900).
[237] *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction to the President of the Republic of Hawaiʻi for the Biennial Period Ending December 31, 1897* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1898), 12.
[238] "Industrial Training for Girls" *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).

KS ideals for women both adhered to and disrupted the breadwinner–homemaker kinship structure.[239] Native men were in a position of power with their industrial and agricultural labor contributing to the capitalist economy and garnering wages to support the family. Conversely, women were expected to serve their husbands and feed and care for their children. Occasionally they became "help-meets" should their husbands be unable to provide enough money to give their families a "civilized and refined style."[240] In other words, KS primarily taught girls domestic labor skills, but they began infusing trades into regular instruction which provided women (1) tools for self-sufficiency and (2) the ability to contribute supplemental funding to the household budget. The turn away from the traditional nineteenth-century breadwinner-homemaker model positioned Native women as the saviors of the race, as it seemed apparently inevitable that they would need to labor outside the home to fully support their husbands.

Officials from Kamehameha Schools argued that Native youth had spent too long in social circles with *haole* (white foreigners) and Chinese aspiring to their "civilized" lives but unable to compete in the workplace. Though Hawaiian boys had entered the law profession, they failed to make a living, having been unable to compete with foreigners "without resorting to shady transactions and dishonorable practices."[241] Accordingly, those who failed returned to old habits, leading them to the lives they hoped to escape. KS argued that successful, professional,

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[239] Scholars have argued that before the industrial revolution labor within the family system was dispersed across all members, regardless of sex. As industrialization and modernization began to change the economic structure, the resulting demand for skilled labor, made it preferable to hire men. The move to centralize labor in factories or large agricultural operations took men to labor outside the home as women transitioned caring for the house and the children. This phenomenon became known as the breadwinner-homemaker model. For more on the origins of the breadwinner-homemaker model, see: Nancy Folbre, "The Unproductive Housewife: Her Evolution in Nineteenth-century Economic Thought" *Journal of Women in Culture and Society* vol. 16, no. 3, (1991), pp. 463-484; Sara Horrell and Jane Humphries, "The Origins and Expansion of the Male Breadwinner Family: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Britain" *International Review of Social History*, vol. 42, 1997, pp. 25–64; Wally Seccombe, "Patriarchy Stabilized: The Construction of the Male Breadwinner Wage Norm in Nineteenth-Century Britain" *Social History*, vol. 11, no. 1 January 1986, pp. 53-76.

[240] "Industrial Training for Girls" *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).

[241] "Industrial Training for Girls" *Handicraft* vol. 2 no. 2 (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).

white-collar Native Hawaiian men were rare and that Native men were better suited to industrial work.[242] However, these industrial trades were insufficient to support their families, so Native women's labor doubled as they were homemakers *and* supplemental breadwinners.[243] Together, these "ideal" Native Hawaiian men and women would go on to create ideal Native Hawaiian families and homes.

KSG taught Native Hawaiian girls how to become good mothers and create good homes by instituting rules and practices that governed student life in the classroom and dormitories. Domestic Arts—including cooking, sewing, laundry, and general hygiene practices—were taught using manual training (hands-on activities rather than teaching philosophically about a subject). KSG also offered courses in elementary carpentry skills to teach Native Hawaiian girls how to repair everyday household items and to build simple, valuable pieces appropriate for home use utilizing discarded or leftover materials.[244] There was an overall emphasis on thrift built into the curricula. There was also a distinct strand focusing on health and hygiene which covered cleanliness, the basics of first aid, and how to respond to an emergency.[245] These strands of the KSG curricula supported at least a single tenet of "true womanhood," from piety to domesticity. These tenets were lived daily, in chapel service, in music, and academic subjects. Even non-instructional time was governed by strict dining etiquette and dorm cleanliness.

Ideal Women, Ideal Home

To create ideal Native women, the school first needed to create an ideal environment where girls could observe and emulate proper behavior. Though the Domestic Arts were foundational to KSG from 1894, each skill set was taught independently of the others. There was

[242] Ibid.
[243] Ibid.
[244] *Kamehameha School for Girls Catalogue* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1897), 3.
[245] Ibid.

no suitable space for girls to apply their growing knowledge and skills in a practical setting. The year 1912, however, changed everything. With the help of Ida May Pope, KSG built "Senior Hall" as the first official "practice home" in the territory.[246] Planned as part of a grouping of new buildings for KSG, Senior Hall included space for dormitory rooms, a kitchen, a library, and a common room. This laboratory-style home became a hallmark of land-grant universities resulting from the Morrill Acts in 1862 and 1890.[247] Hawaiʻi-based architects Ripley & Davis designed Senior Hall and the School's hospital.[248] For all intents and purposes, Senior Hall became a fully functioning home staffed by a "house mother" who taught the art of home management and supervised students completing their daily chores. As a physical space, Senior

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[246] "Trustees Plan Many Additions for Kamehameha School for Girls" *The Sunday Advertiser* (Honolulu: December 8, 1912).

[247] Justin Smith Morrill, a nineteenth-century Vermont delegate to the United States House of Representatives and, later, US Senate, envisioned a new class of university/college designed to teach agricultural and industrial arts to the general population. In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, Morrill identified a gap in the post-secondary education pipeline in the US with an abundance of: medical schools, normal schools, seminaries, and universities teaching the "classics," but a lack of education options for the working class. Consequently, Michigan State, Pennsylvania State and Iowa State became the US' first land-grant institutions. For more on the Morrill Acts, see Coy F. Cross, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land Grant Colleges* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999); and Scott Key "Economics or Education: The Establishment of American Land-Grant Universities" The Journal of Higher Education, 67:2 1996, 196-220. The territorial legislature founded the College of Hawaiʻi as one of the Morrill Act land grant colleges in 1907. Temporarily headquartered in downtown Honolulu, the College of Hawaiʻi eventually moved to its current home in Mānoa valley and became what is now known as the University of Hawaiʻi by 1920. In its early years, the University of Hawaiʻi was amid exploring a curriculum based on the technical trades and agricultural sciences. Additionally, however, the college began to apply the same methodical training used for metallurgy and farming to study the domestic arts. Though domestic arts had long been a part of American educational foundations, it was primarily siloed into separate, unrelated specialties. Scholars have compared this approach to "an automobile factory...if it manufactured wheels and engines and the body and left the purchaser to assemble his auto and start it running." In the early twentieth century, land grant colleges began teaching domestic arts in the same manner as academic subjects and vocational education were taught: disciplinarily. This means individual specialties taught specific skills that were then layered and combined to—theoretically—produce complete training in home management. Consequently, "practice homes" began to appear and were used as a space to study the domestic arts. The main goal of this type of course and these "practice homes" was "better homes, and through better homes, better people." See Inez Wheeler Westgate, "Homemaking Practice Given Island Girls" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: March 21, 1931).I think you really need to addres the extraordinary amount of mateiral you have relegated to notes. The word count in the notes rivals that in the manuscript. I think you should streamline these notes substantially.

[248] Ibid. Ripley & Davis was an architecture firm headed by Clinton Briggs Ripley and Louis E. Davis, both of whom were American settlers to Hawaiʻi. Ripley went on to design several other buildings for Bishop Estate while Davis became well known as a theatre designer throughout Hawaiʻi. For more on Ripley's and Davis' work, see *Angell Lowell, Theatres of Hawai'i - Images of America Series (Charleston: Arcadia Publishing, 2011), 66; and* Gaylord Wilcox, "Businesses and Buildings: Downtown Honolulu's Old Fashioned Block" in *Hawaiian Journal of History* 6:16, 1972.

Hall modeled the Victorian home, founded on American (Christian) values, led by obedient and patriotic Hawaiian American citizens. The hallmarks of a good American home and family were deeply rooted in Victorian-era constructions of "true womanhood." Consequently, KS used systematic, scientific approaches to improving physical, financial, and social well-being among students.

KSG's interest and investment in Domestic Arts education, also called "Home Economics," closely mirrored federal policies intended to support vocational education programs in land grant colleges and implement such programs in government secondary schools. Scholars have shown that the Smith-Hughes Act was revolutionary for vocational education in the United States and led to the development of agricultural, industrial, and home economics programs throughout the US.[249] Beginning in 1906, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education (NSPIE) began a significant push for federal action to support vocational education programs and workforce development.[250] Once passed, Smith-Hughes mandated matching funding from the states to support vocational training though detractors have argued that it created two separate, distinct education systems.[251] Smith-Hughes provided significant funding as they both intersected, supported, and/or supplemented Agriculture Experiment Stations (AES) in the continental United States, but home economics—and women—became additional policy beneficiaries. Unfortunately, it took seven more years until Smith-Hughes was extended to apply to to the Territory of Hawai'i.

[249] For details on the ramifications of the Smith-Hughes Act on vocational education across the United States, see: David Carleton, *Landmark Congressional Laws on Education* (Stuttgart: Holtzbrinck Publishing Group, 2001) and Ray Herren, "Controversy and Unification: The Passage of the Smith-Hughes Act" *Journal of the American Association of Teacher Educations in Agriculture* vol. 27 no. 1 (Spring 1986) pp. 39-44.
[250] NSPIE was created in 1906 as a means to "sway" public opinion toward supporting governmental investment in vocational education in public schools.
[251] See David Carleton, *Landmark Congressional Laws on Education* (Stuttgart: Holtzbrinck Publishing Group, 2001).

While Hawaiʻi public schools were largely unable to afford the facilities, tools, and supplies necessary to grow a Home Economics program without the support of the Smith-Hughes Act, private industrial educational institutions like Kamehameha Schools were poised to create formidable, well-funded programs. Building KSG's Senior Hall was a major investment in creating a successful home economics program for Native girls. Also called the Senior Home Management Cottage, Senior Hall's aesthetic and functional design was attributed to the inaugural principal, Ida May Pope. An 1886 graduate of Ohio's Oberlin Collegiate Institute (known today as Oberlin College), Pope initially settled in Hawaiʻi to become a part of the faculty at Kawaiahaʻo Seminary.[252] Though Kamehameha Schools had officially opened in 1887, it took several years before KSG was finally established in 1894. By the time KSG was ready for students, Pope had made a name for herself at Kawaiahaʻo Seminary, becoming the top choice to lead KSG. When Ida Pope transferred from Kawaiahaʻo to KSG, she brought with her several students from Kawaiahaʻo, including Lydia Aholo who was the *hānai* (adopted) daughter of the

[252] Briefly known as the Honolulu Female Academy, Kawaiahaʻo Seminary was a school for girls located on the grounds of the Mission Memorial Building on King Street in Downtown Honolulu. It began as a home-based school in 1864 taught by former missionary to Micronesia, Louisa Gulick, until the school joined forces with the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (HCMS) to create Kawaihaʻo Seminary. Gulick's husband, Luther, was a missionary doctor and the secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA) Board. For more on Ida May Pope and Kawaiahaʻo Seminary, see Sandra Bonura *Light in the Queen's Garden: Ida May Pope, Pioneer for Hawaiʻi's Daughters, 1862-1914* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2017) and Derek Taira, "Making 'Womenly Women' or 'Servants of Civilization': Ida Pope and Native Hawaiian Female Education, 1894-1914" *Pacific Historical Review* 92:1 pp 30-61 (2023).

recently deposed Queen Liliʻuokalani.[253] Those girls and a few others would become the first graduating class of the Kamehameha Schools for Girls in 1897.[254]

Though most of the extensive Domestic Arts curricula were delivered during formal instruction, non-instructional time was equally crucial in making ideal Native women. As faculty served as instructors by day and dormitory advisors by night, they were a constant force in students' lives. Once mundane tasks became opportunities to reinforce piety and submissiveness amongst Native Hawaiian girls. Mealtimes—from shopping to cooking to serving to hosting to cleaning—occupied a significant time commitment at KSG. Eating a meal as a group created an atmosphere of family and kinship amongst unrelated students and faculty. While food preparation and consumption were an ordinary aspect of life, the practices and habits created during those mealtimes were repeated at least three times a day, every single day of the week for months. With constant positive and negative reinforcement, situational rules of behavior for mealtimes and the like became expectations. These behavioral expectations transformed into an institutional culture that began to enforce itself. Along with clear guidelines governing mealtime, the methods by which food was both chosen and prepared was rooted in a modern, western way of life.

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[253] Hānai is a Native Hawaiian cultural practice that can be loosely equated to the Western notion of "adoption." In hānai, however, the adoption is non-legally binding and the child in question is—many times—placed with an extended family member. In some cases the child is given to honor a high ranking family member or in others a child is given to a childless member of the family to care for. Like with Western adoption, a child can also sometimes be given when a couple is unable to care for the child. In this case, Lydia Aholo's father was a close advisor to King Kalākaua, and she was given to Liliʻu after her mother's passing. Aholo spent her childhood in Washington Place with the Queen and in the Queen's summer home at Muʻolaulani. For more on Lydia Aholo, see "Lydia Kaonohiponiponiokalani Aholo" *Kaʻiwakīloumoku Pacific Indigenous Institute* https://kaiwakiloumoku.ksbe.edu/article/kanaka-insights-aholo-lydia-kaonohiponiponiokalani. For more on the concept of hānai and Hawaiian kinship, see E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu, Hawaiʻi* (Clarendon: Tuttle Publishing, 1989).

[254] The first commencement for KSG took place at Kaumakapili Church on July 5, 1897 with fifteen graduates: Lydia Aholo, Julia Akana, Kalei Ewaliko, Miriam Hale, Lewa Iokia, Helen Kahaleahu, Elizabeth Kahanu, Malie Kapali, Hattie Kekalohe, Elizabeth Keliinoi, Kelina Kiwaha, Julia Lovell, Jessie Mahoahoa, Elizabeth Waiamau, and Aoe Wong Kong. "Closing Exercises: Kamehameha School for Girls" *The Hawaiian Gazette* (Honolulu: 6 July 1897).

Figure 3.6 Untitled photo. Abbie H Newtown Photograph Album D, b11.[255]

The KSG girls dined in a well-appointed dining room with white linen tablecloths, napkins, white dishes, and flatware. All meals were "family style," so each table was assigned a hostess and a waitress. The waitress was responsible for retrieving food from the kitchen and bringing it to the table, while the hostess oversaw keeping pleasant, appropriate conversation throughout the meal.[256] Faculty were present at every meal and rotated seating every few weeks, which allowed them to meet and interface with all the girls. They kept a close eye, especially on the waitress and hostess, who together were responsible for assuring "the table is properly set, the butter is cut, water glasses filled, bread, celery, condiments, etc., are in their place."[257]

Work on meal preparation was broken into two shifts, daily. It began at 5:00am with a designated student lighting the fire each morning.[258] At 6:00am, the crew of cooks began to prepare breakfast, to be served promptly at 7:00am, and prepare all the necessities for a quick lunch. At 8:30am, the kitchen was cleaned, and the first crew of cooks dismissed for the day. By

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[255] Image of Kamehameha Schools female students at mealtime in the dining hall. Image courtesy of the Kamehameha Schools Museum Archive Abbie H. Newton photograph collection. Newton was principal at KSG from 1915-1927.
[256] Grace Tower Warren, "Home is What You Make It" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: 18 November 1939).
[257] Ibid.
[258] *Register of the Kamehameha Schools 1903-1904* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1903), 39.

4:30pm the second crew of cooks began preparations for dinner and dessert. With dinner served at 5:30pm, the second crew was excused after dishes and utensils were washed and put away.[259] Additionally, Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays were "baking days" when students prepared fresh baked goods for the week's meals. Students were also taught the fine details of fruit-canning and jelly-making, skills that could—presumably—be used to create additional income for their households.[260] Students utilized lemons, strawberry guavas, plums, and papayas that were sourced from campus grounds. This intensive training in cooking, serving, and hosting meals for large groups of people provided excellent training for would-be housewives of the future. Food choice both in the Senior Cottage and throughout KS was decidedly American with a Hawaiian flair. A typical day's meal consisted of papaya, eggs, biscuits, cocoa, and jam for breakfast; breaded *mahimahi* (dorado), *poi* (mashed taro), tomato salad, milk, guava sherbet, and homemade cookies for lunch; and cream of tomato soup, crackers, vegetable salad, canned cherries, and cookies for dinner.[261]

Though cooking was a part of the regular domestic curriculum, the actual serving of and consuming of the meal allowed a more extemporaneous exchange between students and faculty. During the school day meals were taken in the campus dining hall, but in the evenings and on weekends, mealtime could become a more casual affair. Faculty sometimes took their supper of grilled garden vegetables on the *lānai* (long porch) of Senior Hall, and on rainy evenings, faculty and students would take their "tray supper" next to the fire in the living room. For each meal, no matter the occasion, one girl would function as "hostess" and carefully monitor serving of the food and was responsible for ensuring guests were entertained with "interesting and appropriate"

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[259] Ibid.
[260] Grace Tower Warren, "Home is What You Make It" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: 18 November 1939).
[261] Grace Tower Warren, "Home is What You Make It" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: 18 November 1939).

conversation. Senior Hall was also home to numerous receptions welcoming the Boys' School, local politicians, and community members, each providing Native girls a chance to demonstrate their skills in the Domestic Arts. In every respect, KS girls lived up to their expectations. Visitors to the cottage witnessed the quality of food and other handicraft produced at KSG and found Senior Hall to be a "well-oiled machinery of a home."[262] As a focal point of the campus, Senior Hall was a space to display ideal Native girls to the surrounding community.

Perhaps the most novel and innovative method in early twentieth-century Domestic Arts / Home Economics curricula was the implementation of "practice babies" at Senior Hall. While Ida May Pope was principal, students practiced Mothercraft with dolls, but by the 1920s, students trained with real babies provided by local families or the Salvation Army. At KSG, students were assigned to labor in the cottage for six weeks of the academic year under the tutelage of a house mother. Each girl was assigned one week to become the Baby Director, or "Baby Dee" as the role was popularly known when they completely controlled baby care and managed household activities.[263] Lauded as an innovation of epic proportions in the field of home economics, the "Senior Cottage" or "Senior Hall"—as it was known—joined a host of other land-grant institutions using this model across the United States from the early to mid-twentieth century, including the Tuskegee Institute, Purdue University, Cornell University, University of Wisconsin-Madison, University of Minnesota, and the University of Hawai'i.[264]

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[262] Ibid.
[263] "Kamehameha Schools Prepares for 67th Birthday" *Honolulu Advertiser* (December 12, 1954).
[264] Land grant universities and colleges worked with US Department of Agriculture Experiment Stations to conduct research on crops and farming methods, but most of the work in Domestic Arts and Home Economics research came out of a sub-entity of the Experiment Station, called the Agriculture Extension Service. The first Extension Serice was established in Texas in 1904. For more on the history of the Agriculture Extension Service in Hawai'i, see: William A. Lloyd, "Agricultural Extension Work in Hawaii" *Extension Bulletin No. 3* (Honolulu: Mercantile Press, 1914). .Scott Key, "Economics or Education: The Establishment of American Land Grant Universities" *The Journal of Higher Education* vol. 67, no. 2 (March 1996), pp196-220.

Kamehameha Schools was creating its own novel focus on Mothercraft in tandem with the national focus on Home Economics and Domestic Arts in land-grant colleges and universities.

While KSG's Senior Hall was created in 1912 on the grounds of the original KSG campus located on the Kalihi plains, practice babies did not become a regular curriculum feature until 1924. Introduced by new KS principal Frank E. Midkiff, the baby program became a popular course amongst the girls of Kamehameha. In 1938, Robert "Sprout" Kauo took up residence in Senior Hall for twenty-nine months. Media sensationalized this "ladies' man" and described him as a lucky young Hawaiian:

> He's no pantywaist. He is the only man in the Kamehameha senior girls' cottage and he holds his own. He's pure Hawaiian. He likes his bottle. He's fat, sassy and two months old. That's Robert (Sprout) Kauo. Sprout already has had eight mothers. He takes them young and comely. They must be seniors. The more they fuss over him the better he likes it. His twelve pounds is spread equally in smiles, tears, squirms, a crop of thick black hair, an upturned nose, substantial ears, and a powerful foghorn.[265]

"Sprout," as he was affectionately known, was the son of Mr. And Mrs. Robert F. Kauo of Papakōlea who brought him the KSG when he was nearly three weeks old. He was to spend enough time at Kamehameha so that every senior girl could care for him for an entire week.[266] For KS Senior Dorothy Goo, KSG class of 1939, being "Baby D" (baby director) was a favorite part of the curriculum, but it made her feel a decade older. She was critical of previous baby directors because she said some girls "can't stand to see him cry." Goo complained that she was awoken every morning at 2:00am but not because Sprout was hungry, it was because he was spoiled.[267] While in the cottage as the designated "Baby D," Goo woke at 5:45am to order Sprout's food, cook and prepare it, and serve it to him five times a day. Later, she would proceed

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[265] Eugene Burns, "Sprout's a He Man – and Loves 'Tenshun" *Honolulu Star Bulletin* (Honolulu: 25 October 1938).
[266] Ibid.
[267] Ibid.

with his bath, and then wash and iron his clothes. “Sprout” and all other KS babies would pay bi-monthly visits to the school physician for a thorough health check-up.[268]

Figure 3.7 “Sprout in Mufti” *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: 25 October 1938).
Caption: Robert (Sprout) Kauo, 2 months, taking a peg from the bottle (milk) that cheers. Holding him is the infant’s eigthh mother, Miss Vivian Badger, 17, of Kamehameha School for Girls.

“Sprout” was just one of many babies who had made their way through the Senior Cottage. The class of 1940 cared for little Barbara Jean Ellis, who was apparently “responding to training better than any baby to date and already she sleeps through the night as a properly constructed infant should.”[269] So much of the Mothercraft curriculum at KS was built on conditioning optimal eating, sleeping, and behavioral habits. Students noticed that after a Senior Hall baby spent time with their family on the weekends or holidays, it could take several days to get the

[268] Ibid.
[269] Grace Tower Warren, “Home is What You Make It” *Honolulu Star-Bullentin* (November 18, 1939).

baby back on a proper schedule.[270] "Too much loving and too much holding" from a baby's family made lives difficult for the young mothers at KSG.[271]

Students used practice babies on training in mothercraft consistent with many families and mothering and a modern scientific approach to baby care. Mirroring developments in home management in universities throughout the US, KS created methodical mothers who followed a precise diet, exercise, recreation, and hygiene program to create ideal children. From keeping copious notes and logging daily food intake, weight, height, and notes on overall demeanor, the course in Mothercraft provided a model for students to utilize in their homes. Formalizing what was once an informal task within the private sphere began recognizing women for the labor exerted within the home and their tangible contributions to society. When KS hired women to teach mothercraft and the domestic arts, it legitimized those women and placed domestic arts in the realm of other recognized disciplines at KS, like carpentry, metallurgy, or various academic subjects.

Though there was much pomp and circumstance to the study of Mothercraft at KS, motherhood in the Hawaiian case was an uncomfortable subject, at least in the case of the Hawaiian kingdom *aliʻi.* The ruling families in the late-nineteenth century struggled to make heirs, and when they did, they struggled to keep them alive long enough to assume the throne. Kamehameha IV, who ruled from 1855-1863, and his wife, Queen Emma, had only a single son who died at the age of four, in 1862. Prince Albert, as he was known, was *hānai* to Kapiʻolani and her first husband, Nāmākēhā, at the time of his death. Kamehameha IV died the following year, after which his brother, Lot Kapuāiwa became heir apparent known as Kamehameha V, who ruled from 1863-1872. Lot died without naming a successor and only a rumored illegitimate

[270] Ibid.
[271] Ibid.

daughter to succeed him. With no heirs available, William Charles Lunalilo was elected King in 1873 and ruled for just one year before his passing in 1874, with no queen and no heir apparent. David Kalākaua succeeded Lunalilo, ruling from 1874-1891, but he and Queen Kapiʻolani did not produce an heir. Upon the King's passing, his sister, Liliʻuokalani, assumed the throne until the overthrow of the Hawaiian kingdom in 1893. Incidentally, Liliʻuokalani was also unable to produce an heir. Princess Bernice Pauahi could also have been in line for the throne but also failed to produce an heir. Regarding motherhood and producing an heir, the most successful *aliʻi* of the late nineteenth century was Keʻelikōlani who had two sons who were eligible for the throne. Her first son fell ill while a student at the Chiefs' Children's School and died there at the age of seventeen. Her second son, Keolaokalani, was *hānai* to Bernice Pauahi and passed away at eighteen months old.

For the last fifty years of the Hawaiian monarchy, the highest ranking *aliʻi* failed to produce viable heirs who could secure their legacies. Additionally, the Native Hawaiian population was at the height of a population collapse between 1860 and 1880.[272] The survival of the Hawaiian race was uncertain at every level, so all aspects of healthcare, childcare, and domestic duty became of utmost importance. While Hawaiʻi kept pace with the national trends toward Domestic Arts education, the rapid population decline added an additional layer of urgency to the project of race rehabilitation. As innovations in the Domestic Arts space began to take shape, Kamehameha Schools had the means to be at the forefront of innovations in the space. Accordingly, KSG's Senior Home Management Cottage was outfitted with the best instructors, facilities, and tools to properly train Native girls to raise a healthy, thriving family

[272] David A. Swanson, "A New Estimate of the Population for 1778, the Year of First European Contact" *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* vol. 11, no. 2 (2019).

unit. With nearly unlimited access to funds and support, KSG was one of the best-equipped industrial schools in Hawai'i.

Good and Industrious Women

KSG's curriculum supported the notion of "true womanhood" by teaching girls to care for their themselves and their families "properly." KSG's creators found this monolithic role for Native women appropriate yet insufficient for the Hawaiian family. This insufficiency was built on the perception that Native men were incapable breadwinners because they could not compete with Asian and *haole* men for professional occupations.[273] That perception bled into competition for lower-level industrial and agricultural labor positions where *haole* foreman preferred docile Native workers to enterprising Asian laborers.[274]

As discussed in chapter two, the curriculum at the Boys' School pushed Native Hawaiian men towards manual and industrial labor rather than towards skills that would lead the young men toward professional positions. This choice also directly impacted Native Hawaiian women's roles in the family system. An early article in the school's first newspaper, *The Handicraft*, argued: "Lately, an effort has been made to direct the attention of Hawaiian boys more to the trades where experience proves they can succeed in competition with all civilized races."[275] Newspaper discourse supported the perspective that Native boys were intellectually inferior to other "civilized races," primarily Asian and *haole* settlers, and that they should only aspire to trades and manual labor. Consequently, KS understood that training Native men to become

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[273] "Industrial Training for Girls" *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).
[274] Asian laborers were fighting for better working conditions and unionizing throughout the early twentieth century. For more, see Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985); Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011); and Jessica Wang, Agricultural Expertise, Race, and Economic Development: Small Producer Ideology and Settler Colonialism in the Territory of Hawai'i, 1900 – 1917.
[275] "Industrial Training for Girls" *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).

laborers would limit their earning capacity, thereby requiring Native women to augment the family's finances while maintaining their role as homemakers. This bastardized version of "true womanhood" emasculated Native men and overburdened Native women. While vocational education was—on the one hand—an education for mobility, it came with a purpose and with a cost.

Administrators for the Boys' School (Manual Department) were critical of the Girls' School curriculum, arguing that it should be elevated to a practical level to train girls for employment outside the home.[276] More specifically, *The Handicraft* insisted that the girls' sewing curriculum provided only a cursory understanding of the craft and that girls needed "a systematic daily lesson" to become proficient.[277] By the 1920s, KSG had set up a "Commercial Course" where girls could train and specialize in typing, stenography (transcribing spoken word to written word), bookkeeping, or secretarial work.[278] Once students chose a field, they stayed in their specialty until they graduated from KSG. Unlike sewing classes, the implications of a sustained training course in the secretarial field were clearly aimed at post-baccalaureate job placement. While these vocational courses increased mobility and opportunities for these young Native women, they also increased her labor burden once she started a family. With Native men incapable of supporting their families properly, it fell to Native women to become homemakers *and* breadwinners.

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[276] "Industrial Training for Girls" *The Handicraft* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, February 1890).
[277] Ibid.
[278] *Ka Buke o Kamehameha,* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1932), 30.

KS Alumnae Occupations by decade - as of 1921					
Time frame	**Housewife**	**Clerical/Health**	**Education**	**Clerical + Education**	**Total**
1897 - 1910	55 (51%)	21 (19%)	31(28%)	52 (48%)	107
1911 - 1920	61 (37%)	31 (19%)	69 (42%)	100 (62%)	161

Table 3.2 Table of KS Alumnae Occupations by decade – as of 1921[279]

In the first decade of KSG's existence, a slim majority of the female alums (51%) became homemakers while the remainder labored outside the home. Considering nearly all roads at KS led to domestic training and "true womanhood," the near-even number of homemakers and breadwinners amongst female students in this period is evenly distributed. In the following decade of the 1910s the percentage of alums who became homemakers plummeted to 37% while the number of women employed outside the home increased to 62%. These statistics show that KSG successfully prepared women for more than just homemaking as their alums became teachers, clerks, nurses, and assistants in various capacities. This vocational focus both expanded and constrained the role of Native women in society and in the Hawaiian family.

In 1924 one-half of the graduating class enrolled in KSG's Commercial Course with the remaining half enrolling in the "general course."[280] Of the sixteen who enrolled in the vocational secretarial track, only six remained the following year owing to the challenging coursework.[281] One student in particular, Ms. Florence Mossman, excelled in the difficult course and even won a medal for speed typing (40wpm). According to *Ka Moi*, Mossman's success proved that the training at KS was legitimate because "before girls of this course graduate, they will be 'A class' stenographers."[282] Though half of the Commercial Course students not only dropped out of the

[279] Statitics included in this table was compiled from information in the: *Directory of Living Graduates of the Kamehameha Schools, Issue of 1921* (Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Company, Ltd., 1921), 19-25.
[280] *Ka Moi* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1924), 74.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.

course but also dropped entirely out of KS, this was apparently a badge of honor for the program. Accordingly, Florence Mossman became a shining example of the possibilities of a good KSG graduate and an ideal Native woman.

Figure 3.8 "Mrs. Charles B. Lemon Jr.: who was Miss Florence Mossman before her marriage" (*Honolulu Advertiser* (Honolulu: July15, 1928).

By the mid-1920s, Kamehameha had expanded vocational educational opportunities for girls to bookkeeping, bookbinding, leatherwork, and weaving courses, which provided even more potential to supplement household income in future years.

Students received an introduction to professional nursing in a tenth-grade course on "Home Hygiene," where they were taught to care for the sick, to prevent communicable diseases, and to diagnose illnesses. "Home Hygiene" utilized the American Red Cross' program to evaluate personal health practices and to demonstrate alternatives to creating a healthier life.[283] By 1933, students were learning the basics of practical nursing in the KSG hospital under the

[283] *Ka Buke o Kamehameha,* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1932), 13.

direction of a full-time registered nurse. Those students also taught the community the basics of home health and hygiene several times a year.[284] KS students demonstrated infant bathing techniques to new mothers focusing on maternal health and improving infant and toddler hygiene and overall health.

In 1930, even Kamehameha boys began dabbling in home management at Senior Hall. The boys underwent a truncated four-week course (as opposed to seven weeks for KSG) focused on housekeeping, cooking, and care of the school's practice baby. Though the girls' domestic curriculum centered on homemaking and creating a home-based source of supplemental income, the boys' school worked to ensure bachelors understood nutrition and how to cook and clean for themselves rather than relying only on canned foods.[285] While one can imagine how "boys looked at the project as rather girlish from the start," it was also said that "the classes…were among the most beneficial" the boys ever had.[286] This foray into the female sphere of domesticity and mothercraft was a self-serving mission as Kamehameha boys' had only a shortened, simplistic goal within Senior Hall. Boys needed to learn to cook and care for their needs as bachelors should they fail to marry.[287] Though this domestic training crash course would have helped Native boys to prepare for their eventual roles as husband and father, it was primarily intended as a stop gap until Native men could find ideal Native women to care for them.

The implementation of vocational education at KSG was complex and nuanced, as it brought women more independence and social mobility, but it saddled them with more familial responsibility. Girls' courses in the commercial trades transformed the definition of "true

[284] *Ka Buke o Kamehameha,* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools, 1933), 23.
[285] "Kam Boys Care for Baby and Prepare Meals" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (Honolulu: 26 February 1930).
[286] Ibid.
[287] Ibid.

womanhood" for Native women, but job training was not the only site for contestation. The Girls' School organized several social clubs and extracurricular activities where Native girls began to further expand the meaning of "true womanhood" to their own ends. Ranging from religious clubs to sports teams to music groups, each extracurricular activity brought an opportunity for personal growth and a space to test the boundaries of "true womanhood." Though social clubs came with their own policies and rules, they gave Native girls a chance to be mentored by an adult outside of the Kamehameha Schools Protestant-only staff.

Kamehameha School for Girls was home to the first Girl Scout Troop in the Territory of Hawaiʻi. Miss Florence Lowe organized "Troop 1," (later known as the Hibiscus Girls), and later became the first Girl Scout commissioner in the islands.[288] The parent organization, Girl Scouts of America, was a semi-religious, patriotic organization that believed "citizenship" was "the undeclared desire of every adolescent girl's heart." Girl Scouts should demonstrate fidelity to God and country, responsibility to community and self, and they must extol the "virtues of womanhood."[289] Consequently, the Girls Scouts made a natural partner for KSG. In its early years, Girl Scouts' mission was based on four "Hs": "headwork, handwork, health, and helpfulness."[290] Though these four tenets intersected and overlapped with the Victorian construction of "true womanhood" which kept girls in a defined space of domesticity and submissiveness, they also implemented a project-based learning system that taught girls new non-domestic skills. Once students completed individual tasks, they were awarded merit badges.

To pass to the first level (Tender foot) of Girl Scouts, one needed to demonstrate their ability in "headwork" by reciting the scout laws and mission; identifying the US president,

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[288] "Girls Scout News" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (5 January 1929).
[289] Ibid.
[290] Juliette Low, "Girl Scouts as an Educational Force" in *Department of the Interior Bureau of Education Bulletin 1919 no. 33* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1919), 3.

governor, and town leadership; and by singing verses one and three of the Star-Spangled Banner. For "handwork," girls needed to demonstrate four sailor knots. Girls proved their health knowledge by performing "setting up exercises" and correctly completing the tender foot drill. Lastly, girls were required to show their commitment to the community ("helpfulness") by performing a good deed for someone in the troop, school, home, or surrounding community.[291] To advance to second-class scout and, later, first-class scout, tasks in each of the four "Hs" became increasingly difficult. From demonstrating knowledge in childcare to constructing a livable "lean-to" (temporary camping structure) to earning $1 and opening a savings account, becoming a first-class Girl Scout was no simple feat.[292]

Girls Scouts maintained a clear focus on American citizenship and patriotism, but the organization also taught girls independence and self-sufficiency amongst those underlying values. In particular, the practice of earning wages and opening a savings account was a novel skill set in the early twentieth century. Life skills like childcare, nursing, and financial literacy mirrored topics covered in KSGs Commercial Course, and they served as a foundation on which to build a wider breadth of knowledge in subjects that fell further into the sphere of Christian masculinity than they did into "true womanhood." The centrality of camping and wilderness education for the Girls Scouts disrupted conventional notions of Victorian womanhood. Once activities were reserved for men, outdoor skills and wilderness education became both acceptable and desirable for a woman. Thus, Girl Scouts of America began to transform the meaning of "true womanhood" by implementing subversive curriculum and activities that provided new opportunities for innovative engagement in the space.

[291] Ibid., 4.
[292] Ibid., 6.

In 1918, just one year after the establishment of "Girl Scouts of Oahu," the organization had increased to ten chartered troops with over two hundred members on Oʻahu.[293] Girl Scouts was a popular extracurricular activity at KSG, so a second group, Troop 9, emerged to satisfy the demand for participation.[294] Kamehameha School for Girls made up about 20% of the total participation for the island. With Troop 1 (Hibiscus Girls) and Troop 9 (Sunflower) combined, KS had a total of 38 active members. By March of 1924, 11 girls from Troop 1 (Hibiscus Girls) received their "Tenderfoot" pin, while 16 Hibiscus Girls were awarded their Second-Class pin, with all members of Troop 9 already having earned their Second-Class pins.[295] Ms. Florence Mossman was just one of those Kamehameha School girls who received her Tenderfoot pin that March.

Figure 3.7 Photo of "Hawaiian Girls" Basketball Team *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (February 13, 1926). (Back row, left to right: Jennie Gilliland, Miss Bergert (coach), and Lucy Mehan. Second row, left to right: Marion Guerrero, Rose Gooman, and Julia Ahulau. Front row, left to right: Netsy Perkins, Hattie Pauole, Mrs. A. Guerrero, and Florence Mossman. Missing from picture: Lavaina Apo.)

[293] Girls Scouts of America has been criticized for racist practices and segregation within its organization. In Girls Scouts of Oʻahu, troops were primarily separated by race in the early twentieth century. For more on the history of segregation in Girl Scouts of America, see: Phyllis E. Reske, *Responding to Change: Girl Scouts, Race, and the Feminist Movement* (Ph.D. diss. The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2018) and Jeff Wiltse "Swimming against Segregation: The Struggle to Desegregate" *Pennsylvania Legacies* 10.2 (2010): 12-17. "Girl Scouts Quickly Win Public Esteem (May 25, 1918).
[294] "Girl Scout News" *The Honolulu Advertiser* (April 2, 1920).
[295] "Girl Scout News" *The Honolulu Advertiser* (March 3, 1914).

Girl Scouts was a popular activity amongst KS girls and it was just one of many extracurricular offerings at KSG. The Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had been a part of life in Honolulu since the late nineteenth century and was another National organization with a local chapter focused on improving women's lives in the Territory of Hawai'i. The YWCA of Honolulu emphasized physical health and built facilities to support women's sports and outdoor activities in Hawai'i. Florence Mossman joined the championship Hawaiian Women's Athletic Club (the athletic team of the Honolulu YMCA), also known as the "Hawaiian Girls" club. The Hawaiian Girls challenged YWCA teams throughout the archipelago in athletic competition and engaged in cultural and musical exchanges with their opponents.[296] As was the case with the Commercial Course at KSG and wilderness education with the Girl Scouts, sport and athleticism was not a hallmark of "true womanhood," instead, it was the antithesis of Victorian womanhood and put women in competition with one another in a "masculine" activity. However, for Native women at KSG—within KS proper and in extracurricular activities—sport quickly became a popular and acceptable pastime.

Native Hawaiians and "True Womanhood"

KSG's Domestic Arts curriculum and the opportunity for myriad extracurricular activities and social clubs increased mobility for Native girls. While Florence Mossman represents only a single case for this argument, statistics show there was a marked increase in KS graduates employed outside of the home (see Table 3.5). Though school curriculum and social clubs were not the only indicators of success, those opportunities exposed Mossman to new people and

[296] "Girls Club Will Appear in concert" *Honolulu Advertiser* (15 March 1929); and "Pleasing Concert is Given in Kona by Hawaiian Girls Club" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (2 April 1929).

experiences which heavily influenced her life. [297] KSG curriculum, extracurricular activities and social clubs worked in tandem to increase mobility by increasing access to resources and valuable personal connections.

Florence Mossman became a highly successful woman. A KSG graduate, wife, mother, career professional, athlete, musician, and dancer, Mossman was an accomplished homemaker *and* breadwinner. Those definitions were, however, transforming—as was society—throughout the territorial period. Domestic Arts was the base curriculum at KSG, but as new trades and subjects were added, students' interest in domestic training decreased. The introduction of comprehensive job training in nursing, stenography, and leatherwork, unsettled a turn-of-the-century focus on domestic training as appropriate education for women. This increased unconventional role as breadwinners was bolstered by increased activities previously deemed too

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[297] Winning the school's annual Song Contest with her class in 1924, Mossman closed the evening's festivities as part of a quartet dancing "Irish Lilt" and singing "The Rose and The Rainbow" as a duet with classmate Aileen Hopkins, see "11th Grade Kam Girls Win Musical Contest; Program Excellent," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (5 May 1924). As part of the Thespian club and choir, Mossman began regular performances both at school and public functions. Though music and theatre were acceptable to the cult of true womanhood, the number of performances and their locations and experiences colored their appropriateness in the context of Native women. continued even after graduation from KSG when—at the age of 20—she identified as one of "Honolulu's prettiest and most attractive Hawaiian girls" and was chosen as a member of the Royal Court in a pageant on the ship Malolo, see: "Pages of History Rolled Back As Malolo Arrives on First Voyage" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (21 November 1927). Once Mossman was employed as a clerk at Pearl Harbor Naval Shipyard, she was chosen as part of a group to entertain President Roosevelt, alongside the 14th Naval District Band, during his visit to Hawai'i in 1934, see : "Roosevelt Made Chief of Hawaii at Big Reception" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (27 July 1934).Mossman performed alongside two of Hawai'i entertainment and hula legends who were also civilian employees at the shipyard: Samuel K. Kapu and Mae Loebenstein. In 1928, Mossman wed Charles B. Lemon, Jr., and began appearing as a regular figure in the "Society" sections of Honolulu's two largest English-language newspapers: *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* and *The Honolulu Advertiser.* One month prior to the wedding, local media covered a surprise engagement party and bridal shower—complete with treasure hunt—hosted by Mossman's classmates from KSG, see: "Miss Mossman and Her Fiancee Complimented" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (23 June 1928). A second surprise shower to fete the couple on the morning of the wedding was attended by both classmates from KSG, family members, and Hawaiian Girls club teammates. Following in her mother's footsteps, Florence was inducted in the 'Iolani Guild, which was established by Queen Emma (wife of King Kamehameha IV, Alexander Liholiho, and sought to improve social conditions for Native Hawaiians. By 1952, Mossman became a 4th precinct delegate for the GOP in Honolulu along with her husband, Charles B. Lemon, Jr., and her father-in-law, Charles B. Lemon, Sr. For details, see: "Shower Given for Miss Mossman Sunday," *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (14 July 1928); "Iolani Guild Honors New Members" *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* (5 April 1947); and "Republican Precinct Election Results" *Honolulu Advertiser* (2 May 1952).

masculine for women. Social clubs, extracurricular activities, and education brought women further from their doorstep and into the halls of industry, sport, and government in the early territorial period. As the roles between men and women transformed and were less distinct, women began to carry a more significant responsibility to the home and to society. Consequently, a "good and industrious" Native woman—by necessity—was both breadwinner *and* homemaker.

The ideology of "true womanhood" in the early twentieth century Hawaiʻi was a complex issue made more difficult at KSG. Native women were required to be worldly yet pious, submissive yet dominant, and domestic yet ambitious. The dual expectation of Native women as homemakers *and* breadwinners disrupted the division of labor within the family system. While KSG prepared Native girls to assume dual roles to support their husbands, domestically and financially, the Boys' School did not reciprocate. Accordingly, men were taught to care for themselves but only until they could secure a proper wife who would care for them thereafter. Thus, as Native women and their roles became more traditionally masculine, Native men and their importance in the family structure and society began to decrease. KS administrators viewed Native men as inherently disabled in intellectual pursuits. Consequently, Native women labored domestically as was traditionally expected but also labored outside the home to supplement the inadequacies of Native men. The Native home became a space where gender roles were skewed, and women were overworked. As Native men were trained to labor long hours in blue-collar industries, women were taught that it was their responsibility to care for home, husband, family, and finances.

Conclusion

The early territorial period in Hawai‘i was a time of significant transformation when traditional Hawaiian values and perspectives clashed with the new modern attitudes and perspectives imported by Americans and their government. This conflict was exacerbated by the diverse immigrant population that had already taken residence in Hawai‘i and lived alongside the Native Hawaiians and *haole* elite. As this multicultural society grew and industrialized at the turn of the twentieth century, Native Hawaiians were still amidst lingering population collapse. As modernization took over and agricultural and industrial production increased, a demand for skilled, docile laborers emerged. Experienced Asian laborers had already shown their propensity to strike against unfair wages and working conditions, so the Native Hawaiian population—perceived to be lazy but agreeable—became the solution to the labor shortage. Creating a new crop of agricultural laborers and industrial tradespeople necessitated intense training that prepared Natives for labor. Education became the solution to this “Native problem.”

Though there were government schools throughout the Hawaiian archipelago, none could properly outfit themselves with the facilities and equipment needed for workforce development. As a private educational institution, Kamehameha Schools was well-positioned and endowed to become the leader in industrial education throughout the archipelago. Kamehameha Schools created a multi-pronged approach to prepare students for labor by conditioning their thoughts and actions. There was a pervasive perspective that Native bodies and minds had been rapidly degenerating, with no end in sight. Education was to be the method for Kamehameha Schools and its *haole* trustees to solve the “Native problem” in the territorial era. Accordingly, KS moved to reshape minds, retrain bodies, and rebuild homes to assimilate Native youth to a civilized way of life in the new Hawaiian American capitalist economic system.

This new way of life was based on Victorian-era constructions of gender and sexuality and appropriate roles for men and women. For Native women, however, "true womanhood" in the Victorian sense was unattainable, but it caused an expansion of Native Hawaiian women's working roles. No longer were Native women and Native men defined by the breadwinner/homemaker binary. Perceived inadequacies of Native men forced Native women to cross the line to being breadwinners while remaining homemakers. This dual role redefined Native households and the make-up of the family system and division of labor. Kamehameha Schools' rehabilitation plan was based on the notion that Native Hawaiians were unfit and incompetent and needed to be taught how to succeed in the new modern era.

The pervasiveness of a Progressive Era social agenda and the popularity of the eugenics movement in Hawaiʻi required a specific target worthy of the resources necessary to enact programs aimed at rehabilitating social ills.[298] Government data disrupts the notion that Native Hawaiians were the population most in need of rehabilitation. In 1904, Native Hawaiians made up just 21% of total arrests for the year, while Chinese accounted for 27.3% and Japanese for 27.1%.[299] Though Native Hawaiians made up more than 40% of arrests for "Drunkenness," Chinese accounted for 61% of arrests for "Gambling," with Japanese adding another 28%.[300] Thus, for *haole* landowners, the Native problem was triangulated against a perceived Asian problem. On the heels of the Chinese Exclusion Act and subsequent Geary Act, US-rooted anti-Asian sentiment had taken hold in Hawaiʻi and positioned Asians and Native Hawaiians in

[298] The Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum (Bishop Museum) supported a particularly far-reaching eugenic project in Louis R. Sullivan's racist photographs and plaster busts that used Native Hawaiians as scientific specimens to measure racial fitness. Sullivan's presented his research at the Second International Eugenics Conference in 1921. In 2021, Bishop Museum curated an exhibit critiquing their support of Sullivan's project, which they called: "(Re)Generations: Challenging Scientific Racism in Hawaiʻi." For more on the "(Re)Generations" exhibit, see https://www.bishopmuseum.org/regenerations/, accessed May 21, 2023.
[299] *Report of the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii* (1904), 97.
[300] Ibid.

opposition. The Asian race challenged the *haole* oligarchy as they had already proven their knack for enterprise and challenging unfavorable labor conditions in plantations.[301] The docile, obedient Native Hawaiian made an ideal laborer, middle manager, and someone who kept the Asian problem at bay.

The "Native problem" began to fade as statistics show that Native Hawaiians were not at the bottom of the social ladder and were not the cause of rampant social ills described in popular media. Scientific racism was an intense force penetrating popular discourse and driving narratives that blamed social issues on the poor Native and Asian populations. As American imperialism—through Christianity—infiltrated all levels of government and the Hawaiian monarchy, change was imminent. Though Kamehameha Schools was a strong early proponent of American imperialism and acculturation (its trustee William Owen Smith was part of the oligarchy that actively overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy), aspects of Hawaiian culture and language began to reemerge in the school in the 1930s and 1940s.

Though Kamehameha Schools applied a heavy hand, using military discipline and scientific racism to control how students thought and acted, KS was not the only force of Americanization for students. In their own homes, with their parents and families, students were subject to rules designed to ease the transition from Hawaiʻi-centric society to America-centric. The use of English as the medium of instruction was a central piece in the Americanization of Native youth at KS and throughout the Hawaiian archipelago. As language disappeared from daily use, so did the cultural, ancestral knowledge that went along with it.

[301] Asian plantation laborers organized and began striking for better treatment and wages at plantations throughout the Hawaiian archipelago. Hundreds of Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and Korean laborers were beaten, fired, deported, and sometimes killed during strikes. For more on Asian unionizing in Hawaiʻi in the early twentieth century, see Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1985); Gerald Horne, *Fighting in Paradise: Labor Unions, Racism, and Communists in the Making of Modern Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2011); and Jessica Wang, Agricultural Expertise, Race, and Economic Development: Small Producer Ideology and Settler Colonialism in the Territory of Hawaiʻi, 1900 – 1917.

Racist pseudoscientific practice invented the “unfit.” Native Hawaiians, African Americans, “Indians,” and colonially subjugated peoples have long been subjected to this pejorative characterization of their race and culture. For every nineteenth century trope of the “unfit” Native, there is causation rooted in settler colonialism. Were “weak” and “unhealthy” Native bodies dying off because of “degeneration”? Or were they dying from introduced settler colonial diseases to which they had to immunity? Were Natives “ignorant”? Or were settlers ignorant of the Native knowledge and sensibilities that created a thriving subsistence economy? Did Native people fail at capitalism? Or did settlers fail to thrive in a society based on communal land stewardship and the sharing of essential resources?

As a proud KS graduate, I have struggled writing this dissertation. It is difficult to critique an institution that is both loved and protected by so many, including myself. That said, however, the KS that I attended in the 1990s was not the same KS that the first five trustees envisioned. KS’s early years were marred by a clear campaign of deracination led by the trustees, faculty, and staff members., Those vestiges of KS’s racist and sexist history remain in ways that we sometimes explain away as “tradition.” Those “traditions” should not, however, negate our ability to question and critique an institution with deep responsibility to all Native sons and daughters of Hawaii.

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