illness among the natives. Accustomed to island conditions, the consti-
tutions 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 signif-
ificant 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 'ohana, which signifies
retainers, sojourners, or those likened to passengers in a canoe.⁴

The derivation of the word is in the symbolism of the 'ōhā (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 propagated. The phrase is, then, 'ōhā-
ane, 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 sti-
pulated a father, mother and the children born to them.
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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 discoverer. While his account contains almost no direct references to Hawaiian families, some of his statements can be used to draw inferences. The ship's logs of Portlock and Dixon, Bryon and the journals of the Wilkes expedition are useful in a similar fashion. The writings of John Ledyard, a marine with Captain Cook; the publication of Archibald Campbell, an injured whaler who spent a year in Honolulu in 1808; and an account attributed to John B. Whitman 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. 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.

The islanders themselves left little other than the writings of such as David Malo and Samuel M. Kamaka. Malo was one of the early converts to Christianity and eventually became a licensed preacher. Spurrer, Joseph H.

Be 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. Kamaka was also a converted Christian.

Historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, 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 Lai 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 determinants 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. Those 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 ʻālōlo, 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 ʻahuʻuia. 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 ʻahuʻuia and usually all members of any one 'ohana lived within its boundaries. All nuclear and extended families living within one ʻahuʻuia enjoyed full use and access rights to all land otherwise not used.22

A third influence was the division of the society into classes—aliʻi, or chiefs, and makaainana or commoners. The chiefs held 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 ʻahuʻuia (the second largest division 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 ali`i 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 one's own district, around the island, or inter-island.27 The families of the commoners tended to remain within the confines of one ahupuaa.

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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 pu`alua (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 ma`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 hale kahimu, 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.

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.

The work day began early since work with growing plants was to be done before daylight or after sunset, according to the old religion. 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. 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. 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.

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. 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. 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...
Spurrier, Joseph H. to eat with them as well.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 adultery, a new sin, later to become the national sin.\textsuperscript{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-e-

Spurrier, Joseph H. week program and only one day set aside for prescribed activity all but demolished the Hawaiian way of life.\textsuperscript{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."\textsuperscript{41}

Deaths outnumbered births by an alarming 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.\textsuperscript{42} The 'ohana was now almost completely broken up since its operation had depended so much on free access to land. Newly married couples might no longer settle in the same ahupua'a 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 foregoing 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 Na'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 north-west 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. 49 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 arithmetic and natural philosophy (science), 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.

On his return to Kula, he met and married a young lady of some rank, Kahanui, 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. He settled with his wife at Keaia, 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. Kaleohano and his wife were among these. Elder Cannon became a member of the Kaleohano household and this marked the 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—laulau. Steps led from the rocky ground up to a small lanai or porch which faced N—–h 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. 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. 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 Kahanui 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.

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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. 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.

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." Later in the day when called upon to preach, the exuberant Kaleohano held forth for two hours. Thirteen months later a second child was born—a son who was given the name Kamuela (Samuel). 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. At that time he was assigned as leader of the Honoula Branch of the Church which was near his home and he was able to live at home for a time.

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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. 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. 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 winter months of 1856 while the fifteen year old elder learned the language. 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.

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 but soon began to recognize strangeness in the ways of the new leader and withdraw 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 reorder 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. 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. 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 Kaleohanos 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, Kashanui 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.

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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. 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, Williams, and Kanibonui, as well as the two youngest, all attended the schools at Laie. Kashanui 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. 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.
Spurrier, Joseph H.

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. 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.

Another event of some importance to the family was the mission call which came to Kamuela a year earlier. Kanihonui was taking trumpet lessons and some years later would play in the Laie Brass Band. 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. Later Kaahanui would be called to serve with Sister Partridge, wife of the mission president, in a mission-wide organization of the Relief Society.

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, Kaleohano, 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. 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 association 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 'ohana 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 ahupua'a of Laie had been purchased for the Church by Elder Francis A. Hammond in early 1865. 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.
Spurrier, Joseph H.

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 such the same powers over the ahupuaas 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. 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. The sense of worth, of cultural stability, and of ability to cope was restored to the people in these circumstances. The Queen recorded that her people at Laie had regained their former dignity and self respect.

Another impression made upon Queen Kapiolani in her association with Laie was the Relief Society. 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 Hoolu a Hoola Lahui (association for strengthening and giving life to the race) in 1877. Kaleohano was instrumental, in the name of her majesty, for assisting in the organization of a number of chapters of this society in various places around the islands. He was further called upon from time to time to address the assembled women of the society. 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. 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.

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
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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-nineteen hundreds. The Kaleohano family has been selected to illustrate family life during the monarchical period because it existed under all of the conditions described.

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FOOTNOTES

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