
The Palawai Pioneers on the Island of Lanai: The First Hawaiian Latter-day Saint Gathering Place (1854–1864)

Fred E. Woods

A decade after the death of the Prophet Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum, the message of the Restoration continued to breathe new spiritual life into thousands who were part of scattered Israel, and the Hawaiians were no exception. The call to gather had gone forth: “Gather ye out from among the nations, from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. Send forth my elders of my church unto the nations, which are afar off; unto the islands of the sea” (D&C 133:7–8).

After the Saints had been exiled from Nauvoo in 1846 and had migrated to the West, missionaries taught that following conversion, members should gather to the Utah Territory. However, the Hawaiians could not gather to Utah at that time because of a law of the kingdom of Hawaii that would not permit emigration because of decimation of the population by disease. Instead, Hawaiian converts were directed to a local gathering place.¹ The year 2004 marks the sesquicentennial of the gathering of the Hawaiian Latter-day Saint pioneers who began to assemble at the Palawai Basin on the island of Lanai, commencing in the late summer of 1854. Therefore, it is timely that the story of these Palawai pioneers should once again surface.²

This Pacific narrative begins with the restored gospel coming to Hawaii. In the fall of 1850, Elder Charles C. Rich of the Council of the Twelve called upon a company of Latter-day Saint gold miners working on the American River near Sacramento, California. They had been sent from Utah the previous year on a “gold mission.” This was unusual in light of the fact that

FRED E. WOODS is a professor at Brigham Young University in the Department of Church History & Doctrine. He is also the executive director of the Mormon Historic Sites Foundation.

Brigham Young was strongly opposed to the Saints running off to California in the pursuit of riches, yet he was willing to make an exception inasmuch as it was agreed that the elders would bring whatever treasure they gleaned home to Zion.³

On 25 September 1850, Henry W. Bigler recorded that Rich had visited him and his gold mining brethren, which resulted in Rich's making a practical decision to send some of these elders to Hawaii:

This morning the brethren was called together at the tent of Bro. Rich, he stated that he wanted some of us to go on a mission to the Sandwich Islands to preach the gospel, that his opinion was that it would cost no more to spend the winter there than it would here, that we could make nothing in the wintertime in consequence of so much water in the streams, and another thing provisions would be much higher in the mines and it would cost us more money to stay here and make nothing than if we went to the islands to preach.⁴

The result of this counsel was that ten men accepted the call to preach the restored gospel in what came to be known as the Sandwich Islands Mission. Embarking from San Francisco on 15 November, they landed in Honolulu on 12 December 1850, having had a successful voyage of just under a month. The moment anchor dropped, their vessel was filled with Hawaiians clamoring to sell various kinds of fruits. One of the elders, George Q. Cannon, recorded his thoughts on this curious occasion: "The monotonous character of their language, their rapid utterance, their numerous gestures, caused us to watch them with interest. We thought them a strange people. I little thought at that time that I would ever learn their language. . . . Though we had been sent on a mission to the Islands, we supposed our time would be occupied in preaching to the whites."⁵ The following day the Elders ascended a nearby hill where they built an altar from gathered stones. They then petitioned the Lord to "help them to gather out the honest in heart."⁶ In less than three years, nearly three thousand responded to the call and entered the waters of baptism.

Statistics from the October 1853 mission conference for the Sandwich Islands revealed that by this time, there were "53 branches with a total membership of 2986 members, [including] 29 Elders, 72 Priests, 126 Teachers and 144 Deacons."⁷ During the conference, a committee was appointed "to select a place suitable for the gathering of the saints, according to the council received from Pres. Young."⁸

The council referred to came from a letter Young wrote 15 June 1853 to Elder George Q. Cannon that stated: "I will suggest that if possible you obtain a fitting Island or portion of an island where the brethren can collect in peace and sustain themselves unmolested, it might be much pleasanter for them, and they be better able to prepare themselves for gathering to this



Francis A. Hammond,
from Joseph H. Spurrier, *Sandwich Island
Saints*, page 78.

continent when the way shall open.”⁹ Three and a half months later, Young again wrote to Cannon upon this same subject: “On the subject of the gathering, until a way opens, my counsel to the natives is, for them to exercise faith, and patience, and situate themselves on the Islands to the best advantage that local laws, and circumstances will admit of.”¹⁰

These letters from President Young emphasized two themes: Find a temporary gathering place, and the way would eventually be opened for Hawaiians to gather to Zion on the mainland.¹¹ This view was probably shared by Brother Brigham and other Church

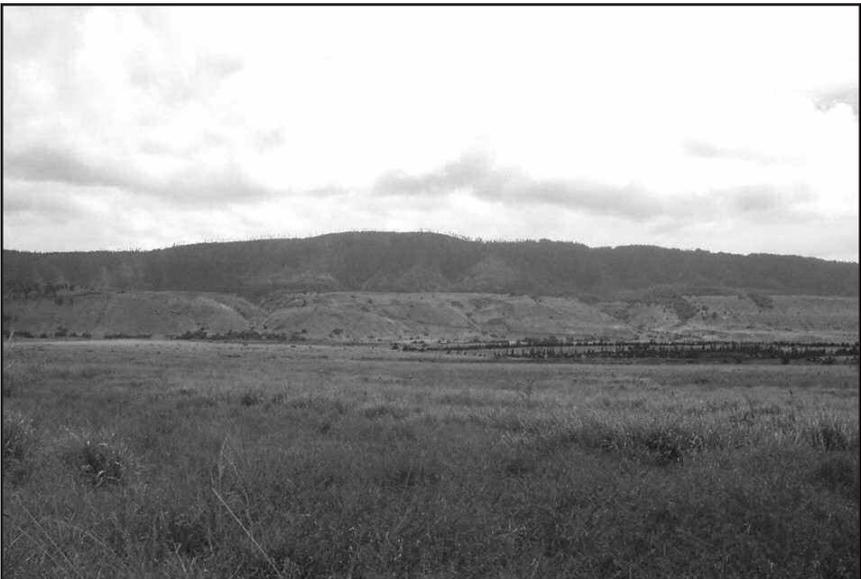
leaders for some time, as evidenced by correspondence between LDS Hawaiian missionary Henry W. Bigler and his cousin, George A. Smith, who was then serving as the editor of the *Deseret News*. Bigler asked in a letter dated 3 October 1852, “Do you think these [Hawaiian] Saints will ever be gathered to California or in the Valley of the Mountain? or will they gather on these Islands, and have temples built &c.” Smith responded, “The Saints will gather to the Continent when opportunity presents, but there is no particular haste from the Sandwich islands, till the work is fully established.”¹²

An initial step in the process of determining *where* the Hawaiian Saints might be gathered took place the day before the semiannual Sandwich Islands mission conference commenced (5 October 1853). As noted in the journal of George Q. Cannon, some of the elders met to plan the conference proceedings. During a planning meeting, Cannon mentioned that the brethren had discussed “the subject of seeking a location for the settlement of the Saints in accordance with the letter of Pres. Young. . . . Bro. [Francis A.] Hammond made a statement in regard to a place which he had discovered on the island of Lanai, a place where he thought might answer the desired end and be made suitable for the gathering of the people.”¹³

Francis A. Hammond had discovered this place just one week prior to this planning meeting, while traveling on the island of Lanai. On 28



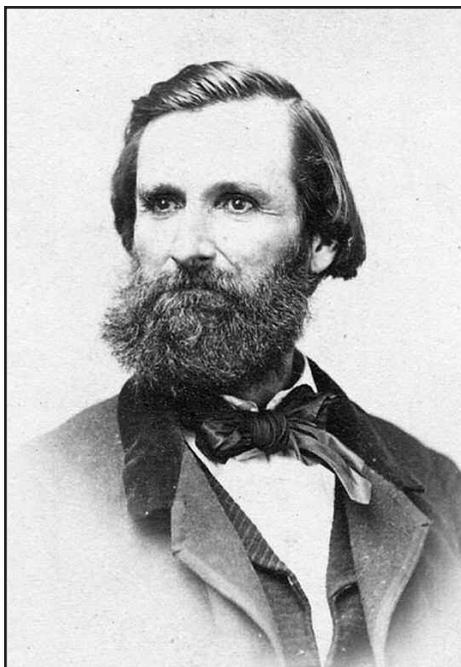
*Looking down on Palawai Basin.
Photograph by Fred E. Woods.*



*Palawai Basin.
Photograph by Fred E. Woods.*

September 1853, he wrote the following: "Lying at the foot of the large mountain on the east and extending toward a high ridge on the west, which enclosed completely a large tract of good land, perhaps 5,000 acres of which was in full view. . . . I have never seen a better tract of land in one body on these islands. I can see only one drawback to the place and this is the scarcity of water during the dry season."¹⁴

Having shared this information with Cannon and other elders, a committee was suggested during the conference, and just two weeks later (19 October 1853) Elders Francis A. Hammond, George Q. Cannon, Benjamin F. Johnson, Thomas Karren, Reddick N. Allred, Edmund Dennis, Nathan



*Benjamin F. Johnson.
Courtesy Church Archives, The Church of
Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.*

Tanner, and Hawaiian Jonathan H. Napela¹⁵ embarked on a "whale boat" from Lahaina, Maui, to cross the eighteen-mile channel to Lanai. Jenson's Hawaiian mission history notes, "The passage was a tedious one, owing to the lack of wind and the natives assisted by the Elders had to row all the way."¹⁶

The following day, the party began to explore the island of Lanai. Cannon gave this description of the Palawai Basin: "We came to a beautiful basin. . . . It reminded me of Deseret. It was a splendid piece of land and seemed to be well adapted for a gathering place so far as quality of soil and situation is concerned. . . . [Yet] we found no running water . . . and the prospect of supplying the wants of the community from such a source was poor indeed."¹⁷

Concerning this picturesque basin, Benjamin F. Johnson recorded the following account:

A more pleasant and beautiful valley I have never before seen, and it reminded me of the picturesque vales of Deseret, and I almost felt that the providence of God had

provided this place for the gathering of His saints upon these lands. And I felt to pray that the Lord would guide us in all our conclusions and resolutions upon the subject of this place, which seems from its retired and secluded position admirably adapted as a place of gathering to benefit this people by directing them from the evil influences that surround them.¹⁸

Later, Johnson reminisced, “Never had we seen a valley of such symmetry and beauty. . . . We found the soil very rich, the only question of importance being the needed supply of water to sustain the population through the dry season.”¹⁹

On 2 November 1853, Phillip B. Lewis (president of the Sandwich Islands Mission) wrote to President Young, indicating that he had received Young’s counsel concerning the gathering and giving this report concerning the finding of the gathering committee who had recently returned from Lanai:

We were much pleased in receiving Bro. Brigham’s letter to Bros Lewis & Cannon containing council for our guidance on these lands, and would have answered it ere this, had not conference been so nears, when we knew an action would be taken upon and would be able to write more satisfactorily, in reference to it. As you will see by the accompanying conference minutes there was a committee of five selected to search out a suitable place to carry out this council—since conference they with a committee of brethren appointed by the conference for that purpose have paid the Island of Lanai a visit to ascertain its capacities and resources for supporting an increase of population. They found a place well adapted in many respects for this purpose, the soil being good, the situation a central one, having ready intercourse with the two principal markets, Honolulu and Lahaina, and sufficiently isolated to be comparatively free from the surrounding evil influences—a great disederation [sic] in making a settlement on these Islands. The scarcity of water is the principle obstacle in the way of a settlement in this place and accounts for the sparseness of population at the present time on the Island, but the committee were of the opinion that if the land could be procured on suitable terms, this might be obviated by digging wells or by constructing artificial cisterns or reservoirs large enough to hold sufficient water to supply the wants of the settlement during the dry season which lasts about five months.²⁰

Although the committee brought back, in general, a positive report of the island, the concern for water led to more deliberation; consequently, the committee decided to look for other gathering places—but found no success. Therefore, another possibility was considered. On 9 February 1854, Jenson’s Hawaiian mission history records:

Failing to find a satisfactory location for a gathering place on the islands, some of the Elders in the mission began to consider the advisability of purchasing a vessel and run the same between Honolulu and California and emigrate the Hawaiian Saints to San Bernadino, which place was spoken by Pres. Young as a suitable gath-

ering place of the Saints from the Pacific Islands. . . . After considerable deliberation it was thought best to purchase a vessel as soon as possible, and run the same between Honolulu and San Bernadino or San Pedro, Cal. It was thought advisable for Elder Nathan Tanner to go to California and there pursue the course that wisdom should direct, in order to facilitate the gathering and thus remove the saints in Hawaii from the influences surrounding them.²¹

On 18 July 1854, Brigham Young sent a letter to Apostles Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, who were overseeing the Mormon settlement at San Bernardino. The letter treated in detail a plan for the immigration and assimilation of the Hawaiian converts:

I had previously learned the movements of the Sandwich Island mission, with regard to Shipping the native brethren to San Bernardino. This course meets my approbation, inasmuch as the elders on the islands report their inability to find a suitable place for gathering them there. Still you are aware, that the Island brethren are not prepared to settle with you, neither is it politic for them to settle at any point I know of in your immediate vicinity; hence I wish you to have a consultation with some of the brethren in our southern settlements & learn if you cannot find a good, suitable location for them in the Muddy, or the Rio Virgin & its tributaries. The soil is said to be excellent in that region, and the climate would be more like that of the Islands, than it is further north. They would thus be removed from the contamination of the white settlements of California, have all the facilities & benefit of a climate as near like their own as we can now furnish them, with every reasonable facility for applying all the skill & industry, they are at present possessed of, & above all, they will be in the midst of a mild spirited, industrious portion of the remnants of Jacob, their blood brethren, who are welcoming our missionaries with warm hearts & open arms. Our missionaries now in the Southern portions of Utah, & the presidents of the Southern settlements will be better able than I am to furnish you information as to the best points for suitable locations within the region I have indicated, & it will probably be best for you to appoint a delegation, at the earliest practicable date, to visit our southern settlements Missionaries, & settlements on the subject of a location of the Island brethren, & let them conclude upon the site, or sites.²²

This letter suggests that President Young may have modified his original plan for the gathering of the Hawaiian Saints because he recommended they not settle in San Bernardino, but rather gather to a separate place where they could mix with Native Americans and avoid being contaminated by white settlers.

The next day, Brigham Young also wrote to President Philip B. Lewis, president of the Sandwich Islands Mission, in which he reiterated what he had communicated to Elders Lyman and Rich and added a few details:

Information . . . of your failure to secure a suitable temporary location for our native brethren, and of your subsequent operations for procuring a vessel for their conveyance to San Bernardino had been previously received, and in all of which I frankly coincide & commend your wisdom and efforts. However it is necessary that

the most suitable places that can be procured, be provided previous to the arrival of any of the Island immigration, hence I have written to Bros. Lyman & Rich to send a delegation to our missionaries on the Rio Virgin and the Presidencies at Harmony, cedar City and Parowan, to consult with them & decide upon some location on the Rio Virgin and its tributaries, or upon the Muddy, or both streams where the soil is good, climate similar to that of the Islands, the aborigines peaceable, and industrious and where the Island brethren will be aloof from the contamination of settlements in California, be near us & among the lineal brethren the remnant of Jacob, many of whom are now baptized and all of whom are said to be very industrious, friendly & Peaceably disposed this is the best arrangement that can be made for the present & will doubtless result in mutual benefit and to the best welfare of those you may be able to forward.²³

From yet another letter written by Brigham Young the following month (19 August 1854), we know that Brigham also made Apostle Parley P. Pratt aware of this immigration issue. Pratt was at this time living in northern California while overseeing Church activities in the Pacific region. He informed Pratt of the following:

I advised them [Lyman and Rich] to appoint a delegation at their earliest convenience, instructed to proceed and examine the county [country] from the Mojave to Iron county, consult with the Presidents of Cedar City and Harmony, and the Indians in the region named, located some site or sites for the Islanders where they can be located among a peaceable and industrious portion of the remnants of Jacob, [Native Americans] their brethren, and enjoy a climate as similar to their own as we can at present furnish, and be aloof from the contaminations of the white settlements of California, and within reach of proper supervision and counsel.²⁴

However, the plan to bring the Hawaiian Saints to the mainland via a Church-owned ship did not work out, in spite of much effort being exerted. As early as March 1854, Elder Nathan Tanner (who promoted the proposed venture) left the Hawaiian Mission with a letter signed by Philip B. Lewis, president of the Sandwich Islands Mission, which stated that he was appointed “to take any measures that may be deemed necessary for the speediest procural of a vessel of sufficient size to commence the immediate emigration of the Hawaiian Saints to Lower California.”²⁵ Lewis privately recorded Tanner’s departure: “Bro Tanner left on board the Ship John Wesley for San Francisco having been sent by the Presidency to confer with the authorities there in obtaining a vessel to emigrate the Native Saints to a place where they can be taught principles of morality and industry, and lay a foundation for their redemption & exaltation.”²⁶

Upon his arrival in San Francisco, he learned that Amasa Lyman and John M. Horner had already been discussing the purchase of a vessel to emigrate the Tahitian Saints from the Society Islands. On 13 June 1854, Tanner

arranged to purchase a brig called the *Rosalind* for \$2,600. On 14 July 1854, he made the final payment, with no time to spare on the agreed-upon deal. However, “by reason of lack of means and a combination of unfortunate circumstances and unfavorable conditions, our efforts to fit up and sail the brig failed. Bro. [Parley P.] Pratt [thought] it best to abandon the project and sell the brig.”²⁷

During this same year, John T. Caine reasoned that although it was imperative for the Hawaiian converts to gather to the mainland, they simply could not afford to go. He wrote, “Their only salvation lies in gathering them together, but such is their poverty at present that it would be impossible to emigrate them to America. In view of these difficulties we have appointed a temporary gathering place on a small island called Lanai.”²⁸

This nagging challenge of Hawaiian poverty must have also factored in along with the lack of cash to subsidize and properly outfit an immigration ship to gather these island Saints. Beck maintains that just the cost of maintenance for this ocean vessel alone created such economic challenges that the *Rosalind* was soon sold, and the decision was made to look again for a local gathering place where the Hawaiian converts “would be no longer under the influence of the former chiefs who were under the influence of the Protestant missionaries.” He further notes that a better location than Lanai could not be found; therefore, energy was exerted to acquire land owned there by high chief Levi Haalelea through the efforts of Jonathan Napela, an influential judge and Hawaiian Latter-day Saint.²⁹ Napela’s bold letter dated 24 August 1854 to John Young, Minister of the Interior, included the following warning coupled with an impassioned request:

That some of the Government lands on the Island of Lanai, be granted to us for the purpose of cultivation, because, the Mormons are going there, and some are now there raising crops for food. . . . This is what we think about the purchase, to be at a quarter per acre, because we are poor people. The reasons of this leaving and abandoning our former places are these: Destruction is going to visit this Government, which destruction has been foretold by the prophets. . . . This is the second reasons of the leaving: That our religion [may] go to Lanai, because that is the island which is peaceable and which has drinking water, and the people will be taught there the deep things of God’s kingdom, and where a person can live holy or not. . . . A piece of land on Lanai was received by Levi Haalelea, but it is not much, and is all rocks. Therefore, this application to you, this benefit will not only be for us, but to you also, the Chiefs and the Government. Your king, should he come and live with us during the troublesome days of the Government.³⁰

Four days later, Benjamin F. Johnson, counselor pro tem in the Hawaiian mission presidency, arrived on Lanai along with elders Ephraim Green, Francis A. Hammond, and Thomas Karren, who had been assigned to locate



Jonathan Napela.
Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

the place for the gathering and investigate boundaries.³¹ The following day, Thomas Karren wrote, “as soon as we got up this morning and head called for his aid and assistance, & Spirit to direct us through the day we left and Commenced to ascend the hill which was some 3000 feet above the sea . . . [and] we spent the afternoon in examining Halaleas land and finding out its boundaries.”³²

On Wednesday, 30 August 1854, Karren recorded that these four brethren took a bath in the sea and then retired to a sacred place where they “clothed ourselves according to the Order of the Priesthood and lifted up our hands and

voices on high to that God that has promised to hear and Answer the prayers of his servants . . . that all our movements may be wisely Conducted in so Important an undertaking.”³³ The next day, Karren wrote:

We then went out to take a walk to view a certain pice of land when we all Kneltdown and Elder Johnson offered up a dedication prayer and consecrated that pice of ground to Build a City upon which we Called the City of Joseph, and the Valley of Ephream Bro Johnson was filled with the Spirit of the Lord and prophisyed that salvation should go forth from this place to this people we were all filled with the same spirit and felt to propshyey good concerning Israel we than returned back and started forthwith for Lahaina.³⁴

On this same day, Benjamin F. Johnson recorded that “we knelt down, and I raised my voice in prayer dedicating the Spot, the Island, the People to the Lord . . . and that Salvation might be brought to the remnants of each people through His own providence. Each felt to prophesy good in the name of the Lord, and we returned rejoicing seemingly of one heart and mind.”³⁵

Johnson later reminisced on this eventful day as he was walking with Ephraim Green, who would remain to supervise the gathering. They came to a tree and paused to look around. Both were then filled with admiration and inspiration, which led Johnson to exclaim, “This is the spot we have been

looking for. . . . It was a plot of some hundreds of acres of excellent mesa or table land, sufficiently elevated to overlook the whole beautiful valley. . . . I named the Plot 'Joseph' and the valley 'Ephraim.' . . . We left Brother Green with seed and implements to commence gathering around him the native saints."³⁶ However, Green was not the only missionary trying to reap a harvest on Lanai. A protestant missionary report from Lahaina, Maui, noted, "On the island of Lanai are a population of 602—Of these 515 Protestants—77 Papists—Mormons—10, [for a] 602 total."³⁷

In late August 1854, Francis A. Hammond had been busy on the island of Maui gathering recruits for the Lanai venture. At Kula, Hammond had asked the Saints "to get ready, a few of them; and proceed to Lanai and commence farming there as pioneers for the church—building houses, digging wells, making road &c. &c." Hammond also recorded that he had help from two Hawaiian witnesses: "Bro. Kaleohane & Kalawaia bore testimony to what had been preached; after this I called upon the branch to furnish 10 men, who were not afraid of work with their tools for farming; building houses &c to get ready in the course of a few days, with all the different seeds they can obtain suited for planting to go over onto Lanai." Hammond then notes, "I then proceeded to choose upon those who thought the most suitable for that mission, all that were called upon consented directly, and seemed to rejoice in having the privilege."³⁸ A few days later, Green received a letter from Maui in which Hammond reported his success of gathering pioneers from both Kula and Wailuku, explaining that he had "raised four yoke of oxen . . . and one cart to go to Lanai and 21 able boded men to go and open a farm and prepare a location for the gathering of this people . . . and desired me and Bro. Johnson and Karrens to come as speedily as possible for he had got a boat engaged to carry us over to Lanai."³⁹

Although the branches of Kula and Wailuku yielded immediate success at gathering pioneers, recruiting on Maui or on any of the other islands did not come without a price. Concerning the doctrine of the gathering, Silas Smith wrote to Brigham Young explaining that "the Native saints do not fully understand the necessity of the gathering out from the evils that are so common on these lands, and such is their love for their places of birth; that they had sooner sacrifice their right to the kingdom of God than to leave their homes and gather with the saints, . . . [and] those who have obeyed the instructions of the Elders, and have gathered to Lanai are now strong in the work of the Lord . . . while others who are living in a scattered condition are weak in the faith."⁴⁰

On this same issue, especially as it pertained to the two branches on Maui mentioned above, Britsch notes, "It was not easy to convince the Saints there or elsewhere in established Church centers to move to Lanai



Eli Bell.

Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

and leave their friends, relatives, and familiar surroundings. But these two areas, as later years were to make even more evident, were the strongest in the mission."⁴¹ On the topic of leaving relatives, Britsch further notes, "For the first eight months or so it was an almost all-male community. Families would come later, after a good crop had been raised to sustain them."⁴²

Leaving wives and children would have been a sacrifice, though the Utah elders certainly knew and understood that. Even after the crops were planted and families began to move to Lanai, the wives and children were not the central item the Utah elders wrote about. The focus of their daily

writings was "practical salvation," which meant planting crops in order to teach a good work ethic—but especially to have food to survive and to sell at market so that the Lanai experiment would prove a success. The spiritual health of the Hawaiians was a constant concern, and Church meetings are mentioned regularly, though the ecclesiastical life of the women remains undocumented. A notable exception on the organization of the women at Lanai comes from Eli Bell, who wrote over a year after the first male pioneers had gathered to Lanai: "We atended a meeting of the Sisters. We had a good meeting, the Sisters meete every Tuesdays and Fridays, sister Kamaka is President."⁴³

Although organizing family life in Palawai took some time to develop, the initial pioneering work in the fall of 1854 moved quickly. In less than a week, Green had recorded (2 September 1854) that upon completion of the construction of a meeting house, the Saints held a feast in which there were assembled "21 pianers and fifty of the brethring that belong hear."⁴⁴ He was impressed with those who gathered on the first Sabbath, since the gathering partook of the sacrament: "I think I never saw a more humble people in my life we had a hapy time and the Lord was with us."⁴⁵

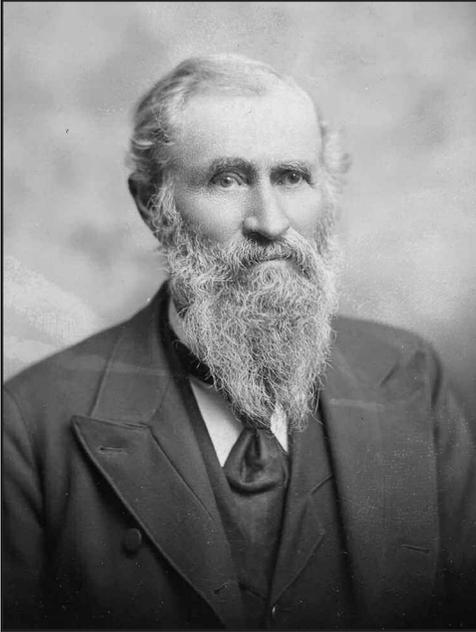
On 4 September, Green mentions that he and Brother Hammond appointed captains of ten for three companies. Kimo Pelio was captain of the Wailuku pioneers, and Keolanui was placed over the Kula pioneers. A third group of local Lanai Saints, also wanting to be designated pioneers, was also formed, together with a captain, Deacon Leiula, bringing the total to thirty pioneers.⁴⁶ The next day these companies were actively involved in planting corn, melons, and even some Irish potatoes.⁴⁷

A month later, Green surveyed the “City of Joseph” in the “Valley of Ephraim.” He wrote, “I tuck my cumpas and comenst to lay out a town. I comenst at the litle town at the fut of the mountain and laid out one stret runing south to the sea three mildes to a fine litle harbour whare . . . we intendt to build a store hous to leav our produse. I then laid out three more streats . . . into fore acres each with the streats fore rods wide, . . . a buitful location for a town.”⁴⁸ Before the year ended, the city of Joseph had fifteen houses, situated in two rows, all built on two streets that ran north and south.⁴⁹

During the month of November, Green’s diary reveals that worms were destroying the crops of Palawai.⁵⁰ After the Lanai soil and the gathered Saints had been tested for the space of three full months, Benjamin F. Johnson described the Lanai experiment to President Young:

Elders Karren & Green with a company of native pioneers are laboring on the island of Lanai with Elder Hammond . . . preparing a place for gathering the island saints, and at last dates was in good health & seemingly Blessed in their Endeavors altho Encountering some Hardships & dificulties incident to such an undertakeing. Some of these crops have been destroyed by the polu or catapillar. . . . Altho we are Endeavoring here to Establish a place for gathering, yet we cannot but look forward with hope that a way may open thro which the Island saints can Emigrate to the valleys of Ephraim or to some place more secluded from the Influences & inducements by which they are here surrounded. Yet In Relation to the native saints we Have much Reason to feel Encouraged as they are manifestly growing in Knowledge and in a spirit to obey counsel, and also In . . . the principles of virtue, and in a willingness to assist with the means in sustaining the various Interests of the mission.⁵¹

Although some of the crops were not progressing as the Utah Elders had planned and the Hawaiians had hoped, a number of the Hawaiian Saints were growing spiritually. Furthermore, the Palawai pioneers continued to experiment in a variety of different ways. For example, on 28 September 1854, Francis A. Hammond, a Brother Baker, and a crew of Hawaiians transported a load of cattle from Lahaina to Lanai, using three whale boats. This was apparently the first time such an endeavor had ever been tried across this channel, which was twelve miles wide and sometimes treacherous. After crossing safely, Hammond wrote, “Notwithstanding all the evil predictions



Silas S. Smith.

Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

of the wicked and unbelievers, many of whom said before we started that we would never reach Lanai, . . . I paid no attention to this, for I knew that God was with us. After the cattle were all landed . . . we all knelt down together and returned our heartfelt thanks to God for his preservation and care."⁵²

On 16 October, a plow struck the Palawai soil for what appears to be the first time in the history of the island of Lanai. Thomas Karren recorded, "This morning we commenced to use the plough, the first plough I expect that was ever struck in this soil. The Hawaiians were quite amazed to see it and felt to rejoice

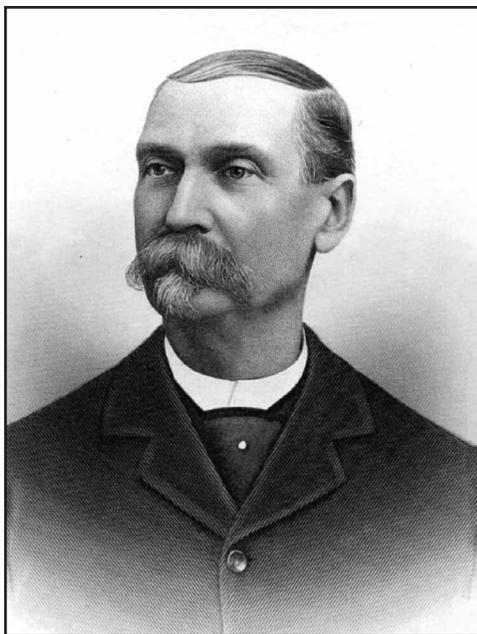
much in the operation."⁵³ Green must have also been pleased with the fact that "the pioneers had built a house in native style, 12 x 14 feet, for the accommodation of Elder Green; [and] 30 acres had been planted with sweet potatoes, corn, beans, melons, etc."⁵⁴

The following year, Eli Bell recorded that thirty-two men were laboring on the farm at Palawai.⁵⁵ Such a working crew could have sowed even more acreage than what was reported the previous year, but lack of farming implements had been a problem. Henry P. Richards explained, "The Saints here have to labour under a great disadvantage for the want of tools, which causes the work to progress rather slowly, as there can be but very few hands employed at a time in putting in seed &c."⁵⁶ Perhaps that is why several Hawaiian Latter-day Saints from Lanai were sent at about this same time to reap a spiritual harvest in the mission field.⁵⁷

In the winter of 1855, Silas Smith assisted the Palawai pioneers by plastering a cistern to help the local Saints collect rain water.⁵⁸ Green and Smith also planted peach and plum seeds that had been sent to Smith from Washington.⁵⁹ Brother Francis Hammond also brought wheat from Oregon and grapes from Santa Clara, California, to plant. Green explained the reason for planting such a variety of seeds: "We deamed it wisdom to open a

farm on these Isles for the benefit of this people we are [anxious] to procure the best kinds of every kinds of produce and there by obtain the hiest price in market.”⁶⁰

On 3 April 1855, Green cheerfully wrote, “The morning is fine and pleasant. I have bin ingaged in planting mellons and cabage and many other kinds of garden seads Spent the day vuing the crops that we have all redy plantied every thing seams to revive at the aperance of spring and the fields spred thare golden ray over the vales of the Islands.”⁶¹ That is perhaps why, during the spring and summer of 1855, some 150 island Saints were called to gather to Lanai.⁶²



Henry P. Richards.
Courtesy LDS Church Archives.

However, the change in season also seemed to bring a change in some of the Latter-day Saint Hawaiians laboring at Palawai. Although Green was optimistic that his experiment in planting seeds would certainly yield abundant cash crops for the market place, he lamented that some Hawaiians were unwilling to pay the price for success. He reasoned, “This people might make themselves rich in a fue years if thay ware onely a mind to work [yet] thar is meny of them that would go half starved and naked before thay can be prevalid on to work.”⁶³ Three days later he noted, “It is a hard job to brake them in to work.” He compared himself to Moses, who went unrecognized among the children of Israel. Yet he was committed to laboring among the Hawaiians, and his constant prayer was that all Israel would be saved.⁶⁴

What seems to have been a real challenge for Green was determining how much time the Hawaiian Saints would spend working for the Church in the Palawai Basin and how much time they would exert on their own homes and gardens. When Hammond and Green first called the Palawai pioneers, the agreement was that these Hawaiians would work for the Church full time. But because some of these Hawaiian pioneers had requested time to work for themselves, it was decided that they could labor in their private fields after their daily work. Green agreed to allow the

Hawaiians to work two days a week for themselves. This plan eluded success; the Hawaiians seemed to work vigorously on their own projects at night but were too tired during the day to labor on the Church projects.⁶⁵

Green lamented, "I have given them two days a week to work for themselves they are very buisey on them days I think they plant more them two days than they due in the uther fore."⁶⁶ Notwithstanding, a few months later when the Lanai conference was held (26 July 1855), it officially carried that "the Pioneers labor two days each week for the Church. The remainder of the time to be their own subject to the counsel of the Prest. and they to support themselves this arrangement to be in force untill such times as the place is established on a permanent basis."⁶⁷

The Utah missionaries also needed some time for themselves, and when they came together for mission meetings, they generally enjoyed themselves. For example, just a few days before the July 1855 mission conference began, on Wednesday, 18 July, Silas S. Smith wrote, "9 of the [brethren] arrived." The next day he recorded that "we spent the day agreeably together in several athletic exercises." On Friday, 20 July, Smith noted that "several of the [brethren] engaged in wrestling for some little time when again returned to the house and after singing several hymns we retired to rest."⁶⁸

Yet after some rest and relaxation, there were always challenges to contend with, both for the mainland missionaries as well as the Hawaiians. Three days in the life of Elder Silas S. Smith serve as a composite sketch of the various things that could go awry during a normal working day in the Palawai Basin:

August 20, 1855—I went down under the hill to set the natives to work clearing off some land. Bro Wm went plowing the plow struck a stone and broke down the first round I stayed with the hands to work till the smoke of the burning grass near suffocated me. . . . The fleas are very troublesome so much so that it is impossible to sleep at night for several nights past I have not slept scarcely at all.

August 21, 1855—I filled a bedtick with straw and fixed my quarters for the night on the kitchen table to escape if possible the fleas. Had a tolerable comfortable nights rest have a severe pain in my head in consequence of being deprived of sleep by the fleas.

August 22, 1855—After a unsuccessful attempt to get to threshing we sat down to read. we soon heard the cry of fire. The natives having set the grass on fire the wind rose and all attempts to put it out proved unavailing they succeeded in saving the houses and stcks but did not stop the fire.⁶⁹

Such unpleasanties as frequent fleas, island fires, and broken farm utensils (which required a voyage to Lahaina, Maui, to repair) certainly must

have caused the Utah missionaries to long to return to their mountain homes. Although it had been decided that Lanai was the gathering place for the island Saints during this period, the notion of some of the Hawaiians returning with the mainland elders was again considered. For example, at the July 1855 Sandwich Island Mission conference, the assembly voted to advise Jonathan H. Napela, J. W. H. Kauwahi, George Raymond, and H. K. Kaleohano to begin making arrangements to gather to Utah, "agreeable to the request of Pres. Brigham Young."⁷⁰ Young had written several months earlier, "If some of the native brethren would accompany you that come here the ensuing season I should be pleased to see them, and if they find by trying our winter that they can endure this climate, I shall be glad to have them gather to this place as fast as the way shall open for them to do so."⁷¹

This letter suggests that while the Saints were trying their experiment of pioneering on Lanai, President Young at the same time wished to see how a few of the Hawaiian converts might assimilate on the mainland. But, as Beck pointed out, as early as 1850, the Hawaiian monarchy had passed a law prohibiting their Hawaiians from emigrating without a government permit, and although a formal request was later made for Hawaiians to come with the departing Utah elders in the fall of 1857, it was denied by the government.⁷²

Another item put forward at the July 1855 conference was the education of the Hawaiian Saints on Lanai. Elder Ward E. Pack, who was given the charge to educate the Palawai pioneers, reported the plan: "I am assigned to take charge of a school to teach the Hawaiians the English language, and also to teach them how to till the earth. We shall learn them English during 4 hours, and how to work during 2 hours in each day of school."⁷³

In the winter of 1856, Pack wrote of his efforts to fulfill his assignment. These journal excerpts reveal his frustrations, his satisfaction, and his longing for home:

Feb. 26, 1856—I commenced school with 26 scholars. I am trying to learn the Islanders to speak the English Language I also commenced an evening school for adults and have fifty two scholars and I find it quite difficult having them.

Feb. 28, 1856—Made arrangements . . . to give 26 lessons in evening school for 25 cents each to the person whose work as Pioneers get their tuition free.

March 2, 1856—Three years have elapsed since I married me a wife and have since been cheered by her smiles. Me thinks I can hear her voice speaking forth words of comfort to those with whom she is wating my return and look to the day when our smiles will again cheer each other.

March 24, 1856—24th at school which is not quite so tiresome as at first my scholars some of them can now read a little passed the past weeks in school.⁷⁴

During this period, Pack was assisted by Sixtus E. Johnson, who noted on 7 March 1856 that most of the evening students were female: "I assisted with the evening school I generally have from 12 to 15 read which are mostly women they are verry awkward in the letters so it takes a long time to have them record which is verry tiresome work."⁷⁵ However, Pack's journal is evidence that the women were trying to do their part to ease the burden of the missionaries. Pack wrote in his journal, 2 April 1856, "Went to the lower farm to plant corn but found the ground to dry so we posponed our corn planting, the Native women came and refurnished our house."⁷⁶

At the October 1856 conference, Sixtus E. Johnson also reported that "the school had been kept up since last April. There was from 15 to 20 scholars in regular attendance, who generally progressed rapidly in the common branches of education."⁷⁷ Apparently, music played a role in their schooling. For example, Johnson notes that in the winter of 1856, "Brother Pack and myself went to singing school."⁷⁸ Beck observed that according to the statistics of the Sandwich Islands Mission for that year, Palawai "was at its highest peak in the summer of 1856. At its apex, it approached three hundred inhabitants."⁷⁹

Yet while the Palawai pioneers were attending school and growing in knowledge, the crops planted were being increasingly accosted by worms and dry weather. Nor was the problem of scarcity of water ever resolved on the island of Lanai. The past year's harvest was not what the Saints had hoped for, and although the missionaries throughout the mission preached bold sermons on the need to gather, few responded to the call. At the July 1855 conference, the Church made a costly decision to purchase a vessel, the *Lanai*, which did not reach the expectations that the Palawai pioneers and the Utah elders had hoped for her.

Francis A. Hammond described this vessel as "ugly looking, as anything I ever saw afloat," yet, at the outset, he also noted that the *Lanai* "sails well."⁸⁰ The Church's plans for this vessel seemed sound. The vessel would be used for inter-island transportation to bring Church members to and from Lanai and to carry produce and livestock to the markets of Honolulu and Lahaina.⁸¹ Although the *Lanai* enjoyed a measure of success,⁸² it proved to be an economic failure. Britsch accurately summarizes its end in stating that it turned out to be "nothing but a nightmare. The idea was good, but the choice of vessels was poor."⁸³ At the same time the *Lanai* was sinking the mission into debt, the Lanai experiment in the Palawai Basin was struggling to survive because of the harsh conditions of the island.

The official minutes of the Sandwich Islands Mission conference held 4 October 1857 indicate that "all seemed to feel, in consideration of the many failures at Lanai, that it would be advisable to select one or more other places

where the Saints may be gathered with less difficulty if possible.” The minutes then note that it was “moved and carried that a committee be appointed by the presidency of the mission to go and look at the different islands and try to select a more suitable place than Lanai has proved to be for the temporary gathering of the native Saints, and that said committee report progress at our next conference.”⁸⁴ By the next conference, however, the Utah War influenced the decision to send these mainland missionaries home immediately to the Salt Lake Valley. Therefore, the selection of a new gathering place was postponed for another season.

The mission conference minutes also reported the following statistics: “Lanai, represented by Elder W. [Ward] E. Pack, 2 Seventies, 8 Elders, 5 Priests, 4 Deacons, 1 cut off. Total, 139.” On this very same day, Elder John R. Young described Palawai in a journal entry:

On Sunday, Oct. 4, 1857, I had the pleasure of meeting in conference at Palawai, island of Lanai, with Elders and native saints. . . . We had three excellent meeting on that day. All the missionaries bore their testimonies, some of the saints wept and the hearts of all were softened by the spirit of God. Oh, how my heart beats with love, even today for these trusting dark skinned saints.⁸⁵

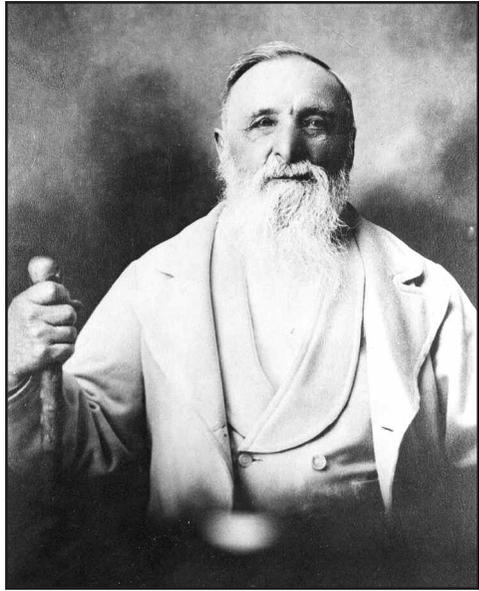
Thus, though harsh land conditions on Lanai had mandated that a new gathering place be sought, a small body of gathered Saints were still full of the spirit of God, even though the general spiritual condition of the Hawaiian Saints was in a very poor state. Joseph F. Smith offered one explanation: “The gathering at the island of Lanai has gleaned out most of the faithful and diligent brethren, and that, perhaps is one cause why the Saints feel so discouraged on the other islands.”⁸⁶ In other words, the transplanting had weakened the local branches. Missionaries laboring on the islands certainly recognized that the Saints who gathered to Lanai manifested “a much better spirit than those who remained at home with their friends.”⁸⁷

In the fall of 1857, Henry W. Bigler, one of the first ten Utah elders, who had just returned to the island mission field, observed the apostate condition of the Hawaiian Saints: “Everything seems dead and dieing. The Elders all say they have to labor with their hands to support themselves, . . . and all testify that they do not believe there are more than one or two natives in the whole mission but had more faith in their old religion than they have in the Truth . . . except the two or three hundred saints on the island of Lanai the gathering place, they the Elders speak well of.”⁸⁸

During this same month, President Brigham Young wrote to the Sandwich Islands Mission presidency (received by Henry W. Bigler) of his strong feelings concerning reports he had been receiving from the Hawaiian mission field. He observed, “The majority of the Saints of these islands have

either been dead or are dying spiritually. . . . Having taken the matter into consideration, I think it best for all the Elders, with one or two exceptions to come home.”⁸⁹

On 20 April 1858, Henry W. Bigler, Sandwich Islands Mission president, received another letter from Brigham Young dated 4 February 1858. Among other things, President Young strongly advised: “You are all, without regard as to when you were sent, counseled to start for home as speedily as you can, . . . not even leaving in the mission one Elder who has been sent there, unless you should deem it wisdom to do so.” Brigham hinted at an



*Henry W. Bigler.
Courtesy LDS Church Archives.*

apparent war hysteria that had penetrated Utah Territory. He explained, “The present [U.S.] administration has at length openly come out and is following the lead of Missouri and Illinois, determined to crush out ‘Mormonism.’”⁹⁰ With this final call to return to the mainland, the Sandwich Islands Mission was left without the needed leadership of the Utah elders, for all the remaining island missionaries deemed it was wise to return home as soon as possible.⁹¹

R. Lanier Britsch explains the conditions the Palawai pioneers now faced on Lanai: “When the mission closed, the Saints on Lanai had one year left in their experimental period. A better gathering place had not yet been found. Haalelea had assured the missionaries that the Saints were free to stay until the fifth year was up and then he would make arrangements to collect rent on the land or sell it to the Church. Thus stood the matter when the Utah elders left.”⁹²

From the spring of 1858, when the Utah missionaries left, to the summer of 1861, when Walter Murray Gibson arrived, the records are scanty. In the last Sandwich Islands Mission conference, held 25 April 1858, there yet remained 3,067 Church members, of whom Alma L. Smith reported a total of 136 members in the Lanai conference.⁹³ With the Utah elders gone, by October 1858, the entire Sandwich Islands Mission could report only 632

members, yet the number of members on Lanai had increased to 153.⁹⁴

Records from the 6 October 1858 Sandwich Islands Mission conference, held on Lanai, note that after the elders from Zion departed, the responsibility rested upon the Hawaiian Saints “to carry on this work through the tender mercy and wisdom of God and the dictates of the Holy Spirit.”⁹⁵ The final entry for the year 1858 in Jenson’s manuscript history of the Hawaiian Mission also mentions that Kailihune, a Hawaiian Church member who had served for a short time as president of Lanai, had been excommunicated for spending money he had supposedly gathered for the purchase of land on Lanai. Solomona Umi replaced Kailihune and served as the Lanai president until Walter Murray Gibson arrived on the island in 1861.⁹⁶

For the year 1859, “There are no records of any description of the Hawaiian Mission for the years that the native Elders had charge of the mission.”⁹⁷ Andrew Jenson, drawing on interviews he conducted with Hawaiians in 1895, scantily notes that “in 1860 the native Elders continued to carry on missionary work on the different islands as before. An annual conference was held in April, and a semiannual conference was held in October of that same year. A number of people were baptized in the different branches, and some of the older members drifted back into their old habits.”⁹⁸

In spite of this dearth of Church records kept by the Hawaiian Saints, we are most fortunate to have some Protestant mission reports that give a glimpse into what was going on among the Church members throughout the islands and specifically upon Lanai during the 1858–61 period, before Gibson’s arrival. For example, the report from the mission station at Lahaina, Maui, for the year 1858 reveals that Protestant missionaries were keenly aware of the impact of the Utah elders leaving the islands. The report simply states, “Mormonism this absurd & polluted Sect seems to have vanished from among us.”⁹⁹ The report from Lahaina, Maui, for the following year stated:

Mormonism. It is well known that the mormons selected a land, on Lanai, which was to become the New Jerusalem of the Sand. Isles, and Lanai was to be spared when all the other islands were swallowed up in the ocean. Famine soon scattered most of the saints to the four winds, but a remnant still remain, strong in the faith; fully believing, that parched up Lanai will yet monopolize all the markets of the Islands, and supply, with vegetables, all the ships of the ocean. In the art of lying they cannot be out done.¹⁰⁰

The Hawaiian Saints may have been influenced by the Utah elders to refer to Lanai as a New Jerusalem. Also, the Palawai pioneers may still have been optimistic concerning their eventual prosperity and the damnation of

the wicked on the surrounding islands. A Latter-day Saint doctrine reads: "The decree hath gone forth that they [the righteous] shall be gathered in unto one place upon the face of this land, to prepare their hearts and be prepared in all things against the day when tribulation and desolation are sent forth upon the wicked" (D&C 29:8).¹⁰¹

In 1860, the Protestant report noted, "Mormonism, with us is dead; but . . . a set of men, mostly from other places, still cling to sun-burnt, parched up Lanai, the picture of desolation. They are ashamed to leave; & so they insist most pertinaciously, that Lanai is to be the happy New Jerusalem of the saints & that all the other Islands are soon to be buried in the Ocean."¹⁰²

Indeed, these few dedicated Saints gathered at Lanai clung to their beliefs with a childlike faith. It also appears that they were looking for deliverance. In their vulnerable condition, they were ripe for deception. In stepped a man who desired to be called their king and deliverer, Walter Murray Gibson, but he was surely not the Messiah they had longed for.

Gibson, an opportunist, having joined the Mormon faith in 1860, came to the Palawai Basin the following year with a plan for his own aggrandizement. His true motives of coming to the gathered Saints on Lanai are best revealed through his own diary, dated 5 November 1861: "I could make a glorious little kingdom of this, or any such chance, with such people; so loving and obedient. . . . I would fill this lovely crater with corn and wine and oil and babies and love and health and brotherly rejoicing and sisters kisses and the memory of me for evermore."¹⁰³

Two months later, Gibson wrote to Brigham Young, explaining, "I am now settled down to a season's labour in planting, and making improvements on this poor and remote stake of Zion." Gibson then shared with Young his belief that the Hawaiian Saints were not prepared to gather to the mainland. Rather, he suggested, "they must remain here; that is within the range of their own tropic and fruity latitudes. But it is the desire of my heart to establish a centre stake for all the oceanicans. . . . When such a stake is established . . . I desire to add the Malaysian Saints will contribute a liberal quota of tithing to advance the general interest of the Church." But as evidenced in his behavior, it was not the interest of the Church Gibson was seeking.¹⁰⁴

For example, during the space of about three years (1861–64), Gibson took advantage of the Lanai Saints by telling them that money and properties he had collected from them would be used for the purchase of land for the gathering of the Saints in the Palawai Basin. In actuality, he purchased the land in his name, fully intending to use it for his own purposes. In addition, some of the Saints found his behavior disappointing, observing that Gibson did not conduct his life the way the earlier Utah elders did who had taught them the gospel. As a result, a few of these Saints wrote to their for-

mer missionaries, such as Alma L. Smith, the last president of the Lanai Conference before the missionaries were called home to Utah in 1858.¹⁰⁵

One such letter to Smith said that Gibson had told the Hawaiians that Brigham Young did not have any authority to preside over Church affairs in the Pacific or the Indian Oceans. In addition, a serious charge claimed that Gibson was selling Church offices: "We greatly distrust him. He has ordained a Quorum of Twelve apostles, a Quorum of Seventies, a number of Bishops and High Priests. These ordinations could only be obtained by the payment of money, and if the money was not paid, the candidate was not ordained. Now the question arises, is this right? It was not so with Simon, was it?"¹⁰⁶

At the request of the Hawaiian Saints who signed the letter, it was presented to President Young, who then decided to send two Apostles and several missionaries who had previously served in Hawaii to investigate this corruptive report. These elders, having found Gibson guilty of the accusations, chose to excommunicate him from the Church on 7 April 1864. One of the elders who investigated the Gibson case was Alma L. Smith, who reported in a letter later published in the *Deseret News* that Gibson had "not only instructed, but actually forbid them [the Hawaiians] to hold meetings, preach the gospel, read the Scriptures, or attend to family prayers, &c. &c. He told them that there had been enough of those spiritual works, it was now time to dispense with them and go to work physically."¹⁰⁷ At the time, when Gibson's Church membership hung in the balance, he was asked to turn over land purchased by the efforts of the Hawaiian Church members; to this request, he utterly refused. When Church members learned of his official excommunication, they soon left him, and just six months later, only fourteen Church members had chosen to stay with him.¹⁰⁸

The sterile condition of Lanai, now coupled with Gibson's decision to turn over none of the leases and titles to the Palawai land, necessitated finding a new gathering place. At the dawn of 1865, a new gathering place was selected and purchased in Laie on the island of Oahu, and a number of faithful Church members who had pioneered the work at Palawai now gathered to Laie. What Silas Smith had once written to Brigham Young now seemed prophetic. Writing at a time when the crops met with failure, he declared, "Still I believe that eventually this place will prove a blessing to the Saints for though many may turn from the Church because that everything there does not flourish as they desire; those who remain will gain an experience, which will enable them to pass through greater trials and privations as they advance in the Kingdom of God."¹⁰⁹

Although from a superficial perspective some may view the experiment on Lanai as a failure, the seeds of faith planted in the minds and hearts of the early Palawai pioneers were later harvested at Laie, and several of the

early missionaries who had first sowed in the fields of faith again labored to reap the harvest at Laie.¹¹⁰

Notes



*Genoa Keawe, (on the right) while facing the Palawai Basin, sings to the Latter-day Saint Hawaiians who have gone before.
Photo courtesy Fred E. Woods.*

1. At this same time, European immigrants were being rerouted to the East Coast by Brigham Young because of his fear that these foreign converts might be smitten by yellow fever or cholera, which were running rampant on the Mississippi River. In a letter from Brigham Young to Elder Franklin D. Richards (who was overseeing the emigration of British Saints from Liverpool) dated 2 August 1854, President Young stated, "You are aware of the sickness liable to assail our unacclimated brethren on the Mississippi river, hence I wish you to ship no more to New Orleans, but ship to Philadelphia, Boston, and New York, giving preference in the order named." See "Foreign Correspondence," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 16, no. 43 (28 October 1854): 684. Richard L. Jensen and William G. Hartley note that because of the Crimean War that broke out in this same year, Mormon immigration reached an all-time high the following year. Richard L. Jensen and William G. Hartley, "Immigration and Emigration," in Daniel H. Ludlow, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mormonism*, 4 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 2: 674.

2. The most detailed study of this topic is Raymond Clyde Beck, "Palawai Basin: Hawaii's Mormon Zion" (MA thesis, University of Hawaii, 1972). R. Lanier Britsch also wrote, "The Lanai Colony: A Hawaiian Extension of the Mormon Colonial Idea," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 68–83, and provides a treatment of Lanai in "The

Lanai Colony," *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Mormons in the Pacific Series, Laie, Hawaii: Institute for Polynesian Studies, BYU—Hawaii, 1989). The author wishes to thank Professor Britsch for reading this manuscript and offering several useful suggestions. Gratitude is also expressed to Riley Moffat, head reference librarian at BYU—Hawaii and president of the Mormon Pacific Historical Society, who also provided helpful recommendations to this study. The purpose of this article is not only to commemorate this sesquicentennial event, but also to build upon the good foundation laid by Beck and Britsch by adding another layer of understanding based on important primary documents.

3. Eugene C. Campbell, "The Mormon Gold Mining Mission of 1849," *BYU Studies*, 1–2 (Autumn 1959–Winter 1960): 20–23. See also Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830–1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 72–76. See Leonard J. Arrington, *Charles C. Rich, Mormon General and Western Frontiersman* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1974) for an excellent treatment on the life of Charles C. Rich.

4. Henry Bigler, Diary, Book B, 25 September 1850, cited in Campbell, "The Mormon Gold Mining Mission of 1849," 29–30. The original grammar and spelling have been preserved in each quotation used throughout this paper. According to Andrew Jenson, Bigler was born in 1815 in West Virginia. Having embraced Mormonism in his youth, he later served in the Mormon Battalion. He is known for being the first person to record the discovery of gold (24 January 1848) while working for James Marshall. He served a mission to the Hawaiian Islands from 1850–54 and returned to serve from 1857–58. He later settled in St. George, Utah, where he died 24 November 1900. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1914), 3:599.

5. Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 6 vols., typescript, LDS Church Archives, Family and Church History Department, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 12 December 1850 (hereafter cited as MHHM). Note: The manuscript lacks pagination. Cannon later recorded that he had the strong impression that he should preach to the Hawaiians. He obtained command of the language very quickly and found the most success by way of numbers of converts of the original ten who embarked on this mission. Cannon told the story of his mission to the Hawaiian Islands (1850–54) in George Q. Cannon, *My First Mission: Designed for the Instruction and Encouragement of Young Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1882). Cannon later served as first counselor in the First Presidency to Presidents John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow.

The statements used by Cannon and the other Utah missionaries throughout this article reflect a nineteenth-century cultural view of the Hawaiians, common for this early period. The usage of such words as "native," evidenced frequently in this paper, is not intended to be viewed in a derogatory manner by the missionaries or the author. Readers should clearly understand that these Hawaiian missionaries were encountering a culture unfamiliar to them. It should also be noted that they sacrificed much to bring the restored gospel to the islands and that they had a great love for the Hawaiians. This is especially evident by the special attention that President Cannon and President Joseph F. Smith expressed to the Hawaiian Saints throughout the duration of their lives.

6. MHHM, 13 December 1850.

7. MHHM, 6 October 1853.

8. MHHM, 6 October 1853.

9. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 15 June 1853, LDS Church Archives; also

in MHHM, 18 August 1853, taken from the journal of George Q. Cannon.

10. Brigham Young to George Q. Cannon, 30 September 1853, LDS Church Archives. According to Raymond Clyde Beck, the elders later learned about a law in place stipulating that “no native subject of the King shall be allowed to emigrate to California or other foreign country.” Beck, “Palawai Basin: Hawaii’s Mormon Zion,” 27. Beck cites this law from the “Hawaiian House of Nobles and Representatives, *Penal Code Session Laws 1850*, Section I, 154.

11. The Hawaiian emigration law was relaxed in the late nineteenth century, and Hawaiians were allowed to gather to the mainland. During the years 1889–1917, over two hundred Polynesian Saints gathered seventy-five miles west of Salt Lake City to an area called Iosepa, named after Hawaiian missionary Joseph F. Smith. When the Hawaiian Temple was announced by Church President Joseph F. Smith in 1915, most of the Iosepa Saints returned to Hawaii and gathered to Laie, Hawaii, where the temple was being constructed. For the best study on the story of Iosepa, see Dennis H. Atkin, “A History of Iosepa, the Utah Polynesian Colony,” (MA thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958).

12. “Foreign Correspondence,” *Deseret News*, 2 April 1853.

13. George Q. Cannon, Journal, 5 October 1853, LDS Church Archives. Hammond was born 1 November 1822 in New York. In his youth, he learned the trade of shoemaking from his father, which he used to raise funds on his mission to the islands. At the young age of fourteen, he began going to sea during the summers, working as a cook or a cabin boy while laboring with his father during the winters. In the fall of 1844, he landed in Lahaina, Maui, where he spent three years making shoes. Five years later, he returned to this same area while serving in the Sandwich Islands Mission (from 1851–56). In 1865, he returned to the same mission, where he was instrumental in purchasing land for a new gathering place in Laie on the island of Oahu. Hammond later served as a bishop in Huntsville, Utah, and later presided over the San Juan Stake. He died in 1900 at Bloomfield, New Mexico. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:351–52.

14. Francis A. Hammond, Journal, 28 September 1853, LDS Church Archives. Beck notes that Hammond’s purpose in visiting Lanai was to organize a branch of the Church at Manele, the most frequented port on the island of Lanai. See Beck, “Palawai Basin: Hawaii’s Mormon Zion,” 23.

15. Napela is probably the best-known early Hawaiian Latter-day Saint. He helped George Q. Cannon translate the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian (1852–54) and was also the first Hawaiian to receive the endowment, which he obtained in Salt Lake City in 1867.

16. MHHM, 19 October 1853. Nathan Tanner records, “At 11 o'clock the committee started . . . for Lani in a whail boat with 3 natives to man the boat. We landed at 5 o'clock after taking some refreshment that we had with us br Napela preached a short discourse & baptized 2 that night The Natives seemed very friendly & believing & I think there may [be] a good work don in preaching on this Isleand there is already a beginning made.” Nathan Tanner, Journal, LDS Church Archives.

17. Cannon, Journal, 19 October 1853; also cited in MHHM for this same date.

18. Benjamin F. Johnson, Journal, Book C, 20 October 1853, typescript, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University—Hawaii, Pacific Islands Room, Laie, Hawaii. For an overview of Johnson’s life, see Dale E. LeBaron, *Benjamin F. Johnson: Friend to the Prophets* (Provo: Grandin Book, 1997); and Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life’s Review: Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin Johnson*, Lyndon W. Cook and Kevin V. Harker, eds. (Provo: Grandin Book, 1997).

19. Benjamin F. Johnson, *My Life’s Review* (Independence, Missouri: Zion’s Printing

& Publishing, 1947), 168.

20. Philip B. Lewis to Brigham Young, 2 November 1853, LDS Church Archives. This letter was later published under the title "Extracts" in the *Deseret News*, 30 March 1854. Lewis was born in 1804 at Marblehead, Massachusetts, moved to New Bedford, Massachusetts in 1829, and joined the LDS Church in 1842. Philip B. Lewis, Journal, typescript, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives, BYU—Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii, 1–2. Jenson further notes that the following year Lewis paid for the voyage of the first LDS missionaries to the Society Islands. He served as president of the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1851–55. In 1879, Lewis died in Kanab, Utah. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:672.

21. MHHM, 9 February 1854.

22. Brigham Young to Amasa Lyman and Charles C. Rich, 18 July 1854, 1–2, LDS Church Archives. This counsel is most interesting in light of the fact that when these island Saints first gathered to the Salt Lake City region in the late nineteenth century, they encountered cultural problems living among the white settlers. Therefore, as noted above, a new gathering place was located at Iosepa, a remote region then occupied by the Goshute Indians. Today in this area, these Native Americans still exist, inasmuch as the Skull Valley Indian Reservation is in this same region.

23. Brigham Young to President Phillip B. Lewis and the Elders & Brethren of the Sandwich Islands, 19 July 1854, LDS Church Archives.

24. Brigham Young to Parley P. Pratt, in care of John M. Horner, Union City, California, 19 August 1854, LDS Church Archives, 1–2.

25. MHHM, 17 March 1854. In Nathan Tanner's obituary, it states that he was born in 1815, baptized at age sixteen, and lived a faithful life to the age of ninety-five. The article further notes that he was "a fearless man." At the time of his death, he was the oldest living member of Zion's Camp. "Nathan Tanner Is Called Home," *Deseret Evening News* (19 December 1910), 5.

26. Lewis, Journal, 18 March 1854.

27. MHHM, 17 March 1854.

28. John T. Caine to James Ferguson, 14 April 1855, "Foreign Correspondence," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 17, no. 28 (14 July 1855): 445.

29. Beck, "Palawai Basin," 30–31.

30. Jonathan H. Napela to Keoni Ana [John Young], August 1854, translated by E. H. Hart, Interior Land letters, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaii. Gratitude is expressed to Alan Hoof, an HSA archivist who helped with locating items for this article. According to Britsch, Francis A. Hammond met Haalelea six months earlier, and Hammond wrote that the chief had offered to "give us the privilege of going onto his land there for the space of four years and try what we could do, with out any charge, and after that if we wanted it longer we should then pay something for it." Britsch, *Moramona*, 36.

31. MHHM, 28 August 1854.

32. Thomas Karren, Journal, 29 August 1854, LDS Church Archives. Karren was born on the Isle of Man in 1810, joined the Church in 1842, and served in the Mormon Battalion. He served in the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1852–55 and died a faithful Latter-day Saint in 1876. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:750.

33. Karren, Journal, 30 August 1854.

34. Karren, Journal, 31 August 1854.

35. Johnson, Journal, 31 October 1854.

36. Ephraim Green was born in 1807 at Rodman, Jefferson County, New York, and joined the Church in 1841. Johnson, *My Life's Review*, 181–82. Five years later, he served in the Mormon Battalion and is listed on a muster role as being six feet 2 1/2 inches tall and having blond hair and blue eyes. He served two missions to Hawaii (1853–55) and

(1865–68). Green died in October 1874 at Rockport, Utah, and is buried next to his wife, Mary DeForest Smith (also a native of New York) in a cemetery that overlooks the Rockport Reservoir in Summit County, Utah. Will Bagley, ed., *A Road from El Dorado: The 1848 Trail Journal of Ephraim Green* (Salt Lake City: The Prairie Dog Press, 1991), 7, 41.

37. Mission Station Reports from Lahaina, Maui (1854), 5, Collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Children's Mission Museum Library, Honolulu, Hawaii. "In 1842 the Protestant converts of the island built two stone churches, and a priest came from Lahaina to hold the island's first Catholic Mass in 1846, but neither considered Lanai important or significant enough to establish resident missionaries." Anderson Duane Black, *The Elusive Hawaiian Island—The One That Captain Cook Missed* (New York: Vantage Press, 2001), 13. For information on the early history of Lanai, see Margaret K. Ashford, "A Narrative History," paper prepared for the Department of History, Stanford University, 1974, Bishop Museum Archive, Honolulu, Hawaii. George C. Munro, "The Story of Lanai," undated manuscript believed to have been completed about 1955, available at the University of Hawaii Library, Honolulu, Hawaii, from research done by Dr. Kenneth P. Emory, notes that the population in the island of Lanai from 1846–63 was about six hundred.

38. Francis Hammond, Journal, 17 August 1854, Joseph F. Smith Library, BYU—Hawaii, Pacific Island Room, Laie, Hawaii.

39. Ephraim Green, Diary, 21 August 1854, typescript, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives, BYU—Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii. A special thanks is given to Greg Gubler, the director of the BYU—Hawaii Archives.

40. Silas Smith to Brigham Young, 13 May 1856, 2, LDS Church Archives. In a letter written nearly a year earlier by Francis Hammond to Brigham Young, Hammond mentions another challenge to be considered in gathering Hawaiian Saints to Lanai. He notes that the "pioneers [will] be supported by the church . . . that is have their food sent to them from this Island [Lahaina, Maui]." Francis Hammond to Brigham Young, 15 May 1855, LDS Church Archives. Thus, the Saints scattered abroad on various islands had the responsibility to sustain those who were trying to provide crops for the Church.

41. Britsch, *Moramona*, 38. For example, Eli Bell notes that at Kiliula, Molokai, "I spoke on the subject of the gethering. . . . To my dissatisfaction, . . . all were opposed to the gethering to Lanai." Eli Bell, Journal, typescript, 2 September 1855, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives, BYU—Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii.

42. Britsch, *Moramona*, 38.

43. Bell, Journal, 9 November 1855. Bell served in the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1855–57. In 1860 Bell moved to Logan, Utah, where he served in the Logan Temple. His death was the result of an accident in Logan wherein people apparently panicked, and he was "knocked down and run over on the night of the Card fire." "Eli Bell Dead," *Deseret Evening News* (5 August 1895), 6.

44. Ephraim Green, Diary, 1–2 September 1854, typescript, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives, BYU—Hawaii, Laie, Hawaii.

45. Green, Diary, 3 September 1854.

46. Ephraim Green states, "I then appointed two Captings, . . . the first Janes Paleo? Over the Wailuku pianers and second Kaolanui over the Koola pianers. . . . We then appointed on [one] Captin more this sweld the number to 30 pianers." Green, Diary, 4 September 1854. The MHHM clarifies the names of the captains: "Elder Kimo Pelio was chosen and blessed as captain of the Wailuku company of pioneers. Elder Keolanui was appointed captain of the Kula company and Deacon Leilula captain of the older residents." MHHM, 4 September 1854. Britsch notes, "Because nine or ten Lanai residents

wanted to be considered pioneers, they were also grouped together.” Britsch, *Moramona*, 38. The creation of leaders for companies of ten stems from direction the Lord gave to Moses through Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses as attested in Exodus 18:25. This same pattern is reiterated in the revelation Brigham Young received at Winter Quarters. See D&C 136:7, where we find the only usage of the word “pioneers” in the LDS Standard Works; and also D&C 136:10, which specifically mentions captains of ten.

47. Green, Diary, 5 September 1854.

48. Green, Diary, 3 October 1854. On his return from serving in the Sandwich Islands, Henry W. Bigler told the men at the Las Vegas Mission that Lanai was called “Zion second.” Record of the Los [sic] Vegas Mission, 12, LDS Church Archives.

49. MHHM, 30 December 1854.

50. See Green, Diary, 13, 19 November 1854. Two years later, these worms were still a serious problem. Eli Bell’s journal reveals that the worms were six to eight inches long. He also compared them to the problems he encountered with the mosquitoes in Missouri. “The worms ar now as thick as ever the Musquetoos were in the Missouri botom, and a swaping every thing before them.” Bell, Journal, 22, 28 November 1856.

51. Benjamin F. Johnson to Brigham Young, 29 November 1854, LDS Church Archives. In a letter written by Joseph F. Smith to George A. Smith, Joseph reported that “The inhabitants are increasing fast; about one-hundred Saints gathered there within the last three months.” “Sandwich Islands,” *Deseret News* 4 (4 January 1855).

52. MHHM, 28 September 1854.

53. Karren, Diary, 16 October 1854.

54. MHHM, 13 October 1854.

55. Bell, Journal, 9 December 1855.

56. Henry P. Richards to Franklin D. Richards, 16 December 1854, “Foreign Correspondence,” *Latter-day Saints’ Millennial Star* 17, no. 15 (14 April 1855): 236.

57. Under the date of 31 May 1855, the MHHM notes: “Four missionaries from Lanai landed on Hawaii.”

58. Green, Diary, 15 February 1855.

59. Green, Diary, 17 February 1855.

60. Green, Diary, 22 March 1855. On 6 April 1855, Green also makes note of the fact that he planted peas and beans from Boston.

61. Green, Diary, 3 April 1855.

62. MHHM, 6 April 1855.

63. Green, Diary, 6 April 1855.

64. Green, Diary, 9 April 1855.

65. Britsch, *Moramona*, 39–40.

66. Green, Diary, 26 January 1855.

67. Silas Sanford Smith, Journal, 26 July 1855, LDS Church Archives.

68. Smith, Journal, 18–20 July 1855.

69. Smith, Journal, 20–22 August 1855. Silas Sanford Smith was born in 1830 in Stockholm, New York. He was one of many Saints who were driven from both Missouri and Illinois before gathering to Utah in 1847. After serving as a military leader in the Walker War of 1853, he left on a mission to the Sandwich Islands where he served from May 1854 to November 1856 where his labor included serving for a time in the presidency of the mission. Upon his release, he continued to serve in Utah as both an ecclesiastical leader as well as a civil officer. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:801–2. His obituary notes that he was born in 1830 in St. Lawrence, New York. His family was taught the gospel by his uncle, Joseph Smith Sr. In 1853, Smith served as an officer in the Walker War and as a missionary in the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1854–56.

Following his mission service, he served as a United States deputy marshal, a probate judge, and a prosecuting attorney in Iron County, Utah, and died just shy of his eightieth birthday. "Silas S. Smith Laid Away in the Tomb," *Deseret Evening News*, (17 October 1910), 5.

70. Bell, Journal, 25 July 1855. Bell's entry was apparently extrapolated for the mission history and is evidence for the entry in the MHHM under the same date. The MHHM indicates that there were Hawaiian Saints in attendance who gathered to Lanai for the mission conference. See MHHM, 20 July 1855.

71. Brigham Young to Philip B. Lewis, B. F. Johnson, and "The Brethren of the Sandwich Islands Mission, 30 January 1855, Brigham Young correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

72. Beck, "Palawai Basin," 61. The MHHM, 22 November 1857, explains that Elder Woodbury and Elder John R. Young had requested the governor's permission for two Hawaiians to come with them to Utah. However, they learned on 2 December 1857 that the government had declined the request. It is not known which two Hawaiians the elders requested nor exactly why arrangements were not immediately made for the four designated Hawaiians to gather to Zion. Reason suggests that the laws regarding emigration, coupled with the cost to send them, would have been at the root of the issue. As early as 12 May 1855, Philip B. Lewis had written to Franklin D. Richards explaining, "They are very desirous to gather, but such is their poverty, that at present it would be impossible for them to emigrate to America, even if the laws did not prevent them from doing so." "Sandwich Islands," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 17, no. 34 (25 August 1855): 535.

73. Ward E. Pack, "Correspondence," *Deseret News* 5:36 (14 November 1855), 286. Ward Easton Pack was born in Watertown, New York, on 17 April 1834. Pack was baptized in 1834 and two decades later left on a mission to Hawaii. He later returned to the islands where he was president of the Hawaiian Mission from 1876–78. He died in Vernal, Utah, 16 November 1907. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:341, 632.

74. Ward E. Pack, Journal, 26, 28 February 1856; 2, 24 March 1856, LDS Church Archives.

75. Sixtus Ellis Johnson, Journal, 7 March 1856, LDS Church Archives.

76. Pack, Journal, 2 April 1856.

77. MHHM, 7 October 1856. During this same month, Bell notes that from 10 a.m. until 2 p.m., he "commenced to teach the Native children the English language." The following day he writes, "My school continues the same." Bell, Journal, 20–21 October 1856. Thus, the four-hour plan for school, which was established at the July 1855 conference, was still in place.

78. Johnson, Journal, 17 January 1856. Johnson served in the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1854–57. Johnson was born in Pomfret, New York, on 8 October 1829. He was baptized at eight years of age and moved to Johnson, Utah, in 1848. Following his mission, he served as a high priest and as a bishop. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 4:500.

79. Beck, "Palawai Pioneers," 58. One reason there was such a resurgence for the work during this year may stem from the fact that a number of the Lanai Saints had renewed their baptismal covenants by being baptized in the ocean. For example, both Sixtus E. Johnson and Silas S. Smith attest that as the year closed and 1856 beckoned, they witnessed the rebaptism of fifty-three Hawaiian Latter-day Saints who had been immersed in the sea. Johnson, Journal, 31 December 1855; and Smith, Journal, 31 December 1855.

80. MHHM, 24 October 1855.

81. Beck, "Palwai Basin," 52. As early as March 1855, plans were being made to transport people and produce. Joseph A. Peck, writing to Elder John L. Smith, stated, "The operations on Lanai are very cheering indeed; the wheat, corn, potatoes, and in short everything in the vegetable line, bid fair to yield an abundant harvest; and the brethren are making plans to purchase a small schooner for the purpose of transporting the produce to market, and also for the better convenience for the gathering of the Saints." MHHM, 25 March 1855. Philip B. Lewis, writing on 12 May 1855 to Franklin D. Richards, noted one primary reason for the needed produce: "These islands being a place of resort for whale ships, there is a great demand for produce of all kinds, hence we have no difficulty in finding a market for our produce." "Sandwich Islands," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* 17, no. 34 (25 August 1855): 535.

82. For example, the MHHM reveals a measure of success, inasmuch as the *Lanai* was reported to have brought 230 barrels of potatoes to market. MHHM, 10 November 1855. A few months later, Eli Bell reported that one hundred barrels of potatoes had been carried to market in Lahaina. Bell, *Journal*, 21–22 April 1856.

83. Britsch, *Moramona*, 43.

84. MHHM, 4 October 1857. These minutes were also published under the title "Minutes," *Deseret News*, 7 (9 December 1857): 317.

85. MHHM, 4 October 1857. John R. Young was born in 1837 at Kirtland, Ohio. He served a mission to the Sandwich Islands from 1854–57. He returned to Hawaii in 1864 to repair spiritual damage that Walter Murray Gibson had created and to strengthen the branches of the Church in the islands. He then returned to America and spent his life anxiously engaged in doing hard work, participating in Church service, and raising a large family. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 2:274–76.

86. Joseph F. Smith to George A. Smith, 23 November 1855, "Correspondence," *Deseret News* 6 (16 April 1856), 42. Joseph F. Smith, like George Q. Cannon, was very influential in the Hawaiian Islands and later over the entire Church. Joseph F. Smith was born in 1838 to Hyrum Smith and Mary Fielding. He served in the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1854 to 1857 and was ordained an Apostle in 1866. He later served in the First Presidency as a second counselor to John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, and Lorenzo Snow. He returned to Hawaii to serve a second mission during the time he served with John Taylor and was instrumental in organizing the Hawaiian Saints west of Utah in a place they called "Iosepa" after him. In 1915, he dedicated ground in Laie on the island of Oahu for a temple. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 1:66–74.

87. MHHM, 9 December 1857.

88. Henry Bigler, *Journal*, 13 September 1857, LDS Church Archives.

89. Brigham Young to Elders Silas Smith, Henry P. Richards, and Edward Partridge, 4 September 1857, LDS Church Archives. This letter was received by Henry W. Bigler, who was serving as president of the Sandwich Islands Mission. See MHHM, 16 October 1857. Smith and Partridge left Honolulu for Salt Lake City ten days before this letter was received. MHHM, 6 October 1857. Richards had departed two months earlier. The MHHM index, compiled by Andrew Jenson, lists all the missionaries who served in the nineteenth century and notes that Richards had departed two months earlier (9 July 1857) aboard the vessel *Iantha*.

90. Brigham Young to Elders Henry W. Bigler and John S. Woodbury, 4 February 1858, LDS Church Archives. This letter is also cited in MHHM, 20 April 1858.

91. The four remaining island missionaries left Hawaii on 1 May 1858, with the exception of Elder Clayton, who sailed to the mainland a short time later. See Britsch, *Moramona*, 48.

92. Britsch, *Moramona*, 48. Britsch further notes that the annual rent of \$175 was

quite steep, given the lack of success in crop production. He also mentions that Haalelea soon offered the Palawai pioneers all his property (about ten thousand acres) for only \$300. His motives seem to be a combination of good feelings toward Church members coupled with a concern that the land was virtually useless. Yet these Hawaiian Saints were not in a financial position to take him up on his generous offer. Therefore, Britsch reasons that some type of extended rental agreement must have taken place. See Britsch, *Moramona*, 48–49.

93. Britsch, *Moramona*, 49. Alma L. Smith was sustained as the president of the Lanai conference during the Sandwich Islands general mission conference that was held on this day. See MHHM, 4 October 1857. According to Jenson's MHHM index of missionaries serving in the Sandwich Islands during the nineteenth century, Smith went aboard the *Yankee* on 1 May 1858 to return to Utah.

94. Britsch, *Moramona*, 49. Eighty-five Saints had gathered to Lanai from other islands, and sixty-eight were "Old Residents" of the island of Lanai, making a total of 153. MHHM, 6 October 1858.

95. MHHM, 6 October 1858.

96. MHHM, last entry listed under the year "1858." As previously noted by Britsch, the ten-thousand-acre parcel of Lanai land was being offered for \$300. Britsch, *Moramona*, 48–49.

97. MHHM, 1859, no month or day given.

98. MHHM, 1860, the only entry for the year, no month or day given.

99. Mission Station Reports from Lahaina, Maui (1858), 4, Collections of the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, Children's Mission Museum Library, Honolulu, Hawaii. A general letter written by several Protestant missionaries to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), located in Boston, reveals their combined view that "Mormonism at the islands seems to have nearly completed its mission." Joint Protestant Letter, "General Letter," 4 June 1858, signed by D. Baldwin, D. B. Lyman, J. F. Pogue to Reverend R. Anderson, Children's Museum Library, Honolulu, Oahu. For a discussion concerning the relationship between these Protestant missionaries and the Mormon elders during this period see M. Guy Bishop, "Waging Holy War: Mormon–Congregationalist Conflict in Mid–Nineteenth–Century Hawaii," *Journal of Mormon History*, 17 (1991):110–19.

100. Mission Station Reports from Lahaina, Maui (1859), 6–7.

101. This view seems to have been also shared by Jonathan H. Napela, who, as previously noted, warned a member of the Hawaiian monarchy that "Destruction is going to visit this Government, which destruction has been foretold by the prophets." In this same letter, Napela implied that the only place the Hawaiian government would be safe was on Lanai. See Jonathan H. Napela to Keoni Ana [John Young], 24 August 1854, translated by E. H. Hart.

102. Mission Station Reports from Lahaina, Maui (1860), 6–7.

103. Walter Murray Gibson, Diary, 5 November 1861, cited in Britsch, *Moramona*, 54. Britsch maintains that Gibson's story is "probably the most frequently written about incident in LDS Church history in the Pacific and Asia." Britsch, *Moramona*, 51. Such sources include Gwynn Barrett, "Walter Murray Gibson: The Shepherd Saint of Lanai Revisited," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40, no. 2 (Spring 1972): 142–62; and R. Lanier Britsch, "Another Visit with Walter Murray Gibson," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46, no. 1 (Winter 1978): 65–78.

104. Walter Murray Gibson to Brigham Young, 16 January 1862, 1–2, LDS Church Archives. We get an idea of how many people were gathered under Gibson's direction on Lanai as well as their doings from a letter he wrote six months later addressed to "the

Honourable Secretary of the House of Nobles." The letter reads in part, "Under my direction a portion of this Community have formed a settlement upon this island. They have cultivated a large body of hitherto wild land; and the labour of a daily average of twenty able bodied men has produced this season not less than three thousand bushels of cereals and esculent roots. . . . In addition to these agricultural labours they have built a commodious house for assemblage and worship; and a school house capable of comfortably accommodating one hundred scholars. There are eighty-two children in this settlement or parish. . . . I have organized an industrial school, in the advantages of which, the labouring adults participate, as well as the children." Beck, "Palawai Basin," 101, also cites a letter from Gibson to Robert Wyllie (Minister of Foreign Affairs), 20 March 1862, wherein Gibson states, "I have in this district of Palawai on Lanai, under my guidance; 62 male adults; 70 to 75 female adults; and eighty-five children." Historical and Miscellaneous, 1847-64, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaii.

105. Britsch, *Moramona*, 55-56.

106. Solomana, Puuanui, Holoa, Hoopiaina, Kaawa, Mak'uakani "and all the saints," to Alma L. Smith, 23 July 1863, Brigham Young correspondence, LDS Church Archives.

107. Alma L. Smith, Letter, 29 April 1864, published in "Sandwich Islands," *Deseret News* 13 (22 June 1864): 39.

108. Britsch, *Moramona*, 57-58.

109. Silas Smith to Brigham Young, 4 March 1856, 2, LDS Church Archives. Jenson, *Biographical Encyclopedia*, 3:341-42, notes that Smith was born in 1822 at Lawrence County, New York, and joined the Church in 1835. He served as president of the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1855-57. Smith died in 1892 in Millard County, Utah. Elder Neal A. Maxwell explained with regard to the spiritual development of mankind, "We can allow for the reality that God is more concerned with growth than with geography." Neal A. Maxwell, *Official Report of the 146th Semi-Annual Conference of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1977), 16.

110. For the story of the founding of Laie, see Britsch, *Moramona*, 61-81. A book currently being written by the author and several other scholars will tell the entire history of the Church in Laie, which will include the harvest of faith that came from the seeds of Lanai. Such a harvest can be readily evidenced by the fact that several of the Palawai pioneers eventually gathered at Laie during the 1860s. One notable Hawaiian who lived for a time on Lanai was Jonathan H. Napela, who by 1867 was supervising the Hawaiian Saints at the Laie sugar plantation. Several of the elders who labored on Lanai later returned to serve in Laie when the new gathering place opened up. Such elders included Francis A. Hammond, Ephraim Green, Eli Bell, and Alma L. Smith.

