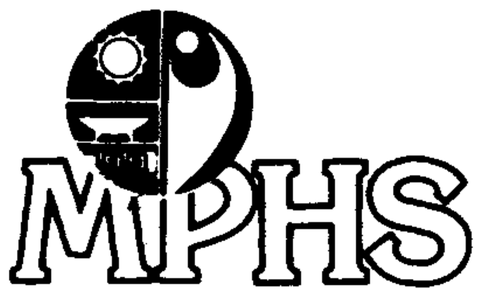

MORMON PACIFIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

PROCEEDINGS

FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE

MORMON HISTORY IN THE PACIFIC

AUGUST 1-2, 1980

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY-HAWAII CAMPUS
LAIE, HAWAII

MORMON PACIFIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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FIRST ANNUAL CONFERENCE MORMON HISTORY IN THE PACIFIC

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1-2 August 1980

A PERSONAL NOTE

This conference was convened in hopes that those interested in the topic might be able to share that interest in a manner appealing to both amateur and professional historians. That over 100 people participated in this maiden venture was most gratifying to those who were involved in its organization. Requests for copies of papers prompted this assembling of the PROCEEDINGS, basically in the format in which they were given us by the presenters. It is our hope that these will provide not only helpful information but pleasant memories of a most successful conference. We are grateful to the Institute of Polynesian Studies for their generous assistance in helping underwrite the cost of this printing.

It was a result of this conference, of course, that the Mormon Pacific Historical Society was created and the participants enrolled as charter members.

Co-Chairmen, 1980 Conference
Kenneth W. Baldridge
Lance D. Chase
31 March 1981

PRESENTERS

LEONARD ARRINGTON: Appointed Church Historian in 1972; recently named Dir. of the Joseph F. Smith Inst. of Church Hist.; Ph.D. Univ. of North Carolina; Author of: The Mormon Experience; Great Basin Kingdom; Charles C. Rich.

KEN BALDRIDGE:[1] Involved in Pacific History since 1960; Dir. BYU-HC Oral Hist. program; member Oral Hist. Assn.; Hawaii Hist. Society; Mormon Hist. Assn.; Ph.D. BYU-History.

LANIER BRITSCH: Ph.D. Claremont Grad. School; Prof. of Hist. & Asain Studies BYU; Served LDS Mission-Hawaii; Author of: International Church Hist.; History of the Church in the Pacific; History of the Church in Asia.

ELLIOT CAMERON:[2] New BYU-HC Pres.; Ed.D. formerly Pres. Snow College, Vice-Pres. Student Services - BYU; Member of Nat. Assoc. of Student Personnel Administrators.

LANCE D. CHASE: Asst. Prof. of Eng.; Chairman Division of Rel. Inst. - BYU-HC; Doct. Diss. recently accepted - Marquette Univ.; with wife Londa, Know Your Religion speaker in March, 1981.

*AGNES CONRAD: Archivist, State of Hawaii since 1955, Edited: journal - Don Francisco De Paulo Marin; Hawaiian Journal of History; Lib. deg. Univ. of Calif. Berkley.

CARL FONOIMOANA: Administrative Assistant PCC; Born in Laie; Served LDS Mission, Samoa; B.A. - BYU; Grandson of Opapo Fonoimoana; Taught for Church Educ. System for 2 years.

REX FRANDSEN:[3] Archivist, BYU-HC Library since 1970; B.A. 1968, Church College of Hawaii; MLS 1970, U of H; Ed.D. 1977, BYU.

DON JOHNSON: U of H Hist. Prof.; Pres. Hawaiian Hist. Soc.; Fulbright St. Lectureship-Aust. 1956; Author of The U.S. in the Pacific: Special Interests and Public Policy.

*ALBERT LIKE: Of Hawaiian Descent; B.A. U of H in Sec. Educ.; Teacher 23 yrs. - Central Inter. School; Speaks Hawaiian & studies Hawaiian Culture and History.

*VERNICE PERE: Poet, Artist; B.A. BYU; Author of Mahanga: Pacific Poems Ka Po'e Laie, Won 1st place 1980 Lit. Prize in South Pacific Fest. of Arts; 1st place, poetry, Mormon Arts Fest.

ERIC SHUMWAY: Vice-Pres. & Dean BYU-HC; Ph.D. Univ. of Vir.; Author of Tonga; Tongan Code of Laws 1850; Intensive Course in Tongan; served LDS Mission - Tonga.

*JOSEPH SPURRIER: Ed.D. degree Utah State Univ.; Prof. of History and Hawaiian Studies, BYU-HC; Author of Great are the Promises unto the Islands of the Sea.

ISHMAEL STAGNER: Hawaii born; grad. Kam. School; B.A. - CCH; M.A. - UCLA; Ed.D degree BYU; Assoc. Prof. Educ. BYU-HC; Author of Art, Culture & the Gospel, The Hawaiian Perspective. (film)

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* Papers also presented at World Conference on Records, Salt Lake City, Utah, August, 1980.

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[1]Oral History demonstration w ;h Bella Lin Kee.

[2]Welcoming remarks, 2 August 1981.

[3]Explanation of Archival holdings, BYU-Hawaii Archives; preparation of pictorial exhibit on the LDS Church in Hawaii.

ON WRITING LATTER-DAY SAINT HISTORY

By Leonard J. Arrington

Prepared for the Polynesian LDS History Association Conference,
Laie, Hawaii, August 1, 1980

I suppose we should start out by recognizing why the study of LDS history is important. Let me suggest four reasons.

First, the study and writing of our history will help us better understand the Lord. It will tell us more about the settings and circumstances of the revelations; it will provide examples of how the Lord works through men and women, and of what He expects of us; it will tell us more about the progress and problems of the Church and its membership and how and why these have taken place.

Second, the study and writing of history will help to strengthen Church unity by building in all of us a sense of commonality and pride in our past. It will give us a sense of who we are, our cultural and spiritual roots, as well as our biological and social roots. It will give us a sense of appreciation for our LDS ancestors. Studying Church history is like studying the scriptures; it gives us a society against which to compare or contrast our own. We can compare ourselves with other cultures, but it is not the same as looking at people who have lived with the Restored Gospel. The Jews were a covenant people and they made mistakes. The Nephites and Lamanites were a covenant people and they made mistakes. Our LDS ancestors were a covenant people and they made mistakes. We have the advantage of being a covenant people who follow all of these. We can learn from their successes and failures. This will help us see our problems in perspective and remind us to be humble about our own achievements.

Third, it will help give us a knowledge of things as they were so tha we can be informed when discussing our religion with others. It will give us accurate information to counter distorted histories and misunderstandings about the Church; it will provide accurate information to counter the arguments of apostates and others on the border of apostasy. In short, it will help us be informed as we discuss the Restoration with nonmembers and business associates.

And fourth, we do history because the Lord commands it. On April 6, 1830, the very day the Church was organized in this dispensation, the Lord commanded the Prophet Joseph Smith to arrange for the keeping of a record of the Church's history. (D & C 21:1) Oliver Cowdery was appointed to do this, and thus served as the first Church Historian and Recorder. Eleven months later, on March 8, 1831, John Whitmer was commanded, by revelation, to "write and keep a regular history" of the Church. (D & C 47:1) In a later revelation, Elder Whitmer was instructed to "continue in writing and making a history of all the important things which he shall observe and know concerning my church." (D & C 69:3) Other revelations attest to the Lord's insistence that the documents of the Church be preserved and that histories be written. With the encouragement of the prophets, the Church has fully complied with these commandments. From Oliver Cowdery's first history, later published in the Latter-day Saints Messenger and Advocate, to the most recent works of the General Authorities, the History Division of the Church, and others, Latter-day Saint historians have prepared and published histories of events and personalities important to the Church in each stage of its development.

To this record of following the Lord's admonitions we have now the word of our Prophet that we should also keep our personal and family histories. These instructions apply to all members, in whatever part of the world they reside and under whatever government they make their living. Church history is a record of our brotherhood and sisterhood in Jesus Christ--a history which brings us home to an understanding of the Lord's Kingdom and how we fit into it.

When the Historical Department of the Church was organized in 1972, we looked over our written history and determined areas that had been neglected and needed further attention, and we realized very quickly that we should give encouragement to studies of ethnic groups and their experiences; studies of local leaders; studies of ordinary men, women, and family groups; studies of Latter-day Saints in their local settings; and studies of the workings of Church programs at the local level.

Now I am going to suggest something that may seem to be heretical--something that seems on the face of it to be ridiculous. I'm going to suggest that it is more important to study and write local history than it is to study and write general history. What I am suggesting is that it is more important, for you, at any rate, to do Hawaiian history than general American history; New Zealand history rather than history of the British Commonwealth; and so on.

It is more important to do stake and ward history than general Church history.

It is more important to do the history of your family than of the history of the family in general.

As I say, this seems ridiculous, but I firmly believe that one who concentrates on Hawaii's history can make more progress toward understanding the aspirations, experiences, and achievements of mankind than if he has elected to study the history of the United States.

Only at the local level can the historian come to grips with reality its most elemental forms, and more intimately than at any other level of space organization. Too much history has been written from above, from the important documents, from the ivory towers as it were. It needs to come up from the grass roots, up from where the people live. Many of the significant administrative steps the Church has taken had their beginnings at the grass-roots level. Local innovations and suggestions were brought to the attention of Church leaders, who then felt inspired to use them as the basis for Churchwide programs. While many Church members have felt that there was little room for individual initiative in a Church directed by God and prophets at its head, the most positive achievement has taken place when Church members did not wait to be "commanded in all things," but did "many things of their own free will (D & C 58:26-29)." Much of what we now have in many Churchwide programs began at the initiative of individual Church members: Priesthood Welfare Program; Primary; Young Women's program; Relief Society; holding of Fast Day on Sunday; and so on.

As our civilization matures, as the Church grows, the saga of the locality, of the ward and stake and region, and of the individual Saint es on greater significance. Moreover, our general Church history is

often too abstract and impersonal. When history comes up from the grass roots, up from where the people live and worship, the individual can identify personally with the general Church experience.

As to sources of Pacific LDS history, we have already had papers by Agnes Conrad and Ken Baldridge, and had suggestions from several others who have been working in this area. Ward and stake records are in the LDS Archives in Salt Lake City. We have the diaries of many missionaries and others. Microfilm copies of many of these can be obtained for your archive. Don Johnson gave fine suggestions this morning as to work that needs to be done, and Joe Spurrier gave a splendid example this afternoon of how it can be done.

Let me offer a number of suggestions that might be helpful in compiling and writing the history of the Church in the Pacific.

First, give due importance to the work of the sisters. Let's not have histories that give lists of the bishops, but not lists of Relief Society presidents as well. Let's include descriptions of the activities of the women's organizations as well as those of the Priesthood. It is incorrect to start out with the notion that since men hold all the important policy-making positions, they are the ones who determine the course of events. Although the Priesthood may hold certain key leadership offices, the brethren are not exclusively responsible for everything that happens. We must avoid a male interpretation of Mormon history. Anyone who spends a substantial amount of time going through the materials in the Church Archives must gain a new appreciation of the important and indispensable role of women in the history of the Church--not to mention new insights into Church history resulting from viewing it through the eyes of women. The historical studies of LDS women done thus far reveal them to be strong individuals with a tremendous variety of temperaments, talents, and sensitivities. Further biographical studies of these women will help our sisters in charting their own life without feeling constrained to mold themselves into existing stereotypes. Real models should be more useful than simply "ideals."

Second, in our writing we should give due emphasis to intellectual, social, and cultural accomplishments, as Ishmael Stagner did this afternoon in his film "Art, Culture, and the Gospel." There is a tendency for us to remember the tangible, the material, the visible, simply because we can see them and because they have had greater survival value. We have tended to measure the accomplishments of earlier members by such durable achievement as the construction of canals and dams, temples and meetinghouses, houses and cooperative stores. But our forebears also made contributions in thought, in poetry, in music, in games and dancing and recreation, in human relations, in education. These contributions are more difficult to discover and to trace, but they are nevertheless there, and we should be aware of them.

Third, in our writing we must acknowledge that not every program, not every organization, proceeded smoothly. This was illustrated by Lance Chase's talk this morning on the crisis of 1874. Our histories should make us aware of some of the problems, obstacles, objections, and difficulties. It would be especially instructive to know the particular problems of applying Church procedures and programs in the South Seas because of the differing cultural and social backgrounds of the people.

Fourth, we should give due attention to the so-called ordinary members of the Church. An ideal example of this was Carl Fonoimoana's paper on his grandfather Opapo. We should be concerned with both the obscure and the famous, the deacons as well as the General Authorities. Actually, one

may get a more accurate reflection of the impact of the Gospel on the lives of members by studying the humble, the unambitious, the devoted ward worker. Well-known people, leaders, must necessarily preserve the image of their office by showing the world a mask. In doing so, they may conceal their real selves. They play the part that is expected for them, and with practice they learn to play it very well. This public performance may not always correspond with the man or woman within. They hold in their anger; they will not acknowledge their doubts and disappointments. The local scoutmaster, the ward primary president, the second counselor in the Elders Quorum, on the other hand, have far less need to create a personality to protect themselves from the world or to impress it. They are more often themselves. The "ordinary member" provides a richer field for understanding the functioning of the Church in the lives of people. THe unexpected variety of people, the complexity and uncoached elements of their character, demonstrate the richness of the Gospel plan and the manner in which it can serve all men and women.

Fifth, we need, especially in biographical and family histories, to recognize the complexity of people. Some of this was alluded to in Eric Shumway's luncheon address on the people of Tonga. We get a mistaken view of humanity by watching television shows. A half-hour show, an hour show, cannot develop full-rounded personality; the writer can exploit only one facet of a person's character. And so he presents one person as compassionate, another as cruel, still another with the single motive of wanting more money, and a fourth who wants to take to bed every pretty girl he meets. But people are not that simple. The man who finds it hard to resist an opportunity to take advantage of a girl may be hard-working, honest, and kind to the unfortunate. The man who cannot resist an opportunity to make money may love his family, may be generous, and may have courage. A whole series of qualities, good and bad, may exist in the same person. And sometimes contradictory qualities. The historian is obligated to give some indication of this diversity, this complexity, this contradictory nature of historical persons. I am not suggesting anything that might serve to malign beloved ancestors or leaders. It is, of course, distressing to think that the composer of a beautiful song was a less than completely beautiful person, or that the author of a lovely poem may have been stingy and small. I'm just suggesting that we must acknowledge that everybody ha weaknesses. If we are made conscious that people we respect had faults as well as achievements, we may come to believe that achievements may be possible for us even with our own defects.

My sixth point is that we should tell a straightforward story, not bo down the narrative with attempts to moralize. Mormon writers have a tendency to moralize. Maybe we got into that habit by having to give 2-1/ minute talks in Sunday School, or perhaps by hearing the constant moralizi of parents and seminary teachers and missionaries. The secret of good historical writing is to stick to the point and to cut whenever you can. There is a tendency for all of us, those who are new at it, to look upon our writing as something of a miracle that we should be able to put words on paper at all. When they are there, out of our own brain if not straight from heaven, we look upon them as sacred. We cannot bear to sacrifice one of them. The best historians, having cultivated the ability to write, have learned to cut with fortitude. Each of you, as you write, will hit upon a quotation, a thought, that seems so happy that to cut it is worse than having a tooth out. It is then that you must grit your teeth and accept the advice of another reader that you respect. If editorializing takes us away from the story we are trying to tell, it should be cut

Finally, I hope you will, through your interviews and writing, convey the lovable spirit of Hawaiians and Pacific peoples: their faith, their sense of humor, their playfulness, their athletic prowess, their love of nature, their generosity, their practical intelligence and happy nature. Caucasian missionaries who return tell of this special spirit--and speak of it longingly, as if one cannot find this special spirit duplicated in the continental states. But we need, not just the reports of the so-called white missionaries, but the stories, the tales, the characterizations of the Pacific peoples themselves--illustrations from their own lives of this spirit. For this purpose we need interviews with bishops, Relief Society presidents, Sunday School teachers, and others. We do not have much in the Church Archives reflective of it, either historically or current.

I think of Solomona Piipiilani. We don't know exactly when he was born--sometimes around 1800. This brother first received the gospel under George Q. Cannon in 1851 and was soon afterward ordained an Elder. He was a fluent speaker in his native tongue, a close and careful reasoner, a thorough scriptorian, and a conscientious man. He was among those who gathered to Palawai, on the island of Lanai, in 1854. When Laie was purchased in 1865 and established as a gathering place, he was among the first to gather and labored on that plantation. In 1879, his wife having died, he decided to emigrate to Utah, taking along his granddaughter. He acquired a home in the Salt Lake Nineteenth Ward and made a modest living. He went to the Endowment House to make his temple covenants and was the first Hawaiian to receive his endowments. When Iosepa in western Utah was established as a gathering place in 1889, he gathered there, obtained a city lot, built a home, and supplied it with the needed comforts. He managed to save enough to send for a grandson who stayed with him at Iosepa, his granddaughter having died. Over a forty-year period, he was a stalwart. He had a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the Book of Mormon, and made regular trips to the temple in Logan, Utah, to do temple work on behalf of his kindred dead. Finally, at about the ripe old age of 91, he died, still at Iosepa. He was described by President Joseph F. Smith, who spoke at his funeral, as one of the most worthy, faithful, and true-hearted Latter-day Saints he had ever known.

There must be dozens of others that we could say similarly important things about. One of the signs of vitality of the Restored Gospel is its capacity to produce strong people--people of faith and commitment and talent. I think of Mele Vea, a native Tongan, who later lived in Fiji. (She goes by Mary Ashley.) She was baptized a member at 14 and became a woman of tenacious faith, a pioneer of the Church both in Tonga and Fiji. I think of Helen Sekaquaptewa, the great Hopi woman whose life is eloquently told in Me and Mine; Faith Okawa Watabe, an American-born Japanese woman whose marriage linked her to the "pioneer" Watabe family of the Church's first real expansion into Japan; Lucile Bankhead, the faithful black member whose long wait for temple blessings was finally rewarded by the glorious announcement of June 9, 1978. Finally, there was Jonatana H. Napela, a Hawaiian judge in Lahaina, who met George Q. Cannon in 1851 and was written up by President Cannon. He was baptized and ordained an Elder, was a fine speaker and reasoner, a person of standing and influence in the community, a charming and intelligent man who helped the ministry in many ways, assisted with translating the Book of Mormon, healed the sick, and in other ways showed the spirit of Jesus.

Let me close by saying that we wish you well in all your endeavors. offer also our facilities to help you to the extent we can. What you are proposing to do is important to you, to your wards and stakes and regions, and to the Church. May the Lord bless you in your efforts, and all of us who are engaged in similar endeavors.

Donald Johnson
First Annual Conference,
Mormon History in the
Pacific, 1-2 Aug 1980
BYU-Hawaii

IT IS NOT ALL CUT AND DRIED

HISTORY IS MORE, MUCH MORE, THAN A SET OF FACTS TO BE COMMITED TO MEMORY. YET THIS AUDIENCE, I AM SURE, IS FAMILIAR WITH THE FACT THAT MANY SEEM STILL TO BELIEVE THAT, AND SOMETIMES EVEN TO TEACH AND WRITE THAT WAY. LET US REMIND OURSELVES AND OTHERS THAT OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE PAST IS NO MORE THAN A FRAGMENT, AND WE HAVE YET TO USE EVEN THAT FRAGMENT TO ANSWER MANY OF THE QUESTIONS THAT TODAY'S STUDENTS, AND TOMORROW'S, WANT ANSWERED.

THERE IS WORK TO BE DONE, IMPORTANT WORK, NOT JUST FOR TRAINED PROFESSIONALS, BUT FOR EVERY INTERESTED HUMAN. THE FUNDAMENTALS OF THE HISTORIAN'S CRAFT ARE SIMPLE, AND "EVERY MAN HIS OWN HISTORIAN" IS NOT JUST RHETORIC. IF I UNDERSTAND THE PURPOSE OF THESE SESSIONS CORRECTLY, IT IS TO INVITE AS MANY AS POSSIBLE TO JOIN IN THE TASK OF INCREASING AND IMPROVING OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THE PAST PARTICULARLY, IN THIS CASE, AS IT HAS INVOLVED A CHURCH AND A REGION OF THE WORLD.

NOW OUR SPEAKERS TODAY AND TOMORROW WILL TELL US MUCH ABOUT SPECIFIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION, PARTICULAR PROBLEMS, AND SOME THINGS THAT OTHERS HAVE ALREADY LEARNED BEFORE US. I LOOK FORWARD TO LEARNING FROM THEM, AS YOU DO, I AM SURE. MY TASK IS THE HAPPY ONE OF DEALING MORE IN GENERALITIES, AS BEFITS ONE WHO CONSIDERS HIMSELF ONLY A BEGINNER IN THE STUDY OF MAN IN THE PACIFIC. SO, ON WITH IT "WHAT ARE SOME OF THE QUESTIONS LEFT FOR YOU AND ME TO EXPLORE?

FIRST OF ALL, I SHOULD LIKE TO SUGGEST THAT WE NEED TO KNOW STILL MORE ABOUT THE STATE OF PACIFIC CULTURES AND THE PEOPLES WHO LIVED THEM BEFORE MEN FROM THE WESTERN NATIONS CAME AMONG THEM. NOW THAT, YOU WILL SAY, IS THE PROVINCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY AND THEIR AUXILIARIES. WRITTEN DOCUMENTS, THE HISTORIAN'S MATERIALS, ARE LACKING. THAT IS TRUE. BUT ANTHROPOLOGISTS USE THE WRITTEN ACCOUNTS OF EXPLORERS, TRAVELERS, MERCHANTS AND MISSIONARIES WHO HAVE TRIED TO DESCRIBE AND EXPLAIN WHAT THEY SAW AT DIFFERENT TIMES IN THE PAST. I, FOR ONE, AM NOT ALTOGETHER SATISFIED WITH THE WAY SOME OF THEM HAVE USED THESE MATERIALS. WE NEED TO KNOW MORE ABOUT THE PRECONCEPTIONS THAT THESE MEN, AND THE FEW WOMEN AMONG THEM, BROUGHT TO THE PACIFIC, WHICH AFFECTED THEIR REACTIONS TO POLYNESIANS AND OTHER ISLANDERS. BERNARD SMITH'S EUROPEAN VISION AND THE SOUTH PACIFIC SUGGESTS SOME GENERAL OUTLINES ON THAT SIDE, AND THERE ARE STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL WESTERNERS THAT TRY TO MEASURE THEIR QUALIFICATIONS FOR UNDERSTANDING WHAT THEY SAW.

I THINK THERE IS STILL MORE INSIGHT TO BE GAINED FROM ANALYZING AND COMPARING THE STATEMENTS OF ENGLISHMEN, FRENCHMEN, AND RUSSIANS, TO NAME ONLY THREE NATIONALITIES, ON WHAT THEY THOUGHT THE ISLANDERS WERE, WHERE THEY HAD COME FROM, AND WHERE THEY WERE GOING. WERE THE POLYNESIANS AT THE PEAK OF THEIR CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT? WERE THEY ON THE RISE? TOWARD WHAT? WERE THEY PAST THE PEAK OF THE MATERIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT THAT THE ISLAND ENVIRONMENTS MADE POSSIBLE? WOULD THEY, IF LEFT TO THEMSELVES, HAVE FOLLOWED PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT PARALLEL TO THOSE WHICH EUROPEANS OR ASIANS HAD KNOWN? DID 19TH CENTURY EUROPEAN VIEWS ON THESE QUESTIONS OWE MORE TO EUROPEAN BIAS THAN TO UNDERSTANDING OF THE MEN AND WOMEN THEY ENCOUNTERED IN THE PACIFIC?

YOU ARE THINKING, NO DOUBT, THAT STUDIES HAVE ALREADY BEEN DONE ALONG SUCH LINES. I SUGGEST THERE IS NEED OF MORE, PARTICULARLY WITH A VIEW TO EMPHASIZING THE IDEA OF CHANGE AS A FACTOR IN PACIFIC ISLAND LIFE IN THE PAST. I AM TIRED TO DEATH OF READING FLAT, TWO-DIMENSIONAL ACCOUNTS WHICH DEAL WITH THE ANCIENT HAWAIIANS AS THOUGH THEIR SOCIETY, RELIGION, POLITY AND MATERIAL CULTURE WERE SET IN STONE FROM THE DAY OF THEIR FIRST ARRIVAL HERE UNTIL THE ARRIVAL OF CAPTAIN COOK, AND "THEN EVERYTHING CHANGED." NO! THE HAWAIIANS WERE GOING SOMEWHERE, AND SO WERE SAMOANS, TONGANS, COOK ISLANDERS AND FIJIANS, AND THE MOMENTUM OF THEIR CULTURES HAD SOMETHING TO DO WITH WHAT HAPPENED AFTER CONTACT. BY ASKING NEW QUESTIONS OF OLD RECORDS I AM SUGGESTING THAT WE CAN LEARN MORE ABOUT THIS.

CLOSER TO THE THEME OF THIS MEETING IS THE STUDY OF CHANGE IN THE PACIFIC SINCE THE BEGINNING OF MODERN CONTACT WITH THE WEST. HERE IS A FIELD OPEN TO THE INVESTIGATIONS OF EVERY STUDENT OF HISTORY, AMATEUR OR PROFESSIONAL. THERE IS DOCUMENTARY MATERIAL IN GROWING ABUNDANCE, AS WE MOVE FROM THE EARLY RECORDS TO THE PRESENT. AND IN THE PRESENT WE CAN SUPPLEMENT THE WRITTEN AND PRINTED PAGE WITH ORAL INTERVIEWS. SOME SKILL IS NEEDED IN THE GATHERING AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA FROM THESE SOURCES, BUT HONEST INQUIRY, THE HEART OF SCHOLARSHIP, IS THE KEY TO THE WHOLE.

HOW MAY WE USE THESE MATERIALS? I SUGGEST THAT PERSONALITY STUDIES CAN BE ONE OF THE MOST FRUITFUL LINES OF APPROACH, PARTICULARLY STUDIES OF MEN AND WOMEN OF THE PACIFIC UNDERGOING THE TRIALS OF CHANGING TIMES. PAUL EHRLICH'S STUDY OF HENRY NANPEI, OF PONAPE, IS A GOOD EXAMPLE; KERRY HOWE'S WORK ON THE NAISILINES OF THE LOYALTY ISLANDS AND TIM MACNAUGHT'S ON APOLOSI R. NAWAI OF FIJI ARE OTHERS. STUCH STUDIES, OF COMMONERS AS WELL AS CHIEFS CAN TELL US A GREAT DEAL ABOUT THE HUMAN IMPACT OF CHANGE, IN THE PAST AND IN THE PRESENT AS WELL.

IN HAWAII ONE MIGHT POINT TO ROBERT W. WILCOX, PRINCE KUHIO, JUDGE KEPOIKAI, AND THE KANOAS OF KAUAI AS WORTHY OF STUDY, MERELY IN THE PERIOD THAT BROUGHT THE END OF THE MONARCHY. HONESTLY TOLD, THEIR STORIES WOULD THROW REALLY NEW LIGHT ON A MOST IMPORTANT PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY. AND SOME PERSONALITY STUDIES MIGHT BE COMBINED IN THE HISTORIES OF FAMILIES, FROM THE KAMEHAMEHA, FOR EXAMPLE, TO SOME OF THE POLITICALLY ACTIVE PART-HAWAIIAN FAMILIES OF THE 20TH CENTURY, LIKE THE TRASKS, HEENS, KAUHANES AND OTHERS.

THE HAOLE, THE PALAGI, TOO, CAN BE STUDIED IN THIS WAY. HARRY MAUDE AND SOME OF HIS STUDENTS AND SUCCESSORS HAVE SHOWN THE WAY, BUT EACH OF US HERE COULD THINK OF A DOZEN SUCH INDIVIDUALS WHOSE STORIES NEED TO BE TOLD. HERE IS AN AREA FOR CHURCH HISTORIANS, TO STUDY THE LIVES AND THE THOUGHTS OF MISSIONARIES, CHURCH LEADERS, AND THEIR IMPACTS UPON THE PEOPLES WHOSE LIVES THEY, IN TURN, HAVE TRIED TO INFLUENCE. I WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO NAME ANY OF THOSE OF THE MORMON CHURCH, FOR FEAR OF EXPOSING MY IGNORANCE EVEN FURTHER. BUT WHAT OF SUCH MEN AS HIRAM BINGHAM, DR. JUDD, OR NATHANIEL EMERSON? HAS ANYONE INQUIRED HOW CONTACT WITH THE HAWAIIANS INFLUENCED THEM?

THERE IS A SPECIAL, VERY EMOTIONAL PROBLEM INVOLVED IN STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITIES. IT IS THE STRONG TEMPTATION TO TAKE SIDES, TO TRY TO JUSTIFY, DEFEND OR CONDEMN THE INDIVIDUAL IN QUESTION, IMPUTING TO HIM OR HER MOTIVES THAT SPRING MORE FROM THE WRITER'S MIND THAN FROM THE SUBJECTS. BUT SUCH PROBLEMS OF BIAS ARE THE HISTORIAN'S CROSS WHEREVER HUMAN MOTIVATION ENTERS, AND WE MUST TRY TO BEAR IT WITH HONOR.

THEN THERE ARE INSTITUTIONAL STUDIES, EVOLUTIONARY AND COMPARATIVE. HERE THE POSSIBILITIES FOR STUDYING INTER-ACTION OF SULTURES SEEM GREAT. WE HAVE HAD A GOOD DEAL ABOUT WESTERN IMPACT ON ISLAND INSTITUTIONS, BUT MUCH LESS, I FEEL, ON THE COUNTER-INFLUENCE OF PACIFIC CULTURES ON THE EVOLUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSION WORK, POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION OR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

ON THE CONTACT OF RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS WE MAY ASK WHAT WERE THE REAL AIMS OF THE DIFFERENT MISSION GROUPS, OR EVEN THOSE OF INDIVIDUAL MISSIONARIES? HOW WELL WERE THEY ATTUNED TO PACIFIC REALITIES? HOW DID THE ORGANIZATION AND PURPOSE OF MISSION BOARDS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA RELATE TO THE EXPERIENCES OF MISSIONARIES IN THE FIELD? AND HOW DID THE CULTURES OF THE ISLANDERS AFFECT THE OUTCOME OF MISSION EFFORTS? DID THE RESULTANT CHURCHES TEND TO HAVE LOCAL VARIATIONS, REFLECTING LOCAL WAYS, OR WAS PRESSURE FROM MISSION BOARDS ENOUGH TO ENSURE UNIFORMITY? HAVE SYNCRETIC INFLUENCES KEPT SOME BITS OF OLDER FAITHS ALIVE WITHIN CHRISTIAN FORMS?

THE WORK, PARTICULARLY THE FEELINGS AND OUTLOOK OF PACIFIC ISLAND CHRISTIANS, WHETHER AS LAYMEN OR AS MISSIONARIES THEMSELVES, IS WORTHY OF BOTH PARTICULAR AND GENERAL STUDIES. THE BEHAVIORAL IMPACTS ON ISLANDER AND PALAGI, OF CHANGE IN RELIGIOUS LIFE AND ORGANIZATION PROVIDE CONTINUING SUBJECTS FOR YOUR INVESTIGATION. MARTIN'S AND KOSKINEN'S STUDIES OF THE POLITICAL INFLUENCES OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN THE PACIFIC HAVE MERELY SCRATCHED THE SURFACE. PARTICULARLY WE AWAIT, AS FAR AS I KNOW, THE FIRST COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CHRISTIAN CHURCH INFLUENCES ON THE LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST COLONIALISM AND ON THE CREATION OF NEW STATES, THE NEW HEBRIDES, OR VANUATA, OFFERING JUST THE LATEST CASE HISTORY. THE POSSIBILITIES ARE ENDLESS.

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS PROVIDE ANOTHER AVENUE OF APPROACH. I WAS GOING TO SUGGEST THAT A STUDY OF LAIE'S PLANTATION HISTORY MIGHT BE USEFUL, BUT THEN I DISCOVERED THAT PROFESSOR ARRINGTON HAS ALREADY TAKEN THIS UP FOR US. I LOOK FORWARD TO THAT. BUT THEN I WANT TO ASK HOW THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THIS COMMUNITY RELATED TO THE SURROUNDING AREA OR TO OTHER MORMON CENTERS IN THE ISLANDS. WAS IT TYPICAL? DIFFERENT? WERE LESSONS LEARNED HERE APPLIED ELSEWHERE, OR VICE VERSA?

HOW DID THE INTRODUCTION OF A WESTERN-STYLE MARKET ECONOMY AFFECT THE LIFE-STYLES OF PACIFIC PEOPLES? DID THE KINDS OF INFLUENCES CHANGE WITH TIME, WITH COMMODITIES? DID THESE CHANGES VARY FROM ONE SOCIETY TO ANOTHER? THE CHANGE FROM THE SEARCH FOR WATER AND PROVISIONS TO THAT FOR MARKETS AND COMMODITIES FOR WORLD TRADE AFFECTED WESTERN APPROACHES. HOW DID IT ALTER THE IMPACT OF THE WEST ON OAHU, NUKUHIVA, OR NEW ZEALAND? AND WHAT OF ISLAND VIEWS OF THE WHALERS?

THE STORY OF LAND UTILIZATION AND PATTERNS OF OWNERSHIP OR CONTROL IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT AND CONTROVERTED OF ALL ECONOMIC QUESTIONS IN PACIFIC ISLAND HISTORY IN THE MODERN AGE. HOW WAS LAND ALIENATED FROM ISLAND OWNERS OR RETAINED IN THEIR HANDS BY DIFFERENT ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEMS? WHY DID DIFFERENCES OCCUR? HOW DID THEY AFFECT THE STANDARDS OF MATERIAL EXISTENCE OF THE PEOPLE IN THE ISLANDS? AND WHY DID ALIENATION TAKE PLACE WHEN AND WHERE IT DID? DID CHRISTIAN ETHICS PLAY A PART? WAS IT THE SHORT-SIGHTED GREED OF ISLANDERS OR CUNNING BY OUTSIDERS? WAS AND IS THE PROCESS OF CHANGE IN THIS IMPORTANT MATTER "INEVITABLE", GIVEN THE DIFFERING SOCIAL MORES OF THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES?

THERE IS A WEALTH OF MATERIAL IN PUBLIC RECORDS OF HAWAII, FIJI AND OTHER ISLAND GROUPS WHICH HAS ONLY BEEN LIGHTLY USED IN AN ANALYTICAL WAY THUS FAR. MARSHAL SAHLINS AND MARION KELLY, I UNDERSTAND, ARE WORKING ON THE SUBJECT FOR HAWAII IN THE LATTER 19TH CENTURY. PETER FRANCE'S CHARTER OF THE LAND GIVES ONE VIEW OF THE STORY IN FIJI. BUT MUCH OF WHAT HAS BEEN DONE LATELY SEEMS TO BE RATHER DOCTRINAIRE, CHIP-ON-THE-SHOULDER WRITING. LOOSE GENERALIZATIONS DEPENDING EITHER CORPORATE HOLDINGS OR ACCOUNTS OF LOST PATRIMONIES NEED TO BE CAREFULLY EXAMINED AND BACKED UP WITH SOLID DATA. THE PICTURE THAT THEN EMERGES MAY BE BLACKER THAN EITHER SIDE, OR ANY SIDE, THINKS, OR IT MAY BE ONE MUCH EASIER TO COMPREHEND AND TO CORRECT IN TERMS OF HUMAN FAILINGS.

FINALLY, AND I MAKE NO SUGGESTION THAT THESE REMARKS BEGIN TO EXHAUST THE LIST OF WORK TO BE DONE, LET ME SUGGEST THAT POLITICAL CHANGE AND VARIATION STILL NEEDS FURTHER INSTITUTIONAL STUDY, ESPECIALLY FROM AN ISLAND POINT OF VIEW. HOW WERE PACIFIC PEOPLES PERSUADED TO ACCEPT FOREIGN CONTROL? TO WHAT EXTENT? DID ISLAND CONDITIONS ALTER OR VARY THE ADMINISTRATIVE AIMS AND ORGANIZATIONS OF THE FOREIGN POWERS? HAS THE MOVEMENT TOWARD INDEPENDENCE BEEN CONDITIONED MORE BY PURPOSE OR BY ACCIDENT OF HISTORY? IF PURPOSE WHOSE? AND ONCE INDEPENDENCE IS ACHIEVED, ARE DIFFERENT ISLAND GROUPS FINDING DIFFERENT BALANCES BETWEEN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN WAYS? WITH WHAT LIKELY RESULTS?

AGAIN THE TASK OF ESTIMATING MOTIVATIONS MAY BE THE MOST DIFFICULT PART. THE AIMS OF COLONIAL POLICY WERE SELDOM CLEARLY STATED, EXCEPT IN TERMS THAT BETOKEN GOOD REASONS RATHER THAN REAL ONES. IN THE FIRST STAGES, BEFORE BUREAUCRATIC SELF INTEREST OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATORS DEVELOPED, WE CAN SEE MORE CLEARLY, PERHAPS, THE DESIRE TO MANIPULATE ISLANDERS FOR FOREIGN BENEFIT. LATER THE MANIPULATION WAS FREQUENTLY COVERED WITH A BLANKET OF RHETORIC, WOVEN FROM THREADS OF ALTRUISM, CHRISTIAN CONCERN AND THE WORK ETHIC. A MINGLING OF ISLAND AND FOREIGN SCHOLARS IS NEEDED YET TO FIND THE TRUTH FOR OUR TIME, AND PARTICULARLY TO JUDGE TO WHAT EXTENT WESTERN POLITICAL AIMS AND METHODS HAVE BEEN CONDITIONED BY PACIFIC REALITIES.

NO, IT IS NOT ALL CUT AND DRIED. WE STILL NEED TO LEARN A GREAT DEAL ABOUT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN THE PACIFIC, IF WE ARE TO UNDERSTAND WHAT IS GOING ON TODAY. HAPPILY THERE ARE OTHERS ALREADY IN THE FIELD READY TO WELCOME YOU AND ME AS COLLEAGUES IN THE CAUSE. REVIVING ETHNIC CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG PACIFIC PEOPLES HAS ALREADY HAD A STRONG IMPACT ON THE WORK OF WESTERN HISTORIANS. ONCE SEEING THE PACIFIC ONLY AS A MINOR FIELD OF WESTERN INFLUENCE, A GENERATION OF THEM NOW HAVE TRIED, OFTEN AGAINST GREAT ODDS OF LANGUAGE AND CULTURE BARRIERS, TO SEE THE SUBJECT FROM THE OTHER SIDE. THE WORK OF THE CROCOMBES AND TH YOUNG SCHOLARS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC GIVEN US MODELS, SIONE LATUKEFU AND OTHERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA FORM ANOTHER CENTER ALREADY LONG AT WORK. AND IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND A NUMBER OF UNIVERSITIES AND SCHOLARS ARE WELL AHEAD OF US.

HERE IN HAWAII WE HAVE VIRTUALLY THE ONLY CENTERS OF STUDY OF THE PACIFIC ISLANDS TO BE FOUND IN AMERICA TODAY. LET US HOPE THAT HERE AMONG US MAY SIT ONE WHO WILL REVEAL MORE CLEARLY THAN ANYONE HAS YET DONE THE MUTUAL INFLUENCES OF OUR CULTURES UPON EACH OTHER AND THEIR COMMON POTENTIALS FOR A FULLER LIFE FOR ALL OUR PEOPLES.

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SOURCES FOR FAMILY HISTORY
IN HAWAII

by

Agnes C. Conrad
Hawaii State Archives

In order to underatand the written resources on genealogy and the family in Hawaii, it is necessary to know something about Hawaii's history and government. Those of you who are familiar with this will have to bear with me as I have found that we cannot take for granted that everyone knows about Hawaii.

The islands were inhabited by Polyneaians for about 1,000 years before they were known to the western world. They had no written language, but did have extensive oral literature, much of it related to genealogy. Between Cook's visit in 1778 and the arrival of the American Protestant missionaries in 1820, the islands were visited by several ships of exploration, by fur traders and sandalwood merchants, by adventurers and deserting sailors. The primary source of information on life in Hawaii during this period are the reports on the voyages, many of which have been published. Usually the only Hawaiian names which appear are those of the ruling class or alii and some of the high priests. There are only a few journals of residents from this period and information on what life was like in Hawaii before 1820 is scarce.

The American missionaries brought a printing press and a zeal for education, along with their Christian fervor. One of their first tasks was to turn the oral language into a written one, and they did this so successfully that by 1840s, Hawaii was one of the most

literate countries in the world. In 1839, King Kamehameha III granted a constitution and a Western form of government began to develop. Along with the constitutional government came registrars, licenses and a court system. Private ownership of land began after the Mahele or land distribution in 1848. Another date to remember is June 1900. Although Hawaii was annexed to the United States in 1898, the territory of Hawaii was not organized until 1900, and many functions were taken over by the Federal government, including immigration, naturalization, and census. I stress these dates so that you won't expect to find a record of an 1820 marriage, a 1830 land deed, or an 1905 immigration record.

Another important point to remember is that Hawaii has always had a very centralized government from that first constitution up to the present time. There was no local government before Annexation in 1898, and even today we have only two levels — the state and four counties, which function primarily as municipalities. The fou counties correspond to the major islands — Oahu, (the city and county of Honolulu); Hawaii; Maui, including Molokai and Lanai; and Kauai, including Niihau. These basic units are the same as those under the kingdom when island governors were appointed by the central government and were responsible to the central government for local government activities. One important result of this is that the county court house as most of you know it here in the continental United States does not exist, and the county clerk is not a recorder of vital statistics, but a clerk primarily responsibl for council matters.

The courts are all State courts,

the kingdom of Hawaii organized in 1842, and the records are primarily trial cases, probate, civil, criminal. All land recording and other types of recording was and continues to be done by the Bureau of Conveyances, now a division of the State Land Department.

Births, marriages and deaths were registered by various agencies of the central government until 1896 when the Registrar of Vital Statistics, in the Department of Health, was given full responsibility. All public schools and libraries, hospitals, tax offices, are directly operated by the State. In some ways this makes searching for family history in Hawaii rather simple as most of the pre-1900 records are in the State Archives, later ones are with the creating agency. While Hawaii has been a kingdom, a republic, a territory and a state during the past 150 years, the laws were continuous and many of the agencies were also, so that you don't have to know whether a court was a royal one or a territorial one to find the information you need.

Since a search for family history as well as genealogy usually begins with vital statistics, this is a logical place to begin.

Hawaii's earliest laws on registration of births and marriages were passed in 1842. In the case of births, the tax officer was to be informed; for marriages, the governor of the island issued the "written assent." Reporting of deaths was not required until 1859. In later years, the school teachers became registrars and reported to the secretary of the Board of Education. The requirement on reporting marriages performed varied over the years, and for one period only the agent who granted the license had to report names. In 1896, the office of Registrar of Vital Statistics was created under the Board of Health, and that office continues to be the

official one for recording all vital statistics.

Most pre-1900 records created in compliance with these laws and which survived, eventually were deposited in the State Archives. However, there are some missionary records in the Archives which pre-date the laws and are as early as 1826. The Department of Health has some records dating back to 1863, but the bulk are after 1896. The Archives marriage records have been completely indexed, both by the name of groom and bride and the indexes are available for public use. The Health Department records are indexed by groups of years and by island, and therefore it is necessary to have an approximate date and place before requesting information from them.

There are some limiting factors on using the Department of Health records. They are not open for public search, and a $2.00 fee is charged for each search made by a staff member. This includes a copy of any record found, but must be paid whether or not anything is found. Information is made available only to a person having "a direct and tangible interest," usually meaning a descendant. Many of the pre-1900 registrations are by a given name only and identification is difficult unless dates are available. An 1860 law required that the father's name become the family name, but it was many years before this became the common practice among Hawaiians and Chinese. Furthermore, some of the early records have Hawaiianized form of a foreign name (Kamika for Smith) or, even less useful, only the nationality of the father (Pake, Chinese; Pukiki, Portuguese). The law states that index information, that is name and place and date of event, is available to the public. It also states that microfilm copies of events that occurred more than seventy-five

years ago may be made available for genealogy researchers. These records have all been filmed by the Genealogical Society, but a use copy has not been obtained by the department. As a consequence, research can be more readily done in Salt Lake than in Honolulu.

You can expect that many births and deaths in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were not reported. Family, friends, midwives were in attendance and although the law required registration, it wasn't always done. Marriages had to be licensed and performed by a licensed person which meant better recordkeeping, but even then the reports were not always filed. The law did not require immediate notification of marriages; in fact, it anticipated that this would not always be done and required executors of the estate of anyone who had performed marriages to file any records they found. As this was not always done, some of these nineteenth and even early twentieth century records of marriages are in private hands, churches and museums. Unfortunately, many have also been lost.

Pre-1900 marriage records will seldom give more information than the names of the bride and groom and the district they lived in. The Archives does have some license applications for 1900 to 1929, and the Department of Health also has some, which give names of parents and nationality, whether or not the persons have been married before and ages. All of this information, of course, is on the more modern records. A word of caution, however - the parents named on marriage applications are not always natural parents, even if there was no formal adoption.

In addition to the official registration of marriages with the Department of Health, after Hawaii became a territory in 1900, Federal law required that marriages also be registered at the Circuit Court in each county. This was done from 1900 to 1949. These records (certificates) are available at both the Circuit Courts and Archives. They are either arranged alphabetically or an index is available, but by the name of the groom only. While these certificates include only the names, ages and address of the parties, it is sometimes easier to find a marriage date through them, then apply to the Department of Health for the marriage record.

Another important source of genealogical information is the Circuit Court records, especially probate and equity cases. The four circuits correspond to the four counties but are State courts. These records date back to the 1840s, and for the years up to 1900 are in the State Archives, with indexes. Later years with indexes, are in each of the Circuit Courts. The probate records, whether with wills or intestate cases, give the names of spouses, children, and sometimes surviving parents and siblings. A researcher should look at all cases under the family surname as claims made by relatives may include a family genealogy. Disputed claims are frequently the most useful as genealogies were included as evidence. Equity cases are of value as they frequently were filed to clear title or for partition of land, and again relationships might be a part of the evidence. If you want more than the family line, read through all of the records, including the fiscal accounts in a probate case. Inventories will tell you how the house was furnished; accounts may tell you where minors were attending school and who their guardians

were; testimony given may also give hints on personal relationships. Civil cases can be informative on family businesses and land disputes. Unfortunately, if your ancestors were peaceful, law-abiding citizens, you are going to have more trouble finding out about them than if they were contentious people who were constantly in the courts. The pre-1900 probates are on microfilm and available at the Genealogical Society.

A word of warning in using court records in Hawaiian - terms of relationship are not always clear. Makuahine can mean mother, aunt or female cousin of the parent's generation; makuakane can be father, uncle or male cousin.

Another State office that has information which may be of help is the Bureau of Conveyances, located in the Kalanimoku Building, Honolulu. The records begin in 1846 and continue to the present time. Land transfers were sometimes made between parents and children or grandparents and grandchildren, and the statement of relationship included in the deed. Wives were required to sign deeds to release rights. In addition, prior to 1915, the law required that adoptions be recorded here. Indexes are available, by island and by date. The name of the person making the adoption is in the grantee index; the person releasing is in the grantor index. After 1903, the Circuit Court judges had jurisdiction over adoptions, and from 1903 to 1945, the record will be found in probate cases in the Circuit Courts. In 1945, a law was passed making all adoption records confidential, and information can be obtained only by order of the court. Although the law between 1859 and 1915 required that adoptions be recorded, few Hawaiians did so.

The hanai system was a very old Hawaiian custom of giving a child at birth to a close relative or friend, particularly if the foster parent had no children, and to this day it is usually an informal rather than a legalized and recorded act. Consequently, few records are available for hanai adoptions. Another hint, children born out of wedlock were sometimes adopted by their natural fathers, particularly if the mother was Hawaiian and the father was Caucasian. Conveyance records can give you much more than genealogy - lands bought and sold, mortgages made and paid off or not paid off, sometimes chattel mortgages as well as those on land are listed. In doing some research on the Marin family, one of the most important records I found there was an agreement to annul a marriage.

There are other sources for vital statistics besides official records. Notice of deaths and marriages began to appear in newspapers as early as 1836 in the first English language paper. Births are not listed until many years later. The only index to such notices before 1929 is in the State Archives. Both English and Hawaiian newspapers were indexed, but not completely even for the notices published, and of course many were never published. Generally obituaries notices before 1900 give little information beyond the name, date of death and sometimes age and place of birth. Later, obituaries listed survivors and, particularly for Hawaiians, sometimes gave ancestors. If you have a death date for an Hawaiian during the years Hawaiian language papers were being published (1834-1927), it may be worthwhile to search for an obituary. The same is true for Japanese and Chinese newspapers if you have a date and can read them. They are not indexed. The Archives stopped indexing

newspapers in 1950; the printed index to the Honolulu Star-Bulletin and Honolulu Advertiser covers the later years, and continues to include obituaries.

Church records of marriages and christenings are a common source of information, but except for the marriage records on file with the Archives, few have been preserved from the nineteenth century. However, if the religion of the person being researched is known and the area where he lived, a request for information can be made to the church in the area. These records are usually chronological, and an approximate date must be available.

City directories are available for Hawaii from 1880 to the present time, and all islands are covered. These can help to establish when a person came to Hawaii and where he lived. The names of children will begin to appear as they became adults and continue to live in the same household. Marriage dates can sometime be guessed at by the date they set up their own household. Directories sometimes give a date of death, which assists in locating obituaries or death certificates. Equally important for the family story is information on occupations and business.

One common source of information that up to now has not been very available in Hawaii is the Census Records. Hawaii began taking a census in the 1840s, but in only a few cases have the schedules or lists of names been preserved. The most complete in the Archives are those for 1890 for all islands, and for Honolulu only for 1896. They are arranged by island and by district and are not indexed. However, if you have the time to search, you may be rewarded with information on who lived in the house, their ages, relationships, place of birth and occupation. One of the newest sources of

information is the 1900 census, the first US census in Hawaii as Hawaii was annexed in 1898.

One other group of records in the Archives which may not give much genealogy but may tell something of family interest are the real property tax records. Property taxes in Hawaii began in 1860 and for Oahu, Hawaii, Molokai and Kauai we have most of the records from 1860 to 1935, arranged in the early years by districts and for some records after 1900 by nationality. Maui's unfortunately were destroyed many years ago. If you know where your family lived, these records will show not only how much real property they owned or leased but also personal property, as this type of tax was in force in Hawaii during all these years. It will tell you whether they were raising rice or cattle, how many animals they had (unless they hid them from the tax collector), the number of carts and just about anything else that could be taxed. After 1935, taxes are listed by tax key number and are much less personal. Tax maps are available to show the location by tax key number. If a piece of land has been in the family for many years, the tax maps and tax assessment notices will furnish a clue to the orginal title and how the property was obtained.

There are some special sources in the State Archives which might be useful for biographical information on family members.

Naturalization records cover the years from 1844 to 1894 and are indexed. These give the name and place of birth. When the application is on file, it will usually give the period of residence. After the Republic of Hawaii was created in 1894, naturalization was replaced by "Special Rights of Citizenship," these granted the right

to vote, but did not require renunciation of other citizenship. Denization was a similar process, carried out between 1846 and 1898. These last two were almost a dual citizenship, but were not recognized by the U.S. government after Annexation. Citizens of Hawaii automatically became citizens of the United States, and many who held the special rights thought they became U.S. citizens but unless they were originally from the U.S., they did not. If your family histories claim some members were citizens, but names do not appear in the naturalization records, it may be for this reason. Many voted in elections after 1900, but found out about their true status when applying for U.S. passports.

In Hawaii, names can be officially changed by a petition to the lieutenant governor, or, between 1900 and 1959, to the Secretary of the Territory, who issued the decree. An index to the new name is available at the Archives through 1953 and the Lieutenant Governor's Office for later years. As the law requires recording of the decree at the Bureau of Conveyances, this is a public record, and there it is indexed under both the old and the new name. The petition is a restricted record, available only to the persons concerned.

Special sources of information are available for some ethnic groups. For Hawaiians, the records of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles are useful. Before 1848 all land belonged to the king; the Mahele or land division was the beginning of fee simple titles. To substantiate a claim to a piece of land, oral testimony and written documentation had to be presented to the Board. These often gave the name of the person from whom the claimant received the land. As this frequently was a parent or

grandparent, a person who can identify an ancestor who received land at the time of the Mahele may find information here to add another generation to the family chart.

There is a published Indices to Awards made by the Board, arranged geographically, then by personal name, and also by Award number. If you do not have an Award number, to find an individual's land holdings you need the island and district. The index to the testimony and register of documents is available only at the State Archives, and is by award number. These original awards of title were made to some foreigners who were in Hawaii before 1848, and information on their first years in Hawaii may be included, or, as many married Hawaiian women, on the wife's family.

The testimony and registers were kept in both English and Hawaiian, and one of our main projects during the past 10 years has been to translate all of the Hawaiian into English. It is valuable for information other than land grants because it gives an insight into the land that was made available to the ordinary Hawaiian - a house lot, usually small, a taro patch or two, some kula plots, as opposed to the very large grants made to the chiefs, who controlled most of the land, or the konohiki or land agents. For the foreigners who did get land at this time, the documents usually tell when they came to Hawaii, who gave them the right to use the land, and what service they performed that entitled them to the land. Incidentally, in searching land records as a source of information, a knowledge of how original titles were received is essential. Land Commission Award or LCA number and a Royal Patent or RP number indicates an award at the time of the Mahele; a Gr. or Grant number indicates a

purchase of government land. The first two were recognition of land that had been used by the claimant before the Mahele. On the other hand, grants were outright purchases of government land and you will seldom find family information in the records.

Two institutions have collections of traditional Hawaiian genealogies - the Bishop Museum and the State Archives. There are no indexes to individual names, but usually some identification of family, island, or progenitor. Some of these list descendants into the twentieth century; most, however, are traditional and end in the nineteenth century. Therefore, it is necessary to establish two or three generations in order to "tie in" to the books. Some families have such books in their own possession. Care must be taken in using the traditional genealogies which precede the migration to Hawaii. Some of these have been printed, such as the Kumilipo and Fornander's Hawaiian Antiquities and Folklore. Names of progenitors have been shown to be related to cosmogony rather than to family lines. Another fact to be remembered in looking for pre-contact genealogies is that only the alii or chiefs had a genealogy, at that time, of course, preserved orally. A commoner was not allowed a genealogy and one cannot be supported beyond about 1820.

Records in Hawaii for non-Hawaiians do not go beyond the person who came to Hawaii, except for an occasional probate which will mention surviving parents who are not living in Hawaii. The first records available for most foreigners are the passenger manifests, 1842 to June 1900, in the State Archives. These have been microfilmed by the Genealogical Society. Most of these are indexed. Information given on the manifest is usually name of the person

arriving, place of origin, age and persons who accompanied him, such as wife and children. Special indexes are available for the Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and other groups of contract laborers. A few Italians came in 1899. However, groups who came in after June 1900, such as Korean, Spanish, Puerto Rican and Filipino, in addition to the later groups of Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese, are not included in the State Archives records, as by this date immigration was the responsibility of the U.S. government. In order to obtain information on those who came as immigrants after 1900, it is necessary to a form with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. It is necessary to know the exact date of arrival, ship and port of entry. The fee is $5.50 for the search and report, and the information will be made available only to the person concerned or someone with the right to the information, such as a descendant. The entry may give names of family members who came as a group. It may also give complete Spanish or Portuguese names.

The information, if they entered at Honolulu, is now on microfilm at the San Francisco office of the Immigration Service. An application for the information can be filed at the Honolulu office or direct with San Francisco. However, reports that I have received indicate that there are long delays before answers are received, if they ever are. I asked one of the local representatives of a Senator what he considered a reasonable time to wait for a reply before you started putting pressure on the office. His answer was "60 days, then contact us with full information and we will follow up."

Two of the groups I mentioned are a special problem - the Puerto Ricans and the early Filipinos. The Puerto Ricans entered

through New Orleans as nationals and attempts that I know of to get information have been useless. The Filipinos came largely on contracts with the plantations and Hawaiian Sugar Planters Association has maintained records on many of them - arrival, family members, returns and plantation assignments. If you are looking for information on Filipinos who came on contract, the Filipino Bureau at the HSPA office, Aiea, Hawaii, can be helpful. These records deal primarily with those arriving before 1941.

Cemeteries, of course, are another source of information, with gravestones revealing birth and death dates. There are many small ones scattered throughout Oahu and the other islands. For most of these, no records are available and a search of the grave markers is necessary. One notable exception is the Oahu Cemetery on Nuuanu Avenue. There is an index there to burials back to 1842. While the index prior to 1952 gives only the name and location of burial plot, markers both for the person being researched and others buried in the same plot may reveal or confirm relationships. For example, a relationship between an early Honolulu merchant and a woman thought to be his granddaughter was confirmed when their tombstones were found side by side, along with one for her son.

A source of information for persons of Japanese descent is the records of the Consulate General of Japan, in Honolulu, which are now at the Hawaii Immigration Heritage Center at the Bishop Museum. These are the records of Japanese who came to Hawaii between 1885 and 1910 and include the names of the immigrant, family members, birth and death dates, and sometimes prefecture and village of origin. This last is of special interest as registers maintained

in the village contain ancestral information. The Consulate has retained the index to these records and it is recommended that it be contacted before the Museum is called. If the Consulate cannot find a record, you can write the Museum, but they do need information on approximate time of arrival, and if possible, the ken of origin.

There are several source of special information on the Chinese, but again up to 1900 when the Federal government took over immigratio Besides the immigration/passenger lists, in the 1890s there were special laws concerning Chinese - Hawaiian born children who had gone to China and wanted to return had to have special permits; merchants applied for permits; women were given special permits. Again, these have a special problem because Chinese frequently changed their names and transliteration into the Roman alphabet can give many variations. This, of course, is also true of the Japanese so look for variations in spelling. If you are interested in searching for Chinese ancestors, Jean Ohai has compiled a list of sources and an explanation of how to use them.

These are the main sources of official records in Hawaii on family history. There are, of course, other resources.

There are two major photograph collections in Hawaii and several small ones. These are important because they include negatives from commercial photographers, and many individual portraits and family groups taken by them are here. One is at the State Archives; the other at the Bishop Museum. Both of these are indexed by names. There are smaller more specialized collections at the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society for protestant

missionaries and their descendants; Lyman Museum in Hilo for the island of Hawaii; Kauai Museum, Lihue, for the island of Kauai. In addition to portraits, there are photos of Honolulu and other areas which will show you what the areas looked like in 1930, 1900, 1880. There are very few photographs before that time, although some daguerreotype and tintypes are in the collections mentioned.

There is some oral history available. Of course, the best oral history of your family is that which you would do your self. Since this isn't always possible, there are some transcripts available made by the University of Hawaii Ethnic Studies Oral History Program. They focus on what it was like to be a Hawaiian or Chinese or Portuguese living on a plantation in the 1920s, 1930s and later, and the experience would have been similar for anyone's ancestor in the same situation. Similar compilations have been made for some districts in Honolulu, and rural areas on other islands. Another source of similar information is a University of Hawaii Sociology Club publication called "Social Process in Hawaii," compiled from student interviews of their parents, grandparents and othersand the accounts published. An early and unsophisticated type of oral history perhaps, but one of the few sources on what it was like to be a picture bride, or the conditions in China that made emigration to the unknown country seem like a good idea or family relationships in a crowded plantation home. It may not deal with your ancestor, but you can get an idea of what their life was probably like.

There are few letters or journals existing for nineteenth and twentieth century Hawaii. If you have some in your family you are fortunate. Lackingthis, you may want to look at some of the

published memoirs which seem to correspond in time and position.

There are a few large collections of private papers which may or may not reveal information on your family. Again the Bishop Museum and the State Archives have the largest collections, primarily covering the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The Hawaiian Mission Children's Society has letters and journals of many of the missionaries and their wives. Letters written between missionaries on different islands give numerous details of family life, and what living in Hawaii was like. Lyman House, Hilo, has letters of the missionaries on the island of Hawaii. Unfortunately, almost none of this material has been published.

Newspapers, as already mentioned, were published in Honolulu as early as 1836 in both English and Hawaiian, and good sets of these have survived; most are now on microfilm. Portuguese language papers appeared in the 1890s and early 1900s, but few copies have survived. Japanese and Chinese papers also began in the 1890s and some continue until the present time. English language papers were established on the island of Hawaii in 1895; on Maui in 1900; and on Kauai in 1911. All of these continue to be published and have been microfilmed. I mention these papers as they are a source of information on family members. The Honolulu papers have been selectively indexed by the Archives prior to 1950; a printed index is available for the two major papers from 1929 to today. A limited amount of indexing has been done on outer island papers; I know of none for the Japanese and Chinese papers.

There are other published sources of information which may give you details not available elsewhere. Telephones came to Hawaii in 1880s, and directories are available from 1894, published on microfiche by the telephone company. Up to 1940, they were issued twice a year, and are a better indication of where people lived than the city directories which are likely to contain year-old information. Of course, this is a source only if your ancestors had a telephone, but even the date the family shows up will give information on improvement in financial status.

Detailed maps of Honolulu, called "Fire maps" because they were issued for the use of fire insurance companies, date back to 1879; and for urban areas on other islands to 1912. These maps plot every building in the center of the city for the early years, expanding as the city spread. They give information on type of construction, number of floors, and placement of buildings on lots. There is no better way to visualize what living was like in Honolulu's Chinatown in 1896 before it was destroyed by fire, or in 1910 when supposedly conditions were improved, than to see the density of the building on the lots and the size of the lots. Not only is the type of building identified, but its use is also given.

There are some special indexes in the State Archives that may be useful. There is a list of government office holders from 1850 to 1959, including legislators, giving offices held and dates. There is also a list of Civil War and Spanish American War veterans who died in Honolulu, and of residents who served during World War I. This last index gives enlistment and discharge dates, unit served in, and usually serial number.

These are the major sources for family history in Hawaii. As you can realize, many correspond to the sources you will find elsewhere; a few are unique to Hawaii.

PROBLEMS IN ORAL HISTORY IN TONGA

by

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Aloha! My purpose today is to discuss some of the practical and cultural problems facing those who attempt to gather oral history in Tonga. My remarks are based largely on experience and inference rather than on any study of mine about how to write history. I am not presuming that my ideas have not been mentioned before elsewhere. They may have. I have simply discovered them on my own in the field. I have no bibliography to offer. My focus is on Tonga, but what I say about Tonga is true of many other areas of the Pacific.

At the outset, I would like to say that my attachment to the language and people of Tonga is much more than intellectual curiosity or professional high seriousness. Much of what I am today I owe to the experiences I had as a missionary in Tonga for 2½ years (from 1959 to 1962), as a member of a Peace Corps training team in 1967 and 1968, and as a student of Tongan oral culture from 1973 to the present. I love Tonga, I love the Tongan people, and I am deeply concerned that they preserve and promulgate the best of their culture. I want to declare my love for Tonga in the beginning simply because it won't fit anywhere else in my talk, and there will be moments when I may sound a little blunt, even disrespectfully critical of some of the forces in people that make oral research very difficult in Tonga. But I suspect that the pitfalls I discuss in gathering oral history will reflect upon the searcher himself as much as upon the subjects of his searching.

The historian Will Durant says that "Human history is a brief spot in space, and its first lesson in modesty." I would like to say that a preeminent characteristic of the researcher or historian is modesty.

I am still amazed at the number of writers about Tonga, even in the Church, who assume a hardened all-knowingness which stops informative discussion rather than solicits it--the insistence, for example, of some non-LDS scholars that there isn't the slightest possibility that there were any migrations into Polynesia from ancient America, and the equally impacable insistence of some members of the Church that all the ancestors of the Polynesians could have come from nowhere else. My first encounter with this closed-minded arrogance was in 1962 on the top deck of the copra boat Tofua, which made its monthly rounds throughout southern Polynesia. I was waving goodbye to many friends and saints after having completed 2½ years of missionary service among the Tongan people. I stood next to a bearded, contemplative man with a pipe, who after watching my sentimental exchanges with the people made a comment about their childlike simplicity and their primitive mentality. When I suggested something quite the contrary he looked at me down his nose and said, "My young man, this is my third circuit on the Tofua to these islands. I ought to know what I'm talking about." My two and a half years among the Tongan people and my fluency in the language could not stir him from his own authoritative opinions. But I have found the same rigidity in others, from government officials, to graduate students spending six months in Tonga writing a dissertation, to Peace Corps volunteers who spent their entire tenure railing against Tonga's rules on the Sabbath and the sovereignty of the chiefly class in Tonga.

Another pitfall, in my judgment, is the lack in most researchers of skill in the Tongan language. What is so abundantly self-evident to me is apparently lost on some gatherers of knowledge about Tongans, namely that without an adequate command of the language it is most difficult to gather the right information, evaluate it, compare it with other gathered data, and then

see to it that the proper record is made. Because a larger population of Tongans can now communicate somewhat in English, and because at every turn there are willing informants and interpreters who for a couple of pa'anga will extract the "best information you ever heard" out of any informant, too many researchers consider that there are valid trade-offs for fluency in the language. Knowledgeable and honest interpreters are one of the endangered species of this world. At least they are in Tonga. More than one serious researcher has been embarrassed by the improvising of his interpreter, and it is not simply because the interpreter is a dishonest fellow, or in some cases that he is not trained in historical investigation. In many cases it is simply because he is programmed by certain cultural forces which will color, perhaps even distort, his information. These cultural forces may be anything from an overbearing national pride to a chiefly party line which must be followed.

Yet, on the other hand, I do not believe that it is realistic to expect every researcher of Tongan history and culture to become as fluent in the Tongan language as his own. But he ought to be conversant and knowledgeable. The real answer to this problem is to carefully train competent Tongans in both the ethics and the methodology of historical research. To my knowledge we do not have a single Tongan historian in the Church.

Certainly another pitfall of some researchers is the desire to sensationalize, to exploit a Church stereotype of the "sweet, simple faith" of the Tongan people. The Tongans themselves take great delight in feeding this stereotype. Anybody with a nose for a spiritual story will be amply accommodated by Tongan saints. The "beautiful people syndrome" permeates much of what is still written about Tonga. The suggestion is that their simplicity of material life means that therefore they are more happy, loving, moral, and therefore righteous than other people. This may not be true; in fact, it is blatantly untrue in many cases. The desire to record a "crackin' good story" is not just a weak of the researcher himself; in fact, he is encouraged and abetted in that wea by the Tongans. The cultural forces which drive one to want to tell a great story are endless, and you cannot live very long in Tonga without being infected by them. A famous Tongan proverb capsulates the problem: "Neongo 'ene loi kae kehe ke mālie," ("Even though it's a lie, just so it is splend

In other words, the struggle to be objective in dealing with Tongan materials is twice as difficult simply because the recounting of history, personal or otherwise, is a form of oratory, and oratory never was, in Tonga, supposed to be a medium of objective, factual truth, but rather of splendid entertainment and ingenious metaphor which may or may not touch on a higher philosophical truth.

I do not hesitate myself to admit that although I cherish my missionary journal and consider it a very valuable document, my enjoyment of reading abo past experiences is somewhat tainted by a residual suspicion that I may have embellished an account which really needed no embellishment. I am sure that more than one returned missionary has passed for truth what is really fiction or at least wishful inference.

All of this perhaps leads us to a more detailed consideration of using Tongan informants as resources of information, whether they be Church members discussing Church-related topics, or any Tongan discussing his culture. I will touch briefly on certain cultural forces which may impinge upon the veracity of his information. First of all, beware of anyone who poses as an a on Tongan language and culture. The first sign that you've probably got a duc when he announces that he can tell you more about Tongan culture and history t anyone else, and that it will be unbiased and uncluttered by official protocol I'm thinking of the relatively large numbers of Tongans who hang around the Dateline Hotel and ply, with fairly good English, those visitors who claim

they want to know about Tonga. Many of these Tongans are displaced persons, aliens in their own culture, who have been educated out of the bush, but because of lack of connections or title have not assumed any of the positions they covet in the government or society, but who are willing, again, to rescue any bright-eyed graduate student or story-hungry foreign correspondent with all sorts of tales and authoritative pronouncements. In the Church we have these kinds of people, who love to sit with newly arrived missionaries or teachers and tell them at length about Tonga. I am not saying that a lot of good information cannot come from these people; I am suggesting, along with Thomas Babbington McCauley, that we simply maintain a healthy, "watchful and searching skepticism."

Again, in using a Tongan informant, one must beware of what I have described as the "creative memory." We must remember that many Tongans would rather die than say, "I don't know." It is a form of severe humiliation to have to admit ignorance about anything that is supposed to be Tongan. It is a loss of what the Tongans call personal ngeia, or glory and self respect. The informant's greatest desire will be in satisfying you. He cannot imagine that a "no" answer, or an "I don't know" answer will satisfy anybody. Occasionally I have had a very well-informed Tongan tell me he didn't know something and doubted that anyone else knew, but then the next day he gave me a magnificent answer to my particular question. Some informants, even those with high integrity, will sometimes deliberately give false information, simply because of a cultural notion that it is better for you to have a good story, simply because it will satisfy you, than to tell the truth and you not have a story at all--that is, you and your happiness in having something is more important than the truth.

Another problem occurs when you have rival informants, or when you try to check the veracity of one by asking another. Some times you find both are feeding you a line. Perhaps the most articulate, and certainly the most interesting Tongan authority alive today is Semisi Iongi, with whom I sat for many hours discussing many aspects of the Tongan language and culture. But with nearly every question I would put to him he would slyly ask, "Well, now what did Ve'ehala say?" or, "Now what was Malukava's explanation on that point?" I got the distinct impression that I had fallen into a competition among authorities on Tongan oral culture. Mr. Iongi was determined not to be outdone by Ve'ehala or Malukava.

Another related problem which is, in my judgment, a serious obstacle to the gathering of objective and true history in Tonga results from the kinds of communications which are culturally enforced between the various castes in Tongan society. From the time a Tongan is born he is imbued with a sense of rank and a sense of propriety in how to communicate with people of higher rank. In every group, no matter how small or informal, the sense of rank dictates the kind of communication that he will express. It is a matter of social survival to become skilled in the language of fakahekeheke, or formalized praise. The tendency to aggrandize those of higher rank becomes second nature to the traditionally instructed Tongan. Therefore, to be objective, low key, and frank is to be in direct opposition to the cultural insistence that you aggrandize, embellish, or fakahikihiki (exalt) those above you, namely, your sister and her children, your family, your parents, your village, your village chief, your village history, your family history, your ancestors--that is, you are not truly Tongan unless you elevate all of these to a stature larger than objective truth.

Again, many of the subjects that a historian would be interested in are the very meat of one of the most important of the Tongan performing arts, namely formal oratory. An orator or raconteur does not win his reputation by sticking to strict references of verifiable historical facts, but rather by creating ingenious embellishments, variations of and additions to the facts. So what

you have in Tonga are living, evolving histories and stories--all the better for us who are interested in the poetics of oral culture, but all the more frustrating for the historian who wants only the facts.

Again, the embellishment is to exalt not just the subject but the listening audience as well. This is why some of your best informants in Tonga are women who do not have to maintain a public image of a brilliant orator. They seem to manipulate the truth for their own sake less than do men. My own children have recognized the Tongan desire to please the listener more than to tell the truth. Last Monday night we had the express privilege of having in our home for a family home evening one of my former missionary companions, who is approaching his 80th birthday (his name is Kinikini), to whom I owe much of what I know about the Tongan language and custom. When I announced to the children that he was coming and would be giving our family home evening lesson, which I would translate for them, Aaron, my youngest boy, said, "I know, Daddy. All he'll do is come over and brag about how good a missionary you were." Startled by this realistic assessment of the Tongan nature, I determined to listen objectively to Muli's stories. Painfully I had to conclude what Huck Finn said about Mark Twain's account of Tom Sawyer: "Mr. Twain told the truth, mainly, with some stretchers, as I said before."

And then you have the opposite problem with many very valuable informants, which is the hiding or withholding of information simply because certain knowledge about their family and culture is precisely what gives them prestige and power in the society. To divulge that information would, in a sense, be a relinquishment of prestige. Sometimes prestige is simply knowing that you have an understanding that no one else in the Kingdom has. This was precisely the response to me of the high chiefly attendant Leahā'uli when he told me how he chuckles with self satisfaction every time he hears the honorable Ve'ehala, the recognized authority on Tongan culture, give a discourse over the radio. He said, "That youngster just doesn't know what he's talking about." Leaha'uli is a formidable orator at any social gathering that requires formal repartee among the high chiefly attendants or spokesmen. He does not want beforehand to share all his ammunition in private. He prefers to wait for the appropriate public moment in which he can resolve an argument, vanquish an opponent, or become the final word in a discussion. Up until I talked to him last (three years ago) he had consistently refused to give information about Tongan culture to the Tongan Traditions Committee, the official government organization for the gathering and preservation of Tongan oral culture. I do hope that he has since relented.

A variant to the person who wants to hide or withhold certain information for personal status reasons is the person who deliberately tries to suppress certain kinds of information that may seem to reflect negatively on the Tongan character. There are some, usually very reliable Tongan informants, who insist that cannibalism was never practiced in Tonga, in spite of the fact that there is abundant recorded evidence to the contrary. When I asked one informant about the ancient practice of moheofo, namely the bringing of a young to the king's compound to have a baby by him and thus elevate her family to a higher rank, he simply said, "There is no good reason to repeat that information anywhere in print. We don't want people to think the worst of our ancient monarchy."

Another obstacle for some researchers in Tonga is the problem of authority--who said what, when, where. There is among Tongans an irresistible tendency to ascribe their knowledge or information to a person of high rank, usually Queen Sālote. They put into the mouths of princes and kings things that they never said. This appeal to authority is partly done in an effort to silence questioners or critics. If Queen Sālote really conceived every wise saying and aphorism and proverb ascribed to her she would indeed be the Tongan Solomon. Queen Sālote has become, in the memories of the people,

the embodiment of all that is beautiful, intelligent, praiseworthy, and of good report of the Tongan people. While this may be a worthy memorial to Queen Sālote, it does open the door for further exaggeration and closes the door of further searching and verifying. It also becomes a form of tyranny upon other informants who have excellent information but who will always defer to authority and will bow humbly before the memory shadow of Queen Sālote.

There is no question that Queen Sālote is the greatest Tongan poet and philosopher of the 20th century, but her awesome rhetorical powers and her vast reservoir of information were garnered from many other people whom she would bring to her palace to live with her while she heard their stories and histories and made their knowledge her own. But now few in Tonga will presume to comment, much less challenge, anything in the large corpus of poetic works that Queen Sālote left as part of her inheritance to the people.

I shall never forget my disappointment several years ago when I organized a large kava party and invited some of the finest poets and commentators on Tongan oral culture to attend. My purpose was to distribute copies of several of Queen Sālote's poems and ask these men in the friendliness of our kava circle to elucidate and interpret the Queen's poetry. I was astonished at their reticence, and all of my prodding could not provoke any one of them to venture forth with anything more than the largest, most obvious generalizations about Queen Sālote's poetry. I plied them with kava, cake, and boiled bananas to no avail, until one of them addressed me in a rather formal way saying, "Faivaola, you should know why none of us can speak about our queen's poetry. It is not for us to presume any kind of interpretation of her writing. Her poetry simply is. It is an altar not to be gilded by extraneous matter."

One of the most fascinating problems that I encountered in gathering oral history in Tonga was the mixture of pagan and Christian elements. Many of my informants told stories of supernatural experiences apart from what Mormons would call a mystical or spiritual experience. For example, Muli Kinikini, my former missionary companion who is now nearly 80, swears that the certain natural phenomena unique to his home island of Uiha in Haapai are directly connected to the fortunes or misfortunes of the royal family--that at the death of any member of the royal household a huge ball of flame called fanaafi bursts skyward from the ancient royal cemetery by the seashore, and that the water along the beach in front of his village turns a deep red. He told me that he saw the fanaafi as a young man. He was fishing in the bay late at night. The village had received word a few days earlier that the queen's son Tuku'aho had been ill. Muli paddled his canoe to shore to find the entire village preparing for the voyage to the main island for the funeral. They had received no other indication of the royal death but from the fanaafi. They set sail for Tonga Tapu the next morning and met halfway with the government boat sailing north with the news that the young prince had died.

There are countless stories like this that are prominent in the histories of families and villages throughout the Tongan Islands. I have never been able to entirely disregard these events as curious aberrations of the Tongan mind, nor have I been able to believe them outright.

Two other problems that impact on the gathering of history and the use of certain informants: The first is that many Tongans simply are not enchanted by the labor of writing things of the past down. Since mo'oni (truth) so often gives way to mālie, or splendid rhetoric, anyway, the Tongan racanteur or storyteller may say that he needs not write anything down, for when the

occasion requires he can compose spontaneously something just as good as he ever did in the past. Or he might deplore many of the legends and stories of the past which seem silly and childish to him. They contain no moral, no humor, and are of no real value except that they are very old.

The other problem is a definite and unfortunate social chasm between the generations. This is especially seen among families whose children have left Tonga, received their education elsewhere, and are now busily engaged in the game of material acquisition. That is, many children can no longer speak for their fathers and mothers. I shall never forget the home evening I attended in one of our Tongan families in Laie a few years ago. It provided a clear example of one kind of cultural defection and the generation gap. The lesson that evening was given by the 78 year old grandfather just up from Tonga. The children, who have been in America for four years and attend Laie Elementary and Kahuku High, were lined up on the couch. The subject of the lesson was "Avoiding Sin and Remembering Who You Are and Acting Accordingly." In their case, said the old man, they were Tongans. They came from Tonga, they are here to get an education, and they should prepare to return to help their people. The lesson was given in a typical, violent oratorical style. The old man flailed the air. In mighty sweeps and flourishes he denounced the life styles which were corrupting the Tongans in America, the concern for money, the wearing of immodest clothes, the lack of regard for their elders, the breaking of the Sabbath (as you know, the Sabbath in Tonga is kept by the people on pain of fines or imprisonment), the addiction to cosmetics, and, horror of horrors, the inability to speak fluent Tongan. Despite the spectacular display of classic Tongan oratory my attention was drawn to the children on the couch. The very young ones stared at the old man in bewilderment. Those in elementary school were engrossed in a game of making faces at or tickling each other. One teenage girl would look up occasionally from the True Romance comic book she cradled between her feet. The older teenage daughter kept looking at the clock and trying, unsuccessfully, to suppress her yawns. The parents of the children repeatedly barked out helpless commands mingled with threats to listen.

In Tonga, too, there is a cultural chasm between the generations. It is no longer a pleasure for the young people to sit in the kava circles and listen to the poems and tales of ancient Tongans, or to try to master the language of the chiefs, when they could be down to a rock concert on the beach, or at the latest Japanese movie, or when they could be working five hours overtime at their job for an extra 75¢.

I hope that my discussion of the pitfalls facing the investigator of Tongan oral history does not appear that it is all a hopeless case, and that every Tongan is a liar, and that you can't trust any information that you get from a native informant. Surely not every investigator will meet all of these problems, but I do believe they are important to keep in mind. Actually I am quite optimistic about how Tongans themselves can be organized and trained in the principles of investigation and recording so that there will be an effective check against the over-exuberance or the reticence of an informant.

I also believe that there is generally a healthy objectivity among those who speak for Tonga's past. Some very important people are not particularly eager to press some of the current claims concerning the sophistication of ancient Tongan crafts and ways of doing things. It seems that some writers, trying to establish the Polynesian identity with a proud heritage, may exaggerate the advanced nature of early civilizations. I remember in a conversation with King Taufa'ahau I mentioned something that I had read about the remarkable

navigational skill of the early Tongans. His good-natured reply was simply, "Bah, humbug! The ancient Tongans sailed by dead reckoning. If they could get as close as 150 miles to either side of an island they would simply follow the flocks of sea birds to the island. That is, they would set sail for a distant land, travel until they saw the birds, and then take the first flight home."

Finally, much more work needs to be done in gathering, organizing, and recording oral culture and histories. Many precious accounts of faith, perseverance, and pioneer-like courage, which reverberate over pulpits in Tonga but are not written down, may be lost after the departure of this generation. Many people who have rare cultural information and skills of communication are forgotten in the rush and bustle of more practical matters, such as economic survival, higher education, and technology. As I mentioned before, there are no longer young people in the kava circles of the elders. The majority of the current generation are not interested in family genealogies or in preserving and enriching the Tongan language.

In 1977 I had the privilege of organizing a Tongan Language and Culture Curriculum Committee at Liahona High School. The purpose of our organization was to gather as many materials in print as possible and to conduct extensive investigation for information not in print. The committee, to my knowledge, is still working to create Tongan language and culture manuals to be used in each of the various classes at Liahona from Class 7 to Form 6.

I hope through our enthusiasm for historical and other forms of research we will help stimulate needed investigation in Tonga and elsewhere. I predict that if there is not this kind of enthusiasm, and if the people themselves do not participate in this research, then the Tongan people, like the Hawaiians, will someday wake up to a desire to hearken back to their heritage and their identity, but find that the cultural heroes are long dead and their compositions and histories lost. I trust that this will not be so.

The Establishment of the Church in French Polynesia, 1844-1895[1]

by
R. Lanier Britsch

In the spring of 1843, a former sailor who was now a Latter-day Saint received a mission call from Joseph Smith. His destination was to be Vermont, an area where a number of his family members lived. It is not clear why or how the old salt's mission call was changed to the Pacific islands, but on May 11, 1843, Addison Pratt was told he should serve there. Three other men--Benjamin F. Grouard, who had also sailed the Pacific and had lived in Hawaii, Noah Rogers, and Knowlton F. Hanks--were also assigned to take the restored gospel to the peoples of Oceania. Pratt, Grouard, and Rogers were married men; Hanks was a bachelor.

The little company of missionaries left Nauvoo, Illinois on May 23, with no idea, of course, that one of their number, Elder Hanks, would soon die of consumption at sea, or that another of their group, Elder Grouard, would not leave his mission field in the South Pacific until May 1852, nine years later. Elder Rogers alone would briefly see Nauvoo again, only to leave with the Saints and die at Mt. Pisgah. In New Bedford, Massachusetts, they found a whaling ship, the Timoleon, that was bound for the Sandwich Islands--Hawaii--their destination. Their voyage, which began on October 10, 1843, took them around the Cape of Good Hope, through the Indian Ocean, and finally into the South Pacific.

After six months of sailing they sighted the oval-shaped island of Tubuai, 350 miles south of Tahiti. That day, April 30, 1844, marked the beginning of LDS missionary work in the Pacific Islands.

Both Pratt and Grouard had lived in Hawaii and planned to return there. But the situation in Tubuai and the other islands in the vicinity of Tahiti caused them to reconsider. On learning that the three Latter-day Saints were missionaries, the bronzed-skinned Polynesians of Tubuai pleaded with Elder Pratt to remain among them. The islanders were already nominal Christians, but they wanted a permanent minister. Finding it impossible to turn down their request, Addison removed his belongings from the Timoleon and bade his two companions good-bye. They sailed north to Tahiti, which now became their destination.

Pratt, whom the Polynesians called "Paraita," went to work with a will. Since he could speak but a few words of Hawaiian, he was limited in his teaching to a small group of Caucasian sailors who had settled on the island, taken wives, and become shipbuilders. It was one of their number, Ambrose Alexander, who was the first person in the Pacific area to receive baptism from an LDS elder. Five weeks after Alexander's baptism on June 15, 1844, nine more converts joined the Church. Among the number were four Polynesians, Nabota and his wife Telii, Pauma, and Hamoe, the first of their race to affiliate with the Church. In late July, Paraita organized the Tubuai Branch of the Church, with eleven members.

Although Elder Pratt enjoyed his associations with the white members of the branch, he believed he had an obligation to teach the local people. In order to learn the language he moved from Mataura to Mahu, where he could speak no English. With the help of an English-Tahitian grammar and many hours of practice, Pratt was preaching in Tahitian by September 1844.

During Pratt's first year on Tubuai he converted and baptized sixty people, a third of the island's population, including all but one of the Caucasians on the island. Caring for the members of his little flock was a demanding responsibility. Not only did he find himself deeply

involved in all religious and spiritual matters, but he was also sought out for advice on matters of law and government.

Meanwhile, Elders Rogers and Grouard were engaged in missionary work on Tahiti and other islands to the northwest. They arrived at Papeete, Tahiti, on May 14, 1844, and soon discovered that social and political conditions were tense and unsettled. Tahiti was technically under local Polynesian control, but the French government was daily tightening its authority over the area. Because of these problems, the elders found the local people unwilling to listen to their message. Of course, the elders also had a serious language deficiency.

It was not until August 11 that Rogers and Grouard had their first baptisms. On that day Mr. and Mrs. Seth George Lincoln, friends from the Timoleon, joined the Church. They proved to be loyal members who provided room and board for the elders as well as facilities for church meetings.

When two American sailors joined the Church on August 18, some members of the foreign community became upset. Representatives of the London Missionary Society (LMS) circulated derisive stories about Joseph Smith and harassed Church members in other ways, but a few other sailors still chose to join with the Saints.

Late in 1844 Rogers and Grouard spend time on Huahine and Tubuai, respectively. By February 1845, they were both back in Papeete. After working there for a few weeks they were convinced that other areas would be more productive. Their two paths, Rogers' to the Leeward Islands of the Society Islands group and Grouard's east to the Tuamotu Islands, brought contrasting results. "By the middle of June," writes S. George Ellsworth, "Rogers was back in Tahiti, alone, without success, without word from the church or his family, disheartened. American newspapers carried by passing ships confirmed vague news of trouble in Illinois and the death of Joseph Smith. He feared for his family of nine children at Nauvoo. He himself had suffered violence at the hands of Missourians in 1840. He knew what could happen. The opportunity presenting itself he took The Three Brothers to the States. He arrived at Nauvoo December 29, 1845, and was united with his family only to die in the spring exodus from Nauvoo."[2]

Benjamin F. Grouard's experience on the low-lying atolls of the Tuamotus was almost the exact opposite of Rogers'. When he arrived on Anaa on May 1, 1845, Grouard initiated the most productive era of the mission. Anaa, with its population of 2000 or 3000, offered a bleak existence. The island provided little more than coconuts and the sea provided fish. The people's ways were still essentially primitive. Although there were one hundred or so nominal Christians on the island, Grouard could not easily distinguish between them and their fellow islanders.

Perhaps because of their circumstances rather than in spite of them, the people and chiefs of Anaa were eager to have Elder Grouard live among them. No other white missionary had lived on Anaa. When Grouard arrived he was already fluent in Tahitian and only had to modify his language a bit to speak. His hearers listened well to his sermons. Only six weeks after he commenced his work, Elder Grouard took his first twenty-four converts into the ocean to baptize them. By the end of August there were 355 baptized members of the Church. On September 21, 1945, Grouard organized branches in all five villages. He had baptized 620 Polynesians in four months.

By October, his administrative burdens became too heavy and he decided to get Pratt's assistance. He sailed for Tahiti on a pahi Paumotu, a large double canoe. Although the boat wrecked, Grouard made his way to Tahiti and sent word to Elder Pratt to come there. By February 3, 1846, the two men were on Anaa. They worked together until June, when Grouard began a preaching tour that took him to nine other islands. When he returned in September, Grouard reported 116 more baptisms.

When Elders Pratt and Grouard held the first conference of the Church in the Pacific on Anaa on September 24, 1946, they gathered Saints from ten branches. There were 866 members in the Pacific Church. Over three years had passed since the elders had left Nauvoo, and there had been only two or three letters from home. Evidently no replacements were on the way. It was therefore decided that Paraita should return to the body of the Saints, wherever that was, and bring other missionaries to help with the work. Grouard, whom Pratt had married to Tearo, a Polynesian girl, in April 1846, would remain in the islands.[3]

When an inter-island ship came to Anaa in November 1846, Paraita took passage on it. "I shall never forget the parting with Brother Grouard," wrote Addison. "He and I have been yoked together in this mission for three and a half years. We have withstood the frowns of poverty, the opposition of men and devils . . . the frowns of hunger, traveling over the sharp coral rocks and slippery mountains with our toes out of our shoes, and our knees and elbows out of our clothes, living a part of our time on cocoanuts and raw fish, and sleeping on the ground for the sake of obeying the Savior's commands and preaching the Gospel to the natives of these South Sea Islands."[4]

Once in Tahiti Elder Pratt started looking for a ship that would take him to California. Between November 1846, and March 23, 1847, when he finally sailed, Pratt developed a branch of twenty-seven members at Huau near Papeete. When Pratt arrived in San Francisco on June 11, he immediately started looking for anyone who could tell him the location of the Saints and where his wife and four daughters might be. He found some Church members who had come to California with Samuel Brannan, and they told him that the Saints had been driven from Nauvoo; they were waiting for Brannan to return with better information on the whereabouts of the main body of the Church. It was not until the next spring that Addison was able to travel with a remnant of the Mormon Battalion toward Great Salt Lake Valley. When he arrived there on September 28, he was overjoyed to be reunited with his wife Louisa and their daughters, who had reached that city only eight days before from the east.

Only a week or two later, Elder Pratt reported on his mission in General Conference. The conference voted to send Addison and a contingent of new missionaries back to Polynesia as soon as possible. Louisa hoped that would not be too soon.

During the winter of 1848-1849, Addison taught the Tahitian language to prospective missionaries and other interested people. In late summer Pratt and a young veteran of the Mormon Battalion, James S. Brown, left for California and the Pacific. Twenty-one other missionaries and family members left later, among them Louisa and her daughters, and Caroline Barnes Crosby, Louisa's sister, and her husband and family. Addison and James S. arrived in Papeete on May 24, 1850. The second contingent arrived on Tubuai on October 21, 1850.

When Sister Pratt and her companions reached Tubuai, they were delighted to see Benjamin F. Grouard again, but they were shocked to learn that Pratt and Brown were still in Papeete. They had been detained there by the French governor, who demanded written statements about what the Mormons taught. They were finally given permits to travel in the islands, but the government made missionary work difficult. Pratt did not arrive in Tubuai until January 28, 1851.

The second period of the misssion was neither easy nor successful. By 1850 the Roman Catholic French government was firmly in control, and the edicts of religious toleration of four years before were no longer respected. The government was uneasy about foreigners and gave preferential status to Catholics. These realities combined to create a near-impossible situation for the Mormons. Three missionary families sailed home for America in the spring of 1851. Among those who remained, Pratt, Grouard, Crosby, Sidney Alvarus Hanks, Simeon A. Dunn, and Julian Moses traveled widely, particularly in the Tuamotus. Sisters Pratt and Crosby opened a school for their own and the island children and also taught homemaking skills to the Polynesian women.

In March 1852 the government placed all matters of religion under state control and created a new office of district minister to direct and correlate religious affairs throughout the protectorate. All missionaries were ordered to keep to one district and to preach only when they had written invitations from their congregations. But neither Mormons nor Protestants followed these laws when they could avoid them. Unfortunately, however, the Latter-day Saints did not have enough missionaries or sufficient financial backing to counteract the French government. Before long Elder Grouard was summoned to Papeete on trumped-up charges and acquitted; James S. Brown was deported; and some local Saints lost their lives on Anaa because they insisted on worshipping as Mormons.

Pratt, Grouard, and company left for America in May 1852, leaving behind James S. Brown, who was on distant Raivavae (outside French control), and Sidney Alvarus Hanks, who was far east in the Tuamotus. Brown sailed from Tahiti in November 1852; Hanks did not leave the islands until 1857. When Pratt left the islands he estimated Church membership at nearly 2000.

After Brown left in late 1852, the Church members were left alone until 1892, when missionaries were sent from Samoa. The story of the LDS in French Polynesia for the next forty years is sketchy at best.[5] Government and Roman Catholic harassment was severe until 1867, when religious toleration was extended to all people in the protectorate. In the meantime the Church had split into various groups with strange new names. Between 1852 and 1864 a convert named John Hawkins, who traveled the islands as a trader, provided what leadership the Church received.

The Polynesian Saints created two gathering places or "Zions." The older was at Mahu, Tubuai. The second Zion or Tiona was at Faaa, three and one-half miles west of Papeete. There the island Saints built homes, a school, and a meetinghouse. It was into this little community that two missionaries of the Reorganized Church came in December 1873. They were headed for Australia, but during their short visit in Papeete they convinced at least part of the community that they represented the true inheritors of Joseph Smith's authority and church. Before they left they baptized fifty-one people into the RLDS Chruch. Other RLDS missionaries followed during the next few years and won over half of the remaining Saints in French Polynesia to their church.

Latter-day Saint missionary work in French Polynesia was resumed on January 27, 1892, when Elders William A. Seegmiller and Joseph W. Damron, Jr., arrived in Papeete from Apia, Samoa. They had been sent by President William O. Lee of the Samoan Mission. After establishing themselves in an inexpensive cottage, the elders began asking for information concerning any remaining Mormons from the early mission. They were told to go to Faaa, Tiona. When they arrived there on February 9, they learned that everyone in the village was RLDS, but they were told that there were Mormons in the Tuamotu Islands and on Tubuai. Not knowing French or Tahitian, Seegmiller and Damron were severely hampered in their work.

Realizing that they needed a connection with the past, the elders wrote to the First Presidency in Salt Lake City to ask whether any missionaries from the first mission could be sent. The First Presidency reponded by calling James S. Brown, now sixty-five years old and having lost one leg, to return to French Polynesia as mission president. He, along with his son Elando and Elder Thomas S. Jones, arrived in Papeete on June 1, 1892. Brown was persona non grata when he left the islands in 1852, and for a time it appeared that he would bring the new mission more trouble than help. But with the assistance of the American consul in Papeete, Elder Brown convinced the French government that he would cause no problems.

In August Brown received a letter asking him to visit the Saints in Tubuai. It proved to be the opening the elders had been hoping for. Tehahe, who wrote the letter of invitation, said his people "had been left in the dark many years without one ray of light." At the same time the elders learned of other groups of Mormons who were still active in the Tuamotus. With Elder Seegmiller, Brown traveled to Tubuai where they soon baptized sixty-five people into the Church.

Elder Brown returned to Papeete on December 1 and almost immediately learned that the remnant of the Saints in the Tuamotus were going to hold a conference on Faaite on January 6, 1893. Elders Damron and Jones had established contact with these people and strongly encouraged Brown and his son to come to that area as soon as possible. They arrived on Takaroa on December 26, and five days later they were on Faaite. The assembled Saints were delighted to have missionaries from Salt Lake City among them. They considered Utah the center of their church.

Not long after James S. Brown stepped ashore, he was confronted by an elderly blind man named Maihea. Maihea was the leader of the Polynesian Saints. He claimed to have received his authority form Elders Pratt and Grouard. Maihea asked Brown some questions. Satisfied with the answers, he said, "We receive you as our father and leader, but had you not come back personally we would have refused to receive any foreign missionaries, as so many false teachers have been in our midst and decoyed many from the Gospel of Jesus Christ." Maihea then told Brown and his young companions how he and his people had prayed constantly for more missionaries, and now, after forty years, their prayers had been answered.

As the conference proceeded, the elders learned that there were ten organized LDS branches, with 425 members. Seventeen members were yet alive who had been baptized before 1852.

In July 1893, James S. and Elando Brown sailed for home. Three months before, a new contingent of eight missionaries had arrived from Utah. Elder Damron was appointed president of the now-stable mission. The work surged forward, and by 1895 the Tahitian Mission of the Church had 1040 members and children. The Church in French Polynesia was ready to move into its second phase of development.

Notes

1. All of the materials in this paper are documented in my book, A History of the Latter-day Saints in the Pacific (Deseret Book Company, forthcoming 1981).

2. S. George Ellsworth, "Zion in Paradise: Early Mormons in the South Seas," (The Faculty Association: Utah State University, 1959), p. 13.

3. Grouard, who Pratt said was wedded to his mission field, wrote numerous letters to his wife in Nauvoo but recieved no answers. They had been emotionally disaffected from each other before his mission call. He concluded that she had left him and the Church. Unfortunately Tearo died not long after giving birth to a baby girl. Grouard then married Nahina, who eventually bore three sons.

4. Andrew Jenson, Manuscript History of the French Polynesia Mission, November 14, 1846, Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.

5. See R. Lanier Britsch, "Refounding of the LDS Mission in French Polynesia," Pacific Studies 3 (Fall 1979): 66-80.

THE LDS HAWAIIAN COLONY AT SKULL VALLEY, UTAH 1889-1917

by Leonard J. Arrington

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One of the most solidly established principles of the early Church was the gathering. The Lord instructed the Saints as early as 1831 that "the elect" should gather out of "Babylon" to live, work, and worship together as a community of Saints. This principle was applied as the body of the Church moved from New York to northeastern Ohio to Jackson County, Clay County, and Caldwell County, Missouri, and to Hancock County, Illinois. It continued after the migration to the Salt Lake Valley, and tens of thousands of Saints gathered out of Scandinavia, the British Isles, Germany and Switzerland, and from elsewhere in the world into the Great Basin region.

The principle of gathering was likewise extended to the Saints in the Pacific, and a principal responsibility of Church leaders in the nineteenth century was to establish places of gathering for those who accepted the gospel in the countries and islands of the Pacific.

The first missionary activity resulting in a gathering occurred after ten LDS gold miners in California were assigned to go to Hawaii to introduce the gospel. Their place of destination at that time was referred to as Sandwich Islands. The idea was to preach the gospel primarily to the whites who went there for the winter. But they didn't have much success with the whites, and didn't seem to be able to learn Hawaiian. So most of the missionaries left. But one of the young gold missionaries, George Q. Cannon, was determined to learn Hawaiian, was very sharp, and did so. Finally he and some others began to make some converts. Brigham Young then suggested they set up a temporary gathering place where they could all live together. A committee investigated all of the islands. After a careful survey, they finally decided on Lanai, an island which was almost uninhabited. Riding to the interior, the committee found what they were looking for and selected the crater of Palawai. This crater was about three and a half miles wide. An important obstacle was the lack of water, but the committee thought this could be overcome by building reservoirs. The owner of the land, Haalelea, agreed to let the Saints experiment with it, rent-free, for four years. It was a 200-acre site which they called the City of Joseph in the valley of Ephraim.

In 1854 the gathering became a reality. By that time there were about 3,000 members of the Church in Hawaii. Directing the laying out of the city was Ephraim Green. The plowing of the first furrow was a moment of great rejoicing, and soon there began to appear plots of wheat, oats, potatoes, onions, and beans among the keawe trees. The crops were sold in the markets of Honolulu to supply whaling vessels. An English language school was established, with morning classes for children and evening classes for adults. Leading the colony were Silas Smith, F. A. Hammond, and John T. Caine. After a year, they decided the experiment was successful and leased the land for fifteen years at $175 per year and the privilege of purchasing if they wished. The lease was to commence January 1, 1858.

But the gathering began to decline due to lack of water, an invasion of peelua worms, and the lack of building materials. So the mission decided to find another gathering place. But then occurred the Utah War and

all the elders were called back during the winter of 1857-1858. Although the mission was left in charge of native elders, converts gradually drifted away, and the Palawai colony went along without any help from the headquarters of the Church.

A flamboyant adventurer now comes into the picture--Walter Murray Gibson. Born on the sea, raised in South Carolina, Gibson had lived in Sumatra, and indeed conducted a war to liberate Sumatra from Dutch rule. He was caught and jailed for a year. Later, he became an admiral in the Guatemalan Navy. He was ambitious, he wanted to be a savior of the downtrodden Pacific peoples, he wanted to build a great Pacific kingdom.

Gibson had visited with Brigham Young in Salt Lake City, he had converted to the Church and been ordained an elder, and he had been set apart as a kind of roving missionary to Japan and southeast Asia. But on the way he stopped in Honolulu and visited the Mormon colony at Palawai. Waving a ribboned document written by himself, signed and sealed by Brigham Young, he proclaimed his call to be Chief President of the mission. The members of the Church in Hawaii were overjoyed at his arrival and gave him their support. He was eloquent in Hawaiian and unscrupulous as a leader. He ruled with an iron hand, forced members to work under conditions equal to that of slavery, collected gifts of goats, fowl, cattle, donkeys, and furniture which he sold for cash to make payments on land, and even sold priesthood certificates. He raised $3,000 to pay the king for the Palawai lands.

Rumors began to reach Salt Lake City about his unorthodox conduct, and a group of three apostles and two others were appointed to go to Hawaii to investigate. Gibson was excommunicated, but by then (1863) he controlled 6,000 acres of the island. He refused to turn this over to the Church. The Church, under the direction of Joseph F. Smith, then hunted for a second gathering place. The place chosen was Laie, where stand today the temple, the college, the cultural center, and other properties here. The land was bought in January 1865, some 6,500 acres. It cost $14,000 in gold and had been owned by Thomas T. Dougherty. It was thought to be a good buy. The land had produced tobacco, cotton, and sugar cane; and the Saints were particularly interested in sugar cane, so that was the principal product.

The plantation was now more of a business enterprise to produce sugar for Utahn than a gathering place. At Laie cane was growing wild when the missionaries took over the plantation. In 1868 a mill was erected to mill cane. The mill cost about $9,000 and had a daily capactiy of 3,000 pounds of sugar. Natives were employed. Some seventy native Saints were employed on the farm, growing corn, rice, kalo, and other crops in addition to sugar cane. A total of 200 Saints were gathered at Laie. Some five acres we planted in 1868, forty-five acres in 1869. Some of this was sold in Utah. George Nebeker left in 1869 with 130 bags of sugar and 80 barrels of choice molasses, all produced at Laie, all taken to San Francisco, then Sacramento, then Ogden, then Salt Lake City. The plantation did well, and entirely paid its own way. In 1870 they produced 80 tons of sugar and 200 barrels of molasses, some of which was sold in San Francisco and some in Salt Lake City. A school was opened, enrolling seventy-five students. About 300 members were at Laie--Hawaiians, 7 Caucasions, and 1 Scotsman. They gradually diversified, obtaining Cashmere goats, doing hay-making, and so on. The king gave the project his sanction.

Under the management of H. H. Cluff, 1879-1882, they built a new mill at a cost of $24,000, dug some artesian wells, began to produce rice. Still later, under the management of Samuel E. Woolley, they developed an improved irrigation system. But with the passing of time the operation proved to be unprofitable because of low prices and the competition of other plantations. The milling at Laie was abandoned and the cane was ground at Kahuku Plantation. In 1931 the land at Laie was leased to Kahuku Plantation, ending the Church's great experiment.

This brings us to the desire on the part of some of the Hawaiian Saints to gather with the Saints in Utah and work in the temple, about to be completed in Salt Lake City. The place set aside for them was at Skull Valley, Tooele County, on the edge of the Great Salt Lake desert, seventy-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City. Far from the sparkling surf of Waikiki, this desert wilderness was the home for more than a hundred Hawaiian Latter-day Saints from 1889 to 1917, when they abandoned it after the completion of the temple in Hawaii.

Skull Valley was inhabited by the Gosiute Indians at the time the pioneers entered the valley of the Great Salt Lake in 1847. Although Porter Rockwell had established a ranch there in 1850-1851, the first permanent white settlers in the area went there under the direction of Elder William Lee in 1869 to live and work with the Indians. Elder Lee and his associates established Indian ranches at Skull Valley and Deep Creek and eventually succeeded in converting more than a thousand Indians in Tooele County. In the 1880s, however, most of the Indians were moved, under the auspices of the federal government, to reservations in Juab and Uintah counties. After this, some of the land was homesteaded or purchased by Latter-day Saints.

In order to provide a gathering place for Hawaiian Saints who wished to come to Zion, the First Presidency of the Church, in May 1889, appointed a "Hawaiian Colonization Committee" to arrange for the purchase of a suitable site and to supervise the immigration of Hawaiian members. This committee, which consisted of William W. Cluff, Frederick A. Mitchell, and Harvey H. Cluff--all of whom had been missionaries to Hawaii--arranged for the purchase of a ranch in Skull Valley belonging to John T. Rich, son of Apostle Charles C. Rich.

Upon the request of the Hawaiian colonization committee, the Church agreed to endorse their note to make possible a loan which would take care of the down payment on the ranch. This loan was made in July 1889 and an additional loan, also guaranteed by the Church, was made the following month. Later, seven notes signed by the committee and the First Presidency were given to Brother Rich, promising to pay the purchase price of the real estate in seven yearly instalments.

The ranch thus secured, the committee took steps to organize a joint stock company to operate it. The group incorporated as the "Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company." Iosepa is the Hawaiian name for Joseph. (The colony was named after the Prophet Joseph Smith.) The American incorporators, W. W. Cluff, F. A. Mitchell, H. H. Cluff, John T. Caine, Albert W. Davis, and Henry P. Richards, subscribed for stock, which was hel by them in trust for the Church. The leader of the prospective Hawaiian colonists, I. W. Kauleinamoku, also subscribed for some stock. These incorporators then joined with the First Presidency in a meeting in August 1889, at which it was decided that H. H. Cluff would be president, manager, and superintendent of the colonizing company, and F. A. Mitchell, secretary.

Elders Cluff and Mitchell were later set apart for these responsibilities by the First Presidency. (The First Presidency also set apart Elihu Barrell to serve as the schoolteacher and storekeeper, and F. W. Marchant to supervise the care of the livestock.

It was also agreed that each of the stockholders would be given a city lot when the new town was surveyed; that the lots fronting on the town square would be reserved for possible public uses; that a combination meetinghouse-schoolhouse, twenty feet wide and thirty feet long, would be built; that arrangements would be made to homestead lands adjoining the ranch under the Desert Land Act and Tree Culture Act; that negotiations would be entered into to buy a sawmill which was located in the Stansbury Mountains immediately east of Skull Valley; that the company would render such aid as it could to the colonists in building their houses, as a loan; and that the company would obtain a seal with the motto, "The Rising Sun," in Hawaiian characters.

Company officers managed to buy the sawmill and appurtenances for $1,500.00, paying for it with funds received from the sale of property of Hawaiians who had signified their intention of participating in the venture. Elder Mitchell surveyed the townsite. Everything thus arranged for the reception of the colonists, the First Presidency requested the president of Tooele Stake to call upon the Saints of his stake to furnish teams and wagons to take the Hawaiian Saints and their effects from Salt Lake City, to which they had previously gathered, to the newly established Iosepa, in Skull Valley. On August 28, 1889, forty-six Polynesian Latter-day Saints arrived in Skull Valley to begin a new life.

The land was apportioned, as in ancient Israel, by drawing lots. Each adult male and each widow were permitted to draw, and two weeks after their removal to the Hawaiian colony, all were reported to be "feeling well" and happy. A branch of the Church was set up, and the various quorums and auxiliary associations were organized. A short time later the land was dedicated by President Wilford Woodruff in the English language and by President Joseph F. Smith in the Hawaiian language. Houses were built; the schoolhouse was completed; and a general store was constructed.

An irrigation system was soon constructed, using water from springs in the Stansbury Mountains. Lucern, beets, wheat, oats, barley, corn, potatoes, and squash were all raised. A reservoir was built and the water piped for house and garden use. The homes soon sprouted lawns, with borders of flowers and trees. After the first harvest, the Saints counted 1826 bushels of wheat, 1837 bushels of barley, 2267 bushels of corn, and an unspecified quantity of potatoes and squash. This production was divided among the laborers at the rate of $30.00 a month for each person.

Within three years after the initial settlement of Iosepa, the Deseret News published the following report of the president on the conditio of the colony:

> The colony is in a prosperous condition. Our crops are abundant, there being four hundred acres under cultivation in hay and grain. We have now gathered our first crop of lucern, amounting to over three hundred tons. . . . Our crop of what, oats and barley will reach about six thousand bushles. . . . We enclosed with cedar posts and wire fencing, last spring, 1600 acres, cleared off the sagebrush, and planted the new land with grain, vegetables, and vines. This to the extent of about seventy-five acres. . . . The water supply has been abundant this season.
>
> There are some few cases of sickness in the colony, but nothing of a serious character.

This is the first mention of the problem of sickness and disease, which was to cause a high mortality rate among the people during the years to come. But apparently it was no serious worry in 1892, because in that year plans were made to purchase and to homestead some of the surrounding lands to make expansion possible.

By 1901 there were about eighty Hawaiian Saints in Iosepa, all employed on the ranch and demonstrating, according to the report, "thrift, industry, and prosperity." Their granary on one occasion held 14,000 bushels. A decade later, when a prominent Utah historian, J. Cecil Alter, made a study of the colony, he wrote:

> There are 1,120 acres practically all in use, and half as much more that is being brought under the magic wand of the Hawaiian irrigator. . . . Every Hawaiian in the United States who had come here to be nearer the Mormon people was given the opportunity to go there and move into a house that was built for him, and his family, and work on the ranch at good wages, and have, besides, a large garden patch for his own use. . . .
>
> Suffice it to say that to-day the several hundred folk there have water in their houses just the same as we have in Salt Lake City, and a power plant will sometime give them their electric lights. Their schools and meetinghouses are as good as the best . . . and since they grow their own food and raise their own animals, they are far better off than many farmers who have lived in this country all their lives. The Mormon people conceived the plan for them, and the Church made its perfection possible.
>
> At a recent annual celebration there by Hawaiians, when President Joseph F. Smith, Governor William Spry, and other men of prominence attended, Lorenzo D. Creel, a government Indian official from Washington, who was studying the Indians in Tooele county at the time, rose before the great Hawaiian, uniformed audience, after having been shown all over the place, and with much feeling, said: "My friends, if this is a sample of the Mormon colonization work, the best thing the government of the United States could do, would be to assist them in every way possible."

Despite these generally favorable reports, it appears that the colony was never fully self-supporting. And the Church found it necessary to make several appropriations to pay the salaries of the local Latter-day Saints who assisted the islanders.

The financial outlook of the colony became so poor by 1897 that serious consideration was given to a plan to rent the farm to a prominent stockgrower and have him hire the people. However, this was not done. The extent of Church aid, of course, was not known by such observers as J. Cecil Alter. They commented on the brilliant colonization efforts of the Hawaiians and their leaders.

Apparently, there was no market for the shares of stock in the company. It is probable that the disastrous depression of the 1890s, with its long period of declining farm prices, was responsible for most of the financial problems of the colony and the need for Church help. Other Church colonies required similar assistance. Certainly, the Hawaiian Saints did not lack the qualities of industry and frugality.

The eventual disbandment of the colony seems to have resulted in part from problems of health. The prospects of the colony took a serious turn for the worse in 1896, when the county physician found three cases of leprosy. Two or three other cases developed later. The local history indicates how this problem was handled.

> A house was built about 1 1/2 miles south of the ranch house near a fresh water supply, and those afflicted with the disease were quarantined there. A flagpole was set up, and when something was needed from the outside a flag was raised. The leprosy victims were treated at intervals by a doctor, but all died.

The outbreak of leprosy was undoubtedly one of the reasons for the lack of enthusiasm of some of those participating in this colonization experiment. Even more serious from the standpoint of the production record of the colony, however, were the frequent outbreaks of milder forms of

illness among the natives. Accustomed to island conditions, the constitutions of the Hawaiians, despite a fierce faith, did not adjust readily to the rigors of the burning heat of the summer sun and the driving winds and zero temperatures of the Skull Valley winters. The high rate of mortality is indicated by the large number of markers in the village cemetery.

Great sadness broke out when I. W. Kauleinamoku, mentioned earlier as leader of the natives, died in 1899, at the age of sixty-two. His grave, enclosed in an iron grill fence, and covered by a white marble tombstone, may still be seen at the Iosepa cemetery.

When Church officials announced to the group in 1915 that a temple would be built in Hawaii, that cash would be paid for all personal and corporate holdings in the colony, and that the Church would provide transportation back to the Islands for those unable to pay for their own, most of the colonists decided to return to their homeland. Most of the returnees settled on the Church plantation at Laie, Oahu. Many faithful Church members today are among the descendants of the Skull Valley Hawaiian pioneers.

The Church sold the ranch in 1917 to the Deseret Livestock Company, which moved some of the original buildings away and razed others to obtain materials with which to construct a ranch headquarters near the site of the old village. The ranch now produces hay and serves as a center for livestock grazing. The story of Iosepa is a story of hope, courage, and hard work.

FAMILY LIFE IN HAWAII DURING THE HAWAIIAN MONARCHY

Joseph H. Spurrier

The Hawaiian Monarchy was formed when the Hawaii-island chief, Kamehameha united the islands by conquest. This task was completed by 1810. It ended when Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown in 1893. In this span of eighty-three years, family life in Hawaii underwent severe changes as it was transformed from the native 'ohana (family) to the Euro-American, Christian pattern. That the family was significant among the islanders is attested by the number and frequency of terms and phrases in the language which refer to it.[1] The Hawaiian word which is commonly translated as family is 'ohana. In casual usage, 'ohana can mean an institutionalized, corporate body--the extended family--or it may simply designate a kinsman or relative.[2] Most commonly it meant the general grouping of persons related by blood, marriage or adoption.[3] Others might live in the household though they were not 'ohana. These were the 'ohua, which signifies retainers, sojourners, or those likened to passengers in a canoe.[4]

The derivation of the word is in the symbolism of the 'ohā (buds) which occur on the corm of the taro plant (Colocasia esculenta).[5] These buds sprout at the top of the corm, which is that root-like portion of the plant that is propogated. The phrase is, then, 'ohaana, or the springing of off-shoots, as children springing from a single pair of parents.[6] The contraction is 'ohana. To go farther and express the idea of the primary or nuclear family in modern usage, the phrase, 'ohana pono i (the true family) was required.[7] This stipulated a father, mother and the children born to them.

A description of family life at the beginning of this period must come from the fitting together of fragments of observations from accounts written for other purposes. The sources which can be consulted begin with the journals of Captain James Cook, the discoveror.[8] While his account contains almost no direct references to Hawaiian families, some few statements can be used to draw inferences. The ship's logs of Portlock and Dixon,[9] Bryon[10] and the journals of the Wilkes expedition are useful in a similar fashion.[11] The writings of John Ledyard, a marine with Captain Cook;[12] the publication of Archibald Campbell,[13] an injured whaler who spent a year in Honolulu in 1808; and an account attributed to John B. Whitman[14] all make fleeting comments about men and women as parts of households.

Hiram Bingham, puritanical leader of the first company of Protestant missionaries from Boston, recorded his impressions in what some have called—awkward and biased language in A Residence of Twenty-One Years In The Sandwich Islands.[15] His book, while intended to be an accurate observation is more Bingham than Hawaii. Other missionaries kept journals which are available, both published and unpublished. These add pieces to the puzzle. William Ellis, a London Missionary Society minister, left a somewhat more sympathetic picture of society in Hawaii due to his having spent several years in Tahiti before coming to Honolulu.[16]

The islanders themselves left little other than the writings of such as David Malo and Samuel M. Kamakau. Malo was one of the early converts to Chrisianity and eventually became a liscensed preacher.

He left work in notes but this work suffered some in translation and editing, which was done by a missionary son. His Hawaiian Antiquities shows both his own "converted Christian" bias as well as that of his editor and translator.[17] Kamakau was also a converted Christian.[18]

Historians, ethnologists, anthropoligists, sociologists and other scholars have gleaned and culled from these sources to put together valuable studies of that early Hawaiian society. One fine example is The Polynesian Family System in Ka-u, Hawaii, by E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui (Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc. Rutland, Vermont, 1972). Dr. Handy is a prominent Polynesian ethnologist and Mary Pukui is the leading Hawaiian scholar of this generation—a lexicographer and, incidentally, a Latter-day Saint. This work is much enriched by references to the family found in the language—terms and phrases which give insight into the spirit and practice of family life at Laie in the later years of the kingdom, is compiled from notes taken from over thirty missionary journals kept by elders who labored in Hawaii from 1850 to 1890.

While these elders had little intention of recording family history, enough can be gleaned to perceive a little about the lives of some families who lived there then. Unfortunately, Hawaiian Latter-day Saints were not yet sufficiently conditioned to a literate tradition to keep journals. Many of them performed illustrious Church service, filled multiple missions and led lives of heroic faith but this heritage is lost due to their failure to journalize their lives.

A revival of interest in things Hawaiian, the resurgence of enthusiasm about genealogies and a turning of scholarly interest to local and oral history may uncover documents and records heretofore unknown and make possible a re-structuring of a heritage that can be held in high esteem.

In discussing the 'ohana in the formative years of the kingdom, consideration must be given to four influences which were powerful determinents of how the Hawaiians lived. First, there was the structure functioning of the 'ohana itself. It was a dispersed community with family members living primarily within one general locale.[19] The various groups of a single 'ohana were mutually supportive. These living near the seashore obtained their sustenance from the sea while others lived inland and cultivated or gathered food plants. When a member of the inland group went to the beach, a basket of taro, or other food from the mountains would be carried to give to the family on the shore. The basket would not be returned empty. Fresh or dried fish, or other seafood would be given in return. This was not an equal exchange of goods, or barter. It was rather a reciprocal giving for which the word, obligation, may be too strong. The ethic which motivated action and shaped living patterns was cooperation and the giving rather than competition and acquiring.[20]

A second influence was the nature of the land system. Each island was divided into large districts which were called moku, usually from four to seven per island. Each moku was divided into

smaller, pie-shaped portions which ranged from two thousands to two-hundred thousand acres. These were called ahupuaa. The territory contained in this division was bordered on each side by a natural boundary such as a stream bed or ridge of high ground ran from the summit of the mountains to the seashore.[21] A number of 'ohana lived within each ahupuaa and usually all members of any one 'ohana lived within its boundaries. All nuclear and extended families living within one ahupuaa enjoyed full use and access rights to all land otherwise not used.[22]

A third influence was the division of the society into classes--alii, or chiefs, and makaainana or commoners. The chiefs hels rank which was inherited and with the degree of rank determined from carefully kept genealogies. The highest ranking of chiefs might rule an entire island, or perhaps only a moku (one of the large districts into which the island was divided) while those of lesser rank might serve as retainers or be given charge, as land manager, in an ahupuaa (the second largest divison of land). The common people worked the land and the sea for the support of all. They were not, however, bound to the land in the way or the European serf of the middle ages. On provocation, they might move from place to place freely.[23] Although rank was not held among the commoners, the eldest son or daughter was given recognition and the right to the title of haku (lord) of the 'ohana. Further, the first son or daughter of the eldest succeeded to that title and position thus establishing senior lines within the family. From these senior lines came the leadership for the

'ohana. The haku divided the fish of a communal catch, directed any work that required a total family effort, presided at family councils and was the representative of the group when the chiefs came each year to collect the taxes. The haku also occupied the aina (family home place) which was recognized as the geographic center of the family. There might be several 'ohana in each ahupuaa and each would have its aina, or center.[24]

A fourth influence was the early Hawaiian religion. While the religion was quite highly developed and complex, the most obvious aspect was the kapu, those limitations and restrictions imposed by that religion. These required separation of men and women when eating, prescribed foods which could not be eaten by women and commoners and permeated every phase of living. The sanctity of the chiefs was protected by the kapu. It was the system of social control and the basic guide to general behavior.[25] It was changes in these four factors which brought about the transformation of family life through the period of time under consideration.

A Brief Description Of Family Life In The Early Year of The Kingdom

Mate selection and marriage among the alii were decided upon considerations of rank and genealogies and therefore marriages were arranged by parents well in advance of the event.[26] Among commoners, mates were selected with regard to more mundane criteria—appearance, talent, personality, or where one lived. Chiefly families were on the move a lot since the responsibilities of a chief required travel, within ones own district, around the island, or inter-island.[27] The families of the commoners tended to remain within the confines of one ahupuaa.

Spurrier, Joseph H.

Moving was a serious and demanding effort.

Marriages among both classes might involve multiple mates and there were occasional justifications for ritual infidelity. A chiefly family might be polygynous, polyandrous, or both at the same time. Among the commoners, the institution of punalua (literally, a second spring) was the more common pattern. This practice involved the acceptance of a fully participating second wife or husband into the family. If the new partner were to be male, the arrangement was initiated by the first husband with the permission of the wife and was most often a brother or near kinsman of the first husband. Should the new partner be female, the opposite held true.[28]

The dwelling of a family was several thatched houses, each with a different purpose. The houses were small, one-roomed structures which may be likened to the rooms of a modern house. The number depended upon the wealth or rank of the occupant. Regardless, however, of rank or status, certain minimums prevailed. There was always a mu'a, or men's house. This housed the family god, or whatever material representation there was of this being. Here also the men did indoor work, held their councils, took their meals and generally lived. The second house was the hale noa (free house) where the entire family slept and could meet together. If no other building were erected for the purpose, the women also did their work here. A third building was the halé kahumu, or cook house. Here food was prepared separately for men and women. Additional houses might be put up for storage, the housing of canoes, or other purposes. Some chiefly households

might have as many as ten houses. The extras included a rather unique small house used to shelter women during that one week a month when they were considered ritually unclean.[29]

As has been mentioned, the makaainana, or common people, did the work on the land. The work was clearly delineated as to what was appropriate for men and women. Men did the planting, harvesting, fishing done with nets or from canoes, and the cooking. Women assisted with weeding, gathering certain kinds of uncultivated plants, and searching the shore for seaweed and shellfish. Indoor work included the making of tapa (native paper-like cloth), weaving mats and care of small children. Inside work for the men was the making and repairing of tools and implements, mending of nets, or making of canoes. The boys, after they had made the transition from the women's house to that of the men, assisted the men in all of the tasks done while the girls did the women's work.[30]

The work day began early since work with growing plants was to be done before daylight or after sunset, according to the old religion.[31] For fishermen, it was good to be well out to sea by the time the sun was up. For women, gathering food in the uplands or at the beach was done more comfortably before the sun was high.[32] During the heat of the day and when the weather was unfavorable, indoor work was attended to by all.

Children filled a special place in the household, especially when they were small. They were objects of much attention. As they reached the age to begin walking, this attention diminished markedly

and the child was left to fend for himself among those of his own age group.[33] He was much under the supervision of older brothers and sisters or cousins. Of the learnings most desired for children, the skills for the accomplishment of daily tasks and the requirements for observing the kapu were the most urgent. Other traits favored were the ability and willingness to be olu 'olu (pleasant) and to lohe (give heed). These meant to be amenable to the desires of others and to avoid disagreements and confrontations whenever possible.[34]

The truly drastic changes for the 'ohana began with the arrival of Captain Cook in January of 1778. The strange and lusty men from the ships were attractive and attracted to the island women who wore marriage as a light mantle.[35] Despite the informality of the 'ohana in matters of sexual fidelity, the association of the women with the men from the ships placed strains on the relationships within the family.[36] In addition, with the strangers came diseases for which the islanders had no immunity. These new diseases plus the cultural shock of being brought into contact with a civilization some six-thousand years ahead in time would cause the native Hawaiian to become sterile and would decimate the population in less than a century.

The wars of the conqueror and the new interest in sandalwood as a cash crop caused men to be absent from their families for extended periods of time thus forcing on the women roles previously held only by men. In addition to all of this, many of the foreigners took island women for wives and expected them not only to prepare their food but

to eat with them as well.[37] The family system and the socio-religious fabric was so weakened that the chiefs finally, in 1819, cast off the kapu altogether.

In 1820 when Protestant missionaries arrived from New England, still another pressure was brought to bear on the 'ohana. Family life among the Hawaiians was already in a lamentable state of disarray and the newly arrived preachers assumed that this was the natural state of affairs. One reported that there was nothing like family life or domestic felicity among the natives.[38] The efforts of the New Englanders to bring the faltering practices of the 'ohana into line with Christian ways were generally thought of as beneficial though almost everything Hawaiian became unacceptable, unsuccessful or sinful. The race was not likely to prosper or to regain any cultural stability in such circumstances.

The effects of Christianity on the 'ohana were subtle but important. First was the insistence, not only on monogamy in marriage but fidelity as well. While this, in itself, is good and proper, to a people accustomed to exactly the opposite, the way was opened for adultry, a new sin, later to become the national sin.[39] A second influence was the perception of the foreigner that the male should be the provider while the female was to remain in the home. This was strange indeed in families where it had taken all hands to accomplish the work of sustenance. Another change was that of the calendar. The lunar calendar of the Hawaiians had times, nights and days, appointed to the tasks of man. The Christian calendar with its seven-days-a-

week program and only one day set aside for prescribed activity all but demolished the Hawaiian way of life.[40]

The family situation among the Hawaiians deteriorated rapidly. Children were simply not being born. Disease was wiping out the existing population by the hundreds. Many Hawaiians were leaving the islands to migrate to other lands. The population had declined fifty percent within fifty years. A European visitor described the situation well in 1836:

> "Unless haste is made, there will be none left at the Sandwich Islands to civilize, except the civilizers themselves."[41]

Deaths outnumbered births by an alraming ratio and conditions were not getting any better.

By the late 1840's, the pressure of foreigners, had brought an end to the old land system. That system, while feudal in nature and providing only temporary land tenure, was well suited for the island situation where land is limited. Under the new system of individual ownership, land became a commodity to be bought and sold and for speculation. The use and access rights, so necessary for life in the old way, was ended and eventually the native islanders were to be replaced as landowners by those who could afford to purchase, or otherwise acquire this commodity.[42] The 'ohana was now almost pletely broken up since its operation had depended so much on free access to land. Newly married couples might no longer settle in the same ahupuaa as the rest of the family. The old cooperative, mutually

supportive interaction among family members was also gone. The new design was the nuclear or primary family and the new style was the American competitive and achievement-oriented way of doing things. It is obvious from the forgoing description, that the new ways were in direct contrast with the old. The loss for the Hawaiians is almost incomprehensible.

In the later years of the Hawaiian monarchy—the reigns of King Kamehameha IV, Kamehameha V and the early years of that of Kalakaua, island life was as its most colorful.[43] It was during these years that the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints established the Sandwich Islands Mission. The first elders arrived in December of 1850 and after two months of indecisive operation, the work was begun among the Hawaiian people.[44] There were also notable early successes among white men who had settled in the islands and were raising families.[45] Mormons converted more white men in three years than the Protestants had in thirty. An interesting peculiarity, however, developed in the conversion pattern among the Mormons in that men were converted and baptized before their wives, producing part-member families. In only a few cases was a Latter-day Saint family style found prior to the founding of the agricultural mission at Laie in 1865. An actual family has been chosen here to illustrate family life of this period rather than trying to abstract a set of characteristics. The family history included here is that of the Kaleohano family. This man was one of George Q. Cannon's first converts, a man of chiefly descent, and the head of a large progeny in

the Church.

The 'ohana to which Kaleohano belonged was an important one as his grandfather being a high ranking chief from the district of Ka'u on the island of Hawaii. In his middle years he sailed away from the islands with Boki, governor of O'ahu, in search of sandalwood in the South Seas.[46] His wife and son were given lands on Maui where an uncle, Hoapili, was governor. This land was located on the northwest flank of Maui's majestic mountain, Haleakala. Here, with the kapu broken, the son grew up with only the status and wealth that ingenuity might bring. This was the father of Kaleohano.

The Kaleohano of our history was born at Pulehu, in the Kula district, in 1831.[47] His bringing up must have been a strange mixture of the old and new since a Protestant mission station was established nearby in 1832.[48] His parents accepted the new religion, nominally, at least and he was sent to the missionary school taught by meagerly prepared Hawaiian teachers.[49] Here he was taught reading, writing, singing and some figuring. Although the old religion had been officially discarded twelve years before his birth, Kaleohano was still much under the influences of the old ways. He learned about the family aumakua. He also acquired rudimentary skills in the ancient arts of healing and the arts of hula (dance) and chant.[50] In his formal schooling, Kaleohano was a capable pupil and was chosen to attend the missionary seminary at Lahainaluna which had been established in 1831.[51]

By the age of twenty, Kaleohano had returned from school, which was a boarding institution, with a fair grasp of western knowledge

and the ways of the white man. In addition to theology, surveying, music, printing, geometry, rhetoric, grammar, mental arithmatic and natural philosophy (science),[52] the young man had learned competitiveness rather than giving and individual success rather than the group good. These last precepts were not in the formal curriculum but were everywhere present among missionaries, traders, whalers and visitors.[53]

On his return to Kula, he met and married a young lady of some rank, Kaahanui,[54] and with his newly acquired skills was able to secure for himself legal title to the land on which his family had lived for two generations.[55] He settled with his wife at Kealia, which was four miles from the place where he was born, at Pulehu. He was living here when, in April of 1851, Elder George Q. Cannon came into that district. It was here that the young elder preached his first sermon in Hawaiian and made his first baptism.[56] Kaleohano and his wife were among these.[57] Elder Cannon became a member of the Kaleohano household and this marked teh beginning of a new kind of life for the young Hawaiian couple.

The dwelling of this family was a four room frame building raised some five to seven feet off the ground. The roof was of thatched pili grass but there were glass windows. The floors were covered with mats woven from the leaves of the pandanus or screw pine—lauhala. Steps led from the rocky ground up to a small lanai or porch which faced North and took advantage of the spectacular

view of West Maui. One of the rooms was for sleeping, another for eating while the remaining two served as work rooms, at least until the house became a regular stopping place for Utah missionaries moving across the island of Maui.[58] Cooking was done in a lean-to on the West side of the house using both open fire and underground oven. Much of the work was done underneath the raised floor of the house where one was protected from the sun and weather. Toilet needs were managed largely out of doors and well away from the house. Water was carried from a nearby gulch which was supplied from the run-off of rains which occurred higher up the mountain. Laundry was done in this stream bed where large stones served as washboards and as drying surfaces.[59] When the weather was wet, clothing was hung on lines underneath the house.

Kaleohano provided for his family in the running of a few head of cattle, fishing, on occasion and from some cash income from the family acreage. Beef and fish were traded for taro for the making of poi, the staple of the Hawaiian diet. The remainder of their food needs were met by the efforts of Kaahanui in the keeping of a large, well-tended garden. This good wife had also learned somewhat of needlework and was able to make clothes for herself and her husband. Such "ready-made" clothing as they required was purchased from mercantile establishments in Wailuku, Maui or on infrequent trips to the city of Honolulu.

Immediately after his baptism into the Church, Kaleohano was called to accompany Elder Cannon on a missionary journey to the Koolau (windward) district of Maui.[60] This was the first of his many missions and he was of incalculable aid, throughout his life, to the Utah elders. His chiefly status earned him a hearing wherever he went and his education gave him ease in dealing with the precepts of the Gospel. His training in the language and poetry of the ancient chant gave him fluency and grace of expression in his own language. His talent and training was further manifest two years later when the first meeting house on the island was dedicated at Kula. For that occasion, Kaleohano organized and led a choir of singers in which his wife and father sang.[61]

On the twenty-second of April, 1853, the family was blessed by the arrival of a baby girl who was named Lucy. The father was so proud that on the following Sunday, he led a procession to the meeting house with his baby daughter in his arms, in the words of Elder Ephraim Green, "as proud as a king."[62] Later in the day when [redacted] called upon to preach, the exhuberant Kaleohano held forth for two hours. Thirteen months later a second child was born--a son who was given the name Kamuela (Samuel).[63] In the early infancy of these children, their father was away much of the time in service to the mission. By April of 1854, he had completed seven missionary assignments.[64] At that time he was assigned as leader of the Honuaula Branch of the Church which was near his home and he was able to live at home for a time.

Kaleohano served here for three years during which time the missionaries selected the basin of Palawai on the island of Lanai as a gathering place for the saints in Hawaii.[65] In addition to his work with his branch assignment, he was called to recruit men and women to go as pioneers to the new settlement. It is significant to note that one company of pioneers on Lanai was known as the Kula company.[66] He was also assigned to gather foodstuffs, implements and livestock to provide for the colony until it should become self supporting.

In all of this service to the mission, Kaleohano's wife, Kaahanui was a strong supporter and second for her husband. Her patient help and warm hospitality became legend among the American elders. The family entertained the young missionary, Joseph F. Smith, during the summer months of 1856 while the fifteen year old elder learned the language.[67] He was ill much of the time but when he departed the home, he was able in Hawaiian and acclimated to the food and ways of the islands. The friendship formed in these months would endure for many years and across generations as President Smith returned repeatedly to Hawaii and as members of the family moved to Utah in the late 1880's.[68]

In 1861 Walter Murray Gibson arrived in Hawaii and in a few months appropriated the leadership of the Church in the islands. Kaleohano served for a while under Gibson's regime[69] but soon began to recognize strangeness in the ways of the new leader and withdrew quietly, remaining close to his home in Kula.

When Elders Ezra Taft Benson and Lorenzo Snow arrived in 1864 to deal with the Gibson affair, Kaleohano was still at his home where Elder Alma Smith found him when he toured Maui to re-order the branches of the Church a month later. Elder Joseph F. Smith had returned with the deputation from Salt Lake City and was left in charge of the Church in Hawaii although the mission had not been re-established.[70] As conference was called at Honolulu in October of 1864, Kaleohano was in attendance and addressed the meeting, rejoicing in the restoration of the link with Church headquarters and with the authority of the prophet.[71] When the decision was made, later that year to send an agricultural colony to Hawaii and Laie, on Oahu was chosen as the site, the Kaleohano's decided to move there.

Within a year after their arrival at Laie, the family had erected a frame house, one of the few owned by Hawaiian families there. The plot they chose for their home was well inland and the place came to be known as Kaleohano Gulch. Here they found themselves tending to their physical needs very much in the old way. Taro was planted, tended and harvested in the wetlands along the river bed. Fishing was good at the shore, three miles distant. And, as ever, Kaahanui kept a garden. In addition, the low mountains were abundant with fruits and plants for gathering. Some livestock was also raised--swine, chickens, a few head of cattle and some horses for riding.

To satisfy the need for cash in the white man's economy, there was some income from leasing and sale of lands on Maui. In addition, Kaleohano worked intermittently as a sugar boiler at the mill to receive credits at the plantation store which was operated by Sister Nebeker.[72] Eventually, even the Kaleohano children worked on the plantation as well. President Nebeker was pleased when he found that the children of Laie wished to work when not in school. He arranged work for them at tasks appropriate to the ages and they also received credits at Sister Nebeker's store.

The work day began early, as it had always among the Hawaiians, with all the family doing chores around the household. Children were sent to school which, in these years, was taught by missionaries or their wives. Kamuela, Lucy, Williema, and Kanihonui, as well as the two youngest, all attended the schools at Laie. Kaahanui kept the house, made mats in the old way, or did needle work in her own house. She did not visit much among the homes in Laie. There was, and is, a strong aversion to women visiting from house to house and few women were thought less of than those who did it.[73] Kaleohano, if not on a mission, tended the livestock or worked at the mill. At the close of each day, which was earlier in those days of no electric lights, the family met for the pule 'ohana (family prayer and devotions) Scriptures were read or recited, a hymn was sung and family prayer was said. Care was exercised to to use these times for, just before seeking rest, for instruction, lecturing, scolding, or recriminations. This was characteristic of being olu'olu (pleasant) and non-confronting, an ideal of earlier times.[74]

The family residence at Laie, as it had been on Maui, was a more or less constant home for missionaries. It was the practice of the mission presidents to assign new elders out to Hawaiian families to aid in learning the language.[75] This family was favorite for that purpose. The missionaries became very much a part of the family, as many who have labored in the islands can testify. Almost always the living example of these elders before the family plus the blessings which accrue from providing for the Lord's servants doubly blessed many island families. The Kaleohano home had enjoyed nearly constant missionary occupation since 1851.

The first marriage among the Kaleohano children occurred in 1873 when Lucy was wedded to the young mail carrier of Laie, the son of one of Kaleohano's converts from the island of Hawaii.[76] Another event of some importance to the family was the mission call which came to Kamuela a year earlier.[77] Kanihonui was taking trumpet lessons and some years later would play in the Laie Brass Band.[78] Much service to the Church was being rendered by the brethren of the family but the sisters played their parts as well. Lucy was well known as a Sunday School teacher and her mother was called as a counselor in the first Relief Society Organization to be formed in Hawaii in 1873.[79] Later Kaahanui would be called to serve with Sister Partridge, wife of the mission president, in a mission-wide organization of the Relief Society.[80]

What must have been one of the highlights in the life of the family occurred in April of 1874 when King Kalakaua and his Queen,

Kapiolani, called at Laie on their first round-the-island tour. Lucy was selected by her majesty as being of suitable rank to serve as lady-in-waiting for this visit.[82] In subsequent visits, and on some other occasions, the king and queen used Kaleohano as an unofficial contact within the Church community. If a visit were planned to Laie or if some other assósiation with the saints were contemplated, Kaleohano was the person notified. On each visit to Laie, the royalty spent the time at the Kaleohano home.

As they Kaleohano family and others of the Hawaiian saints had gathered to Laie, a number of seemingly incidental developments brought about one of the little known but important events of Hawaiian history. In this new location, they lived in proximity, not only to other Latter-day Saint families, but "chosen" families--so-called because they had chosen to gather there. There was a strong feeling for community with residents responsible to and dependent upon other residents. This sense of mutual support and cooperation came out of the fact that all were Church members and the general atmosphere was much like that experienced in earlier days when the <u>'ohana</u> was functional. In a sense, the security and advantages of the 'ohana had been restored.

A second regularizing influence which characterized Laie was the fact that the entire <u>ahupuaa</u> of Laie had been purchased for the Church by Elder Francis A. Hammond in early 1865.[83] Those who gathered there found again the full use and access rights they had enjoyed under the old land system. The Hawaiians felt much at home.

A third element of life at Laie which represented a kind of restoration of an old way, was the structure of Church leadership in the mission. President George Nebeker presided over the plantation and the missionary activity. In this capacity he had much the same powers over the ahupuaa as had been held in the old times by the konohiki who was a chief and land manager.

As a fourth consideration, the principles of the Gospel had replaced the old system of kapu. It was a religion, a code of moral behavior, and a framework of social controls. When the kapu was abandoned, it was replaced unintentionally by New England Protestantism. Where the Kapu had ruled by fear and Protestant Christianity had been repressive, the principles of the Gospel seemed benign.

In view of these restorative circumstances it is not surprising to note a recovery among the Hawaiians. The deadly direction of the population trend in the kingdom was reversed at Laie. President Nebeker was able to report in the early 1870's that births were exceeding deaths three to one on the plantation.[84] This was happening at no other place in the kingdom. King David Kalakaua and Queen Kapiolani, on their visit to Laie in 1874, found the number of children there astonishing. Both commented upon it repeatedly.[85] The sense of worth, of cultural stability, and of ability to cope was restored to the people in there circumstances. The Queen recorded that her people at Laie had regained their former dignity and self respect.[86]

Another impression made upon Queen Kapiolani in her association with Laie was the Relief Society.[87] She was much interested in this

society of sisters and felt it to be important to the revitalization of the race. These impressions were responsible for her establishment of the queen's relief society, the Hui Hooulu a Hoola Lahui (association for strengthening and giving life to the race) in 1877.[88] Kaleohano was instrumental, in the anme of her majesty, for assisting in the organization of a number of chapters of this society in various places around the islands.[89] He was further called upon from time to time to address the assembled women of the society.[90] Kaahanui and her daughter, Lucy, were both active in the queen's organization at Laie.

Almost by way of turning back to the beginning, Kaleohano and his family were called upon in the October conference of the mission in 1886 to demonstrate "innocent Hawaiian amusements," which included examples of the chant and dance.[91] From that time on, Laie became one of the centers of interest for the preservation of Hawaiian dance and chant. Each conference included demonstrations and eventually competitions in these arts. Many of the prominent dance instructors and performers look back to find their origins at Laie.[92]

The life and activity of the Latter-day Saint family has been much strengthened since the turn of the century. Many innovations have enriched family life. The kupuna (old folks), however, remember with fondness and nostalgia the days of their growing up among the saints at Laie and the large strong families of the final decades of the last century.

At the beginning of the period of the monarchy in Hawaii, family life was in a deplorable state due to the impact of the discovery, the

changing economic system, the loss of the kapu, the revolution in the land system and the dissolution of the functions of the 'ohana. The race was dying out. When Laie was established as a gathering place for the Latter-day Saints, many of the old ways were restored or replaced with beneficent substitutes. Cultural identity, family stability and the will to persevere returned also and the race began a recovery which was not to become general among the people until the mid-ninteen hundreds. The Kaleohano family has been selected to illustrate family life during the monarchial period because it existed under all of the conditions described.

FOOTNOTES

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Na Makua Mahalo I'a - Mormon Contributions to Hawaiian Music

Production: Dr. Ishmael Stagner
BYU-Hawaii

There is a Hawaiian saying "Ho'i ana oe, nana i ke kumu," or "Go and look to the source." The sources used in this program are recognized authorities on various aspects of Hawaiian culture. In addition to being musicians, poets, composers, and performers for many, many years, they also represent long, long years of devoted Mormon church service.

In this group of kupuna are Doctor Mary Kawena Pukui, lexicographer, author, composer of more than three hundred songs and chants, and recipient of two honorary doctorates; Edith Kanaka'ole, composer, chanter, author, translator, poet, dancer and recipient of state, national, and international awards in ancient Hawaiian dance; Alice Namakelua, composer, translator, hula dancer, and slack-key guitar artist whose best-selling album was made when she was eighty-two years old; Alvin K. Isaacs, prolific composer of a wide ranger of Hawaiian music such as hulas, chants, contatas, marches, hymns, and movie scores; and John K. Almeida, often called the dean of Hawaiian composers.

In visiting with these people, a number of common threads or responses emerged from discussing how they perceived the Gospel as affecting their culture and art. First, all agreed that the Gospel, if properly understood and practiced, posed little or no threat to their culture. In 1977, Kawena Pukui stated that some aspects of Hawaiian culture ought to be forgotten, especially because the Gospel offered better alternatives. In her book, Nānā I Ke Kumu, she strongly asserts that Christianity gives answers to questions raised rather than answered by the old Hawaiian religion, and that, even more importantly, Christianity helped to explain why the Hawaiian was as spiritual as he was, even prior to the coming of the first missionaries. For Kawena Pukui the strength of the Hawaiian was spiritual, and that nothing that he did was without cosmological or spiritual importance. Indeed, all of life was a spiritual exercise, in which art, i.e., singing, dancing, composing, weaving, carving, and painting, served two important functions. First, to remind men of their interrelatedness with the universe and the Gods who dwelled there, and secondly, to demonstrate the kind of God-like behavior men should display. Thus, singing, dancing, and performing were all part of not only entertaining men, but also of instructing them. For a Hawaiian then, the implications of the 29th Section are extremely significant, "...all things unto me are spiritual, and not at anytime have I given unto you a law which was temporal..." For the Hawaiian, indeed, all things were very, very spiritual.

Secondly, the gospel uses art, especially music, to develop personal strength. It was one thing for Christianity to say, "Blessed are they that mourn," but sorrow and grief became much, much easier to bear when they were tempered with the promise that "...it shall come to pass that those that die in me shall not taste of death, for it shall be sweet unto them;" In the Hawaiian word "Aloha" is the promise that those parting are destined to meet again, whether in this life or the next. In the words of Alice Namakelua, "Thank God for my music, for without it I would have died long ago. Thank God, for the Church, because it taught me to enjoy and appreciate the joy and beauty of singing."

Aunty Alice is the rule, rather than the exception because the history of the Hawaiian people is a history of a basically happy people constantly awash in seas of conflict and turmoil. Certainly, a people who could survive the almost total decimation of their population in less than a century, must have

had spiritual strengths and resources of great magnitude.

So what gave the Hawaiians the will to survive? Perhaps the best answer is in the lines of the Hawaiian Hymn, "Hawaii Aloha," ..."Na Ke Akua e mālama mai ia oe"... "Na mea ōlino Kamaha'o no lono mai..." which translated means, "God protects you...," "...The holy light from above..."

Another response to the question of the relationship of the Gospel to the Hawaiian Arts, is that the Gospel teaches us to want to share our knowledge of the arts and the culture with others, and that in doing so we become greatly blessed. "Aunty" Edith Kanaka'ole, in her acceptance speech for her Distinguished Service Award from the BYU-Hawaii Campus, on June 23, 1929 advised, "...Don't forget, to especially give of yourself all that which you have; it's the only way it may come back to you a hundredfold." For her, then, culture was only useful and beneficial as it was shared. Thus, the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the life of service it teaches was totally compatible with "Aunty" Edith's Hawaiian background.

Fourth, the Church's doctrine of the sacredness of families struck and continues to strike a responsive chord in Hawaiian culture. In a society such as the Hawaiians had, the family was everything. To a very large extent, a person's claim to immortality was through his family. Protection, security, identity, and fulfillment came together when one was in a family. Many Hawaiian chants are genealogies, carefully preserved, and added to from generation to generation. The tradition of recording and retaining genealogies was oral, and the means were either through chants or songs.

A later trend in Hawaiian culture was the use of the "mele inōa," or the "name song". This involved the dedication of a song to a person, or to a person's family, as a sign of respect, and constitute persently, a large portion of the body of Hawaiian music.

The famous Hawaiian dancer, the late Iolani Luahine, was asked how she reconciled her church membership with many of the apparent pagan or heathen aspects of her performances. Her answer was startling. She said that when she did those dances, they were no longer Pagan, because the people watching her knew both--who she was and what she was. Thus, for her, a Christian, the dances now became Christian, if especially they were seen and understood in their instructional and entertainment contexts, rather than in their original religious ones. What Aunty I'o very firmly believed and lived as a dancer, was that among other things, her art was meant to cheer people up, and to allow both they and the dancer to have some fun. For her then, the Gospel perception, tolerance and even encouragement of culture as a means of having and promoting fun was so extremely important.

Certainly, for all those who are Hawaiian or who are Hawaiian in heart, there is no great conflict between what the Gospel teaches about fun, and what the culture teaches about fun.

In an interview with Kawena Pukui in 1977, she stated, "I'm a chronic scribbler." By this, she meant that ever since whe was a young girl, she had been writing things down, either in journal form, or for professional publication. One of the great losses currently being experienced in the Hawaiian community is that most Hawaiians do not speak the Hawaiian language, and that those few who do, do not speak the Hawaiian of earlier times.

Certainly if culture helps to give a people an identity, then language, as an aspect of culture, plays a critical role in establishing and defining that identity. This appreciation of the Gospel for culture has not been lost on the Hawaiians, or for that matter, any of the other Polynesian peoples.

The Mormon Church has always been viewed as being an encourager of the performing and the exhibiting of Hawaiian arts and crafts. Many of the journals of the early Mormon missionaries talk about the gathering of the saints at conference, and the great singing and dancing contests and festivals that were always part of those conferences.

Indeed, the Laie tradition of the Hukilau became famous, through a song written by a visitor to a church gathering, and all that takes place or should take place now at the Polynesian Cultural Center, to a large extent existed in some form in Laie ever since the saints began to gather there in 1865.

In fact, many knowledgeable people in the Hawaiian music industry credit the modern revival of Hawaiian male dancing to the efforts of Professor Wylie Swapp and his troupe of Church College of Hawaii male dancers in the middle 1950's.

After the arrival of the early Christian missionaries in 1820, much of the old Hawaiian religion went either underground, or disappeared totally. What survived of the old religion after the initial onslaught of Christianity was assimilated into Hawaiian culture, as the "new" Hawaiian religion. However, the metaphysics of the earlier religion, saw God, nature, and art as being aspects of each other. Lost somewhere was the former Hawaiian belief that God and Art through culture, were compatible. As a result, for a number of years in Hawaii much of the hula and its metaphysical ties to the Hawaiian universie were either taught secretly, or not at all. Thus, someone such as Edith Kanaka'ole, whose chants were as much biological, zoological, and botanical, as they were cultural, was in every sense of the term, a real treasure. For her, the message of her Hawaiian culture and the message of the gospel were the same. We must live and love unselfishly, because that's the only way we enlarge our souls. Her favorite saying was, "Ulu a'e Ke welina a ke aloha" or the "the growth of love is the essence within the soul".

There is currently smouldering among many young Hawaiians, the very real question as to whether they can be both all-Hawaiian and all-Christian. They perceive a real conflict between the two. For people such as Aunty Edith, Tutu Kawena, Aunty Alice, and Alvin Isaacs, there was and is no conflict. Art, Culture, and the Gospel of Jesus Christ teach us to love each other and to give thanks to supreme forces--both outside and within us. If we are honest in this pursuit, then this is all that can be asked of us, by either God, however He is defined, and by our fellowmen. Even more importantly, we should see that there is conflict only when we do not completely understand and appreciate both our culture and the Gospel.

So we say in gratitude to people such as Aunty I'o, Aunty Edith, and all the kupuna who have been our Kumu (teachers) "Ina ua like i'ini o ka po'e Hawaii me kou i'ini, e mau ana no ka lahui" -- "If we the Hawaiians had desires such as yours, then we should never perish as a people".

Opapo--Man of Miracles

Talofa! I'm grateful to be here this afternoon to present this paper. I, too, like Dr. Spurrier, am a little apprehensive about this paper. I have never at any time tried to write something as long as this and give it as I've written it. I'm usually one who enjoys the gratitude of just getting up with a few notes and just "winging" it, some people say, but it's a great opportunity for me and it has forced me to do something that I've wanted to do for some time.

When I was asked by Brother Ken Baldridge to consider doing a paper on Opapo Fonoimoana for this conference, it was with a great amount of pride and wonderment to me to accept this assignment. Not because of my literary skills or anything that I have to offer, but because of the individual that I was asked to speak about... Opapo Fonoimoana.

What I am going to give this afternoon is, like Dr. Shumway's, without bibliographies and strictly from what I have learned as part of my oral history training in my family.

I had always thought of Opapo as merely my grandfather, a man of faith and a lot of hard work. However, when a non-Samoan historian such as Dr. Baldridge asked me to speak about him, I soon began to realize the significance of this man's life in a historical setting, and as I review his life in this historical setting I saw that as this historical significance. My grandfather Opapo like most all Polynesians of that era did not keep a journal. The things that I will be relating this afternoon are. things that I have heard from other people, his children, his friends.

Not much is known about his early life in Fogatuli, Savai'i, the village of his birth in 1859. It seems that great men in history come

from obscure beginnings, from Bethlehem, Thatcher, from Kohala and so it was with Opapo Fonoimoana who came from a village called Fogatuli. Even in the subsistence existence of the Savai'i villages, Fogatuli was poor compared to the rest. Young Opapo lived a very normal young Samoan life and probably faced the difficult stigmas and pressures given to children with mixed parentage for although his mother, Malia Toa, was a Samoan maiden of the Toa family in Fogatuli, his father was a foreigner--a foreigner of the worst kind--another Polynesian. As the family story goes, Opapo's father while a young adult, (not the Church young adult, a young man) went fishing one day and was caught in a storm or got lost and landed on Savai'i in the village of Fogatuli. His origin, his beginning was Uvea, or known today as Wallis Island. It's located about 500 miles west of Savai'i; it's not Samoa. I have since found out that his one and only name was Fonoimoana. And this land of Uvea was settled and is today inhabited by Tongans and people of Tongan lines and ancestors. I have also located several Tongan families now residing in Niuatoputapu with the name Fonokimoana in their lines going back to Uvea or Wallis Island. That was probably Opapo's father's real name--Fonokimoana.

Other than the uniqueness of his father, Opapo's life was a very normal one, until one day he had a dream. In his dream, he saw two *palagi faifeau* for foreign missionaries coming into his village and walking right up to their *fale*, walked right in and sat down. That was the end of his dream. But later on, when two Mormon missionaries entered into their village and came up to their house and walked in, he not only recognized the two as the men in his dreams, but by his own account the spirit told him that their gospel message was true. It was then that the stage was set for this simple man to do a great work for the Church among

the Samoan people.

The records show that he and his wife were baptized together in 1890, two years after the Samoan Mission was opened in 1888. Opapo's own story to his son Teila, my father, was that he met his wife Toai as she brought food to feed the warriors in a war between Malietoa and Mataafa. Opapo was a supporter of Malietoa. The story continues that when Opapo joined the Church and sought to serve the Church, his extended family ostracized him. He therefore, took as his last name his father's one and only name Fonoimoana and went by Opapo Fonoimoana, thus beginning the line and the family now known as Fonoimoana.

Opapo and Toai then joined a new, young, foreign Church. With the London Missionary Society arriving in 1830, the Catholics and Methodists soon after, the Mormons were a little late by 1888. However, the Lord seems to have his own time-table of success. By this time, all of Samoa were one of three religions and the young upstart Mormon "cowboys" as they were called--cowboys, because of the reference in Joseph Smith's story of his farm (but that's another story). These young upstarts had a difficult task of converting people already Christians to Mormonism, which was religiously nonsensical to the Samoans. Needless to say, the young Church with it's limited membership was hard at work.

Now let me stop here and go back quickly to my theme: Opapo--Man of Miracles. It appears that whenever the Lord begins a dispensation, establishes his gospel, or organizes his Church, He allows a tremendous outpouring of the gifts of the spirit in the form of manifestations and miracles--not for the glory of the individual or the people involved or because of their righteousness only, but for the sake of the Church and its growth. Now Samoans, like all Polynesians, or Book of Mormon people or Jews or Israelites or whatever, are greatly affected by miracles and manifestations. There's something about a good ol' miracle that gets us every time. Well, that seems to be the role that Opapo played in fulfilling his role in the church in Samoa. He was a man of miracle--to bear witness of the powers of the priesthood, to testify that the Mormons spoke for God and to remind the Saints of their need to live righteous lives--all of these were accomplished by his spiritual gifts. I have noted here to make a commentary on miracles with Mormons, and I'm just going to--wait on it for a little while.

The Christian Church had arrived in Samoa in 1830, and by the nature of Polynesian people there's a certain affinity to great faith in these people. Miracles were not and have not been the sole property of Mormons in Samoa, neither have they been a corner from the priesthood. Miracles have been performed by Polynesian people before Christianity, and after Christianity by the mere faith they had in the Lord Jesus Christ, and what we have here is really an attesting of the power of the priesthood to perform miracles--now I just like to throw that in because the rest of my presentation has to do with some of these miracles. What I am saying is that the Samoan people had been seeing miracles in the name of Jesus Christ prior to the church coming to Samoa, but now they were seeing it for the first time by the power of the priesthood.

It is not quite certain when Opapo began to exhibit these particular strengths, but the saying quickly spread throughout the mission, "Whatever you do, don't be cursed by Opapo". Many Saints living today have substantiated the fact that whatever Opapo said would come true. If he blessed you, you were blessed, if he cursed you, you were cursed.

In 1904, Opapo, Elisala, their wives and a few others were asked to

establish a wilderness area in the mountains of Upolu for the gathering and protection of the Saints in Samoa. They called it Sauniatu, or "Preparing to go forward". In this area, they carved out a beautiful settlement that was later described by President McKay as the most beautiful place on this earth. Perhaps it was because of the great persecution at the time or the hard struggles that the Saints experienced that the Lord saw a need to have strong, fearless leaders, so that the Saints would not falter but remain strong and faithful. No one who has ever lived in Sauniatu will ever speak differently of Opapo. One story is told of the first chapel built in Sauniatu. One day the small cooking house in the back of the chapel caught on fire and the alarm of "Fire!" spread throughout the village. Everyone ran to get their containers and run down to the river, so that they could get water for the fire because it was spreading too quickly. It looked as if for a moment that the fire would spread to the chapel and the chapel would be lost. The people however, began to notice that Opapo had climbed to the top of the chapel and was sitting there straddling the roof. He looked up to heaven and raised his right arm and said, "Father, we can spare the small house, but we cannot spare the big one, in the name of Jesus Christ and by the power of the holy priesthood, I command the wind to change". The wind changed and blew down the small house and the chapel was saved. The Saints were not only spared a chapel, but their faith had increased in God in a very difficult time of the settlement of Sauniatu.

There are many stories stemming from Sauniatu that would take too much time to recount, but let me tell another. Opapo had just returned from a three month trip to another island and upon his return to the village saw that the people were preparing a *fiafia* or *luau*. Upon inquiring, he found that a young girl and boy were to be married soon and so he called for the young girl to come to his *fale*. When she arrived, Opapo questioned her only as a Church leader could make an interview and found out all that he desired to know. Then suddenly, without any explanation, Opapo told this girl not to marry this young man, because if she did she would soon be saddened. Well, the girl wept sorrowfully and cancelled the wedding. You have to understand that Opapo's words were treated as prophecy. A couple of months later, the young intended bridegroom passed away and the entire village said, "no wonder."

During Opapo's years as the head of Sauniatu, in spite of his spiritual gifts, he was not spared the individual tests of God. Of the fourteen children born to Opapo and his wife, Toai, ten died as children, one at age 25 and only three lived to marriage, adulthood and to have children. Toa, the oldest of the three, Eseta, still living in Laie and my father, Teila, who is 72 this year. These tragedies seemed to strengthen him more and caused him to be more humble, more prayerful, and more industrious. He was known for his hard work. He worked for his own substance and also cared for the needy people, especially the widows and the fatherless. Where ever he lived, he was known for his long, tireless labors planting, cleaning and building. Several people have also recounted his practice of praying every morning at 5 am. and every evening at 5 pm. and several times in between.

Opapo often traveled to other parts of Samoa to do missionary work as assigned by the Church. In those days, men were often sent from Sauniatu to accompany *palagi* or American missionaries in proselyting to

other areas and returning later to Sauniatu, using Sauniatu as a home base. On one such journey, Opapo and his long-time friend Elisala and one or two American missionaries were sent to Manu'a to preach the gospel to the people of Manu'a. When they arrived, they had found that their arrival had been forwarned and that the King, Tuimanu'a, had given strict instructions forbidding anyone from receiving, housing, feeding, clothing or assisting the Mormon missionaries in any way. It was a difficult situation for all concerned. Even though some people may have wanted to accept the missionaries and care for them, as is their normal custom to care and assist ministers, the fear of reprisals from this dominant king and his harsh edict was too much for anyone to go against. The consequence of accepting these missionaries would be an immediate stoning of the individual or individuals. The prospects of any conversion was hopeless. Nevertheless, the missionaries were very determined and stayed two months on Manu'a. Without other food to eat, they relied heavily upon fallen coconuts on the beaches and other small staples. Without a *fale* for shelter and sleeping, they had to dig holes on the beach. They would enter the deep holes and the last one would cover they heads with leaves so as to protect them from mosquitoes. Unfortunately, the last had to suffer for the night, having no one to help cover his head and each night these missionaries would take turns being the last one.

On one particular night after several weeks of this grueling ordeal, Opapo recalls being awaken by the smell of some freshly baked food. Having survived on a simple diet of old coconuts for a few weeks, the smell of freshly baked goods were strong enough to awaken him from his sleep. As he investigated the smell, he found that near the location where they were sleeping was a woven coconut basket and it indeed had some freshly baked food. It was hot and delicious and as no one was seen bringing it or leaving it from the area, the food was attributed by the missionaries to the angels.

During the end of their stay, an elderly lady brought some food for the missionaries. Being old anyway she stated that if she had to die for this act of kindness, it was all right with her for she did not fear Tuimanu'a.

After several weeks, it was becoming evident that they were not going to succeed and the missionaries began winding up their messages in preparation of their departure. In this view, Opapo and Elisala spoke directly to Tuimanu'a and his people that if they did not repent and be baptized that very shortly, they would feel the wrath and power of God against them. As the missionaries were preparing to board the longboat back to Tutuila, Opapo paused at the edge of the village of Fitiuta, Manu'a and ceremoniously dusted the dirt off of his feet as a witness against them. A couple of weeks later, the worst hurricane in Manu'a's history hit the islands with such devastation that many people died. All of the houses were destroyed, save one, and all of the crops above ground were destroyed. The only house saved was that of the elderly lady and her daughters. The Manu'a people have since stated to Brother Mauga Tapusoa, who lives in the community of Laie, that if the hurricane had lasted a little while longer, not a soul would have survived the hurricane and all would have perished.

The disaster appears as a historical entry in the history books, but to the people of Manu'a who were there, and to the Saints during that period, the powers of God and the authority of the priesthood were more

firmly established, that he has entrusted this authority to men on the earth was illustrated and the church grew stronger because of the Saint's trust in their local leaders. Now, bear in mind that miracles are done for many reasons, just as disasters have been done for many reasons. During the time of Christ when he performed many of His miracles it accomplished many different ends, some to the convincing of the Jews of his divinity and others to the hardening of their hearts against him. As in the case of Lazareth after the Lord had raised him from the dead it states that many did believe on his name, but immediately the scriptures turn those people, who after seeing what Christ had done went and told the Pharisees so that they could continue their plot against Him. The disaster in Manu'a had that type of an effect. Although the people knew from whence the disaster orginated, it nevertheless did not assist in building the Church in Manu'a. To the contrary, the Church from that period had a difficult time in establishing itself in the islands of Manu'a and it wasn't until 1974 that a branch as part of a stake was actually organized. On the other hand, the Saints in Tutuila, having heard of the incident in Manu'a, their faith was greatly enhanced thereby enabling much of the work to move forward in the islands of Tutuila. The disaster in Manu'a did not have any harmful effect on the islands of Tutuila although it's only 40 miles apart.

On the return from Manu'a, Opapo and his companions settled again in Sauniatu where they assisted the work of the Church there. In 1921 the visit of Elder David O. McKay was the major event of the year for the Samoan people. There are numerous accounts of the visit of Elder McKay to Sauniatu which are more vivid and explicit then what I could explain in this account, but suffice it to say, that Opapo, Elisala and the Saints of Sauniatu were greatly uplifted and strengthened by the visit of this great apostle and man of God. Soon after Elder McKay's visit, Opapo, his wife and their family decided to move to Tutuila and locate there in preparation to the coming to Hawaii. They subsequently settled in the village of Mapusaga, building their house right adjacent to the graveyard. Having their house next to the graveyard brought about some interesting encounters of Opapo with some spirits, and they're good for stories for midnight camping up in the hills, but we won't go into those stories at this time.

However, there are two incidents that happened while they were in Tutuila that I would like to recount. And these incidents have affected the work of the Church in Samoa ever since.

During the early 1920's, the members of the Church in Samoa were sorely persecuted and hated as in other parts of Samoa, but in Tutuila acutely so. Brother Pinemua Soliai, who recently passed away and who was the grandfather of President Cravens, tells the story of him and Opapo. One day as they were walking along the road towards Pago Pago. Opapo, as was always the case in a missionary ministry in Samoa, always had an umbrella. As they walked along the road Opapo noticed the bus coming and he lifted up his umbrella to stop the bus so that they might get a lift to town. As the bus stopped ahead, they began to pick up their pace thinking that they were going to get a ride into Pago Pago. As they approached the bus, the driver must have noticed that these were the two Mormon missionaries, and quickly pressed on his accelerator and left the two men standing there. Brother Soliai turned to Opapo and said, "Well, now it's going to take us a long time to get up to town," at which time Opapo turned and said, "No, we'll get to town before he does." As they continued their walk to town they came upon an accident after a mile and as they came to the accident,

they found that this smae bus that had left them had run into another truck. The driver of that bus was immediately killed. It is difficult in recounting stories such as this to place a judgement upon the whys and wherefores of an accident such as this, and I don't pretend to have the answer as to whether this is a common practice or a common allowance by Heavenly Father of those who hold the priesthood, or whether there were eternal consequential reasons for things like this happening. My only point in recounting the story is the effect that it had upon the Saints and the powers that seem to be given to certain people and especially to Opapo by the things that he said.

The second incident in Tutuila during that period had to do with a non-member lady by the name of Salataima. In the village of Nu'uuli lived this Soliai family. The family was the only member-family of the church during that period. The head of the family, Pinemua, who I referred to earlier, one day requested that his good friend Opapo come and give his children blessings as he had done before, to have Opapo's blessings on his house, blessings on his property, and blessings on his friends. Agreeing to the request of his friend, Opapo came to their *fale* and proceeded to bless each individual child. In the home at the time was a good fried of Sister Soliai, a woman by the name of Salataima Puailoa. Mrs. Puailoa was from the Fanene family but had married into the Puailoa family. They had control of a large portion of land in the Mapusaga valley through Mr. Puailoa's family. However, they had no children and when Mr. Puailoa passed away, the control of that land was left with Mrs. Puailoa. Now the Puailoa family seeing that if they didn't do something immediately, this land would be controlled by this lady who married into their family. And so they proceeded to do something to regain the control of the land. Now when Mrs. Puailoa witnessed the blessing that Opapo had given to the Soliai children, she immediately asked for a blessing at his hand. Opapo refused to give her a blessing because she wasn't a member of the Church. So, she decided that she was going to be a member of the Church and receive a blessing. After going through the proper steps of the mission home and missionaries and the branch there, she became a member of the Church and then requested a blessing. But, before receiving the blessing she related this problem about the land. In the blessing, Opapo promised that the land would come to her without any problems and that the people and those who would stand in her way would not be a factor. He continued in the blessing that not only would she receive this land, but the time would come when she would have the opportunity to use this land for the furtherance of the work of the Church in American Samoa, and that if she were faithful she would be an instrument in the Lord's hands to do a great work in American Samoa for the Church with that land. In the early 1950's, that blessing had it's fulfillment, in that she had the opportunity to sell that piece of land to the Church and it became the center of the Church and Church activities for the island of Tutuila. On that property the Church built a high school, and faculty housing, a large welfare farm and also recently built a stake center and was the proposed site of the Temple in American Samoa. Last night in the dinner that I had with Elder Pinegar, he said that the Church has just been reaffirmed that property by the courts of American Samoa in the case, and that land has now been attested again as the property of the Church. So, again the blessing that was given to Salataima in the 1920's continues and carries on today.

In 1926, my father Teila arrived in Hawaii to prepare the way for his family to come to Hawaii and be close to the Temple. In 1928, Opapo and his wife were called by the Church to come to Hawaii, and do Temple work for Samoans in the Hawaii Temple. So in that year the Opapo Fonoimoana family moved to Hawaii and established themselves in the then-still small community of Laie. Opapo and his wife and many of the Samoans that had come at that time had faithfully worked in the Temple and labored to build the Church in the community of Laie from that time.

However, in 1933 Opapo had a dream in which he was told that he needed to bring all of his family and children out of Samoa. Opapo returned to Tutuila and while leaving his wife in Tutuila proceeded to the island of Savai'i where in the middle of the night went to the family of his daughter-in-law and grabbed his grandson, Sepi, who had been given to them to care for, and stole him in the middle of the night, bringing him back to Tutuila and Hawaii. Now this Sepi, let me just stop here, still lives here in Laie. He has many children and one is married into the family of Ken Baldridge. So that little act of stealing the child in the night has had some implications right here in this room. In 1935 Opapo's wife Toai passed away of pneumonia and was buried here in Laie. She at the time of her death was 70 years old and had supported her husband faithfully and contributed generously to the work of the Church. Two months prior to the death of Toai, Teila had married Mataniu Tuia, the daughter of Api Tuia, a close friend of Opapo. Their wedding was one that was arranged by Opapo and his friend Api without the two children ever having met each other or knowing each other. It was one of those weddings that you read about that was pre-arranged where the bride, traveling from a foreign country by boat, arrives and meets her intended husband-to-be for the first time, knowing that they had no other choice but to get married. (Those two are still married, by the way. They're sitting here in the audience). Such was the case of Teila Fonoimoana and Mataniu Tuia, who are my parents. During that period of time also, Opapo and his son Teila had built a house, and this house was built on the property that is presently leased by Bishop Joseph Ah Quin. Now, I tell this next story not to scare anyone who is a friend to Bishop Ah Quin or his family, but again it's the story about this man Opapo and some particulars of that house.

My mother recalls every so often passing his room when the door was closed and hearing Opapo speaking as if he were speaking to someone. At first she thought the old man had become senile, and she didn't want to bother him with any questions, but after constantly hearing these so-called conversations, she couldn't help herself, and she asked him who he was talking to, at which time Opapo said, "my friends". He would then name their names and describe them. According to Opapo, they all passed away, but these are people that were Hawaiian and people of other nationalities. Opapo even gave a little description, that the fair ones were good, but the dark ones were really bad. My mother didn't know how to take his explanation and answeres to her questions, and so she dropped the issue and didn't pursue it any further.

In 1958 on a trip that my mother made to Hawaii to meet her son finishing his mission in Hawaii, she by chance happened into a surveyors office to inquire about some information about former leases when she happened to come across an old Hawaiian map that was on top of the desk at this particular office, and this map showed certain roads and trails. When my mother asked the man what this map was and what the trails were

on the map of Laie, the man replied, "This is an old Hawaiian map which shows, as the Hawaiian legends say, the trails that go from the ocean to the mountains where all the spirits who die in the ocean walked in an attempt to go to the mountains and meet the Savior in the Resurrection". To my mother's surprise that trail passed right through a little corner of our house, which is Opapo's room, not to any other part of the house but through that part of the house.

It's without a doubt that Opapo had the ability to communicate with the spirits on the other side of the veil. This fact has been attested to by many people relating stories of what they had known about Opapo while he lived in Laie, but I suppose none of these gifts really have any meaning except as I've mentioned before, to help strengthen the faith of the people, especially the Samoan people to the principles of the gospel, the power of the priesthood, the truthfulness of the plan of salvation, and all that is taught within the framework of the Church.

In 1938 in December Opapo remarried a woman by the name of Taimi, who still lives today. In a meeting I had with Taimi about five years ago, she told me that after their marriage, Opapo gave her a blessing, and he blessed her that if she were faithful in the Church that the Lord will bless her with long life and she would live to see many changes in the community of Laie. Taimi is now about 90 years old, and the latest report is that she's still very strong and healthy. A couple of months after Opapo's marriage to Taimi, he contracted a cold and as was his practice, never went to the hospital. In refusing medical treatment and by not going to the hospital, this minor cold turned into pneumonia, and in a couple of days Opapo passed away. He was buried next to his wife Toai in the Laie Cemetery near his 81th birthday, and there he rests today.

Opapo Fonoimoana was truly an extraordinary man. He labored in the Church because of his faith and belief in God and Christ, and the restored gospel, and the faith and belief that if we are faithful in the Church, we will be blessed. He was given many spiritual gifts, I'm sure, so that in turn he could bless the people and lift them in difficult times when the Church was young in Samoa.

His family has truly been blessed as well, and I would assume that many of the blessings now being enjoyed by Opapo's children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren are partially because of his work in the history of the Church in Samoa and the Pacific. Opapo Fonoimoana was truly a man of miracles.

Carl Fonoimoana

The Story Behind The Legend Of The Seven Maori Canoes And The Descending Maori Chiefs by Vernice Pere

The migration legend of the coming of the Maori to New Zealand in a Great Fleet of seven voyaging canoes has its origin in ancient chants. As in other claims laid against oral historical evidence, the legend has its detractors. Some refute the idea of a migratory fleet of canoes, usually laying claim to descent from an earlier, single voyage that establishes their older history in the new land, and hence earlier claim to land titles.

Kupe is named as the Maori discoverer of New Zealand in "...about the middle of the tenth century." [1] He returned to Hawaiki, the ancestral home of the Maori thought to be Ra'iatea in Tahiti but described only as "central Polynesia" by Te Rangi Hiroa, the famous Maori anthropologist. He relates that Kupe's sailing direction in the lunar month of November-December was "...a little to the left of the setting sun,..." [2] and that

> From various traditions, there is little doubt that subsequent voyages were made on these sailing direction that were handed down orally in Polynesia." [3]

Buck further suggests that voyagers blown off-course by storms eventually reached New Zealand and became the Tangata Whenua (People of the Land). Then, in the twelfth century, legend has it that Whatonga, the grandson of Toi became lost in a storm while participating in a canoe race in central Polynesia. His grandfather, sailing south to search for him, landed at what is now called the Bay of Plenty in New Zealand and settled there. In the meantime, Whatonga arrived safely home, having found shelter for a period of time on yet another Polynesian island. He then provisioned his canoe and sailed south in search of his grandfather. Whatonga also made it to New Zealand where he was reunited with his grandfather and both men settled there permanently, intermarrying with the Tangata Whenua.

The Great Fleet legend persists today and tribes still trace their lineage to crew members of certain canoes in the fleet. The legend dates this major migration at 1350 A.D. It is thought that conflict in Hawaiki prompted the exodus for the purpose of colonizing Kupe's known land far to the south. These canoes were well-stocked with provisions for the voyage, and also with foods for cultivation in the new land. Songs, chants, and ancient poetry record the names of these canoes. Buck points out, however, that:

> ...the fame of particular canoes depends upon whether or not they have been recorded in song and story by bards and historians. A continuity of dominant chiefs and supporters is further required to bring the record down to modern times. [4]

The seven canoes named in most chants as comprising the Great Fleet are: Tainui, Te Arawa, Mataatua, Tokomaru, Takitimu, Kurahaupo, and Aotea. In many respects, the information we have today, derived from the oral traditions, is very specific. The Tainui canoe, under the leadership of Hoturoa, prepared to sail from Hawaiki on the Orongo night (27th) of the lunar month corresponding to October-November. But the old men advised Hoturoa to delay sailing until the stormy Tamatea's (6th to 9th nights) of the following months had passed. Hoturoa replied: "I will sail out now and meet the Tamatea's on the open sea." He surmounted all storms and trials to make safe landfall at Cape Runaway. [5]

An interesting point here is that legend further documents the

arrival in New Zealand as being a season when the native pohutukawa were in bloom. Their scarlet flowers cover the large trees and make their appearance in November or December. The story goes that as the canoes approached the new land, one of the chiefs saw the brilliant red of the trees and took off his head ornament of red feathers, (a prized Polynesian symbol of leadership) to throw it into the sea saying that the chiefly red of Hawaiki is cast aside for the chiefly red of the new land. Hence we can reckon the sailing time to have been about four to six weeks from Hawaiki to Ao Tea Roa (New Zealand).

Some events surrounding the story of the voyage are known today. One tells of Tama-te-kapua, the chief of the Te Arawa canoe kidnapped the priest of the Tainui canoe, forcing him to sail with Te Arawa. Misbehavior between Tama-te-kapua and the priest's wife further enraged the priest and he summoned a storm which almost sank the Te Arawa. The Tainui made landfall before the Te Arawa and the two crews went separate ways.

> The Tainui sailed south from Whangaparaoa to the Tamaki Strait, just outside Auckland. The crew members went ashore to explore, and found that only a narrow isthmus separated them from another harbour, which they named the Manukau. They hauled the Tainui across the isthmus, and sailed down the West Coast to Kawhia, where they finally settled. Their descendants spread out and became the Waikato people, occupying a large section of the North Island from south Auckland to Te Kuiti. Many generations later, when Te Rauparaha led a joint expedition of Ngati Toa and Ngati Raukawa warriors south in the 1820's Tainui descendants were established in the southern part of the North Island as well.[6]

Te Arawa landed at Cape Runaway, turned up the coast, and landed its passengers at Maketu near Tauranga, whereupon they spread inland.

The descendants of Tama-te-kapua occupy the coastal and thermal lands around Rotorua while those of Ngatoroirangi became the Tuwharetoa people of the Lake Taupo area. The Mataatua was captained by Toroa and sailed upriver in the Bay of Plenty to beach on the shore. Toroa's daughter was ill and she lay on the beach near the canoe to rest while the crew explored inland. As the day passed, the tide rose and the canoe began to float away. The woman, saying to herself, "I must act like a man," exerted all her strength and managed to save the canoe from floating away. To this day, that river is called Whakatane (Act-like-a-man), and the descendants of this canoe spread from Cape Runaway to Whakatane and inland over the rugged Urewera country.

The Kurahaupo went north and its people settled north Auckland and later Taranaki and an area between Wanganui and Lake Horowhenua. The Tokomaru, captained by Manaia, navigated by the priest Rakeiora, sailed around North Cape and beached at the Mohakatino River in North Taranaki. The people spread from the Mokau River to south of today's city of New Plymouth. Takitimu, captained by Tamatea, landed on the east coast of the North Island, and its people are the Gisborne tribes today. The Aotea canoe is said to have left the ancestral homeland in an off-season and was driven west to the Kermadec islands where the crew gathered karaka berries which they later carried to New Zealand. The month of March in the Kermadecs is when the karaka (Carynocarpus laevigata) is ripe. Landing on the west coast of the North Island, they moved inland to Wanganui. The names of the canoe, captain, and the steering-paddle are recorded in chant translated by James Cowan as follows:

The Paddle Song of the Aotea Canoe

Aotea is the canoe,
Turi is the chief,
Te Roku-o-whiti is the paddle.

Behold my paddle!
It is laid by the canoe side.
Now it is raised on high - the paddle!
Poised for the plunge - the paddle,
Now we leap forward.

Behold my paddle, Te Roku-o-whiti!
See how it flies and flashes,
It quivers like a bird's wing,
This paddle of mine.

Ah, the outward lift and the dashing,
The quick thrust in and the backward sweep,
The swishing, the swirling eddies,
The foaming white wake, and the spray
That flies from my paddle.[7]

Other canoes are mentioned in other chants, one being the Horouta which peopled the east coast from Cape Runaway to Gisborne, its descendants becoming the Ngati Porou of today. Sub-tribes throughout New Zealand trace ancestry to different personalities on the voyaging canoes, an example of this is the Ngai Tahu tribe of the South Island who are descendants of Tahu, a younger brother of Porou-rangi, the ancestor of Ngati Porou. Some of the difficulties in pinpointing dates with names in these legends lie with the multiple sources reporting the genealogical chants. Some recorders were more concerned with establishing their identity and ancestry as chiefly than they were with probing out the facts. An example of conflicting information is the following:

Tainui Lines from Hoturoa:

Hamlin
20 generations to Hoturoa

Ngapora composite
23 generations

Te Rangihaeata
17 generations to Hoturoa
18 generations to Hoturoa
15 generations to Tamatekapua

Iwikau
34 generations ago to Hoturoa (which is too long)

Wilkinson
20 generations to Hoturoa

Tamamutu
18 generations to Ngatoroirangi and Puhikaiariki

The Heuheu genealogy obviously contains extra names and was perhaps not correctly understood by Grey. The others vary from about twenty-three to seventeen generations. Other genealogies show a fair agreement on about twenty generations before 1850; this would suggest a possible maximum date of about 1000 or a minimum date of about 1450, with about 1300 being likely. Dr. Roberton in the work cited gives a date of 1290 for the birth of Hoturoa

Such conflicting information is present in all reports of the legends of Kupe, Toi, and the Great Fleet. However, the legends persist. Maoris today are not so much concerned with establishing exact dates of birth or events, - a task which becomes increasingly impossible as the language is further lost with the passing of time, - as they are with emphasizing the point that these people did live and did accomplish many of these migratory feats. In this the whole concept of the origin of the Maori is at question. Modern scholars have suggested the origin of the race as being Asia, Malaysia, Melanesia, America, and even recently, - another planet! For most Maoris, Hawaiki is in Tahiti, although there are also those who suggested quite recently that Hawaii is actually the Hawaiki of the legends.

In 1978, a small group of Maoris from Rotorua visited Hawaii. In the course of their visit, they asked especially to be taken to the area of Ka'u on the Big Island of Hawaii. They wished to hold a memorial service there before returning home to New Zealand, for they believed that Ka'u was the place of their beginning, the Hawaiki of the old chants and legends. At Ka'u there are several holes carved in the lava rocks that line the cliffs. The Maoris believed these holes to have been for the purpose of mooring the canoes of the Great Fleet before their departure. In Hawaii, it is accepted as certain that the Ka'u area was one of the first areas settled by the early Hawaiians who arrived from somewhere south. Ka'u is the southernmost point of the Hawaiian chain. The area has never been considered in Hawaii to have been a departure point for any migratory fleet heading south, and it is my opinion that any study of the geographical area leads to disbelief that the location could have supported the stocking of voyaging vessels. The area is one of severe drought. Anciently, the Hawaiians lived in family groups and are known to have been either planters high on the slopes of Mauna Loa, or fishermen scattered along the coast.

> On Hawaii the area that was most subject to severe famines was Ka'u. All the slopes below the forest line through the district were well populated, and the carefully cultivated land was dependent entirely on rain. The winter season was certain to produce ample rains from southerly cyclonic storms, therefore, one crop of sweet potatoes could be counted on as sure, and also one crop of the peculiar dry taro typical of the plains of Pakini and Kaua'oa. Later crops often failed. We have records of severe famines, when many of the people would find refuge elsewhere, mainly in Kona and in Puna.Some provision against hard times was made in stores of dried fish and dried sweet potatoes. Also the uplands here were a real reservoir of emergency provender. But the seashore had little to offer in hard times; there was almost no shallow water, and there were no reefs. Shellfish and seaweed were never plentiful. [9]

Handy further records that "... all legendary and archaeological evidence points to Ka'u as a landing place for Polynesian settlers 'from Kahiki (not necessarily Tahiti)' who came as early as A.D. 700." [10] Owing to the ruggedness of the shore, food was obtained from the sea only at great risk and with difficulty. There were no lagoons, and few beaches. The area is a good deep-sea fishing spot, for the currents come around both the east and west sides of the island to meet and merge at Ka'u. An interesting event is recorded by Handy:

> A few years ago a group of malihini formed a fishing hui for deep-sea fishing off Ka Lae, (in Ka'u) and against the emphatic advice of Hawaiian old-timers, they proceeded to build, at considerable expense, a concrete landing-stage for their boats just below the cliffs just to the west of the point. Previously the only course had been to haul the canoes up over the cliff by means of block and tackle. The malihini were serenely confident of their strongly anchored landing. But in the first heavy kona storm the gigantic waves crushed it like so much crockery, and piled the concrete up against the cliff in broken shards. Hawaiians shook their heads in sorrow that anyone should so misjudge the mighty forces of their land. [11]

Such research leads us to several questions of Ka'u as a suitable departure place for a voyaging fleet. First, the holes carved in the rocks definitely exist. Some Hawaiians say they are of recent origin, cut for the convenience of fishermen who tie their lines to them. Others say that Kamehameha I had them carved in the rocks so that he could moor his canoes there as he sailed around the island. Kamehameha's canoes were not voyaging canoes, however, and there is a great difference

between a fishing canoe and a voyaging vessel. A voyaging canoeis estimated to weigh at least five tons by the Polynesian Voyaging Society who built the Hokule' a which has made several trips to Tahiti in the last two years. What size (thickness) sennit would be required to moor a canoe weighing that? How many times would such sennit be wrapped around a mooring in order to secure that weight in the kind of cross-currents described above by Handy? Are the holes large enough for such sennit to be wrapped and tied more than once? Further, the subsistence nature of the area would not be very helpful in the furbishing of a voyaging canoe, and there are other places along the coast much better suited to such a venture. The Hawaiian legends do not mention the departure of a migratory fleet, and where Ka'u is concerned, such an idea goes against existing data which names the area as the first landing-place for travellers coming from the south.

Maori chants give differing descriptions of the type of canoe used for migration purposes. Both double and single canoes are mentioned. The very large, elaborately carved and decorated single canoe of the Maori, (waka taua) were mainly war canoes hewn from a single tree. New Zealand is one of the few Pacific islands where large, straight trees that are suitable for building this kind of canoe grow. The double-hulled canoe is shorter in length with a platform between. Information regarding this type in early New Zealand is meagre, although both Abel Tasman (1642) and Cook (1769-73) mention seeing them.

Any discussion of Polynesian voyaging requires mention of a vast body of knowledge about currents, winds, seasonal weather changes, stars, etc. Early Maoris, like all early Polynesians, knew these things intimately. This knowledge was necessary to the survival of island dwellers. An example is commented on in a recent book by Herb Kane:

> A brotherhood of experts (tohunga or kahuna) trained to acute powers of observation and memory, Polynesian navigators were also priests in the sense that they could invoke spiritual help and conduct the rituals of their profession. Unlike the modern navigator whose instruments enable him to fix his position without reference to his place of departure, the Polynesian navigator used a system that was home oriented. He kept a mental record of all courses steered and all phenomena which affected the movement of the canoe, tracing these backwards in his mind so that at any time he could point in the approximate direction of his home island and estimate the sailing time required to reach it - a complex feat of dead reckoning. In 1769, in Tahiti, Captain James Cook took aboard the navigator Tupaia, who guided Cook 300 miles south to the island of Rurutu. Cook sailed to New Zealand by a zig-zag course, then to Australia, then northward through the Great Barrier Reef, touching at New Guinea. He then sailed on to Batavia, where Malaria and dysentry killed Tupaia and many of the Endeavor's crew. Throughout the entire voyage Tupaia had been able, upon request, to point in the direction in which Tahiti lay! [12]

In his reference notes, Kane goes further to explain that a controversy exists between two schools of thought, 1) those who believe that the Polynesians possessed sufficient maritime skills to make deliberately navigated voyages over great distances, and 2) those who believe that such skills did not exist, and that the scattered islands of Polynesia were populated by drifting canoes. He concludes that in the present day, the drifting canoes theory is not accepted, and study centers on the body of knowledge necessary to the long voyages undertaken by these early navigators and sailors.

At this point it should be added that many contemporary scholars in New Zealand do not hold the theory of long ocean voyages to be correct. In his recent (1976) book, The Great New Zealand Myth, D.R. Simmons discusses many sources of the Great Fleet legend and compares notes thus:

> The European tradition of a fleet of "six large sea-going pahi, with their living freight of over five hundred people - men, women, and children - put out to sea from the shores of Rai'atea..." has been shown to be a rationalisation of disparate canoe traditions which gradually became more and more accepted as "factual" and "historical" as time passed. This arose out of the desire of European scholars to provide a coherent framework by which to interpret the prehistory of New Zealand. [13]

Many of the old chants name birds, flora, and fauna in both Hawaiki and the new land, Ao Tea Roa. The fact that the plants named are native to New Zealand and in some cases, to no other place gives rise to his observation:

> The traditions, if they are to be taken as they are and not pruned to fit preconceived notions, include native plants, birds, pa and other specifally New Zealand items as an integral part of the total tradition. This would suggest very simply that the tohunga knew what they were saying and that the Hawaiki of the tradition is not outside New Zealand. The mention of pa and kumara storage, both of which are New Zealand items, reinforces this view. [14]

This writer sees the Hawaiki of the Arawa, Tainui and Aotea canoes as being in Northland, New Zealand. He does concede that earlier, migratory canoes arrived in New Zealand from elsewhere, but believes that the Great Fleet of recorded chants merely applied the names of the earlier canoes to others in the ancestry of the tribes known to have travelled to other places within New Zealand from Northland.

Even Kupe is seen to be a much later personality than the classic legends tell us, and here Sir George Grey is quoted from a paper titled "Peoples of the Pacific", written in 1893 and published in The Auckland Star from 13 October to 24 November 1928:

> Some of the old chiefs stoutly maintained that their ancestor Kupe had originally discovered Ao-Tea Roa, had navigated its coast and Cook's Strait and had then returned to Hawaiki and had persuaded his relatives to go to New Zealand and settle there. They cited an ancient song in proof of this.
>
> Other chiefs, however, disputed the occurrence of this tradition alleging that it together with the poem related simply to the successive discoveries made by early arrivals and settlers of New Zealand in coasting from one part of its shores to another. The tradition is thus involved in too much doubt to allow any reliance to be placed on it. [15]

What remains, of course, is the fact that the Polynesians existed before Captain Cook, and lived a highly ordered life with firm religious beliefs, a highly developed art, philosophy, and body of local knowledge. They were scattered on all known islands that could support life. They knew of the existence of other islands where dwelt other people, and their languages were linked by a common bond of linguistics. Even today, it is possible for Cook Islanders, Hawaiians, Maoris, and Tahitians to all converse together and understand one another. When we consider the thousands of miles of ocean that separate these particular groups, it is difficult to rule out a common connection between them. The contention of Simmons and others of his view is that the traditions that were first recorded in New Zealand were not really the ancient chants and legends, but referred only to recent knowledge of genealogies that laid claim to land areas in the country. That they were invested with antiquity by the

elders is further proof that the underlying reason for their preservation was ownership of the lands identified as tribal areas. The greatest difficulty that faced early students of Polynesia was the lack of a written record of the culture. In New Zealand, carving explained, in a stylized manner, some of the history of the people, but even in the islands that continued to make tapa which the people decorated with small hala brushes dipped in dye, no written language evolved. To this must be added the fact that in New Zealand, the genealogies were surrounded by many tapus. They were considered sacred and entrusted to the elders of the tribe. They were recited with care because the making of a mistake in the recitation was considered an evil omen. Because of the tapus associated with all form of record-keeping, early Europeans seeking to write down the old chants were very often misinformed by the elders.

In summarizing the work of his book, Simmons states:

> The traditions given in this study are those of the tribes of the 19th century whose traditions have been recorded. They refer specifically to the origins of those tribes from the time they became corporate social groups. They do not a[illegible] cannot be taken as referring to events of preceding periods when the original ancestors of the Maori settled Aotearoa from Polynesia. The social groups who took part in the original settlement no longer exist. The increase of population in prehistoric times led to new groups being formed each of which was concerned to validate its own mana, chieftainship and claim to land. Archaeology can suggest what these groups were and how they each adapted to the conditions as they found them. Archaeology can also throw light on the material and social development of the late Maori tribes.
>
> Tribal traditions exist to justify claims to mana and land. They are what the tribes themselves believe about their origins and history and as such are extremely interesting in their own right. [16]

In his book The Story of New Zealand, A. H. Reed outlines the movement of peoples from Jerusalem in 1000BC. These he identifies as Aryans, of which 8 tribes scattered. Six of these tribes went to Europe from which the Anglo-Saxons descend, one went to Persia and were the ancestors of the Iranians today, and one went to India. From this group have descended the peoples of the Malay peninsular, Indonesia, Sumatra, Java, Borneo, the Philippines, New Guinea, Micronesia, the Marianas, the Carolines, the Marshalls, the Gilberts, Ellice Island, Fiji, Tonga, the Society Islands, and from there (Tahiti/Ra'iatea) to New Zealand.[17] A Maori lament is recorded as:

> The fame of your canoes can never be dimmed,
> The canoes which crossed the ocean depths,
> The purple sea, the Great-Ocean-of-Kiwa,
> Which lay stretched before them. [18]

This great Ocean of Kiwa is the 70 million square mile Pacific Ocean. Given the size of the tiny islands scattered across this vast expanse of water, it is no wonder that men have always been curious as to how the area became populated. Some groups, such as the Maoris of New Zealand, have been isolated for some five centuries, yet the old legends have persisted in the culture. These legends tell of an ancient homeland lost in the memory of only the old. From this land men sailed sturdy vessels onto the ocean, following known stars, carried by known currents towards unknown lands. The history of the Maori in New Zealand is another large body of information and yet another chapter in the continuing story of the race. The Great Fleet is referred to often by

the Maori, especially on all important ceremonial occasions. The persistence of the legend lends credence to it, for without it, who can answer the question of the origin of the Maori people? And who can explain the scattering of a Polynesian nation across half of the globe except by some planned voyaging? In the modern day, it is significant that the first question one Maori asks another when meeting him for the first time is not "Who are you?", but "Where are you from?" The reply will list tribal area and pa, and possibly canoe. Thus, by asking for origin, identity is established. It is the same in the larger perspective. The Maori quotes his legendary home as place of origin, and thereby reveals his identity in all its cultural heritage. He is secure in this knowledge. Scholars may never know the geographic location of the homeland, for the Maori it is enough to know the name:

I ahu mai tatou i Hawaiki nui, Hawaiki roa,
Hawaiki pamamao.

Vernice Pere

Notes

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PRESERVATION OF THE HAWAIIAN IDENTITY IN THE PRESENT DAY HAWAIIAN FAMILY

Before I present my paper, I wish to thank the World Conference of Record for the invitation to be a participant. I deem it a privilege and an honor. MAHALO - Thank you!

ALOHA!! As an introduction to my topic, "The Preservation of the Hawaiian Identity in the Present Day Hawaiian Family," may I quote Alexander Haley, "...In all of us, there is a hunger, marrow deep to know our heritage, to know who we are and where we have come from. Without this enriching knowledge, there is a hollow yearning. No matter what our attainments are, there is still a vacuum, an emptiness and a most disquieting loneliness..."

How true is this statement of Mr. Haley as it applies to the present day Hawaiian family, not only of the native Hawaiians but those of multicultural heritages as the part-Hawaiians. There is a hunger and a yearning among them to be identified beside its names, color or blood. They want to trace their roots, to learn, to know and to understand their Hawaiian heritage, its history and culture. The problem is that some of the older generations are reluctant to share their heritage and genealogy with others, for to them, these records are sacred and are not to be revealed to anyone; so this deprives the young people a knowledge of their ancestors, therefore, they go about searching their past, seeking not only to find their ancestors but to learn what it is to be a Hawaiian.

As their pride in being Hawaiian increases, so will their desire to learn more about the traditional practices of their ancestors. To them research is a must if they want to know whence they came from and the tradition, culture and practices of their forefathers.

Prior to the coming of Captain Cook to the Hawaiian Islands, the early Hawaiian family functioned as the most practical of a socio-economical educational unit. Within the family, there was a division of labor. The young people were taught by their elders; boys were taught the art of fishing and farming by observing the different moon phases and monthly seasons of the year - to build grass huts and canoes, to carve, to do feather works and other art crafts. The girls were taught to weave, to beat tapa for clothing and covering, to do fiber work and other handicrafts, to raise and care of children. The children were taught personal cleanliness, personal behavior and respect for the elders. Sex education was a family responsibility. Marriage in the family was not between two people, it was a merging of two families. Marriage agreement between the young people was made by the parents. It became a binding contract until death separated them. The children born to them sealed the relationship between the two families. The wedding party and the child's first birthday was a time of great rejoicing among families and friends. They gathered together for a Luau (Hawaiian feast). A Luau is a family activity. It means the coming together of the families. It is a time when the families share their resources and work together. Working together was the essence of the Luau, not the Luau itself. The early Hawaiian family was taught to observe the religious rituals and ceremonial tapus.

This religious discipline held the family together. When the early Missionaries arrived and found the native family practicing and observing their ancient rituals and tapus, they labeled them pagans and set out to convert them to Christianity. This, the natives accepted. They accepted the Christian God and the written word, "the Bible." So great and so simple was their faith in the written word of God, that they found in it their strength and comfort when his native land no longer was his - but merely a part of an alien sovereignty. The Bible was their solace in time of sorrow. It was their comfort in times of strife and bitter tears. The present day Hawaiian family need to observe this spiritual practice, to maintain its identity in time of stress and bitterness. This early Hawaiian family lived a life of the stone age, not as savages but as people of culture ingenuity and industry. They had a high order of intellect and imagination. These are reflected in their mythology legends, religion and family social system (ohana). They were ruled by an absolute chief and a priesthood and tapus so exacting that none could live or survive in a most liberal culture. The land was its source of livelihood. It was the center and basis of its economic existence, for it provided everything (food and shelter). Its resources came from the land and the sea which were immediate at hand. It determined the vitality of the family and where it received its nuturing.

The ohana or extended family of yesterday included the close circle of relatives related by blood, marriage and adoption. Family of the same root of origin, no matter how many offshoots came from it, were still considered cousins. One may be of a collateral line of the 10th or 11th generation as it is defined in the relationships chart today. In the Hawaiian term of ohana, they are still brothers and sisters. The youngsters will call their cousins - uncles & aunties - and their elders - grandma or grandpa or tutu.

This close knit tie among the distant cousins indicated in the past, that ohana meant a family clan, rather than a nuclear or immediate family. Ohana today could mean either one or the other. The ohana also include the immortals, the aumakua or its ancestral gods. In ancient Hawaii, relatives were both earthly and spiritual . Both were looked upon for advice, instructional and emotional support. This communication with the supernatural was a normal part of an ohana. The Hawaiian had not only a sense of belonging to a supportive unit of family, he also had a clear knowledge of his ancestry and an emotional sense of his link between his ancestors becoming gods in the dim past and his yet to be born descendants. The ohana system helps give the Hawaiian a healthy sense of identity. Loyalty plays a very important part in ohana and the principle of helping one and another applies to the everyday activity of the family. It places an important emphasis on the concept of being responsible, unselfish. sensitive, respectful and tolerant.

These attitudes transcend everything and permit problems to be solved by reason and emotion in the hope of opening greater insight and love for each member of the family. This problem-solving concept in the ancient tradition was called Hooponopono - to set right what is wrong. In a case of a person's grievance, illness, mishap, unexpected death or being possessed by an evil spirit, the head of the family gather his ohana together. All the nuclear or immediate family or those most concerned with the problem are invited to this gathering where the problem is discussed openly. The member appears before the group and presents his problem. He speaks freely and openly about his feelings, particularly his anger and resentment.

The ancient practices used the discussion approach as a safety valve to handle old quarrels and grudges. After the problem is resolved, the ohana gather together to forgive and receive him with love into the family circle. This Hooponopono has a spiritual dimension so vital to the Hawaiian family. Today, this problem-solving efforts are encouraged in race relations in Hawaii. This is a quote from Dr. Kiyoshi Ikeda, Chairman of the Hawaiian Studies Program, University of Hawaii. "The concept and process of Hooponopono has provided and may be able to provide basis for exploring unresolved stresses and conflicts both within and among diverse populations within Hawaii. Such values and practices may be joined with supportive ideas and ideas share among all populations within the Islands. We all need to attend to that rich cultural heritage and practices of Hawaii which enable orderly change in race relations." When the early Protestant missionaries came to the Islands in 1820, they phased out this ancient practice of Hooponopono. They felt that its prayers and rituals were addressed to pagan gods, then the total Hooponopono was labeled paganism. The natives discontinued the practice only to be revived among the present day Hawaiian ohana. As time went on, the Hawaiian did not remember Hooponopono as a whole, but only bits and pieces of it. Hooponopono or this family psychological therapy consists or is the sum total of many parts; prayer, discussions, contrition, restitution, forgiveness or being forgiven. It is a useful method to remedy and prevent family discord. Today, a Hawaiian family in time of trouble or in need of spiritual uplift, search the scripture for an answer to their pilikia or problems. If the problem is a serious one. the family goes into fasting and prayer and a member of the family will interpret the scriptural passage selected by the person in trouble. Many a time, the scriptural interpretation bring about satisfying result. This is Hooponopono to set right what is wrong. The present day Hawaiian family needs this spiritual therapy to preserve its Hawaiian identity.

Another concept of Hawaiian identity is the concept of sharing. It is a concept somewhat different from the Western and Asian system of sharing. Their ways of sharing implies that which is mine is mine and are shared only upon the needs of the family or their neighbors. The Hawaiian way of sharing is what is mine you are welcomed. This hospitality expresses a warm and generous giving and sharing whether food or companionship or concern and comfort always in a person-person, family-person, or family to family way. Many of the Hawaiian family are observing this practice of what is now called Hawaiian Hospitality. The modern Hawaiian family is accepting the viewpoints and operation through the wisdom of their elders for they are the source that the young people are trying to rediscover their roots, but what most of them have not done is to structure their lives in such a way that the influence of their ancestors, physically, morally and spiritually be a constant motivation force to preserve the Hawaiian identity in the present day Hawaiian family for it is very much alive today and for generations to come.

The young Hawaiians or part-Hawaiians of today look forward to the possibility of becoming Polynesian-Hawaiian in body and spirit. They begin to sense as only Hawaiians can sense this particular thing greatness is - something intangible, yet powerful and enduring. They are linked to the ancients, connected by inheritance to their appreciation of what it is to be human.

This is the foundation of the Aloha spirit. It comes from many things among them all to care and truly care for the poor, needy and the unwanted. irrespective of their ethnic background - be they of Caucasian or Asian ancestry. This concept of foster care or hanai traditionally functioned within the Hawaiian family of yesterday. Hanai or foster care is nearly equivalent to the term of legal adoption. The difference between hanai or foster care and legal adoption is that the child in the Hawaiian tradition is not separated from his or her natural parents. The relationship between the natural parents and child is not terminated. It is encouraged. This pattern of hanai or foster adoption is still very much alive among the Hawaiian community. The essence for which seemed to be the assumption by parents of complete social rights and duties of the parent-child relationship over a child which is not their offspring. Nowhere today is the survival of the older patterns of hanai so marked as in the contemporary Hawaiian practices of adoption. For the hanai system continued the links between mother and child and retained for the child knowledge of his heredity. Legal adoption outside the family breaks all ties with the ohana. At its best, this strong traditional feeling or hanai means family support for the unwed mother and full acceptance of the child. Hawaiian kupuna or grandfolks feel so strongly that even a child of unwed parents should know his family background and object to legal adoption because it blots out the past. A Hawaiian couple who want to adopt feel the same. They are at all not concerned if the child is illegitimate. What they are worried about is taking a child whose parentage is concealed. There is no desire on the part of the Hawaiian parents to adopt only children of Hawaiian blood.

Many cases are on record where Hawaiians have adopted Japanese, Chinese or white children. Some families have adopted children from almost every racial group in Hawaii. These children live in the same household. They grow up together as though they were of the same ethnic blood relationship. They learn to respect and love each other and their foster parents. This is a common pattern in a Hawaiian community. Nowhere today is the survival of the old pattern of hanai so marked as in the contemporary Hawaiian practices of adoption. Now that I have presented a few concepts and practices of our forefathers to be preserved by our family today, let us Hawaiians now identify ourselves- who we are and whence we came from.

Our ancestors were great and hardy sea-faring men, who sailed the vast Pacific Ocean in the canoes. The tradition of the Hawaiian heritage had its beginning many, many, many centuries ago. Hawaii-Nui or Hawaii-Loa, the legendary forefather of the Hawaiian people was a noted fisherman. He and his men, who among them were astronomers, meteorologists and navigators roamed the vast ocean in search of good fishing grounds. On one of these fishing excursions, he discovered these Islands and named one of them Hawaii. He found these Islands to be the best fishing grounds, choicest above all the places he had travelled. Hawaii-Loa remained on the Island for some time and stocked his canoes with provisions and sailed back to his homeland, Kahikihonua Kele. According to ancient tradition, Kahikihonua Kele appeared to be a continent. Could this be the Americas? Whence came Hawaii-Loa, the forefather of our ancestors. Many theories have been advanced by anthropologists of whence came the Hawaiians.

The most popular and acceptable theory is that the native Hawaiian culture was derived from series of migrations of Polynesian speaking people from Central Polynesia beginning about eighteen hundred years ago during the 11th and 12th generation. These anthropologists made no mention of possible migrations from the Americas. The spectacular voyage of Kon-Tiki from Peru, South America, to the Tuamotus of the South Pacific demonstrated that no sensible anthropologist has denied that hardy people accidentally or purposely travelled from the New World to Hawaii. When Hawaii-Loa, his family and his people, among them farmers, boat builders and their families returned to settle in Hawaii, they brought with them their culture, religion, traditional customs and practices closely related to some of the Hebrew customs and practices and also to those of ancient Mexico. In an article that appeared in the Pacific Commerical Advertiser, dated September 15, 1866, the headline read, "Similarities of Old Hawaii and ancient Mexico," may I read some of the excerpts from this article that our ancestors may have come from the Americas:

"...We looked around upon the heiau (temple). How much the structure resembled the platforms of the temples, the pyramids, the plans of sacrificial worship, in ancient Mexico! How much the ancient Hawaiian temple (heiaus) the worship, the sacrifices and the horrid gods resembled theirs! Then we thought of the many peculiarities and superstitions, which were common to both races - the ancient Aztec and the Hawaiians, and we asked, can this be a mere coincidence? These people, these superstitions must have had a common origin.

POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE:

The ancient war-god of the Mexicans - and the war-gods of the Hawaiians - the companions of Kamehameha the Great, in his wars - had the same attributes.

The Quetzalcoatl of the Toltees and Aztecs and the sons of the Hawaiians had the same superstitions connected with them. They were both law-giving and enlightened gods - both went away with the promise to return and the simple-minded Hawaiians, on the arrival of Captain Cook, believed that Lono had returned, in the same faith that the Aztecs on the arrival of Cortez, believed that Quetzalcoatl had returned.

Most of their minor gods were similar in character and attributes. Their human sacrifices were the same. Their mode of feather-work was identical, and the cloaks of Kamehameha the First and of Montezuma were alike. No other barbarous or semi-barbarous nations possessed the same art. The obsidian axes and adzes of the Aztecs and Hawaiians are the same in structure. The canoes of the maritime Aztecs and those of the Hawaiians were similar in construction. Their feudal system, if not identical, has few points of dissimilarity.

INFERENCES:

From all these facts, are we not led to infer that the first inhabitants of the Hawaiian Islands were of the ancient Toltec or Aztec stock and that they emigrated from the coast of North America? Subsequently, no doubt, there was an accession of population from Polynesia, Malay and other regions to the West. Do not natural causes operate in favor of the Hypothesis? The maritime colonies of the ancient Mexicans, were to the East and North East of these Islands. The trade-winds and ocean currents set from that portion of the coast in this direction, near three-fourths of the year.

The canoes of the ancient Mexicans driven by these winds and currents would inevitably land on these Islands. Driftwood from Oregon, California and Northern Mexico, frequently lodges against the Hawaiian Islands.

According to their traditions, the Aztecs emigrated originally from the North West probably some of their earlier settlements extended to California and Oregon. Then, taking either point of migration, the probabilities are the same. The Hawaiian Islands may have peopled at that semi-civilization which existed among them at the time of the conquest.

Reflecting on these facts as the shadows of night descended, we rose and walked away with the deliberate conviction that the primitive stock of Hawaii nei was from the Western coast of America..."

It is evident from this article that the early Hawaiians came from Central America and not from Central Polynesia. The Book of Mormon tells us about 55 B.C., Hagoth, a Nephite builder of ships, built him a large ship and launched it forth into the west sea by the narrow neck of land which led into the land northward. This man build other ships. The first ship did return and many more people did enter into it and they also took much provisions and set out again to the land northward. It was never heard from. It was supposed that they were drowned. Another ship with people and provisions sailed northward but they too were lost at sea. The theory is that these lost ships of Hagoth could have been blown off course and entered into these streams of ocean current known as the Japanese current, which passes the Hawaiian Islands.

In the pre-Columbus times, the ancient people sailed their ships of commerce back and forth from North America to South America utilizing the consistent flow of the Japanese Current. Glass ball floaters from the Japanese seas, driftwoods and logs from the north coast of Mexico, California and Oregon drift onto the shores of Hawaii. One of the Hawaiian families traced her genealogy to Hawaii-Loa, 58 B.C. How accurate and reliable this family's genealogy is, I cannot say. But this I know, that our early forefathers came from the Americas and that we are cousins to the inhabitants of the North, South, and Central America. This early ohana or family kinship had its beginning 600 B.C. when Lehi and his family left Jerusalem. Read the Book of Mormon which contains the history of the people living in the Western Hemisphere of which the Hawaiians' forefathers are the descendants of Lehi. This family kinship shared freedom and togetherness. This togetherness was the great strength that made the Hawaiians survive when the cultural revolution rapidly took place, when the foreigners introduced the Western culture and later the Asian culture. This family spirit kept alive the determination and tradition of ohana (family togetherness). With the abolishment of the tapu system, the sanction of the economic activity with influence of education, the sanction of the use of the Hawaiian language in business, in schools and in homes, the uprooting of the individuals and family branches diminished the functional unit of the social and economic affairs of the family togetherness. The intangible bonds of group loyalty that held a community together survived. It is shown in that stressing of sentiments of collective responsibility and group solidarity among the members of the household and the wider kinship group set off the Hawaiians of today from their Western and Asian neighbors.

It is said that the Hawaiians lack ambition and that his poor showing in the professions is not due to lack of intelligence or poverty or to lack of opportunity, but solely to general laziness. That is not so. To the ethnologist, the statement that the natives are lazy is merely an expression of the cultural myopia (shortsightedness). All that it means is that the psychology of one culture is being judged in terms of value derived from another. When two cultures come into contact and one submerges the other, then the natives' aversion to work is merely of a general lack of adaptation to the pattern of the new which is the work habits of an alien. The semi-assimilated native has often been robbed of the work incentives in his own culture without being able to find potent incentive in the new. There is ample evidence that the Hawaiian in his own culture was as industrious and able as his own culture demanded. Subsistence farming and work was to provide to implement the various economic obligation to the household, kin, neighbor and chief. The Hawaiian planted his ground, not great fields to become wealthy, but small fields that could be worked by the kin group. Cooperative work was a happy and satisfactory method of giving an incentive where labor might otherwise be arduous. The modern Hawaiian works best and most regular at irregular occupations as contruction workers, merchant mariners, cowboy life or on jobs that gives him strenuous activity followed by period of relaxation. The present day Hawaiian family no longer subsist on fish and poi but upon the national food of other ethnic groups. Naturally, the urban Hawaiian has adapted himself in respect more closely to his American or Oriental neighbors rather than the rural Hawaiian among whom hospitality is still proverbial.

Difference of outlook, difference of attitude, conflict of interest between the young and old are characteristic of most culture. Such conflicts of outlook become more acute when culture is changing rapidly The Hawaiian families of today the majority of whom are part-Hawaiians of different multicultural heritages, Caucasians, Asians, Polynesians and other ethnic ancestries. So great is the identification of thousands upon thousands of these part-Hawaiians with native heritage, that they think of themselves not as cosmopolitans but as Hawaiians. In interviews after interviews, part-Hawaiians even as little as 1/8 Hawaiian blood explained their identification is with the Hawaiians. According to the Bureau of Vital Statistics; there are about 8,000 pure native Hawaiians, more or less today as to 300,00 natives two centuries ago. The native Hawaiians are on the decline and within another four or five generations, the last of the native Hawaiians will have returned to his maker taking along with him his heritage and the Aloha spirit.

In 1891, Rev. Samuel Bishop in discussing the causes of the decrease of the Hawaiian race, made this concluding statement, "The Hawaiian race is worth saving. With all their frailties, they are a noble race of men physically and morally. They are manly, cordial, unselfish and generous. Should the Hawaiian people leave no posterity, a very sweet generous interesting race will be lost to the world. They have been too kindly, too friendly, too trustful, which virtues the foreigner took advantage of their hospitality. The ohana are structure to allow everyone to make contributions to the good of the community.

Aloha is a philosophical approach to living based on service rather than exploitation, giving rather than taking, selflessness rather than selfishness, conservation rather than wastefulness, respect rather than oppression, love rather than hate. These insights prompt one to think of his Hawaiian heritage and identity. There is a yearning today among the young people for some kind of a unification that will bring the older and the younger generation together and give the young people some cause for identification other than color, dancing the hula or singing songs.

As it has been mentioned previously, the discipline which held the family together was religion. Following the death of Kamehameha I in 1819, the old religion was overthrown and the tapu system was abolished. The power of the priesthood came to an end. The Moi or sacred King was no longer regarded as sacred and lost much of its supermacy. When the people saw that the gods did not destroy who had the tapus, there was a breaking of the hated prohibitions and restrictions. The field was wide opened and a ready welcome for the Protestant missionaries when they arrived the following year, 1820, who came to convert the heathens to Christianity. These missionaries not only exerted a great moral influence but reduced the language to writing, taught the Hawaiians to read and write, served as advisers to the King, and laid the foundation for agricultural and commerical development that the traders played an important part in bringing about changes in Hawaii. Some of these were unscrupulous in their dealings, others just used too much persuasion with child-like natives, who lacked sale resistances. When the traders took their food, their products, their sandalwood, their lands and their women, there was a sudden change that the people living in the stone age came face-to-face with persons well in advance in the machine age.

Why make stone adzes when the white man has something better made of steel. Why bother pound out tapa when the white man's cloth could be purchased at so much less exertion. Change of habits, concentration in large urban cities, subjection and often times, unsuited clothing, food and drinks hastened the decline of the native people.

Finally, there came a great number of foreigners from other countries, some to work on the plantation, others to carry various business enterprises, who not having with them their own women, eagerly intermarried with Hawaiian women. Thus, the Hawaiians, which has survived the impact of foreign civilization and the ravages of foreign diseases are slowly losing its Hawaiian blood in dilution. Todays Hawaiian culture is constructed on an entirely new type of foundation as the old culture declines and the new emerges. The Hawaiian family today are living in an entirely different economic climate. This new economic life is money. It requires employment and skill. If they want to survive, they must adopt this new way of life-work. It is no longer a subsistence economy where in the past, the resources from land and sea were immediate at hand and was their source of livelihood that they needed and the plants for medical use. A study of the modern Hawaiian reveals quite clearly that many of the traditional values of Hawaiian culture still persist and figure importantly in life today.

In the feudal days, the Makaainana or the common people were free to move about the land except during the tapu days (on certain lands that was permanently forbidden for him to trespass). The Hawaiian commoners never held title in fee simple. He, therefore, had no understanding of the value of kind of property - real property.

Before the Great Mahele of 1848, the land belonged to the Kings and the Alii, as leaders of the community. The common people were granted rights to live on a piece of land and to use it, provided each paid the tax, which in those days were either products, labor or service. The Hawaiian crown and the Aliis nearly owned all the land because the people didn't know their rights and gave consent unknowingly and uninformed. In 1846, the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, was established to check into claims of private individuals for lands they were authorized to occupy. Land Commissioners worked with two types of claims - those supported by documents and those based on a verbal assignment of land by a King or Chief. Witnesses were usually produced to testify to the assignment and also to the continuous use of the land by the claimant or his heirs up to the time of the claim.

With a Land Commission Award, a claimant could obtain a Royal Grant upon payment to Kingdom treasury of a cash commutation usually equally to a third of the land's value. Claimant must also pay and provide a metes and bounds survey. The Great Mahele of 1848, led to the end of the feudal system that existed in the Islands. Although, it was abolished, the concentration of ownership continued. The chiefs became fee simple owners of more than one third of the land - another third went to the government and nearly one third was kept as crown land by the King. Of the four million acres, less than 30,000 acres were awarded to the native tenants. These tracts of land awarded to the native tenants consisted chiefly of taro land and were considered the more valuable lands in the Islands. This completed the Mahele or division of land of the Islands into crown land and government lands.

This brought to an end the ancient system of land tenure in the Kingdom of Hawaii. To the native Hawaiians, the ideas of private property was alien. After the Great Mahele of 1848, foreigners bought government lands at moderate prices. Even some of the missionaries found land speculating was compatible with the spreading of the gospel. Beset by the unscrupulous dealings of the foreigners, debts, and mortgages, the native owners gradually saw their lands taken into control by some of the large estates managed by the white men. The pressure during the first half of the 19th century by the American and European settlers resulted in the subdividing of land titles in Hawaii at the time when the natives were unprepared to deal with land in terms of buying and selling. By the closing of the 19th century, ownership and control of the best agricultural land shifted into the hands of the white men. Then came the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarch in 1893. It destroyed the Kingdom of Hawaii by a revolution.

The Revolution of 1893, took from the Hawaiian people their nation and public lands. Several years ago, a humble taxi driver (Ms. Louise Rice) because of her intense personal experiences with reading the Hawaii's Story, "Memoirs of the Late Queen Liliuokalani," organized A.L.O.H.A. (Aboriginal Land of Hawaiian Ancestry). The sad accounts of the illegal overthrow of the monarchy stirred this young Hawaiian L.D. mother into a determined effort to begin anew the search for justice. The Aloha Association filed their grievances with the Executive Branch of the Federal Government, who with the support of Senator Daniel K. Inouye of Hawaii, investigated the claim of the illegal overthrow of the Monarchy and the illegal possession of the public lands or the crown lands.

The reports of the contemporaries investigations conducted by the Executive Branch of the Federal Government of the circumstances leading to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Monarchy clearly show that the taking of dominion and sovereignty over the Hawaiians was wholly without honor, fairness or justice and in violation of both international and domestic law of the United States. With these reports or findings, the Aloha Association pressed for reparation, the correcting of a wrong that has created profound distress to the native Hawaiian people for a long number of years. It seeked the reparation of the crown lands or payment for some sort of obligation to repair or to redress for damage done to the native Hawaiian people. In 1977, Senator Daniel Inouye introduced a Senate Joint Resolution calling for the establishing of a Commission to study the question of the native Hawaiian claims and to make recommendations on the basis of its research. Several hearings were held in Hawaii on the Resolution by members of the United States House of Representatives and Senate. This bill passed the Senate twice but unfortunately, failed in the House. This bill is still active. Why speak of reparation? Because those who can trace their Hawaiian identity prior to the coming of Captain Cook in 1776, will be recipients of the benefits of the Hawaii Reparation if the United States Government recognizes the truths that it had illegally possessed these public lands and made just reparations.

The resurgence of Hawaiian culture in recent years is perhaps the most exciting chapter in the present day Hawaiian cultural history. Although, in the past two centuries, after the arrival of foreigners to Hawaii, the cultural activities and ideas of ancient Hawaii slowed down almost to a total decline and extinction of the native culture.

The new consciousness of being a Hawaiian did not really have an impact in the Hawaiian community until the 1960's. Its effect heightened the Hawaiian's sense of identification with history and culture. It also had the effect of making Hawaiians more conscious of their rights and grievances that have actually erupted into several demonstrations and protests which began in the early 1970's. At the same time, Hawaiians gained a greater sense of self-respect and faith in their Hawaiianness. The reawakening of the 70's so different in impact from anything in the past century is as much spiritual as it is a cultural re-birth. There was a revitalization of the arts, spoken language and Hawaiian culture.

The most fundamental part of any resurgence is the language, especially the Hawaiian language. Not too long ago, the Hawaiian language could have been affirmed that it was a dying language. Today, it is much alive, the kupunas (grandfolks) still converse in their mother tongue of which I do. The young Hawaiians and those of non-Hawaiian ancestry of the present day generation are interested in learning Hawaiian.

To learn the language, several private and public schools teach Hawaiian, even Kamehameha Schools, an educational institution for those of Hawaiian ancestry, who at one time did not proscribe teaching of the Hawaiian language but punished any student who were caught speaking the language. English had great prestige and all concentrated on it to the exclusion of the Hawaiian. The reaction against the use of the Hawaiian language was great that anyone heard speaking the language was branded an 'ignorant fool.

A common theme running through all of these efforts to preserve and strengthen the Hawaiian ideals and traditions is a need to research and study the past. Not only librarians but kupunas, especially well-known authorities are constantly sought out by the opio (young people). Who could be a better teacher of its Hawaiian heritage than our kupunas (grandfolks) for they lived in the past, think in the past and practiced some of the culture of the past. They will not want to talk about their roots, their heritage, for they recalled events in which their ancestors suffered from the humiliation of allowing the culture of her people to be beaten to near extinction by strangers. The kupunas know too well the pain and sorrow to be alienated from their roots and land. Although, our kupunas hesitate to speak about the past, they will talk with their grandchildren about the future. This is a counsel of a grandmother to a grandchild:

"Granchild, you are asking or fighting for something that is not yours any more. Did you earn it or is it because you are a Hawaiian. Our culture is no longer ours. What was real with deep meaning is gone. What is coming is a renewal of what was. You are the ones of today, use the wisdoms of your kupuna - for that belongs to you. Show them that you have love for your enemies and not hate or bitterness for what is past is gone. Before you show your anger, show understanding and back it with wisdom. Most of all, you have so much knowledge, use it wisely. In you - those of today and tomorrow - lie the future. My grandchild, make your own present and the future - for the past is no longer here. Make the renewal which was - with deep meaning and feeling. You are your brother's keeper. Support and sustain them who are not as fortunate as you are."

The difference between the younger and older generation is really one of outlook. The old folks are rapped up in causes that really do not interest the young. The old people live in the days of the past. They are keenly interested in politics and religion of an old-fashioned sort. The young Hawaiians are skeptical about the futures of the Hawaiians. While the kupunas have always been fighting for it. The kupunas will talk about rehabilitating the Hawaiians. At any rate, the kupunas are now beginning to think that the young people are just as much Hawaiian as they are, differing in outlook and what they think are worth fighting for.

With all interests and pressure, Hawaiian studies have come to be recognized as a legitimate academic program at the University of Hawaii and other community colleges.

For the Hawaiians, it has reinforced their sense of identity and boosted their pride in themselves - for those who feel that they are still strangers in their own land, this added feeling of self-worth may soothe the pangs of alienation and hostility. On the other hand, such feelings also lead to a greater awareness and high expectation, not only of one's self but of others as well. No doubt, the Hawaiian Renaissance will continue to have an impact on the social and political consciousness of the Hawaiians. It is a young movement. Its leadership and activist supporters tend to be young Hawaiians. They are bright, well-educated, articulate and confident. They represent a new generation infused with purpose and sense of perpetuating their Hawaiian heritage and identity.

The family of today must cherish and work hard to preserve its identity at any cost. The tradition of ohana (family togetherness) must be passed to the younger generation. The Hawaiian ohana is the backbone of the people of Hawaii. It is good to live the Hawaiian way. To be a Hawaiian is to learn how to live in this world of greed and bigotry. To be a Hawaiian is to think and act Hawaiian, to appreciate the traditions and practices of his kupuna and pass them down to his loved ones.

Non-Hawaiians have always played a role in preserving and perpetuating Hawaiian culture and ideals. The haoles, the Japanese, Chinese, Filipino and others who have no Hawaiian ancestry, but for one reason or another, have come to identify themselves, culturally, psychologically and spiritually with Hawaiianness. Anyone who claims or wants Hawaii to be home, in some degree or another, wants to share in its Hawaiianness, its culture and histories and be a part of Hawaii, its physical, moral and spiritual re-birth of and the preservation of its identity.

These adopted children of Hawaii of the 2nd and 3rd generations of different ethnic heritage have learned to live together as an ohana (extended family). They have learned to appreciate the traditions and culture of old Hawaii. Some have taken upon themselves the characteristics and traits of Hawaiianness. They have learned to help, to care, to share and to give the Hawaiian way - generously and freely. They have learned Hawaiian artcrafts, handicrafts, the ancient chants and dances. All in all, they are Hawaiians in heart and spirit for they have the Aloha spirit and Hawaiian hospitality.

The motto of the State of Hawaii which is, Ua Mau Ka Ea Oka Aina Ika Pono (The spirit of the land is preserved in righteousness) is sacred to the Hawaiians. It represents the noble ideals and traits of Hawaii and should it be desecrated and trampled under the feet of strangers, Hawaii will no longer be Hawaii. The priceless word, "Aloha" or Aloha spirit will belong to the past. Dissensions and hatreds will arise among different racial groups. They will foster preferences and discriminations. It will be a survival of the fittest for this Island will be too small. Poverty and crime will be prevalent everywhere. Lust and greed will breed dishonesty in high places and so when the last of the Hawaiians leave this earth, he will take along with him the noble traits and attributes of their forefathers. The present day Hawaiian family is fully aware of its heritage and will endeavor in every way to preserve its Hawaiian identity and appreciate its Hawaiian heritage.

ALOHA!

THE HAWAIIAN MISSION CRISIS OF 1874: CHARACTER AS DESTINY

Lance D. Chase

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.[1]

The event that one participant called the "most serious affaire that has transpired in the Hawaiian mission save that of Walter Gibson" occurred right here in Laie.[2] It led to a separate gathering place for Mormons at Kahana, caused a serious if temporary rift between the saints and resulted in the early release of the mission-plantation president. It widened the gap between Hawaiian and Haole 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 breath-taking 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.[3] 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. L.D.S. 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.[4]

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 families 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 Jonathan H. Napela as a work superviser. 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 mules were utilized 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."[5] Within ten years the machinery was wearing out and both mules 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 residents 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 Mokoli'i 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 nearly 62%.[6] 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 hundred Portuguese and nearly four hundred "others."[7]

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's 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 phonograph 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.[8] 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 Nebeker in exchange for one-third interest in the plantation at Laie. 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 understan 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 Margaret. 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 . . . . "(2). Whether Mitchell understood this counsel will be shown. However, he did frequently bear 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 Hawaii 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 (134). 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 whoremaster" (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 [tried] 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 semiannual conferences in Laie seemed to change. One can only guess, but it seems not unlikely the new leader assigned Solomona, one of the trusted Hawaiians, to tell his brethren at that October 1873 conference that they must not expect to live in Laie without working. And did long time Mission Secretary J. H. Kou 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, awa, beer, etc. [9] 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 remembered 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. Napela 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 Iosepa 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."[10] 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 had played a major role in building the plantation at Laie. 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 softens 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 awa 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 awa.

THE PLANT AND DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING IT

Piper Methysticum, awa, 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 awa.[11] 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 awa remained in Laie where the root was pulverized, sometime s chewed and spit out to be mixed with water before the liquid was drunk, frequently for ceremonial occasions. Taken in large quantities awa has a narcotic effect and there is evidence that if heavy awa 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 awa 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 awa 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 awa 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 awa. In a particularly modern sounding phrase, Cluff noted that few of the Hawaiians were what might be called "awa fiends" (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 awa, 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 awa. 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 frontof 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 man of an ahupua'a) when proclaiming the law of the land (147). Further violation of the ban against growing awa 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 predict ion 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 Herman 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 Laie 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 temproarily 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 disfellowshipment 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 disfellowshipment 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

[1]Paul A. Doyle, Pearl S. Buck (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1965), p. 55.

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

[3]Helen Altonn, "Kahana-A Valley Full of History," Honolulu Star Bulletin, (May 19, 1971), p. B8.

[4]Bernice P. Bishop Museum Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 161, P. 92. (ND.)

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

[6]Jenson, Vol. 3, 16 April 1873.

[7]Jenson, Vol. 3, 16 April 1873.

[8]Frederick A. H. Mitchell, Journal, 1856-58, p. 1. (MF)

[9]Jenson, Vol. 3, 6 November 1873.

[10]Cluff, Vol. 3, p. 1.

[11]Russ and Peg Apple, "Life in a 19th Century Jail, Honolulu Star Bulletin, (June 27, 1980), p. A19.

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

[13]Paul A. Doyle, Pearl S. Buck (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1965), p. 55.