



Figure 1. Between the years 1846 and 1851, Mary Brewster of Stonington, CT, took two separate voyages with her husband, whaling captain William Brewster. She recorded her experiences in journals, which were later edited and published by Joan Druett at Mystic Seaport Museum under the title *She Was a Sister Sailor* (1992). Brewster penned the words “She was a sister sailor” when she met another whaling wife during a stop in Hawai’i. Daguerreotype of Mary Brewster by Jeremiah Gurney, ca. 1854. Mystic Seaport Museum, 1948.1146

Neither Missionaries Nor Sailors: How Maritime Women Shaped US Imperialism in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i

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Abstract

In the 1830s and 1840s, maritime wives from New Bedford, Massachusetts, Mystic, Connecticut, and other New England ports went to sea with their husbands in increasing numbers. They traveled in often challenging conditions on merchant and whaling ships all over the world, and many of them spent time in the Hawaiian Islands. This article explores the role and impact of maritime women on Hawai'i in the mid-nineteenth century by arguing that they contributed in significant ways to the emerging tourism industry. It offers a reexamination of the experiences of captains' wives who went to sea by placing them in the broader context of US imperialism in the Pacific. It builds on the intersecting historiographies of maritime history, histories of empire, and women's history, and demonstrates that maritime women perpetuated imperialist attitudes, participated in exploitative economies that changed the Hawaiian landscape, and helped lay the groundwork for an industry that would have a long and painful history for Native Hawaiian people.

Keywords

Tourism, Hawai'i, captains' wives, nineteenth century

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Introduction

In the summer of 1866, a young captain's wife named Lucy Crapo from New Bedford, Massachusetts, arrived in Hawai'i after spending months at sea on the whaling ship *Louisa*. On land, she and her husband stayed in a hotel with rooms that were "large, airy, and pleasant."¹ Lucy enjoyed spending her time walking in the hotel gardens and in the gardens of their friends. On May 29, 1866, she wrote, "The gardens look beautiful and the birds sing oh, so sweetly, that I am in raptures."² Crapo marveled at the colors and animals that surrounded her, but she became frustrated when many people did not observe the Sabbath as she believed they should. When she asked an American acquaintance if "she did not have the same conscience" as she did at home, the woman replied, "'When among the Romans do as the Romans do.'" Crapo was appalled that the woman had no problem sewing or taking a donkey ride instead of going to church. She wrote, "if it is wrong for me there [at home] it is here."³

Crapo was part of the growing foreign population that first appeared in the port cities, which hosted merchants and whalers from Europe, the United States, and China. This was followed by East Asian agricultural laborers who came to work in the sugar industry. While most of these new arrivals were male, women were increasingly part of the outsider population. Although the presence of women on whaling ships and commercial vessels in the early nineteenth century was virtually unheard of, by the 1830s to the 1850s, captains' wives took to the sea in increasing numbers. According to *The Whalemens' Shipping List*, by 1853, one in six whaling ships had captains' wives aboard.⁴ Maritime women went ashore with their husbands and the crew when they were resupplying, and sometimes stayed behind alone or with their children to take a break from life on ship. Mary Brewster, for example, spent the summer of 1847 with a missionary family in Lāhainā while her

husband and his crew were at sea.⁵ On the islands, wives could socialize, experience culture, and seek adventure. They recorded their experiences in diaries and letters to share them with families and communities back in New England.

When these women stepped foot on Hawaiian soil, they entered a kingdom undergoing rapid change. The Hawaiian Islands were first settled by Polynesians roughly 1,500 years ago, followed by a second wave of transpacific voyages between the Islands and Tahiti around the turn of the first millennium that reshaped Hawai'i into a sophisticated and highly hierarchical place.⁶ By 1810, Hawai'i had become an important port city for whalers and merchants, largely due to its central position in the Pacific Ocean, and, in the face of growing foreign threats, King Kamehameha I united all the Hawaiian Islands under one ruler. By the time the first Protestant missionaries arrived a decade later in 1820, the Native Hawaiian population had declined by almost half from diseases like measles, chicken pox, polio, tuberculosis, and venereal disease that trade had brought to the islands. The Hawaiian rulers both adapted to and resisted foreign influences, and instituted new legal and governmental structures.⁷ Formally established as a constitutional monarchy in the 1840s, the Kingdom of Hawai'i had developed its own specifically Hawaiian version of nationalism. Following the land redistribution under the *Māhele* of 1848, and the implementation of a private property system under the Kuleana Act of 1850, commercial agriculture, particularly sugar, came to dominate the Hawaiian economy.⁸ Increasingly throughout the century, Hawaiian land and political power was taken from Native Hawaiian people, particularly the *maka'āinana* (common people), and placed in the hands of white Euro-Americans.

While Hawai'i underwent significant political, social, and economic change in the 1800s, Americans' attitudes of superiority over the Hawaiian people remained consistent. For Lucy Crapo, life at sea and in Hawai'i could be difficult, not only

because of the distance from home and physical discomfort of living on a ship, but also because the experience challenged her beliefs. While some American women seem to have been unbothered by the difference in religious customs and adapted to local attitudes, Crapo maintained the same expectations she had back in New England and lamented that she was spending “another Sabbath in heathen land.”⁹ While at sea, Crapo was similarly discouraged, writing, “I do not enjoy any Sabbath, when its observance is disregarded by myself or others around me.”¹⁰ In her travels, she found that the material conditions could make it impossible to adhere to her own behavioral and societal expectations.

Maritime women wrote with the specific purpose of informing their audience of families and friends back home in the United States. They were not unfiltered personal reflections, but rather told a deliberate story about how these women saw themselves as American women in Hawaiian society and the world. In the first entry of her diary, Mary Lawrence wrote, “As this is my first experience in seafaring life, I have thought it advisable to attempt keeping a journal, not for the purpose of interesting anyone outside of my own private family, but thinking it might be useful to myself or to my child for future reference.”¹¹ While most of these records were not published and broadly circulated, they do share some characteristics with the popular genre of travel writing. In her study of European imperialism and travel writing, Mary Louise Pratt demonstrates how these texts were instrumental in creating a “sense of curiosity, excitement, adventure, and even moral fervor about European expansionism” back home in Europe.¹² Pratt also demonstrates that “empires create in the imperial center of power an obsessive need to present and re-present its peripheries and its others continually to itself. It becomes dependent on its others to know itself.”¹³ American maritime wives in Hawai‘i adopted similar attitudes, constantly defining themselves against a Hawaiian

“other” in their writings. They demonstrated little interest in learning about their Hawaiian hosts—instead they chose to remain spectators and critics of the Hawaiian people and culture. As their stories circulated back home, the impact of their personal experiences expanded and contributed to emerging discourses about Pacific Island peoples.

Maritime women’s presence laid the groundwork for new forms of commercial exploitation and imperialism through the development of early tourist economies. The burgeoning industry depended on Indigenous labor and the destruction of Hawaiian land and led to the displacement of Indigenous populations. Most would trace the origins of the tourism industry to the period when Hawai‘i was an American Territory in the early twentieth century. By the 1930s, the islands became “an American playground for the wealthy, an unspoiled ‘Paradise in the Pacific,’” according to historian David Stannard.¹⁴ In the post–World War II era, the industry ballooned as travel became more accessible, the military presence expanded, and the territory became a state. However, the building blocks of the exploitative industry were laid by some of the earliest visitors to the islands—merchants, whalers, and their families.

To understand how maritime women functioned as imperial actors and early tourists, I first put into context their motives for going to sea and how their perspectives were influenced by gendered and racialized ideologies of domesticity. Then, I demonstrate how their observations reinforced racist and imperialist ideas and objectified the Hawaiian people.

While maritime men have received scholarly attention in the histories of American imperialism, maritime women have been largely invisible. In *With Sails Whitening Every Sea*, Brian Rouleau argues that sailors were crucial in the development of an American empire, as they were conduits of knowledge, information, and materials that connected the United States to the broader world.¹⁵ However, Rouleau makes almost no mention of

maritime wives. The scholarship that has focused on women at sea has largely revolved around the transcription and publication of their journals and diaries. These works are filled with interesting anecdotes and stories, but many focus much more on narrative than they do argument or analysis.¹⁶ Historian Joan Druett's work on the wives of whaling and merchant ship captains has been foundational to this area of study; her editorial comments offered a sympathetic window into her subjects, but they lack robust interpretation. For example, in the published diaries of Mary Brewster, Druett describes Brewster as a "pioneering example," and argues her voyage demonstrated that "a decent matron could create a home in the most unhomelike setting, a sailing ship on a whaling voyage."¹⁷ It is certainly true that Brewster, one of the earlier captains' wives to go to sea in 1845, had to carve out her own domestic space. However, the characterization of Brewster as a brave and virtuous pioneer ignores the context of race and racism that defined "pioneer" settlement in the nineteenth century—particularly the ways in which "pioneers" displaced Indigenous people. Because of this, and because of the ways that their presence disrupted the landscape and relationships in Hawai'i, it is clear that these women played a role that has been overlooked.

The perspectives of whaling and merchant ship captains' wives, women who were almost exclusively white, middle class, and from the northeastern United States, offer new insights into American imperialism in Hawai'i and the broader Pacific world. Their letters, journals, and diaries have been preserved in family collections, local historical societies, archives of maritime industries, state archives, and more. Some have been published in their entirety or excerpted in other historical works. They offer more than mere novelty and are a part of the broader apparatus of imperialism. They were neither missionaries nor sailors, and so they offer a perspective that has not neatly fit in

the historiographies of empire, Hawaiian history, maritime history, or women's history—yet they are entangled in all of them.

Women have received the most attention in the history of American empire in the study of missionaries. In a 1985 article, Patricia Grimshaw looks at over three decades of New England missionary women's efforts to transform Hawaiian women into domestic and pious Protestant subjects. Missionary women saw their value in their femininity and religiosity, and they sought to impose these ideas upon the people, particularly the women, of Hawai'i.¹⁸ These relationships between American missionary wives and Pacific Island women, historian Jennifer Thigpen argues, were essential in building political and diplomatic ties that helped further American colonial interests.¹⁹

Although missionaries receive a great deal of attention in the historiography of the Hawaiian Islands, Indigenous scholar Noelani Arista demonstrates that their influence has been overstated and perpetuates and reinforces a colonial historiographic narrative. Their arrival in 1820 is often portrayed as a benchmark in Hawaiian history, but their impact remained relatively small for decades. Using Hawaiian language sources and a Hawaiian ontology, she demonstrates that between 1820 and the 1840s, Hawaiian law, while undergoing a significant transformation, was still wholly under the control of the Hawaiian *ali'i* (elite).²⁰

Focusing on subsequent decades, Sally Engle Merry demonstrates how the implementation of a Western-style legal system in nineteenth-century Hawai'i came to regulate a broad array of practices for Native Hawaiians.²¹ The legal system also promulgated the "civilizing" mission of Anglo-Americans in Hawai'i, by punishing behavior that challenged the white, heteronormative nuclear family. By showing moments of resistance to these systems, Merry combats a narrative accommodation that plays a role in what she calls a "space of denial in the consciousness in American histo-

ry.”²² Within the field of Hawaiian Studies, Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio’s *Dismembering Lāhui* explores the changing legal system’s impact on Native Hawaiians’ identity. Other Hawaiian Studies scholars have sought to emphasize the agency and resistance of the Hawaiian people. While colonial narratives have emphasized the “bloodless” overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani, Noenoe Silva argues that the Hawaiian monarchy adapted the tools of the West to augment its strategies of survival and resistance.²³ Building on the model of decolonial history, David Chang’s work has demonstrated that the Hawaiian people were mobile and seafaring people who were not simply victims of colonization, but rather actively engaged with the broader world, just as their white counterparts, including maritime women, were.²⁴ Such scholarship has provided a crucial challenge to the historiographies that reify dominant colonial narratives and perspectives—narratives that the women in this study have contributed to building.

Complicated and Complicating Motives: Going to Sea and the Ideology of Domesticity

Given that maritime wives like Lucy Crapo shared religious beliefs with missionary women, one might assume that their influence on the Native Hawaiians and other Pacific populations also fell under the umbrella of Christian impulse. To a certain extent, this is true. In the face of unruly sailors, some women hoped to exert a positive or moderating influence on ship and in foreign lands. Furthermore, many of the whaling and merchant women did spend considerable time among the missionaries during their stays in Hawai‘i. However, the relationship between the whaling community (and broader maritime industries) and the Hawaiian people was different than that of the missionaries to the Hawaiians.

Missionaries frequently expressed their concern and frustration over the rowdy and un-Christian behavior of sailors, who drank and fraternized

with local Hawaiians, particularly women. These tensions even arose with ship captains who regularly attended church and supported the efforts of the missions. On December 2, 1825, the Church of Christ in the Sandwich Islands sent a letter to Captain John Ebbets admonishing him for his violation of his marriage vows. The church members expressed “great concern and grief” about his behavior and called upon him to repent for his sins in a seven-page letter. In a searing response, Captain Ebbets exclaimed that he could not “conceive what right you have to interfere with my conduct,” and reminded them of what happens to those who throw stones while living in glass houses.²⁵ At times, mariner women could be equally frustrated with the missionaries. While trying to buy milk in Lāhainā, Eliza Edwards complained that the missionaries refused to break the Sabbath. The missionaries did not allow the cows to be milked during their religious observance, which Edwards found to be “absurd.”²⁶ While this example proves that not all mariner women were deeply religious, they were still susceptible to and believers in ideologies that emphasized women’s roles as keepers of the home. Defining “home,” however, could be a difficult exercise for women who chose to spend months living on ships and in faraway places.

The emergence of wage labor in the early republic and antebellum United States forced-white middle-class Americans to rethink the role of gender in the means of production and in the domestic sphere. Labor was increasingly defined as work done outside of the home, and so it became a marker of middle-class identity for women to not “work.” Of course, they continued to labor inside the home, but it was unpaid and considered part of a woman’s duty. Historian Jeanne Boydston demonstrates that as the capitalist/industrialist system of labor emerged in the early nineteenth century, women’s work, namely housework, lost visibility and recognition as the nature of men’s work drastically changed. Market and wage-earn-

ing labor outside of the home was constructed as a masculine sphere and held a higher and commodified value. Despite the loss of value of women's work in the dominant ideology, it remained crucial to sustaining family economics.²⁷

For whaling and other maritime women, the idea that they were to depend on their husbands' labor was particularly discordant. Sailors—whether officers or deckhands—rarely received pay on a regular or predictable basis, and it was based on the success of a voyage. While their husbands were at sea, women onshore were strapped with responsibilities that included caring for the young and old, managing property and finances, and maintaining communication networks within family and neighborhood communities. Many women earned income on the side by sewing and taking in boarders. Women in more rural settings often kept small farms productive through their own work and that of their children.²⁸ Their labor was not peripheral to the larger maritime industries; rather, it was essential to supporting them.

While historians have often posited that women went to sea solely because they loved their husbands, the reality was more complex. Eliza Russell, for example, complained frequently of the financial stress she faced in the absence of her husband, and the issue of money became a point of contention between them. On June 8, 1856, she wrote to him, "Husband, I think you are rather severe on me when speaking of expenses, I do the very best I can, make every cent go as far as possible."²⁹ She also expressed frustration about her relationship with her in-laws. Many young wives lived with their husbands' families out of financial obligation, unable to set up and maintain a home on their own. For Russell, life at sea might have seemed like an opportunity for relative independence or adventure. During her second week at sea, Mary Lawrence wrote, "I do not wonder that so many choose a sailor's life. It is a life of hardship, but it

is a life full of romance and interest."³⁰ While the interest and romance may have worn off after a few months, Lawrence stood by her decision to go to sea with her husband and even brought along their young daughter, Minnie. For women, especially those with children, there were few chances to travel and seek adventure, and going to sea was one such opportunity. Lawrence and her daughter took every occasion they could to learn and explore.³¹ She saw the world as a curious and exciting place, and she desired new experiences.

Given various factors that motivated women to go to sea, women's invocations of domestic ideologies served as a rhetorical mechanism to justify their presence on ships and in foreign cities. Whaling ships were notoriously rough, dirty, and dangerous, so for a woman to live among sailors was no ordinary notion. By acknowledging that these women were able to mask their desires for adventure and/or an escape from the burdens at home through the articulation and performance of expected behaviors and attitudes about their gender, race, and class, we can start to understand the impact that they had as travelers in Hawai'i.

Imperialist Impressions: Women Spectators in Hawai'i

Through their letters, journals, and their lived experiences in Hawai'i, mariner women contributed to the development and perpetuation of imperialist and racist attitudes. Their interactions with Hawaiian people and culture were mostly superficial and brief, and so they became spectators as opposed to integrated participants in Hawaiian life. Some of the earliest women travelers would delight in being the first white/English/American woman to set foot in a new place.³² Upon viewing an island that had no name "laid down in the charts or books," Mary Brewster named an island after herself and her family. Given the extensive navigation efforts of Pacific Islanders in the region,

it is guaranteed the island had been previously named, but the practice of maritime women (and other white people) naming places after themselves signified their imperial expectations.³³

These women also exhibited racist and imperial attitudes in failing to distinguish between individuals and different populations of the Pacific. They were seen as primitive brown people, often exoticized, in need of civilizing and available to serve. Brian Rouleau explains that many American sailors drew their knowledge about and attitudes toward local populations from their cultural understanding of Native Americans. He writes that “sailors advanced across ocean space only to retreat into powerful long-standing ideas about Indians as undifferentiated savages.”³⁴ This also characterizes how maritime wives perceived Native Hawaiians. Even though maritime women recorded extensively the names of every missionary and whaling or merchant family with whom they interacted, they almost exclusively used the term “native” to describe all people of Hawaiian descent, including those from the royal family. One afternoon in October of 1857, Mary Lawrence went out for a ride with the missionary Mr. Damon, who “requested the guards to throw open the gates that we might have an opportunity of viewing the king’s palace.” After they obliged, Lawrence was able to see not only the grounds, but the king himself, whom she described as “a fine-looking young man” who “dressed very plainly” and “traveled quite extensively.” She remarked that the queen was “half-white and very pretty,” and that both were “very well educated.”³⁵ Undoubtedly, the woman’s proximity to whiteness contributed to Lawrence’s evaluation of her attractiveness, but, despite acknowledging their accomplishments, Lawrence never names them—King Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma.

When Charlotte Faulkner Reed Heustis, the wife of ship captain Charles P. Heustis, visited the

sites of Honolulu, she remarked extensively on the local customs, clothing, food, and architecture. She also enjoyed visiting other American women who had settled in the Islands. On December 25, 1865, Charlotte spent time with Mary Dominis. Mrs. Dominis’s son, John, was married to a Hawaiian woman who Charlotte described as:

. . . a full blooded Native- she came in + was introduced to us but did not stop in the room many minutes. She adopts of course the American style of dressing, but her tastes + feelings are not so in sympathy with our race as to make her companionship as pleasant to Mrs. D- as she would like that of her only son’s wife to be. She is well educated, a fine pianist, + is said to be very amiable, but there is her dark color & she clings to many Hawaiian feelings that to me makes a marriage union with one of our own people seem very strange.³⁶

Although Charlotte never identifies Mrs. Dominis’s daughter-in-law by name, she was in fact Lili’u Loloku Walania (Lydia) Kamaka’eha, the future Queen Lili’uokalani and the last reigning monarch of Hawai’i.

In 1846, Mary Brewster visited the home of Bostonian Benjamin Pitman and his Native Hawaiian wife, Kino’oleoliliha, and similarly failed to identify her by name. Brewster wrote that even though the home was “furnished genteely and in good order,” his Native Hawaiian wife “spoils the whole and leaves a dark side to the pleasant place.” Kino’oleoliliha Pitman was a high chiefess who had inherited large swaths of land and was educated by American missionaries. Her marriage was one of several strategic alliances between American businessmen and landowning Native Hawaiian women of the mid-nineteenth century. Brewster acknowledged that the marriage gave Pitman “great influence” and favorability with the royal family, but also that it was a happy marriage in which he showed his wife “great attention.”³⁷



Figure 2. Queen Lili'uokalani was born in 1838 in Honolulu to a High Chiefly family. She married John Owen Dominis in 1862. Following the end of the Kamehameha Dynasty, her brother was elected as King Kalākaua in 1874. Lili'uokalani served as regent twice in his absence before ascending the throne in 1891. During her reign she sought to reassert Hawaiian sovereignty. This photo was taken when Lili'uokalani was in London for Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee. *Princess Lili'uokalani*, photograph by Walery (Stanislaw Julian Ostrorog), 1887. Hawai'i State Archives, PPWD-16-4-014



Figure 3. Washington Place was the longtime home of Mary Dominis, who was widowed in 1846 after her husband, John Dominis, was lost at sea. Mary Dominis rented out rooms to support herself and her son before he married (the future Queen) Lili'uokalani. It was also the place where Lili'uokalani spent the remainder of her life after her overthrow, arrest, and imprisonment in 1893. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries it served as the residence of the Territorial Governor of Hawai'i and the Governor of the State of Hawai'i. *Washington Place, Honolulu*, artist unknown, ca. 1850–54. Bishop Museum via Wikimedia

Brewster's recollections underscore how she saw Kino'oleoliliha as inferior, even though the chiefess's status and land is what elevated her white husband. By doing so, she also upholds her own whiteness in contrast to a Hawaiian woman whose class status superseded her own.

Maritime wives' descriptions of their environment, Hawaiian buildings, and accommodations likewise expose their sense of superiority. When Mary Lawrence first labels the house a "straw cottage," surrounded by greenery and flowers, one might assume that the space was quite modest. However, the space was sophisticated and cosmopolitan, with numerous rooms, "Chinese chairs and lounges, sofa, a whatnot filled with Japanese curiosities, a secretary and library . . . and the walls hung around with paintings and engravings."³⁸ Small collections of furniture and trinkets from all over the world were not uncommon in whaling and merchant communities back in New England, and yet Lawrence did not recognize these similarities—focusing instead on what she perceived to be a primitive exterior. Lawrence, like many Euro-Americans, saw Hawaiian buildings as inferior and further evidence of the need to "civilize," rather than a result of different natural resources and environmental demands. Similar characterizations were used to justify US expansionism across the American continent under the guise of "Manifest Destiny."³⁹



Figure 4. Kino'ole came from a long line of *ali'i* who were instrumental in the foundation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. She and Benjamin Pitman had three children together, including Henry Ho'olulu Pitman who served in the Union Army during the American Civil War. Today, Kino'ole Street on the island of Hilo is named after the High Chiefess. *Mrs. Benjamin Pitman (High Chiefess Kinoole-o-Liliha)* by John Mix Stanley, 1849. Oil on canvas. Peabody Essex Museum

Toward the end of the century, biases about Hawaiian culture persisted. In 1890, a young Lucy Ellis wrote:

The natives are still full of [superstition] and worship in secret their goddess of fire, Pele, who they suppose inhabits the lakes of fire. To her [they] sacrifice animals and once during a dangerous fire one of the princesses sacrificed herself by starving to death. Though civilized and Christianized in times of danger they return to their old customs and superstitions. . . . But what a queer spectacle.⁴⁰

Ellis's insistence that even though the Native Hawaiians were "civilized and Christianized," they still "returned to their old customs and superstitions," reinforces the sentiment that no matter how Hawaiian people adhered to Western expectations of behavior and presentation, they could never be

considered equal. Ellis's observations also underscore a tension between traditional and Christian religious practice. While some members of the *ali'i* adopted Christianity, others did not. For example, Ruth Ke'elikōlani, a member of the Kamehameha family who served as Royal Governor of Hawaii (1855–74), was a staunch defender of Hawaiian traditions. She insisted on speaking Hawaiian, maintaining a traditional house, and worshipping traditional gods and ancestral spirits (*'aumakua*).

Maritime women also commented regularly on the Hawaiians who attended Christian services. While attending a "native church," Mary Lawrence remarked that they "had very excellent singing," and despite not being able to understand the sermon, "from the gestures of the preacher we could imagine something of the tenor of his discourse."⁴¹ In her next diary entry, however, she

wrote that she was “disappointed” in their appearance, for they were “not nearly so far advanced in civilization” as she had expected. Lawrence lamented:

Why, the good folks at home pretend to hold them up as a model from which we would do well to copy. I do not doubt but that there has been a great deal done for them, but there is a vast deal more to be done to raise them very high in the scale of morals. From what I saw and heard of them (and I made many enquiries) they are a low, degraded, indolent set.⁴²

She believed that even the church-going Hawaiians were unreliable and prone to thievery. Mary Brewster, too, was discouraged by what she perceived as a lack of progress; she “had expected to see them much farther advanced or sufficiently,” and was also bothered by their lack of clothing.⁴³

Maritime wives sharply differentiated themselves from Hawaiian women. Mary Stark, who spent nearly a month in the islands while waiting for ship repairs, remarked that while some of the women from wealthier families were able to travel by carriage, she and some of her friends would travel by horseback. They would of course ride side saddle but noted that Hawaiian women would “ride horseback just like men, with a long loose strip of calico put around them on the saddle & look odd enough.”⁴⁴ Maritime women demonstrated no interest in finding commonality with Hawaiian women, choosing instead to comment about the ways in which the women they saw differed from themselves. In doing so they were able to uphold their belief in their own racial and cultural superiority.

For young Maria Stover, the anticipation of arriving in Hawai‘i was great, and her description of Honolulu was vivid and romantic, emphasizing the beautiful sunsets, volcanoes, and trees. She depicts the city of Honolulu as a diverse and lively place. One of the first places that Maria and her

family visited was the prison, where the warden was a retired sea captain from Maine, who settled on the island with his wife.⁴⁵ From her visit to a local Japanese school, Stover found the children and adult pupils “a very bright intelligent people.”⁴⁶ Maria also reported on the local Chinese population, one of the largest foreign groups in the city at that time. One of the Chinese schools was run by the descendants of missionaries: Frank Damon, who was born in Hawai‘i, and his wife, Mary Happer, who was born in China. Most of the local Hawaiians and foreign migrants that Stover interacted with were connected to what she called the “great missionary work” being done there.⁴⁷

One of the most exciting moments for Maria Stover, however, was when she spent time with the Hawaiian royalty. To celebrate the thirteenth birthday of Princess Ka‘iulani in 1888, Maria attended a grand reception in Waikīkī.⁴⁸ The only child of the royal family, Princess Ka‘iulani was the daughter of the Scottish businessman Archibald Cleghorn and Princess Miriam Likelike who was known for entertaining international visitors and for her generosity.⁴⁹ King Kalākaua and Princess Lili‘uokalani (Ka‘iulani’s uncle and aunt) were present at the party to greet the guests. Even at an event that might seem like a moment of cross-cultural exchange and shared celebration, white foreigners kept their distance from Hawaiians. Ka‘iulani’s reception was divided into two different occasions: the morning was for the Native Hawaiians and the afternoon was for the foreigners. During this time there were significant tensions between the royal family and some of the *haole* elite who were increasingly distrustful and even outwardly hostile to Native Hawaiian rule. The year prior, 1887, was the year of the “Bayonet Constitution,” in which King Kalākaua was forced at gunpoint by landowners and businessmen to sign a constitution that stripped the crown of power and gave them greater influence. Kalākaua and his sister and suc-



Figure 5. By the mid-nineteenth century, Honolulu was a critical whaling and commercial trade port due to Hawai'i's central geographic position in the Pacific World. In 1845, the seat of government was moved from Lāhainā to Honolulu by Kamehameha III. *View of Honolulu from the Catholic Church*, lithograph by Paul Emmert, ca. 1854. Library of Congress 2003681551

cessor, Lili'uokalani, would spend the final years of the monarchy trying to reclaim Native Hawaiian power before being overthrown in 1893.

These stories of women and children interacting with local Hawaiians and royalty are compelling in and of themselves, but they also offer a perspective that has thus far not been given attention in the historical narrative. While much of the maritime and seafaring world was dominated by men, these were some of the few non-missionary faces of American women and children abroad that local people saw. These women and children participated in cross-cultural exchanges in ways that few other women in that time could, and they brought their stories back to their small New England towns, leaving a lasting impact in both places.

It is through sources like the diaries and letters of maritime women that real people and cultural practices were erased and flattened into stereotypes and superficial concepts. Throughout the

nineteenth century, mainland Americans created an imagined Hawai'i—an exotic and tropical paradise filled with uncivilized people and unfamiliar customs. This abstract place was constructed through the stories of the European and American travelers (and missionaries) who consumed the Hawaiian culture and environment through their own biases and reproduced them in their writings.⁵⁰ The result was the perpetuation of an ideology rooted in white and Christian supremacy that categorized Hawaiian people as “other.”

Early Tourism and Native Hawaiian Labor

Although maritime women often failed to identify specific Hawaiian people as anything other than “natives,” they did interact with them on a regular basis and were frequently dependent on their labor. When she arrived in Lāhainā, Mary Lawrence stayed in the home of a Mr. Gilman whose house was dependent on the labor of Native Hawai-

ians—a cook and several women who cleaned and did laundry. Even for simple activities, whaling families were aided by Hawaiian people's hospitality and generosity. One family was out walking home after an evening of socializing with other foreigners when they found themselves in a "fine shower." Due to the rain and the fact that it was quite dark out, "a native man came and brought a lantern" so they could make their way home.⁵¹

The presence of visiting families also created a new demand for housing and accommodations. While whaling wives and their children were sometimes able to stay with friends or missionaries, many rented rooms in boarding houses and hotels. Most sailors who stayed in Hawaiian ports would rent a shared room in casual taverns that offered only the essentials and limited privacy. While there were only one or two options in most port cities, Honolulu had a growing early hospitality industry. By the 1850s, hotel owners had added entertainment including dance halls and even bowling alleys. It was also at these establishments that the practice of hula dancing became a form of entertainment—particularly to attract seamen.⁵² It was not until the early twentieth century, however, as historian Adria L. Imada demonstrates, that hula was widely consumed by American audiences.⁵³

For maritime wives, most boardinghouses would not have been comfortable or safe, especially if they were traveling with children, like Mary Lawrence. Lawrence once noted that boarding in the Islands for a full season was "quite expensive."⁵⁴ In October of 1857 she paid as much as \$25 per week to stay at a private boardinghouse owned by C. H. Butler.⁵⁵ While there were some Native Hawaiians involved in the business (including Boki, the Governor of O'ahu from 1825 to 1829), and while the Hawaiian culture has a rich history of hospitality, the majority of proprietors were white foreigners.

While most workers who sustained the emerging hospitality industry were Hawaiian, some Chinese were also employed. Mary Lawrence once

remarked that in her experience most of the foreign residents preferred to employ Chinese cooks who were "bound for five years" and therefore "more to be depended on."⁵⁶ Chinese laborers were recruited to work on sugar plantations starting in the 1850s. The brutal working conditions pushed many of them to seek alternative labor—like cooking and other domestic work—in Honolulu and other cities. The demand for this type of work grew as more and more foreigners visited the islands.

Maritime families and other foreigners thus helped produce a new industry—tourism. Soon, temporary accommodations could be found not only in port cities, but also near natural phenomena like volcanoes. One such place was the Kīlauea volcano. Benjamin Pitman had constructed a large house with a thatched roof for the convenience of travelers. By the 1860s, the "Volcano House" had been turned into a commercial enterprise and was operated by Julius Richardson, George Jones, and J. S. King. Kīlauea and other volcanoes became very popular tourist destinations by the latter half of the century and were patronized not only by maritime families, but also by writers, artists, scientists, and adventurers.⁵⁷

In September of 1846, Mary and William Brewster took a trip with a group of foreign residents and visitors to see Mauna Loa.⁵⁸ Like all the volcanoes that make up the archipelago, Mauna Loa had spiritual significance to the Hawaiian people,⁵⁹ and an ancient and extensive network of trails provided access to the summit at Moku'āweoweo. The summits of volcanoes were considered "hallowed" ground. For Hawaiian people, as Native Hawaiian activist and cultural expert Pualani Kanaka'ole Kanahele describes, "just to know that they were there was just satisfying to us," and so there was little need to "go there" or "bother it."⁶⁰ For Europeans and Americans, however, interest in summiting the volcanoes began immediately after contact.⁶¹

For the Brewsters and their friends, the trip lasted several days. It required extensive labor from

the Hawaiians who carried their belongings, prepared meals, and even sometimes carried some of the white women over rough terrain and streams. While the Brewsters and their party rested, the Native Hawaiian guides picked berries to refresh the travelers. In some areas, the trails had been adapted for horseback riding and “covered with the stalk of the fern” to protect the hooves of the horses from the lava that cooled and hardened on the ground.⁶² Horses had not arrived in the Hawaiian Islands until 1803, when an American merchant presented a mare and a stallion as a gift to Kamehameha I in hopes of securing trading connections. Although horses were quickly adopted by Native Hawaiians and were commonly used by the 1820s, the introduction of horses and other livestock had significant environmental effects on the islands, including damage from erosion and the introduction of new crops needed to feed them.⁶³

On their way up and back, the Brewsters stopped to spend the night at a “half way house which had been recently built for the accommodation of travelers.”⁶⁴ It was run by a Hawaiian family who provided lodgings and prepared meals for the foreign visitors. Brewster described the landlady as comically unkempt:

Her appearance was particularly interesting having just arisen and not having paid any attention to her toilet—her hair looking as though she would certainly know trouble when clearing it—a loose shirt and a large piece of tappa composed her dress, the last being wrapped around her first. She sat down on the floor, some two or three dozen children came and seated themselves. She soon got tired of her position and stretched her limbs to the greatest extent. We could not help laughing and express our wishes that our friends at home could look in upon us and company and see the landlady—

Even though she herself was once uncomfortable at being an object of interest to the Hawaiians,

she felt no qualms about ogling her hosts. When Brewster arrived at Mauna Loa, she was again disappointed—this time “at the appearance of the volcano.” On their return stop at the halfway house, they were treated to a turkey luau cooked in the “true native style.” While most of the party “relished it,” Brewster found it “very disagreeable.”⁶⁵ Even though Hawaiian people were necessary to the survival of maritime wives and families, they were often treated as other objects consumed as part of the “sights” to be seen.

In addition to the material ways in which these women’s lives were sustained by the labor of Native Hawaiians, maritime wives also used that labor to define their own status. Even when these women were not physically dependent on the labor of Native people, they enlisted it to identify themselves. For example, one morning, a Mrs. Peck invited Mary Brewster to spend the day with her. Mrs. Peck also sent along “a waggon with two natives to draw it.” Even though Brewster found the passage in the wagon to be less comfortable and efficient than walking, she felt as though she could not refuse it, feeling that it was “the fashionable way for the ladies in this country” to travel. Brewster also commented that her Native Hawaiian escorts “seemed pleased with the privilege of drawing me.”⁶⁶ No doubt, the two men drawing the carriage treated her pleasantly—but what was likely a perfunctory performance and crucial element to their job, Brewster interpreted as deference and admiration. In this way, she was not only able to uphold her whiteness, as she had done in contrast to Kino’oleoliliha, but also her class position as a woman who was privileged to such services.

While maritime wives took great care to record their observations of the Hawaiian people, and interacted with and depended on common laborers on a regular basis, they sometimes showed disinterest, and even contempt, at the idea of genuine exchange with Hawaiian people, even the *ali’i*. During one short interisland voyage, Cap-

tain Lawrence was asked to take the governor of O'ahu, Kekūanaō'a, his daughter, Princess Victoria Kamāmalu, who was then *Kuhina Nui*,⁶⁷ and their attendants along with his regular crew. At the time, Kekūanaō'a's son (and Victoria's brother), Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV), was the king. When Mary Lawrence arrived on the ship, she remarked that they "hardly found room for the soles of our feet on deck," because of all the baggage that the party came with.⁶⁸ Lawrence was little impressed with the young princess. She found her manner of eating to be uncouth and described her as having a "rather disreputable character." At the end of the voyage, Victoria Kamāmalu extended "a very polite invitation" to Lawrence to stop at her house. However, the whaling wife declined the invitation thinking it to be "far pleasanter to stop at Mr. Whitney's, where we had stopped several times before."⁶⁹ Even when presented with the opportunity to engage with an elite Hawaiian woman, Lawrence showed little interest, and preferred to socialize with her white American peers.

As the writings of maritime wives demonstrated, these early tourists showed very little desire to learn about their Hawaiian hosts. Instead, mariner families helped lay the groundwork for an exploitative industry in which Native labor facilitated the growth of foreign wealth and perpetuated white supremacy.

Conclusion

In her 2008 essay "Strategies of Erasure: U.S. Colonialism and Native Hawaiian Feminism," Lisa Kahaleole Hall highlights the various ways in which the history, people, and islands of Hawai'i are absent—from our education system, from maps, from the census/bureaucracy, and more. Hall argues that "because colonization relies on forced forgetting and erasure, the need to bring the past forward into our consciousness is ongoing."⁷⁰ Illuminating the ways in which white maritime women contributed to the projects of

imperialism and colonialism is a small but important part of combatting that erasure and making visible the complex apparatuses of imperialism.

In the decades after the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the appeal of Hawai'i as a traveler's paradise continued. Between 1907 and 1909, a young woman, Charmian Kittredge London, sailed with her husband across the South Pacific, and spent time in the Hawaiian Islands. While her husband, Jack London, was a well-known novelist, Charmian was also a writer and published her own account of the voyage. During one of their visits, the couple was introduced to Queen Lili'uokalani—a woman who had been deposed, imprisoned, and who had spent years fighting to reclaim Hawaiian sovereignty. Charmian described her as follows:

the expression of the narrow black eyes, rather close-set, which were unmistakably savage in their cold hatred of everything American. And who can blame her? As near as I can figure it, she was tricked and trapped by brains, for which her brain, remarkable though it be, was no match.⁷¹

This language explicitly outlines the racist trope of the noble savage.⁷² Despite avowed sympathy for the overthrown queen, Charmian viewed Lili'uokalani and the tragedy of the Hawaiian people as an entertaining spectacle. She relished having plenty of time to observe and watch Lili'uokalani while waiting in a receiving line and commented that the queen's "great fight of but yesterday to preserve the crown of Hawaii, is to me one of the most interesting dramas of history—bleeding tragedy to her."⁷³ For Charmian, the destruction of the Hawaiian monarchy was an exciting, if sad, tale, but it was also an inevitable fact and natural result of history. Her descriptions of other Hawaiians mirror those of the missionaries and whaling wives who arrived in Hawai'i more than sixty years earlier.

Like Charmian London, white women and their maritime families played a role in enacting American imperialism through both their writings and their physical presence in the Hawaiian Islands. They were a precursor to the modern tourist—interested in a temporarily grander lifestyle that fed into the displacement of Native Hawaiians and recruits them as laborers to enable the imperial experience.

Throughout the twentieth century, tourism would come to dominate the Hawaiian economy, and at the core of the industry was the selling of an imagined and commodified Hawai'i. In the 1990s, Native Hawaiian scholar and nationalist Haunani-Kay Trask described it as a "particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution."⁷⁴ For Indigenous peoples all around the world in the modern era, "tourism produces foreign domination and dependency, polarization, environmental destruction, cultural alienation, and the loss of social control and identity among host communities."⁷⁵ On the one hand, maritime women transcended the limitations and expectations of their time by making the decision to go to sea and travel around the world to places like Hawai'i. On the other hand, however, their freedom to cross national and cultural boundaries as individuals was not without consequences for the collective Hawaiian people.

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grateful to the reviewers and editors, especially Michelle Turner, for their edits, time, and suggestions. Finally, I am indebted to Native Hawaiian scholars and Hawaiian Studies scholars, whose work has changed my thinking, and whose voices should be amplified.

Endnotes

- 1 Lucy Crapo, May 30, 1866, Logbook ODHS 944AB, New Bedford Whaling Museum Research Library.
- 2 Lucy Crapo, May 29, 1866, Logbook ODHS 944AB.
- 3 Lucy Crapo, June 3, 1866, Logbook ODHS 944AB.
- 4 "Lady Whalers," *The Whalemens' Shipping List and Merchants' Transcripts* XI, no. 48, February 1, 1853, 351. This periodical (1843–1914) has been digitized by Mystic Seaport Museum: <https://research.mysticseaport.org/reference/whalemens-shipping-list/>.
- 5 Joan Druett, ed., *She Was a Sister Sailor: The Whaling Journals of Mary Brewster, 1845–1851* (Mystic, CT: Mystic Seaport Museum, 1992), part 4.
- 6 For Hawai'i before contact, see David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (*Moolelo Hawaii*), trans. N. B. Emerson (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1903).
- 7 Under the reign of Kamehameha III, who ruled from 1825 to 1854, the Hawaiian monarchy shifted from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy. The first constitution was composed in 1840 but was revised twelve years later and formally established a cabinet, legislature, and court system. Kamehameha III worked to find a balance between Hawaiian tradition and the increasing Western influences. At times, he even had to defend his nation from French and British attempts at overthrow and invasion.
- 8 In *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai? How Shall We Live in Harmony?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa provides a comprehensive and Hawaiian perspective of the *Māhele* of 1848, which she calls a "revolution." She explores Native Hawaiian peoples' connection with the land and how it was disrupted by the new system of private property that confused and alienated the *maka'āinana* in particular.
- 9 Lucy Crapo, October 7, 1866, Logbook ODHS 944AB.
- 10 Lucy Crapo, April 1, 1866, Logbook ODHS 944AB.
- 11 Mary Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate: The Journal of Mary Chipman Lawrence on the Whaler Addison, 1856–1860*, ed. Stanton Garner (Providence, RI: Brown University Press, 1966), 5.
- 12 Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, 2nd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 3. In *Women of Empire: Nineteenth Century Army Officers' Wives in India and the U.S. West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017), Verity McInnis also demonstrates that the Army wives similarly carved out a social and political role for themselves.
- 13 Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 4.
- 14 David E. Stannard, *Honor Killing: Race, Rape, and Clarence Darrow's Spectacular Last Case* (New York: Penguin, 2005), 23.
- 15 Brian Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea: Mariners and the Making of an American Maritime Empire* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014).
- 16 See, for example, Lisa Grant De Pauw, *Seafaring Women* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982); Joan Druett, *Hen Frigates: Wives of Merchant Captains Under Sail* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998); Joan Druett, *Petticoat*

Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea, 1820–1920 (Auckland: Collins, 1991); Joan Druett, *She Captains, Heroines and Hellions of the Sea* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000); Jo Stanley, ed., *Bold in Her Breeches: Women Pirates Across the Ages* (London: Pandora, 1995); Suzanne Stark, *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute, 1996). See also published and annotated diaries: Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, ed. Garner; Druett, ed., *She Was a Sister Sailor*; Catherine Petroski, *A Bride's Passage: Susan Hawthorn's Year Under Sail* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997).

17 Druett, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, xvii.

18 Patricia Grimshaw, "New England Missionary Wives, Hawaiian Women, and 'The Cult of True Womanhood,'" *Hawaiian Journal of History* 19 (1985): 71–100. See also Patricia Grimshaw, "'Christian Woman, Pious Wife, Faithful Mother, Devoted Missionary': Conflicts in Roles of American Missionary Women in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii," *Feminist Studies* 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1983): 489–521, and Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989). In *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), Ian Tyrell argues that American missionaries played an important role in American diplomacy using "soft power" to create a "moral empire" in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

19 Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

20 Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019). Arista analyzes legal code and cases and argues that a Hawaiian understanding of the past was crucial to governance. She argues that the period of the 1820s was marked by an expansion of Hawaiian authority over other competing and conflicting foreign value systems.

21 Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), 22.

22 Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i*, 24.

23 Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004). Silva also emphasizes the significance of Native Hawaiian women's resistance to gendered colonial discourses and to the annexation of Hawai'i.

24 David Chang, *The World and All Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

25 Ebbets to the Church of Christ, Sandwich Islands, December 29, 1825, Non-Missionary Letters Collection, Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Honolulu.

26 Eliza Edwards, quoted in Druett, *Hen Frigates*, 154.

27 Jeanne Boydston, *Home and Work: Housework, Wages, and the Ideology of Labor in the Early Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). In *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), Christine Stansell argues that domesticity was a privilege of class rather than gender, and that it was unattainable for women of the working class.

28 Lisa Norling, *Captain Ahab Had a Wife: New England Women and the Whaleship, 1720–1870* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), and Lisa Norling, "'How Frought with Sorrow and Heartpangs': Mariners' Wives and the Ideology of Domesticity in New England, 1790–1880," *New England Quarterly* 65, no. 3 (September 1992): 422–46. Norling argues that in the material context of maritime communities, the ideology of domesticity was "clearly dysfunctional to their particular circumstances." *Captain Ahab Had a Wife*, 4.

29 Russell to her husband, June 8, 1856, Eliza Russell Papers, Manuscript

Collection 136, New Bedford Whaling Museum Library, New Bedford, MA.

30 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 5.

31 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 19.

32 Druett, *Petticoat Whalers*, 138.

33 Based on the longitude and latitude Brewster recorded, it is likely that the island was what is today known as Baker Island (or possibly Howland Island), just north of the equator in the central Pacific. Brewster, diary entry, February 9, 1849, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 363. Other women even saw themselves as performing the duties of quasi-diplomats. For example, an English woman named Abby Jane Morrell on board the ship *Atlantic* spent several days ashore in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand. She describes meeting two different groups of Polynesians. The first were "bold and fierce" "savages" who partook in cannibalism and were solely occupied by war. The Maoris, however, were much more pleasant according to Morrell. When she met with a local king and queen, she and her party received many gifts. In her journal she wrote, "I did not consider that these honours were paid to me as an individual, but to all females of my own country and to those of the English nation." Quoted in Druett, *Petticoat Whalers*, 104.

34 Rouleau, *With Sails Whitening Every Sea*, 76.

35 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 51–52.

36 December 25 entry, "Charlotte Faulkner Reed Heustis travel diary, 1865–1866," Ms. N-778, Manuscript Collections, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA.

37 Brewster, diary entry, September 17, 1846, in *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 126.

38 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 23.

39 John L. O'Sullivan is most prominently known for articulating Manifest Destiny in his article "The Great Nation of Futurity," *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* 6, no. 23 (November 1839): 426–30.

40 Lucy Ellis Journal, Manuscript 448, typescript, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, HI, 10.

41 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 24.

42 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 25.

43 Brewster, diary entry, April 21, 1847, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 57.

44 Quoted in Druett, *Hen Frigates*, 233.

45 Maria Stover, "A Visit to Honolulu," Manuscript Collection 105 – Calista Stover Papers, Mystic Seaport Collections Research Center, Mystic, CT, 9.

46 Stover, "A Visit to Honolulu," 20.

47 Maria noted things such as the Woman's Board of Missions having over two hundred members who traveled all over the South Pacific Islands. Stover, "A Visit to Honolulu," 19.

48 Stover, "A Visit to Honolulu," 17.

49 Janet Hulstrand, "Ka'iulani: Hawai'i's Island Rose," *Smithsonian Magazine*, May 7, 2009, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/kaulani-hawaii-island-rose-131796275/>.

50 This is what feminist scholar E. Ann Kaplan has termed the "imperial gaze." E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

51 Brewster, diary entry, September 18, 1846, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 128.

52 Don J. Hibbard, *Designing Paradise: The Allure of the Hawaiian Resort* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), 12.

53 Adria L. Imada, *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012). In addition to demonstrating how crucial hula circuits were to American understandings of Hawai'i and Hawaiians, Imada also illuminates how hula performers critiqued and resisted US imperialism.

54 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 29.

55 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 50.

56 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 26.

57 Hibbard, *Designing Paradise*, 17–20.

58 Mauna Loa, which translates to “long mountain,” is one of the largest active volcanoes in the world, taking up more than half of the island of Hawai‘i.

59 Native Hawaiians consider Mauna Kea (Maunakea) to be sacred. It is not only the birth place of Hawai‘i and a living ancestor to Native Hawaiians, but also the place where the gods reside. Paulani Kanaka‘ole Kanahele, “Native Hawaiian Environment,” *Wao Akua* (Honolulu: Division of Forestry and Wildlife, Department of Land and Natural Resources, 2003); “Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 178,” Senate Thirtieth Legislature, State of Hawaii, 2019, https://www.capitol.hawaii.gov/session2019/bills/SCR178_.htm.

60 Quoted in “Culture” section of the Master Plan for the Mauna Kea Science Preserve, page V-15, accessed December 14, 2024, available at <https://www.webcitation.org/6C1EsVfS>.

61 Walther M. Barnard, “Earliest Ascents of Mauna Loa Volcano, Hawai‘i,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 25 (1991): 53–70; Roberta A. Sprague, “Measuring the Mountain: The United States Exploring Expedition on Mauna Loa, 1840–1841,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 25 (1991): 71–91.

62 Brewster, diary entry, September 22, 1846, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 129.

63 Department of Land and Natural Resources, news release, “Early History of ‘Island Ranching’ in Hawaii is Theme of 2018 Historic Preservation Calendar,” State of Hawaii (December 7, 2017), accessed December 14, 2024, <https://dlnr.hawaii.gov/blog/2017/12/08/nr17-193/>. For more on the environmental impact of cattle in Hawai‘i, see John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism: An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai‘i* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

64 Brewster, diary entry, September 22, 1846, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 129.

65 Brewster, diary entry, September 25, 1846, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 133.

66 Brewster, diary entry, April 30, 1846, *She Was a Sister Sailor*, 63.

67 The office of the Kuhina Nui was a powerful political position that has no real Western equivalent. It existed from 1819 to 1864 and was appointed by the king. The appointee (frequently a royal relative), held immense power in the Islands, particularly over issues of business. The position was frequently occupied by women (four of six people who held the office), including Victoria’s mother before her. Victoria used the title name of Ka‘ahumanu IV when she was Kuhina Nui.

68 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 203.

69 Lawrence, *The Captain's Best Mate*, 203.

70 Lisa Kahaleole Hall, “Strategies of Erasure: U.S. Colonialism and Native Hawaiian Feminism,” *American Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (June 2008): 279.

71 Charmian Kittredge London, *Jack London and Hawaii* (London: Mills & Boon, 1918), 50, digitized by the University of California and made available by HathiTrust, accessed December 14, 2024, <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t0rr1zs6c>.

72 This is another example of the way in which “racial scripts,” as Natalia Molina calls them, can be recycled toward different racial groups. Once attitudes and practices are formed and directed against one group (e.g., Native Americans), they are more easily then directed toward another racialized group (e.g., Native Hawaiians). Natalia Molina, *How Race Is Made in America: Immigration, Citizenship, and the Historical Power of Racial Scripts* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014). The myth of the “noble savage” has origins in the Enlightenment and is often attributed to the philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, even though he never actually used the phrase. In literature, the “noble savage” is a stock character that embodies an idealized and virtuous man who is uncorrupted by civilization. The American Indian was a noble savage in that he was both dignified and yet so very much part of the

natural world that he was not quite human, and his demise was inevitable.

On the trope of the “noble savage” in American history and culture, see Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Shepard Krech III, *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1999); Bernard W. Sheehan, “Paradise and the Noble Savage in Jeffersonian Thought,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 26, no. 3 (July 1969): 327–59; Jane Marcellus, “Nervous Women and Noble Savages: The Romanticized ‘Other’ in Nineteenth-Century US Patent Medicine Advertising,” *Journal of Popular Culture* 41, no. 5 (October 2008): 784–808; and Paul Jentz, *Seven Myths of Native American History* (Indianapolis: Hackett, 2018). Similarly, the Vanishing Indian myth is a common trope in (white) American popular culture and history that implies that Native Americans have “disappeared” over time. They are a part of the American past, but have been erased from the present by the false idea that they have vanished through some inevitable and natural process. See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978).

73 London, *Jack London and Hawaii*, 50.

74 Haunani-Kay Trask, “Lovely Hula Lands: Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture,” *Border/Lines*, no. 23 (July 2016), 24.

75 Deborah Ramer McLaren, “The History of Indigenous Peoples and Tourism,” *Cultural Survival Quarterly* 23, no. 2 (June 1999): <https://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/history-indigenous-peoples-and-tourism>.