HORSE SOLDIERS AND THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT: HAWAIIAN MISSIONARY LIFE A CENTURY AGO

BY LANCE CHASE

Recently, the Honolulu Star Bulletin ran a special issue, a part of which dealt with Hawaii one hundred years ago called "Echoes of the 80s. My paper deals with the same time frame but differs in its more limited and for us hopefully more interesting focus, one limited primarily to the Mormon perspective and more specifically the view point of three "soldiers of Christ" here together during that same time, Fredrick Beeasley, Isaac Fox, and Joseph F. Smith. The geographic focus is further restricted primarily to Laie with some "side trips" to Honolulu, Kauai, Hawaii, and even Cumeaut, Ohio.

The main sources of my study are Fredrick Beeasley's own journal, Joseph F. Smith's biography written by his son Joseph Fielding Smith, and a recent acquisition also in the Joseph F. Smith Learning Resource Center, a two volume holograph by Isaac Fox. This last has been for me by far the most absorbing because of circumstances surrounding its acquisition. A descendant of Fox came to Laie in October last year with the journals, offering Rex Frandsen the opportunity to photocopy them. Of course, Rex was anxious to do so but the problem was, after he did the development equipment broke and it was likely to be weeks before it could be repaired. Rex had been told by the journal's owner he must take them with him when he returned to the mainland in two days. Not wanting to take chances he camped out in the LAC reading and writing furiously, working for some thirteen hours and through two meals until the librarians asked me to leave so they could close up. Nevertheless despite the haste and long hours and even a conference broadcast, I not only made the deadline but it is only fair to admit I also listened as the Dodgers eliminated the Giants from the 1982 pennant race. BYU "bombed" El Paso 31-3, and I still completed over one hundred fifty, four by six note cards.

Let me further identify for you these three "horse soldiers" of my title.

Fredrick Beeasley was born on January 13, 1864, making him twenty-one when he labored in Hawaii. His journal covers the period from October 1885 to September 1886. Like President George Albert Smith he was one of those challenged by the choice of marriage or mission. The first decision made, he wrestled with the second. Beeasley decided to get help so he told former Hawaiian Missionary Joseph H. Dean about his list of pros and cons. Encouraged by Dean to take his wife, he then made his two part proposal to Nellie, his finacee. She took a day to decide before accepting half his proposal. We can only assume, since the journal does not say and since Hawaii had not yet become a vacation paradise, that Nellie's affirmative answer was to the request for her hand rather than the trip. She took nearly a month to decide on the other half but four days later the couple were endowed and married in the Logan temple. On October 28, 1883 the Beeasleys left by train for California from which after a seven day voyage they arrived in Honolulu November 9, 1883. President Joseph F. Smith and others met them in Honolulu for the eight hour horseback ride to Laie. While in Laie, Beeasley did carpentry work and was made superintendent of the cane grinding. By mid April he was serving as a proselyting missionary on the big island.

Isaac Fox, born in 1850, served two missions in Hawaii; three years from May, 1883 to April, 1886, twenty-two months between June, 1889 and February, 1891 and in 1895 he served with Harvey Harris Cluff an assistant manager at Josepa for fifteen months. He married at least three times; his first wife died after only nine months of marriage, the second after eleven years. One of Foxes first activities after arriving in Laie on May 15, 1883 was to work on the new meetinghouse, the one most often pictured, which stood for about thirty years where the temple now is and after being moved down the hill, burned down in 1941. The sugar mill was in its half year "down season" when Elder Fox arrived for his first mission so he proselytized on Kauai with an Elder Gardner. He was a slight man at one hundred fifty pounds, and was so unfortunate as to lose his original teeth, replacing them with a new set in Honolulu before going to proselytize on the big island in October of 1883. Missing his family greatly, he also spoiled rather poorly and of the three it was he who appeared to have the severest adjustment problems. A Lehi boy, he was assigned to the centrifugals at the mill. He played the guitar and led the band and choir in Laie. The largest number of observations pertaining to daily missionary life come from Foxes journals. Of these three, Fox most exactly fits the description of horse soldier for like the others, the horse was his main means of transportation even one could be obtained. Also, fox was assigned responsibility for the hundreds of cattle on the plantation. In fact, in addition to roundups, branding, and general herding duties, Fox even conducted a cattle drive from Laie to Honolulu in February of 1885 where the animals were sold, apparently to pay for band instruments.

Of the third horse soldier, much more is known. What may not be so widely known is that one of the only things assigned to Smith is surely the one who must have best understood and loved the Polynesians. Counselor to four prophets before becoming one himself in 1901, he spent thirty six years in Hawaii. Smith's son Joseph Smith's brother Hyrum and teemister at ten years of age on the trek west in 1848, Joseph F. Smith had an association with Hawaii which spanned all but the most modern events in the history of the Church here the earliest missions in 1845, the Laie gathering and Gibson era, the Laie plantation period, and even into the "modern" Hawaiian temple era. He labored in Hawaii for three years beginning as a fifteen year old, presiding on Maui, Molokai and Hawaii before he was nineteen years of age. He returned when twenty-six to participate in the excommunication of Walter Murray Gibson and then served out the balance of 1864 as mission president before returning to Salt Lake City in December of that year. Again in February of 1885 President Smith came to Hawaii, this time on the underground to avoid arrest for plural marriage, remaining until July of 1887 when he was forty-eight. During the time he was president of the Church, he visited the Hawaiian islands on four more occasions, March 1909, May-June 1915 (when as Joseph Spurrier recently reported he dedicated land
for the building of the temple, without consulting the Twelve or his counselors; he came less than a year later in February of 1916 and finally just eighteen months before his death in November of 1918. No other prophet comes close to that length of time spent in Hawaii, though he was not the first president to have come here. Lorenzo Snow came in 1864 when he nearly drowned off Lahaina while young Joseph F. Smith watched from the safety of the vessel in Lahaina Harbor.

As one reads about these people of an earlier day, a cautionary note is essential. Racial bigotry and prejudice were acceptable social attitudes among all societal levels in the nineteenth century. One cannot help but be conscious of the deep prejudices of the age as he reads journals of the period. What is more, since my sources consist largely of personal journals whose authors might not have guessed their observations would be read by large audiences, we need to recognize that there may have been little attempt on the part of these diarists to protect their subjects from frank, direct, and sometimes harsh comment. We need to recognize that the views expressed in these journals represent only one race's admittedly provincial and prejudiced attitudes and feelings.

MISSIONARY LIFE

Getting to this mission field in the eighties was a far cry from the relatively abbreviated plane ride of today. Crossing the 'great deep' in fourseven to fourteen days with its inevitable seasickness, after a twenty-four train ride to California, brought the missionaries to Honolulu. They were then still as many as nine hours from their mission home. We are indebted for his work to Jacob F. Gates, two-time missionary to Hawaii and in 1905 editor of an edition of the Book of Mormon whose wife's name eclipsed his own. This wife Susa Young Gates is the one to whom we owe credit for an account of their trip over the Pali in December of 1883. During his second mission Elder Gates' wife bore him three children while here of their thirteen! Susa Young Gates was the second daughter of Brigham Young, later became a nurse, teacher at Brigham Young Academy, temple worker and prominent leader in Relief Society as well as other women's organizations. Here is her account of her journey over the Pali. She was twenty-nine when she sent this account off to the Deseret News:

The next morning, by the kindness of Bro. Naua I had the extra comfort or riding to the top of the hill, or pali in a two-wheeled cart. The rest all rode horseback. The drive up Kualoa valley is lovely beyond all description. Villas and cottages, embedded in tropical greens, with dripping fountains, and flowers of brilliant hues in riotous profusion, line the roadside. To the right and left rise abrupt mountain sides clothed with trees and shrubs from base to top.

Leaving the suburbs of Honolulu, the road ascends through a deep flower-strewn meadow, until at last we all discount at the summit, and prepare to descend the pali.

People living in peaceful ignorance at home in Utah fancy they have "experienced" winds. Vain fancy! They have only known breezes and zephyrs.

One trip down this famous pali will convince them of this undying fact.

Next she briefly recounts the story of the famous battle waged here.

At this particular point an iron railing has been erected, as the wind sweeps around this corner with sufficient force to blow a person over.

We took off our hats or fastened vails and scarfs over them and around our moccasins. Every flying end was fastened up, and with one hand clasped firmly around the arm of our little children (they were divided up) we announced ourselves ready. A few steps, and -lewa! Phew! let me catch my breath! Off tears my hat, and escaped from its moorings it bounds helplessly round my shoulders, unable to quite get away from its confining safety pin clasp. Mother's bonnet crushes down over her left eye-brow, and the corner of her scarf persistently remains in her right eye.

It is a precious blessing the men are unable to take their attention from their own hats and scarfs, for skirts and polonaises flanchament with the roaring winds, unmove by the modest uses for which they were made, and determined for once to have their own wild way.

Somehow shouts out a wish to wait and take one look at the loveliest of lovely scenes spread out below. But the word is too hurry, hurry.

As you stand at the top of this steep precipice, you can see almost at your feet the road we must get down to. The rough passage down has been dug out of the rocks zigzag fashion in order to get down at all. Few have the temerity to ride down this steep, rocky pass, although one of our men says he is heard to remark that he has a two-wheeled buggy both up and down this same pali, on a former mission to these islands.

To return to the scene: On the left rises a wall of rocks, fern-strewn and wild; down below us yawns the awful looking gorge, over which the human bodies were once thrown in confusion. It is now covered with a forgetful crown of moss and ferns. To the left the rice and sugar fields wave with undulating lines to the blue waters of the ocean, that sometimes carrees the shore with foamy ripples, and anon beats out the thunder of its wrath in huge, swift-flying waves. Miles along the eastern coast of this island lay stretched before us, with white cottages and the grass huts of the natives here and there among the fields. Little villages nestle here and there; and away off to the right a huge rock rises in the sea, surf-dashed and somber. But all this while we have been descending the rocks, our limbs braced till our very knees ache as we hurry down the mile long steep, rocky, slimy road.

At its foot we were met by two or three of our party who had gone on to Kamehame for the light wagon left there the night before. And now ensued a grave consultation. Who were the least able to ride horseback the other 23 miles? Two or three of the Ladonas bravely maintained their doubts as to their ability, and patiently waited. The rest of the Ladonas, and the three Elder's who had had their first sad trial at horseback riding that morning, wisely and manfully restrained their doubts as to their ability, and impatiently waited.

Two of the fittest women folks of our party with the three children, and a good driver who was charged with the care of the "disbled" wheel, were seated in the wagon, the rest mounted their pacing steeds, and off we went.
All went along pretty well for the first ten or fifteen miles, everybody enjoying the beautiful scenery through which we travelled.

One of our young Elders created a deal of fun for us by the way in which he handled his unaccustomed reins. Now lagging behind, poking and weary, he could give his animal a cut and away they went with fierce energy.

One hand on his hat, the other either holding on the polemis or resting behind him, the beast unrestrained dashed up hill and down dale, till tired out, when, with startling suddenness down on the walk he came again. I don't think I was ever so forcibly reminded of John Gilpin's ride before. The saddles grew very bare presently, but the feminine portion, as usual, endured their sufferings without much fuss. As there was only one side saddle and three ladies, you will know they had their share.

We did not stop for lunch, but on and on we went. Past Kahana, we came at last to Kamala and found the little schooner on which we had sent our luggage, already arrived. We stopped a few moments to see the trunks unloaded and then away we went again.

Lafe Malo'o was entered and passed, and at last we saw the cluster of white houses on the brow of a hill that belongs to the white inhabitants of Laie.

I shall now attempt any description of Laie. We arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon, having been nine hours on the thirty-two mile ride, without stopping for rest or lunch.

We were a tired, sore, sick lot of people, when we at last walked into the mission house at Laie, and of our subsequent home-sickness and loneliness I forbear to speak. Suffice it to say, in spite of all, we felt to raise our hearts in humble gratitude to God that He had mercifully preserved us all on our long journey and permitted us to arrive at the place where God's servant had called us to go, to assist in the upbuilding of Zion.

**LIVING CONDITIONS**

Living conditions for the Utah missionaries in the early and mid 1880's were less than ideal. Isaac Fox in January of 1884 noted he wrote letters with gloves on, his head tied up in a mosquito bar. Beds could be protected from mosquitoes, but the fleas punished the elders severely. In his journal for January 10, 1884 he wrote he dreamed he was out on a prairie and attacked by a lot of ravening wolves and...thought they were tearing the flesh of...his bones and...felt like a tiger or until it would go up and instead of wolves it was an army of about a thousand fleas more or less they were sucking the very life blood from my poor bruised and bleeding body. Sometimes I have to drop everything and just go like a hound pug after clabber.

Four nights later he writes with his pants off against fleas. His roommate Elder Brim laughs when Fox jumps up from the table as if shot "but 1000 fleas biting is worse than being shot." The following night Brim stands naked on a chair looking in his "clothe" for fleas. A week later Fox and Woolley kill three scorpions at the mill and the Hawaiian girl who makes his bed catches one hundred fleas in his room. Fortunately, Fox had by this time been told about scorpions. Earlier he found one in the meetinghouse organ he had taken apart and not knowing what it was he poked his finger at it. But such discomforts were not kept quiet, apparently, for by November of 1885 work had begun on a new house for the missionaries.

Out in the "field" conditions could be at least as bad. On the big island at Pueo, Fox showed remarkable patience when he again encountered fleas, the worst he had "fill anywhere," but another equally ubiquitous insect he could only describe. "There is also large bugs like large crickets in almost every house but in this there is hundreds crawling all over a person and the house stinks with them."

In Waikiki on the island of Oahu, they were involved in a very spiritual meeting.

But the Branch President's wife was leprous and he had taken her up into the mountains to try to heal her, the elders thought by witchcraft.

After the meeting, the elders learned that the bed they had been sleeping in was her bed. Given the universal attitude toward Hansen's Disease in that day, one can understand their squeamishness.

Certainly the local Saints were not all in modern housing by 1884. Fox was exhausted from his work at the mill and was sleeping one Saturday in February when Elder Clifford came into the room explaining that President Partridge wanted to administer to a native elder. Six of the brethren went to a low grass house with low doors and no windows. They found the inhabitant poor, old, in a low condition and speechless. No relatives or family were about; there was no one to attend. Fox reported that the elderly Saint had lain there ten days. The elders built a fire and prepared a chicken, boiling it and taking soup to feed him. The simple journal entry reads: "Lo he was dead. Funeral held February 3, Sun.

The primitive conditions described in the case of the Hawaiian elder stand in stark contrast to a Fox journal entry one year to the day later when he rode to Punalu and then used telephone Honolulu for line. This was the first mention of a telephone I encountered and it is clear the lines had not yet reached Laie.

Much as Utah had its reformation in 1855-56, Hawaii followed suit in conjunction with the meetinghouse dedication on October 6, 1883. Accompanying the dedication of this 65-35 foot building, 58 feet high and capable of accommodating 550 saints, were a large number of rebaptisms. In fact, in the weeks prior to the dedication, the Church's Meetings were long and lasted late as more and more cases of sin were uncovered. Of course, it is not only in Laie that problems with sin occurred. We did they all involved sexual transgression. Fox wrote that while laboring with Elder George Cluff near Wai'ahoe on Hawaii in November of 1883 the missionaries were overtaken by a woman who asked them many questions. They, in turn, asked her where she was from and where bound. She admitted to just being released from prison. To their query about why she was there she said she stole oranges. "What church do you belong to," they asked. "The Mormon (sic) Church," she replied. Presumably the conversation had been in Hawaiian for Cluff then turned to Fox and said, ironically, "By their fruits shall ye know them."

But in Laie itself drunkenness and adultery were relatively common. Joseph P. Smith made this the theme of several of his talks and with
commended honesty admitted the problem was not confined to one race or area, describing the damage done to the Church when one of its leaders in Salt Lake City recently fell. One of his addresses on the subject seemed to be touched off, according to Elder Beesly, by no doubt annoying but considerably lesser sin of someone appropriating and monopolizing lemon squeezer s from the kitchen. On Sunday, April 11, President Smith at the mission house spoke against undue familiarity with the opposite sex and warned that if such fraternization continued, offending parties would be released and sent home. In a particularly candid moment he discussed his relationship with his first wife, cousin Levina Smith; (she had brought to Hawaii his second wife) explaining that she refused to live with him because he bestowed too much attention on her during the seven year marriage before he married Julina Lambson.

There is also frequent mention of hearings, confessions, and rebaptism. For instance, on October 2, 1883 there were 209 baptisms, only 19 of these new. On October 4, 250 had been rebaptized. On October 5, 58 more. On Saturday, October 6, meetinghouse dedication day, and occasion for the King's visit, 9 more were rebaptized. On Sunday, 5 more. April of 1884, "4 women for adultery, two men for being drunk. A man stripped or priest-hood since he wouldn't leave his wife who wouldn't leave her lover."
The wife would not live with her husband unless he would allow the other man to live with them. He told the brethren he loved his wife too much to change. In all of this it appeared the standards were applied to each race equally though in the matter of behavior there seemed some discrepancy as well as in matters pertaining to dress and recreation, at least in Foxes journal. The haole, some of them anyway, speak disparagingly of the Hawaiian drinking awe. Yet while Fox and Cluff are lost in the Maloah District on Hawaii they pass a Chinese coffee shop to drink a cup of coffee. Remember, Cluff is thirty-four years old. When the Hawaiians and the Utah missionaries of both sexes every other week or so would go to the Sacred Falls to picnic, then they would go to the Sacred Falls to picnic, and in so doing sometimes "accidently" upset the boat and "frolic" with as little inhibition as the Hawaiians. Some of this fastidiousness may have been due to concern for their garments but in others condensation seems like an explanation.

In the matter of frolicking generally, the Utah elders often watch amusingly while the Hawaiians carry on. They seem to be surprised at the spontaneous enjoyment, the whooping and shouting of the local people as occurs at a baihuia in March of 1884. But life for the Utah missionaries was not always staid and severe by any means. Elder Fred Beesly's joke cleared the air at the annual April Fools Day of 1886, but his fellow counselor in the mission presidency, Albert W. Davis and President Enoch Farr were. The cooks, Elder Matthew Nool and wife Libbie, had prepared for breakfast only one dish, a huge bowl of mush. Hungry elders Beesly and Davis dig in and find the bowl filled beneath the surface level of mush with rats. They seem to have forgotten it was Fast Day (Thursday), and the perpetrators of the mushroom prank figured it was a good day for their deception since no one should be eating anyway. But President Farr ordered oyster stew prepared and served within thirty minutes, done as ordered.

President Smith is not only present but shows his own sense of humor at a time when he might have been upset at a joke played by Fox. Mail from home has always been of paramount importance to missionaries. Fox returned from Honolulu with the mail after an eight hour trip on February 25, 1885 to find all the brethren and sisters out in the yard playing Pach at the president's own request. Of course, they were all watching for Foxes return but he sneaked through a back gate, unsaddled and reached the house without being seen. Partridge and Fox sorted the mail and the former called the group to come and get their letters. Naturally, they did not believe Fox had returned and so went about their play. Fox wrote that he then told them through the door "if they did not think any more of mail then that I would not bring them any more time. Then of all the running I ever saw they did it. Bro. Joseph F. Smith came and shook my hand saying that was a real Fox trick."

Credit the future prophet, for he, like George Romney and Albert Davis, were very anxious to hear about conditions in Utah since all were on the underground hiding from federal marshals. After they finally opened their mail they learned things were very gloomy.

Frequently, the missionaries took "sea baths" and even constructed a bath house for the ladies in January of 1885. The sugar boiler Gardner brought quite a scene during one such "bath" when Elder J. B. H. Bloydie in that age old joke of swimmers dived under him catching him by the foot, Gardner thinking he was being attacked by a shark. He "holed up like a good fellow," wrote Fox.

The Utah elders reported that of all the holidays the Hawaiians made the most of New Year's. In the festivities preceding that holiday in 1883 Elders Pack and this same Gardner came to a house surrounding. "Of the singing I ever heard that beat. They sang in native. I gave each of them a rusty pen and a shirt button to stop," Fox recorded.

Sacred Falls in January of 1885, the same Gardner was accused and good fortune, and the Utah elders were not. They reported that President Partridge for an escapade on Kauai which would have been wonderful recorded by a movie camera though a mission president and a thirty-four year old missionary might want to govern who saw it. Bro. Gardner took a ride to the mountains for a ride and we had nice time. When we get in the the mountains we were struck with amazement the sight was beautiful the orange, the trees, the mountains, and forms of all kinds also waterfalls, that was very nice but the best of the fun was running with rocks and sticks after wild Turkeys and Chickens. Brother Gardner is very tall and he started down a hill after a flock of Chickens and he got runing so fast that he could not stop and he run over one and could not stop to kill it. And of all the steps I ever saw he took them he appeared to touch the ground about every rod. We had a good laugh at him. The next day the Gardner and I going down a steep hill to go to a waterfall and to get sun Bananas but we paid for them climbing up and down through the ferns then we had several chances after Turkeys and Chickens but we did not get any but we had a good time.

This rustic scene was near Koloa in September of 1883 as recorded in Foxes journal.

One of the prominent aspect of every missionary's life is the food he eats. The food consumed by the elders in Kauai was wonderfully
wanted. In addition to the oyster stew already mentioned, it included the
customary fish and pot, potatoes, sweet and Irish, guavas, oranges, mel-
loes, bread pudding, mince pie, limes, bread, beef, lobster, squid, tur-
key, chicken, pork, dog, limes, stuffed duck, cakes, puddings, kuku naps,
are all mentioned. But out in the field both the food when they could
get it and the conditions in which they ate it tried their faith.
Frequently, the Utah elders gained weight while on the plantation that weight
they had lost in the field. When Fox first labored on Kauai he was oc-
casionally appalled by the eating conditions. In May of 1883 he disem-
barked from the boat from Honolulu and the "meal they [LOS who greeted
him/ were getting ready would have made a dog sick." Three days later
he found his companion Elder Gardner at Makaweli and wrote he had been
eating pot with maggots in it. "Men with leprosy and dirt on their hands
are mixing it. The fish are cooked in the dirt and scales." he said. He
eats coconut whenever he can. In July of 1883 he says their living on
Kauai has not been the best in the world. "Sometimes squid, sometimes
raw fish, dried fish, and no fish at all and glad to get that and enjoy
it to." On the Big Island three months later laboring with Elder Cluff,
Fox wonders when Cluff gives thanks if he meant what he said. In Novem-
ber at Kaumalumalu Fox noted: "the woman of the house has just been feed-
ing the child and it almost makes me sick whenever I see them. The way
the do so take the food in their mouth and spit it in the child's
mouth, water the same." One wonders how infants could be fed given rather
primitive conditions and no sterilized Gerbers. That same night Fox con-
cludes the day's account:
Some of the Saints come into spend the evening the people are
all great smokers from a child 10 years old. And the house is a
small grass house with no windows, chairs, or table. And all of us
in that small room with the tobacco smoke and their natural smell
it was almost as much as I could bear.
Fox was getting used to the conditions and food, he apparently went without
food for three days and the Hawaiian thought he was about to die. One of
the sights which destroyed his appetite he described. "When I came
back for breakfast the woman had just cleaned the baby, she took a mouth-
ful of water and spit it into the sink and combed the hair with her
fingers. Brother Cluff looked at me and I at him but neither one spoke." Elder
Fox seems to have thought he would die one way or the other but his
squeezing himself to death by abstinence was not to be. The house went back to
meat when he began to eat but his hair went back to white.
In December 1883 near Makaha, Hawaii the elders find all the members
of a tiny branch living under one roof. He describes a couple—whether
LOD or not he does not say—lived together unmarried; the boy is
eighteen, the girl eleven. The house is 20/5 feet, one room, made of
grass.
There was a lot of stuff chay make mars of in one cornet, two of
the dogs tide in another and there unkeles and supraes laying around
for the dogs to lick out. I doors no window. When breakfast was
ready to put out, the man that cooked took an old gumy sack
that looked as though it was the first one made and brushed the
floor for a table cloth.
I think it is important to inject a personal note at this point last
we who feel more identification with the white rather than the brown
peoples find our racist tendencies exacerbated. When I was about ten
years old my parents purchased a home in that reputed center place of
culture and refinement, New England. It later became an attractive and
comfortable home for our family. But it is unlikely that it was a hor-
tion on the market since the Hobb family who owned it kept goats chich-
enas and sheep, among more domesticated animals, inside the house with
them. Furthermore, I have in a major United States city home taught in
a house where the family dishes were lined up on the floor in front of
the sink for cleaning, piles of plates, pots, pans, silverware. There
they were in a neat row the top ones all ready for cleaning by the
family's animals. Laziness is not indigenous to any race. The major
difference between these Hawaiian and mainland situations as I see it
is that in the case of my race, commonplace examples of acceptable hy-
gienic conditions were the norm and access to these conditions was
readily at hand. This was not quite so true for many of the Hawaiians.
It was not always so grim for the missionaries on Hawaii as Fox
makes clear with his account of honey gathering near Papa on Hawaii,
written on October 23, 1883.
We had not gone far before the counselor (which is noted for finding
honey called to us and said he had found the bees and sure enough
he had. They were in a large hallow tree. We cut the tree down
and went to work to get the honey. This same man that found them
went to work chopping into the tree where the bees entered with part
of his body bare his hat off and bare feet and his shirt torn almost
off his back. He paid no attention to the bees nor they to him. So
I got brave and went to catching and eating the honey that was
dropping under the tree then Brother Cluff came and we all was hav-
ing a nice time but presently one of the native boys that came with
a jump as though he had a strong thought that he was not wanted there and
looked felt around as though something had stuck to the hind part
of his britches. Then Brother Cluff made a desperate jump into the
tree and raised his head and raising his head and raising his high-
land flog or some other fling. All this time I was eating honey
and laughing at others cut up such capers. Just then an end was put
to my laugh I got my finger to close the gable end of a bee and
he gave me a gentle hint to take it away and did I thought if
he wants that place worn than I did he could have it. Well, by this
time the native had got to the honey and a pritty sight it was to.
Then went back out of it out with his bare arm and hand and
shook all over his arms and he got stung once. We got two books of honey.
And when we got to the house we had a treat of kalo and honey.
Back in Lai, of course, there was a much more socially con-
venional life for the elders. One event is described in Foxes journals
which provides a further glimpse into life a hundred years ago. This
account is of a local wedding, October 25, 1884 which includes some humor
but also just possibly a note of condescension on the part of this
thirty-four year old observer who misses his own wife intensely. He writes:
At the time of the wedding was gathered quite a number of people both
old and young male and female and after all the necessary prelimina-
tion a procession with about 20 old women in lead all dress in white with
wreaths of ferns on their heads then came the bride and groom, he had
on black pants and coat, white vest, white neck tie and white kid
gloves. She had on a white satin dress and slippers worth about 50
dis also a wreath of orange blossom and a white vale on her head, next
written the pig native gets gradually koes of and sumptuous feast and
climbed and hin of back his 200 escape Kama never been in
so loos alai went procession of which they went to the feast but I did not. Fox, Oct. 25, 1884.

One of the most interesting parts of Foxes journal is one that is not true, in the literal sense but rather as a piece of folklore concerning the creation of a place familiar to many of us. Even when this account was written on October 8 of 1884 it was known as a "place of great renown for the natives. I am referring here to a large gulch called Kaluaua. A pig called Kamaulu was the main character.

This pig or rather part pig and part human was a God (so the story goes) and he lived in this gulch. Our guide showed us the spot where he lived as we went up the gulch which is quite wide at this point but gradually gets narrower and the mountains higher until it appears like a small crevice between two perpendicular walls of rock that loom up for hundreds of feet. The king of this island sent a lot of his soldiers to fight Kamaulu but he proved too match for them though they caught him and tied his legs but he broke loose and killed them all but one man and he escaped to tell the king who heard this sent another army so Kamaulu went farther up the gulch and hid (we were shown the spot where he hid) and while he hid a native chief went up on a high mountain saw him and Kamaulu and Kamaulu hollowed and told him that he should never leave that spot but should turn into a rock and remain there forever and there he stands to this day a very curious looking rock. Well after the army came after him he took his family and went farther up the gulch thinking to escape over the mountains but when he came to where the gulch ends and the walls are perpendicular he attempted to go up one side but it was too high he tried another place that is in shape but just like told him a boat and is called the wapanokamaulu. It is an indentation in the solid rock and has the appearance of being hewed out. It is in length about the length of a man and stands on end and he treated up on his back and escaped and while he stood there his feet made a deep indentation in the solid rock. After his family had escaped he turned back to fight with the kings men but they overpowered and bound him and while they were trying to decide in what way they should dispose of him (as some wanted to kill him and others wanted to take him to the king alive as they thought it would please him very much) he high he tried to ate them all up but one man and he escaped and the king the kind (tice) what happened. Kamaulu then went back up the gulch and climbed up that perpendicular mountain, joined his family and friends and made his escape down the other side. He escaped the island and went to Hawaii to the Volcano and fought with Pali and got all his hair burned off he then left the islands entirely and has never been heard of since. A little to the right of where he went

up over the precipice is a beautiful water fall of about 200 feet. Just under the fall is a very nice pool of water made by the fall. Of course, the place is Sacred Falls and the walk up while not difficult is in rainy weather treacherous enough to make many wonder if at least the spirit of Kamaulu is still not lurking up there somewhere.

THE SPAULDING MANUSCRIPT

The concluding part of this paper concerns a figure whose story deserves to be told in his words rather than Foxes or Beesleys but unfortunately these journal accounts remain closed. Joseph F. Smith's whereabouts before his arrival in Laie for his third visit to the islands was as mysterious to the missionaries as it was to the federal marshals who would dearly love to catch him. Later, since he knew so much about the Endowment House, enemies of the Church attempted to extort both secret and sacred information from him during government hearings. But between 1884 and 1891 he was on the underground, traveling widely in the western states. Under the name of Mr. J.F. Speight he finally arrived in Honolulu February 9, 1885. There had been considerable criticism of the First Presidency for remaining on the underground rather than coming out, serving their prison terms and leading the Church in the open. It may have been as a reaction to this that President Smith made this statement about being in Hawaii, as quoted by Beesley, November 15, 1885. "President Smith stated he would a thousand times rather suffer going to the penitentiary then be here, only that duty required him to remain here as it was considered advisable by his brethren of the priesthood to come." This was said to the Utah missionaries in a study class in Laie.

The coming of the second counselor to President John Taylor was not a total secret in Laie. Special preparations had been made for him. Missionaries had to be recruited. President Edward Partridge wrote President John Taylor on January 31, 1885 that he was disappointed President Smith did not arrive on the last steamer as he had said he would. It almost appears that Partridge got the month wrong for it is on February 10 that President Smith arrived in Laie. Elder Enoch Farr, who was to replace Partridge as mission president riders up about 9 P.M. to tell the Partridge's guests are coming to visit. Sister Partridge is upset; there is no food in the house. President was considering "get out of there" in his embarrassment when they discovered his guest was a former missionary companion, now in the First Presidency, and his wife! Among the group was Albert Davis. and a woman mistakenly identified as President Smith's first wife, also President Farr's wife and son. On February 12th the Smith's and Sister Farr's trunks arrived by boat, probably at Pounders. Both trunks were wet and the clothing in them spoiled. While President Smith spent his first day on the windward side returning to Honolulu it appears unlikely he knew yet about the Spaulding Manuscript's existence in Hawaii.

It is necessary at this point to digress and refresh our memories concerning the Solomon Spaulding story. Briefly told it is that Solomon Spaulding was born in 1761, lived in New York and Ohio and for a time was a Presbyterian minister. Since he disproved any belief in the divinity of the Bible, his ministerial life must have been difficult. He tried his hand at several businesses, including that of a novelist, but appears to have been unsuccessful at any. He died at 55 in 1816, when Joseph Smith, Jr. was
only ill; nor does it seem likely he ever knew Sidney Rigdon, as enemies of the Church claimed. Some time probably between 1809 and 1814 while he was in Connecituck, Ohio, some fifty miles east of Kirtland, he wrote a narrative account of 175 pages about early settlers near his home and the Delaware Indians. There is no religious material in the story and the central theme of the novel revolves around a romance between Eliseon and Lumen. Spaulding in his preface to his novel entitled Manuscript Found claims to have found the manuscript in a stone box in a cave in northeastern Ohio. The box reportedly contained 28 sheets of parchment written in Roman characters. Spaulding apparently attempted to publish the manuscript but was unsuccessful.

I found it fascinating to compare modern accounts of the rediscovery of this manuscript with Isaac A. Fox's account, some of which must have been told by Joseph F. Smith and which journal account most later authors probably would not have seen. The various sources when considered together suggest a related chain of events leading to the rediscovery of the manuscript in Hawaii. First, there was a debate in Kirtland, Ohio from February 12 to March 8, 1884, a four week period, between the Reverend C. Buck and E. L. Kelcey during which the Spaulding manuscript was topic. Shortly after this, James H. Fairchild, president of Oberlin College, located about 75 miles west of Kirtland, came to Hawaii and contacted Mr. L. L. Rice of Punahou. Rice had been an anti-slavery editor in Ohio as well as state printer in Columbus, Ohio, and Fairchild had hoped to obtain some anti-slavery documents to be added to the Oberlin College Library. In looking through his collection, Rice discovered Spaulding's manuscript. This story of the discovery was given to the newspapers in the East from which the Boston News apparently obtained it. President Smith very likely read the Utah newspaper account here and on April 16, 1885 he and President Farr went to Rice, who had just seen the manuscript, to ask him to see the manuscript again.

One other bit of information here is understandable in the significance of this manuscript discovered in Hawaii. It involves one of the first apostates from the Church "Doctor" F. Hurliburt who was never a person whom I knew or met. Brought to the newspaper in the East from which the Boston News apparently obtained it. President Smith very likely read the Utah newspaper account here and on April 16, 1885 he and President Farr went to Rice, who had just seen the manuscript, to ask him to see the manuscript again.

The manuscript of this manuscript compiled by Hurliburt but with the slightly more reputable name E. D. Howe attached to it as author and entitled Mormonism Unveiled (sic), signed affidavits signifying that Manuscript Found and The Book of Mormon were authored by Spaulding. Hurliburt seems to have been planning to publish Manuscript Found but discovered that examination of this text by anyone of reasonable intelligence and objectivity would forever destroy the notion that Spaulding wrote The Book of Mormon. Nevertheless, President Joseph F. Smith's son Joseph Fielding Smith, himself the Church's tenth president and author of his father's biography, indicated in that book why the discovery of Manuscript Found was of such importance to the Church. Of all the lying attacks ever made upon the Book of Mormon and the Church, this stands at the peak of the most stupendous. It formed the basis of much of the controversy from 1934 to the time of the discovery of the manuscript in the possession of Mr. Rice. It was never intended by Mr. E. D. Howe and those associated with him that it should ever be found, but Providence ruled that it should not be destroyed and that eventually it should be revealed to the world. Thus exposing these three writers who prepared the story of "Mormonism Unveiled," (sic) and their despicable methods of fighting the work of the Lord which they endeavored to destroy.

The manuscript must have been totally forgotten even after Rice purchased the printing office of E.D. Howe, where it lay. Rice brought the contents of the office to Hawaii and only stumbled on it during his search for Fairchild's materials. While the whole story is much more complex than space will allow to relate here, these are the basic details of this history when President Joseph F. Smith comes on the scene. On April 16, 1885 Presidents Smith and Farr are told by the 85 year old Rice he will not sell them his manuscript for love or money. He will not let them copy it nor will he sell them a copy. Foxes next journal entry pertaining to the manuscript is for Saturday, May 2 and tells that Broth-ers Smith and Farr returned from Honolulu this evening having had the privilege of reading two chapters of the Spaulding story, finding it to be very simple and that there is nothing in those chapters that agrees with the Book of Mormon." Further reading of Fox's journal convinces one that having this notorious manuscript so close, despite Rice's hostility, President Smith was unwilling to accept Rice's refusal to allow a copy to be made. Thus on Wednesday, May 6, 1885 Fox went to the Whitney home where Rice lived with his son in law and daughter. The following is a brief part of his account.

He is 85 years old but carried his age well. I told him I had heard that he had the manuscript of the Spaulding story and that I would very much like to see it. He asked me if I wanted to see it. I told him yes and after a little conversation told me I could see them. He took me to his room where the manuscript was. The manuscript was about 40 years old. The page was about 7 by 8 inches and was written in light brown paper, tied with a thin string. He then took it out of the string and handed me the manuscript. He warned me not to talk about this until he had seen it. He then told me that you see it is of very ancient date. The paper was yellowed very much by time and certainly did show marks of age. The paper was closely written and had been marked out apparently by the writer. I read a portion of the preface.

Ten days later Fox records Brothers Smith and Farr have again been to see Rice and he promised to let them have a copy of the manuscript on condition "they would send him 25 copies and send 50 copies to Oberlin College and then return the copies to him." Rice further told them that he had already sent the original to Oberlin that very day. One other stipulation was that the manuscript was to be used for scholarship and not for propagation. The men were instructed to call again that evening by which time the contract would be ready. Remembering that this was pre Xerox and ditto machine days, the terms Rice set were prohibitive, probably exactly as intended when one realizes that a stable group of people some hostile to the Church were attempting to acquire the manuscript. When the brethren returned that evening Rice told them his daughter and son in law had been accused of using the manuscript to ascribe any intent to the President Smith must have used all his powers of persuasion for when he and Farr de-
parted they had the manuscript with permission to read it and return it in two weeks! The next day Fox wrote he had been copying some of the manuscript. The fact that he was writing the 53th to the 17th pages makes it clear the manuscript was divided up among several copyists including President and Sister Smith. A day later Fox recorded he was copying two more pages but shortly after he left on tour around Oahu. Of course, his leaving signified that the copying had been completed. It turned out all that copying was unnecessary due to the surprising friendship which developed between Rice and President Smith. Shortly after President Smith returned the copy Rice had loaned him, the latter gave his copy to President Smith! It was sent to Salt Lake City June 21, 1885, printed, and returned to Rice as agreed. Since that time the manuscript has been available for sale to the public although until the last few years when some handwriting analysts stirred up a brief resurrection of the Spaulding authorship theory, no one was much interested.

A conclusion to the whole affair may never be written for opponents of the Book of Mormon soon drafted the idea of a second Spaulding manuscript, of course, much closer in style and content to the Book of Mormon. President James H. Fairchild, not himself a Mormon, recognized such opposition and opponents would continue to arise. His concluding account of the affair is interesting.

Some other explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon must be found, if any explanation is required.

We wonder who will be the ingenious fabricator who will furnish the 'Other explanation of the origin of the Book of Mormon,' for doubtless some of the conscientious enemies of Mormonism will consider that another subterfuge is 'required.'

Given the unfortunate necessity of using terms like 'enemies' and 'soldiers' to describe Christianity, there is strong evidence the subjects of this paper much like us, their descendants, were involved only in skirmishes which will conclude only after a great final conflict still more than a millennium away. As the conflict continues until that time, certainly the admirable example of these early horse soldiers will serve us in good stead.

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