CONTRACT LABOR UNDER A PROTECTOR: THE GILBERTESE LABORERS AND HIRAM BINGHAM, JR., IN HAWAII, 1878-1903

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The tale of Gilbertese contract laborers is an essential part of Gilbertese postcontact history. Overseas laborers returned to their islands with fresh ideas.[1] They also brought back goods never before seen and weapons to intensify intra- and inter-island wars. At least ninety-three hundred Gilbertese were recruited for labor in far-flung places including Tahiti, Samoa, Hawaii, Fiji, and even Queensland, Australia.[2] On the whole it was a disheartening yet broadening experience for the Gilbertese.

In Hawaii, however, the Gilbertese had the advantage of a protector, the former pioneer Protestant missionary to the Gilberts, the Reverend Hiram Bingham, Jr. Along with him, to minister to the needs of the Gilbertese, were five Hawaiian missionaries who had served in the Gilberts but who were now resident in their homeland. Yet even in Hawaii where the Gilbertese had this support, their experience with contract labor was neither a pleasant nor a profitable one. In fact, the presence of Bingham may have deflected activities of the Gilbertese to improve their situation.

I

Between 1878 and 1887 nearly two thousand Gilbertese came to work on Hawaiian plantations.[3] Some of them had already been introduced

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to Hawaiians, men who came to the Gilberts as assistant missionaries in the American Congregational Mission beginning in 1857. The Hawaiian missionaries probably told tales of the beauty of Hawaii. Yet the Gilbertese were to encounter many problems in Hawaii. It was almost totally dissimilar from the Gilberts in language, climate, diet, and customs.

The Gilbertese began arriving in Hawaii as early as 1872, but the first to come were not brought by the government.[4] On 19 May 1878 the *Storm Bird* brought to Hawaii the first twenty-five Gilbertese who were directly sponsored by the Hawaiian government.[5] Such Gilbertese labor continued to come till 1887; the last of the Gilbertese did not leave Hawaii till 1903. The Hawaiian government brought out "South Seas Immigrants" because it faced two major problems. The first was lack of labor for Hawaii's development; the second was the decline in the Hawaiian population. Kalakaua, who had been elected king in 1874, believed that if "similar" people could be brought to Hawaiian shores, both problems would be solved simultaneously.[6] It was hoped that other Polynesian and Micronesian people would intermarry with the Hawaiians.

Kalakaua found a kindred spirit in an English-born American adventurer who came to Hawaii in 1861 as a Mormon missionary, Walter Murray Gibson. Gibson was a man who entertained lofty but often impracticable ambitions. He had been American consul general for Central America. He had traveled also to Malaya, Borneo, and Sumatra, where he had been accused of fomenting rebellion against the Dutch. In Hawaii, he again tried to implement his romantic ideals, this time the sovereignty of Island States, by entering the political arena. He envisaged Hawaii as taking a leading role in the process. Like Kalakaua, he distrusted the rise of American influence in Hawaii and shared the king's concern over the decline in the Hawaiian population. Gibson was determined to reverse the tide. By 1882, as premier and minister of foreign affairs, he was one of the leading white politicians in Hawaii. Other politicians viewed askance Gibson's enunciations that Hawaiians should run their own affairs.'

To Kalakaua, the most immediate problem was arresting the decline in the Hawaiian population. Equally important was the pressing need for a labor force for the expanding sugar plantations of Hawaii. Most of the 2,403 South Seas immigrants who came to Hawaii between 1878 and 1887 were Gilbertese.[8] They did not intermarry with the Hawaiians, nor were they valued as laborers by all plantation owners. Some plantation owners, however, favored them because of their low pay. A

high proportion of the Gilbertese emigrated as family units that included the very young and the very old. There were, however, a number of single men and an even larger number of single women. Some of these would have been very young, thirteen to fifteen years old, and others would have been old. Many of the women would have fallen within the category of the *nikiranroro,* which literally means the remnants of society. This was made up of unmarried nonvirgins, divorcees, and widows. Not all women in these circumstances would become ***nikiranroro*** automatically. Widows and divorcees could remarry; nonvirgins could be forgiven by their families. It is probable that some women deliberately chose to become *nikiranroro* so as to indulge in an independence that was impossible within the confines of the Gilbertese family structure. Their independent existence was threatened, however, by the strict sexual codes of the Samoan pastors in the five southern islands of the Gilberts group.[9]

The Gilbertese, like other South Seas immigrants, were contracted to work in the Hawaiian Islands for three years. They worked mostly on the sugar plantations, but also on rice and coffee plantations. Oahu, Kauai, and Maui were the major destinations, but some Gilbertese also went to Hawaii and Molokai. The hours of work were sixty a week--ten hours a day, six days a week. This was largely true for all laborers. Men were paid five dollars a month for the first year, with an annual increment of one dollar per month; women were paid one dollar per month less. These wages were lower than those paid to the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Portuguese. In 1874 the Chinese were paid eight dollars per month; in 1877 the Portuguese were paid ten dollars per month, while the Japanese received nine dollars per month.[10] Old people were either not required to work or simply to work sufficient hours to earn their board. The young, including those up to fifteen years old, were to attend public schools. Adequate daily rations were to be provided by the plantation owners, who were also to provide medical care, all necessary and suitable bedding, and to pay any taxes levied by the government on contract laborers. The government guaranteed a free passage home for those laborers wishing to leave Hawaii at the expiration of their contract. If the laborers wished to stay in Hawaii, they could either enter into a new contract or "re-ship," which referred to itinerant work, usually at two or three dollars a week.[11]

The Gilbertese were unused to constant labor and while away they pined for their homeland. Why, then, were they so eager to leave for Hawaii in the first place? The Gilbertese migrants mostly came from the five southern islands (Beru, Nikunau, Onotoa, Tamana, and Aro-

rae) that were intermittently threatened by drought. Some may have been escaping the strict codes of the Samoan pastors. Both Christians and non-Christians were recruited. Others came from Abaiang, Tarawa, Maiana, and even Butaritari and Makin, which were well within the rain belt. Abaiang, Tarawa, and Maiana were war-torn islands, and there were those who wanted to flee from continual warfare. In 1879 when Isaac Kaiea of Abaiang launched an attack on neighboring Tarawa, the *Storm Bird* succeeded in recruiting fifty-three islanders from Tarawa and thirty from Abaiang.[12] Then there were those who hoped to procure firearms to bring back to their home island to continue the wars and seek revenge. Still others had no understanding of the rules of contract labor and thought they were simply being offered a free voyage. When Maka, one of the five Hawaiian missionaries who had been to the Gilberts, asked some Gilbertese in 1880 why they had come to Hawaii, they replied: "The Captain, through the interpreter, said to us, 'We shall be taken to visit Oahu because of the desire of the King of Hawaii, for the resemblance of the skin of Hawaiians to them.' So the chiefs of Hawaii wanted us to come here and when we came, then we would receive some presents."[13]

Some of the islanders who left the Gilberts for whatever reason, however, never reached Honolulu. The ships that brought the Gilbertese to Hawaii--the *Storm Bird, Pomare, Julia, Hazard,* and *Hawaii*--took the islanders first to a waiting station at Jaluit, in the Marshall Islands. Here many Gilbertese became sick and some died. It was not surprising, then, that when the ships finally docked in Honolulu, both Bingham and his wife Clarissa had much work to do in attending to the sick. Bingham directly referred to the trip of the *Hawaii* in 1880 and claimed that "quite a number" of the 180 Gilbertese aboard were taken immediately to the hospital. He decided to hold his Sabbath afternoon service at the quarantine station rather than the home church on 17 October 1880.[14]

When Bingham had been resident at Abaiang, the missionary base for the Gilberts, between 1857 and 1863 and again from 1873 to 1875, a triangular relationship between himself, the Hawaiian missionaries, and the Gilbertese had developed. The mission, however, had not been a success. Bingham's missionary strategy of relying on "chiefs" had not worked on Abaiang, where the *uea's* power did not go unchallenged. Few were converted on Abaiang or, for that matter, on any of the other islands in the group on which mission depots were established. Bingham faced and flinched from the overwhelming apathy of the Gilbertese toward his message. Fearing failure, he turned increasingly to transla-

ing the Bible into Gilbertese as a work that would bring him fame and recognition. Bingham returned to his birthplace, Honolulu, in 1875 because of failing health. He was never to return to his missionary post, the Gilberts. Yet the opportunity to renew the former triangle presented itself in Hawaii. Bingham discovered that, even though he had left the Gilberts, he now had Gilbertese on his doorstep and a symbiotic relationship developed. The Gilbertese needed a spokesman, while Bingham enjoyed having people look to him for guidance and support. As a result of this, Bingham underwent somewhat of a transformation and was prepared to put aside his translation work for a few years.

In Hawaii, the Gilbertese were placed into a system that had been developing since its inception in 1852. By 1878, there were three thousand contract laborers; by 1883, seventy-one thousand. Most of the contract laborers at this stage were Chinese, Portuguese, or Japanese. Two shiploads of Norwegians also came. Later, Koreans and Filipinos would arrive.

The plantation system was a strict one; the aim was maximum production at minimum cost. Laborers were divided into gangs and placed under overseers, *"luna."* Long hours were extracted in return for monthly pay and daily rations. No wages were paid to workers for periods of sickness. Medical attention was free, but plantation doctors were present not only to tend to the sick, but also to ferret out malingerers. Fines were imposed for any sign of insubordination, neglect of duty, drunkenness, gambling, or tardiness. If ten to fifteen minutes late, a worker could lose a quarter day's pay. Contract laborers generally lived in crowded and unsanitary conditions. Physical violence on the part of the *luna* was often threatened, if not carried out.

Even for the Gilbertese who were aware of the reason for their being brought to Hawaii, that of contract labor, a shock awaited them. The Gilbertese were not accustomed to regimentation. They placed high value on leisure, freedom, and autonomy.[15]

The Gilbertese were fortunate, however, in being placed under a protector, Hiram Bingham, Jr. Furthermore, they had five sympathetic Hawaiian missionaries--Mahoe, Maka, Lutera, Kanoho, and Lono--to minister to their physical as well as their spiritual needs. Most of these Hawaiians had once served in the Gilberts and so were familiar with the Gilbertese and their language. Just the sound of a Hawaiian speaking their language would have been comforting to the Gilbertese. For more than ten years, Mahoe would care for the Gilbertese on Kauai. One of the plantation owners there, a Mr. E. P. Adams, built a church and furnished a home for Mahoe so he could more easily care for the Gilber-

tese on Adams's plantation at Kilauea.[16] Maka was stationed at Honolulu, but made regular excursions to both Maui and Kauai. Lono was pastor of Kaumakapili Church in Honolulu, but visited Kauai in 1884 to assist Mahoe with the Gilbertese there. Kanoho was based on Maui between 1880 and 1883. Lutera also aided Mahoe on Kauai before he went to the Gilberts. On his return from the Gilberts to Honolulu in 1891, he took care of the Gilbertese at Lahaina on Maui till 1903. The Hawaiian ministers were supported partly by the Gilbertese and partly by the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA). In 1890, however, Mahoe was requested by the HEA to devote himself exclusively to the care of the Gilbertese at a salary of three hundred dollars per annum." But it was Bingham who was to hold the official position of "Inspector and Protector of the South Sea Islanders."

II

In late 1880, Bingham was approached by the president of the Board of Immigration, His Excellency H. A. P. Carter, and asked if he would accept the position of "Inspector and Protector of the South Sea Islanders." At this point, Bingham expressed his "thoughts very freely . . . not hesitating to let them know that in view of the great mortality among the immigrants" he could not "encourage the Gilbert Islanders to come."[18] He was prepared, however, to put the matter before the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Missions, which would make the final decision.

Bingham had been a critic of the labor scheme to bring Gilbertese to Hawaii from its inception and had done what he could to prevent it. Being diplomatic and discreet, however, he had done so unobtrusively. He summed up his attitude in a letter to the Reverend N. G. Clark of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, dated 1 November 1880:

> I shall give very careful attention, as we missionary people ought to be prepared to advise the Gilbert Islanders as to the expediency of their leaving their homes to come to these shores. For us as missionaries to oppose the efforts of the Government to introduce here the greatly needed labourers, except as we could show good reasons, would give great dissatisfaction, and it becomes us to be "wise as serpents."[19]

It was not that the missionaries were directly involved in the Gilbertese labor scheme, but that they were reticent to openly criticize the

government. The missionaries' success in Hawaii had been based on the premise of courting those in power, so Bingham was acutely aware of the delicate ground on which he was treading in criticizing the labor scheme. Yet, in June of 1879, he had written to Clark in Boston complaining of the vices of the *Storm Bird's* captain who had been hired by the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. Captain Johnson, it appeared, was often drunk and kept several Gilbertese women as mistresses. Bingham wanted his removal and felt "constrained to use . . . efforts to prevent the natives in our mission from coming to these Hawaiian Islands as immigrants in the said vessel."[20]

The *Hawaiian Gazette* of October 1880 detailed the arguments Bingham had given to the members of the Board of Immigration as to the feasibility of transplanting the Gilbertese to Hawaii, Bingham felt this could only be accomplished if certain conditions were adhered to that might well make the whole venture unprofitable. Bingham argued that the Gilbertese would need to be brought in families, which meant that only a proportion of them would actually be available to work on the plantations. He further believed that, rather than the Gilbertese increasing the Polynesian stock, they would only "swell the ratio of decrease."[21]

Bingham's views were not totally representative of either the American or the Hawaiian boards' reaction to the importation of the Gilbertese to Hawaii. His view was largely a personal one; he was very much a lone campaigner on behalf of the Gilbertese and a consistent opponent of their recruitment to Hawaii as laborers. In contrast, the Reverend George Armstrong of Hawaii believed that the whole exercise would prove beneficial to the Gilbertese and that they would "learn more of Christian civilization here in one year than thirty in their own."[22] The Reverend Horace Taylor, who joined Bingham in 1874, was also favorable to the emigration of the Gilbertese. Clark, in Honolulu, received a letter from Taylor early in 1881 that stated:

> While I have no wish to help personally, either directly or indirectly in getting this people away from here, I am far from being sorry at their leaving. If they live here they can eat cocoanuts, fish and sawdust [Taylor was most likely referring to *te kabubu*, which is powdered pandanus fruit], dress themselves--perhaps-- and sleep. If they go to Honolulu they can't help getting some new ideas, their mouths will be open enough for that, and though it will be hard work for them, their work will amount to something for the world. But I don't think that

> they can get all these 25,000 people away from here at once. . . . At all events I am glad . . . that Mr. Bingham has been appointed Protector of the South Sea Immigrants. Those poor people need just such a man to look after their interests.[23]

The Reverend Alfred Walkup, who visited the Gilbertese on their islands in the 1880s, also favored their migration to Hawaii. He wrote to Clark in 1881 that "the labour ships . . . are a good thing and will prove a benefit in the end to the people."[24]

The native Hawaiian missionaries in the Gilberts also did not oppose the Gilbertese leaving. They could hardly do so since it was their king, Kalakaua, who was behind the scheme, a king whom they lauded and with whom they identified. Bingham recognized this problem and disclosed it to Clark: "Our Hawaiian missionaries are very slow to go contrary to the wishes of their king, Kalakaua, and doubtless, would heed his wishes much more than those of the Hawaiian Board."[25] The Hawaiians, even indirectly, must have encouraged the Gilbertese to visit Hawaii when they told them stories of its beauty and wonders.[26] They probably also influenced the Gilbertese in a more direct manner. Captain Whitney, of the labor-recruiting ship ***Hawaii,*** disclosed in 1880 that "the Hawaiian Missionarys [sic] I have met have talked in favour of the natives immigrating they say they do not make eney [sic] progress in converting them."[27] Tito Haina, son of the Hawaiian missionary on Tarawa, actually told false stories, painting a very rosy picture of life in Hawaii. He told the Gilbertese that they would live with the king in Honolulu and work only when they wished.[28]

Given that no one in the Gilbert Islands was really opposed to the islanders' emigration, it is not surprising that, with the drought-ridden state of the south and the war-torn conditions of the north, an increasing number migrated. Bingham in Honolulu could only watch in despair. On 9 April 1880, 282 Gilbert Islanders landed at Honolulu from the government immigrant vessel *Hawaii.* The immigrants included islanders from Marakei, Butaritari, Makin, and Banaba. The *John Bright* arrived the same day with another hundred Gilbertese. The *Storm Bird* followed in a few weeks with 120 more newcomers. And so, wrote Bingham, "these poor creatures continue to come."[29]

Bingham had only the assistance of the Gilbertese Moses Kaure, his right-hand man who was working with him at Honolulu on his translations. This helper was dispatched on the *Morning Star* to dissuade his fellow islanders from coming to Honolulu. Bingham's plan was to have the *Morning Star* dock at any given Gilbert Island before the labor ves-

sel arrived there. That way a person from the missionary brig could warn the islanders against leaving and announce the dangers of migration. In October of 1880 Kaure was aboard the *Morning Star* and, when at the Gilberts, told "some bad story about the usage of the Natives at the Hawaiian Islands." According to Captain Whitney, "he told enough so that I could not obtain no more immigrants [at Butaritari]." There was also a Hawaiian, one of the crew of the missionary brig, who told the Gilbertese that they would die if they went to Honolulu. Kaure had told the same story, that 25 percent died in Hawaii and that the Gilbertese had to work very hard without suitable provisions. Besides this tactic, Bingham had asked the Gilbertese in Hawaii to write to their relatives and friends back home telling them to remain there.[30]

Bingham had limited success in preventing the immigration of Gilbertese to Hawaii. Even though some were dissuaded, many more wanted to leave the Gilberts. Captain Whitney thought the missionaries were fighting a losing battle by trying to prevent recruitment. Associating the *Morning Star* generally with missionaries, he wrote:

> I do not see why the missionarys want to stop them from immigrating for the most of the Islands is over crowded with Natives *and* food is scarce *and* as for Christianizing them they will never make any progress the last 20 years experience ought to convince them of the fact for a more demoralized set of beings I have never seen. The Arctic Indians is far ahead of them and they have never seen a Missionary.[31]

Captain Whitney took the *Hawaii* on to Jaluit in the Marshalls to find both the *Storm Bird* and the *Pomare* there. The *Storm Bird* had twenty-eight adults and seven children while the *Hawaii,* in spite of the obstacles set up by the *Morning Star's* presence, had forty-eight adults and six children. Seventy-eight Gilbertese were waiting at Jaluit. So the Gilbertese continued to come to the land of their teachers.

With Bingham doing all he could to prevent the Gilbertese from coming to Hawaii, it was somewhat ironical that he was requested to assume the position with the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. Yet the Gilbertese would need a protector in the new land. By December 1880 Bingham was that protector. As official protector of the South Seas islanders and agent of the Board of Immigration, Bingham had full power to inspect the condition of the islanders; to enforce all contracts made and to explain these; to hear all complaints on both sides; to settle differences, by law if necessary; and, in his own words, "to cheer the Gilbertese." On behalf of the South Seas immigrants, Bingham was

charged with checking their quarters, food rations, medical care, the schooling of their children, and hearing any complaints. Among his duties were to explain rights and duties, to assist those who needed redress in cases of injustice, and to ascertain how many wished to return to their homeland. For his work as protector, he was to receive one thousand dollars per annum.[32]

Bingham started his work by writing "A Few Hints to Employers," which was published in the *Saturday Press* on 18 December 1880. He informed employers that the majority of Gilbertese were "exceedingly ignorant and degraded heathens . . . the depth of whose ignorance it is difficult even for one well acquainted with them to conceive." He believed that the Gilbertese were entirely unaware of the amount of labor required of them and that 90 percent would say they had been deceived into coming to Hawaii and would want to return home. He told employers that the Gilbertese were unused to hard labor and would suffer from the cooler climate of Hawaii. He depicted the islanders as a very sensitive people who would resent harsh words and rough treatment; "gentleness, kindness, and forbearance" were needed as in the case of "balky horses." The Gilbertese, Bingham wrote, were dangerous when angered. He went on to give more practical advice. As the Gilbertese were jealous of their wives, it was expedient to have married couples work within sight of each other. For the same reason, it was not to be wondered at that men would be reluctant to leave their ailing wives back in the quarters. Bingham further argued that married couples should have a room to themselves, He signed the piece, "Yours in behalf of an ignorant race." Previously, in April 1880, Bingham had published in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* another piece where he similarly stated that the Gilbertese were in "extreme ignorance" and that he greatly pitied them.[33]

Bingham's real work was visiting the Gilbertese at the many plantations throughout the Hawaiian Islands. In December 1880 and January 1881, Bingham traveled to the island of Maui, where he visited Lahaina, Olowalu, Waikapu, Wailuku, Paia, Makawao, and Hamakua. But by mid-1882 Bingham was complaining about his health and feeling that his work as protector was very taxing.[34] The work was strenuous at times. Bingham had work not only on Maui but also Oahu, Kauai, and Hawaii. On many of these islands he traveled miles to the various scattered plantations. He attended to his work conscientiously and methodically, making his reports to the president of the Board of Immigration. For a time Bingham forgot about his translation work. "It is true," he wrote to Clark, "that for the time being literary work for the

people has been largely suspended," as it was "when I was in the way of making tours in the Gilbert Islands."[35] For the first time, Bingham did not mind laying aside his treasured translation work.

To explain this change, it is necessary to determine the satisfaction Bingham derived from his care of the Gilbertese. Bingham was certainly an important man in Honolulu at this point, a man sought after for his assistance and advice not only by the Hawaiian government, but also by the Gilbertese. The latter began to look to him for advice, which Bingham enjoyed. The role of protector suited him. Bingham, in describing his congregation of Gilbertese at Honolulu, mentioned one man from Nonouti who lived with them and who wanted to return to the Gilbert Islands as a missionary teacher. Bingham claimed there were others like him and believed that if only he had more physical strength "many more would flock around" him every night.[36] The Gilbertese had become a people with prospects and not just ignorant savages.

So Bingham was happy to give half his time to the American Board of Missions and the other half to the Hawaiian Board of Immigration. He was joyous that while working for the latter he had opportunities to further the gospel work. He wrote: "I have been taking care of them [the Gilbertese] on behalf of the government" and "my opportunities for direct Christian work among them have been greater than they would otherwise have been."[37] Bingham never lost sight of the Christianization of the Gilbertese. He wrote to the Reverend J. 0. Means in Boston that it was providential for the Gilbertese to come to Hawaii where he could be appointed as their protector. He now had the opportunity "to preach Christ" and meet the laborers after work in their quarters "to talk about Christ." He went on: "Above all things I do desire to lead them to Christ. I trust, however, that the power to aid them in their temporal conditions opens the way more effectively for me to reach their hearts."[38] These statements place Bingham firmly within the ranks of conservative evangelicalism.

III

Bingham was interested in several matters on behalf of the Gilbertese. These mainly covered correct payment, treatment while sick, adequate food and accommodation, and cases of maltreatment. He found much to criticize. Bingham was intent on investigating the payment of contract workers. Laborers were supposed to be paid from the day they set foot on Hawaiian soil, yet most were not paid till they actually started

work on the plantations. Payment was to be made at the end of every calendar month, but some plantation owners waited till the end of twenty-six days of labor. Yearly increments were to take effect at the end of a calendar year, but often these were not paid till after 312 days of service. As the Gilbertese were off duty approximately one-quarter of the time, mainly due to sickness, they were seriously disadvantaged by not being paid according to law.[39]

Bingham pursued his duties as protector with thoroughness and, at times, tenacity. But he always viewed issues from both sides. He empathized with overseers who believed the Gilbertese shirked work by pretending to be sick. Bingham wrote on this matter:

> So frequent are the cases in which labourers apparently able to work claim to be sick, that sometimes cases occur in which they are pressed to work when really they should be off duty. *This subject is attended with peculiar difficulties,* and yet is one which needs constant examination. The Gilbert Islanders are so given to deception, that we cannot wonder that overseers come to feel that no dependence can be put on their word as to whether they are sick or not when they claim to be unable to work.[40]

Hence there were cases of sick workers being roughly handled. One woman on Kauai was beaten for not working when ill. Another man was hauled out of bed and forced to work while sick. Medical treatment for those injured or ill was a related matter. At times, ailments were ignored if it was too difficult to get a doctor. An islander from Abaiang who had fallen off a horse and suffered a bad injury had been left totally unattended. In another case a sore leg had received no treatment.[41]

Medical attention varied. If a doctor was not available, responsibility devolved onto the plantation owners, who generally administered castor oil and salts. When women were sick, their husbands were not permitted to nurse them unless death was at hand. This was a frequent complaint. At Kohala, one man asserted that he had been dragged off to work while his wife lay dying. Death was a common occurrence. In 1881, at the plantation of a Mr. Purvis at Kealia, seven of nineteen Gilbertese died. Dysentery was the cause of four of those deaths. At Eleele, six of nineteen Gilbertese died. Whether on the outer islands or at Honolulu, Gilbertese deaths increased. Half of Bingham's Bible class in Honolulu died within two years.[42] In January 1881, Mahoe informed the Reverend A. O. Forbes of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association

that thirty-four of the 391 Gilbertese brought to Kauai had died. He further claimed that many managers did not care for the sick; some managers even deprived the sick of food with the slogan "no work, no food."[43]

In total, approximately 17 percent of the South Seas islanders died within their contracted time of labor. Although some were old, many others died from dysentery, consumption, and dropsy. The Gilbertese were often sick with bronchitis and influenza. There appear to have been two major reasons for this.[44] One was climatic, the Gilbertese being simply unused to a cool season. The second was that the Gilbertese did not appreciate the necessity of cleanliness in both their accommodation and their clothing. The Gilbertese were unused to cleaning their dwellings because in their homeland they lived in wall-less houses through which fresh breezes blew continually. In Hawaii they were accommodated in walled dwellings, often with insufficient space and ventilation. In addition, the cooler climate of Hawaii forced them to wear Western clothing, which they did not understand needed to be washed regularly.

When Bingham toured the plantations, he noted very few births. This was unusual as abortion was the only method of birth control used by the Gilbertese. Records also indicate that only four Gilbertese women actually married Hawaiian men. Other Gilbertese women lived with Hawaiian men but refused to marry them lest "such marriage would interfere with their return to the Gilbert Islands at the expiration of the three years."[45] Nor do the records indicate that Gilbertese men married Hawaiian women to any extent.

Bingham found that generally the Gilbertese laborers were adequately fed. Both the variety and the amount of food varied from one plantation to another. By law a certain amount of protein had to be provided, which usually took the form of fresh beef (one-and-one-half pounds per person each day), although salmon or other fish, corned beef, pork, or mutton was sometimes provided. The diet also included rice but the Gilbertese invariably preferred taro, it being akin to their native *babai*, and often sold their share of rice in order to procure the taro. The cooks were usually of Chinese extraction, the Chinese having migrated to Hawaii since the 1850s. Sometimes a Chinese cook would favor the Chinese workers and steal food apportioned to the Gilbertese to supplement the Chinese diet. Not a few Gilbertese, dissatisfied with both the quality and variety of food provided, opted to buy and cook their own food. The plantation owners gave them fifty cents a day to do so.[46] There were cases, however, when sick ones did not receive their

rations, as noted by both Mahoe and Bingham. The Gilbertese also entertained friends from other plantations and so the individual portion was somewhat lessened by sharing. At Makee Sugar Company, Bingham confronted the plantation owner, Colonel Spalding, on the matter of inadequate rations. He refused to divulge just how much he fed his workers.[47]

Another of Bingham's concerns was the accommodations of the laborers. Generally he found these inadequate, as rarely did each individual have the three hundred cubic feet required by law. He firmly believed that each family should have a room to itself. On one plantation, Bingham found thirty-nine married couples in one room along with four unmarried men, two unmarried women, and two children. At Eleele nineteen Gilbertese shared a room twenty-one feet by sixteen feet, equipped with just one small window; at Koloa there were seventy people in four rooms; and at Lihue conditions were also very crowded.[48] According to Ethel Damon, a friend of the Wilcox family who owned Grove Farm at Lihue, this was due to the wishes of the Gilbertese themselves who, because of the cold weather, "all wanted to huddle together." Damon also claimed that twelve to twenty-five Gilbertese on one plantation had voluntarily crowded into one house although three were available.[49] Yet in the Gilbert Islands each family had had their own private sleeping place, although there is no doubt that the Gilbertese would have found the Hawaiian winters cold. Bingham believed that the islanders were given inadequate bedding; one blanket was simply not enough, and therefore the Gilbertese were forced to huddle together. On one occasion Bingham found a sixty-foot bunk platform on which many Gilbertese were supposed to sleep; the customary sleeping mat of the Gilbertese was lacking, as was even a straw pillow. At a plantation in Kohala, the laborers' quarters had no water closet "and no retired place nearby." These were the bad cases. At Hamakua Sugar Plantation, the Gilbertese spoke highly of their plantation owner. On Saturdays they were allowed to go home early from work so that they could have Saturday afternoons for their washing and cleaning. There had been no deaths at this plantation.[50]

Both Mahoe and Maka agreed that plantation owners could be either kindly or tough. The good employers cared for their workers, providing good food, decent accommodation, and regular and correct pay. The tough employers economized on food and accommodation costs, neglected the sick, and employed ruthless ***luna*** who ordered their laborers to work whether they were well or not. The Gilbertese often argued that they were maltreated by the *haole,* "whites," and were regarded

more as slaves than as laborers. According to Mahoe: "They were tearful because of their unfortunate condition."[51] Slaves were held in very low repute in the Gilberts and if the Gilbertese felt like mere slaves, they must have been deeply depressed. Colonel Spalding had openly admitted to Bingham that he used a whip on a man who had not turned out to work when called. Legally, *luna* were not permitted to use a whip, although they frequently cracked them above the men's heads to make them work harder. Further, Spalding had refused to advance wages till the expiration of 312 days of work, so Bingham determined that the matter should be decided in court and made the necessary arrangements. At the Hawaiian Agricultural Company, Bingham also found ***luna*** who used not only whips but also pistols.[52]

In September 1881, after a visit to Kauai, Bingham submitted a report on the treatment of the South Seas islanders. He made many recommendations. He insisted that wages be paid at the end of each calendar month and that proper lodging (with suitable bedding) be provided, including a separate dwelling for each married couple. The diet of the Gilbertese was to be improved, for there was too much rice to which the Gilbertese were unaccustomed. Also, special diets were necessary during illnesses. The sick were never to be forced to work and were to receive medical attention. All children were to be placed in school. Finally, all cases of cruelty were to be reported.[53] Bingham also advocated sickness and accident benefits, remarkable for that time.

IV

It is not known to what extent Bingham's recommendations were adopted. Bingham also complained to individual plantation owners who either excused their activities, like Samuel Wilcox of Grove Farm, Lihue, or openly defied Bingham, like Colonel Spalding of Makee Sugar Company.

It is interesting, however, to ponder the psychological effect of the Gilbertese's having a protector. Plantation conditions were not good for any nationality, although some were paid more than others. But the Gilbertese probably suffered more than most because they were unused to regimented labor and many had been brought to Hawaii under false pretenses. The Gilbertese argued that they had insufficient food, were forced to work when ill, and were maltreated by *luna* who used horsewhips on them."

Bingham noted that, by and large, the plantation owners did not think highly of the Gilbertese as laborers. According to them, the

Gilbertese feigned sickness, got into brawls, generally complained a lot, and did not put in a good day's work.[55] But this was mild behavior when compared with the actions of Gilbertese on German plantations in Samoa or with the actions of other contract laborers in Hawaii.[56] It is surprising that the Gilbertese did not make a bigger nuisance of themselves in Hawaii. The Hawaiian missionaries reported disturbances that occurred among the Gilbertese, who sometimes took the law into their own hands. Charges were frequently brought by the Gilbertese before local magistrates ensuring "trouble and loss . . . [and] money being spent on policemen and Hawaiian lawyers crafty to get money." Brawls and disturbances occurred regularly till 1884. Mahoe reported, with great relief, "no big disturbance among the Gilbertese families on Kauai" in 1884 and 1885. By the mid-eighties, the Gilbertese had begun to obey "the law of the land."[57]

It appears from the Hawaiians' letters that it was only on Kauai that disturbances occurred; how big they were is not known. For the most part the Gilbertese grumbled, took matters to court, and appealed to Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries who worked on their behalf. There are no cases reported in missionary literature of Gilbertese attacking *luna,* striking, or engaging in arson.

It is suggested that the activities of Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries, for the most part, deflected the aggressiveness of the Gilbertese, resulting in their restrained behavior. Gilbertese activities on Kauai appear to be the exception rather than the rule. Elsewhere, as Bingham noted, the Gilbertese "naturally looked so largely to me for advice and sympathy." He acknowledged that "as more Gilbert Islanders come to know my power to aid them the more inclined they are to apply to me for aid and advice." Bingham gained affection in return for his assistance. Ethel Damon noted that the Gilbertese, on seeing Bingham approach at a distance, would call out: "Pinaam, Pinaam."[58] Bingham had never received this affection from the Gilbertese in their home islands. The Hawaii Gilbertese, on the whole, obviously had faith in their protector. Bingham enjoyed their confidence. Faith that Bingham would improve their conditions may have deterred the Gilbertese from more violent actions.

Also, an increasing number were becoming Christians. Although a proportion of those Gilbertese who came from the five southern islands were already Christians, many more became so after coming to Hawaii. As early as 1880, the Gilbertese were being received as Christians. In 1881, Maka reported that eighteen had entered the church on Oahu and had asked him not to leave them. Bingham claimed to have "a considerable number of Gilbertese" in Honolulu for whom he maintained a spe-

cial service for more than five years. Lutera, at Lihue on Kauai, found that the number of Gilbertese interested in Christianity was increasing and completely filling "up the place of meeting."[59] The Gilbertese appreciated his lively approach. He, in turn, had empathy for their condition in Hawaii. Lutera, Maka, and Mahoe all established warm relationships with the Gilbertese, assisting them both spiritually and materially. Kanoho, working at Lahaina on Maui, reported a good sale of books, but had to conclude that "the missionary work here continues the same, it doesn't climb it doesn't go down."[60] Yet a community of Gilbertese Christians would later be formed there. Mahoe claimed that by January 1888 there were thirty-four baptized Christians out of 357 Gilbertese on this island and many more attended services. The Gilbertese returning home took back certificates of their Christian standing.[61]

Not all joined the missionary church. The Gilbertese came under various influences while in Hawaii. Not all were beneficial. There were many temptations, especially in Honolulu--liquor, opium, gambling, and card playing.[62] There were also the Mormons who claimed to be able to cure many illnesses. This claim may have had a special appeal for the Gilbertese. They no doubt distrusted the plantation doctors and it is unlikely that the traditional healers or sorcerers were readily available in Hawaii. The Mormons may have offered something akin to the Gilbertese traditional healer.

Then there was the opportunity to collect arms, which had a strong appeal to many Gilbertese, enabling them to continue wars of revenge upon their return to their islands. Ethel Damon noted this trend among the Gilbertese on Kauai. According to her, "everyone had saved up his wages to buy a rifle."[63] Alfred Walkup, who joined the mission to the Gilberts in 1880, wrote to the Reverend J. O. Means in Boston in October of 1883 saying that the Gilbert Islanders were returning from Hawaii armed and "only waiting for others to reinforce them to take the island [of Nonouti]." The ***Julia*** had landed islanders from both Abaiang and Tarawa at Nonouti, where they tried to take over the island.[64] In 1885 Haina, still on Tarawa, wrote to the Reverend Alexander Pogue of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association that the Gilbertese arriving from Oahu had come armed and had started yet another war on that island.[65] Bingham had not quelled the rebellious spirit in all Gilbertese.

V

Most of the Gilbertese first brought by the Hawaiian government had finished their three-year terms by 1883. On 20 April 1884, the last company of these Gilbertese left the Hawaiian Islands. Bingham resigned

his position as protector in July of 1884. Eighteen months earlier, by the end of 1882, he had virtually ceased his touring on behalf of the Immigration Board, instead spending much of his time arranging the repatriation of those Gilbertese wishing to return home. Every few months the three-year service period ended at some company. The *Storm Bird* returned Gilbertese in June 1881, the *Mana* on 11 January 1883, and the *Julia* on 1 February 1883. In July 1883, Bingham wrote that his "hands were full in making arrangements for sending back some 230 Gilbert Islanders."[66]

Bingham appeared to lose interest in the Gilbertese newcomers still arriving in Hawaii. Private parties continued to bring out Gilbertese laborers although the Hawaiian government had ceased to do so. Bingham explained to the Reverend Judson Smith that he was never told whether his duty extended to these fresh arrivals brought in by private parties; he decided for himself it did not. By November 1883, the government had already returned approximately 750 Gilbertese and Bingham believed that less than three hundred remained. In late February 1884 he calculated that nine hundred had returned.[67] He wrote to Means that "the opportunities for personal work among this people are being constantly diminished in numbers, and more time is available for literary work."[68] On 16 August 1883 Bingham resumed his translation work. He obviously felt that he had fulfilled his duty as protector. Perhaps he felt he had spent enough time on the Gilbertese. He wanted to return to his life's great work, the translation of the Bible into Gilbertese. Bingham was complaining about his health again; in fairness he may have genuinely thought that time was running out for him. He was often obsessed with his death.

Bingham was incorrect in thinking that work on behalf of the Gilbertese was over, for in 1884 Mahoe reported six locations on Kauai where Gilbertese lived. Although many had left, there were fresh arrivals. The following year, Mahoe reported that there were nine locations. The actual number of Gilbertese was increasing: in 1884 there had been 216 on Kauai; in 1885 there were 310. Besides new arrivals, there were Gilbertese coming to Kauai from other Hawaiian islands.[69] A few wanted to remain in Hawaii. These were very much in the minority. Others had specific reasons for not wanting to return home, the most common being that some were both afraid and ashamed to return empty handed. Still the Gilbertese continued to come. In 1887 Mahoe wrote: "I thought my work for the Gilbertese was about through. But in December, 1887, a ship filled with Gilbertese arrived."[70] One hundred and twenty arrived at Lihue, making a total of 230 on Kauai.

Mahoe was concerned about the plight of those wishing to leave Hawaii who could no longer do so. In 1888 he personally interviewed the king, Kalakaua, who was surprised to learn that the Gilbertese were unhappy in Hawaii. "How is it?" he asked. "Do the Gilbertese not want to live here in Honolulu?" Mahoe replied: "No, they have great love for their land."[71] The king wanted the Gilbertese to visit him at his palace where he could show them the latest conveniences including the electric lights. He also arranged the repatriation of the Gilbertese. Mahoe returned to Kauai to ascertain the number of those wishing to go. Very soon enough for two shiploads expressed a desire to leave. The minister of the interior, the Honorable Luther Aholo, ordered the Gilbertese to the Immigration Station at Kakaako in Honolulu, where they waited some time before they finally left. During this time Mahoe held services in Kawaiahao Church for the Gilbertese. He also found work for them so they could buy food. As late as 1890 there were still 147 Gilbertese on Kauai; they were "sorrowful in remembering their homes in the Gilberts and their families located there."[72]

Yet Bingham did not entirely neglect the Gilbertese remaining in Honolulu while engaging in further translation work. He continued to care for the Gilbertese until 1903, when the last of the islanders finally left. There were a number of Gilbertese who had finished their plantation work but could not return to their home islands. They were stranded in Honolulu in 1896, situated in the slums amid dirt and poverty. There they lived in "a tumble-down shanty too old and decayed to be a suitable habitation for human beings in a section where the cholera did sad work last year."[73] This Gilbertese group was made up not only from those who had finished their plantation work but also from newcomers. On 31 December 1894, 167 Gilbertese had arrived in Honolulu.[74] According to Bingham, not one was a Christian. Bingham still worked on their behalf and acted as a trustee, depositing their money and drawing out cash for them in times of need.

Four years later, in 1898, he was helping with the temporal welfare of these same Gilbertese. A few Christian families had donated sums for their relief. Bingham acknowledged that the "Gilbertese poor and sick and infirm in our Honolulu slums" had to be assisted and the dead had to be buried. Fresh immigrants to the city of Honolulu were arriving as late as 1899. They went to the sugar plantations of Maui and Kauai. In August 1899, forty such Gilbertese arrived and joined the growing community of Gilbertese in the slums of Honolulu. To earn a living, the women braided hats and the men engaged in fishing and worked on the wharves. Bingham, on request from some Gilbertese, still looked after

their banking and deposited savings from Gilbertese earnings in the Hawaiian Pastoral Savings Bank. Christian friends continued to donate funds for the relief of the Gilbertese, but Bingham was reluctant to give these to the Gilbertese except in cases of emergency, saying he had no desire to make "rice Christians."[75] Bingham believed himself to be "discreet," but others may question whether he was not obsessed with the purity of motive of his converts.

By 1900 there were two permanent settlements of Gilbertese, one in Honolulu and one at Lahaina, Maui. The Hawaiian, Lutera, was given charge of the Gilbertese at Puunoa, Lahaina; while in Honolulu Charles Isaiah, a Samoan married to a Gilbertese woman, took care of a congregation of seventy, more than half of whom were women. The Honolulu colony was originally near Kakaako but was later transplanted to the shore station near Kalihi.[76] The *Annual Report* of the HEA for 1909 commended this poor yet industrious Honolulu community for its contributions to the mission. In January of 1900, a fire broke out in Honolulu and the Gilbertese were shifted to a relief camp. Accommodation here was free at first, but the Hawaiian government began to demand rent, which some of the Gilbertese simply could not afford. Some became squatters on the sea wall; others lived in makeshift huts of corrugated iron. The following year, the Board of Health demanded their removal. Bingham asked in the *Advertiser* newspaper just where these Gilbertese were expected to go.[77] It had been fourteen years since the last opportunity for free passage to the Gilberts. Some of the people had not even fulfilled their initial contracts until after that. Bingham asked that these Gilbertese be provided with suitable accommodation or be given a passage home. The Gilbertese were transferred to the immigration station at Kalihi Kai.

In 1903 the last group of Gilbertese left Hawaii. Bingham and John T. Arundel, partner in the Pacific Islands Company, made the necessary arrangements. There were then two hundred stranded South Seas islanders, 180 of whom were Gilbert Islanders. Arundel offered to take the company to Tarawa aboard the British ship *Isleworth* for one thousand dollars if the passengers could provide their own food for the ten-day passage. Only thirty-eight of the Gilbertese had any money at all. Two men had saved $536.35 between them, which was exceptional. The rest averaged approximately $34 each. Altogether, the Gilbertese collected $708.70 while Christian benefactors gave a further $291.30 to make up the thousand dollars. There was also the expense of removing the Gilbertese colony at Lahaina, Maui, to Honolulu. The Gilbert Islanders contributed $24, benefactors gave a further $101, while

Wilder & Company donated $250. These "homesick and disheartened ones" had "waited for an opportunity for half a generation [sixteen years]" to return to their homeland. The ABCFM's 1904 *Annual Report* stated that the Gilbertese who had saved money "willingly gave what they could . . . to help their fellow countrymen." The company sailed on 22 October 1903.[78]

It is noteworthy that a community spirit prevailed among the Gilbertese. According to the acting British resident commissioner of 1903, Mr. R. H. Cogswell, all the Gilbertese on board were "followers of Christianity."[79] Gilbertese custom did not place any islander under the obligation to help a fellow countryman--only those members of one's own *boti* (lineage through the father). The Gilbertese normally had no concern for those outside their lineage. Perhaps it could be argued that the experience of being a minority group in a strange land had kindled a community spirit, but the influence of Christianity with its emphasis on brotherhood cannot be ignored.

Conclusion

On arrival at Tarawa, "the old people . . . wept profusely, with joy, at being once more in their native land."[80] They returned to a new environment; the British had taken over the Gilbert Islands in their absence. The British flag was hoisted and copies of the Native Laws and Local Regulations were handed out to the repatriated, and they were told of law and order. The scene closed with a hymn signifying the two stringent challenges to Gilbertese culture at that date--the coming of Christian religion and the coming of the British flag.

Bingham, from the time of the first arrival in Hawaii of the government-sponsored Gilbertese till the repatriation of the last of the Gilbertese in Honolulu, displayed concern and empathy for the transplanted ones. His humane assistance to them was invaluable. He was never, however, the pure philanthropist. Ever in the back of his mind was the hope that all his good works, and those of the Hawaiian missionaries, would result in the Gilbertese turning to Christ. The preaching of the Christian message was Bingham's primary task in caring for the Gilbertese.

His good works and those of the Hawaiian missionaries did bear fruit. The proportion of Gilbertese who became baptized Christians in Hawaii was higher than in the Gilbert Islands. They brought back to the Gilberts a community spirit hitherto unknown. This adherence to Christianity may have deflected some of the spirit to fight against the conditions in which they found themselves. It appears that many

Gilbertese looked to Bingham to solve their woes. However, the effect of the Hawaiian experience on the Gilbertese was not uniform. Not all became Christians. Some turned to drink and opium; a few saw the opportunity to amass firearms to take back with them to their home islands. Not one acquired a foot of Hawaiian land and only a few saved any money. Nearly 17 percent of the Gilbertese died. The survivors took back tales of a different society where different laws applied. The Gilbertese horizon was broadened and some adjustment had been made to face the challenge of British rule.

NOTES

In this paper the arguments are largely drawn from missionary sources, particularly Bingham's writings and the translated words of the Hawaiian missionaries. Some of these needed to be translated from the original Hawaiian. Gratitude is extended to Mr. Kiope Raymond for the translations. I also wish to express my appreciation to the librarians of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library in Honolulu from whence much of the source material came.

1. Tanako was a Gilbertese who had labored in Fiji. He instigated the Anti-Tioba cult on Tabiteuea in the Gilbert group. There are links between the ideas on religion he grasped in Fiji and those he incorporated into his cult. H. C. Maude and H. E. Maude, "Tioba and the Tabiteuean Religious Wars," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 90 (September 1981): 311-316.

2. Richard Bedford, Barrie Macdonald, and Doug Munro, "Population Estimates for Kiribati and Tuvalu, 1850-1900," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 89 (June 1980): 218.

3. This is an approximate number calculated from statistics derived from J. A. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting? The Hawaiian Experience 1855-1871," *Journal of Pacific History* 11 (1976): 3-27. Bingham calculated that some 1,608 Gilbertese had come by 1884 but they continued to come till the end of the nineteenth century (Hiram Bingham, Jr., to William Strong, 26 February 1884, Bingham Family Papers, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu [cited henceforward as BFPH], box 6; Bingham, Notebook as Protector, BFPH, box 6).

4. It is noted in the records of Grove Farm Homestead, Lihue, Kauai, that Gilbertese joined the work force there as early as 1875 (Register of the Grove Farm Plantation Records, Lihue).

5. Bingham, Notebook as Protector.

6. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 1, *1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu, 1938), 178-191; Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* vol. 3, *1874-1893: The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu, 1967), 126-128.

7. Jacob Adler, *Claus Spreckels: The Sugar King in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1966), l7-19, 56, 131; Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom,* 3: 143, 251. See also Gavan Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas* (Queensland, 1980), 129-163, for a stimulating study on Walter Murray Gibson.

8. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting?" 9.

9. Barrie Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire: Towards a History of Kiribati and Tuvalu* (Canberra, 1982), 61; Hiram Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of inspection among South Sea Immigrants in behalf of the Hawaiiun Board of Immigration by their agent for the inspection and protection of Immigrants from the isles of the Pacific Nov. 2, 1880,* Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu (cited henceforward as HSA). This source is a goldmine for information on the Gilbertese laborers in Hawaii.

10. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu, 1983), 23-42.

11. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* passim.

12. Bingham to N. G. Clark, 7 May 1879, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Papers (Australian National Library, Canberra, microfilm), reel 5 (cited henceforward as ABCFM Papers).

13. Maka, Report on Gilbert Islanders in Hawaii, 1880, ABCFM-Hawaiian Evangelical Association Papers, 1820-1920, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu (cited henceforward as ABCFM-HEA).

14. Bennett, "Immigration, 'Blackbirding,' Labour Recruiting?" 14; Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal aboard the *Hawaii* at Sea, October 1880, HSA, file 53; Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.

15. Takaki, *Pau Hana,* 58-77.

16. HEA Report, 1880, "Report of the Committee on the Work of the Kauai Association, 1879-1880," HEA Archives, 1853-1947, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu; Maka to Bingham, 28 May 1879; Maka to Forbes, 4 May 1881, Micron&an Mission-HEA Papers, 1852-1900, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu (cited henceforward as MM-HEA).

17. Mahoe, Report of the Work among the Gilbertese on Kauai for the Last Part of 1890, MM-HEA.

18. Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.

19. Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, ABCFM-HEA.

20. Bingham to Clark, 11 June 1879, BFPH, box 6.

21. *Hawaiian Gazette,* 27 October 1880.

22. Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, ABCFM-HEA.

23. Horace Taylor to Clark, 8 February 1881, ABCFM Papers, reel 7.

24. Alfred Walkup to Clark, 7 February 1881, ABCFM Papers, reel 12.

25. Bingham to Clark, 24 December 1879, BFPH, box 6.

26. Albertine Loomis, *To All People: A History of the Hawaii Conference of the United Church of Christ* (Honolulu, n.d.), 340-344.

27. Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal.

28. Ephraim Bray, Report of the 10th Voyage of the *Morning Star,* MM-HEA.

29. *The Friend* 38 (July 1880): 21.

30. Whitney to Wilder, Abstract of a Journal.

31. Ibid.

32. Bingham to Clark, 21 October 1880, BFPH, box 6.

33. Bingham, "A Few Hints to Employers," in *Saturday Press* (Honolulu), 18 December 1880; Bingham in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* April 1880.

34. Bingham to Clark, 2 May 1882, BFPH, box 6.

35. Bingham to Clark, 14 January 1881, BFPH, box 6,

36. Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM-HEA.

37. Bingham to Clark, 14 January 1881; Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM-HEA.

38. Ibid.

39. Bingham to Carter, 2 May 1882 and 5 August 1881, BFPH, box 6; Bingham, 16 July 1881, in Ethel Damon, Notebook, Grove Farm Museum, Kauai. See Bingham to Armstrong, 28 March 1882, HSA, for the terms of the contracts between Gilbertese laborers and their employers.

40. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* 58.

41. Bingham, Notebook as Protector; Bingham, 16 July 1881, in Damon, Notebook; Bingham to Clark, 1 November 1880, BFPH, box 6; Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, ABCFM-HEA.

42. Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, ABCFM-HEA.

43. Maka, Report on the Gilbert Islanders in Hawaii, 1880.

44. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* passim.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid., 105-106, 160-164. See also Bingham to Armstrong, 17 April 1882, and Bingham to Bush, 4 September 1882, HSA.

48. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* 20, 55, 85, 129, 157. See also Bingham to Bush, 31 October 1882, HSA.

49. Damon, Notebook.

50. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* 11, 179.

51. Ibid.; Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work among the Gilbertese on Kauai from June 1 ,1883-May 31, 1884; Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work among the Gilbertese, May 1, 1885; Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890, all MM-HEA.

52. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* passim.

53. Bingham, Report upon the Treatment of South Sea Islanders, 8 September 1881, BFPH, box 12.

54. Bingham, *Journal of a Tour of Inspection,* passim.

55. Ibid.

56. See Doug Munro and Stewart Firth, "From Company Rule to Consular Control: Gilbert Island Labourers on German Plantations in Samoa," *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (forthcoming), for examples of Gilbertese behavior in Samoa. The Gilbertese at the German plantations there went on strike on at least two occasions in the 1870s. In the 1890s they further agitated to proclaim distaste about conditions. I am grateful to the authors for forwarding me a version of this paper before publication. Also see Takaki, *Pau Hana,* 127, 148, for activities of other laborers. In 1841, Hawaiian laborers had gone on strike. In 1866, a gang of Chinese laborers refused to take orders and attacked the overseer with knives. There are no such incidents for the Gilbertese. Perhaps a detailed study of newspapers and court records would reveal more. But it is unlikely that aggressive action on the part of the Gilbertese would have gone unreported by both Bingham and the Hawaiian missionaries who were in such close contact with the Gilbertese.

57. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai from June 1, 1883-May 31, 1884; Mahoe, Report of Mission Work on Kauai, May 1, 1888, MM-HEA.

58. Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, ABCFM-HEA.

59. Maka to Forbes, 4 May 1881, HEA Archives; Bingham to Means, 7 December 1881, BFPH, box 6; Mahoe to Forbes, 22 October 1885, HEA Archives.

60. Kanoho to Pogue, 8 June 1881, MM-HEA (translated from the original Hawaiian).

61. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai . . . 1888, 11-12.

62. Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890; Bingham to Clark, 2 May 1882, BFPH, box 6.

63. Damon, Notebook.

64. Walkup to Means, October 1883, ABCFM Papers, reel 12; Macdonald, *Cinderellas of the Empire,* 63.

65. Haina to Pogue, 2 November 1885, MM-HEA (translated from the original Hawaiian).

66. Bingham, Notebook, BFPH, box 12; Bingham to his sister Sophie, 26 July 1883, Children of the Mission Papers, 1830-1900, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Library, Honolulu.

67. Bingham to Means, 3 November 1883; Bingham to Strong, 26 February 1884, BFPH, box 6.

68. Ibid.

69. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai from June 1, 1883-May 31, 1884.

70. Mahoe, Report of the Missionary Work on Kauai, June 1887 to June 1888, MM-HEA.

71. Mahoe, Report of the Work . . . on Kauai . . . 1890.

72. Mahoe, Report of . . . Kauai, June 1887 to June 1888.

73. Bingham to Smith, 4 November 1896, BFPH, box 8.

74. Ibid.

75. Bingham to Strong, 7 August 1899, BFPH, box 8.

76. HEA Report, 1901, 70-71; June 1902, 23-24; 1903, 22.

77. Loomis, *To All People,* 344-346.

78. *The Friend* 61 (November 1903): 6-7; *Hawaiian Mission Children's Society Report* 6 (1904): 13; R. H. Cogswell, Enclosure No. 1 in Acting Resident Commissioner's Despatch, No. 2/1904, Western Pacific High Commission File Series 4 (Australian National Library, Canberra), microfilm. See also "How the Gilbert Islander Fund was Raised and Spent," in *Pacific Commercial Advertiser,* 23 October 1903. My thanks go to Dr. Judy Bennett who provided me with copies of the latter two documents.

79. Cogswell, Enclosure No. 1.

80. Ibid.