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*Delivered at the MHA/MPHS Conference, June 11, 1990  
#Delivered at the Waimanalo Mini-Conference, October 25, 1991
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Certainly, no one who was at the twelfth annual Mormon Pacific Historical Society conference at the new Hauula Chapel on May 25, 1991 will ever forget the experience. Not only were the presentations interesting and inspiring, but the continuing, renewed and new friendships, always a part of MPHS meetings, were important at this conference, as well. For sheer drama, we hope we do not ever have a conference at which one of our members--one who helped throughout his life to create Mormon history in the Pacific, Thomas Au--very literally breathes his last earthly breath. Fortunately, "Uncle Five Cents" was doing one of the things he loved most to do, performing on his beloved "steel" when he passed away. We are gratified to have been told by his family that, having just borne his testimony to us, and then playing for us the music he loved so much, created a situation that made this an optimum time for his passing. Those present will remember that Brother Au received a priesthood blessing there while on the stand. We commemorate him, his life of service, and at the same time compliment you, the sharers, makers, and consumers of Mormon history in the Pacific for your continuing interest and support of MPHS and its proceedings.

Lance D. Chase
President, 1991-92
PURPOSES OF MPHS

1. To encourage research and publication on topics relative to the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Pacific Basin area.

2. To maintain bibliographic and reference information relative to the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Pacific Basin area.

3. To gather in conferences and workshops to teach and to learn from each other about Latter-day Saint history in the Pacific.

4. To teach those skills helpful in the gathering and recording of historical information.

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (1991-1992)

Lance Chase, President (1994)
Adren Bird, Vice-President (1993)
Midge Oler, Treasurer (1993)
Kenneth W. Baldridge, Executive Secretary (1994)

( ) indicates expiration of three-year term
The Restoration of the Kahana Chapel
(Synopsis of a report given by Kenneth W. Baldridge)

For many years the Department of Land and Natural Resources, State of Hawaii, has been in the process of developing Kahana Valley as a “living” state park. Among the various projects in different stages of progress are reconstruction of the Huilua Fishpond, re-establishment of traditional Hawaiian agriculture—especially taro, if practical—development of hiking trails and location of camping areas. One project that has been given very high priority by both the State Parks personnel and valley residents has been the restoration of the Mormon Chapel, with which I have been very closely involved over the past few years.

I have met with valley residents and on several occasions have taken BYU-Hawaii students and ward youth groups to the chapel for the purpose of cleaning up around the building in preparation for restoration work. I have met with Suzette Soucie and A. J. Garza of the prize-winning architectural firm, Designare, and they have now submitted a proposal to the State which hopefully will lead to the project of restoration getting underway.

The exact age of the building has yet to be determined. An LDS chapel was dedicated in Kahana in 1888 and we feel quite sure that this building goes back to the early 1900’s, at least, but we cannot definitely say that this building is the one that was dedicated over a century ago. Research continues.

Since there seems little doubt that this is the oldest LDS structure still standing in Hawaii we as the Mormon Pacific Historical Society are keenly interested in its preservation. As a church supposedly interested in history, our track record here in Hawaii has been less than outstanding as we have seen our historic buildings disappear one after another. Let’s hope this time that we, with the cooperation of the State of Hawaii and the residents of Kahana Valley, can save a most interesting structure.
The Making of TONGAN SAINTS: LEGACY OF FAITH
by
Eric B. Shumway

Tongan Saints: Legacy of Faith is a work that was commissioned by
the Tongan Centennial Committee in November of 1988 when I was still
mission president of the Tonga Nuku'alofa mission. It was to be a labor of
love that would include extensive gathering of oral history, especially
from the Tongans themselves. The project would eventually involve
dozens of helpers, missionaries, former missionaries, and local Tongans.

The plan almost from the beginning, thanks to some sound advice
from interested friends and scholars, members and non-members, was to
feature the Tongans themselves, to illustrate a hundred years of their
faith and faithfulness. Most of the history of the Church in the South
Pacific has been written by caucasians (pālangis ) about caucasians, with
information derived from records and journals kept by caucasians, or from
interviews with caucasian leaders, former caucasian leaders, or caucasian
missionaries to those areas.

Tongan Saints: Legacy of Faith offers center stage to the Tongan
people. It is not a history per se. It does not follow a chronology of dates
and events. Rather it is a compilation of personal experiences and
testimonies of ordinary men and women who have been a living part of the
Church's history in the Friendly Islands. In their own voices they tell of
courage and conversion, endurance, priesthood power, visions, sacrifice,
obedience, testimony revelation, and the love of God and man. These are
personal statements that give substance and meaning to the dates and
events marking the growth of the Church in each generation. Together
they capture the essence of faith among some of the Church's most
faithful and lovable people in the world.

As editor and chief translator for the project, my task has been to
review these histories and translate into English those portions which
seemed appropriate for the inclusion in this commemorative volume. I
have endeavored to be faithful to the
original accounts, if not in precise word for word renditions, then always
in the spirit of the intended meaning.

When I was first asked in November of 1988 by the Tongan
Centennial Committee to write a commemorative history for the Church's
100th anniversary, the members of the committee had no idea what they were asking. They were simply dividing up the responsibilities around the room. "We'll ask Shumway to do the history," said Tevita Ka'ili, chairman of the committee. I was the only one in the circle who knew something of what was ahead of me. But when the decision was made to gather oral histories and compile spiritual highlights of the Tongans themselves, I felt a great burst of enthusiasm for the project. My first task was to explain to the Tongan saints the nature of the project, persuade the Tongan Church leadership to support it, not just with words of encouragement, but with their own accounts. I personally contacted each stake president, and went over with him the entire project from initial gathering of information to the final published book. Once the stake presidents were persuaded and accepted the responsibility of telling wonderful stories of their own, it was a simple matter of setting up stake firesides, inviting all of the Saints in each stake to attend for the purpose of learning how to write personal history, or in their case, to dictate it onto an audiotape.

I conducted each fireside, making the opening presentation in which I described the project and explained some of the nitty-gritty about dictating histories, which would alert them to the value of such a task despite all of the attendant problems they would encounter. Of course, for a Tongan who is already programmed by his culture to be immensely verbal, and a master at story telling, there is a clear need to conscientiously discriminate between mo'oni (truth) and mālie (splendid, exciting, interesting). A good story excellently told is one of the treasures of the Tongan society and the ability to embellish a story is one of the cultivated arts of a highly articulate oral culture. One's position in society and reputation among friends and family are linked to one's powers of language. There is a saying common among Tongan raconteurs: "Neongo 'ene loi, kae kehe ke mālie" (Never mind if it's a lie, just so it's splendidly told).

Frankly, I had a lot of fun describing and demonstrating the difference between truth and splendid story telling, but at the same time showing how both could enhance each other. I also explained the need to include local color, the sunshine and shadow of life in the Church and in the Tongan village. I showed them how to organize basic biographical information on a sheet that I passed around. This sheet would accompany the tapes on which the histories were recorded. I showed them also how
to organize an outline that would allow them to move from point to point. I knew it would be impossible to thoroughly train interviewers, but my hunch proved true that once the Tongans could hear an explanation of what was wanted as well as several examples, they would produce some excellent material. After my opening presentation in each fireside, I had four or five people representing a cross-section of the stake tell of poignant or otherwise significant experience from their own histories which I recorded on the spot. Thus, I was able to capture the experiences, and these experiences in turn served as models for the rest of the Saints.

After the fireside in each of the stakes, it was a matter of prodding and encouraging leaders and heads of families to get the work done. When the tapes began to come into the mission office, I called as many as four full-time sister missionaries to move into the office complex and do nothing but transcribe oral history tapes and type them into a working manuscript. I personally recorded the histories of many of the prominent leaders and older Saints. Once the manuscripts were produced, it was a matter then of going through each history and selecting those portions that seemed to best represent the person, and would also be of most interest and inspiration to a reader from any culture.

One of the things I tried to prevent among my informants was any tendency to exploit or aggrandize a spiritual story. With almost every account, I tried to get a second or third witness to a particularly dramatic spiritual experience, or at least to go back to the person and quiz him or her in depth regarding that experience. When I began to translate into English the selected excerpts from each of the oral histories, I made an effort to keep the spirit as well as the accuracy of the original Tongan account. In almost every case, after completing the translation, I was able to return to the author and verify the major points, explaining what I was saying in English as a representation of what he or she said in Tongan. This exercise provided me with an important comfort level that the final published product would be indeed actual history.

My "favorite" story and a favorite of many others with whom I have shared these historical vignettes was not included in the final list of vignettes for publication. The reason was I simply could not feel comfortable about it. When I contacted the author again, there was just enough doubt in my mind that I determined to run down another person mentioned in the account, to ask her to verify certain portions of the history. I finally located her in San Francisco, after many telephone calls.
Her memory of the events did not include certain dramatic elements which were the features of the story told by the other informant. She said it must have been someone else with the informant at the time, not her. I was then faced with the decision of publishing their "wonderful" story, taking a chance on the veracity of the teller or putting it aside because the second witness was very tentative, at best. I decided not to include the story, and have been grateful ever since.

I have gone through quite a few oral histories produced in an interview situation. Some of them are very good, but many of them reflect an intrusiveness on the part of the interviewer that in my mind makes the final product less valuable, and certainly less readable. Let your informant talk!

Just before we left the mission field in June of 1989, I asked a group of eight sister missionaries, many of whom had helped with the transcription, go through all of the histories and bracket out stories and vignettes they considered important for me to look at. I worked out a score sheet of sorts, listing perhaps twenty tapes of accounts that they might encounter, and asked them to rate each one from one to five, one being absolutely important to use, and five being good enough to look at it. Thus, of the 250 or so histories I brought back with me from Tonga, each one had an initial grading from 1 to 5 that would guide my own search. I learned very quickly that as valuable and time-saving as this technique was, the sisters did not catch the significance of some accounts which were loaded with local color, interesting personalities, and profound insights.

When I arrived at BYU-Hawaii, I was able to engage the services of Unise Langi, who became a point person in reading through many of the histories, contacting major families who had submitted no materials, ferreting out representative photographs, and helping me make sense out of difficult passages.

As I reflect back on the encounters with many of the wonderful Tongan informants, I'm struck by the way we recorded the history of Mo'oleni Fonua. I arranged to bring his entire family, children and grandchildren, to the little mission house in Ha'apai. We sat around in a family home evening circle where he dictated his history as if he were passing it on directly to his children. His children in turn asked questions about things they remembered, which Mo'oleni would then elaborate on. Then each of the children at the conclusion gave a eulogy of the parents,
describing in some detail their favorite remembrances about Dad and Mom, and the experiences of their family. This technique, by the way, was especially effective when I did the oral history of Tēvita Muli Kinikini. In the responses of the children to the memory of their parents, they included many valuable accounts that Brother Kinikini had missed in his history.

The overriding collective theme of these historical accounts is profound religious faith. It is faith motivated and sustained by an assurance that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is in very fact the only "true and living church" on the face of the earth. As Patriarch Mosese Muti records: "This knowledge is as much a part of me as my right hand and my left hand, even as my whole body."

The authors of these vignettes out of history come from a variety of backgrounds and experiences spanning four generations. Some are university graduates with degrees in medicine and educational administration, while others are subsistence farmers who never studied beyond primary school. Some joined the Church in their young adulthood, some in their late seventies. Others have been nurtured in the faith from childhood. Several were respected leaders in other churches before they were baptized, well acquainted with the Bible. Others had little formal religious training whatsoever. Several persecuted the Church, then, like Paul the Apostle, became eloquent defenders of it. A few are young returned missionaries, others are long deceased, speaking from generations of the past. They are chiefs, housewives, accountants, teachers, businessmen, fishermen, students, bakers, policemen, carpenters, mechanics, and district officers. All of them speak in the same irresistible spirit of faith and testimony.

I will now share with you translations of excerpts from the histories of three women, Sālote Wolfram, Sālome 'Ulu'ave, and Sela Tāfi, whose husband Sifa shares her narrative:

Sālote

I was born on June 27, 1915, and was still a tiny baby when my mother, Seluvaia Mafi Fakatou, passed away. On her deathbed she asked my father's sister, 'Amelia 'Ofa, to care for me as her own child. As did many Tongan mothers in those days who were unable to nurse their children, 'Amelia chewed my food thoroughly, mixing it with her own saliva, and let me suckle
from her mouth. That is what kept me alive until I was old enough to eat on my own. When 'Amelia 'Ofa and her husband Kaliopasi Vaitai moved to Pukotata to care for Vaitai's mother, I was given to my grandparents, Teleita and Fakatou, in Felemea. I never longed for my poor dead mother because of so many living parents in our society.

An active member of the Tonga Free Church, Teleita was a very strong woman. One of the powerful images indelibly etched in my memory is of her kneeling by her bed in her private prayers. Sometimes she would disappear during the day, and, in a child's panic, I would search all over for her and finally find her in her room praying aloud. I was the subject of many of her prayers. As I knelt by her, she would ask God to make me a fine and virtuous woman one day. From Teleita I learned the value of offering many private prayers to Heavenly Father, day and night . . .

I was baptized in Makeke on March 18, 1928. Grandmother Teleita took it hard, but my real father wrote me and said, "I have authority over your physical body, not over your spiritual self. If you feel this church will bring salvation to your soul, then so be it." I was overjoyed . . .

Life was both difficult and joyful as a boarding student at Makeke. Our diet was boiled manioke (cassava or tapioca root), day in and day out. Occasionally there would be boiled plantains. Actually, we made this fare quite exciting by persuading someone to run down to the ocean and bring back sea water in a bottle. This became our dipping sauce. The salt water gave the manioke a taste we all thought heavenly. One day our boys spotted a small herd of wild pigs while we were digging up clumps of grass in the bush to plant in the barren yards of Makeke. We all gave chase, the boys running ahead and the girls following behind, baying like hounds. The shotgun blast made us squeal with delight, knowing we would actually have real meat on our table for once. In fact, the students' portion was ever so small, but still we thought we were in heaven, savoring every piece of skin, every bone, indeed, every morsel . . .
My marriage with 'Iohani Wolfgramm is what you would call a whirlwind romance and wedding, but it had the approval of both of our families. I first laid eyes on him on a Friday and we were married the following Wednesday. I had gone to Vava'u with a student performing group from Makeke, as part of the mission conference of 1933. I performed several numbers and directed a choir piece composed by Siale Sanft, a tribute to Joseph Smith. I knew 'Iohani's sister, Ella, slightly but had never seen him until Heleine Fakatou, Samuela's wife, told me 'Iohani wanted to speak with me.

"Why have I not seen him with the other youth of Vava'u?" I inquired. "Well," she said, "'Iohani is a serious chap and has spent most of his time with the older men who are preparing the food or organizing the conference programs."

I agreed to talk to him and found out very quickly for myself just how serious a young man he was. We had not talked long before he said, "Sālote, I really want you to marry me!"

"What?" I cried, "We have barely met and you want to marry me? Please give me time to think."

It was more that just thinking. I fasted and prayed, sought counseling from my uncle Samuela Fakatou. I was touched by 'Iohani's sincerity and so were Samuela and Heleine. Sunday I fasted again while 'Iohani pressed his case more fervently. I told him I needed more time. On Monday our group which was staying in Neiafu went to Ha'alaufuli to perform. By now I had done much praying and decided that I would devise a way (talotalo) the Lord could answer me. I decided that, when our group arrived at Ha'alaufuli, if the first person I saw was a young unmarried person, then I should marry 'Iohani. If that person were an older married person, then that would be a sign I should not marry him. Well, the first person I saw when we arrived was 'Iohani himself, carrying a load of firewood.

The marriage arrangements were formalized the next day when 'Iohani's mother, Sālome, and stepfather, Siosifa Naeata, met with Samuela and Heleine Fakatou, my guardians; and on Wednesday, July 13, 1933, we were married.
This kind of marriage arrangement was not uncommon in the Church at that time since it was vital that church marriages occur as much as possible. For a girl to marry outside of the Church meant her almost certain loss to church activity. . . . (Tongan Saints, 82-85)

Salome

But then our trials began, along with a profound shift in our lives to the gospel of Christ and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

On the 4th of March, 1944, when our youngest son, Pita Seti, was eight months old, I became extremely ill, so ill that everyone thought I was going to die. The medical officer in the island said my blood level was critically low and that all that could be done was for me to eat good food. In providing the best we had, we gradually killed off all of our animals. My condition continued to deteriorate rapidly, and my death seemed inevitable. Solo moved me into a little hut on his parent's lot, and there they cared for me, waiting for my approaching death.

As I lay there, drifting in and out of a coma, I was aware of things around me, including the family discussions of my funeral arrangements. I could see the rock slabs my husband Solo had painstakingly chipped out of the lava cliffs by the ocean to wall the sides of my grave. On the beams right above my bed were rolls of Tongan koloa, fine mats and tapa cloths which would decorate my funeral bier.

It was precisely then that a Mormon missionary, Semisi Nukumovaha'i Tonga, known as Vaha'i, visited us. He told us he possessed special authority from the Lord to heal the sick. He said I would get well through a priesthood blessing which he would bestow. He talked of a great work remaining for me to accomplish. Solo agreed to the blessing only as he might agree to a doctor's last-resort offer to help me. I knew too well his negative feelings about the Mormons.

On Tuesday, March 13, 1944, Vaha'i, the Mormon missionary, and his wife, Sela, came to give me the blessing,
saying that they were fasting for me as well. Vaha'i anointed
me and pronounced the blessing in the name of Jesus Christ
and by the authority of the holy priesthood of God.

The next day, Wednesday, March 14th, word was sent out
to all of my extended family to assemble, because it was not
likely I would survive the day. My family arrived all dressed
for the funeral, wearing traditional black mourning clothes and
heavy waist mats. The little house I lay in was packed with
people. Some wailed loudly, others moaned soft and low.

The Wesleyan minister and the congregation from our
parish were also there. After singing and saying last rites
over me, the minister turned to my husband and said, "Solo, be
strong! Let Sālome go! The winds seem to be blowing right, so
let her go!" ("Ngali matangi lelei ke 'alū ai leva ho mali").

Solo hated to hear those words and kept quiet, for he did
not want to accept the inevitable.

At that very moment, Vaha'i Tonga came in. He had heard
what the Wesleyan minister had said. Making his way over to
my bed he said, "Solo, be comforted! Sālome will not die.
There is still so much left for her to do."

The presence of the Mormon missionary in this setting
cased a stir in the congregation. For him to say I was going
to live provoked an angry outcry from the people. Vaha'i spoke
as one having authority, and the people considered it an affront
to their minister whose word they revered. In their anger and
frustration, they all departed from the house, some kicking and
hitting the walls as they left. They seemed to say with one
voice, "If your Jesus is true and ours false, let your Jesus heal
her. We're rid of her." Even my own mother packed her things
and left. The only persons who stayed behind were my
maternal grandmother, Solo, and the Mormon missionary.

When everybody had left, Vaha'i again said, "Solo, Sālome
will not die. She has been blessed and been given a promise
through the holy priesthood that she will live. There is still
much she has to do in this world."

He came over to my bed and whispered to me, "Sālome, do
not fear for your life! We are still fasting for you."
This was the second day of their fasting. I was deeply moved by this show of compassion from a man who hardly knew me. The fact that he wouldn't let me die, even when my own mother and everyone else had left me, filled my heart with a wonderful warmth and love. This warmth started spreading throughout my lifeless body, driving out the coldness of death.

The next day, Friday, March 16th, I felt strong enough to get out of bed and crawl around the house. I had such an overwhelming love for the Mormon missionaries that more than anything else, I wanted to see them, to be one with them. I knew absolutely that I had been miraculously healed through the power of God and was determined to become a member of his church.

One week later I asked Solo to take me back to our home. I told him of my faith in the Mormon Church and asked for permission to be baptized. (Tongan Saints, 119-120)

Sifa and Sela Tafisi

Sifa

Our joining the Church was a happy but traumatic time for our family. It was difficult also for some people at our village. We experienced persecution from many sides but felt and still feel a fullness of joy in our membership in the Church.

Sela

The pressure from this animosity made us all a little jumpy. It seemed we had no more friends. We talked a lot about the possibilities of what else might happen to us.

One night in February of 1961, I dreamed a strange dream, arising probably from our fears about the threats from people of the village. In the dream, I saw massive waves sweeping to engulf our little house. To my shock it was not ocean water but blood.
My heart sank as I witnessed our home disappear under these waves of blood. The thought occurred to me: "We've joined the wrong Church. We are going to be killed."

But then when I looked again, our hut was still intact, being elevated above the flood by four corner posts. When I looked even closer, they were not wooden posts at all holding up our home, but four men, the very four missionaries who had taught us the gospel.

When I awoke and related the dream to Sifa, he simply said, "Don't worry. If the blood represents some scheme to murder us, the holy priesthood of God will save us."

Two weeks later, on the second Sunday, I think, of March 1961 an attempt was made to take our lives.

Sifa

On that Sunday evening about nine o'clock, just after we got home from church in Latai, our oldest daughter told us our dogs had been barking furiously for a long time as if someone had come into the yard. The children were nervous and frightened especially when Viliami, our number three child, told me he had actually overheard two men talking at the beach across the road about blowing the Tafisi family to bits.

I assured them there was nothing to worry about, that the Lord would protect those who believed and were baptized in his church. At that very instant, our dogs began to bark wildly again and a crude home-made bomb - two sticks of dynamite packed into a large cocoa tin - fell into our doorway.

Acting reflexively, I pushed Sela and my oldest daughter to the floor just as the bomb exploded. It reduced the door to dust and shattered the glass bottles Sela used to decorate the front of our home. The force of the blast and the flying glass passed just over our heads as we lay on the floor, ripping to shreds the clothes hanging on the wall.

As we struggled to recover from the shock and the smoke, a second bomb was thrown into the room. Fortunately, I had the presence of mind to grab it and throw it back out the door before it exploded.
The second explosion rocked all of Nuku'alofa, but by now I was out of the house and on the trail of the two fleeing culprits. Following them in the dark was easy because one of the men still carried the burning piece of *tapa* cloth with which they had lighted the fuses.

I pursued them deliberately from a distance until finally the burning *tapa* fragment fell to the earth and the men disappeared. It was still aglow when I picked it up.

Interestingly the *tapa* fragment had been cut from the end of a larger piece of *tapa* with the name of its maker still visible on the unburned portion. . . .

I took this piece of evidence and returned home, feeling calm and thankful. We didn't have to call the police. They came to us, and so did everyone else. I think the people were filled with awe that such a powerful blast had not hurt any of us. One woman, by the name of Sātua, was so moved by this miracle she said she knew the Church was true. In fact, we baptized her shortly afterward.

Two persons were arrested that night and charged with attempted murder. The young boy served one year, the man seven years in prison. Upon his release, he came back to the community where to this day we greet each other in friendship. There is no outward animosity between us, and we never bring up the past.

The Church in Kolomotu'a has grown since that time from a little Sunday School held in our hut to three wards and hundreds of Saints. We cherish our testimony and our membership in the only true and living church on the face of the earth. The dynamite incident only increased our courage and magnified our faith. (*Tongan Saints*, 217-220)

May the power of these stories not only lift us in our personal struggles with faith, but also inspire us with the drive to write our own histories. Thank you and aloha.
"I WOULD THAT YE SHOULD REMEMBER"
(Mosiah 1:6)
by Ruth W. Austin

As a child growing up in Hawaii, I found myself envying those of my friends who had grandparents living near them. My only contact with the ones who were living was through the mail and one brief encounter when Mother took us to Utah where we spent nine months living with her parents. By then, I was six years old and have kept a pretty clear picture of those times. Grandfather and Grandmother Smith seemed so old to me. And kind of distant. They weren't the type to take me on their knee and really talk to me. My other grandfather had died by the time I was two years old and I only had contact with his wife, my grandmother, for a short period at the same time I met my other grandparents. I felt something was missing from my life. I couldn't put my finger on it, but I think it was the beginning of a lifetime adventure - that of learning about myself - who I was and where my roots were.

As I grew to maturity and had children of my own, I began to wonder about those persons whose names appeared on my pedigree chart. One in particular stood out, that of my father's father, Samuel E. Woolley. He was the one who died when I was about two. I had heard his name mentioned all of my life. Hawaiians would come up to me at church and say, "Mo'opuna wahine - Samuel E. Woolley's." They said it so lovingly that I began to wonder just who this Samuel E. Woolley was and what he was like. I longed to know him.

Then one day my niece, Elizabeth Woolley Riegels, approached me and suggested that we write a history of Grandpa Woolley. It was an exciting challenge. And so we began what turned out to be a year-long search into the past. We spent many happy hours listening to some of the people who had known Grandpa tell us stories and give their impressions of him. All of this was recorded on tape. As we gained momentum in our project, others in the family became interested. They sent pictures, wrote down their impressions of him and shared portions of their journals that had reference to Grandpa.

Before long, it was decided that upon completion of the history, we should plan a family reunion. My sister and two brothers and their children and grandchildren gathered at Laie Cemetery, one Saturday
morning in June of 1981, to plant a tree in memory of Grandpa. (He really is buried in Grantsville, Utah.) Everyone took hold of the spade and helped dig the hole and plant the tree. Prayers were said and each grandchild spoke a few words. Then we all proceeded to Punaluú to have a family luau complete with imu prepared by our sons. It was a great day - one that all will long remember.

Shortly after, while on a trip to Salt Lake City, I stopped by at the Church Historian's offices to check their card file and see if they had any articles written about Grandpa. Under his name I found some twenty-three journals listed. These were written during his early years as a missionary to Hawaii and then ones written later when he became President of the Hawaiian Mission. These were in the Archives of the Church. I dashed upstairs to the Archives section and asked about these. It was agreed that they would make a microfilm copy of the journals for me. When I returned to Hawaii, I began to read these.

At first, they didn't seem too interesting to me and I was also deeply involved in genealogical research in other areas so I set them aside for a later day. The years passed but every now and then I would run across a roll of film and think, "I should get started on this soon." But something else would always get in the way. Finally the time was right. But how to get the journals from a microfilm form to a form that was readable to everyone? I decided the only way was to photocopy the journals, page by page, so I could type them up at home. The project was going to take time and so I went out to BYU-Hawaii to the library and talked to them. It was agreed that I would pay a student to photocopy the journals and also reimburse the library for the use of the machine. Within a few months I had a copy of the journals in my hands.

Then the job of typing them was next. It was fascinating. I found myself totally involved. I'd get up in the morning, put the breakfast dishes in the sink, make up the beds, and sit down at the typewriter where I would remain until just before my husband returned from work. A wonderful thing was happening. I was getting to know my grandfather, after all these years! To know his character, his trials, his joys. The things he did that made him someone special in the eyes of those dear people whom I had interviewed, years ago.

At about this point, Dr. Lance Chase met me in the temple, one night, and asked me what I was working on. I told him of my project with the
journals and he became interested. He asked if he could read some of what I had copied so I took several journals out to Laie for him to go over.

Some time later, I got a call from him asking if I could come out and talk with him and several others about what I was doing. It was the consensus of opinion that what I had was a wonderful history of Laie - something that should be in printed form. I had no idea of the value of what I was doing. All I wanted was to get to know my grandfather.

My husband and I were about to leave on an eighteen-month mission for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and so everything was put on "hold" until we returned. Last September, when we were settled in our home again, I met with Dr. Chase and he introduced me to Sister Blackham who is a service missionary called to work in the Archives of the library at BYU-Hawaii*. She had been given the responsibility of getting the journals finished and ready to be bound. Eleven are yet to be placed onto a disc. We are hoping this will be done by fall of this year. Copies of these journals will be placed with the library at BYU-Hawaii when printed. I can hear you groan at the size of the task. But remember, this covers a lifetime. Grandpa was a young man when he began his mission. He was sixty-six when he completed it. Anything of value takes time.

Why am I spending so much time on this project? Aside from the personal satisfaction and my desire to know this man, it has been pointed out to me that the things he wrote about could be of great value to others. Things about missionaries who came and went in the Hawaiian Mission, how much cane was harvested at any one time on the plantation at Laie, the water wells dug, the weather, what they ate, how they traveled from point to point over the years, illnesses among the people living at Laie, conferences held, talks given, celebrations, miracles that took place, what life was like in Hawaii during the late 1800's and early 1900's. All this woven into the pattern that was his life. All written in his own hand and in his own words. Nothing is glossed over. You can read between the lines and feel his deep sorrow over the illnesses of his wife and children, his exhaustion at the end of the day as he relates what took place, and his firm testimony that what he was doing was what the Lord wanted him to do and that he would do it willingly with no complaint.

*I am indebted to Bro. Rex Frandsen for his willingness to have her work on this project.
Not all of us have access to journals of our parents or grandparents, but we have family histories. Anything that will help our children appreciate their rich heritage is important. We must find and keep records that can enrich their lives and reach them where sometimes our voice does not.

There is power in the printed word. Our posterity has the right to know their roots without having to scrounge for them and perhaps only uncovering part of the story. Everyone contributed something in his lifetime. What it needs is to be recorded.

The wonderful thing about journals is, as I said, that they are first-hand recordings of events. When we wait to put events down on paper, the stories tend to get polished, embellished. One's version changes as it become someone else's. And when we tell these events, it's not just that the events are different but they all mean something different, too. Something we want them to mean. Or need them to. And, of course, there's also the factor of time. Our perspective, our way of telling the story - or seeing it - changes as time passes. How much better to learn of the event first-hand. Keeping journals and writing histories are important for a number of reasons.

First, because the Lord has said we should. He has always told us to keep records. Throughout history men have done this - prophets in the Old Testament, the Apostles in the New Testament, Nephi, Moroni, Mormon and others in the Book of Mormon.

Secondly, because everyone's life is history in the making. What if the early pioneer settlers in America and here in Hawaii hadn't recorded events as they happened and put on paper their personal feelings?

It has been said that a life recorded is twice precious - first the experience itself and then the memory when we read about it later.

Third, because we all have an inner desire to be remembered. Some years ago, when my mother died, my sister and I had the responsibility of removing her things from her apartment. Among the papers found in her desk was this poem, lying on top of everything as though placed there for us to find first thing. It is titled, A Realist's Lament.

I think about the future
And the years that lie ahead.
And I wonder what will happen
To my things when I am dead.
The things I have collected
That mean so much to me.
The things I love to someone else
A pile of junk will be.
I've always been a realist,
I do not kid myself.
I know the time is coming
When I'll be on the shelf.
Upon another fateful day,
This I truly know.
"Poor dear Grandma," they will say,
"What a blessing she could go."

This one poem gave me great insight into the thoughts and feelings of this dear woman, and I am so thankful that she took the time to place it where she knew I'd find it.

And lastly, it's important to keep journals and histories because if we don't, who will? These become links between generations. I would quote from an article on genealogy which appeared in the Improvement Era in 1966. It reads as follows:

That family books of remembrance in Latter-day Saints homes today should rate in importance second only to the standard works. These family records are supplements to the scriptures, aiding in teaching the gospel of Jesus Christ to the posterity of faithful members of the Church. A knowledge of the written testimonies and spiritual experiences of family members and of the proved genealogies of the fathers serves to bind the hearts of the children to their fathers and helps them to understand the doctrines that pertain to the exaltation of the family." (Improvement Era, April 1966, pps. 294-95)

We must realize that what we read in journals may not be what we want to read. There are often things that we think should not be known. For example, my grandmother suffered from asthma the entire course of her mission in Hawaii. Along with that, she had several miscarriages, all of which put her life in jeopardy. At the advice of her doctor, and with the approval of the First Presidency of the Church, she was released from her mission and Grandpa given permission to take her back to Utah. At the
time of her release, President Joseph F. Smith told Grandpa that his mission was not yet complete and that he was to return to Hawaii to finish the work assigned to him.

Grandpa was forty-two years old at the time. Each October he was permitted to return to Utah to attend Annual Conference and spend time with his family. But the rest of the year he was out here in Hawaii alone. Some time later, he took a second wife, a lovely Hawaiian lady whom he had known for a number of years. Not much is known of this relationship because the journals covering this period of his life are missing and pages are torn out of subsequent journals. Why? Because someone felt that this information should not be kept for people to read. And so what are we left with? Questions unanswered. Questions that may never be answered. It's a fact that this marriage took place and that in the eyes of many and in the eyes of the Church it was wrong, but nevertheless it did take place. But how much more we would know had we had a recorded personal account of this event. Grandpa loved both of his wives dearly. Of this I have no doubt.

What do we learn from this? Again, don't gloss over! State facts as they are. It is all part of our history and shouldn't be ignored or changed. Very often things will come to light that don't particularly look good on paper, but as time passes they begin to appear in a better light.

Samuel E. Woolley lives in my heart because of the records he kept. I want him to live in the hearts of my children and their children. As I have read of his accounts of different events, I have laughed; I have cried; I have thrilled to his accomplishments, and gained a deeper pride in my heritage. I look forward with great anticipation to the day when I meet him face-to-face, feel his loving arms around me and hear him say, "Thank you for keeping my memory alive."
SAMUEL EDWIN WOOLLEY:
A VALET’S HERO

by
Lance D. Chase

Having chosen to read the journals of Samuel E. Woolley, I regularly
shared my discoveries about his life with my wife who at one point said,
"I don't think this is any of your business." An admired colleague
confessed, "I don't believe I would read that paper at the Mormon Pacific
Historical Society." I wondered myself at times if I had strayed over the
line from historian to voyeur? Admittedly, there are some very sensitive
areas associated with the life of Samuel E. Woolley. I am as much in need
of "mutual approbation" as the next fellow. So what was I doing writing
this paper and more importantly, what am I doing reading it in a public
forum?

I do not know if Woolley personally felt his life was a triumph; I do
know he struggled to faithfully endure to the end and that to me
constitutes a very great triumph, indeed! I find heroism in Woolley's
repeated attempts to be faithful to the best in himself and to the best he
knew. I believe Samuel E. Woolley died a disappointed man, but I find him
the more heroic for that very reason. Woolley's own record suggests the
final five years of his life may well have been a disappointment to him.
Implicit in his journal is the sense that having done all he had done,
offered all he had offered, surely, there ought to be more recognition,
more reward. Instead, he lay in a hospital bed, without financial
resources, far from the scenes of his renowned leadership as the great
luna in Hawaii, his body ravaged by strange diseases contracted there,
with an uncertain future even if he should survive his hospital stay. Yet
despite all this we have no indication of any recriminations on Woolley's
part. There is no reason to doubt, discouraged as he was, that he remained
faithful to his covenants as he understood them. I question whether any
man or woman can do more, if in that regard Samuel Edwin Woolley was
not an heroic everyman, at last what we hope every "man" of us will be
when, our sensibilities dulled by age, bereft of loved ones who may have
preceded us in death, perhaps distant from scenes of our greatest
triumphs, the shades of death begin to close around us? So while what
follows can only be a portion of Woolley's life it is also an attempt in celebrating that life to celebrate the heroism in all who wrestle with the human condition.

A word about process. I have focused narrowly on Woolley's gender relationships, to a lesser degree on his finances, and finally on the struggle all men must finally face, the truth that time has to some degree passed them by. While this selectivity does not do justice to Samuel E. Woolley or his memory, I chose these areas of his life because to me they best demonstrated both the man's humanness and his (and our expected) quiet triumph. Finally, the difficulty of my task was compounded by the successful efforts of a sincere and well intentioned Woolley family member to delete from his journals anything she thought might reflect negatively on her father-in-law. At first I was both disappointed and angered by her action. On further reflection I realized we do the same thing each time we write in our journals when we selectively record only the "best" rather than the "complete" us. Thus, to condemn JRHW\textsuperscript{1} is to misunderstand human nature and finally to condemn ourselves.

Few in the Church beneath General Authority status can have given longer service than Samuel Edwin Woolley. Born in Salt Lake City, October 22, 1859, he grew up in Grantsville, Utah forty miles west of Salt Lake. He lived there until at age twenty he was called on a mission to Hawaii, serving from 1880 to 1884. After returning home on May 6, 1885, he was sealed to Alice Rowberry of Grantsville in the Logan Temple by President Marriner W. Merrill\textsuperscript{2} and shortly after was called to go with Alice to Iosepa, the gathering place of the Hawaiians in Utah from 1889 until 1917, just west of the Stansbury Mountains from Grantsville. Samuel was assistant manager responsible for livestock, serving for five and a half years.

On August 9, 1895, the Woolleys were called to Hawaii where Samuel served as plantation manager and mission president. Seven years later, Alice returned to live in Utah because of her deteriorating health. Samuel remained at his post in Hawaii for nineteen more years! Their six surviving children were reared by Alice in Utah. In June 1919, Woolley was finally relieved of his duties as mission president by E. Wesley Smith. He continued as plantation manager until May 17, 1921, when he was replaced by Antoine R. Ivins. Upon returning to Utah that year Woolley worked at Warm Springs, a swimming resort complex. Troubled by ill health, he was under a doctor's care from November 1924 and finally was
confined at LDS Hospital. He died in Salt Lake City on April 3, 1925. His
service to the Church totalled well over thirty years, most of that spent
far from his home and family.

This is the brief outline, but it does not begin to tell the full story.
The materials extracted from the journals make it impossible to know
some important details of the Woolley story, but one fact is clear. Samuel
E. Woolley's long separations from his first wife Alice had much to do
with some of the problems he encountered in Hawaii and Utah. His
journals make clear that at least as early as 1905 Samuel was
sufficiently well thought of by church leaders that he was regularly
invited by President Joseph F. Smith to come to and be recognized at the
fall general conference sessions. After Alice had been released from their
mission in 1902, her husband accompanied the family to Utah where she
and Samuel were given their second endowment, as if to steel them for
their long separations. Samuel continued to come to fall conference for a
number of years and sometimes remained as long as six months, travelling
between Grantsville, Salt Lake and Iosepa. Still, those six to eleven
month separations from Alice must have seemed long indeed to Samuel E.
Woolley. It is possible that had adherence to the 1890 or 1904 Manifestos
been universally accepted, practiced, and enforced by the Latter-day
Saints at the time of their issuance, Woolley might not have been involved
in and suffered as he did over the issue of plural marriage.

Samuel E. Woolley was a likely candidate for post-Manifesto plural
marriage. By one account, in October 1843 the revelation of plural
marriage was first read in the home of Samuel E. Woolley's grandfather,
Edwin D. Woolley, at Nauvoo. Edwin was one of the first to "yield
obedience to the principle."\(^3\) Elder John W. Taylor of the Twelve,
excommunicated in March 1911 for refusing to "subordinate himself to the
government and discipline of the Church,"\(^4\) married a half-sister of
Samuel E. Woolley, Janet (Nettie) Marie Woolley, as his third wife. John
Wickersham Woolley, brother of Samuel E. Woolley's father, Samuel
Wickersham Woolley, married his third wife, Anne Fisher, in March of
1910 when he was seventy-nine and she forty and was excommunicated in
1914 for performing plural marriages.\(^5\) So the Woolley name is one long
associated with post-manifesto plural marriage and even with Mormon
Fundamentalism.

Obviously, one of the problems of plural marriage is that is
encourages monogamous men and even women to view others as potential
mates. This is an unexceptional practice in a society where plural marriage is accepted, but in a monogamous society it is bound to create tensions which can prove socially and emotionally disruptive. Certainly the issue of plural marriage was disruptive in Laie during much of Samuel E. Woolley's leadership tenure there and especially after Alice left in 1902. Of course, it was the contention of some church leaders that the 1890 and 1904 Manifestos were intended for the Church at large, not for certain individual members and particularly not for select members outside the United States in places like Canada, Mexico, and Hawaii.

From January 1904 to February 1907 the Reed Smoot Hearings attracted widespread attention in the U.S. and the ripple effect of this event easily reached Honolulu. Not that the hearings were necessary for Section 132 to be so topical in Hawaii for it is apparent that from 1902 until 1915, when he was disciplined by the Church leadership for promoting plural marriage in Hawaii, Samuel E. Woolley was regularly involved in public and private discussions concerning the subject. Six weeks after the April, 1904 Manifesto, Samuel wrote Alice that he had helped convert a missionary couple, the Shadrack Lunts, to the idea of plural marriage. In May, 1904, Woolley admitted feeling sorry for Harriet Pomaikai Davis of Honolulu, one of so many "oldish women" never having a chance for a family or a home of their own. "Hattie" Davis was born on Maui on January 25, 1871, of royal Hawaiian blood. Woolley lamented that he could not help such women as Hattie, but only give them good advice. Samuel wrote his wife Alice on May 24, 1904: "I know you are with me heart and soul in carrying out the mandates of the priesthood. I believe you are so thoroughly converted that if the priesthood should command you would be willing to obey. I do appreciate that." It appears Woolley is already personally involved in the sexual dynamics peculiar to polygyny and is considering "helping" Hattie.

Five days later he wrote along the same lines and again mentioned Hattie. "I believe she feels that she is losing many blessings by being single. She is a good woman and will make some man a good wife." But in the meantime Samuel had received a letter from Alice and one can sense Alice's concern about what her husband had told her. Samuel answered his wife, "I don't know how much your protest will avail but we will be patient and let the Presidency say when it will be." Had Alice communicated to the church leaders that nine years seemed long enough for her husband to serve in Hawaii and was she fearful her husband might
take a second wife? That Alice may have been fearful of just such an eventuality is indicated when on August 6, 1921, just before he left Laie for the last time, Woolley wrote his wife, "Another trial came to you when I took another wife but how nobly you have born that test. God bless your dear soul, I know that has been a test ...."

By spring of 1905 the plural marriage question was front page news in Honolulu. The LDS were accused of practicing it, and while Woolley knew they were, he spoke publicly to convince outsiders, at least, that the practice was dead in the Church. The Attorney General for Hawaii investigated and he and Woolley had a long talk. The Territorial Marshall even came to dinner at Laie to further investigate. Here at this point, Romania's work is apparent since journal entries for this period are missing. But within the mission something occurred to drastically change the feelings of at least some of the Laie missionaries toward President Woolley. Sisters Wooten and Bush came to Woolley to discuss plural marriage with him; he says he "... heads them off and finally they say they will have to give up." It seems more than coincidental that these two and others expressed concerns at the very time Samuel Woolley was regularly spending as many as three days a week in Honolulu and staying nights at the Abraham Fernandez home in Kalihi where Hattie Davis resided with her sister and brother-in-law.

Meanwhile in Honolulu the "Josephite" missionaries told a grand jury what they knew of plural marriage in Laie. LDS Church leaders regularly came to Laie while "on the underground." The RLDS missionaries' report may have included the fact that Samuel E. Woolley had taken Hattie Davis as a plural wife. This appears to have occurred between 1905 and 1908, whether in Hawaii or Utah, I cannot determine. In Grantsville, Utah, on January 6, 1907, Woolley spoke in church on plural marriage and told the Saints he did not want any brethren or sisters to teach that plural marriage was not true or had been forever done away with. Eight days later Elder Mathias F. Cowley shared with Woolley a precious document "he shows to few of his brethren." One can only speculate whether this document was a photocopy of Lorin Calvin Woolley's 1912 account of permission to continue performing plural marriages as authorized by President John Taylor. It appears likely the document's subject was plural marriage.

Records show Hattie P. Davis Woolley bore a child, Minerva, on September 30, 1909, in Salt Lake City, Utah. She had been released as
Primary president in Honolulu within a month after Samuel Woolley returned from general conference in October, 1907. Despite Romania's best efforts both the Samuel Woolley correspondence and The Utah Woolley Family by Preston Parkinson mention Hattie as Samuel's wife and Minerva (Dolly) as their daughter. The behavior of some LDS Church leaders as well as Woolley's missionaries in Hawaii gave further evidence of the marriage. In November of 1915 the Council of the Twelve wrote a letter indicating that while they found no evidence of Woolley's plural marriage they had reprimanded him for teaching the subject and thus there was no cause for further censure. Francis M. Lyman in the same letter "in behalf of the Council" wrote: "the objectionable peculiarities of President Woolley with Elders and Saints he claims to have corrected . . . ." 10

One of the most painful evidences of General Authority displeasure with Woolley's undocumented plural marriage occurred in fall, 1910, when he was not invited to attend conference. Disappointed at hearing no word, he finally cabled President Joseph F. Smith, asking if he should come. The response was as terse as it was cold, "Suit yourself." Nevertheless, he finally decided to go and his feelings recorded at the time he made that trip were poignant. At his departure for the mainland he went through the "usual lei ordeal." "Aloha Oe" was sung, an experience which "always" made Woolley "feel annoyed." "The passengers on the boat looked at him as if he were a wild animal of some sort." By the time he arrived in Salt Lake his daughter Minerva, a bit more than a year old, had forgotten him and was frightened at his presence. 11 Elder Francis M. Lyman, whose opposition to plural marriage at this time is well documented, summoned Woolley into the office and "asks many questions of [his] personal affairs . . . some of which worried [him] very much." In the past he had brought poi from Hawaii to share with the prophet but this time he was allowed to see President Smith, "protected," as Woolley described him, for only a few minutes. 12 A decided chill had set in.

A year later Woolley spent the time he usually took to attend general conference travelling around Kauai. His description of a Kauai branch president that September 17, 1911, is filled with dramatic irony. "He does not live as he ought and the people have lost confidence in him and he knows it. There will have to be a change before things will be any better."

Unfortunately for Samuel E. Woolley the counsel, belief, and practices of some of his ecclesiastical superiors, his own doctrinal convictions, and maybe Woolley's biological drives apparently did not
encourage a reformation in him which would have made his life less difficult. The journals give no indication that either of his two wives returned to Hawaii before 1919 when Alice came. Meanwhile, temporarily denied access to Alice or Hattie, Woolley sought further female companionship in Laie. He was attracted to an LDS Hawaiian woman named IK or I. A., as she later came to be called. Like Samuel's two wives, I. was a Primary president and, while twenty-five years younger than Samuel, the two were thrust together frequently, at least sometimes by design. Because of the missing journals their relationship is left to inferences and a telling letter written in January, 1917 by fourth son, Joseph Rowberry Woolley, 19, to his brother John Franklin Woolley, 29. I. was then 33, Samuel, 58:

I think mother (Alice) worried a lot about that I., and from what I know of it she has a right to, because father isn't doing right by her. It's true he has done all he possibly could and can do for us all the time but still if he is going with that woman or paying any attention to her it isn't right. I think you and Ralph ought to put it to him before it is too late, because it would probably mean a great deal to us all. Hattie was telling Sis. about it and she sure is sore, to think she would do the things she has . . . . Father will lost out if he is not careful for things of that sort to avail. Enough said.13

There are no Samuel Woolley journals after May 13, 1915. One can only speculate about what transpired between I. and Samuel. But the frequency of I.'s name in Samuel's journal is revealing. On January 26, 1907, I. was at the boat to greet him on his return from Utah. Two days later "I. and I spent evening with Adelaide Fernandez." In July President Woolley set I. apart for her mission to Kauai. In September of 1907 "I spent most of the time talking to I. who had just returned from Kauai with Annie Apua." On Kauai himself, later in September, Samuel expected lots of mail but received only one letter, from IK. In October, back in Laie, I. bore her testimony immediately after Samuel. The association continued through the years. On October 6, 1911, "Sister Cole, I. and I go to Kahuku for the train." On Sunday, October 22, 1911, Woolley invited Leila and I. to eat with him. They "feel honored and pleased as it is his 52nd birthday." Later in the day I. gave her mission president a stick-pin, tie, and collar holder. One is reminded of Hattie's having given gifts to Samuel
Christmas 1905, a shaving mug and brush, case, and ink well of shell. The day following the exchange of gifts between Samuel and I., she came to get Woolley to administer to a sick child. Later that same day, now in Honolulu, Woolley wrote I. In November 1911, Samuel, then in Kona on the Big Island, received letters from Alice, Hattie, and "a nice little one from I." Samuel even served as I.'s rescuer on one occasion when she was having a fight with her mother, Miliama. I. escaped to phone Samuel who came quickly and protected thirty year old I. from further hair pulling. There is much, much more mention of I. in Samuel's journals. Nor does anyone else's name appear with near the frequency of IK's after both Alice and Hattie went to the mainland.

A letter from Samuel to Alice in which he addressed the children is instructive, this written on February 16, 1904:

A rugged frontier life fits us for the great battle of life. Now children, remember above all else that an adulterer can never be exalted. Joseph Smith said Nov. 25, 1843, 'If a man commit adultery he can not receive the celestial kingdom of God.' The Lord says the same thing. Then how careful we should be that Satan does not tempt us beyond what we are able to resist.

We can assume this counsel, written at a time when Samuel was developing a relationship with Hattie Davis, applied equally to I.. Whatever transpired between Samuel and I. did not result in even the temporary rejection of Woolley by Church leaders which had occurred in 1910. While that rejection did not persist indefinitely, Woolley was not again in attendance at general conference until October, 1914. But by then clearly he had returned to favor. Before dismissing the conference session President Joseph F. Smith mentioned the overflow meeting in the Assembly Hall next door, presided over by a General Authority "assisted by President Samuel E. Woolley, President of the Hawaii Mission." We have no evidence if anyone knew Woolley had gone from the train directly to Hattie's upon arriving in Salt Lake.

There were at least two other major difficulties associated with Samuel E. Woolley's twenty-six years as a Church missionary and leader in Hawaii. The first concerned finances. The Laie sugar plantation was only sometimes a paying proposition. The land in cultivation was never extensive enough that economies of scale could be practiced and
profitability was dependent to a considerable degree on American politics and the Reciprocity Treaty of 1875. Nevertheless, while not a lot of money remained in the possession of President Woolley, significant amounts passed through his showing he was often loaning or being loaned considerable sums of money. It is unclear if the Church provided a salary to this plantation manager. More likely he was allowed to take his living expenses from plantation profits. In contrast, he commented on the extravagant life style of his friends Abraham and Minerva Fernandez (she a sister to his second wife, Hattie) in Honolulu; Woolley's own living standard was no doubt much more modest. Nor does he seem to have put aside anything for his retirement years. This is ironic in view of his letter of May 19, 1904, to Alice. In it he worried about the Fernandezes being extravagant and not knowing how to save a dollar.

On May 6, 1916, Samuel wrote his first wife:

I ought to have made money enough to have been on easy street by now. Even if I have been on a mission, there are opportunities passing by every day that some one picks that I could have taken and they would have paid themselves out long ago. I am sore at myself sometimes to think that I have been so foolish and short sighted but we can always look back and see what we might have been . . . . I feel that I have not done as well in so many ways as I ought to have done.

Eight months before Samuel died on April 3, 1925, he wrote Alice from Salt Lake that he wished he were so fixed financially he could satisfy every desire of her heart. He continued: "It makes me feel mighty small because I can't do for you what I would like to do . . . ." By February 24, 1925, Samuel was in the LDS hospital in Salt Lake and again the subject was money. He wrote Alice: "I surely need something to bring a living. This thing of being at the mercy of some one else surely gets under my skin." Later in the same letter he returned to the subject of his impoverishment.

I need a good job now to get me out of the hole. Spring seems to have come and I feel I should be doing something but if a fellow has nothing he can do and nothing to do with one hardly knows where to begin. But I live in hopes something will come my way before long.
Within six weeks of this letter Woolley had died of erysipelas, nephritis, and arteriosclerosis.15

The other trouble is related to that encountered by many young missionaries when they return home and are given their first post-mission directive to take out the garbage, go to bed, or some other mundane command. In all likelihood during their missions they became as Samuel E. Woolley did, much more used to giving commands than to receiving them. This role reversal can be traumatic and appears to have been so for Woolley. By the time Ralph E. Woolley, Samuel and Alice's firstborn, was appointed construction superintendent for the Hawaii Temple, the plantation in Laie was of secondary significance. The temple groundbreaking began in February of 1916 and Samuel, with some proprietary responsibility, announced he wanted the project completed in a year; it took more than three. Samuel was then fifty-seven years old and certainly in possession of the bittersweet awareness that the son Ralph must increase and the father decrease. Acutely aware of time's passing, in August of 1917 he wrote Alice "I am such a poor weak fellow that I do not seem to advance very much with all these long years of experience." Samuel was a horseman and motor cars were taking over. In the same letter he described his health and his mental state. "Sometimes I feel nervous and shaky but not from over work but from an over strain because some things do not go like I would have them go . . . . It is hard to teach old dogs new tricks." On May 6 of the previous year he had addressed the same theme in a letter to Alice.

I am not quite so young as I was . . . and do not look at things just the same but I feel that with the opportunities of all these years I have not made the progress that I ought to have made. I must be a lolo, I surely ought to have been better posted in every way. But I suppose my thinker is not good enough or I do not know how to work it so well as others.

Woolley was discouraged when he was released as mission president and replaced by Hawaii-born E. Wesley Smith, son of Joseph F. Smith. After all, Woolley had called Wesley to labor in Hilo and to serve as first counselor in the MIA. Woolley's release as plantation manager to years later must have been even more devastating. Antoine R. Ivins was "hired" to run the plantation. Admittedly fragmentary, the Samuel E. Woolley
collection contains a letter from missionaries Frank and Cassie Bailey to Ruth Austin, Woolley's granddaughter. "I was at Laie when he received notice of his release via a news dispatch and I am sure it was a tremendous shock . . . I think the new life with its necessary adjustments was rather difficult." (Underlining mine)

The journals show that Samuel E. Woolley did make at least one attempt to prepare for a rainy day while he was in control in Laie. In 1907 he bought mining shares in Blackhorse, Nevada. He obtained approval from the First Presidency to borrow money for the Trustee in Trust and in January of 1907 purchased at least 3,000 shares in a mine. Later it was organized into the Ohana Mining Company. The financial results of this investment can only be inferred since no further mention of it appears in the Woolley journal or letters. It is unclear whether Woolley was investing for himself, the Church, or both, but his penury in the final months of his life indicates the mining venture must have been an unprofitable one, for him at least.

What can one conclude from such a brief and partial look at one man's life? Tribute must be paid to the person singly most responsible for bringing attention to the significance of the Woolley journals. Ruth Austin is the third child of Samuel E. Woolley's second son, John Franklin Woolley. Her interest has been to have her grandfather's journals edited and made available to scholars. To her great credit, Ruth wanted this great Hawaiian pioneer—Samuel Edwin Woolley, who died before Ruth's second birthday, presented warts and all, but it was imperative to her that his story be accessible. Ruth has spent considerable sums of money and an enormous amount of time personally preparing her grandfather's journals. She presented a sketch of his life in 1986 at the Mormon Pacific Historical Society annual meeting. Surely some genetic credit is due Samuel E. Woolley for this inspiring and dedicated granddaughter.

Despite his occasional deprecation by church leaders, Woolley's faith in the prophets and desire to do as instructed by them did not waver. After general conference in 1914 Woolley went to President Smith to ask for direction. He recorded in his journal on October 27, "I want to do as near what he wants me to do as I can for I am willing to go when and where he asked me to go. That has always been my rule." Those who have read Woolley's journal are convinced he meant exactly what he said.

The Brethren recognized that faithfulness in Woolley when in 1904 they sent him to Samoa as agent to select and purchase properties for the
Church. Time and again Woolley told us in his journal that in writing or in person he conferred with President Smith about some change he some change he wished to make in Laie or some other plan for which he needed his direction. While on the mainland, he invariably met with the prophet to be told if and when he should return to his post in Laie. He was left at age sixty-six used up, his talents eroded by age and rendered less valuable by the onset of modern times. He had no income nor real prospect of any. He was soon to die from afflictions he contracted while he served in a foreign land for thirty years, ulcers and high blood pressure among them. One is not surprised he had doubts about the value of his service, that he wondered if anyone were aware of the service he had given. But there is no evidence extant, at least, which would indicate any recriminations on Samuel Woolley's part against church leaders or the Church. He may have felt he had nothing left to offer at his age but take nothing away from the quality and length of the service he had rendered. He may have come to a growing impression of his uselessness but this in no way detracts from the quality of his former service.

The historian Gertrude Himmelfarb cited Hegel, who wrote in 1807, "No man is a hero to his valet." She went on in her Jefferson Lecture to castigate the new breed of historians as possessing the souls of valets.16 The foregoing may be more of a revelation of my soul than I would like but I hope it will be construed as a celebration of Samuel E. Woolley, and of ourselves when we struggle to endure as he did. Woolley's obituary was written six years prior to his death, on what he said was the greatest of all his days to him. The occasion was the dedication of the edifice for which he had worked so hard and long, the Hawaii Temple, November 27, 1919, the words those of President Heber J. Grant, addressed to the assembled multitude and to God:

We thank thee for the long and faithful and diligent labors of thy servant President Samuel E. Woolley, who has so faithfully presided over this mission for these many years. We thank thee for his labors in the erection of this temple and we beseech thee, O Father, that thou will bless him . . . .17

I believe this is not only an accurate summation of Woolley's life, but a highly appropriate prophetic expression of appreciation for this life of dedicated service. Like our own, Samuel E. Woolley's reward will be postponed but surely, as we hope to, he "will reap in due season."

31
ENDNOTES

1 Romania married Ralph Edwin Woolley, Samuel and Alice's eldest son. He was the builder of the Hawaiian Temple, the Honolulu Tabernacle, and other buildings in Hawaii. He and Romania became wealthy socialites in Honolulu society. Ralph was the first Oahu Stake president.

2 Elder Merrill later became an apostle and may have influenced Woolley's attitudes toward plural marriage. Van Wagoner's book notes Merrill's statement made in 1900 that people are mistaken if they believe plural marriage will every be taken from the earth. Richard S. Van Wagoner, Mormon Polygamy: A History, (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1986). 257.

3 Preston Woolley Parkinson, The Utah Woolley Family, (Published at Salt Lake City, Utah, 1967), 549.

4 Ibid., 97.

5 Van Wagoner, 187.

6 Ibid., 192.

7 This May 29, 1904, and subsequent references are to the Journals of Samuel E. Woolley. The typescript of these journals and Woolley letters are in the Joseph F. Smith Learning Resource Center archives on the Brigham Young University-Hawaii campus in Laie, Hawaii.

8 Samuel E. Woolley Journal, Sunday, March 27, 1905.

9 Van Wagoner, 191. One of the most important statements in Fundamentalist history deals with a vision purportedly had by President John Taylor in 1886 assuring the eternity of plural marriage and authorizing five special men to perform it.

10 Letter in the Samuel E. Woolley collection dated, November 17, 1915.


14Samuel E. Woolley Journal, October 4, 1914.

15This information comes from the death certificate of Samuel E. Woolley. Erysipelas is a dangerous form of cellulitis, a bacterial strep infection spreading from a local wound or infection. It may be accompanied by acute pain, high spiking fever, chills, severe headache, sometimes delirium, nausea and vomiting. Modern antibiotics would have quickly healed Woolley of this but not the other medical problems leading to his death. It is ironic that death cheated Samuel E. Woolley of attendance of yet another general conference. Allen E. Nourse, Family Medical Guide, (New York: Harper and Row, 1973, 206-07).


17Jenson, 27 November, 1919.
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FROM *KAPU* TO CHRISTIANITY:
A Study of the Abolition of the *Kapu* System
and the Introduction of Christianity in Hawaii
By: Kathleen Creager

In his book, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii*, R. Lanier Britsch made the following observation: "The unification of the islands under Kamehameha I, as well as the destruction of the *heiaus*, pagan gods, and *kapus*, worked for the benefit of Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Latter-day Saints alike." The transition from the *kapu* system to Christianity is the subject of this paper. Its significance in Mormon history lies in the fact that the Protestant missionaries were able to effect a new way of life and influence the native Hawaiians to such an extent that by the time the first Mormon missionaries arrived in the 1850's, much of the groundwork for conversion to Christianity had already been accomplished.

This transitory period essentially commenced with the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands in January, 1778, by Captain James Cook. This contact with Whites brought into focus for the Hawaiian people an increased awareness of other peoples on the earth. It was not long before whaling vessels and other ships were landing on the sandy beaches, and trade developed between the Hawaiian elite and adventurous European and American seamen.

Nevertheless, despite increasing contact with White men, the culture and religion of the Hawaiians remained virtually intact until the death of King Kamehameha in 1819. Prior to this time, the Hawaiian people lived under the *kapu* system, a series of *tabus* and restrictions, which, according to oral tradition, had been in existence since the beginning of time.

In his account of his stay in the Hawaiian Islands, written during 1813-1815, American John B. Whitman described the function of the *kapu* system in the following manner:

"The word taboo, is used to signify certain rites and ceremonies established by ancient custom, the origin of which [the Hawaiians] ascribe to the gods. It is also used to denote anything which is forbidden, either to touch, eat, drink, use, or wear . . . . All their laws are called taboos and almost every person has some particular taboo . . . and these taboos are
either imposed upon them by their parents when they are quite young, or are voluntarily assumed by them when of age to understand that nature and responsibility of their adoption, they may be considered of the nature of vows made to the gods, the performance of which, becomes a sacred duty, which is never lost sight of."2

According to David Malo and other historians, many of the kapus were derived solely from the desires of the ruling king or chief and were a means of power to the priesthood.3 As a consequence of this system, the life of the common people was one of subservience to a higher authority. Their whole existence became dependent upon their ability to yield to the yoke of oppression. Failure to do so could result in expulsion or death. This indisputable power exercised by the chiefs caused the people to hold the "chiefs in great dread" and to look "upon them as gods."4

Although the right to rule was often maintained by physical strength, divine heritage was a must. Only those individuals who could trace their ancestry back to the gods were considered worthy to rule.5 All grades of rank, as well as high and divine honors, were given solely to those chiefs who could "show such an accumulation of inherited sacredness" that they were esteemed "gods among men."6

The combination of reverence and fear associated with rank was one of the most significant factors which made the kapu work. It was this same factor, however, which also promulgated the overthrow of the kapu system and aided in the adoption of Christianity in the 1820's. It was during the time of King Kamehameha's wars in the late eighteenth century that dissatisfaction with the kapu began to be felt. As a result of these wars, disaffection with the conquest appeared in a series of "rebellions and retaliations by rival chiefs until they, their families too, were dispossessed or brought under the Kamehameha administration."7

One of the victims of these conflicts was Opukahaia, later known as Henry Obookiah. Born in 1792, he was the son of commoners, yet distantly related to the king of his territory. When he was about twelve, the king died and his father become involved in a war fought to see who would reign supreme on the island.8 Unfortunately, the group to which his father belonged was overpowered, and Opukahaia and his family were forced to flee into the mountains. They were eventually captured and killed, except Opukahaia who was taken into the home of one of his captors.9
After about two years, Opukahaia found one of his uncles and was able to dwell with him instead. He stayed for a number of years until he and his aunt -- the only surviving sister of his father -- were captured by the enemy. After seeing his aunt killed by their enemies, Opukahaia decided to leave the islands. Although his uncle opposed his proposed voyage, Opukahaia eventually received permission to leave, and he set sail for China with Captain Brinntel. Six months later, they left the Orient and "steered a course for America." In the summer of 1809, they landed in New York where most of the men disembarked. Opukahaia continued with the Captain to Brinntel's home in New Haven, Connecticut.

One day in early fall, Opukahaia was found by the Reverend Edwin W. Dwight. Dwight stopped and asked the young man if he wanted to learn. With a great deal of eagerness, Opukahaia said yes, and Dwight became his instructor. The next nine years saw Opukahaia's growing interest and eventual acceptance of Christianity. As he became familiar with the doctrines of Christianity, his desire to share his new knowledge with his people grew. The Protestant Christians in New England were greatly affected by the example and devotion of Opukahaia and began to support the idea of a foreign mission to Hawaii. Most of these Christians became convinced that Opukahaia's sojourn in New England was a product of divine intervention. Opukahaia was used as an example to show skeptics that Hawaiians were not too ignorant to be taught and that Christian doctrines could conquer even the most debased people.

Nevertheless, Opukahaia was never able to fulfill his personal desire to share the Christian message with his people because he died of typhus on February 17, 1818, two years before a foreign mission was established. However, his death served to fuel the fires that led to the organization of the first group of Protestant missionaries which left for Hawaii on October 23, 1819.

This company comprised three Hawaiian youths from the Foreign Mission School, two ordained ministers, a doctor, two school teachers, a printer, a farmer, and their families. Although the predominant feeling among the group was one of positive expectation, there were still some fears of the unknown. They were concerned about whether or not they would be accepted by the Hawaiians and wondered how they would convince the natives to give up their pagan gods and tabu system. Unbeknownst to them, the kapu system had already been abolished and most of the idols and temples destroyed.
The abolishment of the kapu system was, in many respects, a gradual withdrawal from established tradition. It has been documented that during the pre-contact period, Hawaiians acknowledged a group of people they called aia. These individuals were viewed as being ungodly, careless in their observance of the tabus, and responsible for leading other astray. Although this group was relatively small and its beliefs often ridiculed, it began to increase in popularity between 1782-1796, during the wars of King Kamehameha. It was the introduction of European and American influences around 1786, however, which gave this movement the impetus it needed to bring about the rather benign acceptance of the abolished kapu.\textsuperscript{19}

During the 1780's, when Hawaii became a principal player in the arena of trade, Hawaiians began to adopt Western values.\textsuperscript{20} Ownership of European goods became a means of obtaining status, and commoner and ali'i, or aristocracy, found themselves no longer content with the traditional kapu structure. Consequently, the kapu was subject to redefinition as well as violation. Women were among the first to violate the kapu system, but were later joined by men of all classes. While commoners often openly violated the kapu, the chiefs, on the other hand, augmented it to suit their purposes. It became the common practice for chiefs to use the kapu to govern the "rates, times, parties, modes and commodities of the European trade." On occasion, if it was felt that the prescribed tabu interfered with trade interests, they would even go so far as to violate or suspend the most traditional of kapus.\textsuperscript{21}

Kamehameha himself committed such a violation under duress when he went with Vancouver to Maui on January 9, 1794. The kapu temporarily prohibited him from ocean travel, however, Vancouver threatened to trade only with the King of Maui should Kamehameha refuse to travel with him. Kamehameha went with Vancouver because he did not want this powerful Englishman to deal with a rival chief. Nonetheless, he was displeased at being coerced into breaking the kapu and stated that "he considered himself to be the last person in his dominion who ought to violate the established laws, and the regulations of the country which he governed."\textsuperscript{22} Nevertheless, violations continued and the people, especially the women, began to see an alternative to the current system.

By the time King Kamehameha died on May 8, 1819, the stage was set for the abandonment of the kapu. When the death of the king had been announced, Liholiho, Kamehameha's son and heir, complied with tradition
and retired to Kahala to avoid becoming contaminated by the dead body. As the body was cut into pieces and the bones placed into bundles, the people mourned. For a period of time, as was customary, the traditional restraints were lifted and total anarchy prevailed.23

This total abandonment of law, as well as internal and communal restraints, was to be temporary. During the mourning period, all laws, which had resided in the king, were null and void. It became the responsibility of the new ruler to overcome the chaos and restore order. In this way, the new king affirmed his right to rule and reminded the people that all laws and restrictions came from him.24

In this case, however, the restoration of order would not be so simple. First of all, King Kamehameha was survived by two very influential widows who recognized an opportunity to strengthen their position and power through the abolition of the traditional kapu. The first was Keopuolani, Kamehameha's sacred wife and mother of Liholiho and Kamehameha, who were to become the next two kings of Hawaii. Keopuolani possessed a sacred kapu derived from her genealogy which made her so sacred that, although she was a woman, she was the highest ranking chief on the island of Hawaii. It has been recorded that because of her sacredness, during the early years of her life "she never walked abroad except at evening, and then all who saw her prostrated themselves to the earth."25

The other wife was Kaahumanu, by far the most powerful of the two, although her inherited rank was significantly lower than that of Keopuolani. During her time with Kamehameha, she had been endowed with significant secular power and trust. She was openly acknowledged as Kamehameha's favorite wife. Vancouver recorded, in 1794, that Kaahumanu was the only woman present at the meeting to cede the islands to Great Britain.26 In 1795, when Kamehameha conquered Oahu, he endowed Kaahumanu with the power of puuhonua, the god-like power to be a sanctuary. This gave her the ability to protect life as well as to determine where the places of sanctuary should be. While Kamehameha and other chiefs had the power to pronounce death, only Kaahumanu had the power to return to the accused the right to live.27 Although unable to bare children, her main traditional function, Kaahumanu remained in a highly esteemed position. As a result of these unique distinctions, Kaahumanu, more than any other woman within the kingdom, had the possibility of total political control within her grasp.
A second thing that made it difficult to restore order was the fact that, although Liholiho had worked out an agreement on the sharing of power with Kaahumanu and the other high chiefs, "political instability and confusion were growing out of the lack of agreement among the chiefs over whether to support or abolish the Hawaiian gods and the kapu."\(^2\) There were those who supported the traditional ways and resented the innovations of the foreigners. Kaahumanu and her family on the other hand, had acquired a taste for Western living and wanted to establish a new order. However, Liholiho was reluctant to make a decision.\(^2\)

Refusing to accept defeat, Kaahumanu, in August of 1819, sent a messenger to Lihiliho, saying that his god would not be worshipped at Kailua, meaning that Kaahumanu was going to move forward in an attempt to abolish the traditional system. Liholiho accepted this decisive turn of events and took the irrevocable step of eating with the female chiefs which abolished the kapu system.\(^3\)

On March 30, 1820, after five months at sea, the missionaries and crew of the Thaddeus sighted the snow-covered summit of Mauna Kea, on Hawaii. Uncertain and fearing the worst, the missionaries were surprised to learn that King Kamehameha was dead and that the kapu had been overthrown.\(^4\) They were anxious to begin their new work, and, after receiving permission from Liholiho and his court, they began to share their Christian message with the Hawaiian people.\(^5\)

Despite permission from Liholiho and Kaahumanu to begin their missionary endeavors, the first year for the missionaries was filled with limited success and a great deal of hardship. Although the missionaries commenced private and public worship from the day they set foot on the islands, many Hawaiians were indifferent to their presence. Missionary labors were further frustrated when the group on Oahu were unable to quickly acquire living accommodations and establish themselves. Nevertheless, with the assistance of several ships' captains, lodgings were eventually obtained and a school begun.\(^6\)

Under the tutelage of Bingham, the mission quickly began to see success. Only four months after the missionaries' arrival, three missionary stations had been established; mission schools were organized. Although the first groups of pupils were comprised solely of ali'i children, the rest of the people became curious to learn more about the magic of the missionaries' palapala -- reading and writing.\(^7\)
During the first years of the mission, Liholiho, Kaahumanu, and others of the chiefs remained relatively disinterested in the teachings of the missionaries. However, there were some aliʻi who became staunch supporters of the missionary effort. The most significant member of this group was Kaumualii, King of Kauai. He often invited the missionaries to his home and became extremely interested in their message. Of all the missionary stations, the one in Kauai had the most support from the government.\textsuperscript{37}

Another significant addition to the missionary converts was Keopulolani, Kamehameha's sacred wife. On her death bed she requested that her body receive a Christian burial instead of the traditional cutting and dismemberment. She commanded that the traditional mourning practices be disallowed. When she passed away on September 16, 1823, the practice of violating the established laws to mourn the death of a chief was practically ended.\textsuperscript{38} This was a significant step forward from the point of view of the missionaries and their cause.

These successes were augmented by the printing of the first Hawaiian text in January, 1822.\textsuperscript{39} In just a few months, the mission school went from teaching sixty to seventy pupils to instructing "not less than five hundred."\textsuperscript{40}

In the latter part of 1822, Kaahumanu finally became interested in the missionary cause after recovering from a serious illness.\textsuperscript{41} In 1824, King Liholiho died of the measles while in England, and Kaahumanu in essence became the sole ruler. Since Kauikeoulii, Liholiho's younger brother and heir to the throne, was only nine years old, it was decided "that the government remain in the hands of Kaahumanu and Kalanimoku, until the prince should be of age."\textsuperscript{42} Consequently, in 1825, the country was decidedly in Christian hands, for although Kaahumanu ruled, she was greatly influenced by the missionaries, Bingham in particular.

As a matter of policy, Kaahumanu began to adopt Christian commandments as laws of the land.\textsuperscript{43} She made a "move to suppress prostitution and adultery" sending out criers to call out a prohibition against "loose and lewd practices."\textsuperscript{44}

While the missionaries continually denied having anything to do with the establishment of secular law, Henry Bond Restarick stated that there is no doubt that the influence of the missionaries, exerted over the chiefs, was very great. He claimed that "as a body they avoided interference but
their advice and influence was shown in future legislation."45 The remaining years of Kaahumanu attest to this.

In 1826, after consultation with the missionaries, trial by jury was introduced.46 On December 14, 1827, under the advisement of the Queen, the kanawai law was adopted. This action created a Hawaiian legal code comprising three of the Ten Commandments and was the beginning of formal legislation in the Hawaiian Islands.47

In 1828, Kaahumanu took steps to ensure that the laws were carried into execution by appointing "a number of persons to investigate cases and try cases."48 During 1829, teachers were sent to several districts throughout the islands with the expectation that they "multiply the schools, until at length the land became full of them."49

Although she was getting old, Kaahumanu continued to visit the islands trying to lighten the loads of her people and carrying the message of Christianity. Bingham remarked that while some individuals thought that Kaahumanu pressured the Hawaiians into conversion by her own force of will and the fact that she was a chief, he felt that people only had to see her speaking with the Hawaiians to know that she wished for an inner conversion rather than mere outward compliance.50 One can only guess how many actually believed in the doctrine; some doubtless joined simply because Kaahumanu was their ruler. Nevertheless, to most of those who knew her, there was little doubt that Kaahumanu sincerely believed in Christianity.

In 1832, Kaahumanu became seriously ill and moved to a home near the mountains. Shortly before her death, she called the chiefs together and reminded them that the laws had been made to help protect the commoners from the greed and excesses of the chiefs. She died on June 5, 1832.51

From 1819 to 1832, Kaahumanu essentially reigned supreme. Although attempts were made upon her death to return to some of the former traditions associated with the ancient kapu system, Christian values eventually prevailed. Kaahumanu's influence was felt long after her death, and in 1840, the role of kuhina nui, or co-ruler, which she had created at the death of Kamehameha, was written into Hawaii's first constitution.52

As indicated by Britsch, "The groundwork laid by the Protestant missionaries made the work of the Latter-day Saints much easier than it would have been; it was unnecessary to Christianize and educate the
Hawaiians, translate the Bible, establish a sound government, and prepare the people for a higher standard of living."\textsuperscript{53} Without the efforts of the Protestant missionaries in the 1820's to prepare the way, the Mormon missionaries probably would have faced obstacles that could have retarded their work significantly. As it stands, they were able to build upon the efforts of those missionaries of other faiths, which proceeded them, and make their own unique contribution to the Christian element in Hawaii.
NOTES


5. Malo, 81.


9. Obookiah, 4-5.


15. Obookiah, 80.

16. Rufus Anderson, A Heathen Nation Evangelized: History of the Sandwich Islands Mission (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1870), 12; Gavin Daws,


27. Silverman, 33-34.

28. Silverman, 64, 67.

29. Silverman, 64; Sahlins, 60-64.

30. Bingham, 73-74; Daws, 56-57; Silverman, 68.

31. Bingham, 70.

32. Anderson, 19; Bingham, 90-91.

33. Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions Compiled from Documents Laid Before the Board at the Twelfth Annual Meeting, 1821 (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1821), 80-82.
34. Daws, 65.


37. Bingham, 98; Daws, 66.


39. Bingham, 156.

40. Bingham, 160.

41. Bingham, 164-165.

42. Anderson, 50.

43. Stewart, 321.

44. Silverman, 102.


47. Kuykendall, Foundation and Transformation, 126; Silverman, 115-116.


49. Anderson, 100.

50. Bingham, 371.

51. Silverman, 143, 145.

52. Silverman, 146.

53. Britsch, 12.
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*Journal of Elias Loomis, 1824-1826*. Original owned by Dr. William D. Westervelt and placed in The University of Hawaii; [photocopy] Pacific Islands Collection, Brigham Young University, Hawaii.


AN EARLY L.D.S. FAMILY OF
KAHANA AND LA'IE
by
Robert H. Stauffer1

The story of the Lā'ie 'Awa Rebellion, the temporary division of the Saints, and the establishment of the remarkable Mormon Hui (cooperative) in Kahana, O'ahu, has been told elsewhere.2 Forty years later, in 1916, survivors of this era had their testimonies recorded in court depositions.3 While the court case was on an unrelated topic, their legal testimony tells us intriguing details of life in those long ago times.

Our story begins during the first half of the nineteenth century on the Big Island. Its windward Hamakua coast was the probably birth place of Kaheana and her husband, Kaopua. Kaheana was an early Saint, a supporter of the Kahana Hui and a founding member of the Iosepa Colony in Utah.4

Kaheana and Kaopua's marriage produced a daughter, Miriam, born in 1857 at Pā'auhau, Hāmākua, the Big Island. Kaheana later separated from Kaopua and married Pele Kane, also of Pā'auhau (Kekuku Ms.).

The record is not clear who from this family moved to Kahana first, but by the early 1870's Miriam - then a young girl of no more than fifteen or sixteen - was the common law wife of the wealthy Pāke (Chinese) rice plantation owner, H. AhMee in Kahana.5 Miriam remembered that her mother, Kaheana, and step-father, Pelekane, lived with she and AhMee. She recalled that she had been "well acquainted with all the people that was living at Kahana [at] that time, because my husband, with whom I was living then, being Ahmi [AhMee] was the master over the people" (Kaulahea Ms.; Kekuku Ms.).6

Miriam said that, "we lived at Kahana until the land of Kahana was sold to the Hui, that is to the [breakaway L.D.S.] members of La'ie, that was the beginning of the negotiation of the sale, because of the desire of my husband [AhMee] to return to China" (Kekuku Ms.).

Before we continue with Miriam's story, let us step backwards in time and introduce Alexander Auld, a Scottish seaman who settled in Hawai'i in 1810 with Captain Alexander Adams, commander of the sandalwood fleet of Kamehameha I. Auld presumably had a native wife and at least two sons, his namesake Alexander Auld, born about 1832 (Auld Ms.) and William.7

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The younger Alexander Auld married a native woman, Lois, and they had two girls and two boys. The younger Alex died about 1865, and his mother lived with the children for another four years. One of the children, James Auld, recalled of his mother Lois that, "then she went away with a man named Ikeole and got married to him." Actually, James said, he had not seen the ceremony, it being an L.D.S. service (Auld Ms.).

Lois and Ikeole lived at Makiki for awhile and then moved to Kahana. Another of the Auld children, Hannah, went with them to live there. James' mother would come to visit he and the other two children frequently, but Ikeole did not come. James explained that he and the other two children "were not on good terms [with our step-father, Ikeole], we did not want our mother to get married to him, and he knew it" (Auld Ms.).

Still, James remembered that "Ikeole was a bright and intelligent man in those days, it seems he had a very good education, and no doubt he may have had an interest in the [Kahana] Hui . . . [But, h]e was a strong Mormon and that is why we objected to our mother marrying him" (Auld Ms.).

Besides being bright, intelligent, and L.D.S., Ikeole was also from Pa'auhau, Hāmākua, and a cousin to Pelekane, Miriam's step-father. And so we pick up the thread of Miriam's story once more.

The sequence under which this extended L.D.S. family gathered in Kahana is unclear, but by the early 1870's it consisted of Pelekane and Kaheana and their daughter Miriam and her husband AhMee, and Ikeole and Lois and their daughter Hannah (Auld Ms.; Kekuku Ms.). A son of Pelekane and Kaheana, Waioha, was probably also present.8

James Auld remembers his mother Lois returning to town to die at Makiki around 1873 or 1874. While his mother was sick, and afterwards, he got on speaking terms with his step-father, Ikeole (Auld Ms.).

James also remembered that his mother had an aunt, Kaho'oio, who would visit and talk about the Kahana Hui. James said that Kaho'oio married the Hui shareholder, Mahoe, as a second husband and he was said to have had some Hui shares, but evidently he'd already "conveyed it all before she married him" (Auld Ms.).9

Miriam's family were original members of the Hui, her uncle Ikeole having shares #14 and 15, her mother Kaheana having number 29 and 30, and her step-father Pelekane having #102, and her step-brother Waioha having share #115. They appear to have all been sympathetic to those taking part in the 'Awa Rebellion in Lā'ie, and indeed may have played a
key role in facilitating the decision of those leaving La’ie to form the Hui
to buy out the ahupua’a land in Kahana from Miriam’s husband.

Although the family were financial supporters of the Hui, with the
restoration of the Kahana members into the Church, the family moved from
the valley and returned to Lā‘ie after the Hui was initially organized in
1874-1875 and Miriam’s husband had evidently returned to China. After
the 1881 completion of paying off the Hui purchase mortgage, Ikeole came
down and looked things over in Kahana, but did not return to live (Kaulahea
Ms.).

By that time Ikeole’s wife Lois had died. Now Pelekane also passed
away, and the widower Ikeole eventually moved in with his cousin’s
widow, Kaheana. They lived together for a year or so and then married,
around 1878 or 1880, and remained as permanent residents of Lā‘ie and
Honolulu for a few years (Auld Ms.; Kaulahea Ms.; Kekuku Ms.; Makakao
Ms.).

Miriam’s informal marriage to AhMee ended with his return to China,
and she married L.D.S. member, Joseph Kekuku in Lā‘ie (Kekuku Ms.). Their
first child, also Joseph Kekuku, is well known as the inventor of the steel
guitar.

Miriam recalled that when the Hui shares were issued by its luna
(leaders) around 1881, she and her new husband, Joseph, held her parents’
shares in trust when her parents went to Salt Lake City. Ikeole returned
at one point for a visit to Lā‘ie and went down to Kahana. It was perhaps
at this time that he decided to sell the five shares held by he and Kaheana
(Kaulahea Ms.). Miriam recalled turning the shares, that she had been
holding on her parents’ behalf, over to Samuel Parker prior to 1887
(Conveyance 104:246; Kekuku Ms.).

After arranging to have the shares sold, Ikeole returned to Utah,
where he lived until his wife Kaheana died around 1910 or 1912. He then
returned to Hawai‘i for good, dying here about 1916 (Auld Ms.; Kaulahea
Ms.; Kekuku Ms.; Makakao Ms.). He had survived his wife Lois (Auld), his
cousin Pelekane, and his second wife, Kaheana.

John Makakao, born about 1859, was the son of George William
Kamakaniau, the organizer of the Kahana Hui. He remembered the
organization of the Hui and Ikeole’s participation in it and presence at Hui
meetings. John had left for Salt Lake City with his parents in 1883
following his dad’s falling out with the Hui. John had known Ikeole in
Utah, and had probably seen him in Lāʻie upon his return to Hawaiʻi in 1916 during the dissolution of losepa (Makakao Ms.).

And so our story of this remarkable early L.D.S. family of Kahana and Lāʻie comes to an end. It began in the rugged lush fields of Hamakua, over a century and a half ago, and wove its way through the ‘Awa’ Rebellion, the temporary division of the Saints in the Islands, the Kahana Hui, the losepa Colony, and a conclusion with the Gathering Place at Lāʻie. On the horizon of the close of this chapter of the family’s history was the completion of the Lāʻie Temple and the continued story of the family’s survivors and their descendants, who live on today.
Atkin (Ms.) lists twenty-two Hawaiian founders of Iosepa, some with spouses and children. Of these, five were Kahana Hui members, and two others were either possible or probably members, for a total of 32% of the total. Two spouses and possibly a child were also Hui members, making eleven possible Hui shareholders involved.\textsuperscript{15}

Another spouse held a share she had purchased. Altogether, the first Iosepa pioneers held as many as twenty-two Hui shares. Eleven Hui members with seventeen shares are definitely known to have responded to the call. By 1903, all but three of these shares had been sold, the conveyances mainly occurred in the 1880's:

- Shareholder 90, Oliver Alapa, held onto his share for many years, and even was President of the Kahana Hui in 1891. Family tradition has it that he journeyed back and forth for many years between Kahana and the Iosepa Colony (Domínguez Personal communication). He apparently finally settled in Utah, selling his share in 1897 (Conveyance 167:305). A surviving photograph of the Iosepa Band, c. 1915, shows ten members, including George and Moses Alapa (Atkin Ms.:67a). Alapa's descendants returned to O'ahu after the abandonment of Iosepa in 1917. A granddaughter lives in Kahana today as a tenant (Domínguez Personal communication).

- Shareholder 115 was Waioha, Kaheana's son as described in this paper. He may have held onto his share by accident: a 1889 Hui roll call shows six shares belonging to Parker (Kanuha Ms.). This would be Ikeole's two shares, Kaheana's two, and the two held by Pelekane and Waioha. For some reason, however, the actual deed to Parker listed only five shares (sans Waioha). The young man therefore stayed in Utah and legally held onto his share for some years. He finally sold it to Kāneʻohe Ranch Co., Ltd., who organized a cattle operation in Kahana Valley in 1897 (Conveyance 181:274). The Ranch probably learned that the Parker deed had left off Waioha after purchasing the Parker interests (Conveyance 177:353-4).

- Shareholder 36, Kealohanui Kamakaniau, wife of Hui founder George William Kamakaniau, brought her share with her to Utah. She sold it early on, in 1889, to the well-known Mormon, Minerva E. Fernandez. Fernandez stayed in Utah for some years (see also Lil'ʻuokalani 1984:290). The sale was apparently unknown to the Hui until years later when Kāneʻohe Ranch was unable to hunt Fernandez down and purchase the share (Conveyance 191:77).

- George William Kamakaniau, Kealohanui's husband, originally held four shares (4, 25, 62, and 112). He returned his shares to the Hui as a settlement for a debt (Conveyance 75:255-6).

- The five shares of Ikeole (14 & 15), Kaheana (29 & 30), and Pelekane, (102), discussed in this paper, were sold to Parker and thence to Kāneʻohe Ranch (Conveyances 104:246, 177:353-4).

- Shareholder 52 Kapela sold to King Kalakaua and thence to Foster (Conveyances 94:209, 111:84).

- Shareholder 71, Laea, died in Utah and her heirs, living in Kahana, inherited.

- Shareholder 76, Mahoe, sold to the Hui (Conveyance 84:351).

- Solomon 1, owner of shares 110 & 111, gave his first share to shareholder 71 (Lae), who also went to Utah (Conveyance 94:471). On Lae's death, this share went to her Kahana heirs. Solomon's second share was sold to shareholder 89, H.S. Ohule and thence to his heir (Conveyances 74:181, 106:1757).
APPENDIX B
OWNERSHIP TITLES FOR THE FAMILY'S HUI SHARES

As described in this paper, Pelekane died and his share, #102, was inherited by his widow Kaheana, who already held shares 29 and 30 in her own name. She then married Pelekane’s cousin, Ikeole, who owned shares 14 and 15.

Prior to 1888, these five shares were sold to Harriet “Hattie” P. Parker and her husband Samuel Parker (Conveyance 104:246) for a total of $300 in all.

In the 1890’s the Parkers combined these five shares with substantial lands they owned on three islands and mortgaged the entire estate to James Campbell (Conveyance 174:325 or 176:325) for $93,000.

The mortgage was later released following its repayment. The five Kahana shares were then sold, around 1898, to Kāne’ohe Ranch Co., Ltd. (Conveyance 177:353-4) for $875. The Ranch was establishing a ranching operation in Kahana at the time.

The lowland portion of the five shares, formerly in taro production, were leased by the Ranch to the Pako Tai Lee Wai rice plantation partnership (Conveyance 190:461) at $16 per share’s rice land per year.

The five shares were sold around 1901 to Mary E. Foster (Conveyance 223:13) for about $500 each, together with several other shares owned by the Ranch. This followed a bitter legal case between the Ranch and Foster over control of the valley.

While Foster now held the five shares, they were encumbered by the leases to Tai Lee Wai, as were most of the other Hui shares. These leases were mortgaged to Foster in return for much of the partnership’s capital, and by 1904 she foreclosed on the leases when the partnership defaulted on the mortgages (Conveyances 193:444, 199:137, 250:474-8).

Foster never sold the shares, although she later probably leased them out to other farmers.

The shares were condemned by the State of Hawai’i from Foster’s Estate in the 1960’s for the purpose of establishing Kahana State Park.

The sixth family share, held by Kaheana’s son Waicha, followed a similar history.

That share evidently was missed when the family’s holdings were sold to Parker. Kāne’ohe Ranch learned of the share around 1898, and arranged to purchase it (Conveyance 181:274). From there the share’s history paralleled the other five.

The Ranch leased the share’s rice lands to Tai Lee Wai (Conveyance 190:461) for $16/year. It then sold the share to Mary E. Foster (Conveyance 223:13) for about $500. Foster foreclosed on the share’s lease (Conveyances 193:444, 199:137, 250:474-8).

She then leased it out to various agricultural producers. The share was condemned by the State with other landholdings of Kahana in the 1960’s.

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ENDNOTES

1 Bob Stauffer was born and raised in Hawai‘i and currently lives at Makaua, next to Kahana valley. He has been associated with the development of Kahana State Park since 1978 and has written extensively on the history of the area.

2 A dispute arose at the Gathering Place of the Saints at La‘ie over raising ‘awa (Piper methysticum, the kava plant), the roots of which are used to make an intoxicating beverage. Perhaps half of the native Saints left and were expelled from the Church. Many of these joined with sympathetic LDS members in Kahana valley. Pooling their funds with monies from other supports across the islands, they formed the Hui and purchased the valley in 1875 and formed a breakaway Mormon colony.

The Kahana colony’s members and their supporters were quickly restored to membership by the Church authorities in Salt Lake City.

Lance D. Chase (1980) described the Rebellion for the first annual conference of the Mormon Pacific Historical Society (MPHS). See also my piece (1987) from the eighth annual MPHS Conference.

3 The case dealt with ascertaining the ownership of Kahana Hui shares in order to certify the ownership of the Hui lands (Land Court). The depositions in question dealt with the genealogy of Ikeole, described in this paper.

4 Iosepa was founded in 1889 by Hawaiian Saints, including a significant number that had been involved with the Kahana Hui.

For Iosepa’s story, see Atkin (Ms.).

5 AhMee bought the Kahana ahupua‘a (land division) in 1872. Miriam remembered moving to Kahana with her husband when she was fifteen or sixteen, in 1873 (Kaulahea Ms., Kekuku Ms.).

6 The legal depositions upon which this paper is based contain several interesting colloquialisms.

Lois Kaulahea, whose father, Kapapa, was one of the original Kahana kuleana (homestead) owners, made these additional comments: "We have lived together with this man [Miriam’s later step-father, Ikeole] at Kahana, go and come and have eaten together in the same house," to describe that they were neighbors in Kahana, and had been friends.

Kaulahea went on to say that people formerly had lived "under AhMee, the then owner of the land," to describe the relationship with the ahupua‘a owner (Kaulahea Ms.).

John Makakao, the son of Hui organizer George William Kamakaniau, in describing his former acquaintanceship with Ikeole, said (note they had not shared the same house) that they were "well acquainted by calling and visiting one another," and had "ate together, lived together, and so on at Kahana" (Makakao Ms.).

7 Auld Lane in the Kapalama section of Honolulu city is named after William.
More properly, members of this family were evidently known as: Kaheana Kealakaihonua, Pelekane Kealakaihonua, Peter [Ikeole] Kealakaihonua, and Peter'opio [Waioha] Kealakaihonua. Ikeole eventually lived in the losepa Colony. On his return to La'ie, Ikeole was known locally as Peter Kealakaihonua, a family name he'd gotten from his grandparents (Auld Ms.; Makakao Ms.). It was also said that this was the name given him by "the missionaries of Queen Ka'ahumanu [i.e., United Church of Christ], . . . and he was well known by that name until his death" (Kekuku Ms.).

Kilioe Mahoe, possibly related to losepa Colony founding member, J.K.N. Mahoe, was owner of Kahana Hui share #76. He sold his share back to the Hui early on (Conveyance 84:351). His earlier wife was Mahu, so the marriage to Kaho'olio must have been a second marriage for him as well.

Another tradition has it that Ikeole was originally married to Kaheana, and upon his death she married Pelekane. See Stauffer (1990).

I am told through informal family tradition that this Joseph Kekuku was possibly part Pākā, suggesting that Miriam may have been pregnant with AhMee's child when she married the senior Joseph Kekuku, or that the child was adopted by the senior Joseph after his marriage to Miriam.

Other evidence suggests that Miriam and Joseph Kekuku joined her parents for the founding of losepa, and that Pelekane was still alive at that time (1889). See Appendix A.

For a description of the title histories to the family's shares, see Appendix B.

Parker, of the ranch which carries his name, received the shares on behalf of his wife, Harriet (Hattie) Parker. Hattie was the daughter of Jonathan Napela, a manager at the La'ie plantation and a leading supporter of the Church in the islands.
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As early as September 1830 the Lord was telling Joseph Smith: "Ye are called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect . . . they shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked."1

Over the next several months more revelations developed this theme. For example: " . . . it shall be called Zion. A land of peace, a city of refuge, a place of safety."2 "Let them, therefore, who are among the Gentiles flee until Zion,"3 "that ye might escape the power of the enemy, and be gathered unto me a righteous people."4

"Therefore, a commandment I give unto all the churches, that they shall continue to gather together unto the places which I have appointed."5 "For this is Zion - the pure in heart."6

This concept was well established in the Church by 1843, and was in the minds of the first missionaries to Polynesia. From 1844 to 1852, proselyting was successful in the Society Islands. The gathering was talked about during that time, but nothing much was done about it. The missionaries saw that sending their newly converted Polynesian Saints to the central Zion would not work as it had for those from the States or from Great Britain.

First, after hearing rumors of the martyrdom and expulsion from Illinois, they were not at all sure just where Zion was. And they feared the consequences of moving a group of people to an unfamiliar culture speaking an unfamiliar language. For most of that time the understanding was that the Island Saints would stay where they were until further notice.

But equally serious considerations were arising in Tahiti. The French were just then imposing their colonial dominance, and although they supposedly guaranteed religious freedom, non-Catholic groups led by non-French clergy were given a hard time. The LDS Church had a
membership of nearly a thousand in the area, but it had no political clout and in 1852 the mission was forced to shut down.

In 1851 mission President Addison Pratt assigned a homebound elder to find a gathering place for Polynesians in California. He evidently felt that having their own colony on the coast would be less traumatic for them. (It must also be noted that he preferred to live in a mild maritime climate himself.) There is no indication that there was any serious attempt to find such a place. Elder Benjamin Grouard tried to arrange for a charter ship to take them anyway, but there was no time.

There was another plan to emigrate. In 1851 the mission launched its own ship, a three-masted schooner named the Ravaai, built largely by the elders themselves. It was intended to provide reliable transportation and communication between the far-flung branches. In 1852 Pratt proposed to take a number of the faithful to California on their own ship, perhaps to return for more. That plan fell through.

Strangely, it was after the missionaries left that the Saints gathered in French Polynesia. With no American supervision, a large congregation on the main island of Tahiti moved into and around the village of Faaa, some three mile west of Papeete. They renamed the area Tiona, or Zion. Mahu, one of the principal town on Tubuai, was already mostly Mormon. They also referred to their village as Tiona and others joined them there.

When missionaries from Utah returned in 1892 they found these gathering places thriving. The Faaa Zion, not knowing the difference, had largely converted to the Reorganization in the interim, as had many member on other islands. There were many members holding steadfast at Mahu. And in the Tuamotu Archipelago, although there was no single LDS colony, there was a centralized church organization headquartered on the island of Anaa under the leadership of Elder Maihea.

This was not part of the mainstream gathering that was taking place at the time. There was no direction from the General Authorities. There was no communication with the main body of the Church. Yet it worked. These island Zions provided a refuge where the Saints practiced their religion for forty years alone with remarkably few deviations and dropouts.

While French Polynesia was beginning its unofficial gathering, in Hawaii an authorized version was getting started. Missionary work began in these islands in 1850, and in two years there were enough members to
organize several branches. To house these branches, they instituted a
program of building meetinghouses; and soon there were more here than
the Church had built anywhere in the world outside Utah. Soon also, there
were more branches than missionaries, so most of them operated under
local leadership.

These circumstances indicate an assumption that Hawaiian members
would stay home; that there was no plan to rush them off to the Great
Basin. The leaders had, rather, adopted the unusual idea of having a center
place within the mission to provide stability. Missions in general were
not intended to be stable units, and in those days did not have central
headquarters. Missionaries, even presiding ones, were to travel around
spreading the message, and part of that message had been for converts to
join the body of the Church in Zion. There was a permanent mission office
in Liverpool, but even that served mainly as a clearing house for
emigration.

The elders in Hawaii made a sort of informal headquarters on the
island of Maui. The communications center was necessarily the main port
of Lahaina. Several branches with meetinghouses had been established in
and around Kula and at Keanae. Jonatana Napela set up the very first
language training mission at his home in Wailuku. Maui was not a formal
gathering place and no one left home to go there. But it had become
something of a focal point for the Church in the Sandwich Islands.

Still, a central place for members to look to is only half a Zion.
Considering the opposition they were running into, and hearing of the
persecutions in Tahiti, the elders and the General Authorities in Salt Lake
agreed that these people needed a refuge. Again, the question was raised
of moving them to the California coast, but it was decided that a site in
the islands would be more suitable.

In their October conference in 1853, mission leaders resolved to
find an empty place suitable for settlement. The selection was the
idyllic, albeit dry, Palawai Basin on Lanai. They renamed the valley
"Ephraim," called their village "Joseph," or "losepa," and worked very hard
to pioneer an economy and a society. It was done much as in Utah: the
townsite was laid out very early; families were assigned lots, and the
main plantation was worked in common. The ecclesiastical leadership
presided over temporal matters as well.

This time, Zion failed. Living conditions were so primitive in the
first years, and the idea of relocating was so foreign to the Hawaiians,
that only the most faithful would go. When they did go, it left the branches on other islands short of leadership and faltering. When the missionaries were called home to Utah in 1857, the colony was still struggling and members all over were discouraged.

For four years the settlement and the branches hung on. Then Walter Murray Gibson appeared with vague authority from Brigham Young. Finding that the Palawai property was not owned by the Church, he sold other church properties elsewhere and ordered members to sell their private property to raise money for its purchase and expansion. He knew little about the Law of Consecration used to buy lands for gathering in Missouri. However, this was not a reprise of that movement, but simply a means to personal aggrandizement. The deeds were registered in his own name, and when called upon to turn Ephraim over to the Church, he refused. Members were more discouraged over the mess and many left the Church.

In 1864 it was decided to try again, away from Lanai and Gibson, and this time under church sponsorship rather than with local financing. The six thousand acre Laie plantation was purchased and the workers' quarters quickly turned into an LDS community.

Management was handled differently. The mission leaders from Utah were always in charge, but now they brought their families with them; making it a more personal enterprise. At first they raised mostly food, on both individual and communal plots. But the emphasis was to be a cash crop, and by 1868 they were cultivating and processing sugar cane with profits earmarked for the building of Zion.

This time it worked. The plantation seldom made a profit and no one got rich, but it held the community together until the opening of the temple made Laie more a spiritual Zion than a temporal one. Of course, much of the aura of a cooperative society, or United Order, has remained, and Laie is today as much a Mormon gathering community as, say, Manti or Cardston.

Like many colonies of the Great Basin Kingdom, Laie has had a couple of spin-offs. The first, Kahana, was settled in 1875. After a disagreement over plantation policies, a small group of families went in together and bought a small plantation some seven miles to the south and moved onto it. The mission president considered them to be rebels, but they saw themselves as good Latter-day Saints and very much part of the gathering movement. They were finally vindicated and Kahana was recognized as a branch of the main operation.
The second spin-off occurred in 1889. A number of Hawaiians had moved to Utah to be near the temple, and were not doing well dispersed in that alien environment. The Church purchased a large ranch over fifty miles west of Salt Lake City and settled them on it. The town was called "losepa" after Joseph F. Smith and its cooperative economic enterprise was the losepa Agriculture and Stock Company.

The leaders of losepa were Anglos appointed by the Church to preside over and guide the Hawaiians, especially in business matters. Anglos from the surrounding area were hired to help out, particularly in technical and supervisory positions. It may be argued that this pattern, used at all the island gathering places as well, was necessary to compensate for the islanders' lack of experience in corporate management and in the culture that engendered it. It might also be seen as the Anglos bearing the "white man's burden" to look after lesser peoples who were not capable of holding their own in civilized society.

We must forgive them that bit of racism, remembering that prior to the mid-twentieth century such an attitude was the standard of conventional wisdom. In any case, it was felt that the Polynesians must be taught new social and economic systems lest they revert to traditional ways and former beliefs. And the record shows that in positions other than mission presidency or plantation management there was extensive use of Polynesian leadership.

Whether because or in spite of Anglo leaders, the Hawaiians at losepa prospered. Again, no one got rich, but no one went hungry and their children had a neat, clean LDS environment to grow in. At the town's centennial celebration in 1989, some of those children remembered it fondly as a happy place. But it lasted only until 1917. There was much sickness and physical suffering in the harsh climate, and as the Laie Temple was being built, most of the residents opted to return to the islands which were now part of Zion proper. And losepa folded.

Meanwhile, a spin-off of the other losepa on Lanai was being renewed. While still holding a measure of church authority, Walter Murray Gibson had sent two Hawaiian elders to spread the gospel in Samoa. Beginning on the tiny island of Aunu'u, then Tutilla and Upolu, they baptized a number of converts and organized at least one branch. After twenty-five years with no contact from the Church, the first regularly appointed missionaries arriving there found the survivor of the two living among a few members on Aunu'u.
The little island was not thought of as a gathering place, but it had served that purpose, and now in 1889 it became the mission headquarters. Later that year the mission seat was moved to Fagalii, just outside Apia, Upolu, and a decade later to the other side of Apia at Pesega. These were center places and members tended to cluster around them, so that they were thought of as ad hoc gathering places, but they were never intended nor designated to be such.

In 1899 the First Presidency announced the end of the gathering as a removal to LDS settlements, counseling Saints in other places to stay home and build up Zion in their own communities. But the utopian spirit was strong and new settlement continued, even in Utah, as late as 1930.

In Samoa some of the members asked for a real gathering place. Alienation from tribal customs, disfavor of government officials, and the scorn of the dominant Protestants made the idea attractive to them. Mission leaders wanted to concentrate the members because so many elders were assigned to the scattered branches that there were few left for proselyting.

Land was acquired near the largely Mormon village of Faleniu, Tutuila, and in 1903 the new LDS village of Mapusaga was established there. A small plantation was started, and a few years later a larger area with a small dependent village called Malaeimi was added further up the mountain.

In 1904 land was acquired for gathering plantations on the islands of Upolu and Savai'i. The Savai'i site was never developed as a village, but Sauniatu, on Upolu, became a showplace. It began auspiciously enough, with members and missionaries pioneering virgin forest in a torrential downpour, and for years hauling supplies and produce over a primitive jungle trail. But the area is well-watered and produced lavishly. The village was laid out in the standard Mormon ideal of wide streets on a grid pattern with private home lots and a communal plantation. It was kept neat and clean. When Apostle David O. McKay visited there in 1921, he called it "the most beautiful place I have ever seen." When he returned in 1955 he reaffirmed that opinion.

Gathering to Mapusaga and Sauniatu was urged vigorously, becoming almost a requirement. It was difficult: immigrants lost contact with family and friends. Chiefs especially lost their positions of influence. The faithful went, but many did not like it. Other branches were left decimated and discouraged. The mission found itself having to retrench
and nurture members who remained at home to keep the spirit of Zion from leaving them behind entirely.

It had been hoped that the plantations would make the mission self-supporting. They never did, and in fact they had always to be subsidized by the Church. In 1908 Mission President William Moody was inspired to end the gathering as a calling and make residence in these villages voluntary.

A case can be made for including as gathering places the village of Vaiola on Savai'i, established in 1928; as well as the farm around the Maori Agricultural College near Hastings, New Zealand from 1913; and Temple View near Hamilton, New Zealand, ca. 1955. These are peripheral to the central concept, however, since they were all settled solely to support boarding schools. Their populations were not permanent, and they were never considered to be residential gathering colonies.

We can identify two kinds of gathering places in Polynesia. First, the informal ones where a mission headquarters or central branch offered a focal point for members to look to from their home towns. The school and temple towns might fit here, particularly if conferences or hui taus were held there.

Then there are the formal ones. Here a site was selected, a new village pioneered, and a cooperative economic system set up to support it. The plantations were never very successful financially, but they allowed the residents to live their chosen lifestyle without dependence upon hostile or morally substandard neighbors.

These colonies tended to attract the more faithful of the members, leaving the outside branches short of leadership and enthusiasm. In this way they were actually detrimental to the missions. But in periods of adversity, they provided havens of peace and safety.

All of them, formal or informal, have to this day been sources of spiritual strength for the pure in heart: true constituent "stakes" of Zion.
ENDNOTES

1 Doctrine and Covenants 29:7-8.

2 D&C 45:66-67.

3 D&C 133:12.

4 D&C 38:31

5 D&C 101:67.

6 D&C 97:21.

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EARLY CHURCH HISTORY OF WAIMANALO
by
Leda Kalilimoku

You have all heard of the LDS missionaries coming to the Hawaiian Islands in 1850. This is when we begin our church history in Waimanalo, but to my knowledge no one has ever tried to search back to this early period.

On December 12, 1850, a group of ten men arrived in Hawaii as LDS missionaries for these Hawaiian Islands. They felt they were called to bring the truth of the gospel only to the white people. When this wasn't possible, five of them became discouraged and went home to Utah.

Of those who stayed to preach to the Hawaiian people, Elders William Farrer and Henry W. Bigler had chosen to make Oahu their missionary area. By the following year, in August 1851, they had made several trips around the island of Oahu, staying with the natives and trying to learn the Hawaiian language. Brother Bigler was backward in the language; Brother Farrer was a little more forward; so Elder Farrer probably converted and baptized most of the members.

The Hawaiian people are quick to recognize and accept the Mormon doctrine as the truth. There were Hawaiians living here, and I find it inconceivable that the missionaries would by-pass Waimanalo and all these potential Hawaiian members. Hence, my search for the early history of the Waimanalo area.

Waimanalo was once a beautiful and peaceful Hawaiian settlement, heavily populated with hundreds of grass huts dotting the valley floor. In the old days Waimanalo was a very secluded area. There were no easy roads in or out of the valley. One trail was over the Makapuu Saddle; horses could be led, but not ridden, it was so steep. The other was a trail from Nuuanu Pali, through the winding roads of Maunawili, and then up over the ridge to Waimanalo. This pass was called Aniani Ku which means, "standing mirror", and this trail was impassable during winter months. Waimanalo was a favorite vacationing spot for our ali‘i, and members of the Royal Family were frequent visitors at the Cummins estate. John Cummins started the Waimanalo Sugar Plantation back in 1879.

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The Waimanalo Branch consisted of the saints residing in and near this sugar plantation. This is in the district of Koolaupoko and is near the south eastern extremity of the island of Oahu.

There are numerous references in the missionaries' journals and the history of the early church that "the elders traveled often and boarded with friends in the Koolau region. We can only conjecture that some of these activities must have taken place in our Waimanalo area.

On Monday, April 12, 1852, Elder Farrer had labored zealously in the Koolau district to keep life in the branches organized on that part of Oahu.

At the October, 1852 Conference at Wailuku, Maui, Elder Farrer reported and represented Koolau Branch on Oahu--sixty members, two Seventies, two Teachers, two Deacons, and three died. Elder Bigler also spoke at this conference, "wishing the prayers of the Saints that he may obtain a knowledge of this language."

Wednesday, October 27, 1852, Elder Farrer resumed his former labors in the Koolau district of Oahu, holding meetings, baptizing and instructing the Saints in their duties, and thus he was kept very busy till the close of the year.

February, 1853 found Elders Farrer and Bigler preaching and baptizing in the Waialua area. Leaving Elder Bigler there, Elder Farrer returned to Koolau February 24th. After Farrer had held meetings in the Koolau district, both elders proceeded to Honolulu. New elders had come from Utah, so they held a special conference there. Elder Farrer reported that the branches in Koolau were not very prosperous.

On March 16, 1853, Elders Bigler and Karren left Honolulu for the Koolau district. A few days later Elder Farrer left Honolulu for the same district, but after holding a number of meetings, he returned to Honolulu.

Sunday April 24, 1853--about this time Elder Bigler, assisted by Elder Paku (a native elder) and Priest Isaaka, caused quite a revival in the Koolau district, and baptized some seventy persons.

Being joined by Elder Farrer from Honolulu, Elder Bigler and Elder Paku went to Kaneohe, where about a hundred native Saints from different parts of the Koolau district assembled on Sunday, June 19th. Very interesting meetings were held. After this, the elders, accompanied by native brethren, visited the other branches of the Koolau district.

Up until this time in 1853, nothing of Waimanalo is specifically mentioned. Then, a vivid and descriptive narrative lets us know there was a branch of the Church here in Waimanalo, as follows:
Elder Bigler continues to preach and baptize in the Koolau district. After a visit to Honolulu in the latter part of July, 1853, he went to Waimanalo to visit a branch of the Church. On his arrival there July 28th, he visited several houses where the former occupants had either died from smallpox or fled to other places, leaving their household goods, hogs, dogs, and fowls to take care of themselves. (There was a widespread smallpox epidemic throughout the islands at this time.)

At another place where there were six houses, or families, close together, all the inhabitants had died except three, who had fled. It appeared to Elder Bigler that many died for lack of care and proper nursing. He writes:

"On Friday, September 2, 1853, I was called to visit a sick boy who was down with the smallpox. His condition was so critical that I had hitherto seen nothing so awful. The stench was almost unbearable, and the poor boy seemed one mass of corruption. His mother was a member of the Church. I administered to him and told his father to rub him with consecrated oil; give him some ginger tea, and keep him out of the wind."

Elder Bigler continues--

"When the smallpox first broke out, I dreaded to go near it; but that fear soon left me, and I felt that, provided I had plenty of oil, I would visit the sick fearlessly, anoint them with oil from head to foot in the name of the Lord and command that they should not die. Sometime afterwards, on September 19, I saw the little boy who had recovered. But he told me his father had died."

Another notation regarding this situation, on Monday, November 28, 1853--Elders Bigler and Hawkins arrived at Honolulu from the other side of the island. The smallpox had made sad havoc among the people, and many of the Saints had been carried off; in two or three branches nearly all the members died with the dreadful disease.

The first five missionaries to the Islands were released in July, 1854 and returned to Utah.
Records have been found of fourteen people baptized in Waimanalo in the 1850's. I have listed them on the bulletin board [in the Waimanalo Meeting House] if you care to examine the list.

May 15, 1857, Elder Smith B. Thurston returned to Honolulu from a tour around the island of Oahu and reported the branches in a poor state.

On the 25th of May, 1857, the Elders Thurston and Henry P. Richards continued their journey down the Pali to Waimanalo; here only two Saints were left of the large branch that was once there; on to Hanaka, three Saints there, to Mokapu on the 27th, and so forth. They returned to Honolulu on June 12th and reported the Saints in a very weak and backward state; many had apostatized, leaving the Church almost daily because their Calvinistic friends wished them to. Also, many were led away by ancient dancing.

On October 16, 1857, President Brigham Young wrote a letter instructing the missionaries to come home because of impending trouble in Utah.

William W. Cluff writes at this time, dated December 9, 1857--

Our labors during these six months was principally among the native Saints, many of whom to all appearances are dead, and we found it necessary to sever off many of the old dry branches; in fact, there seemed to be a falling away among the branches generally. It was about this time that [Elder] John Hyde apostatized and published a catalogue of lies against us. The Hawaiians, not naturally having much stability, are easily biased.

A second letter from Brigham Young arrives April 1, 1858, instructing the Elders to return home as soon as possible.

From Elder Bigler's journal [this was his second mission to the islands]:

There was the necessity of appointing native Elders to take charge of the mission. Elder J.W.H. Kou was appointed over the Oahu Conference, with Elders Keanu and Kalua as has first and second counselors. Thus the affairs of the LDS Mission of the Hawaiian Islands were brought to a close for the time being, so far as the foreign elders were concerned.

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With the American elders gone, this further weakened the poor state of the branches. Elder Kou had made a tour of the island, but was unable to hold any meetings in consequence of the apathy of the Saints. They manifested indifference to that which pertained to their spiritual welfare.

The Oahu Conference embraced all the Saints residing on the island of Oahu, outside of Laie and Honolulu.

Walter M. Gibson arrived in Honolulu June 30, 1861 and managed to convince the Church members that he had been sent here by President Brigham Young. On May 31, 1862, collections were made to Walter M. Gibson's Lanai Colony from the branch at Waimanalo. Three men gave fifty cents each; four men and one woman gave twenty-five cents each; and one man and three women gave 12 1/2 cents each. So twelve people contributed a total of $3.25. This was collected by Enoch H. Kamailepolepo. [The donors are also listed on the bulletin board.]

After the authorities of the Church from Utah exposed Gibson's fraudulent practices, the Hawaiian members who wished to remain members of the Church acknowledged their transgressions and were rebaptized. Perhaps this can account for some of the duplications of the membership records listed on the bulletin board.

The American Elders returned to Hawaii to preach in the 1860's and four new members were baptized in Waimanalo.

Saturday, March 24, 1877, Elders Richards (on a second mission) and John S. Woodbury left Honolulu and traveled eleven miles to Waimanalo, where Kimo presided over the branch. A meeting was held at this place.

There was a flourishing branch in the 1870's in Waimanalo, with records of thirty-seven new people being baptized. The Saints owned a lumber (or wood) meeting house which was near the foothills, several miles inland and in the outskirts of the town. Exact location is unknown. Under date of Thursday, April 18, 1878, the spiritual affairs of the mission are prosperous; baptisms being quite frequent in various parts and the meetings are largely attended.

In the 1880's, thirteen people were baptized in Waimanalo. But then in 1885 Waimanalo was reported at October Conference as containing only ten members. Ioane Kim was branch president in October 1886, and he was succeeded in 1894 by Waialeale.

On September 1st and 2nd, 1890, Elder Samuel S. Hammond visited Waimanalo and held meetings for two days. On September 2nd he
organized a Mutual Improvement Association with Hooipo [as] President, L.P. Kuhewa first counselor, Auhau second counselor, Kaehu [as] secretary, and B.K. Waialeale treasurer. President Hooipo was cut off for transgression June 9, 1895, which virtually ended the Mutual. They had had Mutual for about five years.

Again, Elder Hammond, accompanied by the president of the Honolulu Relief Society and her counselor, visited Waimanalo and organized a Relief Society in the branch with Pe as president and treasurer, Noanoa first counselor, Milo second counselor, and Annie [as] secretary. Milo was released in 1891 and in 1893 Kapehe was chosen second counselor. Pe was still president in 1894, and the Society was doing well. Of those persons listed, only Pe and Kapehe are listed on the membership records, so we know this list is incomplete.

There was also a Sunday School at Waimanalo in September 1890. The statistical report of December 31, 1894 showed Waimanalo, Koolaupoko had a total of twenty-one souls, one meeting house, one Sunday School, one Relief Society, one Mutual Improvement Association and no Primary.

In 1895 Elder Andrew Jenson, a historian for the Church, arrived in the islands. This was after the overthrow of Queen Liliuokalani, and he records on May 29, 1895:

Our brethren [meaning the American elders] are taking no part in political affairs, but they have suffered under the suspicion that they were in sympathy with the other white people. On this account, whole branches of the Church have withered away or died spiritually. The natives, generally speaking, are opposed to the change of government.

On June 9, 1895 Elder Jenson writes,

The Kahana Branch is perhaps a good sample of a genuine native branch of the Church on the Hawaiian Islands. In dress, manners, conversation and general deportment, they exhibit the characteristics of the race to which they belong. Both men and women came to meeting barefooted, but otherwise their persons
were properly protected. The women all wear loose dresses of the Mother Hubbard style; the men's clothing consists of shirt and trousers.

Samuel E. Woolley recorded in his journal that Kimo, from Waimanalo, spoke in their meeting in Laie on November 20, 1896. This is after he was released as branch president, and according to the membership list, he was in his sixties at this time.

Through the next few years there is activity in Waimanalo, taken from bits of information. Even as now, conference was held twice a year. Conference at Laie was continued on Tuesday, October 5, 1897. At the evening session a general report of conditions in the Kealia, Kapaia, Hanalei, Waimanalo, and Kaalaea branches was made. April 6, 1898 General Conference at Laie - In the afternoon meeting the following branches were reported: Kahuwa, Kalapana, Weloka, Waikiki, and Waimanalo. At the General Conference at Laie on Friday, October 7, 1898, the Sunday School of Waimanalo participated in the afternoon session. April 9, 1899 - General Conference at Laie. In the evening session - reports from the Kahana, Waimanalo, and Kaluanui branches were reported.

From Samuel E. Woolley's journal:

On Saturday, June 24, 1899, Elders Pardoe and Farr go to Honolulu via Waimanalo. Again, Brother Fisher and I [meaning Samuel E. Woolley] went to Honolulu. Brother Farr rode with us to where the Waimanalo road turns off. On April 22, 1900, Elders Farr and Smedley were sent to Waimanalo. Elder Farr was the district leader, and he returned the next day; Elder Smedley comes back May 5, 1900.

Sunday, October 7, 1906, at Honolulu, the Relief Society held their conference Saturday morning, which consisted of lectures and speeches. There were representatives from Laie, Waialua, Waialae, Hauula and Waimanalo.

Throughout these early years of our Church History, the spirituality of these people prospered or died, much like that in the Book of Mormon. I really enjoyed doing this research paper, and through it all, I feel I have come to know some of these people, and they have become my special friends.

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Sources

1. Elder Andrew Jenson's History of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands, found on Film #128, 868.

2. LDS Early Church Membership Records, Film #128, 843.

3. Information from the Church Historical Department in Salt Lake City.


6. Samuel E. Woolley's journal (through Ruth Austin)

7. Continuation of History of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands, Film #128, 869.
CHURCH HISTORY IN WAIMANALO: 1946-7 TO PRESENT

by
Eunice McElroy

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Waimanalo Ward, a mango tree, the home of Saints, abandoned old army building, to now this place where we gather and sit in comfort.

Let me begin at the backyard of Brother Julian Hookano Kamahaku. Several brethren and sisters have gathered on this special occasion, under a magnificent mango tree, in great anticipation of the beginning to formulate a branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Those gathered were mostly members already. A total of no more than twenty and no less than eight in attendance, [including] Brother Freitas, with his two traveling companions, Julian H. Kamahaku, Brother Mortensen, William and Mrs. Napeahi Sr., Mary Poai, Akoa Hanawahine, Mrs. Hoopii, William and Nellie Hopeau, Mr. and Mrs. Kamahaku.

World War II is pau (over). The people of the land start to rebuild; many restrictions of the war are lifted and the people are able to move around more freely. The Saints who moved away from the convenience of the city of Honolulu, to the out-skirts here in Waimanalo to settle on their Hawaiian homestead land were now beginning to establish their permanent residences.

As their need to keep close to the gospel, the Saints would travel twenty-seven miles one way over the Nuuanu Pali, into the city of Honolulu to partake of the sacrament and to participate with Sunday activities in church. The very committed made many sacrifices to travel over the Pali and back.

I could not find any records of how many times a meeting was held under that magnificent mango tree, or who was in attendance. If there was such a record, it may have met up with the elements of time and carelessly discarded to the change from a branch to a ward. That the gathering the Saints here at Waimanalo was within the guidelines of the Church, Brother Freitas, with a companion, would come and join them frequently.

At this point and time, Julian was the branch president, James Kaonohi Sr. and Albert Akiona were faithfully carrying their share of the Church responsibility.
The Saints met in each other's homes, useful abandoned buildings, garages, lanais, and as many places as they could find, to serve and teach one another.

As the move from down Kalanianaole to up Kalanianaole was happening, a gift of sort comes to the Saints, in the shape of a used army quonset building from the mayor of Honolulu. Well, he was not yet a civil servant then, but he had a used lumber and usable abandoned building business.

An unforgettable brother who no longer is here with us, but I dearly pray that in spirit, he is listening to my report; yes, Joseph Aruda, not a member at the time of this event, but one who, when he grabbed hold of the iron rod, he endured to the end.

Joe (Joseph) knew Frank Fasi (our present mayor) very well and could swing a good deal to get the best used quonset at a good price, and have it set on this property, between this podium and the parking lot. Now the Saints could meet at a regular meeting place.

I have been informed by Sister Alma Arcia that Julian made the best kulolo (pudding), this side of Waimanalo; that was a means for (the Saints) to raise money. Today his son's and daughters still make kulolo for their family fundraising.

1952-John Kekawa joins the Saints at the home of Sister Annie Ho. James Kaonohi Sr. is branch president; John is assistant to Gidion Kaonohi in the Sunday School program.

1955-Brother Kamm and his family has moved to the farm lot in Waimanalo. He becomes the second counselor to President James Kaonohi, Sr., and Harry Keaweehu the first counselor. Brother Kamm joined the Saints at the home of the Deguesman family. Where much is given, much is expected.

This concludes my report as to its beginning of our much appreciated chapel. May this paper be accepted in the files of the Mormon Pacific Historical Society (MPHS) and others that may and will want to add to this, our first mini-conference, is my wish and prayer, because we will all have to make a report to the Lord when he asks.

Bishop Bruce Mossman
First Counselor Michael Lindsey
Second Counselor Isaac Kaopua
"Praise the Lord with singing, with music, with dancing, and with a prayer of praise and thanksgiving," is the divine command (D&C 136:28). "For my soul delighteth in the song of the heart; yea the song of the righteous is a prayer unto me, and it shall be answered with a blessing upon their heads (D&C 25:12). Faithful members of the Church have contributed in significant ways in composing Hawaiian songs, teaching of the hula, and in performing as vocal and instrumental Hawaiian music. Hawaiian chant, Hawaiian music and Hawaiian dance has always been very special to our people who have lived here in Hawaii and people who have come to visit. It has been the medium to express the love of God, love of mankind, love of a beautiful land, and happiness in the enjoyment of this life and the fullness of all of its experiences. For many of our people their music was a full time endeavor; for others, they had other interests that helped them to support their families and music was their part time interest. Full time or part time, it was a life filled with happiness as they shared their music and talents with others causing their uplifting and enjoyment.

They were taught by members of the family or friends of the family. Many times they were chosen to be the ones to carry on the chants, dances or musical talents because they had the ability to endure and enjoy the time that it would take to memorize the numerous lines and rhythmic patterns, and dance patterns. It was a busy but fulfilling life and I personally want to thank them for sharing their talents and for being role models for future generations. It is my personal feeling that as these wonderful saints continued to develop and share their talents with love, they grew in their understanding of the culture, in their relationship with God and in their service to their fellow brothers and sisters, members and non-members alike.

Mary Kawena Puku'i stands out as an outstanding composer, kumu hula, historian, Hawaiian language and culture expert. She wrote numerous books including the Hawaiian Language Dictionary, and contributed much to Hawaiian Planters, The Family System of Ka'u, both volumes of Nana i ke Kumu, and the Echo of our Song. In all of her great cultural contributions, there was a special love for mele and hula, and so it is with all of the following people who are to be mentioned. Her training goes back to Joseph Ilala'ole. Her daughters, Pele Suganuma and Pat Bacon, were taught her mele and hula. Pele was a kumu hula and taught and performed for many years. Her sons are also talented musicians.
Iolani Luahine was a chanter and the last of the dancers to be trained in traditional halau. Aunty I'lo, as she was affectionally called, was a dancer that seemed to take you back to ancient days. I can remember seeing her dance. When she did the hula, she was in a world of her own. One of the people that she passed her dances on to is Haoakalei Messer Kama'u'u, who continues to teach and lecture on Hawaiian chant and hula. Hoakalei's daughter, Macy Kamauoha, and her daughters are accomplished dancers representing then four generations of hula. Her son, I'olani, assists her in her teaching.

Pua Ha'aheo, of Kahana valley, was instrumental in training many kumu hula. Some of them under his instruction were Sally Wood Nalua'i, Kau'i Zuttermiester, Agnes Cope and Maiki Aiu Lake. Of these Sally Wood was a member of the Church and in turn trained her nieces Ellen Gay Delarosa and Sunday Mataterangi. Other members of the Church who became kumu hula under her instruction were Lovey Apana, Cy Bridges, and Keith Awai. All of these kumu hula have have taught numerous students and continue to have a wonderful positive effect on the young people they teach. Wayne Reis was also a student of Aunty Sally's.

Katie Kekaula was also responsible for teaching Sally Wood and Eleanor Hiram.

Edith Kanaka'ole is also a faithful member of the Church deeply imbedded in Hawaiian mele and hula. Her training goes back to her mother, Mary Kanaele, who was taught by Akoini Mika, who was taught by H.W. Kahikina Kao'o. Edith's daughters Pualani Kanahele and Nalani carry on their teachings in their hula halau in Hilo. Pualani's daughters Kekuhi and Huihui are accomplished dancers and chanters. Edith may also have gotten some training from Joseph Ilala'ole.

Napua Stevens Poire, cousin to Edith Kanakaole, was also trained in hula by her Aunty Mary Kanaele and Joseph Ilala'ole. Napua grew up in Kohala and came to Honolulu where she became known for her beautiful singing voice. She was in a variety of T.V., radio, and entertainment settings for years. "Aunty Napua" was also gifted in her ability to give Hawaiian names which she shared with many.

Kahai Topilinski kumu hula has taught and performed for many years. He was a student of Mai'iki Aiu and was also taught by his grandmother. Kahai loves his hula and mele and devotes much effort and time to his instruction.

Olana A'i is said to be "Hawaii's foremost keiki hula teacher." Olana has taught more than 3500 youngsters in the sixteen years she has been teaching, and her husband and family are a real support and help to her. Her husband Howard is the lead singer for her group, designs all of the costumes, and plans the staging and decorations. Olana learned the hula from her Mother and Grandmother.
Keali'i Taua is also a very talented *kumu hula* and Hawaiian musician. Keali'i was also the student of Maiki Aiu.

Alan Bacarse, *kumu hula* in Kaneohe, has helped many youth through his *hula* instruction and activities.

Those who have contributed in Hawaiian music are numerous and I would like to list their names that we might always remember them, and their wonderful influences. Some were family musical groups such as the Alvin Issacs Family, with sons, Ata, Barney, Norman, who were all terrific instrumentalists and vocalists. The Taua Moe family who performed for many years all through Europe. The Apana Sisters who entertain together on Kauai; the Broad Family who entertained together in Laie and Iosepa; the Kanaka'ole family, Halemanu family, the Hiram Family, the Kekauoha family, the Issac Kaopua Family, the Mahelona Family, the Paul Parker Family, the Logan Family, the Howard & Olana A'i family, Joe Ah Quin Family, and the Tomasi Tukuafu Family.

Individual talented musicians and vocalists are Johnny Alameida, Pua Alameida, Alfred Apaka, Bill Lincoln, Joseph Kekuku (inventor of the Steel Guitar), George Mossman, Eleanor Hiram, Genoa Keawe, Gary Aiko, Alvin Issacs, Norman Issacs, Barney Issacs, Ata Issacs, Napua Stevens Poire, Editha Kanaka'ole, Alice Namekelua, Howard A'i, Al Harrington, Cy Bridges, Harry Brown, Jay and Bobbie Ako, Bill Kelley & group, (Provo, Utah) Cissy Fong, B J Fuller, Hanaloa Nihipali, Momi Kahawaiola'a, Esther Nakoa, Jo Ah Quin, Ron Miyashiro, Andy Cummings, Lovey Apana, Patricia Lei Murray, Carol Chalis, Keali'i Taua, Maile Mossman, Uncle five cents Au, Lani Moe, Dorian Moe, Natalie A'i, Iolani Kama'u, Tehran Erickson, George Poliahu, Roy Hirokawa, Roger Nite, Lamar Benivides, Dorthy Fiso, Oli Fiso, Leighton Kaonohi, Norman Thompson, Trudy Thompson, Ka wai ho'olu'uokeanuenue - Bella & Louisa Finau, Delia Parker, Irene Tukuafu, Wylie Swapp, Martha Kalama, Noelani Mekona, David Huihui, Bruce Meyer & Kaukalani Moikeha.

I don't want to give the impression that this is a closed or fixed list. I feel that it is a beginning list and one that can be added to. If I have forgotten anyone, I apologize and want you to know that it was not intentional. I want to add it for future record so please let me know; call Midge Oler at 293-3558. To all of these talented saints we extend our appreciation for the great contributions and enjoyment that you have shared through your music and *hula*. Continue to play, continue to dance, continue to bring happiness to others with aloha and you are truly blessed in all of your efforts.