The Development of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Hawaii

Richard C. Harvey
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN HAWAII

A Thesis
Presented to the
Department of Church History and Doctrine
Brigham Young University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Richard C. Harvey
April, 1974
This thesis, by Richard C. Harvey, is accepted in its present form by the Department of Church History and Doctrine in the College of Religious Instruction of Brigham Young University as satisfying the thesis requirement for the degree of Master of Arts.

Russell R. Rich, Committee Chairman

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March 19, 1974
Date

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>HIGHLIGHTS OF &quot;MORMONISM&quot; IN HAWAII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1846 - 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HAWAII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISCOVERY AND THE FIRST MISSIONARIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE ARRIVAL OF THE MORMON MISSIONARIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WALTER MURRAY GIBSON</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LAIE, 1865-1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>THE IOSEPA COLONY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CROSS-CULTURAL RECIPROCITY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REASONS FOR THE IOSEPA COLONY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HISTORY OF THE COLONY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REASONS FOR ABANDONING IOSEPA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>THE FIRST DECADES - 1900-1920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LAIE 1900-1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILLMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BUILDING THE TEMPLE IN THE SOUTH SEAS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>FROM THE TWENTIES TO THE END OF THE WAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;THE MELTING POT&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FROM SPIRIT TO INTELLECT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A PROPHETIC VISION OF THE COLLEGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE MISSION AS A TRAINING GROUND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OTHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE OAHU TABERNACLE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>WAR YEARS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>POST WAR YEARS, 1945-1960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE CHURCH IN THE PACIFIC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AFTER THE WAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OF THE CHURCH COLLEGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BUILDING THE COLLEGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE CHURCH COLLEGE IN HAWAI SINCE 1959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH COLLEGE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>THE CHURCH IN HAWAI TODAY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REGENERATION OF POLYNESIAN CULTURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BUILDING OF THE CENTER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE ALOHA CENTER</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. CONCLUSIONS</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PATTERN OF HISTORY</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii has been well documented for the early period of development, but little has been written about the Church in Hawaii since the building of the Laie Temple in 1919. In this paper, the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii will be covered from the landing of the first missionaries in 1850 to the present. Emphasis will be on the later historical period which is discussed in the final chapters. In this study the underlying development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii will be a basic consideration.

In any study that attempts to find and present a basic pattern that involves the development of an institution, given the vast number of events that inevitably occur in the history of any institution, selectivity must be used. This is no less the case in dealing with the 120 years of history of the Mormon Church in Hawaii. Thus, in this study,
rather than summarizing the chronological sequence of events, those events that are of key importance to the
development of the Church in Hawaii will be discussed.

This concept will be analyzed within the terms of a
theory of institutional growth. Any institution involved in
a process of growth manifests a multiphasic, but essentially
symmetrical, developmental structure. Thus, conceptual move-
ments within the deliberate policy of development of that
institution manifest themselves in such structures as build-
ings. The Laie Temple, the Church College, and the Polynesian
Cultural Center are examples of such indicators. Other
indicators pertain to the literature developed by an institu-
tion, the administrative or organizational changes of the
institution, and the sociocultural relationships between the
institution and its environment.

The history of the development of the Church in
Hawaii depicts this process in this pattern. The purpose of
this study is to determine this pattern within the terms of
the totality of growth of the institution.

In the course of this study such central events as
the decision of George Q. Cannon to work among the Hawaiians
and the translation of the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian
language will be discussed. The history of the development
of the Church in Hawaii can be shown to fall into three distinct, but interrelated phases. The first of these is marked by Cannon's decision to work in Hawaii and culminated in the founding of the Laie Temple. This phase might be considered a preliminary acculturative phase to prepare spiritually the native Hawaiians to be Latter-day Saints. This phase is characterized by the gathering of spiritual and material energies into one integrated center. The establishment of the plantation at Lanai, and later Laie, as well as the founding of the temple, are examples of this "gathering movement."

The second phase overlapped with the first, and is characterized by an emphasis on education. The Iosepa Colony is viewed within these terms as both an acculturation and an education process. Education continued to be the dominant theme of the Church in Hawaii throughout much of the 19th century, and the establishment of the Church College at Laie was the result of this. During this period, the process of acculturation among the Hawaiian peoples reached its climax. A change in policy towards the Hawaiians by the Church could also be discerned in the modification of the Church organizational structure from a total mission concept to one of stakes within the mission area.
The third phase again overlapped with the previous one. This phase was characterized by the growing significance of the Church in Hawaii because of the involvement of the whole Pacific basin. The complex at Laie became a cultural, educational, and spiritual center of operations for the entire Pacific area. The indicators of this phase of development were the merging of the Central Pacific Mission with the Hawaii Mission, and the establishment of the Polynesian Cultural Center. The organization division between mission and stakes was completed in this phase.

The processes begun in each phase were only culminated to the extent that the basic structure of each process was fully formed by the end of the period that the phase marks. For example, the education plan of the Church on the Islands, although culminating in the establishment of the Church College at Laie, was by no means complete with the opening of this college, as can be seen by the later development of the Seminary and Institute programs there. In all cases, the processes set in motion continued to develop, but their development was within the totality of structure of the whole development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii.
CHAPTER 2

HIGHLIGHTS OF "MORMONISM" IN HAWAII
1846 - 1900

HAWAII

Hawaii, the 50th of the United States, is an archipelago in the North Pacific Ocean. The volcanic and coral Hawaiian Islands are part of a chain of volcanic mountains estimated to have begun forming twenty-five million years ago. The chain soars from ocean depths of more than 15,000 feet to a height of 13,796 feet above sea level at the top of Mauna Kea on the island of Hawaii. The eight major islands total 6,424 square miles in land mass. Hawaii, the largest island, is 4,201 square miles, some 60 per cent of this total.

The Hawaiian climate is subtropical; its temperatures range from highs in the nineties to lows in the forties. The temperature is moderated by the sea and winds to a mean temperature throughout most of the islands in the mid-seventies. Local variations in precipitation are as great as anywhere in the world.
The volcanic mountains that comprise the land mass of the islands are immense reservoirs. This, in combination with the fertile volcanic soil, has enabled the islanders to convert their state into an agricultural paradise.

The racial genesis of the Hawaiian peoples has provided a favored ground for anthropological theorizing. The most generally accepted theory is that the Hawaiians were mainly of Caucasian origin with infusions of other bloods. The islanders are believed to have come from Asia by way of the Malay peninsula and Java, thence from island to island by various routes to have reached Hawaii by way of Tahiti about 750 AD or earlier.¹

Another theory, generally accepted by Church historians, is that proposed by E. L. Whitehead, et al., that the Hawaiian legend of the founder of the race, Hawaii-Loa, has a parallel with the story of Hagoth in the Book of Mormon, Alma 63:5-8.

Students of the Book of Mormon agree with the assertion of the archeologists that the Polynesians, Egyptians, and the American Indians had a common culture background, but they doubt the assertion that the American Indian was a product of later migration from New Zealand. The testimony which the Book of Mormon bears justifies us in the belief that the migration from the cultural area of which

Egypt was a part, was directly to the American Continent by the Nephites, and that the people now living in the Central Pacific found their way to those islands some centuries after the Nephite landing in the South American mainland.²

Whitehead's theory is cited not so much for its scientific validity, but because it bears some relevance to interaction between mainlander missionaries and the native Hawaiian saints.

Polynesia was probably the last habitable area of the Pacific to be occupied by man. Unfortunately, comparatively little is known of the history of the Hawaiians before their discovery. It would appear, however, that Hawaii underwent a long period of isolation from about the thirteenth century, at which time its last connections with the other Polynesians were severed. Its social structure until the landing of the first white settlers was feudal; the main division of land was termed the ahupuaa, with subdivisions within that termed ili and kuleanas. The general economic structure was agricultural and maritime. Although metalwork was unknown, tools and objects of art were created from stone, wood, shell, teeth, and bone. The people achieved a high degree of sophistication in these crafts.

The religion appears to have been pantheistic and naturalistic, with four principal gods and innumerable lesser gods.

The Hawaiians before their discovery by the whites are generally depicted as easy-going, happy, economically content, and physically healthy. It is often supposed that the Hawaiians were destroyed by the white settlers, not so much through malice as through disease and cultural shock.

DISCOVERY AND THE FIRST MISSIONARIES

Captain James Cook's first sighting of the islands on January 18, 1778 marked the beginning of a new epoch for the islands. Although the white settlers did not begin to arrive en masse until the first decades of the nineteenth century, the increasing contact with white merchants and their Western customs began to weaken the ancient social system from the very beginning. Kamehameha I was the first leader to unify the islands under Hawaiian domination, which he hoped, in vain, to main independent of foreign control.

Many of the more pernicious aspects of the Hawaiian socio-political order were abolished largely through Western influence. In 1819 Kamehameha II abolished the Kapu system, a structure of ancient laws and tabus under which Hawaii had long been governed. This event might be regarded as the
first step in preparing the islands for the advent of Christianity.

In April, 1820, the first Christian missionaries arrived at Kailua on the island of Hawaii. They were two Protestants from New England, Reverend Hiram Bingham and Reverend Asa Thurston. They divided their work in the islands and began the task of bringing the gospel to the Hawaiians. They were moderately successful. Within two years Keopuolani, the queen of Kamehameha I, was baptized, and the Protestant ministers had become a powerful force for change at the court. The queen herself toured the islands exhorting her subjects to turn to the gospel. However, there were indications that Christianity remained specifically court religion for some time. By 1829 only 185 Hawaiians had been baptized into the Protestant Church despite the status of Christianity as the national religion.\(^3\)

The first Catholic missionaries arrived in Hawaii on July 7, 1827. They were not well received. Indeed, Bingham prevailed upon the Queen to order the captain of the ship that brought the Catholic priests to Hawaii to take them away again. Sectarian rivalry was evidently much in the mind of

\(^3\)Whitehead, op. cit., p. 491.
Bingham at the time. Bingham talked a good deal in those days of the evils of the day which were: gambling, sabbath day desecration, Romanism, and traffic in intoxicating liquors. The following year Catholics were arrested and punished in Honolulu for image worship.

It was not until 1839 that the situation improved concerning freedom of religious expression. This was brought about when that year a French battleship anchored in Honolulu harbor and demanded that Catholics be declared free to enjoy privileges given to Protestants, the release of all Catholics who had been jailed because of their religion, and a land donation by the government for the construction of a Catholic church in Hawaii. A security of $20,000 was demanded as a guarantee of future compliance by the government with these directives.

LDS missionaries did not arrive on the islands until some 30 years after the earliest Christian missionaries. The efforts of both Protestants and Catholics on the islands by this time had an effect that was beneficial in preparing the

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way for the Mormons. Freedom of religious expression was granted through the auspices of a French gunboat, for example. Perhaps of far greater importance was the familiarizing of the Hawaiians with the basic teachings of Christianity. By 1839 both the New and the Old Testament had been translated in Hawaiian, and the new religion had been given the seal of official approval by its adoption in the court.6 The plan and pattern of Christian living had been promulgated. A written language had been developed by the Protestants for use by the Hawaiians in religious studies.

THE ARRIVAL OF THE MORMON MISSIONARIES

In 1843 four missionaries were called by the Church authorities in Nauvoo, Illinois, to open a mission among the inhabitants of the Polynesian Islands in the Pacific. After setting sail from New Bedford, Massachusetts in October 1843, three of the elders arrived at Tubai on May 1, 1844. One had died en route. Although the missionaries had intended to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, as the Hawaiian islands were then called, they found the natives of Tubai so receptive to the teachings of the gospel that they decided to remain

6Whitehead, op. cit., p. 491.
there. The first LDS missionaries did not arrive in Hawaii until the winter of 1850. Another party of Mormons under the leadership of Samuel Brannan, en route to California from New York, stopped briefly in Honolulu in June, 1846. Brannan, in fact, is credited with having given the first LDS sermon in the islands. The subject of his lecture at the Seaman's Chapel in Honolulu on the first Sunday after he arrived was, "Salvation and Eternal Glory."

The Sandwich Islands Mission was established in 1850 by Apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich. Ten young men who had spent some time working in the gold fields of California received the call from the First Presidency and arrived in Hawaii on the Imaum of Muscat on December 12, 1850 after having set sail some months previously from San Francisco. These men were Hiram Clark who presided over the group, and Thomas Whittle, Henry W. Bigler, James Keeler, John Dixon, Thomas Morris, William Farrer, James Hawkins, Hiram Blackwell, and George Q. Cannon.

After the ship docked in Honolulu, a number of Hawaiians boarded the vessel. They were "a strange people"

George Q. Cannon was later to write, "so strange in fact that we supposed our time would be occupied in preaching the gospel to the Whites." 8

On the day following their arrival the ten missionaries climbed a mountain near the city and erected an altar. Each carried a stone with which to build the altar, and having reached the top, knelt in prayer, sang, and dedicated the islands to the Lord as a fertile field for the spreading of the gospel of Jesus Christ.

Elder Clark, who had already filled several missions for the Church, was chosen president of the mission. He found the conditions different from those that he had expected, and the islanders quite unlike his preconceptions. Decisive action was postponed for a short time. Within a week, however, the missionaries decided that President Clark and Elder Whittle should remain in Oahu, while the other eight elders would be assigned to the four largest remaining islands. After casting lots, Henry Bigler and Thomas Morris were sent to Molokai, John Dixon and William Farrer to Kauai, James Hawkins and Hiram Blackwell to Hawaii, and George Cannon and James Keeler to Maui. James Keeler later recounted

8George Q. Cannon, My First Mission (Salt Lake City, 1882), p. 12.
to Elder Cannon that he had prayed that he might remain with that elder, and felt that his prayers, by this method of assignment through the casting of lots, had been answered.

Elder Cannon had noticed the island of Maui on the passage into Honolulu, and was happy about his assignment there. The other elders, finding few whites and not knowing the language, as well as not being accustomed to the food and habits of the natives, felt discouraged. Elders Whittle, Blackwell, and Dixon returned to the United States shortly after they arrived. Cannon reported in his diary that William Farrer had also become discouraged, but that after he later arrived on Maui to labor with Cannon and Keller his attitude improved. Farrer did not mention this in his diary but he did mention the rededication of the missionaries to the work of the Lord by being baptized again:

As we felt a desire to be rebaptized for the remission of sins and renew our covenants with the Lord this afternoon we went down to the water when Brother Bigler and Cannon went down into the water and there baptized each other and Brother Bigler then baptized Brother Keeler and myself.9

The pressures on the missionaries were intense. Although called to spread the word of the gospel in the islands,

9William Farrer's Diary, located in the Special Collections Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, p. 7.
they were handicapped by their lack of familiarity with the environment as well as by an uncertainty as to the direction their ministry should take. The first missionaries to Hawaii, by their decision to remain on the islands, by this proof of their tenacity, set the pattern for the future generations of LDS missionaries that were to work on the islands.

It was at this time that Elder Cannon made a decision that may well be one of the major decisions in the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii. Because whites were few in number, the remaining elders, at the instigation and with the encouragement of Elder Cannon, began to work among the natives.

No sooner did I learn the conditions of the population that I made up my mind to acquire the language, preach the Gospel to the natives, and to the whites whenever I could obtain an opportunity, and thus fill my mission to these islands, if I had to do it alone.\(^{10}\)

Elder Cannon's decision was pivotal because it meant that the Church would now have an interest in the islands that was not restricted to those of the white settlers, but was to expand to include every race, or social group of the islands. Beyond this, it was the first gesture of faith and adaptability

\(^{10}\)Cannon, op. cit., p. 22.
that was to characterize the history of the Mormons in Hawaii.

Shortly after Elder Thomas Morris had left the islands, President Clark decided to leave for the Marquesas Island.\textsuperscript{11} This left only five of the original ten elders in Hawaii. President Castle Murphy characterized as tenacious not only the five who remained but many of the first missionaries to the islands. George Q. Cannon later became a member of the First Presidency of the Church.\textsuperscript{12}

The elders' decision to live with the natives attracted the attention of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association. Evidently the LDS missionaries had given cause for a statement on the matter by this association because of their accomplishments. In the minutes of one of their meetings they recorded the following comments: "Mormonism - This false religion has at length found its way into this part of the world, and obtained a few followers. Though probably no permanent ones."\textsuperscript{13}


\textsuperscript{12}Statement by Castle H. Murphy, personal interview July 8, 1972.

\textsuperscript{13}Extracts from the Minutes of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Islands Mission held at Honolulu in May and June of 1851, p. 12.
The few actually numbed 220, all of whom had joined the Church within the first eight months of 1851. The Protestant missionaries did not gain this many converts within the first ten years of their mission. And, several branches of the LDS Church had been organized on the island of Maui.

On August 20, 1851, replacements for those who had left arrived at Honolulu. Elders Phillip B. Lewis, Francis A. Hammond, John S. Woodbury, with their wives, increased the number of missionaries to eleven. Elder Lewis replaced Hiram Clark as president of the mission in Hawaii. As a result of the additional missionaries, and more importantly as a result of the change in emphasis towards conversion of the native Hawaiians, together with the new-found zeal of the missionaries, the population of the Church on the islands increased dramatically to 4,000 by 1853.

By the year 1853 there were organized branches of the Church functioning on each of the major islands. The branches were organized into conferences, one on each of the smaller islands, and two each on the larger. The number of these conferences increased to nine before they were changed to district status, some of which later became a stake organization.
Although the upsurge in Church membership seemed to have concerned the Protestant missionaries in the islands, little was attempted against the Mormons other than some minor harassment in the form of propaganda. The good works of the missionaries soon counteracted this. The Mormons were especially active in caring for those struck by the smallpox epidemic, introduced by the white settlers, that was decimating the native Hawaiian population. The willingness with which the missionaries ministered to those who had contracted the disease may be part of the reason for the dramatic increase in membership. Because of the epidemic the native Hawaiian population was halved between the years 1832 and 1860, from 130,313 to 69,700.

Within three years after their arrival, the authorities of the Church in Hawaii decided to establish a gathering place for the saints on one of the islands. A piece of land was purchased by the Church on the island of Lanai. Elder Green was placed in charge of the new settlement, which was called Palawi. Soon Elders Thomas Karren and Joseph F. Smith arrived to assist in the colonization. On October 3, 1854, a townsite was surveyed on Lanai and called the City of Joseph. As soon as the saints were able to move they were gathered by the Church to Lanai.
A word might be said about the young Joseph F. Smith, later to achieve distinction as one of the greatest leaders of the Church on the islands. The son of Hyrum Smith, brother of the Prophet Joseph Smith, he was called by Brigham Young to accept a mission to Hawaii. It was Parley P. Pratt who set him apart and made the unusual promise to him that he would achieve great success in the use of the language. He began his mission on Maui in the Kula District, and gave all his concentration, energy and skill to the task of mastering the language. In less than 100 days he had an impressive command of the language and at the age of 16 he was made the presiding elder on the islands of Maui and Lanai.

George Q. Cannon began his translation of the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language in January 1852. J. H. Napela, one of the early native converts to the Church, helped him in this work. A descendant of a chief, he prided himself in speaking the language in pure form. Gifted with a comprehensive mind, he was well acquainted with the Book of Mormon and capable of grasping the subtle continuities of the story. Work on the translation was slow because of many other duties, and it was two years before it was completed. The first revision came shortly after the translation was completed, and a second revision was also accomplished on
the island of Kauai and finished January 31, 1854. The Book of Mormon in Hawaiian was published in 1855 under the supervision of George Q. Cannon, who had since been released as a missionary to Hawaii.

In 1857 Elder Henry Bigler, one of the first five elders who had elected to stay in Hawaii in 1851, returned as president of the mission. In early 1858 the American elders were called home to Utah because of the Utah War. The task of closing the mission in Hawaii took one year.

The phenomenal growth of the membership of the Church during the first few years in Hawaii was disproportionate to the later growth. There are a number of reasons for this disproportion. Chief among them was the untimely release of the missionaries in 1858. Another was the mismanagement of the controversial Walter Murray Gibson, the "Shepherd Saint of Lanai."

WALTER MURRAY GIBSON

Gwynn Barrett wrote an article on Gibson in the Utah Historical Quarterly and challenged the LDS view of Walter Murray Gibson as an opportunistic entrepreneur who used his
position with the Church for personal gain.\textsuperscript{14} This section of the chapter is not a refutation of Barrett's hypothesis.

Whether Gibson was morally reprehensible, whether he was more concerned with his own economic welfare than with the spiritual welfare of the native saints should not be decided here. Gibson's effect on the development of the Church on the islands is the chief concern of this paper. The validity of the charges against Gibson of swindling the Church out of the lands at Lanai are somewhat problematical since it was apparently common practice to register such lands under private names, and Gibson was not allotted any funds for the purchase of the property. However, Gibson was guilty of the charge of mismanagement, and it is with this charge that this section concerns itself.

A number of interesting, and often amusing, accounts of Gibson's life and character have been written. James Michener and A. Grove Day, Samuel W. Taylor, Ester Souza, and Frank McGhie are only a few of the many who have devoted some time to a study of this man. Michener, by no means an LDS historian, concurred with the generally accepted view of

Gibson as an opportunist, concerned more with his own temporal situation than with the spiritual endeavors of the Church. Michener cited extracts from Gibson's diaries and discussed Gibson's first actions at Lanai:

He was now head of a colony of about 180 Hawaiians, ruling under the title of "Priest of Melchisedec [sic] and Chief President of the Isles of the Sea," and this robust title seems to have awakened once more the dreams of his youth, for he wrote in his diary on January 31, 1862: "O smiling Palawi, thou infant hope of my glorious kingdom! Blessed is Lanai among the isles of the sea." From that moment, he was on his way to empire.15

Samuel W. Taylor also depicted "Gibsonism" as a form of benevolent dictatorship, and of how all who came to see him crawled into his presence on hands and knees.16 To Barrett, however, Gibson was a kindly personality, somewhat lacking in judgment, who came to grief more through the actions of opportunistic subordinates than through his own actions. Even if this is an accurate analysis of Gibson, the principle of responsibility remains. If Gibson's subordinates were responsible for the frauds perpetrated against the native saints during Gibson's period of administration,


then Gibson, as the self-styled chief delegate from Utah on the islands at the time, was still responsible under the charge of mismanagement.

Barrett cited the first example of such fraud. On July 14, 1861, only two weeks after his arrival in Honolulu, Gibson baptized two young men, Haven B. Eddy and Charles O. Cummings. Gibson knew practically nothing about these young men, and did not, evidently, take the trouble to question them and verify their character, but relied on his own intuition. Frank McGhie mentions that Gibson's two subordinates had begun their careers on the islands by attempting to peddle a compendium called, *Dr. Warren's Household Physician*.\(^{17}\) Baptism, however, was the least of it. Only two days after having baptized them, without giving them the benefit of any training, Gibson dispatched them to the islands of Maui and Kauai as missionaries. Because they were the first missionaries for the Church the native saints had seen in some time, the remaining native saints probably received them warmly and gave them their full confidence. No sooner had they arrived

than Eddy returned to Oahu, making his headquarters in Honolulu:

From here he sent letters to members of the Church, dunning them for money under the lofty title of the "Chief President" of Oahu and Kauai, and "Bishop of Lahania and Chief of the Quorum." When Gibson became aware of the unauthorized activities of Eddy and Cummings he brought them to Lanai for counsel, but they did not remain very long. Rejecting Gibson's leadership, they returned to Honolulu, where they became the perpetrators of derogatory rumors against Gibson.18

This is an exceptional instance of mismanagement in the delegation of responsibility, yet it would appear that it was by no means the only instance of such activity. In fact, Gibson had evidently set the example for such fraud by styling himself "Priest of Melchizedek and Chief President," by selling or apportioning to his favorites such fictitious Church positions as that of Kailihune ("Archbishop of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands"), not to mention such dubious practices as the erection of a stone altar near the plantation and its definition by Gibson as a taboo place (an act mentioned by Joseph F. Smith and Elders Ezra T. Benson and John R. Young).

Barrett wrote:

18Barrett, op. cit., p. 149.
After the American elders returned home, Elder Kailihune, president of the Lanae District, claiming that he was the president of all the islands from Hawaii to Nihau, collected funds for the purchase of Palawi Valley from Haalelea, but he spent the money collected for his own interests and was ousted. There is no evidence that the new president, Solomona Umi, made any further effort to purchase the land with the few dollars that were contributed to the church each year. When Gibson arrived on Lanai in October 1861, he found that the land was still available for purchase even though the rental had not been paid.\textsuperscript{19}

Barrett did not mention what Gibson did with the few dollars that were collected, or whether Gibson ascertained from Umi whether the contributions had been put to the service of the Church.

In any event, the land was open for purchase. Barrett pointed out that Gibson was not awarded funds for the purchase of the lands at Lanai. He stated that Gibson "was simply following the practice of his religious mentors in Great Salt Lake City"\textsuperscript{20} in purchasing the lands in his own name.

The Mormon Church did not provide Gibson with funds to buy land or to carry out his missionary work, nor were monies available from the Utah headquarters of the church for most of its missionary activities throughout the world. Elders were expected to provide for themselves and build up the

\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., p. 151. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{20}Ibid., p. 152.
branches of the church with the assistance of the members among whom they labored.\textsuperscript{21}

Barrett intimated that Gibson paid for the Lanai lands out of his own pocket. Yet McGhie cited no less than 12 receipts showing that the Hawaiian Saints gave money to Gibson for the specific purpose of buying the Church lands.\textsuperscript{22} According to Barrett, under Gibson Lanai became a feasible economic proposition. That is to say, the land that Gibson had bought was transformed into valuable property through the efforts of Gibson and the Church members. The land was cultivated, income from these lands was received, buildings were erected, all by Gibson, in the name of the Church.

But the title to these lands was registered in Gibson's name, and after he was excommunicated the Church had to purchase land elsewhere for the use of its members.

The reason given for Gibson's excommunication was that he was unwilling to subordinate himself to their (the Church leaders who had arrived in Hawaii) direction.

John R. Young assessed Gibson:

He has proved to be a deceitful though shrewd and capable man, possessed of one absorbing idea, that of founding an empire of the Pacific Islands.

\textsuperscript{21}Ibid., p. 153.

\textsuperscript{22}McGhie, op. cit., pp. 68-69.
For that purpose he joined the Church, asked for a mission, and commenced at once his empire building.\(^{23}\)

Lorenzo Snow and Joseph F. Smith, two other witnesses who have left an account of Gibson's examination by the LDS elders at that time, both concurred in the belief that Gibson's prime motivation was personal power, rather than the development of the Church. Joseph F. Smith recounted the words of Elder Ezra T. Benson, and made clear the charges against Gibson:

Elder Ezra T. Benson also portrayed the course Mr. Gibson had taken, reviewing his course and showing how he had made merchandise of the offices of the Priesthood and how he had introduced pagan superstitions among the people for the purposes of gaining power over them. Moreover, that it was his intention to build up a great temporal power in the Pacific Islands. All of this, he said, was in antagonism to the Gospel, and the spirit manifested by Mr. Gibson in ignoring the powers of the Priesthood showed that he did not understand the order of heaven and was ignorant of the fundamentals of the Gospel.\(^{24}\)

Gibson thus acted in opposition to the teachings of the gospel and the fundamentals of Church administration. Elder Lorenzo Snow prophesied that Gibson would soon lack


\(^{24}\)Joseph F. Smith, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 222.
a single LDS follower, a prophecy that was rapidly to be verified.25

While he was probably not the opportunist that he has been commonly portrayed as in LDS publications, it appears that Gibson did harm to the Church. The effect of the confrontation between the mainland elders and Gibson was the loss of Church property at Lanai. Of more importance was the fact that Gibson had become a man of some popularity among the native saints. The effect of their "Shepherd Saint's" excommunication on the Hawaiian flock cannot be underestimated. Gibson, by refusing to submit to Church authority, placed himself in a position that was opposite to the aims of the Church. In his excommunication he could not have helped present a conflict of loyalties to the native saints, a conflict that was bound to have had a detrimental effect.

LAIE, 1865-1900

After Gibson's excommunication another area was soon sought as a gathering place and headquarters for the reestablishment of the Church. To recover Lanai, given Gibson's

attitude, would have been almost impossible and would have involved legal action with which the Church had no wish to concern itself. Such action would have only served to underscore the effect the Gibson episode had had on the Hawaiian flock.

On November 10, 1864, F. A. Hammond and George Nebeker were appointed to seek out a suitable place. While Nebeker was returning to Utah to report that they had not found a suitable location, Hammond had an opportunity to buy a plantation at Laie on Oahu. Laie was not new to the Church members in Hawaii. It had been earlier recommended by Elder Joseph F. Smith as a suitable site for colonization.26 When the Lanai colony was opened, many of its pioneers were from Laie. Elder Hammond immediately took the responsibility of securing the land.

President Brigham Young placed Nebeker in charge of a company that was able to operate the land. It was an experiment to test the industrial side of the mission work in Hawaii. On his return, Hammond brought a message from President Young to King Kamehameha V explaining the purpose of the colony the Church was starting at Laie. While the

26Smith, op. cit., p. 224.
primary purpose of the colony was the presentation of the restored gospel of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the conversion and baptism of the natives, the colony would also accrue social and economic benefits to the islands. The king was reported to have been pleased with the additional capital to develop the agriculture of the islands, but less pleased with the fact that his people would receive instructions from the missionaries in the principles of the Church. There are, however, no records to indicate that any action was taken by the government to prevent the religious activities.

President Brigham Young gave Elder George Nebeker the task of reorganizing the mission. He was to manage the plantation, absorbing into it all native members of the Church who wished to live there. Finally, he was instructed to make the plantation self-sufficient.

With the establishment of the plantation at Laie, a change in policy might be discerned with regard to the attitude of the First Presidency towards the islands. Since then the development of the Church in Hawaii has progressed within a definable pattern. Essentially, from this point on the Church on the islands has been seen by the First Presidency as an important experiment in the processes of
conversion and colonization. Funding for large projects continued to come directly from Utah, and an efficient line of communication was established from the mission direct to the First Presidency. Native converts have been carefully trained and gradually assimilated into Church offices. Gibsonism, characterized by the use of native converts in Church administrative roles, had proved to the First Presidency that the native Hawaiians and other non-American ethnic groups would have to be acculturated before they could assume responsible positions within the structure of the Church. The progress of the next century has been, to a great extent, the slow development of this acculturative process and the gradual integration of the Mormon Church with the Hawaiian culture, a process that Elder Cannon began which continues to the present day.

The first years of the mission at Laie were experimental because Elder Nebeker had to find occupations for the Hawaiians who wanted to work on the plantation. Laie script was used as payment for the labor of the saints and could be exchanged at the community store for their needs. Sugar became the main crop, although other projects were initiated. A dairy farm was started, and the natives did a small amount of independent farming on their homesteads. Watermelons were
the most successful crop. Laie served as a place of refuge for the saints and a place of native rehabilitation during the eight years that Elder Nebeker was in charge.

During this time the Laie plantation was still in a precarious financial position. There was a need for a manager who would be able to serve for a longer period of time than had been customary. There had been ten mission presidents and managers of the plantation. The Church authorities in Utah called Elder Samuel E. Woolley in August 1895 to be head of the mission and manager of the plantation. Elder Woolley eventually served for 24 years. Under his management a new period of prosperity began for the saints. Woolley had been a former missionary to the islands and his knowledge of the natives and his work among them strengthened and confirmed the bonds between the native population and the Church. His business ability placed the plantation on a sound working basis.
CHAPTER 3

THE IOSEPA COLONY

CROSS-CULTURAL RECIPROCITY

The ideas that are involved in the process of religious conversion were described by Samuel George Ellsworth in 1959:

Fundamental to all missionary enterprise is the idea of conversion, one of the most powerful forces in the cultural history of mankind. Conversion is the process by which one lays aside an old set of religious beliefs and practices and with conviction takes up another. The most frequently recurring process of change from the old to the new is syncretism, by which the convert equates attractive and useful features of the new message with meaningful features of the old. Never is the old fully abandoned, however, but continues on, somewhat harmonized with the new. ¹

Conversion is thus a process that does not involve the complete abandonment of the old, but the integration of the old with the new.

¹Samuel George Ellsworth, Zion in Paradise (Salt Lake City, 1959), p. 3. Twenty-First Faculty Honor Lecture at Utah State University.
This concept may be extended to the development of the Mormon Church in Hawaii. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is differentiated from the Protestant Church and the Catholic Church in America not only doctrinally, but in its effect on the social, economic, cultural, and psychological lives of its members. The Church may indeed be said to assimilate its members into a totality of involvement, at the center of which is the spirit and body of the Church itself. Given this, the process of syncretism that typifies that of conversion may be said, in the case of the Mormon Church, to involve not only the realm of spiritual belief, but also the many realms of interaction within which the member exists. In the specific case of the cultural interaction between the Utah mainlanders and the Hawaiian mission, it is evident that a process occurred that might be termed cross-cultural reciprocity. Not only did the Utah mainlanders go to Hawaii and integrate themselves within the changing Hawaiian culture, working with the natives, eating native food, speaking the Hawaiian language, but the Hawaiians came to Utah and participated in the experimental Iosepa Colony.
REASONS FOR THE IOSEPA COLONY

As membership of the Church increased in the Hawaiian Islands, the idea of moving the members to Utah was considered from time to time. It may be recalled that Walter Murray Gibson had founded the Lanai community partly to prevent this contingency, believing that the native Hawaiians would profit far more by establishing a Mormon community in their native land. But, the First Presidency felt that some Hawaiians should be established in Utah. Hawaiians would gain the valuable experience of life in Utah, and mainlanders would be able to develop a sense of what their brothers and sisters in the Pacific were actually like. Of perhaps more importance, the Hawaiians wished to come to the mainland to participate in the gathering movement, to perform sacred ordinances in the Salt Lake Temple, and to help in the building of the Temple.

The Hawaiian government relaxed its restrictive laws on emigration, allowing the initial departure of a group of


45 converts. These unskilled Hawaiian laborers could only obtain the lowest paying and the least desirable jobs in Utah such as seasonal crop harvesting and manual labor. Many of them had arrived with insufficient funds. Their plight demanded an immediate solution. After due consideration, the First Presidency of the Church deemed it best to find a suitable area for the colony where the Hawaiians might develop a colony after the lines of Utah communities, but yet maintaining the cultural vitality of their ethnic origins.

It may be recalled that the Morrill Act prevented the Church from acting directly on matters such as these. A private corporation was organized to purchase and hold property for the colony. This company, the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Company, was incorporated under the laws of the Territory of Utah by members of the Church. 4

At Iosepa an ecclesiastical organization, unique in the Church, was maintained. The colony remained under the direct responsibility of the First Presidency with a president appointed by the First Presidency to preside over the colonists. Nothing of fundamental importance was done without first discussing it with the First Presidency. The

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4Ibid., p. 84.
leader of Iosepa held a unique dual position as president of the Church organization of the colony and manager of the company. As such, he was in charge of both the spiritual and the financial affairs of the settlement. Although he was chosen as president of the colony by the Church authorities and as manager of the company by the company's board of directors, this dual authority was always vested in one man.

Some of the reasons that the First Presidency established Iosepa were that apart from the wish to locate the Hawaiians in one place, the Hawaiians, by being organized along lines similar to those of other Utah towns, i.e., as a township, would come to learn exactly what type of a life the inhabitants of the mainland stakes enjoyed. The Hawaiians would also learn valuable agricultural and economic techniques, and they would be trained in self management and would learn the administrative structures of the Church. Finally, as a self-supporting community they would be able to develop the culture envisioned by the First Presidency and eventually transpose this to Hawaii.
HISTORY OF THE COLONY

Harvey Cluff, a former resident of Provo, Utah, had been a missionary in the Hawaiian Islands in 1869. His first mission had been in Scotland. In 1879 he was called to be Mission President in Hawaii with headquarters in Laie. In 1889 he received a communication from the First Presidency to meet with that body and discuss the possibility of establishing a colony in Utah.

President Cluff, while on vacation in Utah, spent four days looking for suitable sites for such a colony. He looked at farms between Pleasant Grove and Provo, near Ogden, Brigham Young College at Logan, and farm land in Skull Valley, Utah.5

Under the direction of the First Presidency a committee of three former missionaries and three natives, including Kaulenunokea Kamakaniua and Napeha, was formed. It was agreed that the ranch of John Rich in Skull Valley, Tooele County, Utah, was a suitable site for the colony.

The farm consisted of 160 acres, located 30 miles west of Grantsville. There was a large spring capable of

5Harvey H. Cluff, Diary (1889-1901), p. 31.
watering from 50 to 60 acres that would also provide water for the stock.

The Rich property was considered a suitable site because the soil was good and the climate thought to be milder than that in Salt Lake valley. The value of the stock on the farm was placed at $8,275, and the land at $35,000, making a total of $43,275. A Church-controlled corporation was established to purchase and hold the colony's properties. Harvey Cluff was chosen as general manager of a committee which was to develop the colony, with W. W. Cluff, F. A. Mitchell, and Elihu Barrell, bookkeeper, to assist him.

On August 27, 1889 these men went to Garfield by train and met with teamsters from Tooele Stake, as previously arranged. Some 45 Hawaiians went with them.

On August 28, they arrived at Iosepa, so named in honor of Joseph F. Smith. The group arrived in the evening and a townsit was chosen. The following day a survey was made by F. A. Mitchell, assisted by Francis M. Lyman, Jr.

On the first Sunday a meeting was held with H. H. Cluff presiding. Speeches were given by Marchant, Barrell, Solomon Piipiilani, Jean Kakuala, J. W. Kualainamoku, and Mr. Palmer, a rancher from south of the Iosepa Colony.
The Polynesians were paid for their work on the ranch. Some were skilled workers: carpenters, blacksmiths, cement workers, etc. Many of the women were employed to hoe weeds.

A townsite was laid out, lots were sold and homes were built for the colonists. In the beginning, the housing was inadequate. Fifty people were housed in two or three dwellings. As soon as lumber was secured from the sawmill, the natives built their houses or had them built. Payment for the lumber was made on the installment plan.

Within a few years the Hawaiians transformed the barren little community into something similar to the South Pacific paradise they had left. Flowers grew in profusion, Hawaiian songs could be heard gracing the air, dances, Hawaiian food, and Hawaiian customs were seen in the valleys of Utah. Interaction between the Hawaiians and their neighbors was excellent. The Hawaiians, who had an excellent singing troupe, would often journey to neighboring settlements to participate in various celebrations.

For many years the fuel used by the colony was cedar wood. In 1906 coal was obtained from the Western Pacific Railroad which was 15 miles away. The colonists would take the train from there to go to Salt Lake City for shopping.
expeditions and to go to the Temple. The first automobile was purchased in the same year.

The colony that started with just under 50 natives in 1889 had expanded to 225 in 1915 at its peak. It did not have the luxury of electric lights, but a telephone was installed. There was no formal town organization, but there was a sheriff and a marshall to take care of trouble that originated outside of the colony. Within the colony all difficulties were handled by Church officials.

A school teacher was hired for the younger children. High school age students went to Grantsville to school.

There were some problems with poor health. There was some leprosy, but the rumors of leprosy that circulated around Salt Lake City at the time were exaggerated. Leprosy ceased to be a problem in the colony by the 1900's. However, smallpox remained a serious problem until the colonists were vaccinated. An expensive water system was installed in the colony to combat sickness. The Church spent $260,000 on this project. The water hydrants still may be seen today, sticking up out of the barren fields, long after the houses that they serviced have disappeared.

Iosepa was separated at first from other Utah communities. The only way in and out of the colony was by foot
or horse. The post office was at Grantsville. With the addition of the railroad, the establishment of a coach service, and the extension of mail service to the colony, and, of course, the telephone, Iosepa ceased to be isolated and took an active part in many of the cultural and economic affairs of the county.

By about 1910 the Hawaiians were living in a community as prosperous and enjoying as many of the amenities as residents of other Utah communities of comparable size. In 1917 the colony was deserted.

**REASONS FOR ABANDONING IOSEPA**

Dennis H. Atkin in his study of the Iosepa Colony stated that many people believed that the colony was abandoned for one or a combination of the following reasons: that the leprosy was so bad it became necessary to close the colony down; that financially the venture was unsuccessful; that sickness, other than leprosy, depopulated the colony; that the Hawaiians became homesick.6 Atkin disposes with all of these theories and suggests that the colony was closed down as a natural result of President Smith's decision to

6Ibid., p. 78.
build a temple at Laie. Certainly the lack of temple facilities in Hawaii was one of the main reasons the colonists came to Iosepa in the first place. However, many of the colonists were reluctant to leave the town in which they had grown up or spent a good part of their mature lives. The main reasons for the return of the Hawaiians to the islands were those that surrounded the building of the Laie Temple and the fact that the Hawaiians would have access to records containing the genealogy of their families. But there were other reasons for the decision of the First Presidency to abandon the colony in Utah.

Atkins says that although the Church officials at no time advised the colonists as a group to return, the Church did offer to pay transportation expenses that the individual colonists could not afford. Moreover, it was made clear to the colonists that those who chose to stay would be relocated elsewhere than in Skull Valley. Thus, it appears that the First Presidency was anxious for the Hawaiians to return to the islands.

If a process of acculturative reciprocity was at work in the experimental Iosepa Colony when the First Presidency brought the Hawaiians to Utah, then it is logical that in time the Utah-acculturated Hawaiians would return to Hawaii.
so that the island mission would reap the benefits of this adaptive process.
CHAPTER 4

THE FIRST DECADES - 1900-1920

LAIE 1900-1910

By the beginning of the new century Laie plantation on the island of Oahu, had made the mission self-supporting. All of the money cleared was put back into the mission. The members from the outlying islands received financial assistance when needed. Instead of funds coming from Salt Lake City when chapels or other buildings were needed, the mission provided the necessary amount. Thus all connections profited from the investment and work at Laie.

Laie had a chapel, a schoolhouse, an elders' home, a few private houses and numerous native residences. The population of the community at this time, numbering about 500, was two-thirds Hawaiian native and one-third immigrants to the islands. Eighty children attended the school where English was the accepted language. The plan of hiring native labor without contract was still followed in Hawaii at this time. When a worker agreed to make his home at the mission
permanently he was furnished with money to build his home. Labor in the fields returned the loan on the installment plan. A nominal rental fee was collected from each house owner so that the Church would retain possession and minimal control over the property.

By 1900 it is estimated that there were 6,000 members of the Church in Hawaii. This figure increased to 8,170 by December 1910. In addition to conversion, the missionaries continued to attempt to bring about an integration of Hawaiian and Mormon culture. During the plague at the beginning of the century the members of the Church were active in relief operations. The next year the Deseret Evening News reported that Elders working on the leper settlement in the island on Molokai, 52 miles from Honolulu, had converted 800 people. Many of these lepers were converted to the Church of Jesus Christ through the activities of the missionaries.¹

Primaries were formed during these years and the first steps were made to establish the LDS education plan that was to be so significant during later decades.

¹Mission Records, June 4, 1904.
Laie, which at one time had been a cattle ranch, was later to become a sugar plantation, and later yet the spiritual, cultural and educational center for the Church in the Hawaiian Islands. During one period of depression when a number of the saints suggested that the settlement be sold, Joseph F. Smith, a nephew of Joseph Smith the Prophet, said:

Dear brothers and sisters, do not leave this place, for it is the land chosen by God as a gathering place for the Saints of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints . . . Be patient for a while, for the day will come when this desolate land will be a land of beauty, springs of water will gush up . . . and upon this dry waste you now see, the Saints will build most beautiful homes, they will plant taro and they will also plant trees . . . and the fragrance of flowers will fill the air . . . and here will the spirit of the Lord brood over His Saints.  

By 1915, after Joseph F. Smith had become President of the Church and had returned to visit the land of his first mission, this prophecy had been fulfilled. On June 1, 1915, President Smith was visiting Hawaii in the company of Apostle Reed Smoot and Presiding Bishop Charles W. Nibley. Elder Smoot described one of the events following a meeting held in Laie:

At the close of the exercises, President Smith came to me and said, "Reed, I want you to take a walk with me." And as we went out of the door, he

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said to Bishop Nibley, "I wish you would accompany us." I never saw a more beautiful sight in my life; the surroundings were perfect. You who have seen Laie know the surroundings; all nature smiles. We walked toward the meetinghouse. Nothing was said of what we were going for until we stood at the back of the meetinghouse, and President Smith then said: "Brethren, this is the birthday of President Brigham Young, June 1st, 1915. I feel impressed to dedicate this ground for the erection of a Temple to God, for a place where the people of the Pacific Isles can come to do their temple work. I have not presented this to the Council of Twelve or to my counselors; but if you think there would be no objection to it, I think now is the time to dedicate the ground."3

Like their ancestors who had built the stone temple to Lono at Kealakehua Bay, these humble people dedicated their lives and their fortune to their temple.4 The resources of the mission had always been limited, but the people built as best they could. Lack of skill was more than compensated for by their enthusiasm and their labor in the cane fields to raise the necessary funds for the payment of qualified help.

In an article in September 1916, Dr. John A. Widtsoe, who, during the summer of 1918 visited the Hawaiian Islands,


stated that during the construction of the temple, President Woolley was asked to speak on the subject of "Temples." In responding to this request he referred to a sermon delivered by President Brigham Young on April 6, 1853, during the laying of the corner-stone of the Salt Lake Temple. In this sermon President Young states that he had seen the Salt Lake Temple in a vision, and therefore knew just what the architectural style of the completed building would be. He predicted that the building would have six towers and said that "the time will come when temples with a tower in the center shall be built and on the top, groves and fish ponds. But we shall not see them here, at present."\(^5\)

Dr. Widtsoe stated that the temple in Hawaii fits President Young's prediction with a singular exactness. He further stated that even at the time of his visit, when the temple was only partially completed, it was part of the architectural design that some of the flat roofs would be overgrown with foliage, for concrete boxes to hold the necessary earth were made an integral part of the structure.

The period between the last years of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth was a period

of rest and regeneration for the Church in Hawaii. President Smith's dedication of the ground marked the end of this phase. The first great building phase at Laie was about to begin. The Latter-day Saints had gained a measure of security at Laie; the memory of Gibson had begun to fade. The second decade of the century was marked by the planning, growth, and culmination of the Church's temple at Laie.

THE PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILLMENT

Elder George Q. Cannon had prophesied that a temple of the Lord would be established in the islands where the children of Lehi might go to redeem their dead and receive their blessings at the hand of Ephraim. Visiting the Hawaiian Islands on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Hawaii Mission in December, 1900, he declared that the time was near when the temple ordinances would be enjoyed by the people of the Hawaiian Islands in their own land.

In 1915 work was begun by the native saints who entered into their labor with enthusiasm.
BUILDING THE TEMPLE IN THE SOUTH SEAS

Construction work on the Hawaii Temple commenced in 1915 under the supervision of President Samuel E. Woolley and his son, Ralph. Pope and Burton of Salt Lake City designed the building, which is built entirely of cement and ground lava rock. The original investment for the temple and the surrounding landscaping features was about $265,000; $60,000 of this amount was raised by contributions from the Hawaiian people.

In considering the construction of a temple in Hawaii the first problem was the determination of what material should be used in the building. Although highly favored in some respects, the islands are almost devoid of building materials. However, it was known that the volcanic rock, readily available near the site, could be used by crushing it into an aggregate which would make very good concrete. It was therefore decided that the entire edifice, floors, roofs, as well as walls, would be built out of cement concrete, reinforced in all directions with steel. The building is therefore a monolith of artificial stone, which, after hardening, had been dressed on all its exterior surfaces by means of pneumatic stone-cutting tools, thus producing a cream-white structure which appears to be one single stone.
For the finishing of the interior, hardwoods have been used. The principal rooms have been finished with Hawaiian Koa, a native wood of the islands that rivals the choicest mahogany in its beauty of grain and color. Most of the floors are covered with carpets, but in the baptistry and in a number of other apartments, mosaic tile and marble have been used.

As one can readily see from the exterior design, the general ground plan is in the shape of the Greek cross: the annex is at the east end. The extreme dimensions of the building from east to west are 102 feet, and from north to south 78 feet. The central portion of the edifice rises to 50 feet above the upper terrace. In this connection it may be noted that if the dimensions of Solomon's Temple are properly understood, and if the now generally accepted equivalent for the cubit, the ancient unit of measure, is correct, then the principle portion of this famous edifice of antiquity had similar cubical contents to the temple in Hawaii.6

After the temple was completed and furnished, and before it was dedicated, many hundreds visited it and were

6Duncan McNeill McAllister, The House of the Lord in Hawaii (Salt Lake City: Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1921), pp. 3, 4.
permitted to see every portion of the interior. The visitors received explanations in regard to the purposes for which the various rooms were used. Since the dedication, which took place on Thanksgiving Day, November 27, 1919, only those entitled to perform in the ordinances therein are permitted to enter the consecrated edifice.7

With the Hawaii Temple at Laie now complete, the efforts of the Mormon community there were centered around the development of the gardens which surround the structure. The architects had designed a central court with three terraced levels for the gardens and these were carried out as nearly as possible on the temple site.

FULFILLMENT FOR LAIE

The Hawaii Temple was dedicated by President Heber J. Grant on November 27, 1919. In the company with President Grant were his first counselor, Anthon H. Lund; Rudger Clawson, President of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles; Elder Stephen L. Richards of the membership of that Quorum; C. W. Nibley, then Presiding Bishop of the Church; and Arthur Winter, secretary in the President's office. Sarah J. Cannon,

7Ibid., p. 10.
wife of the late President George Q. Cannon, representing
her late husband, was the honored guest of the Salt Lake
City party and of the Hawaiian people. The late President
George Q. Cannon, one of the group of elders who had first
visited the islands in 1850, had been responsible for the
translation of the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language.
The dedicatory prayer was read by President Heber J. Grant
at each of the five services held, and the dedication was
many times repeated in order that the 1,239 people in atten-
dance at the conference, chiefly Hawaiians, might all parti-
cipate in the dedication.

Laie soon became a gathering place for Polynesians,
and until the building of the temple in New Zealand, Maoris,
Tahitians, Samoans, and Tongans journeyed thousands of miles
across the Pacific to Hawaii to participate in the ordinances
of temple work. Some of them stayed in Hawaii, near the
temple. Thus Laie became the Polynesian gathering place of
the Pacific.

William M. Waddoups was chosen as the first presi-
dent of the temple. He served as president from 1919 to
1930 and was followed by Castle H. Murphy (1931-1935),
Edward L. Clissold (1935-1938), Castle H. Murphy (1938-1941),
Albert H. Belliston (1941-1943), Edward L. Clissold (1943-
THE TEMPLE AND HAWAII

According to Dr. Hugh Nibley, a temple differs from other buildings not so much by its sacredness but by its "form and function." In his study, "What is a Temple?", he characterized ancient and modern temples as meetingplaces at which men at specific times attempted to make contact with the powers above.  

A temple, however, within the terms of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, is not only a place where God reveals himself to man, but, as Elder James E. Talmage wrote, also as the House wherein prescribed ordinances of the Priesthood are solemnized. To the Latter-day Saints it is an edifice in which the most comprehensive ordinances and services of the Church are performed. It is a house of

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prayer, a house of fasting, a house of learning, a house of faith, a house of glory, a house of order, a house of God.

Within the terms of the development of the Church in Hawaii, the building of the temple marked the end of the first phase of its history on the islands. It might be described as the fulfillment of the spiritual aspirations of the first missionaries and the first converts in Hawaii.

The Hawaii Temple was not only an edifice to the spirit of the Church and the hard work of the mainlanders and Hawaiians who built it, it was an integrative agent in the continuing interaction between the Church and the islanders. The temple was the focal point of the endeavors of missionaries and church members alike, an integrative force that drew together within the unity of the spirit many diverse peoples, many different individuals.

After the Church members came to the Rocky Mountains, the Hawaii Temple was the first temple to be built outside the Utah stakes. This is a fact of some importance in considering the attitude of the First Presidency toward the Hawaiian mission. It emphasized the importance of the islands as the central location for the work of the Church in the Pacific. More than this, it signified the deep love
expressed by the Hawaiians and the mainlander Church officials in their continuing interrelationship.

Finally, the temple was one of the first of three structures that were to symbolize the intense interest and enthusiasm that mainlander officials had for the native saints.
CHAPTER 5

FROM THE TWENTIES TO THE END OF WORLD WAR II

"THE MELTING POT"

Hawaii by 1920 was by no means peopled by those "strange" islanders as George Q. Cannon had described them. It had become a "melting pot" of different ethnic groups and nationalities. An influx of Japanese and Chinese had complemented the Caucasian settlers. The native Hawaiians, partly as a result of diseases such as smallpox, and partly as a result of that peculiar but most deadly of phenomena, cultural shock, had been decimated. Indeed, the native Hawaiian ethnic groups now comprised little more than 15 per cent of the population. An idea of the diversity of the Hawaiian peoples may be seen from a listing of the nationalities participating in the 1925 Annual Conference of the Mission in April of that year. The mission records cite that members of the following cultural or national groups were represented: American, Hawaiian, Tahitian, Maori, Japanese, Chinese, Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, German, English, Scotch, Welsh,
Portuguese, Filipino, Canadian, and the admixtures of these. The record mentions that at one time meetings held in three languages might have been heard on the Church grounds.

The Hawaiian culture had not died out; indeed, it is in evidence today. But it had been assimilated into a culture nexus that was truly cosmopolitan. A new culture, with elements of many different cultures had emerged, but with one overriding concept held this emerging culture together, the status of being Hawaiian. The inhabitants of the island, although perhaps no longer of the Polynesian race, might truly be called native Hawaiians. In this paper they will be referred to as such, in order that they might be differentiated from the mainlander Americans.

Within the terms of the policy of the First Presidency toward the Hawaiian islanders, the Hawaiians remained as they always had been, a group of peoples that had to be trained within the Church to fulfill the functions that the Church had envisioned. The process of cross-cultural reciprocity remained the predominating concept. If the Church were to continue to be successful, then a syncretism of native Hawaiian and mainland culture would have to be achieved. More accurately, the process that had already begun would have to be continued.
A speech by President Joseph F. Smith at the General Conference of October 1915, illustrates the process with which this thesis is concerned. President Smith's speech deals specifically with the decision to build the Hawaii Temple, but the theme of the speech has relevance to the whole development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii. The speech is quoted in full below.

Now, away off in the Pacific Ocean are various groups of islands, from the Sandwich Islands down to Tahiti, Samoa, Tonga, and New Zealand. On them are thousands of good people, dark-skinned, but of the blood of Israel. When you carry the gospel to them they receive it with open hearts. They need the same privileges that we do, and that we enjoy, but these are out of their power. They are poor, and they can't gather means to come up here to be endowed, and sealed for time and eternity, for their living and their dead, and to be baptized for their dead. What shall we do with them? Heretofore, we have suffered the conditions that exist there, and have adopted the best measures that we knew how, always looking to the better and fuller requirements of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Now, I say to my brethren and sisters this morning that we have come to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to build a temple that shall be dedicated to the ordinances of the house of God, down upon one of the Sandwich Islands, so that the good people of those islands may reach the blessing of the House of God within their own borders, and that the people from New Zealand, if they do not become strong enough to require a house to be built there also, by and by, can come to Laie, where they can get their blessings and return home and live in peace, having fulfilled all the requirements of the gospel the same as we have the privilege of doing here.

It is moved that we build a temple at Laie Oahu, Territory of Hawaii. All who are in favor of it, will please manifest it by raising the right hand. /All
hands raised. Contrary minded by the same sign. I do not see a contrary vote.

I want you to understand that the Hawaiian mission, and the good Latter-day Saints of that mission, with what help the Church can give, will be able to build their temple. They are a tithe-paying people, and the plantation is in a condition to help us. We have a gathering place there where we bring the people together, and teach them the best we can, in schools and under the various auxiliary organizations of the Church. I tell you that we (Brother Smoot, Bishop Nibley and I) witnessed there some of the most perfect and thorough Sunday School work on the part of the children of the Latter-day Saints that we had ever seen. God bless you. Amen.¹

President Smith first characterized the people of Polynesia within the terms of the whole Pacific, not just in terms of Hawaii and the native Hawaiians. Note his insistence that the Polynesians are indeed one of the tribes of Israel, a concept that recurs to the present day within the sphere of the missionary work of the Church in the Pacific. Its importance lies in the unqualified definition of the Polynesians as the spiritual equals of the white races. The building of the temple in Hawaii is a testimony to this belief. President Smith made it clear in his speech that the Polynesians must be acculturated in order that they might reap the full benefits of the Church organization. He asked what the mainlanders might do for the Polynesians, and

¹Conference Report, October, 1915, pp. 8 9.
concluded that the building of the temple was the first ma-
jor step in a series of steps that would eventually result
in the full acculturation of the Hawaiians. President Smith
also referred to the preliminary period of economic consoli-
dation in his statement that "the plantation is in a condi-
tion to help us."

Finally, referring to the educational developments
achieved by the Church in the islands, President Smith, as
if anticipating the future development of the Church's work
in Hawaii, stated, "We have a gathering place there where we
bring the people together, and teach them the best we can,
in schools, and under the various auxiliary organizations of
the Church."

It is with the development of this educational move-
ment that this and the next chapter of this thesis are con-
cerned. The temple at Laie may be said to mark the end of
the first phase of the development of the Church in the is-
lands. It may be said to mark the climax of a spiritual
struggle, and is, in itself, a monument to such a struggle.
The next phase of the Church's development was to be directed
toward education.
FROM SPIRIT TO INTELLECT

The doctrine, philosophy, and history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints are strongly in support of education. The School of the Prophets was organized at a very early date, and moved to the Kirtland Temple after it was completed in 1836. Between 1830 and 1847, while the Church was still in Ohio, Missouri and Illinois, many schools were established for both adults and children. Even during the famous trek across the plains provisions were made for study and education. Brigham Young, both in Nauvoo, Illinois and en route to Utah, issued edicts to bishops directing them to provide a school in each ward. Finally the University of Deseret was established in 1851. Subsequent to this, many schools, church colleges, and university extensions were established throughout Utah, Arizona, Idaho, Colorado, Wyoming, Canada, and Mexico.

Today the Church has educational programs active in New Zealand, Bolivia, Chile, American Samoa, Western Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti, Fiji, Lima, Peru, throughout Europe, as well as in all 50 states of the United States and Canada. Its courses have been translated into Hawaiian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Japanese, and Korean, as well as many other languages. In the academic year 1970-1971 there were 190,682
seminary and institute students enrolled in schools throughout the U.S. and in 19 foreign countries.

The Report for 1971 from the Commissioner of Education of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints outlined the three policies subsuming the Church's educational plan. The Report gave these as: 1) that literacy and education are basic gospel needs; 2) that Church programs will not duplicate otherwise available opportunities especially in higher education; 3) that ultimately, all high school and college-age Latter-day Saints should have access to weekday religious education, in tandem with secular education. These policies can be kept in mind in reviewing the development of the Church's educational program in Hawaii.

After the temple had been built in Hawaii, education became the predominating concern. The drive toward providing educational facilities that had its birth in the landing of the first missionaries was to culminate almost exactly 100 years later in the founding of the Church College of Hawaii at Laie in 1954. This will be discussed at length in the next chapter of this study. The beginning of that

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particular institution were to be found in Elder David O. McKay's visit to Hawaii in 1921.

A PROPHETIC VISION OF THE COLLEGE

In his book, The Founding and Early Development of the Church College of Hawaii, Reuben D. Law, first president of the Church College of Hawaii wrote:

The Church College of Hawaii is no ordinary college, but is a very special institution with a great destiny, founded on prophetic vision, revelation, inspiration, and prophecies through living prophets of the living God, and based on eternal principles of progress.3

Law refers to an episode during the visit of Elder David O. McKay to the islands in 1921. At a meeting of all of the missionaries on the island of Maui on February 8, 1921, Elder McKay asked the missionaries what they considered to be the most important need of the mission. All were unanimous in their belief that a church college or school of higher learning was of the most importance.

Following the reports and the discussion Elder McKay said that he was very strongly impressed that such a church school was the big need of the mission,

and that before many days he would write a letter to the First Presidency recommending that one be built.\textsuperscript{4} Elder McKay had finished speaking. He rose again and re-marked to the assembled elders the peculiar coincidence of the meeting, for there

at a gathering of the elders, in the town in which the Book of Mormon was translated into the Hawaiian language by Pres. George Cannon, and on the Island where the power of God has been shown to man to a greater degree than upon any of the other Islands it has been resolved that a school be built at Laie, Oahu.\textsuperscript{5}

Some 33 years later Elder David O. McKay, now President of the Church, was to preside over the founding of the college that he had envisioned.

The Church college vision of President McKay was by no means the only matter of educational importance that occurred during the two-and-a-half decades that this chapter covers. The numerous Church schools that had been established over the years were turned over to the Territorial Government. The first of these was the Church school at Laie in June, 1927. Essentially the Church had established a number of schools during the period that all education in Hawaii was private. The islands became a United States Territorial under the Organic Act of 1900, but it was not until

\textsuperscript{4}Ibid., p. 29. \textsuperscript{5}Ibid.
the twenties that education had become standardized sufficiently for the Territorial Government to take control over the various religious and private educational institutions. The changeover marked a new phase in the pattern of LDS education.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE SCHOOLS

According to the Board of Religious Education of Honolulu, Religious Education classes in the Territory had their beginning in the year 1925. In a recapitulation letter dated November 4, 1957, the Board states, "In 1925 religious education classes were held outside of school time. There were about 1,000 children enrolled in these classes."

The same article mentioned that in 1929 a law was passed allowing children to be excused from school for one hour a week for religious education. The law was the result of considerable effort on the part of the religious organizations on the islands. For the first several years the plan met with varying degrees of success, due largely to the lack of facilities and the coordination of the program among the several schools in each district. However, in 1935 a new

\[\text{6}^{\text{Personal interview with Frank W. McGhie, June 14, 1973.}}\]
Territorial Law provided for the teaching of religious education.

Under the Territorial Law, various denominations and religious sects were given the option of education in the schools. The law stipulated:

The department shall provide for the release of, and shall release, any pupil in any public school for a period not to exceed sixty minutes each week during the school year, on such days and during such school hours as the department shall designate for the purpose of receiving religious instruction from the religious organization of his choice when such a release is requested in writing by a parent, guardian, or other person having custody or control of such a pupil, etc. 7

Provision was made so that no religious instruction should be given in any public school.

According to President Cox the first record of LDS missionaries holding classes under the new law was in the school year of 1938-1939 when classes were started in the Kohala District in Hawaii by Elder Thomas E. Baggaley and Elder and Sister Albert Colclough. Cox recorded that President Francis W. Bailey suggested, before his release from the islands in July 1939, that the program be expanded.

7 Roscoe C. Cox, "Religious Education in Hawaii," The Improvement Era, pp. 44, 728.
According to the mission records, the first class under the 1935 law was held in the Honomakau Chapel with 32 students in attendance. The mission records state that classes were soon started in the Kauakakai, Makapala, and Waimea Districts. Apparently the preliminary classes were so successful that the mission records note on the 24th of March, 1939, a little over two months after the first class in Kohala District, a clear exodus from Catholic and Protestant classes that had been in operation for a number of years could be discerned. The Catholic minister was concerned enough about the magnitude of this exodus that he canvassed the parents to see what might be done about it.

The first organized attempt to take full advantage of the legal provision was taken on November 13, 1939 with the appointment of Elder Don W. Conover as mission supervisor of religious education. After spending nearly a year researching the matter and arranging schedules with the relevant administrators, Elder Conover supervised the institution of 31 religious education classes in September, 1940. Conover found that practically every supervising principal and school principal was highly in favor of having a religious education class held in conjunction with their schools and each pledged his support.
Conover was so successful in his task that President Ralph E. Woolley of the Oahu Stake communicated with President David O. McKay on January 4, 1940, suggesting that a full-time man be placed at the head of the organization for religious education in the schools to direct the work and to open an institute at the University of Hawaii. 8

Because of the need for uniform lessons, a letter was written to Dr. Frank L. West and M. Lynn Bennion of the Department of Education of the LDS Church stating the problem. As a result of this communication, several copies of the textbooks used by the department in the seminary programs were sent to Hawaii.

The lessons in the textbooks were edited to fit the limited class time available to the students in the religious education classes. In planning the work, a nine-year schedule for the classes was formulated. For the grades four to six, moral stories based on the Bible were taught. For grades seven to nine, lessons were taken from Washburn's The Story of the Old Testament, and from Tanner's The New Testament Speaks. These lessons were revised to fit the needs of the classes on the islands. Elder Conover supervised

8 Personal interview with Frank W. McGhie, June 14, 1973.
the revisions. For the high schools, the classes used William E. Barrett's book, *The Restored Church*.

Frank McGhie, who was later to hold a position of some importance in the educational program of the schools, considered that the religious education program in the islands during this period was one of the best proselyting methods that could be used by the mission. Approximately 50 per cent of all students who attended were reported to be nonmembers of the Church.  

**THE MISSION AS A TRAINING GROUND**

In May of 1923, E. Wesley Smith, the mission president, discussed the Hawaiian Islands as the "logical place to train missionaries" for work in the Pacific, although until this time no attempt had been made to organize the mission as a training ground. In particular, the news article postulated that since the people of the islands were almost 50 per cent Japanese in ethnic origin, the mission would be an ideal area for the training of missionaries for work in Japan. Moreover, since the beginning of the influx of Orientals to Hawaii, it had been discovered that a

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9Ibid.

surprising number of converts to the Church were members of this ethnic group.

The Church's structure, as it relates to the individual member, is similar to the structure of the Japanese and Chinese cultures in its provision for a totality of interaction. Its main difference is, within the terms of its social relations, that it is wholly American. The Japanese or Chinese who had adopted the greater American culture as his own, while rejecting the social and political relations of his ethnic origins, would naturally gravitate towards a type of structure that would evoke the totality of interaction that his original culture had oriented him toward, but which held the values of his newly-adopted culture. This is exactly what the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints claims to provide. Viewed in these terms, the influx of Japanese and Chinese Americans into the Mormon Church and their subsequent successes within that Church are hardly surprising.

It was not until May 19, 1939 that the mission records note further talk on the mission as a training ground. On this date President Hilton Robertson, President of the Japanese Mission in the Hawaiian Islands, returned from a two-month mission to Japan. During this time the President
had assessed the possibilities of reopening the Japanese mission using Hawaiian-Japanese missionaries. Evidently the advent of the war and the dangerous political conditions in Japan at this time dictated that any further implementation of this plan be postponed until conditions became more stable.

OTHER EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

It is necessary to have a clear definition of general education in order to discuss the organizational changes that occurred in the Church in Hawaii during this period. The concept of general education as used in this paper refers to those activities that are not usually defined as education, but educate and train members and nonmembers in the functions of the Church. These activities include those of the various organizations of the Church, such as the Primary and the Mutual Improvement Association and the festivals, pageants, and informational meetings.

The Church continued its efforts to integrate the Hawaiian and Mormon cultures. Thus, on the first day in 1922, the Mormons took part in the funeral of Prince Kahanianaole, the last of the kings of Hawaii. In addition, attempts were made at regenerating the fading native
Hawaiian culture through various cross-cultural events including pageants describing the origin of the Polynesian peoples according to the Book of Mormon.

Chief among such pageants was the 1926 Diamond Jubilee celebration of the establishment of the mission in 1850. During these celebrations a number of pageants detailed the origin of the Polynesian peoples, the origin of the Mormons, and depicted various episodes showing the interactions between the Hawaiians and the Mormons. A stereopticon was used and a Hawaiian choir sang in praise of the Laie Temple. Such activities are not only a mode of education, but a confirmation of value structures, examples of an essential integration, and transmission of a historical and traditional sense. Their role in unifying the members of the Church within the many spheres of being in which the Church member interacts appears to be of great value.

ORGANIZATIONAL CHANGES

Two changes that were important to the development of the Church at this time were the movement from a mission to a stake concept and the increased use of local instead of mainland members in responsible positions in the Church. These two changes were interrelated.
Structural changes in the Church in Hawaii had already occurred before the formation of the Oahu Stake in 1935. A ruling from the First Presidency, received in Hawaii on March 31, 1927, stated that the term "district" should be substituted for the word "conference" when referring to a territorial division of the mission. Although Honolulu was organized after the structure of a stake in April 1931, there was no high council, but a district council of 12 members performed in the place of this body. In 1932 it was decided to reform the Oahu District under the Honolulu council.

Finally in June, 1935 the Oahu Stake was organized by President Grant and his counselor, President J. Reuben Clark, Jr. Geographically the stake consisted of the Island of Oahu, within which there were six wards, five independent branches, and two dependent branches. Ralph Edwin Woolley was set apart as President of the Oahu Stake by President Grant. In 1937 cooperation between the mission and the stake was organized. The mission was to have exclusive supervision of all missionary work in all army posts in Oahu, in Pearl Harbor, and in a number of the districts in Honolulu.

The Oahu Stake was the first organizational division between the mission and the stake concept. Over the next
years the Hilo and Pearl Harbor Stakes were also to be organized.

At a meeting held in the Honolulu Mission Home on June 19, 1932, President Murphy spoke on the work of the mission, the shortage of missionaries and the necessity of turning the work of the Church over to the hands of local missionaries. This was, of course, a concept that the Church had worked toward since its earliest days in Hawaii. Over the next few years a trend toward the replacement of mainlanders with local missionaries appeared. Thus, in October 1934, local brethren were set apart as local, part-time missionaries to be assigned to different branches each Sunday to render musical selections and sermons. Over the years the duties of local missionaries were increased, until, after World War II, many achieved prominent and responsible positions within the Church organization.

THE OAHU TABERNACLE

Another of the Church buildings in the islands is the Oahu Tabernacle.

The same team that built the temple at Laie built the tabernacle on Beretania Street, Honolulu, situated on a valuable piece of property, the purchase of which was arranged
by President Castle H. Murphy. Again, Pope and Burton were the architects, Ralph Woolley the contractor. The total cost of the undertaking was approximately $275,000. Of this amount, $70,000 was raised locally by donation and entertainments. The Hawaii Mission exceeded its assessment of $12,000 and the Japanese Mission in Hawaii oversubscribed its $2,000 quota.\footnote{\textit{To-day and Wartime Hawaii,} Ka Elele O Hawaii, Epoch 2, p. 48.}

The building was dedicated under the direction of President David O. McKay of the First Presidency. President McKay was accompanied on his visit to the islands by his wife and by Bishop and Mrs. Joseph L. Wirthlin, a member of the Presiding Bishopric. The cornerstone, encasing thirty-seven selected items to be preserved for the future (including current coins, the standard works, the names of the 2,720 contributors to the building, and a list of all Church authorities) was laid on August 16, 1941. The next day President McKay voiced the prayer of dedication. Some 3,000 people were present at the ceremony.
WAR YEARS

During the years immediately preceding World War II, the Church withdrew most of its missionaries from the Pacific. In 1940, the number of missionaries in the mission at the end of the year had dropped to 85 and during the war this number was decreased at one time to only eight. The mission records note that the missionaries brought with them a spirit of humility and economy, and that they were greatly impressed with the increase in the tempo of the work and the activities in Hawaii as compared with their former missions. Indeed, the mission records show that the activities of the saints in November of 1940 included carnivals, a circus, annual temple excursions, conferences, concerts, and mutual improvement association (MIA) shows at local theaters.

On December 7, 1941, a new and harrowing period began for all the peoples of Hawaii with the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the war between the U.S. and Japan that followed. The mission records state that Honolulu came through its baptism of fire that day with "calm determination as wave after wave of Japanese bombers rained missiles on the island." Fortunately, none of the mission members were injured during the attack.
Missionary work was curtailed greatly. All cottage meetings and all evening meetings were cancelled; all religious education classes were also stopped. However, the work continued in other forms. A boarding room was provided for servicemen at the tabernacle in the next month, and various missionaries assumed functions to help the local government in its war preparations. Mission records show that the missionaries helped the government in fingerprinting and registering the population. Missionaries assisted in ambulance and emergency squads, first aid corps, mass immunization, and many other duties.

Church services, which had been stopped for a time after the war began because of the danger of large groups meeting together, were started again in October of 1942, together with religious education classes, sunday school, MIA, and sacrament meeting.

The foremost problem that now faced the mission was the dwindling number of missionaries available to the Church and the greatly increased number of Church members that had resulted from the influx of servicemen into Hawaii. In June 1944, the Utah Draft Boards demanded the release of all missionaries for duty in the armed services. This cut down the number of missionaries in the islands to a mere handful. At
the same time, it was estimated that there were 90,000 LDS members in the services, half of them in the Pacific area, either stationed in or passing through Hawaii. The problem was solved by organizing the servicemen as part-time missionaries within their own groups and coordinating them through the mission headquarters at Laie.
CHAPTER 6

POST WAR YEARS, 1945-1960

THE CHURCH IN THE PACIFIC

During the war, an event occurred that signified the change in emphasis in the policy of the First Presidency toward the Church in Hawaii. The Church complex at Laie had often been mentioned as a possible training ground for missionaries in the Pacific and as the point of entrance and exit for the many missionaries working in the Pacific. The members of the LDS Church in Hawaii had always maintained strong relations with Church members in the other Pacific islands. However, until the 1940's little was done in the way of defining Hawaii as a center of operations in the Pacific. The withdrawal of missionaries from the Pacific islands in the years just before the war precipitated a concept of Hawaii as just such a center.

On March 14, 1943, the mission records show that at a meeting of the Waikapu Branch, the possibility of merging the Japanese and the Hawaiian missions was discussed. On
May 8, 1944, a meeting between President Murphy, ElRay L. Christiansen, Kay Ikekgami, Jessie Elliott, Ijune Nachie, and Edward L. Clissold was held. It was decided that President Murphy should take over the subdivisions of the temple, the temple bureau, and all the work of the Hawaiian and Japanese Missions on the outside islands. Five days later a wire arrived from the First Presidency ruling that Hilton A. Robertson was to take over the Japanese Mission in Hawaii and that the name of the mission should be changed to that of the Central Pacific Mission. Clissold was called to active duty in the Navy at the same time.

On February 2, 1950, a telegram was received in Hawaii from the First Presidency, ruling that the Hawaiian and Central Pacific Missions be merged into one central unit. President McKay appointed Clissold to preside over the newly-organized Hawaiian Mission. In April the missions were officially combined.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AFTER THE WAR

During the war, as has been mentioned earlier, the religious education program in the schools suffered due to the lack of missionaries and the disorganized state of the schools. In the fall of 1944, Frank W. McGhie and his wife
and family were called to the islands to organize classes for religious education. They arrived at Honolulu in September, 1944. With few missionaries available to teach the classes, McGhie called a meeting to ask for volunteers to help in teaching seminary classes, and, with the additional help that he got from the volunteers, Elder McGhie managed to continue the religious education program for the remainder of the war.

With the aid of the new missionaries, the educational program surged forward. During the 1947-1948 school year more than 3,200 pupils were enrolled in the LDS seminary classes. Of that number, no more than 1,700 were members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. The classes contained people of the many ethnic and national varieties that inhabit the islands. Many Japanese children were taught by Elder McGhie during the war years.¹

However, in April, 1948, the United States Supreme Court ruled that religious education on released time in connection with public schools was to be prohibited. The School Board allowed the programs then in session to continue until the end of the school year. The ruling struck a severe blow

¹Personal interview with Frank W. McGhie, June 14, 1973.
to the religious education program in the public schools of Hawaii.

In some ways, however, the Supreme Court ruling was instrumental in the decision to establish the Church College at Laie. Deprived of the use of school rooms and public school facilities, the Church needed to develop comparable facilities of its own to meet the demands of the saints in the Hawaiian Islands for religious education.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHURCH COLLEGE

In his book *Mighty Missionary of the Pacific*, David Cummings described the interdependent relationship between the temple and the Church college:

On a hill in Laie rise the white walls of a temple. And from the terrace at its front door, you can see one of the proudest achievements of the construction program—the magnificent array of buildings of the Church College of Hawaii. Schools and Temple, fusing the influence of education with the ultimate in spiritual enlightenment—this dual force sets far horizons for the good that will come out of Laie.2

Since President McKay's visit to the island of Maui in 1921, the Church school had been one of the foremost concepts in the development of the Church in Hawaii. For twenty

years nothing happened. However, President McKay had not forgotten his promise as may be seen from his statement to the local authorities during one of his visits to Hawaii in 1941. He said then, "Don't forget Laie. That is the educational center and the spiritual center of our people on the islands."\textsuperscript{3}

World War II postponed further action, but in 1949, Ralph E. Woolley, President of the Oahu Stake, organized a committee for the purpose of carrying out a school survey. In 1951 President McKay directed that another survey be made.

In 1954 the mission records show that Dr. Wesley Lloyd, Dean of Men at Brigham Young University, stopped in Honolulu after spending a year in Japan where he had acted as a consultant in the reorganization of higher education in that country. He met with President Clissold regarding the possibility of a proposed Church school in Hawaii. It was concluded that a boarding school in Laie would best serve the needs of the Hawaiian Mormons. The school was to have three high school grades, and two years of college level. The possibility that the school might be made a branch of

\textsuperscript{3}Ibid., p. 258.
BYU was discussed. Lloyd was asked to make a recommenda-
tion to the General Authorities regarding this matter.

In July 1954, President McKay announced the appoint-
ment of Dr. Reuben D. Law, Dean of the College of Education
at Brigham Young University, as President of the new college.
Dr. Law had previously headed a committee that had made the
fourth and final survey and had drawn up specifications for
the buildings and recommendations for the college program.
The findings of the committee were turned over to Harold
Burton who drew up the final architectural plans, that were
submitted to and approved by President McKay shortly there-
after.

The mission records have an interesting entry regard-
ing the Church school for this year. On the 19th of Novem-
ber, 1954, it was announced that Laie was to be the location
of the new Church school. The Church had, according to the
entry, already initiated an educational program which would
eventually channel junior college material into the new
school. Of more importance is the fact that the mission re-
cords envisaged the Church school as drawing students from
"the entire Pacific Basin."

Cummings relates:
In February, 1955, President McKay, enroute to home from his South Pacific tour, dedicated the college site. "When will the school start?" he asked. In the fall of 1956 was the answer. "I would like it to begin in the fall of 1955." And begin it did. Several army surplus buildings were purchased and moved to Laie and quickly equipped with the necessary furniture. On September 26, 1955, the Church College of Hawaii held its opening session.4

More than 300 members, students, and friends gathered at the chapel for the occasion. Registration followed the assembly with 155 students signing up for the college season. Twenty instructors made up the first faculty. The board of trustees included George Q. Cannon, Jr., D. Arthur Haycock, Edward L. Clissold, Ralph E. Woolley, and Lawrence Hanneberg.

BUILDING THE COLLEGE

Shortly after the opening of the temporary college quarters President McKay instructed President Mendenhall, as chairman of the building committee, to include the college in the building program, under the labor missionary system, and to proceed with it forthwith. By the following August, Elder Joseph E. Wilson, a large-scale building contractor from Inglewood, California, had been named general supervisor and was in Hawaii getting the project under way.

4Ibid., p. 259.
The first step was the excavation of the ground on which the college was to be built. A solid pad of crushed coral was tamped down as a foundation; 75,000 tons of coral was quarried out of a nearby hill for this purpose. The college is all Class A construction, walls and floor being reinforced concrete with steel trusses supporting the roof.

An average strength of about 30 Zion missionaries and about 50 local missionaries were maintained throughout the period. Cummings estimates that over 60 men answered the call from the mainland, and over 100 labor missionaries from the wards of the two stakes on Oahu and from the branches of the Hawaiian Mission answered the call.

The college was completed and the new buildings were dedicated on December 17, 1958. President McKay, Reuben D. Law, Governor of Hawaii William F. Quinn, Dr. Lawrence Snyder from the University of Hawaii, and many other speakers were present at the opening ceremonies. In addition to many messages of congratulations from around the world was a telegram from the President of the United States.

THE CHURCH COLLEGE IN HAWAII
SINCE 1959

In January, 1959, Henry T. Tyler and Mitchell P. Briggs received an invitation from President Reuben D. Law
and acting administrator Richard T. Wootton to visit the College with the purpose of making a preliminary report on the possibility of accrediting the Church College. Their report is quoted in full in Dr. Law's study on the Church College.  

The visitors found the College to contain a "thoroughly modern set of college buildings" constituting "a magnificent college facility designed for 1,000 to 1,200 students." They found that it contained:

Everything a college should have: spacious offices, classrooms, laboratories, library, auditorium, gymnasium, swimming pool, shops, and dormitories . . . the local administrators and the higher authorities of the Church are to be congratulated on the vision that has gone into its planning and on the generosity that has implemented that planning.  

In June, 1959, President David O. McKay transferred President of the Church College, Reuben D. Law, to a position as Professor of Education at Brigham Young University, effective at the close of his sabbatical leave, August 31, and notified the administration of the university and the Pacific Board of Education.

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5Dr. Reuben D. Law, op. cit., pp. 263-266.

6Ibid., p. 264.
Dr. Richard T. Wootton, acting administrator for the 1958-1959 academic year and a member of the faculty since the beginning of the college, was appointed president of the college. President Wootton continued in this position until 1964 when he accepted a position as a member of the faculty of Arizona State University at Tempe.

Dr. Owen J. Cook, executive secretary of the Pacific Board of Education and assistant superintendent of the Long Beach (California) School District, was appointed in 1964 to succeed President Wootton, first as acting president and then as president of the college. The college continued to grow and perform service. The Pacific Board of Education was discontinued in 1965 and the Church College of Hawaii and other Pacific Schools were placed under the Church Board of Education with its administrator of the Church School System, succeeded later by the Church Commissioner of Education. The Language Training Mission was established at the college in February, 1969.

The first language training program for the Church was organized at BYU in Utah in the fall of 1961 to

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7Deseret News Church Section, August 8, 1959.

8Dr. Reuben D. Law, op. cit., pp. 266-267.
accommodate missionaries assigned to the Argentine and Mexican missions, who were faced with waiting periods for their visas. The results of the initial program were so successful that in 1963 a formal mission of the Church was organized.

An expansion of the language training program was made in February, 1969, which included training for Dutch and Scandinavian languages at Ricks College in Rexburg, Idaho, and the languages of the Orient and the Pacific Islands at Church College of Hawaii at Laie. At the present time the following languages are taught: Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese, Korean, Tongan, and Samoan.

"Missionaries in the past have had to teach each other, which is not too efficient. Our aim is to put a missionary in the field ready to speak the language," reported President Ernest L. Wilkins, president of one of the three language training missions.⁹

The College offers a standard program of lower division work for students who may wish to transfer to four-year institutions; this program terminates in an Associate of Arts degree. In addition, there is also a diploma course. In

1959 the College was operating at the relatively high per-student cost of $1,014, with some 375 students in attendance. By 1971 this figure had been raised to a record high of 1,307 students, with a summer enrollment of 1,125. The student tuition in 1959 was $96 per year, the deficit being made up from Church funds.

The Church College today involves the students in many activities outside their academic role. Apart from the Polynesian Cultural Center (which will be discussed later), the College is noted for such outstanding community aid programs as the Outreach Program of the education department which provides opportunities for students to participate in community projects such as tutoring in the public schools, helping the blind, the retarded, the elderly, and other deprived members of the community.

**SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CHURCH COLLEGE**

The Church College of Hawaii may be said to be the second phase of the structural development of the Church in Hawaii. Its importance lies not only in its significance as an educational institution, but also in its interdependent relationship with the temple. The college and the temple
provided the two facets of the integral center of the work in the Pacific.

The Church College was further testimony to the continuing success of the Church on the islands, a further development of the syncretic movement which began in 1850.
CHAPTER 7

THE CHURCH IN HAWAII TODAY

Governor John A. Burns of Hawaii characterized the activities of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints on the islands over their long and eventful history:

For more than 100 years the Mormon Church and its workers have provided a force for moral, social, and economic progress in Hawaii--their contribution is universally recognized as outstanding. The accomplishments of our Mormon friends are many and impressive, and yet I think none excel the spirit of faith and self-sacrifice they have instilled in those with whom they have come in contact. Truly they have been and remain conscientious builders of Hawaii.¹

That Governor Burns should characterize the Latter-day Saints as "builders" is significant. Apart from the $6 million investment in the Church College, during the decade 1960 to 1970 the Church also spent $2.6 million on the Polynesian Cultural Center. (A more detailed analysis of this follows.) During these years the new Church missionary building program was established. In Hawaii the program

resulted in the building of three new chapels, as well as other buildings. The most important of these was the chapel built at Kalaupapa, a leper colony, which was dedicated on December 26, 1965. At Laie the temple underwent extensive renovations under the supervision of Roland Tietjan, President of the temple.² A new Bureau of Information was dedicated at the temple on October 13, 1963, and a tabernacle visitors center at the Honolulu tabernacle was dedicated two months earlier in the same year on August 17, 1963. Plans were also formulated for the building of a student activity center, the Aloha Center, for the Church College at Laie. These last three buildings typified an increased awareness of the advertising potential of the Church buildings. This potential was to be a common one throughout the new decade and may be said to culminate in the Polynesian Cultural Center. This institution combined the qualities of a cultural regeneration process, a work study program for the students at the Church College, a resort-style entertainment of the type now generally referred to as a "theme park," an astute business proposition, and a superlative

example of the syncretic approach of the LDS mainlanders to their relationship with the Polynesian saints. By the end of the 1960's the Church owned more than 75 buildings throughout the islands, with many more projected for construction.

The Church continues to prosper and grow in the Hawaiian Islands. Total membership today exceeds 21,000 divided into over 50 congregations with a full spectrum of social and ethnic groups.

The acculturative approach of the Church in the islands has begun to show fruition on the large numbers of Japanese and Chinese converts who have achieved responsible positions in the Church's administrative structure. Castle H. Murphy recounted many anecdotes about the devotion, diligence, and sensitivity of the Hawaiian Asians. Among converts in responsible positions, he named Arthur Nishimoto, president of one of the Japanese missions; Henry W. Aki, who accompanied Apostle Matthew W. Cowley and President Hilton A. Robertson on one of their historic missions to the Orient; Kai On Soong, district president for the Island of Kauai; Yoshio Kamatsu, regional director for the missions located
in the Pacific; and Kay Ikekami, district council member at Oahu.3

The Church continued the acculturative process that it had begun, focusing its attention increasingly on new and hitherto unrecognized areas. President Poulsen and Elder Gordon B. Hinckley completed the arrangements for the translation of the temple ceremony into Japanese on November 16, 1964. The Book of Mormon, which had been translated into the Ilocano dialect of the Filipino language in the previous decade was put to good use when, in 1971, the Church College received funds to help the Ilocano sugar cane workers in the Kahuka area to adjust to the change in character of this area from that of plantation town life to life in a resort area. In July 1970, Guam was approved for missionary work and came under the direction of the Hawaii Mission, heralding a new development of the missionary status of the Laie complex.

The Church, as has been mentioned earlier in this section, began to use increasingly sophisticated devices for its missionary work. The third session of the April Conference was broadcast on KGMB Television on April 7, 1963.

3Personal interview with Castle H. Murphy, June 13, 1973.
A weekly radio program produced by missionaries began broadcasting on station KNDI (Honolulu) on November 8, 1966. The mission also began a newspaper, Ka Elele O Hawaii, a newsheet of Hawaii mission news, on January 17, 1964.

The process of separation of the members of the Church from the mission to the stakes continued and culminated during these years. The Honolulu Stake, organized from the Oahu Stake on August 28, 1955, was followed on February 4, 1962 by the Pearl Harbor Stake. The Pearl Harbor Stake was organized from the Oahu Stake. On December 15, 1968, the Hilo Stake was organized on the island of Hawaii. This was the first and only stake to date to be organized outside of Oahu, the most populated area in the state. On November 21, 1971, the Kaneohe Stake was organized from a division of the Honolulu Stake. The last stake to be organized to date was the Pearl Harbor West Stake; that was organized on February 20, 1972, from a division of the Pearl Harbor and Oahu Stakes. (For additional information on the structural changes that occurred to the Church during the period covered by this paper, as well as accounts of the Presidencies of the Hawaii Mission and the Central Pacific Mission, consult Appendix.)
Through organizations within the Church, members are involved in a number of activities. Through the Church welfare program, for example, food, clothing, medical supplies, and other necessities of life are stockpiled in warehouses for emergency use and for distribution to the needy. The various Church units, stakes, and wards participate in this program by operating farms, canneries, dairies, or other projects to supply the raw materials for the Church welfare programs. The Honolulu Stake, for example, operates a chicken farm, supplying thousands of chickens to the program. The Oahu Stake operates a livestock ranch at Laie and also grows bananas, papayas, and taro.

Perhaps in no other place in the world, the Rocky Mountain excepted, has the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had such a beneficial effect on the population of the land. Jay M. Todd has stated:

Today, with more than 21,000 members of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands, Latter-day Saints of many nationalities and cultures labor together as they prepare to realize President McKay's prophecy that from Hawaii "will go men and women whose influence will be felt for good towards the establishment of peace internationally." The Hawaiian Latter-day Saint's spiritual-cultural-educational institutions will produce statesmen, prominent citizens and missionaries whose influence will carry far beyond the nations
that rim the Pacific. The story of the Latter-day Saints in Hawaii is just beginning.  

REGENERATION OF POLYNESIAN CULTURE

The process of cross-cultural reciprocity of the Church in Hawaii as discussed in this paper may best be seen in the Polynesian Cultural Center. The establishment of the center was one of the most important events that occurred during the last decade.

The Mormon Church had always been different from other denominations of the Christian faith in its attitude toward the Polynesian peoples. From the arrival of the first missionaries the predominating concept in the process of conversion was that of syncreticism, the belief that a new culture would have to be developed for the Polynesian adherents of the Mormon faith. The corroboration of the Book of Mormon for the Israelite origin of the Polynesian race has been of great importance in the nurturing of such a syncretic concept.

Nevertheless, the Polynesian culture has declined. In Hawaii, fortunately, some attempts have been made to

4Todd, op. cit., p. 386.
assimilate this culture into the state character, but these assimilations are mere vestiges of that which existed before.

The Mormon elders, in their admiration for the culture of the Polynesians were acutely aware that this magnificent culture was fading. Many missionaries expressed concern over this fact. One of the most vocal of these was Matthew Cowley, and it is because of Cowley's tenacity and his affection for the Polynesian peoples that the Polynesian Cultural Center exists today.

Matthew Cowley spent many years as a Mormon missionary among the Maoris and in 1945 was assigned to the presidency of all the Pacific island missions.

He had gained an intimate knowledge of all Polynesian groups and could make himself understood by all. Over the long years, he taught them, reproved them, ministered to their sick and lived as one of them. Mormon Polynesians idolized him and he loved them in return.  

Cowley was one of the prime influences in getting the building program started in the Pacific that now provides a network of facilities throughout Polynesia:

Cowley cherished one other predominating hope. He admired the culture of the Polynesians and lamented the fact that it was obviously in a decline. And he gave deep thought to some means by


\[ \text{David W. Cummings, Polynesia in a Day (Laie, Hawaii, 1966), p. 6.} \]
which this tragic loss could be checked. He talked about it frequently with associates. And they caught his vision.\(^6\)

On one occasion in a conversation with Edward L. Clissold, Elder Cowley remarked that the Maoris who came to Hawaii for temple work could do so with less expense and sacrifice if they could perform some of their dances and songs for the public. President Clissold replied: "Well, if the Maoris could do this, so could the Tongans, Samoans, and the others."\(^7\) Cowley later outlined his vision more succinctly in an address in Honolulu when he said:

I hope to live to see the day when my Maori people down there in New Zealand will have a little village at Laie with a beautiful carved house. The Tongans will have a village too, and the Tahitian and Samoans already have a good start—all those islanders of the sea.\(^8\)

Cowley did not live to see the day that his dream came true. He died in 1953, seven years before the Latter-day Saints built the Polynesian Cultural Center.

BUILDING OF THE CENTER

Ground was broken for the center in April, 1962. Two years previous to this financing was arranged and an

\(^{6}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 7.}\)  \(^{7}\text{Ibid.}\)

\(^{8}\text{Ibid.}, \text{ p. 7.}\)
architect, who spent two years researching the project, had been engaged.

The center was constructed with volunteer labor. Most of the manual workers were Polynesians, members of the Church called on "building missions." The center occupies 16 acres and was built with authentic materials. Despite the minimal labor costs, the Church spent $1.5 million on materials.9

In an amusing article entitled "The Flop that Flipped," a contributor to Honolulu magazine discussed the financial conditions of the center:

The Mormons were forced to put up another $1.1 million before the Center finally showed up in the black. The first two years were very difficult and the doubters of the tourist industry nodded knowingly and said, "We coulda told you so. Forty miles from Waikiki--a dull little town--lots of wind and rain--tapa making (So what? Who cares?) and that nicey-nice show where the Tahitian girls are fully clothed from the neck to navel to knee. It'll never sell!"10

But, during the first eight months of 1967, 215,000 people paid $1,370,270 to see the Polynesian Cultural Center, a 52 per cent increase over the previous year. The center has


10Ibid., p. 54.
been characterized as "the hottest tourist attraction outside the islands themselves."

THE POLYNESIAN CULTURAL CENTER

The Polynesian Cultural Center consists of replicas of Samoan, Hawaiian, Maori, Fiji, Tahitian, and Tongan habitations. Each "village" has been scrupulously built with an eye to an exactness of detail. The groupings are landscaped with the intention of providing replicas of the various environments of the cultures depicted.

Within the building, students from the Church College enact the various cultural dances, songs, and handicrafts. Generally the students are actually from the cultures that they depict.

The concepts underlying the center have been discussed, but the words of the Honolulu journalist in regard to the center should be noted: "A startling fact about this student participation in the "native culture" is the fact that they aren't necessarily "preserving" it--they're probably learning it."\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{11}Ibid., p. 54.
The point is well taken. In many of the cultures depicted by the Cultural Center, such as the Tongan, little remains of the glory represented at the center. The students, by learning of their heritage, on their return to their homes, will help in the preservation and regeneration of such traditions.

The Polynesian Cultural Center provides more than 1,000 jobs for the students at the Church College. Profits from the center are channeled back into the college to provide scholarship funds for incoming students.

The Polynesian Cultural Center was the culmination of the third phase of the tri-phased development of the Church in Hawaii in the spiritual, educational, and cultural fields. It was an essential adjustment and expansion of the Church facilities at Laie. Specifically, the center provided the cultural arm of that totality of interaction. The syncretic concept at work in conversion may be seen here, for the center provides not only a way in which students at the Church College may support themselves while studying away from their native lands but an educational experience that has a specific value in its own right to the ethnic heritage from which the students come.
The Polynesian Cultural Center is unique. There is apparently no parallel to it anywhere in the world. Yet it is characteristic of the Latter-day Saints and their continuing integrative and syncretic concept that has characterized the Church from its first days on the islands.

THE ALOHA CENTER

The Aloha Center of the Church College of Hawaii was dedicated on January 26, 1973. A consideration of this new building at Laie is necessary in viewing the development of the Church in the Hawaiian Islands. This center provides a building wherein various cultural, social, and recreational activities may be held. It was designed to complement the curriculum of the Church College, but is also an integral part of the expanding nucleus of Church activity at Laie.

The building was dedicated by President Marion G. Romney with President Stephen L. Brower of the Church College of Hawaii in attendance. Construction costs amounted to $2.3 million. The building was built with the aid of tithing funds paid by the members of the entire Church. The Aloha Center was conceived during the administration of President Owen J. Cook to complement the College's wide range of educational, spiritual, and social activities.
It was completed in December, 1972. Following the dedication ceremonies, President Romney inaugurated the Laie trolley tour, that features a replica of a 1902 Honolulu streetcar.

The Aloha Center, named after the Hawaiian word for love and welcome, contains an information center, a bookstore, a post office, music room, a lounge, meeting rooms, a barber shop, student association rooms, graphics rooms, a games area and a hobby shop, a publications room, a ballroom, a TV room, and a snack bar.

Although the Aloha Center was designed specifically for the students at the Church College, many of the facilities are open to the public, and a number of community programs may be arranged through the center. The Church College has shown itself to have an increasingly useful relationship with the Laie community and it is believed that the Aloha Center will further aid this relationship.
CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSIONS

THE PATTERN OF HISTORY

The development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in Hawaii may be summarized in terms of a historical pattern of events. Although elements of one phase are contained within another, a characteristic quality predominates in each period. Thus, while what may be called the first historical period pertained mainly to spiritual development and consolidation and culminated in the construction of the temple at Laie, the establishment of a temple school and the translation of the Book of Mormon belonged to the later educational movement of the Church.

The establishment of the plantation at Laie, which also occurred during this first period, pertained to the acculturative, or cultural development of the Church. However, the predominant characteristic of this period was the spiritual development of the Mormon movement in Hawaii.
The predominant concept in the first six decades of the Church's history in Hawaii was the acculturation of the native Hawaiians to that point where an integration of Hawaiian culture and Mormon teachings might be achieved. LDS missionaries saw their task as the creation of conditions among the Hawaiian peoples that would allow a meaningful integration of Church and native culture. The translation of the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language was a prime example of this concept.

The evident decline of the native Hawaiian culture, the changing circumstances on the islands, necessitated the creation of a centralizing mechanism if the culture was to survive at all. The Church was instrumental in the creation of such a mechanism and much of what has survived of the old Hawaiian culture is because of this. Although the Church was unable to effect a reversal in the decline of the Hawaiian culture, many of those vestiges that now remain are due to the Church's direct intervention.

The withdrawal of the missionaries during the Utah War was a setback to the plan, but the period of Gibsonism provided the Church with some lessons on policy. The first of these was that the native Hawaiians were in need of greater acculturation before they might become fully
assimilated into responsible positions within the Church structure. The second was that the best place for such an acculturative process was in Hawaii rather than in Utah as the Church had hitherto believed. Laie was established and the process began again. The development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands now began to develop and progress.

Although the First Presidency eventually realized that the wholesale immigration of the Hawaiian saints into Utah was neither feasible nor beneficial for the Hawaiians, the establishment of a colony at Skull Valley did accomplish cross-cultural reciprocity. The Hawaiians were familiarized with life on the mainland, while the inhabitants of Utah were introduced to the Hawaiians. Even in this example of cultural development the prime characteristic of the phase is present. The Iosepa colonists left their native islands for spiritual purposes in order that they might participate in the spiritual life in Utah.

Finally, with the establishment of the temple, the first phase in the history of the Church in Hawaii ended. The temple was the culmination of the spiritual phase of preparations for it. With the building of the temple, the complex at Laie began to take on the shape of the future.
The plantation exemplified the cultural development that later culminated in the Polynesian Cultural Center and the temple school anticipated the Church College.

The second phase involved a change in emphasis toward education and a widening belief in the importance of the Pacific to the Church.

Education involved not only religious and academic forms of education, but education as a result of sociocultural events as well. Sociocultural educational events such as the MIA's, and the Centennial and Diamond Jubilee celebrations have this function. The so-called educational phase, within the terms of religious and academic education, culminated in the establishment of the Church College at Laie. Missionary training, an adjunct to the expanding view of the role of the Church in the Pacific, was formalized by the creation of the Central Pacific Mission in its later merger with the Hawaii Mission. Religious education in the public schools began in this period, and was instrumental in converting a significant number of students to the gospel. The prohibition of religious education in the public schools marked the beginning of the eventual establishment of the Church College.
During this period, the Church tapped and expanded the central integrative power manifested in the Laie complex, creating a structure that fulfilled both spiritual and educative needs. At the same time, the Church began to expand its conception of its role in Hawaii in relation to the whole Pacific basin. The organizational structure of the mission became directed toward the Pacific rather than just toward Hawaii. The organizational changes signified not only the expansion of the jurisdiction of the Hawaii mission to the whole Pacific basin, but also the change in emphasis in Hawaii itself from an expansion of the member population of the Church, an outward growth, toward a more inward-directed growth pattern. Thus, instead of focusing only on expanding the membership of the Church in Hawaii, the Church concentrated on developing and consolidating the membership services already established.

The preliminary divisions of mission and stake began with the creation of the Oahu Stake and culminated in the next phase with the creation of the other stakes.

In the third phase, taking us up to the present, the division in the organizational structure of the Church was completed and the Polynesian Cultural Center was established. The Polynesian Cultural Center formed the third arm of the
complex at Laie, and is particularly oriented toward the Pacific basin instead of only Hawaii.

During this last phase of the development of the Church, the LDS leaders became increasingly aware of the nature of public relations. The Church developed its own newspaper and began to use mass media devices such as the radio and television to promulgate its policies. The Polynesian Cultural Center, of course, has been a tour de force in the development of public relations techniques, and the whole complex at Laie has taken on the characteristics of a magnificent show piece of the efficiency and success of Church policy in Polynesia.

The Polynesian Cultural Center is a far more sophisticated use of the concept of cross-cultural reciprocity than the Iosepa Colony. The concepts subsuming it involve the regeneration of Polynesian culture coordinated with the acculturation and education of the faithful in the basic concepts of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Thus the Church, while still continuing to develop in Hawaii, has now expanded its view of the role of Hawaii as the center of its work in the Pacific.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX
CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS IN HAWAII

(Note regarding research - Many of the records of the changes in the organizations of the Church in the early period of the Mission were not accurately entered, and much of these records have not been preserved. Gratitude is expressed to President Castle H. Murphy for his able assistance in the material that is presented herewith.)

MISSIONS

1. SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSION 1850 - 1900
2. HAWAIIAN MISSION 1883 - 1950
3. HAWAII MISSION 1950 -
4. JAPANESE MISSION IN HAWAII 1937 - 1944
5. CENTRAL PACIFIC MISSION 1944 - 1950

DISTRICTS

1. HAMAKUA DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in a division from the North Hawaii Conference in 1907. It was combined with others to form the Hilo Stake on December 15, 1968.

2. HONOLULU DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission. It was combined with others to form the Oahu Stake on June 30, 1935.

3. KAUAI DISTRICT - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission, and to the Hawaii Mission in 1950. It is still a district in the Mission, one of the last two remaining at the present time.

121
4. KOHALA DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in a division from the North Hawaii Conference in 1907. It was combined with others to form the Hilo Stake in December of 1968.

5. MAUI DISTRICT - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission, and to the Hawaii Mission in 1950. It is still a district in the Mission, one of the last two remaining at the present time.

6. MOLOKAI DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission. It was discontinued in December of 1971 when its Branches were combined with Maui District.

7. OAHU DISTRICT - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission. It was combined with others to form the Oahu Stake on June 30, 1935.

8. NORTH HAWAII DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in 1924, separating from the Kohala District. It was combined with others to form the Hilo Stake on December 15, 1968.

9. SOUTH HAWAII DISTRICT - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in 1924, separating from the Kohala District. It was combined with others to form the Hilo Stake on December 15, 1968.

BRANCHES

1. ALEMAI BRANCH - Located near Hilo in the area that later became part of Hilo Stake on December 15, 1968.

2. HAiku BRANCH - Originated in the Maui District. Combined with the Pulehu Branch to form the Haleakala Branch of the Maui District on May 3, 1964. The Haleakala Branch is part of the Maui District at the present time.

3. HALEAKALA BRANCH - Originated by the combination of the Haiku and Pulehu Branches on May 3, 1964. It is in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.
4. **HANA BRANCH** - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, to the Hawaiian Mission, and is in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.

5. **HANALEI BRANCH** - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, to the Hawaiian Mission, and is in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.

6. **HANAPEPE BRANCH** - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, to the Hawaiian Mission, and is in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.

7. **HOLAHUA BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Molokai District which was later combined with the Maui District in December of 1971.

8. **HONOLULU BRANCH** - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission, in the city of Honolulu on the Island of Oahu. There are no longer branches located on Oahu except for the Church College of Hawaii Branches.

9. **HONOKAHAI BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Hamakua District, which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

10. **HONOKAHUA BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Hamakua District, which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

11. **HONOMOKAU BRANCH** - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, to the Hawaiian Mission, to the Kohala District of the Hawaii Mission which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

12. **HONOMU BRANCH** - Located near Hilo in the area that later became part of the Hilo Stake on December 15, 1968.

13. **HOOLEHUA BRANCH** - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in the Molokai District. It was combined with the Maui District in December of 1971 and is in that district of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.
14. HULEIA BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission, to the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission, but was later disorganized and is not a part of that district at the present time.

15. KAHANA BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in the Oahu District. It became part of the Oahu Stake that was organized on June 30, 1935. On January 9, 1955 it was disorganized and the membership was transferred to the Hauula Branch in the Oahu Stake.

16. KAHULUI BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission in the Maui District. It was combined with the Wailulai Branch on May 16, 1965, to form the Kahuwai Branch.

17. KAHUWAI BRANCH - Originated by the combination of the KAHULUI and the WAILUKU Branches on May 16, 1965 in the Maui District. It is part of that district at the present time.

18. KAHUWAI 2ND BRANCH - Originated from the KAHUWAI Branch on September 21, 1964 in the Maui District. It is part of that district at the present time.

19. KAILUA BRANCH - Organized in the Oahu Stake in 1949 with Charles R. Burton as Branch President. It is now part of the Kailua Wards in the Kaneohe Stake.

20. KAIMALU BRANCH - Organized as a branch from the Waikiki Ward on March 28, 1943 in the Oahu Stake. It became part of the Honolulu Stake that was organized in 1955 from the Oahu Stake, but has been taken into the wards of that stake at the present time.

21. KAINALU BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaii Mission in the Molokai District. It was disorganized and merged with the KAUUAKAKAI Branch in February of 1964, this branch being in the Maui District at the present time.

22. KALAOA BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission on the Island of Hawaii. It is now part of the wards of the Hilo Stake.
23. KALAUPAPA BRANCH - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission, and in the Molokai District of the Hawaii Mission. It is now a branch in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission.

24. KALIHI-KAI BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission on the Island of Kauai. It is no longer a branch in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission.

25. KAPAA BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission on the Island of Kauai. It is a branch in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission at the present time.

26. KAU BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was in the Kona District which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

27. KAUNAKAKAI BRANCH - Originated in the Molokai District in the Hawaii Mission. It is now a branch in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission, being transferred to that district in December of 1971.


29. KEKAHA BRANCH - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then the Hawaiian Mission, and then a branch in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission in 1950. It is a branch in that district at the present time.

30. KIHALANI (Corner of Heaven) BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was in the Hilo District which later became the Hilo Stake.

31. KIHEI BRANCH - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission, later to be part of the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch of that district.

32. KILAUEA BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was in the Hilo area that later became the Hilo Stake.

34. **KOLOA BRANCH** - Organized in the early part of the year 1947 in the Hawaiian Mission. Disorganized later on and is no longer a part of the organization of the Hawaii Mission.

35. **KUKUAIU BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Hilo area that later became part of the Hilo Stake.

36. **KUKUIHAELE BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Kona District which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

37. **LAHAINA BRANCH** - Organized in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is part of that district at the present time.

38. **LAIE BRANCH** - Originated in the Hawaiian Mission, later to become part of the Oahu District of the Hawaii Mission. This branch is now part of five branches and four wards in the Oahu Stake.


40. **LANAI BRANCH** - Originated in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission, and is now an active branch in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission.

41. **LIHUE BRANCH** - Originated from the KAPAIA Branch on March 4, 1894 in the Sandwich Islands Mission, then to the Hawaiian Mission, and at the present time a branch in the Kauai District of the Hawaii Mission.

42. **NIULII BRANCH** - No record of its origin, but it was in the Kona District that later became part of the Hilo Stake.
43. OAOWALU BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that district.

44. OPIHALI BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Kau District which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

45. PAIA BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that district.

46. PEAHI BRANCH - Organized in the early part of the year 1940 in the Maui District of the Hawaiian Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that district.

47. PULEHU BRANCH - Organized in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It was combined with the HAIKU Branch to form the HAEAKALA Branch in Puklani, Maui on May 3, 1964.

48. PUUANAHULU BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Kau District which later became part of the Hilo Stake.

49. ULUPALAKUA BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that District.

50. WAIEHU BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that District.

51. WAIHEE BRANCH - No record of its origin, but it was located in the Maui District of the Hawaii Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in that District.

52. WAIKAPU BRANCH - Organized in the Maui District in the Hawaiian Mission about 1886. It is no longer an organized branch in that District.
53. WAILUA BRANCH - Organized in the Maui District in the Hawaiian Mission in early 1919. It is no longer an organized branch in that District.

54. WAILUKU BRANCH - Organized in the Maui District in the Hawaii Mission. It was disorganized and combined with the KAHULUI Branch on May 16, 1965 to form the KAHUWAI Branch.

55. WAIOHINU BRANCH - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 on the organization of the Hilo Stake. It is still an organized branch in the Hilo Stake at the present time.

56. WAIMEA BRANCH - Originated early in the year of 1930 in the Hawaiian Mission on the Island of Kauai. It later became the Waimea Ward in the Hilo Stake, as it is at the present time.

57. WAIPIO BRANCH - Organized early in the year 1883 on the Island of Hawaii in the Hawaiian Mission. It is no longer an organized branch in the Hawaii Mission.

58. WALIMANALU BRANCH - Organized in 1950 in the Oahu Stake. It is no longer an organized branch in that stake.
1. HILO STAKE - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968. It is the first, and only stake to date, to be organized on the Island of Hawaii. All other stakes in Hawaii have been organized on the Island of Oahu. Wards at time of organization: Honomakau, Keaukaha, Kilauea, Kilauea 2nd, and Waimea. Branches at time of organization: Honokaa, Kailua, Keei, and Waiohinu.


4. OAHU STAKE - Organized from the Oahu District of the Hawaiian Mission on June 30, 1935. This was the first stake to be organized outside mainland United States. Wards and Branches at time of organization: Honolulu 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, Laie, Kahana, Kaneohe, Nanakuli, Pearl City, and Wahiawa, Makiki Dependent Branch of Honolulu 4th Ward, and Laie-Maloo Dependent Branch of Laie Ward.


WARDS


3. CHURCH COLLEGE OF HAWAII WARD - Organized as a Branch from various wards on January 11, 1959. Organized as a ward on September 24, 1961 in the Oahu Stake. Changed to branch per Church ruling in 1972.


5. CHURCH COLLEGE OF HAWAII 3RD WARD - Organized from Church College of Hawaii Ward on September 15, 1963. Changed to branch per Church ruling in 1972.

6. CHURCH COLLEGE OF HAWAII 4TH WARD - Organized on November 15, 1970 on a division of the 2nd and 3rd Wards. Changed to a branch per Church ruling in 1972, in the Oahu Stake.

7. CHURCH COLLEGE OF HAWAII 5TH WARD - Organized on November 15, 1970 on a division of the Church College Ward. Changed to a branch per Church ruling in 1972, in the Oahu Stake.
8. HALAWA WARD - Organized on January 1, 1957 from the Kalihi and Kalihi-Kai Wards on the Oahu Stake. It became part of the Pearl Harbor Stake in 1962 at a division of the Oahu Stake.

9. HAUULA WARD - Organized as a branch on July 5, 1953, formerly a dependent Branch of the Laie Ward. It was organized as a ward on March 20, 1960 in the Oahu Stake.

10. HAUULA 2ND WARD - Organized at a division of the Hauula Ward on January 28, 1968 as part of the Oahu Stake.


12. HONOLULU 1ST WARD - Organized in the Oahu Stake, see Kalihi Ward.

13. HONOLULU 2ND WARD - Organized in the Oahu Stake, see Lanakila Ward.

14. HONOLULU 3RD WARD - Organized in the Oahu Stake, see Pakalea Ward.

15. HONOLULU 4TH WARD - Organized in the Oahu Stake, see Waikiki Ward.

16. HONOLULU 5TH WARD - Organized in the Oahu Stake, see Kakaako Ward.

17. HONOMAKAU WARD - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 as part of the Hilo Stake.

18. KAHALA WARD - Organized from the Waikiki Ward on December 9, 1951 in the Oahu Stake. Became part of the Honolulu Stake at the division of the Oahu Stake in 1955.

19. KAILUA WARD - Organized as a branch on June 1, 1948 in the Oahu Stake. It was part of the organization of the Honolulu Stake on August 28, 1955. Organized as a Ward on January 15, 1956, and became part of the Kaneohe Stake when it was organized on November 21, 1971.
20. KAILUA 2ND WARD - Organized as a branch from the Waikiki Ward on March 28, 1943. Organized as a ward on January 7, 1962 by a division of the Kailua Ward in the Honolulu Stake, later to become part of the Kaneohe Stake when it was organized on November 21, 1971.

21. KAIMUKI WARD - Organized as a branch from the Waikiki Ward on March 28, 1943 in the Oahu Stake. Organized as a ward in July of 1946. Became part of the Honolulu Stake when it was organized in 1955.

22. KAKAAKO WARD - Organized as the Honolulu 5th Ward on June 30, 1935. Formerly the Kakaako Branch on Oahu District in the Hawaiian Mission. The name was restored on March 13, 1936, but was disorganized to the Papakolea Ward on January 6, 1952 in the Oahu Stake.


24. KALIHI-KAI WARD - Organized from the Kalihi Ward on December 12, 1954. It was later disorganized and membership transferred to Halawa, Kalihi, and Manslua Wards on January 1, 1957 in the Oahu Stake.

25. KANEHOE WARD - Organized as a branch on June 30, 1935 in the Oahu Stake. Formerly the Kaneohe Branch of the Oahu District on the Hawaiian Mission. Organized as a ward on November 21, 1954 in the Oahu Stake. Later became a ward in the Honolulu Stake when it was organized in 1955, and later in the Kaneohe Stake when it was organized in 1971.

26. KANEHOE 2ND WARD - Organized on March 8, 1964 by a division of the Kaneohe Ward, then a ward in the Honolulu Stake. Later became a ward in the Kaneohe Stake when it was organized on November 21, 1971.
27. KEAUKAHA WARD - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 when the Hilo Stake on the Island of Hawaii was organized.

28. KEEI WARD - Organized as a branch from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 when the Hilo Stake was organized. Organized as a ward in 1970.

29. KILAUENA WARD - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 when the Hilo Stake was organized.

30. KILAUENA 2ND WARD - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 when the Hilo Stake was organized.

31. LAIE WARD - Organized on June 30, 1935 from the Laie Branch of the Oahu District of the Hawaiian Mission on the same date that the Oahu Stake was organized.

32. LAIE 2ND WARD - Organized from the Laie Ward on December 12, 1954 in the Oahu Stake.

33. LAIE 3RD WARD - Organized from the Laie and Laie 2nd Wards on August 13, 1961 in the Oahu Stake.

34. LAIE 4TH WARD - Organized from the Laie 3rd Ward on May 24, 1970 in the Oahu Stake.

35. LANAKILA WARD - Organized as the Honolulu 2nd Ward on June 30, 1935 from the Lanakia Branch of the Oahu District of the Hawaiian Mission. Name was restored on March 13, 1936 in the Oahu Stake. Later became a ward in the Pearl Harbor Stake on February 4, 1962.

36. MAKIKI WARD - Organized as a branch of Honolulu 4th Ward on June 30, 1935 at the time the Oahu Stake was organized. Transferred to the Papakolea Ward, which later became the Auwaiolimu Ward. Later it was organized as a Ward from the Auwaiolimu Ward on August 19, 1956 in the Honolulu Stake.
37. MOANALUA WARD - Organized from the Kahihi and Kalihi-Kai Wards on January 1, 1957 in the Oahu Stake. Later was part of the organization of the Pearl Harbor Stake in 1962.

38. PEARL CITY WARD - Organized as a branch on June 30, 1935 in the Oahu Stake, formerly the Pearl City Branch on the Oahu District of the Hawaiian Mission. Organized as a ward on June 14, 1959 in the Oahu Stake. Later became part of the organization of the Pearl Harbor Stake in 1962, and the Pearl Harbor West Stake in 1972.

39. WAHIAWA WARD - Organized as a Branch in the Oahu Stake on June 30, 1935 when the stake was organized, formerly a branch in the Hawaiian Mission. Organized as a ward on May 25, 1952 in the Oahu Stake. Later became part of the organization of the Pearl Harbor Stake in 1964 and the Pearl Harbor West Stake in 1972.


42. WAIANAE 2ND WARD - Organized on January 24, 1971 at a division from the Wainae Ward in the Pearl Harbor Stake. Later became part of the organization of the Pearl Harbor West Stake in 1972.
43. **WAIKIKI WARD** - Organized as Honolulu 4th Ward on June 30, 1935 at the time of the organization of the Oahu Stake, formerly the Waikiki Branch of the Oahu District of the Hawaiian Mission. Its name was restored on March 13, 1936. Later became part of the organization of the Honolulu Stake in 1955.

44. **WAIMANALO WARD** - Organized as a branch on August 21, 1949 in the Oahu Stake, formerly a dependent branch of the Kaneohe Branch. Organized as a ward on July 18, 1965 in the Honolulu Stake. Later became a part of the organization of the Kaneohe Stake in 1971.

45. **WAIMEA WARD** - Organized from the Hawaii Mission on December 15, 1968 at the time of the organization of the Hilo Stake.

46. **WAIPAHU WARD** - Organized from the division of the Pearl City Ward on April 14, 1968 in the Pearl Harbor Stake. Later became a part of the organization of the Pearl Harbor West Stake in 1972.
HAWAII MISSION

MISSION PRESIDENTS - NINETEENTH CENTURY

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Years</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hiram Clark</td>
<td>1850 - 1851</td>
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<td>Philip B. Lewis</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Silas Smith</td>
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<td>Lorenzo Snow</td>
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<td>Ezra T. Benson</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Joseph P. Smith</td>
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<td>Alma L. Smith</td>
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<td>George Nebeker</td>
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<td>Fred A.H.F. Mitchell</td>
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<td>Ward E. Pack</td>
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<td>Harvey H. Cluff</td>
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<td>Edward Partridge</td>
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<td>Enoch Farr</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>William King</td>
<td>1887 - 1892</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Mathew Noall</td>
<td>1892 - 1895</td>
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HAWAII MISSION

MISSION PRESIDENTS - TWENTIETH CENTURY

1. SAMUEL EDWIN WOOLLEY 1895 - 1919

President Woolley was born in Salt Lake City, Utah on October 20, 1859. He was the son of Samuel W. Woolley and Maria Angell. He was baptized in 1860 and filled a mission to the Sandwich Islands in 1880 to 1884. In 1890 he filled a mission to Iosepa Colony located in Skull Valley, Utah. In 1895 he was set apart to preside over the Hawaiian Mission. While he was presiding he had charge of the erection of the Hawaii Temple at Laie. He was called as President of the Hawaii Temple after its completion, and the plantation at Laie. He was released on July 1, 1919 to return home, and passed away in Salt Lake City, Utah.

2. ELIAS WESLEY SMITH 1919 - 1923 1947 - 1950

President Smith was born April 21, 1886 at Laie, Oahu, in the Hawaiian Islands. He was a son of President Joseph F. Smith and Juliana Lambson. He was baptized on April 21, 1894. Later as an Elder he was called to serve a mission to Hawaii. He was set apart to preside over the Hawaiian Mission on May 8, 1919 and acted in that capacity until his release to return home in 1922. He later served a second mission as Mission President from 1947 to 1950. President Smith passed away at his home in Salt Lake City December 28, 1970. He was the brother of President Joseph Fielding Smith. He served as a Sunday School teacher and was a member of the Ensign Stake Sunday School Board. He also served as a ward Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association superintendent.

3. EUGENE JEFFERSON NEFF 1923 - 1926

President Neff was born March 29, 1883 in East Mill Creek, Utah. He was the son of Amos Herr Neff and Eliza Anne Hughes. He was baptized September 1, 1892 and filled his
first mission to Hawaii in 1904 to 1908. He was set apart to preside over the Hawaiian Mission on February 2, 1923. He was ordained a High Priest on August 4, 1924 by Elder Anthon W. Ivins. He married Ivy Louise Chamberlain and they had four children. He died in Salt Lake City on May 6, 1957 of a cerebral hemorrhage.

4. WILLIAM MARK WADDOUPS

President Waddoups was born in Bountiful, Utah on February 8, 1878. He was the son of Thomas Waddoups and Mary Call. He was baptized February 8, 1886. He was educated in schools in Bountiful, the Brigham Young University in Provo, Utah, and the Latter-day Saints University in Salt Lake City, Utah. He filled a mission to Hawaii from 1900 to 1904 and married Olivia Sessions shortly after his return on October 12, 1904. Elder Waddoups taught school at Iosepa Colony from 1904 to 1905 at which time the family moved to Idaho. He was called on a mission to Iosepa in May of 1906 and resided there with his family until May of 1917. In 1917 he was called to labor in the Salt Lake Temple as an ordinance worker. In June of 1918 he was called on a second mission to Hawaii to preside over the Hawaii Temple. After being released in June of 1924 he returned to Utah, but in October of 1924 he was called again to preside over the temple at Laie. On June 4, 1926 he succeeded President Neff as President of the mission. He was ordained a Patriarch on June 30, 1935 by President Heber J. Grant and died September 2, 1956 at Pleasant Grove, Utah of cancer.

5. CASTLE HADLOCK MURPHY

President Murphy was born October 10, 1886 at Ogden, Utah. He is the son of Emmanuel Mark Murphy and Elisa Miranda Hadlock. He was ordained a High Priest June 22, 1915 by Elder John Watson. He was baptized on July 5, 1896, ordained an Elder on June 14, 1909 by Robert McQuarrie and filled his first mission to Hawaii with his wife from 1909 to 1913. He served as Bishop of the Ogden 2nd Ward in Weber Stake from 1928 to 1930. He was ordained a Bishop by Elder Rudger Clawson. He served as President
of the Hawaii Temple three times, Mission President of the Hawaii Mission twice, and President of the Central Pacific Mission and Servicemens' Coordinator in the Pacific during World War II. He was ordained a Patriarch May 8, 1960 by Elder Spencer W. Kimball and served as Stake Patriarch in the Ben Lomand Stake in Utah and the Anaheim Stake in California. He lives with his daughter and son-in-law, Kay and Marvel Young in Orem, Utah.

6. WALDAMAR FRANCIS BAILEY 1936 - 1939

President Bailey was born July 2, 1892 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He was the son of George Smith Bailey and Victoria Caroline Price. He was ordained a High Priest on June 3, 1936 by President David O. McKay, prior to his accepting a call to serve as Mission President to Hawaii. He had served his first mission to the Church in Hawaii some years before. Upon his return to Salt Lake City after his mission he was involved with a program over KSL Radio entitled "Voice of the Church on the Air," and on May 25, 1941 he gave a report on the Gibson Story. A former Bishop of the Evergreen Ward of the Grant Stake, he now lives with his family in Salt Lake City, Utah.

7. ROSCOE C. COX 1939 - 1942

President Cox was born July 8, 1898 at Fairfield, Utah. He was the son of Amasa Bernard Cox and Annie Caroline Hansen. He was baptized on September 3, 1906 and ordained an Elder on September 20, 1919. He filled his first mission to Hawaii to which he was called by the First Presidency on February 5, 1920. He married Armada Hannah Bailey in the Manti Temple on August 13, 1924 and they had three children. He was ordained a High Priest on May 26, 1935 by Elder Rudger Clawson. He served as Bishop, to which he was set apart on October 1, 1952 by LeGrand Richards. He served in the Ephraim North Stake and Sanpete South Stake. He died of cancer on March 1, 1972.

8. ELDRED LOGAN WALDRON 1942 - 1944

President Waldron was born December 14, 1910 at Morgan, Utah. He is the son of Levi Waldron and Helena Neuberger. He arrived in Hawaii in April of 1935 as a missionary and returned home from his first mission in 1937. He married
Inez Tolman on July 1, 1938, and shortly thereafter returned to Hawaii to serve as secretary to the Hawaiian Mission and the newly-formed Oahu Stake. He later served on the Oahu Stake High Council. On June 24, 1942 at age 31 he was called by the First Presidency to assume the presidency of the mission on the release of President Cox. President Waldron was released on March 27, 1944 to return home. He lives in Logan, Utah, at the present time.

9. CASTLE HADLOCK MURPHY 1944 - 1947

10. ELIAS WESLEY SMITH 1947 - 1950

11. EDWARD LAVAUN CLISSOLD 1950 - 1951

President Clissold was born April 11, 1898 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He is the son of Albert G. E. Clissold and Charlotte I. Thomson. He was ordained a High Priest on November 22, 1932 by Castle H. Murphy. He also served as Acting President of the Central Pacific Mission from December 13, 1942 to May 14, 1944. He and his wife served as President and Matron of the Hawaii Temple at Laie. He was also called and served as President of the Oahu Stake. President Clissold lives in Salt Lake City with his family at the present time.

12. ERNEST ALFRED NELSON 1951 - 1954

President Nelson was born at Salt Lake City, Utah on November 12, 1901. He is the son of Robert Carl Nelson and Hannah C. Larson. He was ordained a High Priest on November 24, 1934 by President George Albert Smith. He filled his first mission for the Church in Hawaii in 1920, later to be called as Mission President in Hawaii in 1951. He also served as Bishop of the Sugarhouse Ward in Sugarhouse Stake in Utah and also as First Counselor in the Monument Park Stake in Salt Lake City, Utah. President Nelson now lives in Salt Lake City, Utah.

13. DAVID ARTHUR HAYCOCK 1954 - 1958

President Haycock was born September 4, 1916 at Farmington Utah. He is the son of David Haycock and Lily Edith Crane. He was ordained a High Priest on May 6, 1946 by Elder Frederick H. Peck, Jr. He was called as a
missionary to Hawaii, later to be called by the First Presidency to be the Mission President from 1954 to 1958. He has also served as Bishop of the Riverview Ward in the Pioneer Stake and currently a Regional Representative of the Quorum of the Twelve. One of his choice callings has been as the secretary to the First Presidency during the presidency of Joseph Fielding Smith and Harold B. Lee. He resides in Bountiful, Utah at the present time.

14. HARRY VERNAL BROOKS

President Brooks was born July 8, 1910 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He is the son of Harry B. Brooks and Ada A. Yard. He was ordained a High Priest on September 21, 1941 by Elder Alvin Martindale. His first mission for the Church was to Hawaii, and he was later called by the First Presidency to serve as President of the Hawaii Mission. Together with his wife, he also had the opportunity to serve as President and Matron of the Hawaii Temple at Laie. He also served as Bishop of the West Glendale Ward in the San Fernando Stake in California. President Brooks now lives in Salt Lake City, Utah.

15. GEORGE WILLIAM POULSEN, JR.

President Poulsen was born June 17, 1918 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He is the son of George William Poulsen and Ellen Christine Rasmussen. He was ordained a High Priest by Elder Alma Sonne on April 1, 1952. He served his first mission to Hawaii in 1937 to which mission he was called to preside from 1963 to 1966. He has served as Bishop of the Monument Park Ward in the Monument Park Stake in Salt Lake City, and also as the Second Counselor in the Monument Park Stake Presidency. He is presently serving in the calling as a Regional Representative of the Quorum of the Twelve, and is living in Salt Lake City, Utah.

16. ORIN R. WOODBURY

President Woodbury was born on May 14, 1921 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He is the son of F. Orin Woodbury and Nina Richards. He was ordained a High Priest on April 1, 1951 by Clifford E. Young. His mission call prior to the beginning of World War II took him to Hawaii, to which mission he was later called by the First Presidency to be Mission President from the years 1966 to 1969. He has
served on the High Council of the East Millcreek Stake in Salt Lake City, Utah, and also as Stake President of the East Millcreek Stake and the Mount Olympus Stake. He is presently serving on the Church Correlation Committee and lives with his family in Salt Lake City, Utah.

17. KENNETH NORMAN GARDNER 1969 - 1972

President Gardner was born August 23, 1919 at Delta, Utah. He is the son of Norman Gardner and Verna Schlappi. He was ordained a High Priest on November 25, 1958 by Elder Clifford E. Young. He was called to serve as a missionary to the Hawaiian Islands. He was later called in 1969 to return to the Hawaii Mission as the Mission President. Other Church callings to which he has faithfully served is that of a Bishop of the Idaho Falls Twenty-Second Ward in the South Idaho Falls Stake in Idaho Falls, Idaho; also, later serving as the Executive Secretary in the South Idaho Falls Stake. He now resides in Salt Lake City, Utah.

18. ROBERT E. CRANDALL 1972 -

President Crandall was born on November 14, 1917 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He is the son of Earl Metcalf Crandall and Tasy Elizabeth Grace. On September 1, 1968 he was ordained a High Priest by Elder Joseph Anderson. Positions held in the Church during his life have been a Senior President Seventies Quorum and 1st Counselor in a Ward Bishopric. It is interesting to note that President Crandall served his first mission for the Church as a young missionary to New Zealand, thus breaking the pattern of Mission Presidents in Hawaii all having served there as missionaries prior to their call from the First Presidency to serve as Mission President.
MISSION PRESIDENTS

1. HILTON ALEXANDER ROBERTSON: Oct. 21, 1937 - Sept. 1, 1940

President Robertson was born on August 2, 1891 at Springfield, Utah. He was the son of Alexander Robertson and Lucy Maria Smith. On November 23, 1924 he was ordained a High Priest by Rudger Clawson. He was the Bishop of the Springville Ward, Kolob Stake. On October 21, 1937 he was called by the First Presidency to preside over the newly-organized Central Pacific Mission located in Hawaii. On September 1, 1940, he was released as mission president. He was ordained a Patriarch on June 16, 1968 by Elder Thomas S. Monson, and is presently serving as the Patriarch of the Provo Stake.

2. JAY C. JENSEN: Sept. 1, 1940 - Dec. 13, 1942

President Jensen was born on September 1, 1888 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He was the son of James C. Jensen and Joannah E. Jennings. On October 30, 1932 he was ordained a High Priest by Elder Clifford M. Alston. He and his wife were called by the First Presidency to preside over the Central Pacific Mission to which he came on his fifty-second birthday. While serving in this calling he became seriously ill, which necessitated his early release. Upon returning to Salt Lake City, he passed away there on January 31, 1943, fifty-nine days after his release.

3. EDWARD LAVAUN CLISSOLD: (Acting President)
   December 13, 1942 - May 14, 1944

President Clissold was born on April 11, 1898 at Salt Lake City, Utah. He was the son of Albert G. E. Clissold and Charlotte I. Thomson. On November 22, 1932 he was ordained a High Priest by Elder Castle H. Murphy. He and his wife served as President and Matron of the Hawaii Temple at Laie, Oahu, Hawaii. He was also called and served as the President of the Oahu Stake. He lives in Salt Lake City, Utah.
4. CASTLE H. MURPHY: May 14, 1944 to May 21, 1947

President Murphy was born October 10, 1886 at Ogden, Utah. He is the son of Emmanuel Mark Murphy and Elisa Miranda Hadlock. He was ordained a High Priest June 22, 1915 by Elder John Watson. He was baptized on July 5, 1896, ordained an Elder on June 14, 1909 by Robert McQuarrie and filled his first mission to Hawaii with his wife from 1909 to 1913. He served as Bishop of the Ogden 2nd Ward in Weber Stake from 1928 to 1930. He was ordained a Bishop by Elder Rodger Clawson. He served as President of the Hawaii Temple three times, Mission President of the Hawaii Mission twice, and President of the Central Pacific Mission and Servicemen's Coordinator in the Pacific during World War II. He was ordained a Patriarch May 8, 1960 by Elder Spencer W. Kimball and served as Stake Patriarch in the Ben Lomond Stake in Utah and the Anaheim Stake in California. He lives with his daughter and son-in-law, Kay and Marvel Young in Orem, Utah.

5. MELVYN ALMA WEEING: May 21, 1947 to March 15, 1950

President Weenig was born February 1, 1915 at Riverton, Utah. He was the son of Frederick E. Weenig and Elizabeth Goudriaan. On February 18, 1940 he was ordained a High Priest by Elder LeGrand Richards. He served as Branch President of the Bannock Creek Branch on the American Falls Stake. He and his wife were called by the First Presidency in 1946 to preside over the Central Pacific Mission in Hawaii. Upon his release on March 15, 1950 this mission was combined with the Hawaii Mission. He makes his home at the present time in Ogden, Utah.
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS IN HAWAII

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ABSTRACT

This thesis depicts the development of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands from the landing of the first LDS missionaries in 1850 up to the 1970's. Church policy in Hawaii may be seen as an ordered, phasal development respectively involving spiritual, educational, and cultural spheres of interaction.

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