THE HAWAIIAN MISSION CRISIS OF 1874: CHARACTER AS DESTINY

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Pulitzer Prize winning author Pearl Buck said:

I have seen the missionary narrow, uncharitable, unappreciative . . . filled with arrogance in his own beliefs, so sure that all truth was with him and him only . . . . I have seen missionaries so lacking in sympathy for the people they were supposed to be saving, so scornful of any civilization except their own, so harsh in their judgments . . . that my heart has fairly bled with shame.  

The event that one participant called the "most serious affair that has transpired in the Hawaiian mission save that of Walter Gibson" occurred right here in Laie.  

It led to a separate gathering place for Mormons at Kahana, caused a serious rift between the saints and resulted in the early release of the mission-plantation president. It widened the gap between Hawaiian and Nacole and emphasized disagreements between the Utah missionaries. Fortunately, its lasting effects have been negligible; only a tiny chapel and a few moldering gravestones remain at Kahana to remind us of a Mormon community which once threatened to rival Laie in size. The following account of that affair is an attempt to analyze the personalities, conditions and practices which led to the breaking away from Laie of a considerable body of saints and the establishment of the Mormon settlement at Kahana. In writing this paper I have no desire to grind any axes or reopen any wounds but hope rather that the results of this research will be increased understanding.

One who is impressed by the violence of the ocean at Waimea Bay on Oahu may look at that lovely spot with added interest if he knows that an answering violence occurred on the land in 1792 when three of Vancouver's men from the Daedalus were captured by Hawaiians and sacrificed in the hills overlooking the bay in what were probably the last human sacrifices in Hawaii. Thus with Kahana. The breathtaking beauty which unfolds as you sweep up and around that hairpin turn just Kahuku side of the Crouching Lion has added significance when you know something about the history of that beautiful spot.

THE PLACE

Kahana Valley, one of the wettest in the Hawaiian chain, is thought by some archaeologists to be among the first areas settled by pioneer Polynesians on this island more than twelve hundred years ago. The valley is believed to have been an ancient ahupua'a, or land division reaching from the sea to the mountains. Kahana has numerous points of interest including one of the few surviving fish ponds on Oahu, a fishing shrine, and a heiau. LDS missionary journals of the early 1850s contain accounts of baptisms into the Church at Kahana and surrounding areas. It later became part of the Foster Estate Lands.

Much is known of the success of George Q. Cannon on Maui between 1850 and 1853 but little has been written about the considerable success of missionaries, particularly Elders William Farrer and Henry Bigler on the windward side of Oahu during the same period. Records show baptisms having occurred in sizeable numbers all along the windward coast. But after the debacle involving Walter Murray Gibson on Lanai, the designated-gathering place for the Hawaiian saints from 1854-64, Laie became a "Zion" for Church members in Hawaii.
George Nebeker came with twelve other missionaries - actually thirty
five Mormons disembarked from the Emeline at Laie - and their fami-
lies to the plantation which had been purchased from Thomas T.
Dougherty for $14,000. By 1868 a mule powered sugar mill had been
purchased and was in operation with Book of Mormon translator Jon-
athan H. Napela as a work supervisor. At the settlement's beginning
there were approximately 125 L.D.S. and about the same number of non-
members on the land. The mill of 1868 employed some thirty to sixty
workers including those who stripped cane. Twelve miles were util-
ized each twelve hour shift and the operation proved successful
enough that the Mormons proudly quoted a non member who in 1869 was
heard to say: "Mormonism was no humbug when applied to a cane field."
Within ten years the machinery was wearing out and both miles and
machinery were proving too inefficient for successful large scale
sugar production. By 1879 a new mill was under construction.

During the period of the first mill in Laie the number of resi-
dents rose considerably. In 1871 at April Conference there were
nearly 350 members in Laie out of some 1,600 in the islands. Just
a year later, swelled by new converts brought in by the missionaries,
the figure had reached nearly 450 members in Laie out of a total of
2,600. During this time sugar was being shipped to Utah, leaving
Laie Malo'o on the steamer Makalii until in 1873 sugar prices in
Hawaii ran higher than those in Utah, making export of sugar to Salt
Lake City unprofitable.

Long before 1873 a central concern of everyone interested in the
Hawaiian people was the survival of the race. In the forty years prior
to 1873 one set of figures showed the Hawaiians had diminished by near-
ly 62%. Everywhere but Laie the birthrate was down and the deathrate,
due largely to smallpox, up. The population in 1873 was about fifty
thousand Hawaiians, nearly two thousand Chinese, a thousand Americans,
six hundred British, two hundred Germans, a hundred French, four hund-
derd Portuguese and nearly four hundred "others."  

HISTORICAL SETTING

It is helpful to see the Kahana affair of 1874 in its historical
context. Less than four years previous Germany had soundly defeated
France in the Franco-Prussian War. It was a time of imperialism by
the major western powers and wars and reports of wars were rampant.
In the United States President Andrew Johnson's impeachment and trial
had occurred only six years earlier. In that same year, 1868, 'Seward'
Folly (Alaska) was purchased for seven million dollars. A year later
the Fifteenth Amendment was passed and the franchise could no longer
be restricted due to race or color. In 1872 Ulysses S. Grant was
reelected for a second term by a wide majority over Horace Greeley;
it was a time of widespread government corruption. Less than two
years after Kahana was settled by the Laie Mormons, Rutherford B. Hayes
was elected president in the disputed election of 1876. In the same
year the telephone was invented followed the next year by the phono-
graph and two years later by the electric light. There were about
thirty eight million Americans in thirty seven states, with Colorado
about to be added. Just three years before the Kahana affair, the Mormons had been thanked by the mayor of Chicago for sending aid to the stricken survivors of the great Chicago fire.

In Hawaii, William C. Lunalilo was elected king in January 1873 succeeding Liholiho (Kamehameha V) who had ruled for nine years. The former reigned only thirteen months and was replaced by David Kalakaua in February, 1874 after some violence involving followers of Emma and Kalakaua, rival claimants for the throne. In June, 1875 the reciprocity treaty with the United States was signed aiding Hawaiian sugar interests.

THE PRINCIPALS

Of the handful of principals involved in the Kahana affair, Frederick Augustus Herman Frank Mitchell was the central one. At the time of his arrival in Hawaii he was thirty eight years old and had been a member of the LDS Church since he was ten, having been in the U.S. nearly twenty years and had served in the Sandwich Islands mission 1856-58. Shortly before he left for this mission he married his fifteen year old sweetheart, Margaret Thompson. On the front of his neatly written journal, someone has itemized his accomplishments. According to this list, he opened the first coal mine at Coalville, Utah. This was later sold to George Nebecker in exchange for one-third interest in the plantation at Leie. He opened the first salt mine on Great Salt Lake, imported blooded horses into Utah, did surveying, imported goods for sale into Utah, was an engraver, patriarch, and temple worker. He was also long lived, finally passing away at age eighty eight on July 26, 1923 at Logan, Utah.

I have consulted three basic sources in my attempt to better understand Frederick Mitchell, his own journal, that of his contemporary Harvey Harris Cluff, and the Jenson Manuscript. The following items stand out for anyone wishing to come to grips with Frederick Mitchell the man and the crisis of 1874 in the Hawaiian Mission.

When referring to his marriage in the journal of his first mission to Hawaii, Mitchell’s diction is peculiar. He notes: “this day one year ago I went through the holy ordeal of matrimony” (39). It would be both unfair and unwise to make too much of this odd use of terms since there is little else in the journal which would shed further light on his marriage. Suffice it to say he must not have intended his journal to be read by Karga-yet. Frederick Mitchell had found parting from his wife very difficult but recorded that having weighed the cost he found the reward was beyond comparison (12). He gave her a blessing and dedicated her to the Lord. Orson Pratt, no less, had set Mitchell apart asking the Lord to give the twenty one year old missionary “patience, wisdom, understanding, discernment and every other necessary blessing and qualification . . . .”(12). Whether Mitchell understood this counsel will be shown. However, he did frequently hear a strong testimony, showed no little familiarity with gospel principles and was apparently anxious to share his faith with others in private conversation or in large groups.

On his way to his mission in 1856 Mitchell earned his keep by serving as a cattle driver. Both during this trip and before he left, his journal records his involvement in quarrels which suggest he may not have been an
easy man to get along with. For instance, there was a dispute with a suitor of his sister Lavinia. Mitchell objected to the man and in his journal the young missionary accused his adversary of “devilish malicious spleen and of contemptible, pusillanimous spirits not worth the ashes of a rye straw.” Lavinia’s brother refused the suitor’s offer to fight replying he “would not dirty [his] hands with any such a fool” (11). Whatever his skill in self defense, he could obviously handle insults with considerable facility.

Later, on the trail, Mitchell quarreled with a driver who was apparently not doing his share of the work and told the shirker he could not trifle with and impose himself on Mitchell and the others. In return for this, Elder Mitchell was roundly cursed but no further evidence as to the outcome of this dispute is noted.

On behalf of Mitchell’s religiosity it must be added that each night he and Elder Robert Rose retired from camp to have their nightly prayers.

Mitchell had been appointed clerk-historian to the group of elders while travelling and a counselor to Elder John Hyde who was called to be president of the missionary company. Hyde had become disaffected from the Church by the time he reached Hawa’i and published an anti-Mormon tract during his brief stay in the islands, but that is another story.

Unfortunately for Mitchell, he was called to serve in the Sandwich Islands at a time when the faith of the still active saints was at an all time low ebb. The missionaries were to be called home by Brigham Young within a year. Perhaps only on Lanai, the designated gathering place, was the faith of the saints still strong, since many of the most loyal Hawaiian Mormons had responded to the call of their leaders and left their homes to battle drought and insects in the Palawai Valley. Consequently, Elder Mitchell and other missionaries from Utah in 1856-58 found a lukewarm reception at best among many of the local saints. His journal records that the natives were stingy with food and support (114). No event, according to Mitchell, aroused his sympathies as did the death of a tiny Hawaiian baby from apparent starvation when its parents refused to listen to the missionaries’ counsel that the child be given cows milk when his mother’s ran out.

As I read and reread Mitchell’s journal, and Cluff’s, the pieces of the puzzle of the man’s true character seemed to me to be consistent. But it was not until I read the account of his remarkable experience which occurred in Placerville, California in 1856 that I felt there was sufficient evidence to make a reasonably correct judgment. Arriving in that mining town in July of 1856 Elder Mitchell was aghast at what he observed. The missionaries, according to him, felt like strangers in a strange city, “felt the influence of hell”; every other house was a grog and gambling house, he observed. Passing through town with an Elder William B. France, Mitchell commented on how easy it would be for God to destroy the town by fire and wondered how long the Lord would allow such wickedness to be tolerated. Such were the feelings of all the brethren, he wrote. The following day Elder Rose and Mitchell had just reentered Placerville to purchase stage coach tickets for the trip to Sacramento when the cry of “fire” was raised. Elder Rose, Mitchell’s trail praying companion, felt prompted to help the townspeople to rescue their belongings from the burning buildings, so many of which were frame and like most mining towns, highly susceptible to fire.
But Mitchell overruled Rose, explaining that the fire was the judgment of God on the wicked mining town and it was "wrong for us to give one helping hand to any whore or whoresmaster" (37). This interesting response was apparently acquiesced in by the junior elder for the two of them climbed a hill north of town the better to watch the Lord "wreak his vengeance." Mitchell recorded: "I had the satisfaction of seeing those persons whom the evening before had wallowed in abomination and filth bereaved of home and property" (37). Ironically, the next day three of those Placerville "ladies" were in the coach with the missionaries on the trip to Sacramento and while "the three wild whores [of] by throwing out blackguardish hints to engage the elders in conversation the brethren exchange[d] not one word during the whole journey" (40). Such an account in Mitchell's own hand, even given his relative youthfulness, provides insight into the nature of the man who almost twenty years later was so positive about God's judgment concerning the Word of Wisdom.

When President Mitchell arrived in Hawaii for his second mission on June 3, 1873 he was accompanied by his wife Margaret Ann and five children. Every missionary remembers the agitation felt when a new mission president took the helm and the Sandwich Islands Mission of 1873 was no different. Under Mitchell, the tenor of the talks at the semianual conferences in LaiL seemed to change. One can only guess, but it seems not unlikely the new leader assigned Solomon, one of the trusted Hawaiians, to tell his brethren at that October 1873 conference that they must not expect to live in LaiL without working. And did long time Mission Secretary J. N. Fox receive instructions from Mitchell that he was to emphasize the Word of Wisdom in his address? In any event, Elder John A. West, who with James Hawkins, Harvey Cluff, and Brigham Morris Young were Mission Counselors, wrote in November, 1873 to the General Authorities in Salt Lake City that many brothers and sisters had agreed to relinquish tobacco, tea, beer, etc. From October until the end of the year Mitchell kept tightening the screws on his interpretation of the Word of Wisdom until on January 1, 1874 he made his irreversible announcement, about which more later.

Seven months after this Mitchell had been released as mission president and within thirteen months he was home. But his involvement with Hawaii did not end there, as you might have expected it to under the circumstances of his release. It is typical of the Hawaiians that they should so little hold Mitchell's intractableness against him that one of them, a Brother Kaulainamoku should accompany Mitchell to Utah on the return trip. Two years later, in April of 1877, Elder Henry P. Richards had an interview with King Kalakaua during which he presented to the king the church books Mitchell had remembers to send from Utah, according to his promise. Even as late as 1885, Mitchell continued to show his concern for Hawaii as he joined Henry P. Richards in visiting with Mrs. Sam Parker in Salt Lake City, Utah. Mrs. Parker was the daughter of Jonathan H. Napaula and was travelling through the Utah capital after representing the Sandwich Islands at the New Orleans Exposition.

In 1889, when the Hawaiians gathered at what was to become Joseph in Skull Valley, Utah, it was Mitchell along with former Hawaiian Mission companion Harvey Cluff who was called by President Wilford Woodruff to locate a gathering place and prepare for its settlement. It was a measure of the confidence in Mitchell on the part of Church leaders that he should be chosen
and it was he who surveyed the site for the town itself. Apparently his role in the crisis of 1874 was not held against him though his contact with the Iosepa colony appears to have been primarily in his capacity as surveyor.

There is one other major principal in the Kahana affair. It is through the eyes of Harvey Cluff that we learn much of what transpired concerning this episode. Born in Kirtland, Ohio in January of 1836, Cluff lived a long life of faithful service in the Church. For example, in 1888 he served five months in "Uncle Sam's Hotel" for plural marriage. He was in H.P. Henderson, the sentencing judge's estimation "not an ordinarily intelligent man." The record of his life substantiates this. Cluff served two missions in Hawaii, the second as mission president. When Mitchell arrived to replace Nebeker in 1873, the former has already served four years in Hawaii and played a major role in building the plantation at Lale. He and Nebeker had gotten along well enough, though, as will be pointed out, Cluff came no better prepared than most for the shock of the intercultural experience.

It is probably fair to say that the cultural shock for Utah missionaries arriving in Hawaii in 1873 was greater than that in 1973; at least such an explanation softsens the otherwise extremely prejudicial statements in Cluff's journal. He was upon his arrival for his first Hawaiian mission on December 28, 1869 upset by Elder Hawkins being "over free in his associations with the natives." He noted "it may be I am not very converted to making bosom friends of them" (120). Even more pronounced is his revulsion of feeling at the thought of sitting in a chair just vacated by a native (123). Fortunately, like most malihinis, (newcomers) Harvey Cluff was not so hardened in his prejudices that his bigotry was permanent. By the time of his departure in 1874 both he and his wife had so endeared themselves to the Hawaiians and vice versa that the parting was perhaps even more emotional than most. As Cluff recorded in his journal following his offensive pronouncement about not sitting in a chair after a Hawaiian, "I shall hereafter be under necessity of recording a changed sentiment" (123). He then referred to a visionary dream he had had, related in his own mind to Peter's similar experience and change of heart concerning the gospel being taken to the gentiles in Acts, chapter ten.

Elder Cluff returned in 1879 to serve as mission president, returned home in 1882 to go "on the underground" for a while and was finally imprisoned for six months for plural marriage, earning a month off his sentence for good behavior. He was given the best cell because of his trustworthiness and allowed special privileges. In fact, upon his release in September of 1888, he visited the First Presidency, also in hiding, was questioned about prison conditions, and apparently made the situation sound favorable enough that the day after his release, George Q. Cannon gave himself up and then took Cluff's place in the favored cell, number 120.

In 1889, Harvey Cluff more than any other was involved in the establishment of the Hawaiians at Iosepa. He was called again to...
serve them and moved with his family to that wilderness site in Skull Valley to help make the desert "blossom as the rose." He had chaired the committee composed of himself, Mitchell and three Hawaiians to find a place for the Hawaiians to gather in "Zion" close to a temple.

In Hawaii, under Mitchell's leadership, things had not run smoothly. Earlier, under George Nebeker there had been the usual disagreements; one of these involved money Cluff claimed he should have been paid for work done on the plantation. During Cluff's report to the General Authorities in 1874 he complained of this and they ordered Nebeker to pay, which he did. However, Mitchell's relationships were troublesome from the outset. One day not long after his arrival in 1873 as some of the missionaries were touring the plantation Mitchell wondered aloud which of two options offered by Nebeker he should take concerning financial arrangements of the plantation. Cluff offered his advice upon which Mitchell told his surprised counselor when he wanted his advice he would ask for it. With what appears to be his characteristic reticence, Cluff thought to himself "You certainly will have to ask my advice yet, dear sir" (143). But it was with Mitchell in the case involving ana that Cluff had his greatest battle and perhaps showed his clearheadedness best. From the October Conference of 1873 on, Mitchell was determined to enforce the Word of Wisdom on the Hawaiians, particularly concerning ana.

THE PLANT AND DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING IT

Piper Methysticum, ana, was used by the Hawaiians for their own consumption and as a cash crop. They believed that the root, ground up and mixed with water was effective in treating diseases from leprosy and tuberculosis to toothache. Two local historians claim that as of 1850 it was illegal to drink ana. The records do show that the local people of Laie sold much of their crop to licensed government officials who then shipped it to New York. Undoubtedly, some of the ana remained in Laie where the root was pulverized, sometime chewed and spit out to be mixed with water before the liquid was drunk, frequently for ceremonial occasions. Taken in large quantities ana drinking has a narcotic effect and there is evidence that if heavy ana drinking is continued over long periods of time deleterious effects are likely including blindness and even palsy.

Frederick Mitchell was not one who could be labelled undecided or vacillating in his decisions. With the same firmness which allowed him to watch a town burn without rendering aid twenty years earlier, he declared that the ana crops then growing were to be burned. Elder Cluff spoke up at this point and told Mitchell that President Nebeker had allowed cultivation of the plant and the year's crop was even then worth several thousand dollars. Cluff in describing who would benefit, used an inclusive "we" he would not have used just a few years earlier when he told Mitchell "we need the money badly" (145). He further reminded Mitchell that to dig up and burn the patches of ana would cost at least half of what it was worth. Cluff's counsel was for President Mitchell to be more moderate and tell the Hawaiians that they must plant no more ana after the current crop was harvested and sold.
Cluff knew well what might result if Mitchell were to be unrelenting in his severity. He warned his leader that an increase in theft was likely if this important source of revenue was lost and such a transgression would be a far greater sin than that of the few who personally used the aea. In a particularly modern sounding phrase, Cluff noted that few of the Hawaiians were what might be called "aea friends" (146). But these pleas and more, issued by other Utah elders fell on deaf ears and Mitchell made clear he wanted no further contrary views on the matter.

Harvey Cluff was no rebel where the Word of Wisdom was concerned. When he became mission and plantation president a few years later in 1879 he had a lawyer draw up a lease which the attorney said was the toughest he had seen. As part of the conditions under which the Chinese gained the lease to plantation land he had to agree to pay a substantial fine if he or his workers used liquor or opium on the premises. And these were just a few of the conditions.

In further commenting on Mitchell's inflexibility, it must be observed that Brigham Young was to live for nearly three years after the Kahana affair and his summer home in St. George still has in it the wine cask Brigham drew from, at least for special guests. In Laie itself, within six years of Mitchell's declaration on aea, the President of the Church in Salt Lake City had advised and the saints planted two thousand coffee trees. At approximately the same time, one of the Utah missionaries on the plantation celebrated by quaffing a glass of wine, in which exercise he was joined by at least some of his companions. 12 Nor was Mitchell himself always such a stickler for Word of Wisdom observance. On his first mission to Hawaii, he had not been averse to downing a good dose of brandy in an attempt to cure diarrhea (48).

THE CRISIS AND ITS AFTERMATH

Tension must have mounted among the local saints following Mitchell's October, 1873 announcement about the aea. As it was understood that the President meant to stand firm on this matter, surely some of the Hawaiians must have felt the pressure. Although the journals I read are not detailed on this matter, to the Hawaiians the problem may not have been a moral one, but rather economic. Diversification of their agriculture for income purposes most likely was not for them the viable option it would have been for the Utahns. For those whose resolve and commitment to the new gospel was less than total this dilemma must have been acute. Subsequent actions substantiate this notion.

It was on January 1, 1874 at the close of a luau that Mitchell chose to force the moment to its crisis. Standing in the doorway of the meetinghouse in front of all the local Church members and a considerable number of outsiders who were Laie residents, Mitchell made his announcement. Cluff described this action as following the ancient custom of the Konohiki's (head men of an ahupua'a) when proclaiming the law of the land (147). Further violation of the ban against growing aea would be punished by the law, Mitchell told the assembly. The announcement fell like a bomb shell and the Hawaiians
became infuriated beyond control (147).

There is no record in the Joseph F. Smith Library of Mitchell's thoughts or actions during this crisis in his own hand though we have his journal both before and after this period. But Cluff tells of Mitchell's distress and records that it was at this moment in the affair that in desperation he turned to Cluff for advice on how to curb the rebellion. One of the rebels was Lua, a non-member, and the most vociferous of the group. Cluff obviously took great satisfaction at this fulfillment of his prediction that Mitchell would someday ask for his advice but he told his leader to command Lua to go home to his own kuleana. (Land claim inside another's land claim.) Cluff's journal explains: "he did so and without any hesitancy he took a bee line for his home. This had a wonderful check on the tumultuous uprising . . ." (147).

At this point a man of lesser resolve might have reconsidered. Not Frederick Augustus Haman Frank Mitchell. He did, however, pay for at least some of the awa he had dug up and confiscated rather than simply take it. Cluff does record, though, that one of the most trusted Hawaiians, Solomona, was paid only a nominal sum for his. To have paid for all the awa crop would have been prohibitive since its value was several thousand dollars (145). A short time later Solomona was apprehended stealing some of the awa he had sold to Mitchell. Moreover, so determined were the local saints to resist Mitchell that they decided to move from Lalie and purchase land at Kahana. They communicated with a "pake" who owned three thousand acres at Kahana and made plans for purchase. By now Mitchell was in so deep that he could not gracefully withdraw though he must have recognized that the incipient rebellion of which he was the primary cause threatened to decimate the gathering place which he publically supported and accepted as God's plan for his people. But with the zeal and determination of an Old Testament patriarch, Mitchell planned a meeting to disfellowship the rebels. However, he was temporarily dissuaded by the Utah elders. It was at this time that the sugar mill caught fire and was saved from burning down by Cluff and a Hawaiian who reported it. There is not the slightest hint in Cluff's journal that the fire could have been maliciously set, a credit to Cluff.

When Mitchell heard that the Hawaiians had bought the Kahana property he could no longer resist calling a meeting to disfellowship the deserters. It is notable that the speakers at this meeting were President Mitchell and Elder West. Cluff's name is conspicuously absent. Following these talks the Hawaiians were asked if they intended to leave. When they replied in the affirmative Mitchell called for a disfellowship vote. The count was thirty in favor, including the foreigners, according to Cluff's journal. No mention is made of how many abstained but when Mitchell asked the group to sing, the "congregation went into demonic yells, the greater part rushing out before the benediction" (160).

The mission president's campaign was not over. Realizing the Hawaiians would have to have outside help in purchasing Kahana, Mit-
chell sent letters to all the saints counseling them not to support the Kahana committee who would be approaching them for money. How successful he was in this can only be guessed but the Kahana property was purchased and settled.

Shortly after the disfellowship meeting was held, Elder Cluff and his wife were released. The great outpouring of affection shown by the Hawaiians overwhelmed them and was stark contrast to "the situation brought by hastiness and over-zealousness . . . ." Wrote Cluff, "I deeply regretted the dilemma into which things were plunged, unnecessarily according to my judgment" (160). Feeling as he did, the decision of the Mitchells to travel to Honolulu with the Cluffs to see them off may have made for some painful moments. Not surprisingly, they chose to go by way of Waialua rather than Kahana. Arriving in Honolulu on Sunday, June 28, 1874, they encountered some of the Kahana committee on their way to other islands to solicit funds for their purchase. Unfortunately, no word appears in Cluff's journal as to the conversation which occurred between these two parties. Both Mitchell and Cluff addressed a Honolulu congregation of saints on Sunday and on the following day the Cluffs boarded their ship. The Mitchells followed them on board remaining as long as they could. One wonders if there may not have been some uncomfortable silences in their conversation but Cluff's journal shows he was frequently skillful in masking his displeasure and this may have been an occasion which called upon his tact to the utmost.

Upon reaching Salt Lake City on July 11, 1874 Cluff reported to the General Authorities. Eleven days later he returned from Provo to meet with the Brethren, again by appointment. George Nebeker was also present. By this time Brigham Young had received a letter from Kahana which George Q. Cannon translated for the rest. (Joe Spurrier told me he had seen this correspondence but the copies I requested from the Church Historical Department could not be sent in time) President Young proposed that Mitchell be released and the Brethren unanimously supported him. Alma Smith was appointed as Mitchell's replacement and by September 21, 1874 two months to the day, Smith was in Hawaii for his third mission to the islands.

Of course there is much more to be said on this matter. It is clear that virtually none of what has been said in this account comes from the Hawaiians themselves. Also, it is not the antagonist Mitchell whose views are represented as much as Cluff's. Finally, nothing has been said about the Kahana community itself. These are matters for other papers. It can be documented that whatever wounds might have been caused by the Kahana affair were apparently quickly healed. And like the Polynesians in so many other cases, in this one they appeared not to have held any grudge for journals of the period immediately following the split are replete with instances of the Kahana saints feeding and housing both Utah missionaries and Hawaiians from Laie. Furthermore, choirs from Kahana frequently sang at the semi-annual conferences in Laie and the records make clear that the two Mormon communities were in frequent and close contact.
Clearly relationships did not suffer for long if at all.

What remains for this paper is to conclude with some pithy sayings that theoretically serve to sum up the whole affair. Recognizing the hazard of such a venture I commend Pearl Buck. Having had opportunities to observe missionaries in China she made a cogent and at least partly applicable statement from her observations with which it seems to me appropriate to conclude.

I have seen the missionary narrow, uncharitable, unappreciative, ignorant. I have seen him so filled with arrogance in his own beliefs, so sure that all truth was with him and him only, that my heart knelt with a humble one before the shrine of Buddha rather than before the God of that missionary . . . I have seen missionaries, orthodox missionaries in good standing in the church . . . so lacking in sympathy for the people they were supposed to be saving, so scornful of any civilization except their own, so harsh in their judgments upon one another, so coarse and insensitive among a sensitive and cultivated people that my heart has fairly bled with shame. I can never have done with my apologies to these people that in the name of a gentle Christ we have sent such people to them.13

ENDNOTES


2Harvey H. Cluff, The Journal of Harvey H. Cluff, HF#183, p. 145. (Most further references to this source will be cited in text.)


5Andrew Jenson, History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Vol. 3, 7 July 1879. [Also on HF]

6Jenson, Vol. 3, 16 April 1873.

7Jenson, Vol. 3, 16 April 1873.


9Jenson, Vol. 3, 6 November 1873.


12Hyrum Albert Woolley, Journal, Feb. 25, 1881-Jan. 14, 1882. (This microfilmed journal is attached to the Vol. 1 of the Jenson Manuscript, p. 105)