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THE MAKING OF THE AHUPUA`A OF LĀ`IE INTO A GATHERING  
PLACE AND PLANTATION: THE CREATION OF AN  
ALTERNATIVE SPACE TO CAPITALISM

by

Cynthia D. Woolley Compton

A dissertation submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Brigham Young University

December 2005

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE COMMITTEE APPROVAL

of a dissertation submitted by

Cynthia D. Woolley Compton

This dissertation has been read by each member of the following graduate committee and by majority vote has been found to be satisfactory.

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Thomas G. Alexander, Chair

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Kathryn M. Daynes

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Susan Sessions Rugh

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Paul R. Spickard

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Carol J. Ward

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the dissertation of Cynthia Compton in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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Date

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Thomas G. Alexander  
Chair, Graduate Committee

Accepted for the Department

---

Kathryn M. Daynes  
Graduate Coordinator

Accepted for the College

---

Elaine Walton  
Associate Dean,  
College of Family, Home and Social Sciences

## ABSTRACT

### THE MAKING OF THE AHUPUA`A OF LĀ`IE INTO A GATHERING PLACE AND PLANTATION: THE CREATION OF AN ALTERNATIVE SPACE TO CAPITALISM

Cynthia D. Woolley Compton

Department of History

Doctor of Philosophy

This dissertation is a labor history of the Lā`ie sugar plantation between 1865 and 1931. It explores intercultural and race relations that were inherent to colonial and plantation processes in Hawaii. Particular attention is given to the role of religion in advancing the colonial project.

In 1865 Mormon missionaries bought approximately 6,000 acres with the hope of creating a gathering place for Hawaiian converts to settle in. The ideal of the gathering was a metaphor the missionaries brought with them from Utah, and it was a metaphor appropriated by Hawaiians and infused with their own cultural meanings, particularly the importance of the land.

In order to economically support the gathering place, the missionaries turned to a plantation model. The plantation they developed was unusual in several respects. First, for most of the plantation's history, labor was done predominantly by Hawaiians. On the majority of other plantations, immigrant labor was used. Second, on Lā`ie Plantation the cultivation of kalo was as important as sugar. Both crops were promoted by both Hawaiians and missionaries. Thus kalo production was one of the chief reasons Hawaiians stayed on Lā`ie Plantation. It appears that many of those who gathered to Lā`ie did so because to a large extent they could reconstruct traditional Hawaiian culture and foodways.

Finally, the metaphor of the gathering mitigated some of the most onerous aspects of plantation life. The gathering was for Hawaiians and thus for the first thirty years, only Hawaiians were hired to work as laborers. This created a labor shortage that Hawaiians were able to use as they negotiated labor relations and the continuation of their cultural practices.

However, in 1897 the metaphor of gathering began to diminish as a guiding ideal in shaping the structure of the plantation. Hawaiians began to be more dissatisfied with plantation work and increasingly had less voice in choices regarding the land. By the early 1900s, Lā`ie began to resemble other Hawaiian plantations in terms of its ethnic makeup, landscape, and emphasis on capital development. After 1920 very few Hawaiians continued to work on Lā`ie plantation

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In two days, I will be sending the final draft of my dissertation to my committee. I am humbled and jubilant to think that this part of the project is almost over. This apprenticeship has been a journey traveled in good company. I am appreciative for the care, time, and rigor with which my committee has shared the craft, art, aesthetic, and principles of writing history. I am especially indebted to Thomas Alexander who, as my committee chair, has many times parted bureaucratic Red Seas. More importantly, he has taught me much about how to do history, including Mormon history. I confess that for most of my university life I avoided doing history that had much to do with my faith. The language and assumptions of history and religion seemed too contradictory. While I knew how to wrestle with those tensions personally, I was not sure how to do it publically. Tom's example has helped me gather up the courage to engage in the discourse that emerges when the fields of these two endeavors I love overlap. My committee members, Kathy Daynes, Susan Rugh, Paul Spickard, and Carol Ward continually offered a powerful blend of critique and encouragement. It is difficult to express how much better this dissertation is because of the one-on-one input I received from each of them.

The support many staff members at Brigham Young University Provo has also made a huge difference in the completion of this project. I extend special thanks to Julie Radle for her eternal efficiency and graciousness while I worked on this project. Her reminders, processing, encouragement, and extra efforts contributed greatly to my



fulfilling the requirements of graduate work. I especially appreciate the extra work offered by her and her office staff in the final stages of the dissertation. I also am very appreciative of Claire DeWitt and Shelby Herrin of Graduate Studies, for their support and assistance, particularly in dealing with the many complexities of completing this project long distance.

Baigalmaa Dorjgotov helped type many of the notes used for this dissertation. Michelle Campbell helped me by typing notes, making bibliographic entries, and assisting with the computer. Julie Abundo's help was invaluable in transferring census records from their handwritten origins to spread sheets. She then helped with preparing the statistics and tables from that data. Both Michelle and Julie's unflappable help provided skill and sanity during the intense last weeks of writing this paper. Kama Hopkins read every chapter to review Hawaiian language usage, translate terms into English, and create a glossary.

Bill Wallace, Vonn Logan, and Kela Miller also shared their knowledge of Hawaiian language and history. Bill's lecture on Lā`ie in a World Communities class helped me understand better the importance of kalo. I also appreciate the time he took to talk to me about my dissertation as it was shaping up and then for reading much of it. Kela arranged for me to do oral interviews in her home. Vonn is not only a master fisherman, but a master storyteller, and a cook extraordinaire. All of these talents help me to understand Lā`ie better.

A grant supplied by Vernice Wineera and The Pacific Institute at Brigham Young University Hawai`i came at an important time in my research and allowed me to continue on in a timely and efficient manner. Deep appreciation goes to the librarians and

archivists who aided me in so many ways. As I have traveled between archives, I have been amazed at how consistently people of good will choose to work with records from the past and then make them easily accessible for historians. I am particularly appreciative of Rose Ram and Riley Moffat at the Joseph F. Smith Library here in Lā`ie. Rose is masterful at locating works and early on pointed me in good directions. I drew on Riley's expertise on local history and cartography. Greg Gubler and Matt Kester, the archivists at Brigham Young University Hawai'i, were most generous in their time and expertise. The archivists in the Mormon Church's archives in Salt Lake City bent over backwards to help me accomplish what needed to be done in a short amount of time. I am also appreciative for the help given me at the Hawai'i State archives.

Although I came somewhat late to Hawaiian studies, a group of friends and fellow apprentices shared much of their accumulated knowledge, bibliographies, conversation, and time. Kerri Inglis, Matt Kester, and Isaiah Walker are not only smart, they are generous. Their input on my ideas, writing, and argument inspired reflection and rewrites.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the generosity of Dawn Wasson, an indigenous scholar, activist, and friend who has generously shared her time, research, knowledge, and humor. She has taught me much about crossing bridges to seek understanding.

My Lā`ie `ohana also made a huge difference. Friends and neighbors not only shared their encouragement, but for several months Kelly Allen, Bonnie Huff, Mary McMurtrey, Ruth Ann Smith, and Rene Wilson alternated bringing in dinner every Wednesday. Clydie Wakefield, Ann Alisa, and Ann Allred helped proof my chapters (sometimes more than once). Clydie Wakefield and Dawn Wasson also helped double

check my citations. Such categorizations do not do justice to the fluidity of their support and the support of other friends, including Shey Hyatt and Kathy Ward, as they responded to the rhythms of doing this dissertation.

This research could not have been done without the support of my Utah family and friends. Marcielle Barney, Gretchen Becker, Larita Johnstun, Celeste Santana, Annette Ward, and Debbie Woolley moved in and out of the roles of auntie and other-mother, depending on what was wanted and needed. They and their families provided food, lodging, and good conversation at crucial intervals. Although my other siblings do not live in Utah, their support, encouragement, and understanding made a huge difference. My parents consistently encouraged me, even when it meant we did not get to see as much of each other as we wanted to. They not only cheered me on but helped me with archival work by traveling from St. George to Salt Lake to make a copy of Edward Partridge's journal and search out other journals for me. My niece, and aspiring historian, ShaNae Woolley, spent time poring over microfilms looking for letters from George Nebeker, typing them out, and then proofing them. My nephew Randy Santana spent time reading through journals and making notations about weather conditions in the mid-1880s. Carlos Santana, another nephew, spent two days proofing texts at archives in Salt Lake City.

Most of the sacrifice for this endeavor has been right here on the home front. Marissa and Elle have grown up with a mother going to school. The deadlines of the dissertation affected multitudes of family decisions. Chad and my children offered support, humor, patience, and encouragement throughout the breadth, length, and depth of this project. While there are no footnotes in the body of the dissertation acknowledging

the more than two decades of conversation with Chad, the footprints of that discourse show up throughout the paper. Much of the pleasure of writing this paper is in the conversations we shared.

Part of honoring the contributions of these people who have made such a difference in making this dissertation better is also acknowledging that the interpretations and errors in the dissertation are my own kuleana and responsibility.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION: METAPHORS AND MODELS IN LĀ`IE, 1865-1931

On April 5, 1882, King Kalākaua, Hawai`i's monarch, made a visit to the remote village of Lā`ie on the windward side of O`ahu. He came as the guest of honor for the ceremonial placement of four cornerstones for a new chapel being built on the Lā`ie sugar plantation by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons). Much effort was put into welcoming the King. Harvey Cluff, the Mormon mission president and manager of Lā`ie Plantation, recorded that with the means open to them, Lā`ie made an “elaboret preparation . . . in order to give His Majesty David Kalakaua as brilliant a reception as possible.” The welcome included a company of twenty-five men waiting at a decorated gate on the main road to escort the king up through the pasture road to the mission home. In honor of the occasion new trees had been planted alongside the road every twenty feet. The citizens of Lā`ie also lined the road in welcome and then fell into the procession in double file after the King passed. Another arch greeted the King as he approached the mission home, and “mounted in the center [was] a crown guarded with Hawaiian flags. Beneath the crown was painted with large shaded letter ‘E ola Mau Ka Moi’ ‘Long live the King.’”

However, it was not the rough pageantry that caught the attention of Kalākaua. Instead his eyes focused on the children that greeted him. Cluff wrote: "The most



imposing sight and that which attracted the most pleasing attention of the Royal party was the two lines of children between which the party passed from the arched gateway to the mission house. Each child stood armed with a stock of sugar cane emblematic of the chief industry of the Islands."<sup>1</sup> By 1882 the Native Hawaiian population had been decimated by foreign diseases. Yet, in this small, fairly isolated district, the King found a thriving Hawaiian village. It was not the first time that the proportionately high number of children was a point of pride for Lā`ie. On a previous visit, the King found a higher proportion of children to adults in Lā`ie than in “any other district.”<sup>2</sup> The King addressed the people gathered together in this way:

Now what can I do to mark my reign—what shall be done to signalize it? This is my great desire—to witness an increase in the population of these Islands. But I cannot do this alone, you must assist me. I see before me the plants which we must nourish in order to increase the population

You parents must take care of your sons and daughters that they may become good citizens. Teach them to become industrious and to work that they may have good homes. I have observed that where they are industrious as here, they are numerous as here & healthy. (Mr. Mitchell [the Mormon Mission President], told his Majesty that the births in his colony numbered thirty within six months.) I am gratified to hear this statement and hope it will continue.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Harvey Harris Cluff, Journal and Autobiography, 187-89, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie. See also James Hamilton Gardner, Daily Journal, April 1882, 3-7, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>2</sup>Andrew Jenson, comp., “History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” (photocopy), 22 April 1874, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie. This compilation has no page numbers, but it is often dated on the top of each page or, as in this case, by the date of the item copied or pasted in the record (hereafter cited as Jenson).

<sup>3</sup>Harvey Cluff, 157-58.

Kalākaua was not alone in seeing employment and industry as a means of national uplift. The Mormon missionaries who greeted the King saw the plantation as a means to provide employment and to nurture industry among Native Hawaiians. Like many Americans who came to the archipelago in the nineteenth century, Mormon missionaries saw their own culture as superior to that of Native Hawaiians. As a result, their notion of teaching industry to Native Hawaiians was paternalistic in nature. Thus, the sugar held by the Lā`ie children created a symbiotic shorthand for the impact of Westerners on Native Hawaiian life. Surprisingly, it also symbolized Native Hawaiians' attempts in Lā`ie to carve out an alternative space where they could continue to practice many of their traditional means of food production.

Part of this alternative space was hinted at by another aspect of Kalākaua's visit. It is most likely that during his overnight stay in Lā`ie the King was offered poi produced from kalo (taro) grown in the valley behind the missionary compound. In that valley, Native Hawaiians continued to work in lo`i kalo (taro patches, wetland) on days they did not work on the plantation. This meal and others suggest that one of the reasons Lā`ie was able to maintain a primarily Native Hawaiian workforce on the sugar plantation was because the labor arrangements negotiated between Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries facilitated the growing of kalo and harvesting of the ahupua`a (land division extending from mountain to sea).<sup>4</sup> The poi presented to the King and his party was grown

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<sup>4</sup>The islands of Hawai`i were divided into land districts called ahupua`a. An ahupua`a encompasses the watershed, from the mountains to the sea. The resources of the ahupua`a were used by the maka`āinana (commoners) to secure food for their family, community, and ali`i (chiefs).

on the plantation and suggests the determination of Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie to perpetuate cultural values connected with food production. The juxtaposing of kalo and sugar cane was not just used in honoring Kalākaua on his visit to Lā`ie in 1882 but also in the very landscape of the plantation. That these two crops—which competed for land, labor, and water—continued to be grown in the same ahupua`a throughout the history of the plantation suggests not only the uniqueness of Lā`ie Plantation but also the tenacity of the residents in continuing to follow traditional food pathways.

### Historical Background

By the time King Kalākaua visited Lā`ie in 1882, sugar interests began to dominate political and economic life. Before Europeans landed in Hawai`i in 1778, Native Hawaiians used kalo to create one of the most productive economies in the Pacific. Precontact society was organized into maka`āinana (commoners), konohiki (headmen of the ahupua`a under the chief), and ali`i (chiefs). Labor historian Edward D. Beechert described how these groups interacted with one another in making the land productive.

Under the ali`i system, the ahupua`a functioned as a tax unit. The head of the ahupua`a, the konohiki, had the duty of ensuring that the people of the unit met the levy specified by the administrative officer. Despite the increasingly rapid turnover of chiefs and lieutenants, the commoners were little affected. . . . The Hawaiian tenant held the land apportioned to him to maintain his family. He owed a portion of his produce to the ali`i above him. . . . Three principles ruled: Water, like land, was governed by use considerations rather than by possession; neither land nor water could be transferred or owned in the sense of excluding others from their use; and those who did not utilize their share, and who did not contribute, lost both the land and the water.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1985), 9.

This Hawaiian emphasis on usufruct land rights—based on usage rather than a notion of private ownership—was at odds with the market economy Europeans and Americans brought with them to the islands.

The contact between Hawaiians and Westerners quickly altered Hawaiian society and relations. After Europeans arrived, Kamehameha quickly took advantage of European weapons to consolidate his rule throughout the archipelago. His reliance on European weapons and goods moved Hawai`i closer to a market economy. Increasingly, the power base of the elite altered as it moved from controlling the labor of the commoners and redistributing goods to directly taxing maka`ainana. Also, under the influence of Protestant missionaries, the Hawaiian monarchy, through the Mahele (great dividing of land between 1845 and 1850), divided the land up among individuals which ultimately resulted in the transfer of large tracts of land to Westerners. This privatization—combined with decimating Old World diseases, a growing market economy, and an emerging contractual legal system—made it increasingly difficult for Native Hawaiians to maintain traditional labor relations and agricultural practices. By the 1860s, Hawai`i moved towards a plantation economy, and by the end of the century, much of the landscape was transformed into sweeping fields of sugar cane.<sup>6</sup>

Among those helping to transform the landscape were missionaries from the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who sent missionaries to Hawai`i in 1850. The message these missionaries brought to the islands was that the authority and power of

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<sup>6</sup>Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1983), 18-20.

early Christianity had been restored by the Prophet Joseph Smith and that all people, Christian and non-Christian alike, should align themselves through belief and baptism with the Mormon Church. This message found more success among Kānaka Maoli (native people) than among the Europeans and Americans who settled on the Hawaiian Islands. By the end of 1854, seventy-five small congregations existed, with the majority of them presided over by Native Hawaiians. However, by 1856 the initial growth of the church slowed, with some congregations experiencing "mass apostasy."<sup>7</sup> Such challenges were compounded by the failure of an early gathering place the church established on Lana`i, the missionaries being called home in 1857 due to the lack of growth of the church in Hawai`i, and the approaching Mormon War in Utah.<sup>8</sup> In 1861, Walter Murray Gibson, a baptized Mormon and confirmed adventurer, arrived from Utah and proceeded to take over the agricultural experiment at Lana`i and used church members and resources to build his own kingdom.<sup>9</sup> He was successful enough that when Utah missionaries

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<sup>7</sup>R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989; reprint, Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1998), 29, 44.

<sup>8</sup> Tensions between the United States federal government and Mormons degenerated to the point that in 1857 American troops invaded Utah Territory

<sup>9</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 50-58. While Brigham Young had given Gibson "tacit authority to lead the Church in Hawai`i," Gibson worked "consistently toward his goal of controlling and owning the Church lands" on the island of Lana`i. Some members questioned his practices and wrote to Salt Lake with their concerns. Immediately, a committee was sent to Hawai`i to investigate Gibson's actions. Ultimately, Gibson was excommunicated. The gathering place in Lana`i had never been productive, and the missionaries believed that legal action would cost more than the land was worth.

returned to Hawai`i in 1864 to investigate Gibson they found most of the church in disarray.

The challenge faced by the local members and missionaries was how to renew the church and get it on a solid foundation. Once again, the missionaries suggested creating an agricultural colony as a gathering place.<sup>10</sup> Following this recommendation, Brigham Young, President of the Church, called Francis A. Hammond and George Nebeker to find a place where the Hawaiian Saints could gather and settle.<sup>11</sup> In 1865 Hammond and Nebeker purchased most of the ahupua`a of Lā`ie,<sup>12</sup> approximately 6,000 acres, for the development of a gathering place for the Hawaiian Saints where they could be “instructed in the principles of the gospel and in right living.”<sup>13</sup>

The Mormon missionaries believed that creating an agricultural colony would "civilize" Hawaiians. In this, Mormons were very much a part of the colonialism and paternalism common to nineteenth-century missionaries in Hawai`i. In 1836, a Protestant missionary expressed a vision of the redemptive power of Western agriculture in this way:

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<sup>10</sup>Jenson, 5 July 1864, 23 December 1864, and 7 May 1865.

<sup>11</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 62-63.

<sup>12</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 64. Because of the 1862 Morrill Anti-Bigamy Law, limiting the real estate a church could own to \$50,000, it was deemed unwise for the church or Brigham Young, as trustee of the church, to purchase the land outright. Thus Nebeker and Hammond invested their own money, and the church loaned them funds with the expectation that the loan would be repaid as the plantation became self-sufficient. Jeffrey S. Stover, "The Legacy of the 1848 Māhele and Kuleana Act of 1850: A Case Study of the Lā`ie Wai and Lā`ie Malo`o Ahupua`a, 1846-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai`i, 1997), 67-68.

<sup>13</sup>Jenson, 23 December 1864.

The [Hawaiian] people need competent instruction in agriculture, manufactures, and the various methods of production. . . . Let a company be formed on Christian and benevolent principles, for the express purpose of promoting the interests of this country by encouraging the cultivation of sugar-cane, cotton, silk, [and] indigo. . . . Let this company, or the agents to be employed by the society above named, consist of men of approved piety and established character. . . . Such is the outline of a plan to hasten the elevation of this people, and to secure permanently the blessings of civilization and Christianity.<sup>14</sup>

However, the Protestant missionaries could not get financial backing from the Board of Foreign Missions to create a place of agricultural tutelage because it was seen as too expensive.<sup>15</sup>

While the paternalism of the Mormon missionaries was not unusual, the support given by the church for a gathering place in Lā`ie was.<sup>16</sup> The ideal of the gathering place created certain expectations and limitations regarding acceptable labor relations on the plantation. Both Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries drew on the gathering place as a source of identity and as a negotiating tool. For example, Kānaka Maoli and Mormon

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<sup>14</sup>Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, 3d ed. (Hartford: H. Huntington, 1849; reprint, Rutland: C.E. Tuttle Co., 1981), 492-495.

<sup>15</sup>Beechert, *Working*, 21.

<sup>16</sup>Lilikala Kame`eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), 302-05. The involvement of former Calvinist missionaries or their descendants was not particularly unusual in plantations; and, in fact, Kame`eleihiwa noted that between 1850 and 1890 missionary and business interests merged, with missionaries buying land and turning into entrepreneurs. See Carol MacLennan, "Plantation Capitalism and Social Policy in Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 75. Approximately three years before Hammond and Nebeker purchased land in Lā`ie for the church, the Calvinist missionaries lost their New England financial support when their mission was closed. Thus a central difference between Lā`ie and other plantations was the institutional support Lā`ie received from the Mormon Church headquarters.

missionaries in Lā`ie rejected the commonly used contract labor system, which bound workers to the plantation for an extended period of time. Shortly after the reciprocity treaty in 1876, only four plantations paid wages rather than using contract labor: Waimānalo, Kipāhulu, Grove Farm, and Lā`ie.<sup>17</sup> Many Native Hawaiians saw such long-term contracts as not in their best interests, while many of the newly emerging planter class saw such an attitude as illegitimate. In describing this disagreement, Beechert noted the following:

It should be remembered that the "problem" began with the Hawaiians' refusal to meet the expectations of the foreign community rather than with any alleged defect in character. . . . "Idleness" was largely the declared reaction of those who wished to direct and channel the work of the Hawaiians. The ability of the Hawaiians to "subsist," and thus to frustrate development plans, led to these conclusions. Many of the remaining Hawaiians were engaged in their traditional activities of farming and fishing. They were, therefore, not readily available for missionary conversion to "industriousness" or for planter exploitation in order that underutilized lands could be turned into the desired stream of profits.<sup>18</sup>

Beechert's observation that Hawaiians were more interested in perpetuating their traditional economy than participating in the emerging market economy suggests one reason why Native Hawaiians worked on Lā`ie Plantation. The small size of the plantation meant that for much of Lā`ie's plantation history, Native Hawaiians could combine wage labor with traditional means of food production. Thus Kānaka Maoli found in the Lā`ie Plantation a place to carve out an alternative economic space that allowed

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<sup>17</sup>Beechert, *Working*, 94.

<sup>18</sup>Beechert, *Working*, 23.



them to follow traditional food production patterns while meeting the demands of capitalism.<sup>19</sup>

### Humans as Agents

That imperialism is resisted is a given. Yet it is important to note that not all imperialistic ventures were the same and not all resistance was the same. It is in exploring those differences that we see humans as agents of choice. Native Hawaiians' response to the massive societal transformations they faced varied.<sup>20</sup> Many Native Hawaiian Mormons from other islands chose to gather in Lā'ie and work on the plantation, which was beginning to sustain the economic vitality of the gathering place. However, the nature of the plantation and the goals of the gathering place often conflicted with one

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<sup>19</sup>Charles R. Hale, "Cultural Politics of Identity in Latin America," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26 (October 1997): 581. Hale suggested that indigenous peoples who experience "greater insertion in the market . . . have better chances" to practice their traditions "by exploiting opportunities from within . . . [to] hack out a space within the" dominant culture. As such, they are able to subvert the "traditional-modern dichotomy that has always been used against them, and at the same time help to dispel the impression that they are engaged in radical, frontal opposition to "the system."

<sup>20</sup>Certainly Kānaka Maoli chose multiple responses, as shown by Kame`eleihiwa's study (*Native Land*) of Native Hawaiian elite. She noted that many Hawaiian elite appropriated Christianity in an effort to meet the challenges of colonialism. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo`ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002) documented Native Hawaiian political resistance in the face of the growing power of sugar interests. Merry studied how the Western legal system created logical imperatives difficult to overcome. What these works do particularly well is illuminate the nexus of human agency with systems, such as colonial, religious, political, or legal systems. Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

another. Tensions emerged as Mormon missionaries supervised Native Hawaiian workers and as Native Hawaiians asserted traditional work patterns.

The tensions inherent in Lā`ie acted very much as earthquake fault lines in revealing the ruptures between human agency and economic systems. Such ruptures transform into narrative as "groups try to make sense of new problems or opportunities, defend or assert claims, reframe identities, mobilize members for political action, or otherwise rethink who they or others are."<sup>21</sup> For example, the tensions between the religious practices and the financial imperatives of the plantation created ruptures between Native Hawaiian workers and foreign missionaries, revealing cultural values held by the different groups. These ruptures illuminate not only tensions between faith and economics but also intercultural tensions between missionaries and Native Hawaiian members. The missionaries recorded many of these ruptures, illuminating stories and values that might otherwise remain hidden if there had been no conflict.<sup>22</sup>

#### Native Hawaiian Plantation Experience

This dissertation argues that in Lā`ie Native Hawaiians sought to maintain their connection to the `āina (land) in the face of encroaching commercial agriculture. The central question this dissertation focuses on is why these Native Hawaiians worked on

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<sup>21</sup>Stephen Cornell, "That's the Story of Our Life," in *We Are a People: Narrative and Multiplicity in Constructing Ethnic Identity*, ed. Paul Spickard and W. Jeffrey Burroughs (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 45-46.

<sup>22</sup>James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), xii-xiii.

Lā`ie Plantation in proportionately higher numbers than on other sugar plantations. At the very time that Kalakaua attended the cornerstone ceremony, plantations throughout the islands increasingly turned to Chinese immigrants to fill their expanding labor needs. By 1892, Lā`ie's Native Hawaiian or part-Native Hawaiian workforce of 99 percent offered a striking contrast to the 8 percent Hawaiian or part-Native Hawaiians that worked on sugar plantations throughout the islands.<sup>23</sup> With such a contrast it is easy to see why most plantation studies focused on Native Hawaiian Plantation experience prior to 1876, when most of the plantation workers were Hawaiian, and for later years focused on the emerging majority of immigrant workers.<sup>24</sup> The ruptures recorded by Mormon missionaries allow us to capture snapshots of how some Native Hawaiians resisted capitalism well into the twentieth century, including how Hawaiians appropriated the missionary idea of gathering and used it to offer a critique of private property and labor relations.

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<sup>23</sup>*Report of the President, Bureau of Immigration to the Legislature of 1892* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1893), 28-31, in Board of Immigration Reports, 1878-1899, Hawai`i State Archives, Honolulu (hereafter cited as Board of Immigration).

<sup>24</sup>There are works that focus on particular immigrants working on plantations. However, the following authors write primarily of plantation experience and give histories that include most of the ethnic groups working the plantation. Edward D. Beechert, "Patterns of Resistance and the Social Relations of Production in Hawaii," in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, ed. Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1993). Edward D. Beechert, *Working*. John Mei Liu, "Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy, 1835-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985). MacLennan, "Social Policy." Carol MacLennan, "Foundations of Sugar's Power: Early Maui Plantations, 1840-1860," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 33-56. 97-125. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana*.

This dissertation also contributes to our understanding of the intertwining of religion and colonialism in Hawai`i. In most cases, the inclusion of Lā`ie Plantation in historical studies emerges as a chapter in Mormon history in Hawai`i rather than its context in colonial plantation history. On the other hand, in most plantation histories, the Mormon plantation experiment emerges most often as a footnote.

### Culture and History

While this dissertation is labor history, it is of necessity an intercultural history. There is no way to understand what happened on the plantation without examining the histories of both Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries. Both of these peoples created plantation and community together.<sup>25</sup> As Greg Denning, one of the preeminent historians of Oceania, wrote:

The past belongs to all those on whom it impinges. We are bound together by encounters of Native and Strangers in our past. There is no ‘other side of the beach’, no ‘this side of the beach’ in a history of this all-impinging past. Such a history needs to be inclusive. Each side can only tell its own history by also telling the other’s.

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<sup>25</sup>This study draws on the legacy of Herbert Gutman and his insistence that understanding culture is a prerequisite to understanding labor relations. His work focused on the United States and the “fact that the American working class was continually altered in its composition by infusions, from within and without the nation, of peasants, farmers, skilled artisans, and casual day laborers who brought into industrial society ways of work and other habits and values not associated with industrial necessities and industrial ethos.” His emphasis on culture translates well when studying plantation life in Hawai`i, with its various infusions of different ethnicities in the plantation setting at different periods. In the case of colonial Lā`ie, Gutman’s emphasis on periodic infusions of laborers is somewhat reversed. Instead of infusions of workers coming to Lā`ie for the first half of the plantation’s history, it was regular infusions of foreign missionary managers who came to the plantation. Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 15.

That is its politics. Each side must disempower itself in some way. The beginning of such a voyage will always be a disempowerment of self.<sup>26</sup>

Part of that disempowerment for me comes in relating how I came to write this history.

I first came to this project thirteen years ago when I moved to Lā`ie where my husband and I taught at Brigham Young University Hawai`i. It is impossible to live in Lā`ie without encountering ruptures and tensions in this intercultural contact zone. Lā`ie is amazingly diverse in terms of class and culture. While it is often easy for newcomers to recognize that a rupture has occurred, it is more difficult to make sense of what the rupture means. Shortly after I moved to Lā`ie, Faith Wrathall, stopped by my house. When she rang my doorbell she read a sign I brought with me from my home in California. The sign read: “On this site in 1897 nothing happened.” I originally bought the sign because of my tendency to stop and read obscure historical markers along highways. When Faith read the sign she said: “This isn’t true, in 1897 taro was grown here.” At first I thought she was reconfirming the point made by the plaque—nothing had happened. However, she indicated that she was not joking and again asserted the point that it was important that kalo was grown in Lā`ie in 1897. Our exchange held in it a small rupture that revealed differences in understanding and experience. The simultaneous generosity and adamancy of Faith’s response invited me to understand

My experience with Faith illuminates that I write as a “stranger.” It has taken me over a decade of living in Lā`ie to begin to comprehend the importance of kalo in twentieth-century Lā`ie, let alone nineteenth-century Lā`ie. As I began research on this

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<sup>26</sup>Greg Dening, *Beach Crossings: Voyaging Across Times, Cultures, and Self* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 13.

paper, my initial sense was that sugar was the primary crop on the plantation. It was not until I started to write Chapter Three that I began to understand both intellectually and emotionally how the production of kalo was crucial to the construction of the Hawaiian community and the existence of the plantation in Lā`ie. As I grew to recognize the importance of kalo to plantation dynamics, I reread the oral histories of Lā`ie collected by Clinton Kanahale decades earlier.<sup>27</sup> It became apparent to me that both he and the people he interviewed knew of the importance of kalo. Because of their perspective, their experience, and their own history, they understood Lā`ie in away that I cannot duplicate. This dissertation is my attempt to understand more fully the colonial history in Lā`ie that was made by both Kānaka Maoli and missionaries.

I also write as a believing member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, who grew up hearing and using many of the metaphors used by the missionaries. Thus it is not surprising that I feel most comfortable writing about missionary experiences. That ease with missionary metaphors is also a challenge in writing this dissertation. It is important that my familiarity with missionary metaphors not distract me from the task of understanding Native Hawaiian and missionary metaphors as they produced and lived them in a time and context different than my own.

Dening suggested that metaphors help us better understand the daily living of historical actors and conceptualize the past in ways the people then identified with. He

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<sup>27</sup>Clinton Kanahale, “Interviews Conducted by Clinton Kanahale” (Lā`ie: Privately Printed, 1970), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie (hereafter cited as Clinton Kanahale).

asserted that such an approach is superior to using outside models of understanding that attempt to articulate cultures from outside perspective and theories.

Metaphors are understood and models are imposed. . . . Understanding others then, can have two meanings. It can mean entry into the experience of others in such a way that we share the metaphors that enlarge their experience. Or it can mean that we translate that experience into a model that has no actuality in the consciousness of those being observed but becomes the currency of communication amongst the observers."<sup>28</sup>

Such metaphors are not static artifacts of culture, but actively created and lived. Sally Engle Merry suggested that culture is not a coherent "system of shared values held by a social collectivity," but instead a process of production and appropriation, which adopts "a cultural product in terms of local meanings and practices."<sup>29</sup> Colonial Hawai`i was made up of "fractured cultural fields . . . with competing cultural logics, rooted in particular structures of power." These logics manifested themselves in "contact zones consist[ing] of contested and shifting signs and practices," including metaphors.<sup>30</sup> Conceptualizing culture as processes of production and appropriation allows us to see how metaphors and models can be transformed by people into new meanings and uses.

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<sup>28</sup>Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land, Marquesas, 1774-1880* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai`i, 1980), 86.

<sup>29</sup>Gutman's insistence in a clear delineation between culture and society grew out of an anthropological concept of culture as bounded within a collectivity. I draw more fully from the more recent social constructivist concepts well-articulated in Merry's work. She argued that rather than "boundedness and coherence," cultural production takes place in fluid "contact zones, colonial projects, and borderlands rather than 'societies.'" Merry, 29-30. The fluidity of those zones suggests negotiated sites between societal demands and cultural assumptions.

<sup>30</sup>Merry, 29.

Colonial plantation life in Hawai`i brought together multiple peoples and was particularly conducive to fomenting culture fluidity and exchange. The ideal of gathering that the Mormon missionaries brought over with them to Hawai`i was appropriated by Native Hawaiian Saints and made into their own metaphor expressing their connection to the land. As Merry noted:

Cultural appropriation can be a form of resistance since it means taking an existing cultural form and replaying it with different meanings or practices: perhaps taking the tune and playing it in a different key or a different speed so it becomes something different, although the same. . . . The concepts of production and appropriation incorporate agency and power since they define culture as contested, historically changing, and subject to redefinition in multiple and overlapping social fields.<sup>31</sup>

Both Denning's privileging of metaphor over model and Merry's notion of appropriation as resistance speaks to issues of power. Denning's description of models as imposed understandings in colonial settings can include the imposition of institutions, economic entities, and legal systems.

Thus I use both metaphors and models to get at the nexus between human choice and the systems people encountered. These terms should not be seen as closed and static entities. Rather they should be used with the idea of teasing out processes of production and appropriation to examine more fully continuity and change. Examining metaphors allows us to get at values, hopes, resistance, meanings and perceptions. Examining models allows us to look at how local folk dealt with the demands of a global economy. It is in the yeasty contact between metaphor and model that issues of power, culture, and choice reveal themselves. Such a contact zone is rarely neat and tidy nor easily delineated.

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<sup>31</sup>Merry, 30.



The process of appropriation creates tensions between internal values and “foreign” logics embedded in the appropriated metaphor or model.

This dissertation focuses on the choices made by Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries. In Chapter Two I explore the collectivist culture of the Mormon missionaries and argue that they used their culture to create a hybrid plantation, adapting the metaphor of the gathering to structure the plantation in an increasingly market-based economy.<sup>32</sup> The exploitation and economic order represented by the plantation model was often at odds with the collectivist culture and metaphor of gathering Mormon missionaries brought with them to Hawai`i.

Whereas Chapter Two asserts the establishment of a hybrid plantation, Chapter Three argues that Kānaka Maoli helped shape the hybrid plantation by creating an alternative economic space that allowed them to continue to grow kalo in the midst of a sugar plantation. Native Hawaiians used their culture to assert control over the production of the land and sea. At times, this assertion conflicted with Mormon missionaries’ attempts to impose their authority over the ahupua`a. Few Native Hawaiian records exist for the plantation period. However, there is a rich archival record of missionary journals and court cases. While these sources sometimes reveal Native Hawaiian voices, mostly those records filter Native Hawaiian responses through missionary perspective. In these

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<sup>32</sup>I do not use the terms plantation or model to suggest static entities. Rather the terms allude to how market forces shaped the style of agriculture practiced in Hawai`i. Plantations often refer to commercial forms of agriculture in colonial areas. The fact that the commercial farm is colonial often speaks to exploitation of labor forces—either of indigenous workers or workers imported from other "peripheral" areas.

missionary journals, hidden transcripts emerge, revealing that some of the most intense conflicts were over fishing, cultivating `awa, and growing kalo. The ruptures reveal the bay to be the least colonized of all the regions of the ahupua`a.

Chapter Four argues that one of the primary reasons Kānaka Maoli worked on Lā`ie Plantation was because of their success in negotiating labor relations. During the period of the hybrid plantation, the metaphor of a gathering place for Native Hawaiians led to the practice of hiring only Kānaka Maoli, creating a labor shortage. The result was that for approximately three decades Kānaka Maoli successfully protected a five-day work week, avoided contract labor, and used strikes to create election holidays. Much of the resistance offered by Kānaka Maoli grew out of their insistence on continuing to work in their lo`i and their tendency to give primacy to kalo instead of sugar.

In Chapters Two, Three, and Four, I argue that foreign missionaries and Native Hawaiians used their culture and metaphors to negotiate and mitigate the plantation model. Chapter Five examines the logic of the plantation in relation to the `āina and ahupua`a of Lā`ie. Traditionally the ahupua`a was supposed to meet all the basic food requirements of its inhabitants. However, the imperatives of the United States sugar market pressured plantations to expand the cultivated acreage of sugar, making it more difficult for Kānaka Maoli to grow kalo. The expansion of cane signaled the transformation of Lā`ie from the collectivity of a hybrid plantation to a more industrial plantation model.

In Chapter Six I argue that although the metaphor of gathering was understood differently by Native Hawaiians and missionaries throughout most of the nineteenth century, it had been an ideal that allowed them to unite and coordinate in many ways. However, with

the announcement of the plans to build a temple, the missionary metaphor of gathering moved to a more individualistic ideal. Consequently, this transition made it more difficult for Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries to coordinate. In the eyes of the missionaries, the completion of the temple in 1919 meant that the metaphor of gathering place and the plantation were no longer central to the success of the Mormon mission. Shortly after the completion of the temple, the missionaries moved the mission headquarters from Lā`ie to Honolulu. The changed missionary metaphor ultimately contributed to the demise of the plantation, and by the 1920s much of what made Lā`ie Plantation unique disappeared. It was in this context that one of the most serious ruptures on the plantation occurred. In 1927 the plantation sold off beachfront property. Native Hawaiians used the metaphor of gathering to critique the commodification and sale of part of the ahupua`a. Shortly after the sale of the beach land, the Church sold its interest in the plantation (although not the land). At the time of its sale, the plantation only employed 11 percent Native Hawaiians.<sup>33</sup>

## Terms

This history was not only written about Lā`ie, it was also written in Lā`ie. As such, it is appropriate to not italicize Native Hawaiian words as is customarily done with foreign terms and to instead acknowledge the primacy of Hawaiian in this plantation history. Also in referring to those who lived on the plantation, I generally use terms from the primary records. Native Hawaiian and Native were terms commonly used. Nineteenth-century Mormons in

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<sup>33</sup>See Appendix B.

Hawai`i often referred to themselves as Saints. Thus I use that term also. However, I also combine these terms to create the designation of Native Hawaiian Saints. Generally, when the term Saints was used, it was when the missionaries referred to themselves and Native Hawaiians who were members of the Church. I use the term Native Hawaiian Saints as a means of identifying Mormon Native Hawaiians. Another term used is foreign missionaries. By the time the Mormon missionaries settled in Lā`ie, the Calvinist mission to Hawai`i no longer existed. Instead many of the missionaries and their descendants began to join forces with merchant families to create sugar plantations. Thus the term missionary or foreign missionary in this text most often refers to Mormon missionaries. When the missionaries wrote, they frequently referred to themselves as foreign and Kānaka Maoli as native. Such terminology spoke to the colonial nature of the endeavor.

There is a certain double-sidedness to the terms foreign and native. On the one hand, the missionary notion of foreignness was tinged with ethnocentric notions of superiority as they attempted to uplift and civilize Native Hawaiians. On the other hand, it also spoke to an understanding that they were not permanent residents. Most Hawaiian sugar plantations were owned by those intending to stay in Hawai`i with the anticipation of benefitting economically from their endeavors. However, the majority of Mormon missionaries who came and worked on the plantation worked on the plantation for just a few years. This practice of a regular turnover meant that the structure of Lā`ie was different from other plantations. Also since most of the workforce was Hawaiian until approximately 1910, it meant that most of the interaction on the plantation was in Hawaiian. The language spoken in church meetings was Hawaiian, and songs were sung

in Hawaiian. Thus the terms foreign missionaries and Native Hawaiians speak to a structural imperative that helped to create some of the uniqueness of the plantation. I also use the term Mormon missionary, although it was not a term common to Lā`ie's written texts. However, it is a means of distinguishing Mormon missionaries from the Calvinist missionaries that preceded them to the islands. Finally, although the Protestant missionaries were known as Congregationalists in New England, in the journals of the Mormon missionaries, they were referred to as Calvinists.

### Conclusion

Lā`ie village provides an ideal place to look at the intersection of personal agency and the market economy. As nineteenth-century Native Hawaiians faced the colonizing pressures of explorers, whalers, merchants, missionaries, and planters, the parameters of their choices altered irrevocably. On most plantations the land was reshaped from growing kalo to fields of sugar. However, in Lā`ie, kalo was grown in the ahupua`a throughout the life of the plantation and even beyond. This fact, combined with the high proportion of Native Hawaiians that worked on the plantation well into the first two decades of the twentieth-century, point to the exceptionality of Lā`ie Plantation. Here a group of rural Hawaiians met the global forces that converged on the Hawaiian archipelago between 1865 and the 1930s to create an alternative space to the market economy. They did so by drawing on their own culture and by using the metaphor of gathering from their Mormon faith.

## CHAPTER 2

### TENSIONS BETWEEN MISSIONARY CULTURAL COLLECTIVITY AND THE PLANTATION MODEL, 1865-1890

While it was not inevitable that Mormon missionaries would create a sugar plantation to support their gathering place in Lā`ie, it is not surprising that they did. Benjamin Cluff arrived in Lā`ie in 1865 and is listed as the first missionary to yoke up cattle to plow in the ahupua`a. Early sources list cotton, corn, rice, and sugar as some of the first crops planted by the missionaries.<sup>1</sup> As Cluff plowed fields in preparation to plant, Native Hawaiians continued to tend their kalo.<sup>2</sup> Whatever agricultural model the missionaries chose needed to create enough financial viability to provide sustenance and work for the many Hawaiian converts they hoped would gather in Lā`ie.

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<sup>1</sup>“Biography: Benjamin Cluff, Sen.,” *The Cluff Family Journal* 1, no. 12 (20 March 1902): 181-184, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie. George Nebeker to Brigham Young, 17 October, 1865, Brigham Young Office Files, 1832-1878, CR 1234-1, Reel 42, Box 30, Folder 15, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (hereafter cited as Office Files); George Nebeker to John Taylor, 20 February 1879, Mission Administration Correspondence, 1877-1915, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, typescript (hereafter cited as Mission Administration); Andrew Jenson, 11 August 1865, “History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>2</sup>Carol MacLennan noted that in Hawai`i during the 1840s and 1850s, commercial agriculture geared for export played a relatively small role in the economy. The majority of the Hawaiian people grew Native Hawaiian foodstuffs, such as kalo and sweet potatoes. Carol MacLennan, “Foundations of Sugar’s Power: Early Maui Plantations, 1840-1860,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 36.

In the context of the times and in their own settlement patterns, it would have been surprising if the Mormons had looked to indigenous agricultural models. As Euro-Americans moved west, over plain and water, they brought with them a culture they assumed superior to the indigenous cultures they encountered. And, like the Calvinist missionaries that preceded them to Hawai'i, the Mormons intended to "lift up" and "civilize" Hawaiians, rarely seeing the merits of Hawaiian civilization and culture. While the Mormon missionaries did not try to change the food of the Hawaiian converts, they did not seriously consider creating a community settlement based on Hawaiian foodways and practices. Cotton turned out not to be an option, as it became infested with worms.<sup>3</sup> The Hawaiian commercial vegetable market began to die out at approximately the same time that the missionaries began their La`ie experiment, making it increasingly difficult to provide sufficient sums of cash growing corn, kalo, or sweet potatoes commercially.<sup>4</sup>

Thus it is probably not surprising that the missionaries ultimately turned away from these agricultural models and instead created a sugar plantation.<sup>5</sup> The United States'

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<sup>3</sup>George Nebeker, 14 October 1866, in Jenson.

<sup>4</sup>It is difficult to assess how successful the pursuit of the commercial vegetable market might have been. However, there is evidence that La`ie had the agricultural capacity to hold a fairly large population. Perhaps as many as ten Hawaiian villages in La`ie had been sustained by kalo. See Jeffrey S. Stover, "The Legacy of the 1848 Māhele and Kuleana Act of 1850: A Case Study of the La`ie Wai and La`ie Malo`o Ahupua`a, 1846-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai'i, 1997), 20. Also, finding a market for such crops was at issue. While vegetables had been successfully marketed during the commercial agricultural boom spurred on by the rush to the California gold fields, those markets declined by 1865. See MacLennan, "Foundations," 45.

<sup>5</sup>Europeans and White Americans brought with them their own staples. The planting of these staples could be as destructive to the plants of the new lands as the diseases they brought with them that decimated indigenous populations, including Hawaiians, who had

Civil War created a boom sugar market, motivating many in Hawai`i to grow sugar on plantations. As the missionaries saw it, growing sugar was a means of providing employment for the Kānaka Maoli converts to Mormonism and to create a economically viable gathering place.<sup>6</sup>

Benjamin Cluff and his fellow missionaries drew on the plantation as an economic model; however, they consciously modified it. As the missionaries appropriated the model, they infused Lā`ie plantation life with their own religious values. Despite the distance of Lā`ie from Utah, the missionaries carried with them cooperative settlement patterns from Mormon Great Basin colonies and set out to recreate those patterns at the feet of the Ko`olau Mountains. The result was a sort of hybrid plantation that was unique in many ways to other plantations on the archipelago. In this chapter I argue that the collective culture of Mormonism brought by the missionaries helped to create a hybrid plantation between the years 1865 and 1890, drawing on their assumptions of property ownership and labor. In addition to examining property and labor practices, the chapter also examines the tensions created by their collectivist expectations and the demands of running a plantation.

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little resistance to the new viruses and germs brought by the colonizers. While the colonizers brought their own staples such as wheat, they were not adverse to adapting indigenous crops to their own needs. Corn is such an example. It originally was indigenous to the Americas, but by the time Benjamin Cluff was tilling the land in Lā`ie, corn had become one of the staples of Euro-Americans. Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

<sup>6</sup>Alma Smith, 9 May 1868, in Jenson.



## Plantation Logic and the Dilemmas it Posed for Appropriation

Because the plantation is an economic model of agriculture, it is tempting to examine plantations in economically and culturally static terms. Yet, as Ethan Yorgason, a cultural geographer, noted: "Too often, the culturally specific drive for capitalist maximization of profit and material wealth is regarded as temporally and geographically constant, not particular to specific regional social structures." Economies contain "a cultural constitution" and "moral order," that "depend[s] on notions of right and wrong and responsibility to one another."<sup>7</sup> Thus it is important to see the context of the plantation in terms of the cultures that the Mormon missionaries and Hawaiian converts brought with them to the plantation. Tensions and contradictions emerged as these two cultures attempted to implement a model that in many ways was contradictory to their metaphors.

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<sup>7</sup>Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 79. See also Carol MacLennan, "Plantation Capitalism and Social Policy in Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 20-21. MacLennan argued that when analyzing plantations, historians must move beyond the institutional category of plantation and contextualize the means of production systemically with regard to whether the plantation was precapitalist or capitalist, with class relations being central to such analysis. She offered this as a critique to the anthropological work of Mintz and his tendency to draw on a model rather than look at how plantations were products of their specific geography and how they were economically situated. MacLennan's focus on class relations overcorrects in paying little attention to culture and how owners and workers used it to shape plantation life. In a sense, this study builds on her assertion that it is crucial to examine the form of ownership and the social relations between the owners and workers, but with the emphasis of examining those relations in terms of their cultural beliefs and metaphors.

Nonetheless, it can be generalized that plantations historically relied on coerced labor.<sup>8</sup> If one looks at a plantation as an economic model, one sees a mode of agriculture that generally creates sites of resistance between those who run plantations and those who labor on it, pitting their interests against one another. Also, the structure and the economy of plantations create situations that almost always lead to exploitation. Sidney Mintz and Eric Wolf define a plantation in such a way as to highlight why such exploitation is difficult to avoid:

[A plantation is] an agricultural estate, operated by dominant owners (usually organized into a corporation) and a dependent labor force, organized to supply a large-scale market by means of abundant capital, in which the factors of production are employed primarily to further capital accumulation. . . .<sup>9</sup>

In modern history, plantations generally existed in the periphery of the global economy where “developed” or “core” nations dominated politically and economically.<sup>10</sup> Such dominance meant that plantations resided in areas that rarely dictated the terms of sales or profits. This was complicated by the fact that plantations often competed against other plantation producers around the world for the core markets. One of the central ways Hawaiian plantations attempted to become globally competitive was to reduce costs and

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<sup>8</sup>Edward D. Beechert, “Reflections,” in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, ed. Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1993), 317-18.

<sup>9</sup>Eric Wolf and Sidney Mintz, “Haciendas and Plantations in Middle America and the Antilles,” *Soc. and Economic Studies* 6 (3), 380; quoted in MacLennan, “Social Policy,” 18-19.

<sup>10</sup>John Mei Liu, “Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy, 1835-1920” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 41-47.

increase efficiency. Because plantations in Hawai`i grew sugar, their task was complicated by a heightened need for the rationalization of labor and the dovetailing of tasks. Sugar is finicky in that once it is cut, the sugar juices in it decline rapidly. Thus when the sugar cane was harvested, it was a race against time to get the rinds to the mill while the sugar juices were at their prime. The plantation owners desired the workers and machinery to work in a smooth and timely manner in order to obtain the optimal amount of sucrose from the cane. In nineteenth-century Hawai`i, one of the chief strategies for creating a stable and predictable work force was to try to bind laborers to the plantation through long-term contracts.<sup>11</sup>

The need for efficiency conflicted with the actual process of work, which was often messy and onerous. Harvesting cane included the back-breaking labor of bending over all day, while wielding a machete in the hot sun. Hefting the bundles of harvested cane to the carts was considered one of the hardest and heaviest of all jobs. Although the work in the mill itself was generally considered a high-status job, the exertions required in its inferno-like interiors could affect the health of those working in it.<sup>12</sup> It is not

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<sup>11</sup>Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1985), 108-13; and Carol A. MacLennan, "Hawai`i Turns to Sugar: The Rise of Plantation Centers, 1860-1880," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 110, illuminated how the ability of employers to impose contract labor in Hawai`i was often dependent on labor conditions. In the 1850s when Native Hawaiians had more employment opportunities, they often worked as day laborers or made short-term contracts of three to six months. However, by the 1860s as employment opportunities decreased, they began to work for one-year contracts.

<sup>12</sup>"Biography: Benjamin Cluff," *The Cluff Family Journal* 1, 14 (20 September 1902): 221-24, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, La`ie.

surprising that Native Hawaiians and immigrant labor attempted to avoid contract labor, preferring to work for wages that opened up greater autonomy and negotiating power. Thus the structure of nineteenth-century Hawaiian sugar plantations created competing interests between owners and workers.

Many of the inherent drawbacks of plantation life were recognized in mid-century Hawai'i. As early as 1836, Calvinist missionaries proposed to promote large-scale agriculture as a means of uplift by Christians rather than by foreign speculators.

[The Hawaiian] people need much instruction and aid in getting into operation . . . those arts and usages which are adapted to the country. . . .

[They] need more powerful promptings and encouragements to effort and enterprise than they now have, and unless something more can be done for the people . . . foreign speculators may be expected to seize on the advantages which the country affords for agriculture, manufactures and commerce: and an inevitable influx of foreign population, induced only by the love of pleasure and gain, would doubtless hasten the waste of the aborigines; and at no distant period, the mere mouldering remnants of the nation could be pointed out to the voyager.<sup>13</sup>

This narrative supplied by Hiram Bingham missed the fact that Hawaiians had created a prosperous and complex society well adapted to the semitropical climate of the volcanic islands. Bingham's goal was to transplant his Yankee and Calvinist patterns of industry on the islands. He critiqued Hawaiian cultural modes of work as well as the considerably less-pious Western merchants who had already settled on the islands. Bingham faulted the Western merchants in Hawai'i for their emphasis on speculation and profit, which contributed to the "wasting" away of Hawaiian society. He contrasted their speculation to the paternalism of the missionaries, which he defended as a protective barrier against economic exploitation. Five years after Bingham's proposal to tutor Native Hawaiians in

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<sup>13</sup>Bingham, 492-93.

Western ways, the editor of *The Polynesian*, a journal sympathetic to missionary interests, summarized similar arguments regarding agriculture on the islands.

Foreigners argue that before any permanent improvement can take place here, articles of export must be raised, and trade and agriculture encouraged. The [Hawaiian] chiefs profess the same views, but the difference exists in the plans for carrying them into effect. The former urge for large grants of lands for extensive plantations, and the introduction of foreign capital and agriculturalists into the kingdom—and in this way give employment to natives. The latter contend for small farms, with leases that while it secures to them the reversion of the land and improvements eventually, will effectively check any great foreign emigration. They profess to see, and perhaps justly, the decline of their own power with the increase of whites. A strong prejudice also exist among them, that by deeding away land, they also lose the right of sovereignty over it—an idea which unfortunately in many instances the unprincipled resistance of individuals to their authority has confirmed. It is natural also that they should grasp the power [all] the stronger, which to them seemed ever ready to slip from their hands.<sup>14</sup>

In those early decades the Calvinists drew on their New England background to promote the development of a yeoman class of Kānaka Maoli farmers who owned their own land rather than a class of plantation employees.<sup>15</sup> This view could be maintained because of developments in California, where the Gold Rush was creating a burgeoning market for vegetables grown in Hawai`i. However, the Calvinist mission was dissolved and lost its funding in 1863, at approximately the same time the California vegetable market declined. With the downturn of the commercial vegetable trade and the need to support themselves, the Calvinist vision of a yeoman class dissipated. Instead, the Calvinist

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<sup>14</sup>J. Jarves, “Editorial,” in *The Polynesian*, 13 March 1841, 158; quoted in Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), 178-79.

<sup>15</sup>MacLennan, “Social Policy,” 73-74; McLennan “Foundations,” 35.

missionaries moved philosophically and economically “toward the creation of a free labor force, [which] . . . complemented the plantation development” in the 1860s.<sup>16</sup>

Similar to the Calvinist transition from promoting commercial agriculture to embracing plantation agriculture, the Mormon colonies in Hawai`i changed from the commercial farming experiment on Lana`i to the plantation model eventually implemented in La`ie. However, these transitions did not develop symmetrically. The Mormon transition was shaped for a longer period of time by a critique of speculation and drew more explicitly on collective and cooperative models.<sup>17</sup> At the time the plantation experiment was begun in La`ie, the church on its Great Basin homefront was attempting to create a “cooperative commonwealth, . . . [that] promoted equality and community development.”<sup>18</sup> The first twenty-five years of the plantation in La`ie saw the creation of a

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<sup>16</sup>MacLennan, “Social Policy,” 74.

<sup>17</sup>The Mormon plantation was not the only plantation that attempted to integrate religious qualities into plantation practice. Beechert noted that in 1866 Reverend Elias Bond chastised his two partners, Amos Cooke and Samuel Castle, for not using Christian values to run Kohala Plantation. By 1867, Bond was able to implement rules he hoped would inculcate Christian living among the workers. Bond donated his profits and dividends to missionary work. See Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1985), 71-72. This religious inclination made Kohala somewhat unusual. Mormons saw their plantation as unusual and criticized speculation in Hawai`i. For example, see a 9 November 1874 letter from Alma Smith to Orson Pratt, in Jenson.

<sup>18</sup>Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 182 (quotation); Yorgason, 78-81; and Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 27-28, 314-315; Richard White, “*It’s Your Misfortune and None of My Own: A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 241-42; and Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), 124.

hybrid plantation that combined subsistence and commercial agriculture, plantation modes of sugar production, and cooperative influences from Utah.

### Lā`ie as Collective Order

The contours of the Lā`ie Plantation were fluid and changed over time. This was not only because of the pressures of the land and market, but also because the Mormon missionaries experimented with how to fit together their cultural values and metaphors with the almost contradictory economic demands of the plantation in a global economy. It is tempting to divide the community of Lā`ie into compartments, such as mission, colony, plantation, and gathering place. However, such divisions rationalize and delineate an experiment that was organic in nature, with the roles, purposes, and momentum of those categories flowing in and out, shaping one another. The Mormon missionaries drew on a faith motivating them to integrate material and spiritual life in everyday activities.<sup>19</sup> Such integration included intertwining economic activity with spiritual belief. The narratives of the missionaries reveal how intertwined economics and faith could be in building up a gathering place that was also a plantation. F. A. Hammond, one of the two missionaries assigned to begin the gathering place, wrote back to Salt Lake:

On this day I, in company with Br. Geo. Nebeker, left Salt Lake City in the overland stage for the S[andwich] I[slands] on a mission, just having been called and set apart by Prest. B. Young, with letters of instructions to proceed to those Islands and obtain a land or lands for purchase or lease suitable for growing cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 5.

<sup>20</sup>Francis A. Hammond, Journal, 10 November 1864, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. See also Jenson, 7 May 1865.

Thus, in one sentence Hammond connected mission and plantation. Maria Louisa Dilworth Nebeker, a wife of George Nebeker, demonstrated how financial investment and sacrifice for faith could be one and the same when she described her part in helping to create the plantation and mission in Lā`ie.

When my son William G. Nebeker was but four months old, my husband, Bro. George Nebeker, was called on another mission to the Sandwich Islands. I thought, of course, he would take his first family,<sup>21</sup> but what was my surprise when I was told that all my property (left me by my first husband John Leonard, deceased), was to be sold—my home, my farm, cattle, city lots—all that remained to me of my departed husband—and I was to go with Bro. Nebeker to a strange land, buy property there and help to make a gathering place for the native Saints. It seemed I was then offering my Isaac, yet I never faltered, sold all but a change of clothing for my child and myself, and I thought not of myself—only to perform my duty.<sup>22</sup>

It is difficult to tease out or apportion how faith and economic interest fit into this account; but it is suggestive that without such a mission call, it is unlikely that Nebeker would have diverted her inheritance from Utah farmland to a plantation in Lā`ie. The Calvinist missionaries already living in Hawai`i who had lost their New England financial support turned to plantation building; but they along with the merchants found it difficult

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<sup>21</sup>The Nebekers, as did many of the missionaries that served in Lā`ie, practiced plural marriage. However, with the possible exception of Samuel E. Woolley, who served as mission president from 1895-1919, usually only one wife accompanied their husband to the mission. Although it appears that Woolley practiced plural marriage after the Manifesto, at this time it is not clear where the ceremonies took place and under what situations these marriages were undertaken since his journals that cover those time periods may have been destroyed by a daughter-in-law. See Lance D. Chase, *Temple, Town, Tradition: The Collected Historical Essays of Lance D. Chase* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 2000), 58.

<sup>22</sup>Maria Louisa Dilworth Nebeker, 7 July 1865, in Jenson.



to obtain outside capital.<sup>23</sup> Thus Nebeker's transfer of her property from Utah to Hawai'i was unusual for its time.

Leonard Arrington, a Mormon economic historian, suggested that mission calls such as the one extended to the Nebekers, were used by Mormons to establish and maintain colonies considered difficult. The label of mission "clothed the project with special purpose and determination, and implied that none should leave the assignment without a specific 'release.'"<sup>24</sup> Certainly, Lā`ie qualified as a difficult colony to staff and support. It was further from Salt Lake City than any of the other Mormon colonies and for the missionaries was situated in an unfamiliar climate and unfamiliar culture.

In addition to these challenges was the economic uncertainty of the endeavor. Even as they first settled in Lā`ie, the missionaries wondered which commercial crops would provide the best support for the gathering place. Their efforts in Lā`ie grew out of the context of the 1850s experiment on Lana`i, which had not been all that promising. It is one thing to grow crops one knows in familiar terrain, yet very challenging to move to a new climate in a new land and plant new crops. Before the practice of industrial agriculture, farming required the handing down of knowledge and skills from one generation to another and an intimate knowledge of the land. Although many of the

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<sup>23</sup>John Mei Liu, "Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy, 1835-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 121, wrote about the nature of capital resources made a decade after this investment by Nebeker and noted that after the Treaty of Reciprocity in 1876 loans were made to the sugar industry. However, few Americans invested directly into sugar plantations, with the exception of Claus Spreckels.

<sup>24</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 89; White, 301-02.

missionaries came from farming and ranching stock, their knowledge of growing crops was in temperate climates rather than a volcanic, semi-tropical island.<sup>25</sup> Even though the missionaries lacked the intergenerational ways of knowing the land in Lā`ie, they felt pressure to succeed quickly in order to convince Hawaiians that this was not another Lāna`i.<sup>26</sup> The challenges inherent in such an endeavor required commitment, thus those called from Utah to serve in Lā`ie came as missionaries.

As colonists, the missionaries continued to draw heavily on their own religious and cultural patterns to establish a colony in the coastal plain of windward O`ahu. After Harvey Cluff returned to Utah from his first mission to Lā`ie in 1874 and before he was called to preside over the Lā`ie mission and plantation in 1879, he clerked for a short time in the Provo Mercantile Co-op and also helped to organize a united order.<sup>27</sup> Both of these endeavors emerged out of the cooperative and collective movement that were a

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<sup>25</sup>A letter from Brigham Young to George Nebeker in 1866 points to the need to experiment in growing different crops. “The experience which you are gaining in planting will be very valuable to you in your future labors. Every experiment that you make increases your experience, and you will, after awhile, become acquainted with the capabilities of the soil and the nature of the climate.” Brigham Young to George Nebeker, 1 October 1866, Brigham Young Letterpress copybooks, MS2736, Box 9, Folder 4, *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, ed. and prod. Richard E. Turley, Jr. (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2002), DVD (hereafter cited as Special Collections).

<sup>26</sup>Missionary Alma Smith stated: “Quite a number of native Saints have gathered from the different islands to this land, and are now engaged in growing cane. We could not get them to engage in the cultivation of cotton, neither in cane until they saw a mill going up. They had been so badly swindled by Gibson, that as ‘a burnt child dreads the fire,’ they had almost lost all confidence in the white man. But now they feel encouraged to go ahead and try and do something for themselves.” In Jenson, 9 May 1868.

<sup>27</sup>Harvey Harris Cluff, *Journal and Autobiography*, 161, 163, and 169, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

dominant part of Mormon economic organization after 1869. This movement sought to emphasize collective welfare over individual acquisition. “Cooperation, it was believed, would increase production, [and] cut down costs. . . . It was also calculated to heighten the spirit of unity and ‘temporal oneness’ of the Saints and promote the kind of brotherhood without which the Kingdom could not be built.”<sup>28</sup>

The missionaries' approach to building up Lā`ie and the plantation drew on such collectivist underpinnings. Certainly, it was more than just a plantation—it was also a mission and a gathering place. The multiplicity of the layers meant that the Lā`ie plantation beginnings, although integrated with the capitalist economy, were mitigated by “the Mormon concept of time and property as a collective trust,” used for God’s glory.<sup>29</sup>

#### Property and Collective Housing

Mormons had a variety of settlement patterns in the Great Basin, but the defining value behind them was that the ownership of property “was in every case incidental to the common purpose.”<sup>30</sup> The initial investment made in Lā`ie by the Nebekers followed one form of Mormon intermountain settlement where colonizers invested their own money and bore much of the financial risk, with limited financial backing from the Church. Nebeker's metaphoric linking of her inheritance to Biblical Isaac is complemented by Hammond's account of the financial beginnings of the mission:

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<sup>28</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 315.

<sup>29</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 94.

<sup>30</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 94.

Called to day in company with Bro. George Nebeker, on Prest. Young, and made our report of the mission—which was favorably received—President Young offers to loan the \$5000, to make the first payment with, and wait on Bro. George Nebeker and I for two years or more, at the rate of ten per cent interest per annum.<sup>31</sup>

Correspondence indicates that Nebeker hoped that the missionaries who accompanied him to Lā`ie would invest in the plantation. When they arrived, they found conditions in Lā`ie not as favorable as they had been when Nebeker first bought the land, and many of the missionaries refused to invest.<sup>32</sup> However, in the 1870s, Nebeker was successful in persuading a former missionary from the 1850s, Frederick A. Mitchell, to purchase one-third interest in the plantation.<sup>33</sup> Nebeker also sold land to a few Kānaka Maoli.<sup>34</sup>

This arrangement echoes Mormon Great Basin patterns of investment of the 1850s and 1860s. At that time the ownership of property was not seen as inviolable. While property could be owned privately, it was seen as somewhat fluid in nature with its purpose to be used for the benefit of the collective whole of the church. Businesses could be privately owned. However, that ownership was sometimes organized and directed by the church.

[Private property was seen as] instruments of the church with limited jurisdiction over a portion of the economic activity of the Kingdom. The church initiated

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<sup>31</sup>Hammond, Journal, 8 March 1865.

<sup>32</sup>George Nebeker to John Taylor, 20 February 1879, Mission Administration; Stover, 68. When many of the missionaries arrived they found the river dry, the sheep diseased, and the cotton worm-infested. Consequently, the missionaries decided not to invest in the plantation.

<sup>33</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 142; Stover, 70.

<sup>34</sup>Stover, 70-72.

projects, suggested the organization of companies, supplied tithing labor and produce, and assigned to each a role to play in building the Kingdom.<sup>35</sup>

In Lā`ie property was constructed with this kind of fluidity in mind. An example of this is the recall of Mitchell, the mission president and plantation manager who succeeded Nebeker. Despite Mitchell's investment in the plantation, Brigham Young released him early from his mission in response to complaints regarding Mitchell's authoritarian tactics.<sup>36</sup>

The practice of selling land for private ownership changed overtly in 1880 when Nebeker deeded his interest in Lā`ie to John Taylor, the prophet and trustee for the Church. After this exchange, instead of using the earlier practice of selling the land outright, land was usually leased out. From 1880 until the shutting down of operations in 1931, the plantation was run on an institutional basis rather than by individual investors.<sup>37</sup>

With this transition to a more explicit institutional support, the spirit of collectivism was not only drawn on but given more space to be overtly developed in

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<sup>35</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 130; see also R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989; reprint, Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1998), 64, who suggested that the church ownership of land was problematic because of the United States' Morrill Bill of 1862, which "not only forbade plural marriages but also made it illegal for churches in the territories of the United States to own property valued in excess of fifty thousand dollars. . . ." However, Arrington, *Great Basin*, 129, noted that "mixed" enterprises in the 1850s were "financed by contributions from the legislature, the church, and private individuals. . . typical of many chartered corporations in ante bellum America." Thus it appears that this pattern of mixed investment by the church and its members was common before the Morrill Bill.

<sup>36</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 142, 162.

<sup>37</sup>In 1931, the church plantation manager, Antoine Ivins, leased Lā`ie's sugar lands to Kahuku Plantation. Kahuku continued to lease the land into the 1960s. See Britsch, *Moramona*, 152.

policy and culture. No longer did mission presidents and plantation managers individually carry the debts of the plantation. The shift from individual responsibility to corporate responsibility gave more leeway for experimentation and emphasis on the collective culture the Mormons brought with them.

Housing in Lā`ie also followed Utah settlement patterns. When the missionaries first arrived, lots were assigned and laid out by committee—similar to how property was distributed in many Great Basin colonies.<sup>38</sup> In Lā`ie, a committee made up of Francis A. Hammond, George Nebeker, and Alfred Randall, was formed to distribute housing lots for missionaries and Native Hawaiians. By August 12, "Lots were laid off, at Laie for the brethren to build upon."<sup>39</sup> Mildred Randall, who taught school on the plantation, wrote: We are busy distributing ourselves among the houses on the plantation. There are three native houses, one lumber store-house, one rock house and the mansion or plantation house, which the President of the Mission will occupy."<sup>40</sup> Shortly after this, the missionaries ordered lumber and supplies in order to build individual frame homes for the missionaries.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 90.

<sup>39</sup>Mildred Randall, 12 August 1865, in Jenson. (It appears that this entry is by Mildred Randall, although Jenson does not make it explicit.)

<sup>40</sup>Mildred. Randall, 8 July 1865, in Jenson.

<sup>41</sup>Mildred Randall, 31 July 1865, in Jenson.

Although Nebeker had hoped the missionaries would invest in the plantation, their investment in homes soon became problematic for the cash-strapped farm. In 1868, Nebeker penned this concern to Young:

Bro Green expects to go home in the spring and I am owing him 600 dollars that he loaned me and I expect to have to b[u]y his house and garden and stock which I fear he will not be able to sell otherwise.<sup>42</sup>

Perhaps in an attempt to save capital, Nebeker conceived of creating a boarding house for the missionaries. H. Cluff recorded: "brother Nebeker instituted a cooperative boarding house but . . . it was dissolved by brother King and Hawkins withdrawing."<sup>43</sup> Cluff's conceptualization of the boarding house drew on the cooperative endeavors in Utah. We do not have journals from King and Hawkins, so it is difficult to assess exactly why they withdrew. However, during the 1880s, cooperative housing was once again emphasized.

After 1880 there seems to have been little intent, institutionally or privately, for missionaries to stay and settle in Lā'ie. Between 1865 and 1895 a total of twelve mission presidents served on the plantation an average of between two and three years.<sup>44</sup> Not only did mission presidents turn over fairly rapidly, but so did the missionaries called to labor on the plantation. Such a turnover created a challenge for managing housing. Not all the

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<sup>42</sup>George Nebeker to Brigham Young, 24 February 1868, Office Files. CR 1234-1, Reel 44, Box 32, Folder 19.

<sup>43</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 141.

<sup>44</sup>See Jenson, 1850-1853, p. 18, 32; Britsch, *Moramona*, 201. Britsch listed eleven mission presidents serving in Lā'ie between 1865 and 1895. However, he did not indicate that Alma Smith and Ward E. Pack both served as mission presidents two times. Alma Smith in 1865 and later in 1875, and Ward Pack in 1876-1878 and 1890 to the beginning of 1891. Whether the average is calculated based on the number of individuals that served or a chronological average, the time presidents served was approximately two to three years.

missionaries would be as lucky as Harvey Cluff who sold his house for \$170 to a Kanaka Maoli.<sup>45</sup> Instead some likely encountered the same difficulty in selling their homes as Nebeker feared Green might. Purchasing a home made it financially more difficult for the missionaries to rotate from their work on the plantation to their work proselyting on the other islands. The implications of such long- and short-term turnovers meant that it was in the plantation's interest to provide housing.

A rich archival record of missionary journals during the 1880s reveals a cooperative endeavor. Most of the food preparation and eating was communal. Matthew Noall, who served with his wife, Elizabeth (Libbie), in Hawai'i between 1885 and 1888, recorded that most of the missionaries lived in the same building. Prayers, meals, and evening leisure were experienced in a group context.<sup>46</sup> The missionaries lived their lives closely among one another. This was not just because of location, but also because the very construction of the buildings enabled the missionaries to know what was going on in the next room. Noall described their first night in their assigned housing:

The side wall was broken through in many places. The trade winds blew through with multitudinous noises, making a continuous and changing breeze throughout the night. The ceiling had been covered with factory cloth which had now fallen off, except from one joist, where it hung down nearly to the bed. Comically this made a curtain which served as a partition between our bed and the one that was placed on the other side of it. There were hardly any other accommodations because the floor was broken away elsewhere. All night long the rats played hide and go seek along the ceiling joists and up and down the curtain. . . . On our side of the curtain Libbie, who was only twenty years old, chose the inside of the bed because she thought that

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<sup>45</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 134.

<sup>46</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *To My Children: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Utah: Privately Printed, 1947), 31-33, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, Lā`ie.



she would be safe there from the rats; but they played up and down beside her all night long. We had many an uncomfortable bed in Hawaii, but none other to compare with this one.<sup>47</sup>

The inclination to improve such conditions was sustained by utilizing Noall's carpentry skills and tools. He built a one-story house with four, 12 X 12 feet apartments in it. He and Libby improved the home with curtains and furniture that they made and with the mosquito netting they brought from home.<sup>48</sup> Eventually they added a front porch, with half of the cost of the porch being paid by the Noalls and half by the mission.<sup>49</sup>

The idea that Lā`ie was designated as a gathering place, coupled with the collectivist culture brought by the missionaries, meant that speculation was discouraged and cooperation encouraged. The fairly rapid turnover of mission presidents, who also served as plantation managers, and the ideal that the missionaries had come to build the Kingdom of God perpetuated a sense that land and the plantation was for the corporate good of the church and the Hawaiian Saints. This culture initially was manifested through individual investment for the corporate good, but by 1879 when Cluff returned as mission president, the plantation turned to an even more overt implementation of cooperative housing and an emphasis on cooperative labor.

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<sup>47</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 31-33.

<sup>48</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 33.

<sup>49</sup>Matthew Noall and Elizabeth De Ette Laker [Noall], "The Life and Missionary Journals of Matthew Noall, 1864-1950, and His Wife, Elizabeth De Ette Laker," 11 September 1886, comp. Helen R. Gardner and Alice Gardner, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

## Cooperative Labor

The creation of La'ie Plantation as a mission and gathering place affected the patterns of work. Labor took on various layers of meanings. That work was to be an act of faith is a thread that runs throughout the journals of the missionaries. For example, Elizabeth Noall, lonely for her husband who was away proselyting, wrote on New Year's Eve:

My heart is lonely & sad. . . . No one to share my lonely thoughts. I cannot remember I am a missionary and I must remember that I came not to receive tokens of earthly merit but to look to a hereafter for my reward. A great consolation it is to know that we will be judged according to our works.<sup>50</sup>

Part of the “works” that Noall rendered included both her time in the kitchen and later her labor as president of the church’s women’s service auxiliary.<sup>51</sup> Another missionary, Fredrick Beesley wrote of receiving the assignment to move sugar rind into the sheds. In this case, the link between spiritual “good works” and “good work” on the plantation was connected more explicitly:

Bro. Farr sent Eli, Enoch and myself to gather it into the sheds . . . . Enoch and I became frivolous in our work and Bro. Albert Davis spoke to us, in this manner: “We are working for the Lord and I think we should be as earnest in our labor as though we were working for ourselves,—and if anything, a little more so, for it is unto him we must look for our reward and we shall be rewarded according to our works.”

We received his admonition cheerfully, and went at our work more steadily than before, reflecting upon the truth of the remarks he uttered.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 31 December 1886.

<sup>51</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 31 March 1887.

<sup>52</sup>Fredrick Beesley, Daily journal, 5 December 1885, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library.

In the 1880s, missionary James B. Rhead explained how the work of the missionaries on the plantation was used to support missionaries proselyting on other islands rather than for their own individual advancement.

The Church Plantation . . . greatly helps the mission out, and the united order system under which the Brethren work on the same or travel and preach as directed and necessity requires is a grand thing. The ones working helping to bear the expenses of the ones travelling, as all are provided for alike, none lacking any real necessity; with means sufficient to take him home.<sup>53</sup>

In other words, on other plantations individual labor was accrued in individual wages; however, in Lā`ie the wages were divided among plantation missionaries and proselyting missionaries.

These journal entries suggest that the metaphor of creating a gathering place dedicated to the Lord helped shape both the perceptions regarding the purpose and practice of work. Doing a job that was articulated as religious obedience helped to increase labor output and quality. The construction of this faith-based work ethic also illuminates one reason the missionaries on the plantation could be asked to carry out tasks unacceptable on other plantations.

The Mormon ideal of cooperation as practiced in the gathering place of Lā`ie mitigated the typical division of work on Hawaiian plantations. On most plantations, skilled labor included such tasks as mill work, carpentry, and plowing. Such work was done by both Native Hawaiians and Whites. Unskilled labor included planting, hoeing, cutting, and carrying cane. Prior to 1876, most of the unskilled labor on plantations was

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<sup>53</sup>James Bourne Rhead, Diaries, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, 109.

performed by Kānaka Maoli. Between 1880 and 1900, unskilled labor on Hawaiian sugar plantations was generally performed by Hawaiians and immigrants from Asia.<sup>54</sup> However, on the Lā`ie Plantation, both Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries did unskilled labor.

When Harvey Cluff was called to serve as mission president in 1879, he was fresh from his experiences of working in a cooperative and a united order. Upon his arrival in Lā`ie, he brought with him attitudes and practices from these experiences to implement on the plantation.<sup>55</sup> Cooperation was more than a hope and expression of collective culture. It was also designed to deal with the vagaries of economic life. In fact, the united order model that Cluff drew on for his plantation work was developed by the Mormons in Utah as a means of surviving economic declines.<sup>56</sup> When Cluff arrived, Lā`ie plantation was in financial distress.

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<sup>54</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 109-112; Liu, 135, argued that Hawaiians and Portuguese acted as semiskilled and field workers; and Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1983), 24-25. Takaki's account emphasizes the importation of Asian laborers.

<sup>55</sup>As noted earlier (p. 35), Cluff was not the first to implement cooperative practices. See Simpson Molen, Journal, 16 June 1876, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. He noted that "We Foreign Elders have come to the conclusion to Cooperate & make a garden so as to raise our own vegetables."

<sup>56</sup>Arrington, *Great Basin*, 293, 323-24, 330-333. United order is a name applied to several economic models designed to implement the cooperative spirit and to meet economic downturns in the Great Basin. These models included joint-stock corporations, communal eating and living arrangements, and those where property was held collectively rather than privately. The cooperative movement lasted in Utah from 1868 to 1884 and mostly died out at the time of the federal government's attempt to eradicate polygamy in Utah. However, other factors also significantly contributed to the movement's decline.

Ready capital is not very flattering when there are from thirty to fifty work hands to supply daily. The class of sugar and molasses in the mill may take months to dispose of it. The only available mean to meet present obligations is \$30.00 in cash and \$184.00 in merchandise; total \$214.00. It became necessary therefore that every effort be put forth to bring in income from some source in order to carry on the business and increase the cane crop.<sup>57</sup>

An entry by Rhead also links the implementation of cooperative efforts by the missionaries and Native Hawaiians on the plantation as an attempt to put the plantation on a better financial footing.

The mission is now carried on in a United Order system. The place being in debt, through having lately purchased a new mill, about two thirds of the missionaries are employed on the Plantation. They are boarded, clothed, &c and all farm alike, whether working on the Place or laboring in the Ministry.<sup>58</sup>

Using a cooperative model was a means of increasing production. Cluff's ideal of laboring for the Lord included an intensification of his own labor—doing whatever was needed, wherever it was needed. He wrote:

We immediately began to increase the average of the cane crop. Plows are put into a ten acre peice above the road. . . . I gave especial attention to this ten acre peice the cultivation of which was exceding tedious; as the first cultivation had to be done with hoes. . . . My especial attention had been so zealous in this cane, having worked on my Knees with the natives in planting it, that the Elders called it "Cluffs pet cane" Well it was the first of my planting under my administration and in the present condition of affairs it seemed very necessary that thoroughness should be the watch word in the temperal and spiritual interest of the Church.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 170-171.

<sup>58</sup>Rhead, *Diaries*, 34.

<sup>59</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 170-171.

It is possible that Cluff's work in the field was done precisely because it was a pet project,<sup>60</sup> but another entry suggests that his vision of work grew out of the same beliefs and egalitarian practices on which he drew when he joined cooperatives in Utah. "In the labors at the mill, furnishing supplies, field work, and cattle interests I endeavored to make myself equal to any hand native or white man, not shirking at nothing."<sup>61</sup> Of importance is the last phrase: "not shirking at nothing." Most of the jobs listed by Cluff were designated skilled tasks, and as such, open to both Hawaiians and Haoles (Whites). However, field labor was considered unskilled and thus something generally done by Native Hawaiians or immigrants.<sup>62</sup> Cluff's first account of working on his hands and knees indicates a willingness to take on himself all tasks, skilled or unskilled, on the plantation to better improve "temperal and spiritual" affairs in Lā`ie. If we try to imagine the cane field from Cluff's perspective, we see it close up, either from kneeling on the

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<sup>60</sup>It is important to ask whether or not this was an exceptional foray into the field. That such "pet" fields might be common on other plantations is suggested by an entry by John S. Woodbury when he was proselyting on Kaua`i and "found the King Kalakaua out in the field with his men, Shewing them in regard to planting Sugar cane They have entered into cooperation. I conversed with him on the benifits of ununion and uniteing our efforts. That union of effort and of means, as well as union of faith, is one great principle sought after by our . . . people." Thus far this is the only instance I have encountered the term "cooperation" in regards to the Hawaiian sugar industry. It is not completely clear at this point whether Woodbury is using this term from a Utah frame of reference or if it was used by Kalakaua. However, the last sentence suggests a Utah connection. John S. Woodbury, Journal, 1 December 1877, MSS 1, 68, Box 2, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo.

<sup>61</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 175.

<sup>62</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 110-111. Here, MacLennan, noted that in the 1860s, it was Whites and Hawaiians that worked skilled jobs. In MacLennan, "Social Policy," 118-126, she noted that Portugese sometimes worked in the fields.

ground planting the cane or standing up, hoe in hand. Such a down-to-earth vision was atypical since generally luna (foremen) sat high up, astride a horse. It is noteworthy that Cluff served as a missionary under Nebeker and Mitchell, both of whom were autocratic in their management styles. During his first mission as a laborer on the plantation, Cluff chafed under what he saw as their unjust behavior towards plantation workers.<sup>63</sup> Perhaps the memory of those earlier tense labor relations helped to shape his running the plantation with a more egalitarian work ethos.

There is additional evidence that labor and hierarchy mixed in interesting ways on the Lā`ie plantation through the 1880s. During that time, Joseph F. Smith, a counselor in the First Presidency of the Church to John Taylor, came to Lā`ie to avoid arrest during the U.S. federal government's attempt to squelch plural marriage among Mormons. While he tried to keep a low profile in public and did not have an official job on the plantation, his authority as a high-ranking church leader carried weight within the mission compound. Matthew Noall, who came to the mission and plantation with carpentry skills and tools, recorded that President Smith worked under his direction on certain jobs. "In the task of building this house President Joseph F. Smith was my helper, even on the scaffold work when we made the cornices."<sup>64</sup> It is not the fact that Smith was doing carpentry work that was so exceptional, because carpentry work was considered skilled labor and one that white men did on other plantations; it is the fact that despite his rank as

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<sup>63</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 126, 133, 143, 145-46.

<sup>64</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 33.

an apostle he worked under the direction of a missionary on this occasion and other times.<sup>65</sup>

In Lā`ie these categories of skilled and unskilled evidenced a fluidity that perhaps grew out of the small scale of plantation operations. Rhead described labor assignments in this way:

When the mill is running, most of us are engaged in or around it; when it is not, the field furnishes plenty of labor for us. Cane has to be cut, hauled and planted; Land has to be plowed and furrowed; Sugar has to be shipped: The mill has to be repaired; Garden has to be planted and attended to; and the cane has also to be hoed and stripped. Natives may be engaged in all these, but it is necessary that each department be overseered by a Foreigner; who, instead of driving, leads them by taking a tool and showing them an example, and generally doing the most work of any one of the gang.<sup>66</sup>

While missionaries received assignments to do what was commonly thought of as unskilled jobs, it is not accurate to label the missionaries as “unskilled laborers” since the missionaries continued to act in supervisory capacities over Native Hawaiians. On the one hand, Rhead’s journal suggests that they worked alongside Native Hawaiians as they supervised; on the other hand, it suggests that missionaries may have rotated out to the field when work at the mill slowed down. Both of these strategies may have been used to more effectively utilize the time and labor of the missionaries. Certainly, Lā`ie mill experienced more down time than larger plantations. Most plantations hired their skilled workers according to the needs of the plantation. In Lā`ie, the number of White workers on the plantation was determined by proselyting as well as plantation needs. In other

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<sup>65</sup>In current Mormon terminology, it might be suggested that Smith’s position on the plantation was one where he presided over affairs rather than conducted them.

<sup>66</sup>Rhead, Diaries, 31.



words, the plantation manager and mission president often had more white men on the plantation than skilled jobs, particularly when missionaries returned to La`ie to attend the annual and semi-annual conferences. Since the nature of the mission call was seen as spiritual and temporal, the plantation manager/mission president was able to assign missionaries to whatever task he saw as necessary, even unskilled labor. Thus while on other plantations White plantation workers did not generally perform unskilled labor, on La`ie Plantation there was a collective culture of faith that legitimated missionaries acceptance of unskilled labor assignments.

### Contradictions and Tensions

It is one thing to make the decision to sacrifice for a higher goal that you believe in, it is even another to leave and embark on that course; but it is in the daily living of the goal that the contradictions and tensions are played out. Ironically, it was the very success, or perhaps better said, the intensity of collective life among the missionaries that helped to create tensions between the ideal and practice.

### Tensions Between Gathering Place and Plantation

Tensions between principle and practice emerged as the Mormon missionaries sought to create a gathering place while running a plantation. For example, although Brigham Young initially counseled in a letter that the plantation was to be used to fund the missionaries' proselyting efforts, the loan he gave to finance the endeavor was with the expectation that the money was to be paid back. This increased the amount of capital

needs of the plantation. Thus from its very beginnings, Lā`ie Plantation was set apart as both a mission and financial enterprise.

Early on Nebeker and Hammond found themselves in the difficult position of being both investors and mission leaders. It was inevitable that such roles conflicted with one another on occasion. Andrew Jenson, who worked in the church's historical department when he compiled a history of the Hawaiian Mission, wrote of the challenges inherent in this arrangement.

When President Young called Elder Nebeker to this mission, it was with the understanding that he should assume all the responsibility of the mission, and what money he put into the plantation should be as if it were a personal investment and that he must assume the balance of the indebtedness on the place as though he was buying for himself in a private undertaking. This placed him in a very embarrassing position, as it related to the position he occupied with the brethren sent down to assist him, they assuming that they were sent there to help.<sup>67</sup>

Nebeker felt keenly the weight of his debt. He wrote to Taylor in 1879 regarding the land and the \$20,000 to \$30,000 worth of debts he carried relating to the plantation. He wrote: "This matter has laid heavy on me and my Family for over fourteen years."<sup>68</sup> Britsch noted that during the time Nebeker managed the plantation, this debt affected how he ran the enterprise.

He believed that the whole operation should be run on a business-like basis and that the missionaries should pay for everything with either cash or labor. But other missionaries felt the enterprise should be operated more like a present-day bishops'

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<sup>67</sup>Jenson, 27 August 1865.

<sup>68</sup>Nebeker to Taylor, Mission Administration, 20 February 1879.

storehouse, with the worthy poor having the right to draw upon the resources of the Church community. . . . The missionaries felt like "hired men."<sup>69</sup>

In a sense this early situation reveals the cleavage between the logic of the plantation model and the collective culture Mormon missionaries brought with them. The sugar market in 1867 fell flat, making land prices fall also. These market conditions made it more difficult to sustain the plantation. Even in 1868, Nebeker had a hard time with cash flow. He wrote to Young:

[The financial situation] has forced me to make arrangements for a credit with a merchant in Honolulu for what I will need until the first crops comes off I have some stock fit for the market but they are dull sale at present.<sup>70</sup>

Thus, like many of the sugar planters in the islands, Nebeker turned to local agents to survive the fluctuations of the market.<sup>71</sup> This was not the only strategy Nebeker borrowed from other plantations. Nebeker and his wife, Maria, also created and ran a store for Native Hawaiians and missionaries.<sup>72</sup>

Since Hawaiian plantations usually existed far from urban areas, stores filled a need for rural workers. There was little cash on the islands in the 1860s, so plantation owners, including those in Lā`ie, often paid their workers with credit at the store. There, far from urban markets, workers could buy supplies. However, these stores also bound

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<sup>69</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 77. Britsch's connection to a present-day bishop's storehouse implicitly points to its historical cooperative antecedents in Utah and Lā`ie.

<sup>70</sup>George Nebeker to Brigham Young, Office Files, 24 February 1868.

<sup>71</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 118.

<sup>72</sup>Harvey Cluff noted in his autobiography (143) that J. T. Waterhouse, an agent in Honolulu, held a mortgage on the plantation.

workers to the plantation in a form of dependency. The credit workers built up at the store made them liable to prosecution if they left the plantation before their debt was paid. Also pay was often given in private scrip that was redeemable only at the plantation store. Thus a plantation store was both a way to pay wages and then, through debt, keep workers on the land.<sup>73</sup>

Although it is not clear from the records, it would not be surprising if Nebeker used the store, as did other plantation owners, to create a pliable work force and alleviate his cash problems. That such a pattern was being established on the plantation is evidenced by H. Cluff's statement that Nebeker informed the other missionaries "that they must not do any trading for mdse except in his store said brother Nebeker He adds 20 to 50 percent on first cost, gets three months time, and three percent discount. The brethren thought that it was unjust."<sup>74</sup> There are several reasons such action may have been termed unjust by the missionaries. One is that part of the culture the missionaries brought with them was a critique of exploitive profit-making at the expense of the collective. Secondly, it appears that during at least part of Nebeker's tenure as plantation manager, he had a difficult time paying the wages due to the workers.<sup>75</sup> Both of these factors combined to create a dependent work force—the antithesis of the yeoman farmer admired by Mormons.

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<sup>73</sup>MacLennan, "Foundations," 44.

<sup>74</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 143, 159, 161.

<sup>75</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 159.

## Missionary Labor Tensions

The tensions between mission aspirations and plantation structure become particularly noticeable when it comes to the issue of wage labor. Yorgason noted that as late as 1878 and even until the turn of the century, Mormons continued to draw on the Jeffersonian ideal of yeoman farmers as a cultural ideal. They saw wage labor as a temporary state, believing “that wages corrupted by not allowing people to develop the same love for God that the farmer had and by placing people in a dependent relation to others who ought to have been their equals.”<sup>76</sup>

Evidence of discomfort with employment as a wage worker is noticeable in missionary journals. H. Cluff recorded the tensions between Elder Hawkins and Brother Nebeker in 1871.

He [Hawkins] claimed that brother Nebeker had been harsh with him and prejudiced against him. Brother Nebeker tried to show him that he was entirely mistaken and urged him to banish such jealous thoughts. . . . President Nebeker made four propositions to brother Hawkins. First to work at whatever he was asked too at \$2.00 per day Second Act as overseer and draw \$1.50 per day. Third spend his whole time in the ministry and draw support. Fourth go home if he would take the whole responsibility on himself.<sup>77</sup>

It is difficult to distinguish exactly the dynamics of Nebeker and Hawkins’ conflict. The narrative does, though, suggest some of the dilemmas faced by the missionaries in the 1860s. It is interesting to note that Hawkins chose the second option, to act as overseer, rather than accept the higher pay offered for working as a laborer and performing whatever task he was asked to do. In real terms, the fifty cents a day could make a

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<sup>76</sup>Yorgason, *Transformation*, 84-85.

<sup>77</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 133.

considerable difference in his standard of living or in returning home quickly. It may be that Hawkins chose the less lucrative but higher status role of overseer to gain a measure of the equality that Yorgason referred to and to escape the dependent status that was emerging on the early Lā`ie plantation. Likely much of what was at stake was the challenge of working as an "employee" under a manager who was difficult to work with.

That being a "hired hand" was part of the issue is supported by a journal entry made more than a decade later by Julina Lambson Smith, the wife of Joseph F. Smith. She critiqued the management style of the mission president and plantation manager, Enoch Farr.

Bro Farr Started to Honolulu yesterday afternoon. Sister Wilcox came over in the morning and asked Bro Farr if he would get her some medecine for her children . . . . [H]e answered Send by bro Davis. When I get in town I am tired and don't like running about in the sun.

She took the order to bro Davis. Then I went and asked him (bro D) if he went any nearer to the drug store than Enoch did? He said no; Enoch goes right by there. . . . E. will never do a little thing of that kind but puts it on to somebody else. he will ride to the mill and give orders. then ride back and prop himself in an easy chair and spend the rest of the day. he has two easy chairs one in his bed room and another in the dining room. at evening meeting he lays in his big chair sometimes resting his feet on another, and sleeps part of the time during meeting.

Bro Davis . . . and the rest of the hard working men have to set on hard chairs. . . . But when [Enoch] treats bro Davis as though he Enoch was so very much his superior it hurts my feelings.<sup>78</sup>

She thought missionaries should be treated more equitably. Smith highlights similarities with the mill and a factory system. Sidney Mintz, in writing of the early sugar plantations in the Carribean, suggested that "it makes good sense to view the plantations as a synthesis of field and factory" or what today we would call "agro-industry," partly

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<sup>78</sup>Julina Lambson Smith, Papers, 8 July 1886, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

because of “the organization of the labor force itself, part skilled, part unskilled, and organized in terms of the plantation's overall productive goals.”<sup>79</sup> It was one thing to do manual labor, as did H. Cluff and J. F. Smith, to build up the kingdom, and another to be treated as a dependent wage laborer. Clearly, Farr embraced the industrial implications of the plantation far more thoroughly than was comfortable for Julina Smith.

However, it is more complicated. Her frustration was also with Farr’s apparent lack of respect for her husband, who was an Apostle.

Enoch has never been the man to say good morning, to Jos F. Smith first. and if he comes in our room it is always Say bro Smith But never good morning or President Smith. I believe by his actions he thinks that all respect should be shown to him first. but still I think he is improving he is not used to presiding over missionaries, and treats them as he would factory hands.<sup>80</sup>

Generally, on the plantation the missionaries called each other by their title and last name, i.e, Elder Wilcox, Sister Smith, Elder Noall, President Farr. Farr’s practice of not utilizing the customary titles of respect was a means of asserting his own position. Ironically, Julina Smith also drew on this rhetorical means to diminish hierarchy. Unlike the usual practice of referring to the mission president as “President” or even the more typical “Brother” and Sister” that the missionaries used when speaking of one another, Smith referred to Farr by his first name or merely his initial. Her frustration with Farr was because he did not recognize his place, either in relation to Smith’s higher priesthood status nor in regards to his more equitable status with the other missionaries. Farr’s lack

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<sup>79</sup>Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness*, 47-52.

<sup>80</sup>Julina Lambson Smith, 8 July 1886.

of productive work combined with his treatment of the missionaries as dependent wage earners offended Julina.

The labor done in La`ie was not done in a vacuum and it was not done in the context of the Intermountain West; it was accomplished in a Hawaiian and plantation setting. Most missionaries spent some time away from the plantation on other parts of the islands proselyting. While there they observed other sugar plantations. Perhaps the ethnic divisions of skilled and unskilled labor fueled their prejudice against doing unskilled wage labor, particularly when reinforced in the ways that Julina Smith described above. That missionaries felt such tensions is suggested by Samuel E. Woolley, who served as a missionary between 1880 and 1884. Approximately thirty years later, when he was plantation manager and mission president, Woolley recounted for a group of missionaries his dissatisfaction with some of the assignments given him in the 1880s on the plantation.

I had a fit of grumbling at one time. There was not much for us to do here, and it was between conferences. They had conference every six months then. The elders that remained here were working in the fields and some were carpentering, building a new mill that they were just putting up then and those brethren were receiving \$2 a day for their labor. Three of us were asked to go into the mountains and cut cord wood at 50 cents a cord and pay \$2.50 a week for our board, buy our axes and furnish our own clothes and learn 20 Hawaiian words a day. It kept us digging to make 50 cents a day. We had to chop and pile it. We thought that was peculiar missionary work; but I look back upon it and smile many times. It was some of the best experience I ever had. I thought it was not fair for me to work twice as hard as the other fellow. But I am glad now I did it. I never refused, but I did grumble, and I felt mean and miserable and nasty. . . . That was the only reason I had to grumble, was that I was working hard and getting only 50 cents a day, and the others did not work nearly so hard and got \$2. If I had received \$2 a day I would have chopped wood right along and would not have said a word about it. I am glad I had the experience.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, Minutes of regular annual conference of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 12 April 1916, 47, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as regular annual).



The story carries weight because of its context. Before the conference, complaints had been made to the authorities in Salt Lake about Woolley. It appears that the minutes of this conference were taken verbatim in an effort to deal with such complaints. Woolley used these stories to motivate the missionaries to not complain. He bracketed the story with the moral or lesson he wanted the missionaries to learn. However, the rhetoric of the body of the narrative reads as a complaint against the injustice of his assignment.

Woolley's voice is strongest when he describes the unfairness of his duties. He felt he did not receive a just wage for his work, especially in consideration of the work done by others. His critique was based on categories of skilled and unskilled labor rather than the difficulty or amount of work done. Certainly much of the farm and ranch work that Mormons in Utah did could be considered unskilled; but when such labor was combined with wages it set up a hierarchy among missionaries against an expectation of equity. Thus wages took on meanings that did not sit well with the missionaries' identity nor their expectations.

There is a possibility that asking the missionaries to perform unskilled labor took on added weight in Hawai'i, where unskilled labor was rarely done by Whites. Another version of this same story was offered by Woolley in another conference. This telling suggests that on a certain level, his dissatisfaction may have been because he was paid the same amount as Native Hawaiians. He told how the mission president came to him and said:

We haven't anything for you to do. It is a little expensive to keep you and board you, but I will give you what the Hawaiians get for chopping wood. I will give you

50 cents a cord for cutting the wood and getting it to a place where it can be loaded on wagons.<sup>82</sup>

Woolley's wage of 50 cents per cord was approximately the same wage as Kānaka Maoli made for unskilled work on other plantations and clearly what they made on the La`ie Plantation. Perhaps Woolley's discontent was because he did the same type of work as Native Hawaiians and received the same pay. On other plantations Whites did only skilled work and received higher wages. In La`ie, the missionaries supervised even when they did unskilled labor alongside Hawaiians. Still it might have been grating to the missionaries to work alongside unskilled workers they had previously supervised. Likely such work challenged their identity as White men in a plantation society that often used skilled and unskilled labor to demarcate race.<sup>83</sup>

An entry by James Gardener in 1884 supports the notion that missionaries felt a loss status by doing unskilled labor:

We all worked at preparing for a place as suitable aqueduct to carry the water from the well to the reservoir. We have to excavate a distance of about 4 rod through the yard about 18 inches deep. It was . . . working with pick & shovel . . . [and] rather disagreeable and humiliating.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April 1915, 33.

<sup>83</sup>Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *The Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (June 2002): 154-173. It may be that there are parallels in attitudes regarding race and work between these missionaries who came from New England stock and working-class men in nineteenth-century America.

<sup>84</sup>James Hamilton Gardner, Daily Journal, 3 January 1884, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, La`ie (emphasis by Gardner).

The central question is why was this work humiliating to Gardner? Was it because it was unskilled? Was it because it was associated with work Kanaka Maoli did?

Work did not have to be humiliating. It could also be pleasurable, particularly if it was skilled labor. Matthew Noall described receiving his labor assignment as carpenter, which was traditionally seen as skilled.

The distribution of the elders to the several conferences had already taken place. There were about eight men, six women, six children, and two guests, making twenty-two souls, who remained at headquarters for the work which was to be done there. I was one of the men who was to stay. Since I was a carpenter and had my tools with me, I was given a job that I was glad to accept.<sup>85</sup>

His job was more in line with the tradition of artisanal work than unskilled labor. And, as mentioned earlier, the person who sometimes worked under his direction was the apostle, Joseph F. Smith. In both cases, carpentry work had higher status and pay than unskilled labor. However, not all skilled labor was seen as desirable. Gardner was given the assignment to work in the boiler room of the mill, which was a job he did not want.

Bro Dean was appointed to take charge of the field Bro Gentry Blacksmith, and to take charge of all tools. Bro S. E. Woolly was appointed Spanialo & woodman Brother Allen to take Charge & run the Centrifugal, & myself Sugar Boiler. which news came like a thunder clap. and I was not expecting it, but I am willing to do whatever I am called upon. and will try and fill my apponted Position the best I can, with god being my helper.<sup>86</sup>

That this was not his first choice of work is evidenced by the following account:

I would like to be with them [the missionaries departing for other islands to teach the gospel], as I would sooner go out on the Islands, than stay here but I am call

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<sup>85</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 31.

<sup>86</sup>Gardner, *Journal*, 10 July 1881.

to stay here and I will try and do the best I can but the work of God is foremost with me. but it is all Gods work here on this mission.<sup>87</sup>

Here we sense a tension between plantation work and proselyting. These entries reflect ambiguity towards plantation work. As Woolley mused in his 1916 discourse to the missionaries, laboring on the plantation could seem like “peculiar” missionary work.<sup>88</sup>

Aside from issues of faith, it is not surprising that this would be a job not desired. It was miserable work. Gardner wrote of his work in the mill:

Have been working in the mill all day, and the heat was extensive. almost unbearable and I think a slight interdution of the "Lower Regions" The mill run first rate today made six Clarifiers which is 3000 Gallons.<sup>89</sup>

The missionaries believed that through their example Kanaka Maoli would learn to work in an “industrious” manner. In other words, the missionaries wanted Native Hawaiians to work in the ways congruent with the missionaries’ own notions of industry and labor. However, the nature of plantation work—the factory-like conditions and relations, the heat and monotony, the unskilled labor—meant that often the missionaries themselves felt glad to find relief from the work they were assigned. Elder George Wilcox, in the midst of hard labors, discovered some other missionaries relaxing.

Bro Farr asked me to help to move a small shanty over to the store, so we all went to work and got it on some planks then hiched the mules to it and they took it along very easaly, bro Merrell and I then went and got some rocks to raise it on, I then went over and got some things from the store, while there some of the boys were in an other room singing and playing on the gutar and some of them were dancing, so bros Farr, J. S. Hyde and my self joking about it bro Farr told bro Hyde to write out

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<sup>87</sup>Gardner, Journal, 17 July 1881.

<sup>88</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 12 April 1916, 47.

<sup>89</sup>Gardner, Journal, 8 August 1881.

a summons for them so he went to work, and they were summoned to appear before brother Farr as Judge, brother H acting as sheriff I as complaining witness, so after prayers they appeared in court, brother S acting prosecuting attorney, brother A G Merrell was the first arraigned, and pleaded not guilty after going through the formalities of the court. He was found guilty and sentenced to deliver a sermon in the native language and to feed the pigs one week, the sermon to be delivered tomorrow Sunday . . . the others were to be arraigned at some future time.<sup>90</sup>

The playfulness of this encounter reveals, as do the other entries discussed, ambivalent feelings the missionaries felt towards work. While there was an expectation to work hard as a missionary, the very nature of the work—monotonous, hard, and hot—meant that relief from the work was often seen as sweet. Harvey Cluff recorded that part of his pleasure in greeting King Kalakaua in one of his visits to La`ie was the relief it provided. “Our colony experienced a delightful transition from the monotony of sugar making by a visit from His Majesty—David Kalakaua King of the Hawaiian Islands on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April 1874.”<sup>91</sup> Both the nature of the work and the conditions under which it was done created an ambivalence towards plantation work that can be seen as somewhat ironical when juxtaposed to the expectation that the missionaries should teach Hawaiians the pleasures of industriousness.

### Gendered Labor Tensions

It is tempting when studying a sugar plantation to focus primarily on sugar. However, if we move our view from the fields of La`ie into the kitchen of the missionary compound, we find that for missionary women it was wheat that was the dominant

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<sup>90</sup>George Wilcox, Journals, 1884-1886, 16 May 1885, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>91</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 155-156.

foodstuff in their work lives. Their emphasis on making wheat bread reveals not only their continuation of Euro-American foodways but also illuminates how differently missionary women experienced missionary work from their husbands, who labored more often with sugar.

Just as the missionary men on the plantation sometimes felt ambivalence toward their work, so too did the women. Some of the women's ambivalence grew out of the nature of their missionary call. As Carol Madsen Cornwall noted when comparing the experiences of Calvinist and Mormon missionaries:

The Protestant call to missionary service was internally generated, a spiritual yearning to serve God and his church in this particular way. The call for Mormon missionaries was external, initiated by church leaders and accepted by members as a duty of membership.<sup>92</sup>

For women the ambiguity was heightened somewhat by that fact that it was not clearly delineated whether the women were designated as missionaries or as wives accompanying missionaries. In other words, their call could be seen as an extension of their husband's call. Madsen convincingly argued that for most of the missionary women living on the plantation during the 1880s, the time devoted to communal duties made it difficult for them to interact with Native Hawaiians or to spend time establishing schools, conducting prayer meetings, or organizing associations for women as the Calvinist

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<sup>92</sup>Carol Cornwall Madsen, "Mormon Missionary Wives in Nineteenth Century Polynesia," *Journal of Mormon History* 13 (1986-87): 65.

missionary women had done.<sup>93</sup> During the 1880s, the work of women centered primarily in the domestic sphere of the collective missionary compound.

### Gendered Foodways

While it was rarely a convenient task to make wheat bread in either Utah or Lā`ie, some factors made Euro-American food patterns more difficult to uphold in the islands.

For example, maintaining a consistent supply of bread was difficult. Matthew Noall noted:

The unvaryingly [diet] consisted of mush for breakfast with a scanty supply of milk, sweet potatoes and salt beef for dinner, and combinations of these foods for supper, and always poi for those who could relish it. Some bread was generally added, and sometimes guava jam.<sup>94</sup>

Noall, subtly reified bread as the staple prepared by women on the plantation when he noted that it was “generally” served. That it was not eaten consistently may have had much to do with difficulties in keeping a supply of flour on hand. Since wheat flour was basically an imported food, Lā`ie’s relatively isolated location meant that it was much

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<sup>93</sup>According to Madsen, the 1860s, 70s, and 90s were times when women sometimes worked in the store and school. The 1890s and 1900s saw the expansion of women’s work in Relief Society also. However, such work was unusual for missionary women on the plantation during the 1880s. One exception to this 1880s’ trend was Elizabeth Noall, who was one of the few women to become fluent in Hawaiian and took great delight in serving as president of one of the church’s auxiliary organizations, Relief Society. Along with her Kānaka Maoli counselors she visited members in the ahupua`a of Lā`ie. (66, 68, 71, 74-76.) The timing of this suggests that in fact the collectivity of the 1880s restricted women on the plantation to the domestic sphere more than when the collective culture was less developed. Other factors may have contributed to this. At times it appears, that there was a surplus of missionary males serving on the plantation.

<sup>94</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 36.

more difficult to obtain and keep than the poi that could readily be obtained from Native Hawaiian families growing and processing it in the ahupua`a.

Such dependence created frustration when trying to feed all the missionary families on the plantation. M. Noall noted of his wife's efforts to make do:

The work in the kitchen is very hard for Libbie for there is no flour in the house and no potatoes which makes it very hard. She has to prepare dinner meals from kalo and meat and beans but considering the difficulties under which she is laboring, we have lived splendidly so far this week. Such has been the expression of the folks.<sup>95</sup>

Other foods served as appendages to these staples of bread and poi, including the guava jam mentioned above. In the temperate Utah climate, making jam was a way to preserve food for the cold winter months when fresh produce was not readily available. However, in Hawai`i where fruits grew abundantly all year, such modes of preservation spoke more of custom and taste than of need.<sup>96</sup> Jam on bread could be a comfort food that spoke of distant family and friends.

However, the poi served on the missionaries' table was not just presented because of its availability. Many of the male missionaries grew very fond of it as they proselyted on different islands and immersed themselves in Hawaiian society. During that time they lived with different Hawaiian families. Although their goal was to seek converts, part of the process included learning to speak Hawaiian and often acquiring a real taste for poi. When the missionaries came back to the plantation from their mission tours around the

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<sup>95</sup>Matthew Noall, Journals, 4 October 1886.

<sup>96</sup>The Mormon missionaries pattern of bringing their dietary practices with them is not unusual. Mintz noted that in the transition from a traditional to a modern diet, most people do not change their staple foods but instead add foods. See Mintz, *Sweetness*, 13.



islands, their journals often reflected this cultural immersion. Instead of referring to Native Hawaiians in general terms, they began to put the names of the Hawaiian Saints in their narratives. Such immersion gave the elders an opportunity to develop relationships in the context of a shared language. Even church meetings, which were held in Hawaiian, became more enjoyable for missionaries who could understand what was said. Although many of the sisters attempted to learn Hawaiian and served in church organizations among Kānaka Maoli, they rarely, if ever, immersed themselves within the households of Kānaka Maoli for a long enough time to gain fluency in the language or an intimate understanding of the culture. The opportunities for intercultural exchange in the mission were structurally more expansive for men than for women. Thus it is not surprising that many of the men's journals reflect an initial dislike of poi that grew into a real love and even preference for it. Most of the women missionaries never acquired this craving for poi but continued to make and eat bread as their staple.

These two foods—bread and the poi—can be used as metaphors to represent the different gendered cultural experiences of the missionaries. The poi speaks of the building of intercultural relations that eased the sometimes hothouse intensity of collective life. The bread speaks of a domestic sphere that offered few opportunities for developing close relationships with Hawaiian Saints or to understand Native Hawaiian culture from outside the boundaries of the missionary compound.

It is also in the contrast of baking of bread and baking kalo, that we see one of the most visual differences between Native Hawaiian and Euro-American gendered work roles. David Malo, a nineteenth century Native Hawaiian historian who had been trained

in Calvinist missionary schools, noted that in precontact times men cooked kalo in underground imu (underground ovens) and then pounded it into poi.<sup>97</sup> The practice of men growing kalo and processing it into poi continued on La`ie Plantation at least until 1900, as illustrated in the following picture, and perhaps even longer.

Figure 1: Two Men Making Poi from Kalo on La`ie Plantation in Early 1899



Otto Ford Hassing, *Honolulu and Laie Plantation Hawaiian Mission, January-February, 1899*, Ph. 5841, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

Unlike the Native Hawaiian men who cooked outside, the sister missionaries continued to work inside. Cooking in an underground oven certainly made sense in the muggy weather that often enveloped La`ie. The missionary compound was built on the sandy plain between the ocean and the protected fertile valley where kalo was grown. In that open space in the 1880s, the missionaries had found few trees that could withstand the salt

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<sup>97</sup>David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, 2d ed. (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1951; reprint, Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1997), 27.

carried by the trade winds. Pictures indicate that only a few trees broke the heat of the sun beating on the missionary compound.<sup>98</sup> Another entry by Matthew Noall recorded an evening where he cooked a simple meal for his wife and her pleasure in it.

One evening Libbie felt desperate for something different to eat. I searched the premises and finally swiped an egg. In our one-room quarters I put a hairpin across the top of a chimney on a kerosene lamp, and a small tin cup on the hairpin, and in that way boiled the egg. She thought it the best she ever ate.<sup>99</sup>

One can imagine that as much as Libby enjoyed the variety, she equally enjoyed not cooking it.

#### Intensity of Collective Life

It was not just climate and supplies that complicated the food processing efforts of the missionary women. It was also the intensity of collective life. M. Noall captured particularly well how daily living in close quarters conspired against the high expectations of collective unity and purpose. When Noall was working in Honolulu, Joseph Fueger joined the church, and he wanted to go out to visit La`ie. Noall wrote:

When he said that [he was going to La`ie] I was quite concerned as to what he might find out there. As a boy contemplating missionary work I had listened to the teachers when they told us that fellow missionaries learned to love one another very much. But my experience in actual missionary work had already proved that jealousy, bickerings, and hard feelings sometimes exist among missionaries. One man against another was condition found here nearly as frequently and commonly as at home among people who are situated under similarly close relationships.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>See Figure 2 and Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 32 and 34.

<sup>99</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 36.

<sup>100</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 47-48.

Such a comment captures well the aspiration and the challenge of living together in a small missionary compound where the missionaries attempted to live a united order.

What becomes clear from these journals is the intensity of interaction between the missionaries living in “close relationships.” Noall recorded that

All the missionaries except a Brother Gates and his family, who lived in a separate house, ate and prayed according to a community plan. After the house with the four apartments was completed, several couples slept there, but still they ate and prayed with all the other missionaries and their families at Laie, in the house of Spanish architecture. Two sisters at a time took charge of the kitchen and serving work for a period of one week, and then another two would take over.<sup>101</sup>

The picture below gives a sense of the very close living quarters among the missionaries during the 1880s.

Figure 2: Missionary Compound, 1888



The four bedroom apartment built by Matthew Noall is on the right. The center building is the main missionary building housing some of the missionaries, the kitchen meeting areas, etc. The building added on to the far left is the store.

Views of Hawaii and Church Plantation 1885, ca 1888, Ph. 785/11, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>101</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 35-36.

That such close quarters could be uncomfortable is evidenced by a journal entry by Elizabeth Noall: She wrote while on a visit to Honolulu: “It seems like ‘Home Sweet Home’ to be by ourselves quietly again to do as we please. . . . I would rather live here with only a bread and milk diet than to go to Laie.”<sup>102</sup> Part of Elizabeth Noall’s discomfort was due to conflict between some of the missionary women.

One of the chief factors in creating disharmony among the women was the kitchen work rotation. While the men sometimes moved around in their jobs, they primarily rotated between plantation work and proselyting work. For example, Woolley was called to work with the cattle and lumber. Gardner worked in the mill. Some of these were considered skilled jobs, so they often were left in those jobs for a long period. The constant rotation of women in their duties often meant that a person might come to the task with the kitchen in disrepair or with very little food to work with. Writing years after the event, Matthew Noall noted:

At one conference the mission house was crowded with those who had come to Laie for meeting. It was Libbie’s turn to cook breakfast, but the kitchen shelves were almost empty. The women who should have done the shopping for the groceries had not brought in enough to feed the crowd. “What shall we do?” said Libbie, troubled almost beyond her wit’s end. “Suddenly a twinkle came into her eyes. “You’ll see,” she said.

Libbie decided to turn the difficult moment into an April Fool’s Day joke. She made mush and made it stretch by placing dish towels in the bowls and covering them with the scant meal. The reaction was mixed.

The expressions of their faces was a contrast to behold. One was laughing, the other resentful, as Libbie’s means of proving food became apparent. . . . Libbie’s

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<sup>102</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 16 May 1887.

smiles and laughter became part of the general merriment, although I must say, there were some who could not smile. Elder Hyde, who was one of the men, said, "This is a clever April fool breakfast, I accept it at face value." Most of the guests laughed heartily, but some looked glum. Refusing to accept the joke, they went to the store where, at Church expense, they bought oysters and other luxuries we could hardly afford."<sup>103</sup>

However, the story is not yet complete, Julina Smith entered in her journal that the breakfast had been ruined with no backup and that she fixed breakfast. She noted that the cooks felt that the joke had been ruined and "told them that was all right that I was only turning the joke over to them."<sup>104</sup>

It is easy to see how easily feelings could be ruffled in such public presentations of food. Libbie Noall felt at a keen disadvantage in serving breakfast at conference time when the person in rotation before her had not provided enough food to feed the gathering crowd. It is not clear from this entry whether it was Julina Smith who went to the store to get additional supplies or if her years of experience in the kitchen enabled her to make do in a way that was not as obvious to the less experienced and younger Noall.

Nineteenth-century bread making was difficult. Both yeast and flour made for unpredictable mediums. Making bread was a process that spread itself throughout much of the day. Once the dough was kneaded, other household chores could be attended to while the dough raised. However, such chores had to be interrupted to tend to the rising bread since timing is important. The women needed to periodically check the dough's consistency and smell. Then at the appropriate times they needed to punch it, let it rise,

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<sup>103</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 36.

<sup>104</sup>Julina Smith, 1 April 1886.

punch it down one more time, shape it, place the dough in the pan, let it rise again, and finally place the loaves in an oven with unregulated heat. Such a process speaks of the punctuated rhythm needed to run a household kitchen, let alone cooking for a crew of plantation workers and their families. Many of the women working in the kitchen married just before they left for Hawai'i and most likely had not yet learned the timing and skills required to manage their own kitchen or a more complicated communal one. For example, Julina Smith recorded that Sister Young worked four hours trying to churn cream into butter; in frustration, she appealed to Smith, who "went and helped her and we soon got a nice lot of butter."<sup>105</sup>

Part of the difficulty in cooking in such a context was that the work was very public and open to public critique and demand. In the domestic sphere, success was often achieved not by its accomplishment but by its invisibility.<sup>106</sup> Meals put on the table in a timely manner rarely elicited comment, but a lack of food when it was anticipated gave raise to criticism. Such a dynamic could be the case for women in Utah and on other plantations; however, the communal nature of the missionary compound in the 1880s seems to have intensified this principle of domesticity. Noall wrote:

Good success has attended me today so far as cooking is concerned. Today is fast day and I did not know it till late last night. I was thereupon up at 4 o'clock to bake my bread. Bro. Davis had arrived during the night with mail and as there was no bread in the house. For his supper he kept our mail. It was not my fault however after a few words between Sister Spate [Smith] and I on the subject he gave up the

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<sup>105</sup>Julina Smith, wrote of several instances of when the young missionary sisters learned on the job, 17 and 22 January 1886.

<sup>106</sup>Karen Halttunen, *Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 106.

letter and I prepared his breakfast though he said he did not care to eat, and I told him I was sorry he had formed such an opinion of me. I felt awfully bad about the affair and was upset for all day.<sup>107</sup>

This narrative evokes many of the challenges the women missionaries faced living in the compound. Elder Davis wanted that difficult-to-keep-stocked staple of bread. The communal life in Lā'ie provided little backstage space. Even coming late at night, Davis expected a certain level of performance and duty. His irritation called into question Noall's capability in a shared space, and in that space Julina Smith stepped in to smooth the edges. Nonetheless, Noall still felt pressure to get up at 4 a.m. to make bread. If the transaction had been less public, Noall might have spent less time worrying about its implications and gotten more sleep.

Men also experienced scarce resources, such as horses and tack; however, their plantation jobs were more specialized with less overlap of shared resources. While they did not always like their jobs and sometimes chafed under the inequities of their status and pay, there is little record of frustration expressed with the sharing of equipment or how the work or lack of work of another inhibited performing one's own task. For the women, however, the shared resources of cooking in a collective kitchen and with shared laundry equipment directly impacted the ability of the women missionaries to complete their job. Elizabeth Noall described a particularly difficult morning.

I arose early this morning and started for my wash water. I carried 2 buckets when I found the boiler was missing. I sent to Sister Gates and she said she had it on ready to wash. She knew it was my washday but will do all such mean little tricks. I've started with the little old boiler which did not fit the stove but we did not propose to give up to her, when we went to wash and dress babies, Brother Gates

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<sup>107</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 3 October 1886.



came and took the ringer. This I thought was the meanest trick of all for we had each a large wash, but we got through by noon all right.<sup>108</sup>

This narrative offers hints of previous offenses and hurts between the women, but the lack of resources is central in the account—only one good boiler and one ringer to meet the needs of several families. It was not merely pettiness that made the families both desire the boiler early in the morning when the air was at its coolest: laundry was tough, hot, and messy work. For much of the 1880s, water had to be hauled to the compound and then heated over a stove. The clothes—including long dresses—needed to be boiled, stirred, and wrung out.

Much like middle class women in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century, “help” was used to alleviate the hard physical labor of running a household—particularly in regard to cooking and washing. It appears that the plantation paid young Native Hawaiian women to work in the kitchen. Individual missionaries hired on their own young Native Hawaiian boys to carry water for the laundry and Native Hawaiian women to iron the laundered clothes. Such help not only alleviated the heavy tasks but also eased potential contention between the women missionaries. Julina Smith wrote of trading work with some of the other women in order to go on an outing. When she returned, she was disappointed: “The folks had promised to get supper. But on my return I found they had made some pies and expected me to get the Supper. I did but really was not able. The native girls helped me and did the work after.”<sup>109</sup> Even with this help,

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<sup>108</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 1 November 1886.

<sup>109</sup>Julina Smith, 2 January 1886.

the work load was heavy. They did not cook just for their own families but for the whole group. This work was dramatically increased twice a year when all the missionaries for the outlying areas returned for the semi-annual conferences in April and October. Noall, who is in the picture below of the missionaries at conference time, wrote the following journal entry about cooking for so many people: “I so dread the work in the kitchen during conference.”<sup>110</sup>

Figure 3: A Picture of Missionaries at Conference Time, Lā`ie, 1887



From Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University, Lā`ie

<sup>110</sup>Julina Smith, 27 September 1886.

While the collective nature of the missionary compound increased the amount of work done by the women missionaries, it should also be noted that it was a space that also engendered emotional support for one another. Intertwinings of conflict and support often appear in the records of pregnancy, birth, and childcare. Shortly after delivering a ten-pound baby, Julina Smith wrote of her work in the kitchen.

I have had no one but May [a Native Hawaiian young woman, who regularly worked in the kitchen] to help me and have helped wash al dishes have mixed a big batch of bread every night and done most of the scrubbing the kitchen don't often look as nice and clean as it does now this is my second day on another week, it is hard for me but I thought I could do it better now than I could in another four weeks. I will not have to come again before I am sick, the work will not be as hard this week as it was last for ever thing is clean an in order.<sup>111</sup>

The narrative speaks of housewifely pride in her work, with some irritation at the disappointing work of others. It also speaks of her upcoming childbirth, which she codes as “sick.” Three weeks into April Julina gave birth, assisted by her husband, as no other women were about the house. On May 12, she wrote: “Sister Wilcox is washing for me to day.”<sup>112</sup> Even the two sisters most at odds with each other in the complex, Susa Young Gates and Elizabeth Noall, found a place to come together. When Gates’ children were ill and dying, Noall gave up her room for them. Then at Gates’ request, Noall wrote home regarding the children’s deaths.<sup>113</sup> While the closeness of the missionary complex could, at times, be stifling, it also provided a place where the missionary women found support.

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<sup>111</sup>Julina Smith, 7 Sunday, 1886.

<sup>112</sup>Julina Smith, 12 May 1886.

<sup>113</sup>Madsen, 74.

## Conclusion

The cooperative culture the Mormons brought with them was motivated by a desire to create a unified and faithful society dedicated to God. These high expectations often conflicted with the structure of plantation life. When the Mormon missionaries first moved to Lā`ie, they drew on typical Mormon settlement patterns. However, the capital needs of the plantation created early divisions among the missionaries along the lines of management and workers.

Cluff was a pivotal figure in critiquing and restructuring the plantation, with the goal of bringing the plantation more in line with Mormon values. The prospects for succeeding in this endeavor increased with the transfer of title to the land from Nebeker to the Church. While this transfer did not relieve the need for capital investment, such sponsorship took away the drive for profit and made sustainability enough. Ironically, the need for capital was one reason Cluff turned to a united order model. It had been used in Utah as a strategy for dealing with a difficult market economy. One of the primary benefits of this was an easing of tensions between the plantation managers and the male missionaries. When Elder Davis chided Elder Beesley for not working hard enough, the chastisement could be accepted good naturedly because neither felt they were working for the profit of a private individual but for the good of the mission and for God.

Nonetheless, labor tensions still remained. Woolley's complaints critiqued what he saw as inequitable divisions between skilled and unskilled work, in a sense drawing on Mormon general discomfort with wage labor. That this work was seen as unusual is supported by the emphasis Cluff gave his own efforts in performing "all" tasks and in

Woolley's own rhetorical juxtaposing of Hawaiian labor with his own. In a sense, the smallness of the mission helped to maintain such unusual labor practices. As Woolley noted, there was a surplus of white laborers on the plantation for the number of skilled jobs available; and with its high need for capital, putting the missionaries to work at unskilled labor was a means of offsetting expenses. Ironically, the very tasks designated by missionaries to teach Native Hawaiians industry were the very tasks that many of the missionaries themselves disdained. Much of this discomfort may have grown out of the colonial experience of a colonizer asked to do what, on other plantations, the colonized did.

Size also affected the sense of community and collectivity on the plantation. During the 1880s when a united order was being implemented, the collectivity of the work challenged the sister missionaries. Their isolation, efforts to recreate a mainland lifestyle, lack of resources, and their ideal to work collectively created a hothouse effect that magnified the intensity of work and relationships, with few outlets to ease tensions.

It is in Elizabeth Noall's journal that ambivalences toward the cooperative effort and labor are among the most articulated. It is challenging to know best how to lay out these ambivalences, not wanting to reduce her complexity, her faith, her compassion, nor her intellect. One senses from reading her journal that Noall gave her all, even when it was difficult. Both she and Matthew returned home physically weakened after their second mission in the 1890s. She died while still quite young from pneumonia, perhaps drained by overwork on the plantation. Yet of all the missionary journals, hers is the most frank in expressing frustration with domestic work and the collective life of the

plantation; hers is the most consistently revealing of the tensions that emerged between high expectations and daily living.

Two of Noall's entries are especially intriguing, drawing out questions without particularly offering answers. She wrote: "I arose early and started to wash but did not make very good success for I did not feel like washing and our boys were dreadfully lazy."<sup>114</sup> We cannot know if she caught the irony of these words. Part of the purpose of missionary work had been to teach industry to Hawaiian Saints. It is perhaps not surprising that Elizabeth did not feel like working. It was hot work in a hot climate. Her load was heavy, and she longed for more intellectual and spiritual pursuits. She loved serving as Relief Society President of the women's auxiliary organization. What is both surprising, and yet not surprising, is that she labeled "lazy" the little boys who didn't want to draw water any more than she did. It is a stereotype that often has been used to portray indigenous peoples by colonizing peoples when the cultural work patterns of the two represent different trajectories. It would be easy to settle on this image of colonizer seeing colonized, but there is an entry toward the end of Noall's journal that suggests that when cultural fields overlap, new ways of seeing can occur.

While living in Honolulu where her husband was working as a missionary, Noall wrote of the pleasure of cooking and her dislike of cleaning:

It is quite a pleasure to have something to cook and hence I have been taking advantage of my grease [butter sent from Lā`ie]. I have made a cake with frosting between the layers and some peach pies, but both taste of the grease and are not very nice though we like them here. I also made a rolypoly pudding with dried peaches inside it for our dinner. This work with cleaning kept me busy till nearly 2 o'clock

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<sup>114</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 8 November 1886.

and I thought, What creatures we are to work to satisfy our appetites. Why not be like the natives and always eat the same and something ready made. Have been mending this afternoon.<sup>115</sup>

The household task Noall most enjoyed, the making of sweets for her family, was dependent on the plantation (and surrounding plantations) that Noall was so relieved to leave behind. While Noall's statement is reductive and reifies stereotypes, it suggests that living on the plantation gave a space for Noall to see more clearly that there were other legitimate ways to conceptualize work. After Noall took time to reflect on the nature of work, she resumed her customary mending. Yet from living among Kānaka Maoli, Noall saw her own culture differently. Ironically, what Noall described as "something ready made" was only ready made for Native Hawaiian women. For the men who worked planting and harvesting kalo and then pounding it, poi was a lot of work. Just as when Elizabeth's successful domestic work was invisible in the collective space of the missionary compound, the work of Native Hawaiian men pounding poi was symmetrically invisible to her.

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<sup>115</sup>Elizabeth Noall, Journals, 7 December 1887.

## CHAPTER 3

### THE AHUPUA`A: HE`E, `AWA, AND KALO

Elizabeth Noall's work rarely led her beyond the coastal plain that housed the missionary compound, making it difficult for her to observe Native Hawaiian men making poi. However, Harvey Cluff's work in the sugar fields took him out among the tropical trees and kalo fields that surrounded Hawaiian hale (houses) in the valley behind the missionary compound. As he wandered among the lo'i kalo around Kapuna (see Map 1) and Kahawainui Stream, he could taste the smoky flavor of cooked kalo as it came fresh out of the imu (underground oven). His description of such experiences holds in it a clue to understanding Lā`ie Plantation. He wrote:

As you approach a natives hut on a Saturday afternoon you will see smoke curling upward through the tropical shade trees and as it reaches their top caught by a passing zephire or stiff sea breeze and carried away and is lost in the distance, you may know that a weeks supply of poi is being prepared. You are hungry and as you have not fully acquired efficiency in relishing poi, you may try the well cooked Kalo roots which the native brings to you steaming from the imu.<sup>1</sup>

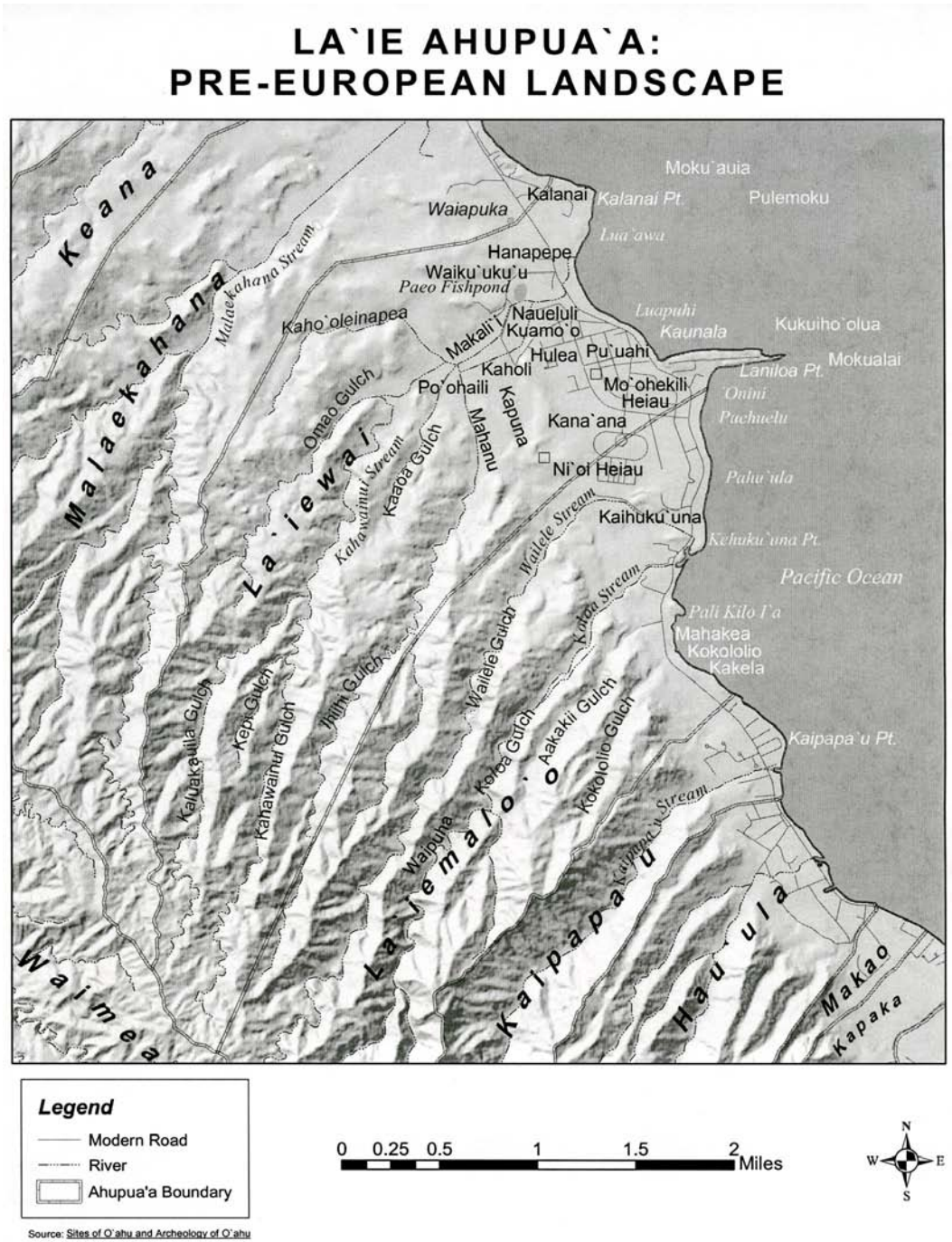
As limited as this description is, Cluff's narrative points to the fact that for the period between 1865 and 1895 sugar was not king on Lā`ie Plantation. Lā`ie only existed as a gathering place and plantation because of kalo production. Its importance was not only in the food that it provided but also because the production of kalo serves as a

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<sup>1</sup>Harvey Harris Cluff, *Journal and Autobiography*, 148, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, Lā`ie.



Map 1: A Map of Pre-contact Lā'iewai and Lā'iemalo'o Overlaying Contemporary Lā'ie



Luke Moffat, map in possession of Riley Moffat.

metaphor for the continuity of Hawaiian culture and community in the ahupua`a. Just as Mormon missionaries used their collective culture to create a hybrid plantation, Native Hawaiians' insistence on controlling the means of food production also shaped the dynamics and structure of plantation life.

### Ahupua`a

An ahupua`a is a traditional Hawaiian land division. Map 1 shows the ahupua`a of Lā`iewai and Lā`iemalo`o. This map gives a sense of how the ahupua`a descended from the crest of the mountains down into the bay. Timber, ferns, medicinal plants, `awa, sweet potatoes, fruits, and dry kalo grew in the higher elevations. Wet kalo, fruit, and other crops grew in terraced hills and flat lands, watered by irrigation systems built with wooden tools and arduous manual labor. Kānaka Maoli harvested the bays and reefs for fish, seaweed, and salt. Using the watershed as a land unit promoted a diversified diet, sustainable agriculture, and village life. Native Hawaiians that lived on the Lā`ie Plantation accessed much of the bounty of the ahupua`a in traditional ways. Harvey Cluff noted in a letter to a newspaper in Utah:

A benefit possessed by native members of the Church, who settle here, is in receiving sufficient land to produce kalo and vegetables, free of taxation and, as the business of the plantation increases, the young and able work hands find ready employment, while the females are employed to divest the cane of its foliage, thereby earning means to make themselves comfortable. They also have free access to the fisheries, game, and timber.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Harvey Cluff to *Deseret News*, 1 October 1870, in Andrew Jenson, comp., "History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," (photocopy), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

Cluff saw kalo and sugar as complementary parts of the gathering place, and indeed in many ways they were complementary. However, the private journals of the missionaries illuminate a dialectic between missionaries and Kānaka Maoli engaged in the work of negotiating, interpreting, and teasing out tensions over labor and land. The tensions reflect disagreements and intercultural exchanges as to how the ahupua`a should be conceptualized and utilized. It is possible to categorize these exchanges into those centering on he`e, `awa, and kalo.

He`e

An account by missionary Isaac Fox suggests the persistence of fishing traditions in the Lā`ie ahupua`a. Fox wrote:

To day we went down to the sea where the natives ware fishing with a net. The men ware all naked with the exception of a malo or britch clout on and there was about a hundred natives [there] men women and children. The fish they ware after ware a kind that goes in large schools and sometimes thay come very close to shore then the natives seround them with there little waapas boats and nets and it is quite exciteing and the natives can get more excited and do more whoopeing and shouting then eny body and all help to draw the net men women and children. When one detects a school of this fish (and a native can detect them half a mile off) thay give the signal by shouting and making sines and all that hear it take up the cry and thus it goes from one to another untill the whole neighborhood is raised and thay can be seen [comming] from every direction as though thay ware wild.<sup>3</sup>

This entry reveals continuity in Lā`ie fishing traditions when compared with oral interviews with Vonn Logan, who still regularly fishes Lā`ie Bay and is a member of the local Kalili fishing `ohana. Logan described a form of collective fishing (hukilau) that

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<sup>3</sup>Isaac Fox, Journal, 29 March 1884, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

was fairly common in Lā`ie until World War II and is even occasionally still held on special commemorative occasions.

What they would do is they would set their nets around the school of fish, and then drag it up to the shore. And . . . they would be catching fish by the thousands of pounds. And so everyone from the village could go down . . . and if you would go down and help pull the nets up and do whatever work was there, you were entitled to take some of the fish.<sup>4</sup>

Most likely fish caught in this manner was the main source of protein for Native Hawaiians in the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Missionary journals support this assertion. In Lā`ie, the missionaries generally ate at their communal kitchen, but when traveling around the islands they ate in the homes of Hawaiians. After Samuel Woolley first arrived on the islands, he soon went to live with a Native Hawaiian family to immerse himself in the language. He wrote home regarding the food he ate while there: “We have fish and poi through the week, and on Sundays poi and fish.”<sup>6</sup> Fish was primarily an everyday food and pork was most often a feast food. Logan noted: “You couldn’t go to the store and buy ten pounds of pork. If you made lau lau, you had to get a pig and chop it up. And you have to eat it right away. You know . . . you would [then] do some heavy feasting.”<sup>7</sup> Whereas preserving pork was problematic, fish was easily dried. Logan explained:

“[They caught] a lot of fish. They would set these like clothes lines out and . . . split the

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<sup>4</sup>Vonn Logan, interview with author, 3 March 2000, tape recording in possession of author.

<sup>5</sup>Logan, 3 March 2000.

<sup>6</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, 9 February 1881, in Jenson.

<sup>7</sup>Vonn Logan, interview with author, 10 March 2000, tape recording in possession of author.

fish open and tie two fish together. . . . And there would be long lines. . . . You have a hundred feet of fish all drying in the sun.”<sup>8</sup>

Fishing was both work and pleasure. Fox wrote of another time he observed a fisherman:

There was a native fishing out on the sea in his little waapa and he thaught he would showoff a little by rideing to shore on a wave which is greate sporte with the natives. He started with a big wave and was coming like lightning when the boat turned a little and the wave tipt his boat over in a hurry. He lost all he had in his boat.<sup>9</sup>

“Coming like lightning” was part of the pleasure of fishing. That enjoyment, along with the thought of eating fresh fish, might explain why on February 14, 1884, Woolley noted approximately one month before Fox’s journal entry: “Have not had enough hands. They all remained to fish but never got one.”<sup>10</sup> It is not unlikely that the “hands” had gone looking for an annual run of akule that usually took place in March. As Handy noted, this practice of leaving land crops to harvest the sea dated back to “old Hawaiian days, . . . when planters left their cultivating of taro, sweet potato, and banana, and feeding of livestock to join their relatives and neighbors along shore in their fishing operations.”<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Vonn Logan, interview with author, 3 March 2000.

<sup>9</sup>Fox, 21 Dec. 1883.

<sup>10</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, Journal, 14 February 1884, typescript, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>11</sup>E. S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Green Handy, and Mary Kawena Pukui, *Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1972; reprint, Honolulu, Bishop Museum Press, 1995), 438.

During plantation days, it wasn't just kalo that was left. Sugar production was left behind also as Kanaka Maoli worked the bay together.

The playfulness of the work was not just in being in the water, but also in dividing the catch. Fox continued his narrative on fishing with these observations:

To day they caught about eight hundred lbs and it appears there was two head fishermen that had charge for [thay] gave orders and caused the fish to be devided in piles and each taking charge of a pile had them sub devided into as meny piles as there was those that was interested in the nets and boats and then every mans was tolde to take his pile and then thay began to steal from each other and those that had no share only helped thay did some very bad stealing and before thay had finished dividing them thay ware all stealing from each other right before there eyes.<sup>12</sup>

The men dividing the catch were specialized fisherman. Malo noted that this type of specialization existed in precontact times: "There were some who engaged in fishing on a large scale and . . . those who worked on a small scale."<sup>13</sup> This kind of specialization continued down into the twentieth century. Logan noted that in the mid-twentieth century, "There were three boathouses there [on the bay]. And those boathouses were maintained and pretty much owned by three different families. . . . They . . . [were] there to house a boat and nets for fishing and it was for communal fishing. . . ."<sup>14</sup>

This hierarchy of fishermen may give us some insight into an incident that occurred when Edward Partridge, Jr., was mission president. In the nineteenth century,

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<sup>12</sup>Fox, 29 March 1884.

<sup>13</sup>David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, 2d ed. (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1951; reprint, Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1991), 211.

<sup>14</sup>Vonn Logan, interview with author, 3 March 2000.

the court systems carefully delineated the rights of the konohiki of the ahupua`a and the residents of the ahupua`a. Alan Murakami writing of this legal evolution, noted:

The tenant, defined by the court as any person lawfully occupying any part of the ahupua`a, possesse[d] a right to use of the fishery, subject only to the right of the konohiki to kapu or tax the catch. . . . Despite having a more limited right, the tenant [could] apparently take fish subject only to taxation or kapu by the konohiki.<sup>15</sup>

Thus the mission presidents acting as konohiki legally could regulate Kānaka Maoli fishing by choosing to tax a certain kind of fish. Partridge called a community council meeting to discuss how the fishing rights should be administered on July 22, August 5, and August 26, 1882. Options were presented and votes taken, yet Partridge wrote several months later in early 1883 that the matter was not settled.

At a meeting called for the purpose of settling this question [of which fish to tax] the natives would not consent that the Konohiki should have a third of all fish, so I kapued the Hee, which caused considerable grumbling among some of the natives who are in the habit of catching Hees [octopus], only a small portion of the natives have seins wherewith to catch other kinds of fish.<sup>16</sup>

The meeting Partridge called in many ways resembled “councils” held by the missionaries when making such decisions as when to harvest sugar, when to raise money for a meeting house or band instruments, or how to resolve conflicts between missionaries. However, usually only missionaries attended these councils. These meetings regarding fishing rights

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<sup>15</sup>Alan Murakami, “Konohiki Fishing Rights and Marine Resources,” in *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, ed. Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie (Honolulu: Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation; Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1991), 176.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., Diaries, 17 January 1883, Mss B 79, Utah History Center, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City. Here Partridge referred to the legal right he had to decide which fish to kapu or tax. It also appears that the families he referred to as having seines or nets were families that traditionally fished the bay and also directed the collective fishing.

followed the pattern of such missionary councils, where an invitation was extended to those attending to speak their opinion and then a vote taken to render a decision. It appears that these three recorded fishing-rights meetings did not bring any resolution, for three years later the missionaries met together once again to talk about how to regulate fishing rights. In the minutes of a missionary council meeting held September 30, 1885, it was decided that the missionaries should propose a \$2.00 tax on he`e.<sup>17</sup>

One has to wonder why this meeting was one of the few that missionaries invited Native Hawaiians to attend. These council meetings suggest that the missionaries' lack of fishing knowledge made them more obviously reliant on Kānaka Maoli input. Logan observed that when Partridge accepted he`e as the konohiki tax, he taxed one of the least commercially valuable fish.<sup>18</sup> There is not enough information in Partridge's account to discern exactly what happened. However, his notation regarding seines suggests that the specialized fishermen prevailed in the council meeting and prevented their catches from being taxed. Instead they transferred the tax to the least valuable fish—he`e (octopus). He`e was the fish traditionally caught by women and it is likely the women and their families were numbered among those “grumbling.”<sup>19</sup> Since he`e was the fish most likely to generate the least amount of tax revenue, it is easy to read into the Kānaka Maoli

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<sup>17</sup>30 September 1885, 31, Minutes of meetings, October 1882-October 1886, Archives and Special Collections, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie (hereafter cited as “Minutes”).

<sup>18</sup>Vonn Logan, conversation with author, June 2005.

<sup>19</sup>Logan, conversation, June 2005; Dawn Wasson, conversation with author, May 2005.



promotion of the konohiki tax on he`e a successful attempt to mislead the missionaries and effectively limit Haole power over the bay.<sup>20</sup> It is not clear, but the grumbling and lack of resolution suggests divisions among Native Hawaiian community members over which segment of the community should bear the tax burden. What is clear is that despite the legal right to tax fish, the missionaries' lack of knowledge regarding the sea meant that Native Hawaiians effectively restricted missionary ability to regulate fishing and colonize the bay. Hawaiians maintained control of the bay and defended their prerogatives despite the missionary tax.

`Awa

`Awa (kava), a giant pepper plant, grew in the cool lands just beyond the kalo patches up into the ravines and slopes of the mountains. It is in the history of its cultivation and harvest that one of the most serious ruptures between plantation management and workers, both Kānaka Maoli and Haole, took place.

`Awa is used throughout the Pacific. Vincent Lebot, Mark Merlin, and Lamont Lindstrom characterize it as a mild narcotic that is often used for ceremonial rituals.<sup>21</sup> Traditionally, in Hawai`i “the ali`i class drank for pleasure largely, the kahuna [priestly] class ceremonially, and the working people for relaxation after labor.”<sup>22</sup> Kamakau described its use for the maka`āinana:

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<sup>20</sup>Logan, conversation, June 2005.

<sup>21</sup>Vincent Lebot, Mark Merlin, and Lamont Lindstrom, *Kava: The Pacific Drug* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 1, 38.

<sup>22</sup>Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 193.

`Awa is good for a farmer when he is weary and sore after laboring day and night and for the fisherman who has been diving, rowing, pulling, and bending with his head down until his legs ache, his buttocks are sore from sitting on the edge of the canoe, and he is lame and weary and goes ashore in the evening, and has the `awa prepared. . . . And . . . the farmer, he sleeps until morning, and the pains and soreness are gone. He reaches for paddle and fishing gear, and sails away for fishing; or, if he is cultivating, he grasps the digging stick and goes to cultivate.<sup>23</sup>

Such qualities did not go unnoticed in the imperial age of the nineteenth century, and oversea markets grew up for `awa, making it into a cash crop.<sup>24</sup> It is clear that for both Native Hawaiians and missionaries `awa was seen as a means of bringing cash to Lā`ie. Thus `awa was grown on the Lā`ie plantation to diversify the crop base. Native Hawaiians continued to grow their traditional food crops for home use and expanded the use of `awa to bring in cash for such things as taxes.

For the missionaries, such diversification was seen as a means of making the plantation desirable as a gathering place for the Hawaiian Saints and as a means of making the plantation less susceptible to the vagaries of the sugar market.<sup>25</sup> Unlike sugar,

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<sup>23</sup> Samuel Kamakau, *Moololo Hawaii*, ed. Martha W. Beckwith, trans. Mary Kawena Pukui (Honolulu: B. P. Bishop Mus. Library, n.d.), quoted in Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 193-194.

<sup>24</sup> Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 195; Cluff, *Autobiography*, 145.

<sup>25</sup> In the 1870s and 1880s, missionaries planted citrus and coffee trees in the mountains to protect the trees from the damaging salt carried by the trade winds. Jane Molen wrote in 1876 of getting coffee, ferns, and oranges in the mountains. Jane Molen, *Journal*, 11 and 25 November 1876, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie. Also, Harvey Cluff wrote in 1880: "We have started an orchard in Kolu gulch at the Kalo lois, where we put out 200 mangoes trees, 110 orange and lime trees, and now we are putting out 2,000 coffee trees. We may not stay here long enough to gather the fruit and enjoy its tropical deliciousness, but we think some one may. We look upon this from this point of view. Had our brethren done the same thing 15 years ago, we of today would have all the fruit necessary for the whole colony." Harvey Cluff to Richard G. Lambert, 1 November 1880, in Jenson. The sheer number of coffee trees

`awa took very little labor to propagate, tend, or harvest. Although it took two to three years to mature, it “is said that age does not impair the vitality or vitiate the quality of the root, but rather enhances its value. Roots thus left in the ground for twenty years or more will reach an enormous size.”<sup>26</sup> Thus with little attention, `awa could be grown and harvested over an extended period of time for a cash profit without competing for kalo or sugar land. Journal entries as late as 1884 indicate that `awa was still being grown for the market.<sup>27</sup>

It was in this context that Frederick Mitchell arrived in Lā`ie in June of 1873 to replace George Nebeker as mission president/plantation manager. It was under his tenure that serious conflict emerged regarding `awa. Harvey Cluff recorded that “President Mitchell considered the awa condemned in the ‘Word of Wisdom’ as well as liquors and with inthusiam he set his face against the propogation and use of it.”<sup>28</sup> When Mitchell decided to prohibit the cultivation of `awa, he placed himself in opposition to Native Hawaiians’ desire to control their own work and to support their families. Mitchell created a situation that invited conflict.

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planted speaks of a commercial venture for the market. It appears that coffee beans were occasionally harvested but not commercially sold from Lā`ie.

<sup>26</sup>O. P. Emerson, “The `Awa Habit of the Hawaiians,” *The Hawaiian Annual* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1903), 132.

<sup>27</sup>Samuel Woolley recorded in his journal, 18 October 1882, that he helped take “a load of `awa” to the schooner for Kalawaia (who also grew sugar on shares) and Partridge on 20 June 1884 indicated in his journal that he took a load of `awa to the schooner to ship to Honolulu.

<sup>28</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 145.

The Word of Wisdom is a health code for Mormons that includes counsel against the use of drugs such as alcohol and tobacco. In the nineteenth century it was not administered nor practiced with the emphasis that it is today.<sup>29</sup> When Mitchell arrived on the plantation, “the tenor of the talks at the semi-annual conferences in Lā`ie seemed to change.” A greater emphasis was placed on the Word of Wisdom, and Mitchell included `awa as a prohibited substance.<sup>30</sup> However, as a reformer Mitchell desired to move beyond prohibiting its use; he also wanted to prohibit its cultivation. Cluff noted that the previous plantation manager, George Nebeker, had permitted the `awa cultivation. However, Mitchell decided to eliminate the production of `awa. According to Cluff, more experienced missionaries advised Mitchell against prohibiting `awa cultivation. However, Mitchell “said that he would not be satisfied unless he had his way in the abolishment of the awa,” so the other missionaries were overruled.<sup>31</sup>

Subsequent histories often focus on Mitchell’s prohibition of `awa as a fairly isolated incident growing out of his enthusiasm for enforcing the Word of Wisdom at a time when such an orthodoxy was unusual.<sup>32</sup> However, Cluff’s narrative suggests that the story may be reframed and expanded to more fully contextualize the experience by focusing on the plantation structure, the market, and the history of the Church’s previous

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<sup>29</sup>See Lance D. Chase, *Temple, Town, Tradition: The Collected Historical Essays of Lance D. Chase* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 2000), 19-20.

<sup>30</sup>Chase, 17.

<sup>31</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*,” 145-146.

<sup>32</sup>Chase, 11-23; Robert H. Stauffer, *Kahana: How the Land was Lost* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2004), 120.

colony in Lāna`i. Because we do not have Mitchell's account nor that of Kānaka Maoli, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to know how the context shaped the conversation between Mitchell and the Hawaiian Saints.

Mitchell's decision is somewhat perplexing, because as Cluff noted, the plantation was badly in need of money and Mitchell's kapu (prohibition) would appear to hurt the economic viability of the plantation. This is pertinent because Mitchell became a business partner, assuming one-third interest in the plantation.<sup>33</sup> That the plantation was not profitable upon Mitchell's arrival is attested to by the fact that Nebeker was personally in debt approximately \$20,000.<sup>34</sup> In fact, when Cluff gave Mitchell a tour of the plantation, he gave financial advice which Mitchell rebuffed:

As brother Mitchell, several other brethren and myself were walking over the plantation he related to us the nature of the contract with brother and the option of choosing ten percent of profits or four percent of the gross receipts. . . . When brother Mitchell finished his statement as to the percent it was to draw for his Services, I chipped in and said "if I were you brother Mitchell I would take the gross receipts 4 percent" He spoke up verry sarcastically and said "When I want advice I will ask for it." That was a stunner, for I was innocet as could be and based my suggestion on what my experience on the planation for several years had taught me about gross receipts and actual profits.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 142; Jeffrey S. Stover, "The Legacy of the 1848 Māhele and Kuleana Act of 1850: A Case Study of the Lā`ie Wai and Lā`ie Malo`o Ahupua`a, 1846-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai`i, 1997), 70.

<sup>34</sup>George Nebeker to John Taylor, 20 February 1879, Mission Administration Correspondence, 1877-1915, typescript, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>35</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 143.

Thus the question is raised as to why Mitchell would prohibit the growing of `awa when the plantation was in need of cash, when his own personal financial well being was at stake, and when he was accountable to church leaders in Salt Lake regarding the success of the plantation and gathering place.

The first inclination is to see Mitchell's willingness to sacrifice profit for principle. Another look, which does not dismiss nor diminish in the least Mitchell's willingness to sacrifice his own well-being for his faith, suggests that other factors entered in also. In late 1873 some of the missionaries urged Mitchell to allow the harvesting of the `awa crop. They expressed concern that the destruction of the crop would cause some Hawaiians to steal. Contrary to their advice, Mitchell proceeded. On New Year's Day, 1874, Mitchell "taboo'd the awa, a violation of which would be punished by law."<sup>36</sup> In retrospect, the timing of Mitchell's announcement, and the place, a holiday feast, are significant. He and other mission presidents and plantation managers often used the pulpit as a place to announce plantation policies and calls to work. Certainly, the Word of Wisdom was taught at church meetings on earlier occasions.<sup>37</sup> Why, then, did he announce this "konohiki" prohibition and threaten to enforce it with the law at such a festive occasion instead of a church meeting? Its very abruptness and unexpectedness must have made the announcement even more potent, and it incited an uprising.

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<sup>36</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 147.

<sup>37</sup>John A. West to George A. Smith, 6 November 1873, in Jenson.

This was the signal for an uprising, many of the natives became infuriated beyond control. . . . brother Mitchell turned to me and what shall we do with Lua an outsider and the most noisy one. . . . Said I to brother Mitchell “Command Lua to go home to his own Kuliana.” He did so and Lua without any hesitancy he took a bee line for his home. This had a wonderful check on the tumultous uprising but it did not reconcile and heal up the wound as the sequel will show.<sup>38</sup>

It is not hard to imagine that with Mitchell’s rigid orthodoxy, rusty language skills, and awkward social skills, the festivities challenged his sense of social order. It would not be the first time nor the last that prohibition and regulation of drinking (whether alcohol or `awa) was used to reinforce social order.

When Mitchell served his first Hawaiian mission in 1856, missionaries often lived with Native Hawaiians. However, by the time Mitchell arrived in 1873 most Kānaka Maoli in Lā`ie lived in a valley separated from the missionary compound by a bluff.<sup>39</sup> It may be that Mitchell feared that he could not control the moral framework of Kānaka Maoli who lived out of sight from the missionary compound. The fact that Mitchell announced his kapu at a community feast, a time when festivities were likely notched up, increases the likelihood that Mitchell imposed the “temperance” movement as a means to more effectively control social order.

It was not just social control that was at issue though; it was also very possibly an issue of economic control. When Mitchell arrived, Lā`ie was in the midst of the transformation to a market economy, as the Mahele and imposed taxes dramatically altered socio-economic relationships. Because `awa was a cash crop, it competed with the

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<sup>38</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 147.

<sup>39</sup>Susa Y. Gates, 1 December 1885, in Jenson; Susa Y. Gates, 23 February 1886, in Jenson; and Stover, 80.

other cash crop on the plantation, sugar, for labor. If Mitchell successfully diminished the capacity of Kanaka Maoli to raise cash by growing `awa, it was more likely that they would need to work at the mill and in the sugar fields to pay their taxes. Mitchell's attempt to shut down the production of `awa created dependency. We cannot know if Mitchell was conscious or strategic in his putting a kapu on `awa, but the implications of his policy would have been immediately clear to Native Hawaiians who worked the land.

Although we do not have a record of what was said at the meeting, Cluff gives us a sense of hidden transcripts manifesting themselves in various modes of resistance offered after Mitchell's kapu. Cluff first told of "Old Solomona' the best native seemingly, on the land, the one from whom Brother Mitchell bought his patch of awa at a nominal sum, for the purpose of distroying was found and caught stealing the awa that was tabooed."<sup>40</sup> Cluff argued that Solomona's action was stealing. However, it would not be surprising if Solomona saw it as taking back the product of his own labor, particularly since Cluff suggests that the fee given for the goods was minimal.<sup>41</sup> It is here we observe how structure and perspective frame meaning. Certainly Cluff saw and identified Mitchell's action as unjust. His sense of hierarchy, his sense of property, and his sense of the importance of the rule of law led him to name Solomona's action as stealing. If any one of these assumptions is punctured, Solomona's action could be interpreted very differently. For example, did Solomona accept Mitchell, a relative newcomer who did not

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<sup>40</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 158-59.

<sup>41</sup>James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 188.



understand Hawaiian ways, as a legitimate konohiki with the right to impose a kapu on the ahupua`a? Rule of law in Hawai`i had only recently been introduced and was challenging traditional Hawaiians ways of arbitrating “property” and “rights.” Sally Engle Merry suggested that “the law was one of the core institutions of colonial control, serving the needs of commerce and capitalism by producing free labor and privatized land. But it was also an ideological cornerstone.”<sup>42</sup> Did Solomona accept those new laws as legitimate?

Cluff also described a second incident that may have been a form of resistance.

He noted:

A fire occurred at the furnace during noon hour when only for my presence the Sugar Mill would have burned down. It so happened that I remained at the [mill] during noon hour, an unusual thing. I was very busy in the [mill] when a native came rushing in and said, the mill on fire. I rushed out and behold the trash was on fire and the board roofing over the trash and furnace. We fortunately had a large tank full of half vinegar used to clean the pans and with the native we succeeded in extinguishing the fire before any help arrived. My remaining at the mill saved the whole from burning and the sugar already for market.<sup>43</sup>

There is no way to know whether or not the fire in the mill was deliberate. However, the timing of the fire in the mill—both in regards to its fairly close proximity to the announcement of the kapu and its occurrence during the lunch hour—makes one wonder if the fire were coincidental or a form of protest. What more symbolic place to express displeasure with a plantation policy than at the mill?

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<sup>42</sup>Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai`i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 8.

<sup>43</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 159.

However difficult it is to identify exactly what the fire at the mill was, it is easy to see the Kānaka Maoli choice to move off the land and resettle in a different ahupua`a as resistance to Mitchell's kapu and methods. Noall described it in this way:

About this same time it developed that a scheme is on foot to draw away natives from Laie. A tract of land eight miles from Laie, consisting of 3000 acres owned by a Chinaman is offered for sale and strongly disaffected natives against brother Mitchell for the stand he has taken on the awa question, has led to the combination of these natives and the purchase of the land independent of brother Mitchell and the Church.<sup>44</sup>

As recourse, Mitchell drew on his authority as a church leader, against the protests of the other missionaries, to disfellowship those who were moving to Kahana. When Mitchell heard that property in Kahana had actually been bought, he called a meeting.

President Mitchell then asked those who had combined together if they still were determined to go ahead with their organization and draw off from La`ie, to which they answered disfellowshipped from the Church . . . and when put to vote there were only about thirty voted in the affirmative. Where upon President Mitchell moved that they be for the motion including the foreigner.<sup>45</sup>

Again, we cannot know exactly how Mitchell justified putting the membership of those who bought land in Kahana on probationary status.<sup>46</sup> The move to Kahana did not break Mitchell's kapu to not grow `awa, and he had no legal nor ecclesiastical authority to hold them on the land. In a sense Mitchell's actions illuminate in a potent way how the plantation and the gathering place created double layers of hierarchy. The Hawaiian

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<sup>44</sup>Harvy Cluff, Autobiography, 159.

<sup>45</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 160.

<sup>46</sup>Stauffer, 120. Stauffer mistakenly equated disfellowship and excommunication as synonymous; however, excommunication completely removes one from church membership, whereas disfellowship is more of a probationary status.

Saints' move to Kahana suggests that leaving the plantation was one means of dealing with a church leader that overstepped acceptable bounds.

After Cluff was released from his mission and returned home, he met in council with Brigham Young and other church authorities, some of whom had served missions in Hawai'i. In the meeting a letter was read that had been sent by Kānaka Maoli, most likely from those who had relocated to Kahana, regarding Mitchell and his treatment of them.<sup>47</sup> After discussion of the matter "President Young said it was his mind that brother Mitchell be released and another man appointed to preside over the Mission."<sup>48</sup> It did not hurt the Kahana group that a dissatisfied former plantation worker, Harvey Cluff, was at the meeting, expressing in person his own sense of the injustice of Mitchell's actions. Appealing to Salt Lake City was a way for Hawaiian Saints to challenge the authority of Mitchell, who was relieved from duty. This letter clarified that Kānaka Maoli could appeal to Salt Lake and obtain results. Certainly, subsequent plantation managers knew this history, as did the Kānaka Maoli who lived on the plantation. Thus, in times of conflict with plantation managers, Native Hawaiians on the plantation could also appeal to Salt Lake. Such appeals effectively drew on personal relationships with some of the apostles who had served on the islands—men such as Joseph F. Smith and George Q. Cannon.

Whereas Mitchell's actions more closely resembled dependent wage relations fostered on other plantations, it was evident that Native Hawaiians used their relations

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<sup>47</sup>I have been unable to locate a copy of this letter.

<sup>48</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 162.

with former missionaries to challenge the authority of overbearing managers. This was one way Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie actively sought to carve out rights and traditions that protected their interests. The Native Hawaiians' response to Mitchell suggests that Kānaka Maoli in Lā`ie had little interest in contract labor or in working for the plantation at the expense of their own farming. Buying land in Kahana suggests Hawaiians converts might gather to Lā`ie if they could raise cash, but only if they could work under conditions they considered favorable. That control over their own labor was a central issue is sustained by Stauffer's study on Kahana. When the Hawaiian Saints who resisted Mitchell moved to Kahana, they formed a hui or organization formed in such a way as to recreate their traditional labor system within the Western laws and land-tenure system.<sup>49</sup>

After Mitchell was called home, `awa continued to be grown in Lā`ie; and Kahana became one of the three strongest units of the church in the islands for the next two decades. Close ties continued between the Lā`ie Saints, missionary and Kānaka Maoli, in Lā`ie and Kahana. Ironically, it was another gathering place that helped diminish Kahana as one of the chief church centers on the island. When members from Kahana immigrated to Iosepa, Utah, in the late nineteenth century, some of Kahana's strength in numbers was diminished. This affected not only the strength of the church in Kahana but also the ability to hold the hui together financially. Stauffer suggested that approximately one third of the immigrants to Iosepa came from Kahana.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Stauffer, 122-24.

<sup>50</sup>Stauffer, 160.

While the series of events growing out of Mitchell's response to `awa is often referred to as the "Awa Rebellion," such a designation does not capture the complexity with which Hawaiian Saints overtly resisted the plantation model by continuing to practice traditional foodways and grow a cash crop. This movement off the plantation by those who formed the Kahana hui was similar to the pattern of other Native Hawaiians leaving plantations around the islands when they could not successfully intertwine plantation work with their own agricultural endeavors.

## Kalo

To understand the central role of kalo in plantation La`ie, it is necessary to understand its significance in pre-Mormon La`ie. Before Europeans landed in Hawai`i in 1778, indigenous Hawaiians had created one of the most productive economies in the Pacific, with kalo as its foundation. Kalo's significance was not just as a staple; it was also a living metaphor for relationships. Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa related the epic of origins of Hawaiian society where Wakea, the father to the islands of Hawai`i, Māu`i, Kaua`i, Ni`ihau, Lehua, and Ka`ula, had relations with Ho`ohōkūkālani. Together they had a premature child.

They named him Hāloa-naka (quivering long stalk). They buried Hāloa-naka in the earth, and from that spot grew the first kalo plant. The second child, named Hāloa in honor of his elder brother, was the first Hawaiian Ali`i Nui and became the ancestor of all the Hawaiian people. Thus the kalo plant, which was the main staple of the people of old, is also the elder brother of the Hawaiian race, and as such deserves great respect.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), 23-25.

Thus, unlike the Christian creation narrative, which placed humans at the apex of the creative process to rule in dominion over the earth, the Hawaiian creation narrative placed kalo, the land, and humans in sibling relationships.

In addition to Hawaiian metaphors emphasizing relations between kalo and Kānaka Maoli, the plant lends itself to personalizing the relationship between the planter and kalo. Out of the collaboration of Mary Kawena Pukui, E.S. Craighill Handy, and Elizabeth Green Handy came the classic *Native Planters in Old Hawaii: Their Life, Lore, and Environment*. They wrote:

[A] personal relationship of taro to man is implicit in the first scene in the drama of creation. Man, then, had a sense of familial relationship with the taro plant. . . . The taro plant, with roots beneath a compact, bodylike corm out of whose crown grow the tall, stout stalks bearing graceful mobile leaves, is a plant that is easy to personalize. A man standing in the midst of a taro plantation has a sense, not of a mass of vegetation as in a hay or grain field, but of individuals, for each plant stands out in its own right.”<sup>52</sup>

As part of the personification of kalo, the word “makua” is used to denote both human parents and the kalo parent plant. The very word for family, `ohana, comes from the corm or `oha of the taro plant.<sup>53</sup> The plant—its name, creation, propagation, growth, and harvest—by its very existence testifies metaphorically of relationships to gods, ancestors, family, `āina, and community. Such meanings enhanced the feeling of pleasure in the crop itself. The Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau described sensations evoked by the plant:

After a few months, or maybe a year, the farmer went to the patch and saw the taro standing out like squatty-shaped water gourds. They stood as tall as calabashes

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<sup>52</sup>Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 22-23.

<sup>53</sup>Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 22. See also George S. Kanahale, *Waikiki: 100 B.C. to 1900 A.D., an Untold Story* (Honolulu: The Queen Emma Foundation, 1995), 18-19.

made of pandanus trunks. The taro suckers stood there lovely as the thighs of a beloved one, like the white tusks of a hog, white and glistening in the distance. The farmer remembered his god and in the evening he offered a prayer of thanksgiving.<sup>54</sup>

Another Hawaiian historian, Kepelino, also expressed the pleasure of growing kalo.

Taro planted in dry lands is an excellent thing, an amiable friend and one pleasant to the heart of man. The leaves, stem and blossoms have pleasant smell in the patch. It is a lovely sight, really delightful, to see taro growing and the different varieties as you sit down to rest, perhaps, among the hills of taro.

In the old days the farmers wept when they became disabled from work, because they loved their plants. "Plants are beloved children," said the farmers.

Blessed were the Hawaiian people when their hands were occupied with work!<sup>55</sup>

These beliefs connecting kalo, `āina, and `ohana continue to influence contemporary Hawaiian connections with the land that in many ways stands as a critique of capitalist commodification of the land.

While `awa was a cash crop that allowed Kānaka Maoli in Lā`ie to move in and out of the cash economy, kalo remained the staple food crop in Lā`ie throughout the nineteenth century and was grown in Lā`ie well into the mid-twentieth century. Growing kalo was an important factor in Hawaiian Saints gathering in Lā`ie. In a letter to John Taylor, Partridge suggested that the gathering could not grow until more land was opened up for kalo cultivation.

Matters at Laie are progressing about as well as could be expected we have not the necessary inducement at present for saints to gather in very great numbers to this place, not being able to provide them with the kalo for patches that each family requires for their sustenance.

It is my opinion that when we get out of our embarasments [debts of ten to twelve thousand dollars] sufficiently that we can sink some wells and have water to

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<sup>54</sup>Kamakau, 157, quoted in Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 313.

<sup>55</sup>Keauokalani Kepelino, *Kepelino's Traditions of Hawaii*, ed. Martha W. Beckwith, B. P. Bishop Museum Bulletin 95 (1932): 154, quoted in Handy, Handy, and Pukui, 313.

make lois for the natives to raise their kalo many will be induced to gather here who do not feel to do so now. I do not feel to urge many to come at present, circumstances as we are with regard to these matters.<sup>56</sup>

Here he captured one of the reasons missionaries supported the growing of kalo—it both allowed Kānaka Maoli to feed their families and motivated them to move to Lā`ie.

Despite this missionary support for kalo production, they often found themselves in conflict with Native Hawaiians over land traditionally used for kalo, particularly who should use it and how. One of the more developed records of such resistance is recorded by Cluff in his autobiography. It occurred as Cluff was preparing to leave the plantation and Partridge was arriving to take over stewardship of the mission and plantation. In 1881 Cluff decided to lease a sizeable piece of land claimed by the church to a Chinese farmer who wanted to grow rice.<sup>57</sup>

This appears to have been the first instance in Lā`ie of land being leased to a Chinese tenant, and it met with concentrated resistance by Native Hawaiians in the ahupua`a. Cluff recorded that church ownership of the land was disputed by two Native Hawaiian sisters who, “with a force of Sympathsers, came upon the Chinamen overpowered them and drove them off, gaining possession of the land.”<sup>58</sup> Cluff approached a local Native Hawaiian lawyer named Kupau to bring Chinese workers back on the land. If there was another attempt by Hawaiians to intimidate them, the Chinese workers were to move around the parcel of land until the “sympathsers” were worn down.

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<sup>56</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 16 Jan 1883.

<sup>57</sup>Cluff to John Taylor, 13 November 1881, in Jenson.

<sup>58</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 193-94.



Upon the following day, Kupau with his twenty chinamen or more commenced the work early. Soon the quietude of their work was broken and the voice of human beings echoed in the mountains and only for the roaring of the sea as the great waves dashed against the coral reef. their noise could have been heard upon the mountain. The voice of the natives and clattering of the chinamen co-mingling, produced a conglomiration that would be unreadable. The two native women did not have a sufficient following of sympathizers to overpower the chinamen. . . . they abandoned their effort and went home.<sup>59</sup>

Leasing the land to Chinese not only reconstituted the metaphor of who was to be a part of the gathering in the ahupua`a, but the move to commercially grow rice by non-Hawaiians could create dangerous precedents in terms of competition for land and water.

The evidence suggests that there was widespread opposition to the lease. The sisters found many who sympathized and joined with them in attempting to move the Chinese rice growers off the land. Cluff's plans also suggest he was aware of anger directed against his decision and attempted to portray his actions positively to other community members. For example, it was a rare occasion for the plantation managers to ask for assistance in interacting with Kānaka Maoli on the plantation. However, Cluff approached Kupau to make arrangements with the Chinese workers, which might deflect anger away from Cluff towards the lawyer. Also, Cluff made a point of saying in his autobiography that he did not want to instigate a lawsuit to "eject the two women [from the property] unless I could play the game in some other way." He continued: "I had a great objection to institute a lawsuit against a native female or family. I would prefer to

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<sup>59</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 194-95. It is not clear if Kupau hired Chinese workers to intimidate the Native Hawaiians or if they were part of a regular workcrew growing rice.

defend rather than prosecute.”<sup>60</sup> Cluff again desired to deflect attention away from his choice of leasing the land to other participants in the conflict.

Cluff noted in his autobiography that when the sisters abandoned their plan to occupy the land, they resorted to both legal and indigenous means of reclaiming their land. They hired a lawyer to instigate a lawsuit and “they engaged an old Kahunapule or high Priest who had long practiced the art of ‘praying to death’ and because of superstition had, no doubt, succeeded in many cases. This ‘praying to death’ process was now to be used on me. . . .”<sup>61</sup> Cluff’s description of the sisters’ resistance to the encroachment of rice in their ahupua`a suggests a contact zone where the mana (spiritual power) of two religious systems was being played out.<sup>62</sup> While the jury deliberated, Cluff sat at a table in the courtroom waiting and praying. After the judgement was rendered for Cluff, he learned of the “praying curse.”

Throughout the whole proceedings quite a number of the native saints were in Honolulu from Laie to witness the court proceedings and also to bid my wife and I good by as were prepared to take steamer for San Francisco. . . . The reader will note that the operations of the Priest in sacrificing and praying for my death or victory over me was entirely unknown to me until after the trial was over and my native friends gathered around me. . . . The victory thus gained elicited expressions of gratitude from the native Saints and really tended to strengthening of their faith.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 194.

<sup>61</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 195. David Malo, wrote in his *Hawaiian Antiquities* of the practice of people going to a kahuna ana`ana to “pray to death” an adversary. Malo, 100.

<sup>62</sup>This section benefits from conversations with Matt Kester.

<sup>63</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 195-96.

Certainly, Cluff saw the mana of Mormonism vindicated by his victory in court. Yet one wonders how many other times such encounters occurred where discourse remained “hidden” rather than brought to the forefront, as it was in this instance.

In 1886, when Enoch Farr was mission president and plantation manager, Matthew Noall noted that Native Hawaiians had been cultivating kalo on land the missionaries considered church property. Some of the families who had lived in Lā`ie before the Mormons moved there, held title to their own land. However, those who moved to Lā`ie as part of the gathering, settled on and farmed land owned by the church. In the 1880s the rent on the leased land was paid by a portion of the harvested kalo. It appears that this dispute was either over title to the land or usufruct rights. In an attempt to reclaim the land and a portion of its harvest, Farr negotiated payment of half of the kalo growing in the lo`i. However, when Farr found other sections of land being used and demanded rent, he encountered stiff resistance. When “the natives declared that they would not give up even the first lo`i.” Farr went to the lo`i where he confronted the kalo growers. One of the Native Hawaiians continued to harvest the kalo. Farr hit him, causing him to fall into the mud while the other Hawaiians dispersed. After this fight, only one Hawaiian could be persuaded by Farr to begin to harvest the kalo in that lo`i. Noall believed the others did not help because were afraid of being prayed to death. He noted: “They were all afraid of being prayed to death if they touched it. One man started

and pulled one root, but on being called by his companion to remember the prayers he sneakingly crept out.”<sup>64</sup>

This incidence demonstrates a power struggle between Native Hawaiians and missionaries in determining the use of the land. The struggle manifested itself in many forms—in the “clique” or hui, in claiming the land and growing kalo on it, in physical altercations, and in calling upon religious beliefs. If we could interview the Native Hawaiians who worked that lo`i, would we find differing degrees of belief in “praying to death.” Did the Native Hawaiians planting and harvesting the kalo accept the legal assumptions as legitimate on which the missionaries claimed the rights of konohiki? How many of these kalo planters were members of the church? How many worked for the plantation as cart boys or in the mill? Did they feel they were entitled to work the fallow land since the church was not using it?

Such resistance is easy to understand if one thinks of the implementation of the Western laws as a negotiated process rather than as an event. Some legal assumptions were actively resisted, as when the kalo farmers who fought with Farr planted kalo in lo`i based on traditional usufruct rights and ignored the mission’s claim to the land based on legal title. However, Native Hawaiians, such as the sisters challenging Cluff’s right to lease land to Chinese rice growers, also actively appropriated Western legal strategies by instigating a suit against the plantation.<sup>65</sup> Thus Kānaka Maoli used the Hawaiian laws (patterned after U.S. legal traditions) to protect their “legal rights” and simultaneously

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<sup>64</sup>Matthew Noall, Journals, 30 August 1886.

<sup>65</sup>Merry, 259-60.

drew on cultural values to preserve their links with kalo and the `aina. Such laws may be seen as a negotiated process between intercultural groups, thus Lā`ie Plantation demonstrates the development of a contact zone where different cultures coexisted.

Journal entries of the missionaries suggest that they understood that the growing of kalo was crucial to survival of both the plantation and gathering. Yet the incident between Farr and the kalo planters suggests a great divide between Native Hawaiians and foreign missionaries' concept of property. While both drew on collective cultures, the missionaries' view of property was that it was something that one owned outright. Men such as Cluff and Partridge believed in the collective use of the land under the auspices of the church, but they believed that the land was property that "belonged" to the church. This cultural divide is reflected in the missionaries' journals that did not censure Farr for his actions. Some applauded his course. Noall wrote: "Brother Smith expressed his only regret, that the president did not have a black whip and lash the theaves well."<sup>66</sup>

On the other hand, precontact Hawaiians did not view the land as something that "belonged" to any person. Rather it was the right or ability to work the land that "belonged" to someone.<sup>67</sup> Cultural criteria framed how these usufruct rights were

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<sup>66</sup>Matthew Noall, Journals, 30 August 1886. Records indicate that violence was not uncommon on Hawaiian sugar plantations. However, the relative lack of violence on Lā`ie may speak to how ethnicity and race was constructed during the late nineteenth century, and the comparatively high status Hawaiians had at that time. Many of the journals indicate the notion that Hawaiians belonged to Book of Mormon peoples. A more complete study of shifting ideas of race and ethnicity by Mormon missionaries is needed. See Merry for ways to identify missionaries' racial constructions of Hawaiians (139).

<sup>67</sup>Such an assumption of usage also includes the deliberate fallowing of land for future use.

obtained, passed on, maintained, and lost. The incident with Farr and the creation of the hui suggests that in 1886 La`ie the idea of usufruct rights continued.

### Conclusion

Preserving Native Hawaiian foodways was not just about how land in the ahupua`a was to be used, it was also about labor. Hawaiians resisted the missionaries to preserve their right to work the land and sea. This resistance put them into conflict with the missionaries' efforts to assert their authority in synchronizing labor for sugar production. The primacy of fish, `awa, and kalo to Native Hawaiians is reflected in the intensity and variety of resistance the missionaries encountered, from covert actions to law suits. As missionaries attempted to gain control of the land and the people, the tension between Native Hawaiians' desire to work the ahupua`a and the missionaries desire to produce sugar on La`ie Plantation would produce more confrontations over capitalism on the island.

CHAPTER FOUR  
THE PLANTATION: KALO AND SUGAR

On February 28, 1884, Edward Partridge, Jr., wrote in his journal: “Kainuawa who has charge of the cart hands informed me that the cart hands of four of them had quit work having got mad about something pertaining to the work. I told him to try and replace them with chinamen or whoever he could get.”<sup>1</sup> This mundane entry subtly hints at how the metaphor of the gathering helped shape labor relations on Lā`ie Plantation and why Native Hawaiians continued to work there at a time when their numbers decreased on other plantations.

Before 1876, Native Hawaiian presence on sugar plantations was commonplace. Out of thirty-four plantations on the islands in 1872, Lā`ie was one of approximately twelve plantations that hired 100 percent Hawaiians; and only one plantation had less than 50 percent Kānaka Maoli on their workforce.<sup>2</sup> However, after the Treaty of

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., *Diaries*, 28 February 1884, Mss B 79, Utah History Center, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

<sup>2</sup>Hawaiian Immigration Society, *Report of the Secretary, with a Map of the Hawaiian Islands* (Honolulu: Executive Committee of the Society, 1874), 19, Hamilton Library, University of Hawai`i Manoa, Honolulu.

Reciprocity in 1876 opened up the California sugar market to Hawai`i, sugar planters on the islands increasingly turned to immigrant labor to work their fields and mills.<sup>3</sup>

By 1882, Kānaka Maoli represented only 25.1 percent of the workforce on Hawai`i sugar plantations.<sup>4</sup> Despite that trend, Native Hawaiian laborers chose to work in proportionately higher numbers on Lā`ie Plantation. As late as 1920, Lā`ie's Native Hawaiian workforce was 46 percent compared to 3 percent throughout the rest of the islands (See Appendix B). Thus, one of the questions regarding Lā`ie Plantation is why Native Hawaiians chose to work there.

A critical reason for this anomaly was the religious faith of Native Hawaiian Saints who moved as part of the gathering to Lā`ie (see Chapter Six). Here I argue that the metaphor of gathering helped create favorable labor conditions that promoted Native Hawaiian persistence on the Lā`ie Plantation between 1868 and approximately 1895. The fact that missionaries created the gathering place for Kānaka Maoli, not East Asian workers recruited by sugar growers in Hawai`i, meant they hired only Hawaiians during

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<sup>3</sup>John Mei Liu, "Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy, 1835-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 128. Although Liu pinpointed 1882 as the time when the transition took place, MacLennan asserted that "Plantation workers were generally Hawaiians in the 1850s and 60's and Chinese and Japanese from the 1870's to 1900." See Carol MacLennan, "Plantation Capitalism and Social Policy in Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 77; and Edward D. Beechert, "Patterns of Resistance and the Social Relations of Production in Hawaii," in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, ed. Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1993), 48. He stated that "up to 1875, labor demands in sugar had been met largely with Hawaiian labor."

<sup>4</sup>Ronald T. Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii, 1835-1920* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1983), 28.



the hybrid era. This practice increased the negotiating power of Hawaiian Saints in labor relations on the plantation, whether working with plantation sugar or with their own kalo.

For most of the era that Lā`ie was a hybrid plantation, kalo and sugar were seen as complementary crops on the plantation, with the missionaries placing more energy and time on sugar production and Kānaka Maoli centering more firmly on kalo. It can be argued that Kānaka Maoli incorporated plantation sugar work into their notion of land utilization in the ahupua`a. Just as the collective culture of the missionaries helped to mitigate the plantation model, Native Hawaiians used their cultural values to shape plantation life. While areas of coordination developed between Hawaiians and missionaries, Kānaka Maoli used their culture to both appropriate and resist different aspects of plantation life. The limited acreage devoted to sugar during this era meant that Kānaka Maoli labor was not needed constantly for plantation work. Thus in Lā`ie, Native Hawaiians could participate in the market economy by growing their own crops commercially, such as `awa, and/or doing sugar work as laborers for the plantation. The lack of a contract system on the plantation gave Native Hawaiians greater flexibility in moving in and out of plantation work according to their needs and desires.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup>Liu, 95-96, 139, suggested that such a pattern had its origins in precontact Hawai`i. “In the traditional Hawaiian economy, people labored only until they fulfilled their needs and their obligation to the chiefs. The Hawaiians transferred this pattern of economic behavior to the wage system. They frequently quit the plantations and returned to their former modes of living after raising enough money to meet their immediate needs.”

## History

It is important to understand the historical context of Hawaiian life between Captain Cook's initial contact with Hawaiians in 1778 and the Treaty of Reciprocity in 1876. Captain Cook's arrival marked the end of Hawai'i's isolation and the Treaty of Reciprocity signaled an emerging plantation economy in Hawai'i. Only by examining this hundred-year period can we understand why Native Hawaiians would choose to work on plantations.

Before Europeans arrived, the relationship between the ali'i nui and maka'ainana was one of reciprocity: "In practical terms, the maka'ainana fed and clothed the Ali'i Nui, who provided the organization required to produce enough food to sustain an ever-increasing population."<sup>6</sup> However, the arrival of Europeans and the market economy they brought with them strained the connections between commoners and chiefs. Their relationships of reciprocity muted as both ali'i nui and maka'ainana expanded their economic ties to new trading partners. Conflicts of interest became highlighted as the chiefs began to impose new taxes on the commoners.

Along with the changes brought by the imported market economy, imported diseases seriously challenged Hawaiian society. Precontact Hawai'i was one of the most biologically isolated places on earth. Such isolation meant that Native Hawaiians were susceptible to foreign diseases. After Cook, Kānaka Maoli died in almost unimaginable numbers. Native Hawaiian historian Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio estimated the

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<sup>6</sup>Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), 30-31.

depopulation from precontact to the end of the nineteenth century to have been between 92 to 95 percent.<sup>7</sup> The sheer number of deaths threatened the foundations of Hawaiian society. One of those foundations was *kalo*. Osorio described how this calamity affected its production.

One result of the great dying off of Hawaiians was the weakening of the traditional land tenure system that had sustained the pre-Contact chiefdoms. The labor-intensive subsistence economy and extensive cultivation of the *mauka* (upland) areas had been the basis for, and also a sign of, a healthy and prosperous civilization. This system was especially vulnerable to rapid depopulation, which inexorably led to the abandonment of thriving *lo`i* (taro patches) and homesteads as the labor needed to maintain them continued to diminish.<sup>8</sup>

The changes brought by contact with foreigners meant that patterns of village life were disrupted and in many places declined dramatically.<sup>9</sup> Harvey Cluff, who recorded this history of pre-Mormon *Lā`ie*, gives a sense of how the decline of village life impacted agriculture:

[In *Lā`ie*] the native population had dwindled down to a modicum, leaving a great portion of the once cultivated land for stock range. The whole face of the country, even high up on the sides of the mountains, shows marks of the

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<sup>7</sup>Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo`ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2002), 9-10. The estimates of precontact Hawai`i population vary from anywhere around 300,000 to 1,000,000. See Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, ed., *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, (Honolulu: Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation; Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1991), 3, 21 (n. 2). Such variance affects the percentages used to describe how many Hawaiians died from disease. However, while the numbers are in dispute, the critical point agreed on is that the diseases new to Hawai`i that swept periodically through the islands devastated the Native Hawaiian population.

<sup>8</sup>Osorio, 47.

<sup>9</sup>See Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (Boston: 1944), 160; quoted in Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001), 10.

husbandman, and that every spot of land suitable for cultivation had to be appropriated for that purpose in order to sustain the numerous population which had increased upon the land. Even within the memory of natives now living here, some ten villages flourished upon this small district, but they have vanished, not to be replaced by well laid out towns with a more recent style of architecture, but because the builders have been swept off by destructive maladies unknown to them, until foreigners began settling on these islands. This decrease tells the same fearful story of what has taken place on all the other islands in this group.<sup>10</sup>

Unlike some missionary narratives, both Mormon and Calvinist, that attributed the decline of Hawaiian society to things such as laziness, immorality, or ignorance, Cluff connected the decline of village life to foreign contact.

Mormon missionaries found hunger as they traveled around the islands proselyting and living with Native Hawaiian families. John Woodbury wrote of people experiencing famine on Molokai in 1854. He wrote: “. . . the woman here (Kamai) Kindly offered us the best accomodations she had for sleeping and some tea root which was all they had to eat. I felt to bless her in the name of the Lord for her Kindness towards us.”<sup>11</sup> Newspapers also noted hunger and famine. MacLennan quoted an article in the *Pacific Commerical Advertiser* from 2 February 1867 that reads: “At Wailua . . . the natives . . . have been forced by scarcity of food, to go up into the mountains and dig to root and bake it in order to maintain life. . . Laziness . . . however, has had a great deal to

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<sup>10</sup>Harvey Cluff to *Deseret News*, 4 October 1871, in Andrew Jenson, comp., “History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” (photocopy), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>11</sup>John S. Woodbury, Journal, 25 April 1854, MSS 1, 68, Box 2, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo.

do with the scarcity of food.”<sup>12</sup> This last sentence points at how Westerners often saw symptoms without recognizing the cause. Henry Bigler, a Mormon missionary, who stopped in Lā`ie on April 26, 1854, described his encounter there with Kaliiwaiāhe:

He said he was pilikia for want of Salt to go in his food. Pilikia, means hard up or in want. We asked him why he did not make Salt? His reply was that he did not know it could be made, had never heard of such a thing, the ocean being with in a few hundred yards of his house, we told him to fill his little iron kettle with Sea water and boil it down, he did so and in a short time had nice white fine Salt.<sup>13</sup>

In his account, Bigler focused more on the immediate landscape of Lā`ie than on its historical transformation. However, the Hawaiian historian David Malo, helps to contextualize this exchange between Bigler and Kaliiwaiāhe by describing traditional ways of making salt:

Salt was manufactured only in certain places. The women brought sea water in calabashes or conducted it in ditches to natural holes, hollows, and shallow ponds (kaheka) on the sea coast, where it soon became strong brine from evaporation. Thence it was transferred to another hollow, or shallow vat, where crystallization into salt was completed.<sup>14</sup>

As Mike Davis pointed out in his book on the global famines in the nineteenth century, famines, with perhaps the exception of hunter-gatherer economies, are “not food shortages per se, but complex economic crises induced by the market impacts of drought

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<sup>12</sup>*Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, 2 February 1867; quoted in MacLennan, “Social Policy,” 81.

<sup>13</sup>Henry William Bigler, Journal, 26 April 1854, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>14</sup>David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawaii)*, trans. Nathaniel B. Emerson, 2d ed. (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1951; reprint, Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, 1991), 123.

and crop failure.”<sup>15</sup> In other words, famines grow out of both production and distribution problems. Thus when Bigler stopped and visited with Kaliiwaiāhe in Lā`ie, Kaliiwaiāhe’s lack of salt speaks both to a loss of individual know-how and the dramatic and widespread demise of village life, including the villages that disappeared from the ahupua`a of Lā`ie.

These challenges were compounded by changes in land distribution. When Calvinist missionaries arrived in 1820, they, along with merchants, pushed for the traditional communal access to the land to be altered and opened up for private ownership. Through their pressure and the threat of colonization by various Western nations, between 1848 and 1855 a dividing of the land through the Mahele granted Native Hawaiians and foreigners the right to buy land. Thus for the first time in Hawaii, land ownership was privatized. Riley Moffat, who wrote about the process of surveying the Mahele noted: “As a result of these various actions much of the land of Hawai`i found its way into the control of non-Hawaiians between 1850 and 1865.”<sup>16</sup> The pain of the separation caused by the Mahele was not just economic; it was a sundering of a whole way of life, of relations, and of culture. The privatization of the land expanded the alienation of maka`āinana from their traditional relationships with their `āina and ali`i, as

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<sup>15</sup>Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001), 19.

<sup>16</sup>Riley Moore Moffat and Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *Surveying the Mahele: Mapping the Hawaiian Land Revolution* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1995), 51. See also Robert H. Stauffer, *Kahana: How the Land was Lost* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2004), 74-76, 201. Stauffer argued that because Native Hawaiians’ right to the land was set up as alienable, by 1920 most of the land in Hawai`i was in the hands of “non-Hawaiian families or corporations.”

it also increasingly alienated them from the production of kalo. The Mahele also came just shortly before the Calvinist missionaries lost their funding and just as Louisiana sugar plantations were cut off from their California market because of the Civil War.<sup>17</sup> Thus it is not surprising that the missionaries and their descendants turned to creating sugar plantations.

The burgeoning Hawaiian sugar industry in the 1850s and 1860s reflected a confluence of events and forces. While the California Gold Rush initially opened up a market for Hawaiian agriculture, the subsequent “growth of agriculture in California and other West Coast regions totally undermined diversified farming in the islands.”<sup>18</sup> This convergence of nascent missionary and merchant planters, decreased markets for vegetables, increased market demand for sugar, along with newly privatized land made Hawai`i ripe for growing sugar. In the eyes of the planters, what they lacked was cheap labor. At first sugar planters, who after 1850 were primarily foreigners, initially looked to Hawaiians to work the sugar fields.<sup>19</sup> Most Kānaka Maoli preferred work on their own lands to plantation work.<sup>20</sup> However, several things worked against them. Even when Kānaka Maoli desired to stay and work their land, in some areas land privatization made

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<sup>17</sup>Liu, 91; Carol A. MacLennan, “Hawai`i Turns to Sugar: The Rise of Plantation Centers, 1860-1880,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 99.

<sup>18</sup>Liu, 93.

<sup>19</sup>Edward D. Beechert, “Resistance,” 48. Carol MacLennan, “Plantation Capitalism and Social Policy in Hawaii,” (Ph.D. diss, University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 77;

<sup>20</sup>MacLennan, “Rise of Plantation,” 110.

it difficult for Native Hawaiians to utilize mountains, pastures, and fishing areas previously open to their use and necessary to a subsistence existence.<sup>21</sup> Added to this was the need for cash. This need became particularly demanding in the 1860s when the Hawaiian government began to demand taxes in cash rather than in labor. MacLennan noted:

Tax Collectors for each district would enumerate and collect poll, school, road, dog, horse, cart, property, and other taxes. During the earlier years, some taxes were paid in kind and road taxes were paid in labor. By 1860, cash became a requirement for all but road taxes, which were still paid in labor on the local roads.<sup>22</sup>

Perhaps because of the forces that made the utilization of the whole ahupua`a increasingly difficult, Kānaka Maoli needed to complement their farming with goods from local stores. These stores, often owned by the sugar planters who occupied the same agricultural regions as Kānaka Maoli, operated in an economy where cash was scarce.<sup>23</sup> The debts accumulated by Native Hawaiians drew them onto plantations in order to pay off such debts. Thus in the 1850s, 1860s, and 1870s many Kānaka Maoli moved onto the sugar plantations to work, and their villages continued to decline.

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<sup>21</sup>Carol MacLennan, "Foundations of Sugar's Power: Early Maui Plantations, 1840-1860," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 44; Beechert, "Resistance," 48.

<sup>22</sup>MacLennan, "Foundations," 44.

<sup>23</sup>MacLennan, "Foundations," 44.



## Moving to Lā`ie

When the missionaries announced that they would begin a gathering place in Lā`ie, Hawaiian Saints did not rush to settle in the ahupua`a. Joseph F. Smith wrote home in 1864:

They [Hawaiian Saints] still feel very sore about the Gibson swindle, and none of them are at all anxious to enter into another land speculation. Every family wants the gathering place on their Island, or near their own homes, and it will be some time before they are as well prepared to engage in the purchase of a piece of land as they were.<sup>24</sup>

This “soreness” that Hawaiian Saints felt in 1864 had to do with another earlier Mormon “gathering place” created on Lana`i in 1854. The history of that gathering place provides part of the context of the development of a sugar plantation in Lā`ie.

Ten Mormon missionaries arrived in Hawai`i on December 12, 1850. Initially, they had intended to convert Haoles. However, they found their greatest success among Kānaka Maoli, especially on the island of Māu`i. There George Q. Cannon, the missionary most adept at the Hawaiian language, joined with Jonathana H. Napela, K. H. Kaleohano, and William Uaua, “all English-speaking graduates of Lahainaluna” (the school sponsored by Calvinist missionaries) in baptizing hundreds of converts. Soon, J. W. H. Kauwahi, a konohiki of Hau`ula (a village near Lā`ie) and also a graduate of Lahainaluna joined the church. He united with these early missionaries and assisted in converting many Kānaka Maoli.<sup>25</sup> The combination of only a few missionaries serving on

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<sup>24</sup>Joseph F. Smith, 5 July 1864, in Jenson.

<sup>25</sup>Scott G. Kenney, “Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 1.

the islands and a rapid baptism rate meant that there were few leaders experienced in church administration to minister to the burgeoning church membership. This made it difficult to retain new members. Scott Kenney also suggested that one of the major reasons Kānaka Maoli joined the church was because of the missionaries' reputation as healers. However, when a small pox epidemic hit the islands in the mid-1850s, Hawaiian Saints died alongside non-Mormon Hawaiians in devastating rates. The missionaries' inability to heal small pox disillusioned members. Both Kauwahi and Uaua left the church about this time (although Uaua returned later).<sup>26</sup> In this situation, the Utah elders drew on their own culture and beliefs for a solution for retaining converts by creating a gathering place. The ideal of gathering came very early in the church's organization on the mainland and continued to develop throughout the nineteenth century. At its core, Mormon converts were asked to gather together and create a Zion community in preparation for the Millennium.<sup>27</sup> The gathering place in Hawai'i was also, as Kenney pointed out, a place to transform Hawaiians to become more like mainland Mormons.<sup>28</sup>

One of the most daunting challenges of making a success of the venture was its location—the Palawai Basin in Lana'i. It was too dry to farm successfully without wells, which were uncommon until decades later. Its isolation also created difficulties. The missionaries wanted to grow crops that required plowing, such as wheat. Thus oxen

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<sup>26</sup>Kenney, 8-15.

<sup>27</sup>R. Lanier Britsch, "The Lanai Colony: A Hawaiian Extension of the Mormon Colonial Idea," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 12 (1978): 70.

<sup>28</sup>Kenney, 15.

needed to be shipped over in order to till the hard soil. Food had to be shipped over by boat in order to feed the colonists until the first crops matured.<sup>29</sup> This isolated location created the need for capital investment beyond the missionaries' or church's capacity. In an effort to transport people more economically to and from Lāna`i and the harvested crops to Lahainā, the church went into debt to buy a boat. The crops themselves were devastated by worms and drought. Thus from the beginning, the gathering place in Lāna`i was beset with difficulties. Discouragement with Lāna`i, discouragement with a lack of success outside of Lāna`i, and the Utah War combined so that by December 1857 all the mainland missionaries returned home to Utah.<sup>30</sup>

There is little information on the years in Lāna`i between 1857 when the missionaries returned home and the time they arrived again in 1864. Much of the information that does exist was gathered retroactively in an attempt to deal with Walter Murray Gibson, who arrived in Hawai`i as a general representative of the church to East Asia, settled in Lāna`i, and proceeded to alter the gathering place into his own personal vision of a colony. Some of the Hawaiian Saints wrote a letter of inquiry to Salt Lake City regarding practices Murray implemented. This letter motivated the church to send out

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<sup>29</sup>Britsch, "Lanai," 73. See also the journal of Eli Bell, particularly the month of December 1855 where he noted the growing of wheat. Eli Bell, *Journal, Archives and Special Collections*, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>30</sup>Kenney did not mention the Utah War as a reason for the missionaries' return and emphasized the missionaries' discouragement and lack of success as the primary reasons for the missionaries returning home (15-17). R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989; reprint, Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1998), 46-49, included the Utah War as one of the factors for withdrawing the missionaries.

missionaries again to investigate what was happening in Lāna`i.<sup>31</sup> Joseph F. Smith, who was one of the missionaries sent to investigate Gibson, recorded Gibson had persuaded Church members to “give all they had to the Church and made it a test of fellowship.”<sup>32</sup>

This is further fleshed out by a letter from missionary, Ezra T. Benson, who wrote:

The Saints had been constrained to turn over all their substance, horses, sheep, goats, poultry, houses and lands, to the Church to gather up to Lanai giving their time for the cultivation of the soil; and this many had done, receiving their food once a day from the hands of the head Bishop.<sup>33</sup>

These two quotes describe some of the reasons why Kānaka Maoli hesitated to gather again. After the missionaries returned to Hawai`i and excommunicated Gibson, the Lāna`i Saints unsuccessfully attempted to recover the land in Lāna`i. One of the questions this raises is whether or not Hawaiian Saints who had lived in Lāna`i could still access land in their home ahupua`a after the dismantling of the colony. Smith wrote in 1864: “There is scarcely a man or woman in the Church but mourns the loss of his or her property in some way—neglected k[a]lo or potatoe patches, houses, gold, money spent in donating and going to and from Lanai, etc.”<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Kennedy, 17, noted that Murray wrote to Young regarding his efforts. However, it was when some of the Hawaiian Saints wrote “in July 1863 that Gibson was selling priesthood offices, [that] Young dispatched apostles Ezra T. Benson and Lorenzo Snow with three former missionaries as translators to investigate.”

<sup>32</sup>Joseph F. Smith to George Q. Cannon, 4 May 1864, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1857-1866, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; quoted in Britsch, *Moramona*, 57.

<sup>33</sup>Ezra T. Benson to George Q. Cannon, 12 April 1864, Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1857-1866, CR 100 102 Reel 17, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; quoted in Britsch, *Moramona*, 56.

<sup>34</sup>Joseph F. Smith, 5 July 1864, in Jenson.

One of the key phrases in this letter refers to the mourning of neglected kalo and potato patches. “Mourning” captures well the sense of loss in connection to their land and kalo. In the 1860s, the loss was also about trying to recover a way of life at a time when the commercial vegetable market was dying and when the expansion of sugar plantations was driving up the price of land. The phrasing of Smith’s letter, along with the inhospitable climate of Lāna`i, suggest that the mourning was for kalo patches in their home ahupua`a, left when they gathered to Lāna`i. Even if they had title to those lands, it would be difficult to reconstitute the means of getting water to their lo`i, to clear the `aka`akai (bulrushes) with their extensive root systems that take over when kalo patches are abandoned, to wait for months for the newly planted kalo to mature, or to pull together the collective labor needed to build and repair the irrigation banks. Their challenge was not just about returning to their ahupua`a of origin but also how to support themselves while they tried to reconstitute a way of life.

That this transition was difficult and that the Hawaiian Saints needed cash in order to recover is hinted at in some of the missionary correspondence and journals. Nebeker wrote in 1866:

We are manfully combating the opposing elements to establish a settlement in honor to the Kingdom of God among this dark and benighted people. Our work is necessarily slow, for the people we are associated with, I sometimes think, are almost inanimate and it takes a great amount of patience to cause them to act. Money with them is the principle cause of action.<sup>35</sup>

It is not just nineteenth-century Haole prejudice that comes through in this letter; it is also a centering on the time and place Nebeker was at. Although some of the missionaries that

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<sup>35</sup>George Nebeker, 14 October 1866, in Jenson.

served with Nebeker served earlier missions in Hawai`i, Nebeker's call as mission president was his first mission to the islands.<sup>36</sup> He viewed La`ie ahupua`a with little knowledge of the Hawaiian language, without much of a knowledge of the local history or terrain, and with very little understanding of how the global market and imperialism had shaped the choices Kānaka Maoli faced. If the Hawaiian Saints had lost their lands when they moved to Lāna`i, or even if they could try to reclaim their lands, they would need cash to pay their taxes and to buy food. They, like other Native Hawaiians alienated from their lands, moved to sugar plantations during the 1860s to raise cash. In 1868, missionary Alma Smith observed that Hawaiian Saints would not come to La`ie until "they saw a mill going up," and he attributed that reluctance to Native Hawaiian's experience with Gibson.<sup>37</sup> Hawaiian Saints did not gather until they knew that enough capital investment had been invested in the mill to make the gathering place economically viable.

#### Labor Relations

In 1868 when Smith described Kānaka Maoli relocating to La`ie Plantation to grow sugar, such movement was not unusual. Across the islands other Hawaiians also moved onto plantations. What was unusual were the work arrangements negotiated between Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries. When Nebeker wrote home in 1869, he observed that not only did he employ Kānaka Maoli to work on the plantation,

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<sup>36</sup>See Jenson, 1850-1853, 1-49, for a listing of the missionaries and the dates of their services in Hawai`i.

<sup>37</sup>Alma Smith, 9 May 1868, in Jenson.

but also that some Native Hawaiians also grew sugar on shares.<sup>38</sup> Shortly after that,

Harvey Cluff wrote:

The mission is in a very flourishing condition at the present time, and the manner in which Bro. Nebeker conducts the business of the plantation, as also the course he adopts with the natives, is upon a truly commendable principle, and quite an influence is used by some of the editors in Honolulu to get the other planters to adopt his plans, under which, instead of laborers being bound to serve a certain time, they are all free, more labor being performed by those who are free than by those who are bound.<sup>39</sup>

According to MacLennan, Cluff was correct that “free” labor was unusual on Hawaiian sugar plantations in the 1850s and 1860s. She noted that in the 1850s most Native Hawaiians succeeded in working for day wages or negotiating contracts of three to six months, which was much more flexible than the average Chinese laborers’ contract for five years. However, by the 1860s Hawaiian increasingly had to sign one-year contracts instead of the shorter contracts from the 1850s. The 1870s once more saw an intensification of plantation work for Native Hawaiians as the commercial agricultural market declined, leaving them with fewer choices for employment.<sup>40</sup>

As on most Hawaiian sugar plantations, Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie preferred stint or day labor to contract labor.<sup>41</sup> Without a contract, it was easier for Kānaka Maoli to move in and out of plantation work according to their needs and desires. If they needed

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<sup>38</sup>Nebeker, 8 March 1869, in Jenson.

<sup>39</sup>Harvey Cluff to *Deseret News*, 15 March 1870, in Jenson.

<sup>40</sup>MacLennan, “Plantation Centers,” 110.

<sup>41</sup>Not only were Hawaiians reluctant to work on contract, but they also were reluctant to accept low wages. Beechert, “Resistance,” 48.

cash to pay taxes or to pay for a frame house, then working on the plantation for a short time was one way to achieve such a goal. Once the money was raised, Native Hawaiians could quit sugar work and return to raising kalo and fishing. The day wages from sugar work done in stints signaled a temporary loss of control over the means of production, but Native Hawaiian efforts to obtain wage work instead of contracts points to their desire to control their work to the fullest extent that the economy allowed. It appears that in Lā`ie contracts were not used until the 1890s when the plantation began to transition to a plantation center.<sup>42</sup> Even then the number of contracts recorded was limited.

Native Hawaiians were mostly successful in avoiding contract work on the Lā`ie Plantation for most of its history,<sup>43</sup> and they also succeeded in protecting Saturdays as a day to make poi until the turn of the century. Fredrick Beesley noted in 1885 that the work week was only five days on the Lā`ie Plantation.

We did not go to work at the mill today, as usual, as it is customary to run the mill five days a week, only. The reason for this custom is that the natives who work at [the] mill may have time to attend to the making of their poi. This part of housekeeping, if it may so be called, is attended to by the man of the house, he doing the baking of the kalo, the peeling, the pounding, in fact, all the labor of preparing it for use at the table.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Bureau of Immigration, *Report of the President, Bureau of Immigration to the Legislature of 1892* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1893), 29 in Board of Immigration Reports 1878-99 (hereafter cited as Board of Immigration Reports). This report is the earliest evidence I have found of contract labor on Lā`ie Plantation and shows that out of a total of 77 workers, five Native Hawaiians worked on contract.

<sup>43</sup>It appears that as the plantation changed from a hybrid plantation to an industrial plantation there was an approximately ten-year period (1892-1900) when the plantation used contract labor. Once Hawai`i was annexed as a territory by the United States, contract labor was illegal.

<sup>44</sup>Fredrick Beesley, Daily journal, 5 December 1885, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Lā`ie.



Although missionaries and Hawaiians agreed that kalo should be grown on the plantation, the weight and importance they gave to it differed, creating tensions and conflict. The ruptures generated in maintaining Saturday as a poi-making day illuminate that Lā`ie Plantation was a negotiated site where Native Hawaiians shaped the plantation to better fit their own cultural models and metaphors.

### Kalo and Sugar as Complementary Crops

Some might argue that the growing of kalo in Lā`ie was similar to other plantations where plantation owners in Hawai`i encouraged workers to plant garden plots in order to diminish plantation expenses or the need to bring in food to workers.<sup>45</sup> For example, Koloa Plantation on Kaua`i was one of the earliest successful plantations in the islands. In 1836, Native Hawaiian workers on Koloa took Fridays off to grow kalo and Saturdays off to make their poi.<sup>46</sup> However, both sugar and kalo are thirsty plants. When they competed for water, sugar usually won. Carol MacLennan, writing of the plantation centers that emerged between 1867 and 1879 on Mau`i, Hawai`i, and Kaua`i, noted:

As traditional Hawaiian population centers declined, so did taro production in regions such as Wailuku. Irrigating sugar plantations also reduced taro production, which competed for available water. As a result, securing food for native workers proved a big problem for managers at an early date. . . . And reliable sources of taro were hard to find and maintain. Sometimes orders placed with distant villages for taro were late or not forthcoming.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Liu, 110. While Liu does not specifically examine the use of gardens as a means of keeping laborers on the plantation, he suggests that the rural nature of plantations often made it difficult for them to obtain and keep food for their workers.

<sup>46</sup>Takaki, 8.

<sup>47</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 114.

Thus MacLennan's observation suggests that the growing of kalo on plantations, particularly as they expanded, became increasingly unusual.<sup>48</sup> Even during the 1870s, when Hawaiians still worked on plantations in fairly large numbers, poi was brought onto the plantation rather than grown and processed on site.

However, the missionary journals suggest that kalo was often given high priority on Lā`ie Plantation. When George Nebeker was mission president in 1869, he wrote: "We direct our labors to the cultivation of sugar cane and kalo."<sup>49</sup> Over a decade later, when Cluff served as mission president and plantation manager in 1881, he wrote to John Taylor, the Church President, to inform him that Cluff would rent land out for the cultivation of rice since it would not infringe on sugar or kalo land.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, Matthew Noall, mission president between 1891 and 1895, wrote in his autobiography that "sugar cane was the main crop grown. Its cultivation furnished work for the livelihood of many of the native saints who had 'gathered' there. In addition to this work

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<sup>48</sup>This comparison between Lā`ie and the plantation centers is somewhat problematic. The plantation centers emerged on these islands at the same time as Lā`ie emerged as a plantation; however, Lā`ie was dramatically smaller than most of the plantations on Mau`i, Hawai`i, and Kaua`i. Since expansion of sugar fields pushed out kalo, the question of expansion is critical to studying this issue. Thus this chapter and the following chapter explore the competition of kalo and sugar as Lā`ie Plantation expanded its sugar lands. There is little secondary evidence regarding kalo on other O`ahu plantations more comparable in size to Lā`ie. This study adds to the accumulating data on the decline of kalo on the islands.

<sup>49</sup>George Nebeker to *Deseret News*, 8 March 1869, in Jenson,.

<sup>50</sup>Harvey Cluff to John Taylor, 13 November 1881, in Jenson.

the natives had their taro patches.”<sup>51</sup> The hybrid nature of the plantation and its small size allowed the growing of kalo and sugar to be complementary at times. Noall’s assertion that sugar rather than kalo was the most important crop holds up, and then tenuously, only when looking at it from a manager’s perspective.<sup>52</sup> From a Native Hawaiian position, kalo was as important or more important than sugar.

### Sugar Work

The missionaries of the hybrid plantation consistently promoted the production of kalo on the plantation. However, their foremost attention and even prioritization was given to the production of sugar. What this meant was that on the plantation there was often a tension between the missionaries and Kānaka Maoli as the missionaries sought to assert their authority over Native Hawaiians when synchronizing the production of sugar. The missionary records suggest that Kānaka Maoli also actively attempted to assert their own authority over the work process. Thus there was a fairly constant negotiation over work expectations and patterns on the plantation.

Resistance by Kānaka Maoli is evident in the very detailed journal kept by Edward Partridge, Jr., mission president 1882 to 1885. He served an earlier mission between 1854 and 1857 and on arrival in June of 1882 quickly regained his fluency in Hawaiian. He was not as interculturally or interpersonally adept as Harvey Cluff, and his

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<sup>51</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *To My Children: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Utah: Privately Printed, 1947), 34.

<sup>52</sup>It is important to note that Noall was writing about the time the plantation was transitioning from a hybrid plantation into part of a industrial plantation center. His statement reflects a missionary recentering that occurred in the 1890s.

rigidity and prejudices often led to impatience with Kanaka Maoli ways. Between March and January of 1884, Partridge frequently complained of being short of hands. On February 7, 1884, Partridge wrote: “The hands did not come out well to work, could only run five carts and not enough cutting cane to keep them going.”<sup>53</sup>

In fact, Partridge was not alone in his frustrations regarding labor shortages. Throughout the islands, plantation managers complained of needing more workers. The work supply was constricted by the precipitous decline of the Native Hawaiian population. It was also restricted by Native Hawaiian efforts to avoid contract work, which required them to work regularly over a stipulated amount of time. After the market expansion from the Treaty of Reciprocity, plantation interests in Hawai`i pressed the government to import East Asian workers. At one point, Partridge threatened to ameliorate the labor shortage by hiring Chinese workers.<sup>54</sup> Although Partridge did not follow through with his threat, other plantations increasingly hired Chinese and Japanese workers during the 1880s.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., Diaries, 7 February 1884.

<sup>54</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 28 February 1884.

<sup>55</sup>Partridge had earlier written to the President of Church, John Taylor: “Chinamen are anxious to lease land to cultivate rice, or they will cultivate cane if we wish them to, provided we will deal with them as we do with the natives; but I tell them I will not do that; we make an exception with regard to the natives, as our mission is principally for their benefit, and we do for them what we would not do for those who are not members of the Church.” Edward Partridge to John Taylor, 13 August 1882, in Jenson. Takaki, 28 listed Chinese workers as 49.1 percent of plantation workers on the islands in the early 1880s.

The numbers of Native Hawaiians living in Lā`ie was more than enough to meet the plantation's labor needs. On January 14, 1885, Partridge wrote: "The people turned out in numbers to work in the mill. I should judge that there was fifty more than we could use to good advantage."<sup>56</sup> However, the Kānaka Maoli laborers moved in and out of the labor force within the course of days and weeks, even during the intensity of harvest and milling time. This fluidity made it difficult for Partridge to coordinate the work on the plantation as a whole.

Writing of plantations in the West Indies in the seventeenth century, Sidney Mintz described how important such coordination and synchronization was on sugar plantations:

The relationship between the cultivation of cane and its mechanical/chemical transformation into sugar . . . springs from the inherent perishability of the crop. Because of the links between cutting and grinding, and between boiling and crystallization, land and mill must be coordinated, their labor synchronized. A major consequence is . . . careful scheduling at the top, and the application of iron discipline at the base. Without overall control of land and mill, such scheduling and discipline would not have been possible.<sup>57</sup>

Mintz's study on Caribbean sugar growers suggests that one of the reasons for conflict between management and workers in Hawai`i was due to the nature of sugar itself. The need to get the harvested cane to the mill quickly in order to preserve the juices meant that sugar plantation owners felt compelled to tightly control the production process. That this structural need to synchronize labor was manifested in Hawai`i is sustained by the

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<sup>56</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 14 January 1884.

<sup>57</sup> Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985), 50. Liu, 94-95, noted that in Hawai`i, planters also turned to technology as a means of more fully rationalizing and synchronizing work.

difficulty plantation owners had in getting Kānaka Maoli laborers to work on a consistent basis and the subsequent drive after 1876 by plantation interests to obtain “pliable” immigrant labor.

Because the plantation did not use contracts, missionaries carried a sense of their high moral ground into the mid-1880s. Partridge recorded in his journal a conversation with a “young native” who wanted to borrow money to pay off a fine “which was imposed for fighting with a Chinaman.” If he couldn’t borrow the money, he believed “he would be obliged” to work under contract on another plantation in order to raise enough cash to hold on to his land. In speaking of this young man and others, Partridge wrote:

It [is] the practice for the natives to bind themselves to the proprietors of the plantations to work for a stipulated time, and they become little better off than slaves, for the planter generally manages to keep them in debt so that they are bound to work. While on the contrary we try to work upon their sense of honor if they have any and if not we try to create some within them which the brethren have found a very difficult and disagreeable labor.<sup>58</sup>

This entry simultaneously celebrates the paternalism of the missionaries while complaining about the work habits of Native Hawaiians. Partridge, along with other missionaries, expressed frustration with the challenges of supervising and synchronizing the Hawaiian Saints’ labor between field, transportation, and the mill.

In fact, Partridge’s account lines up closely to Beechert’s observation that “the struggle for job control, which is present in the productive process under capitalism, is the most dialectical of all the processes of class. The issue of control over working conditions takes forms other than those of conflict.”<sup>59</sup> Resistance to Partridge’s attempt to control

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<sup>58</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 29 June 1882.

<sup>59</sup>Beechert, “Resistance,” 46.

labor flow manifested itself in many forms, including such things as quitting, having an “independent” attitude, and at times acting in ways that Partridge interpreted as “mean & ungrateful.”<sup>60</sup> These entries suggest that in this context, missionaries along with other sugar planters, diagnosed the labor “problem” as one originating with Hawaiians rather than with the exploitive structure of the plantation or themselves. Missionaries attempted to restructure the plantation in such a way as to remove themselves from day-to-day supervisory tasks. They did this by creating a system where Kānaka Maoli could become sugar planters themselves. The hope was that this structure would lessen resistance to the missionaries. Perhaps better said, this new arrangement redistributed the resistance to other Hawaiians.

The missionary records do not make clear the exact share arrangements made between Native Hawaiians and foreign missionaries. In 1868, Nebeker wrote that the former missionary Napela had moved to La`ie and formed a company to grow sugar.<sup>61</sup> A more in-depth explanation of the system was offered by James B. Rhead, who served in the islands between 1881 and 1884. Rhead spent most of his time proselyting instead of on the plantation. He wrote of a new share system that had been recently implemented:

During my absence this time, a new arrangement has been made in the conducting of the work on the Plantation, i.e. the planting and cultivating the cane, which obviates the necessity of the foreign Brethren taking charge of the work hands in this branch of the labor. Land is rented to the natives; and they are furnished with teams implements, seed &c. And are given a share \_\_\_\_\_ of the products. Under

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<sup>60</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 28 February 1884.

<sup>61</sup>George Nebeker, 11 April 1868, in Jenson.

this arrangement they take a great deal more interest in the work and everything passes off more smoothly.<sup>62</sup>

Rhead's emphasis on "interest in work" and "smoothly" sustains the notion that the share system was set up in response to the resistance missionaries encountered when supervising.

It is difficult to know the implications of this arrangement since in some ways it appears similar to sharecropping in the post-Civil War South, where poor White and Black farmers were held to the land by a system of indebtedness that was difficult to escape.<sup>63</sup> The similarities in the structures point to the difficulties of "sharecroppers" making a profit. Although the Native Hawaiian sugar planters did not have the overhead of the mill to worry about or taxes on the land, they still needed to make a fairly high margin of profit in a very competitive market to pay back the loans for seed cane and wages. Although the plantation loaned out plow teams and workers to the Hawaiian planters, the missionaries provided those services after the plantation's work was completed. Thus the Hawaiian share farmers held even less control over production than did the missionaries. All this meant that the Native Hawaiian sugar farmers had little room to maneuver in the dry year of 1884. Compounding the difficulties faced by the

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<sup>62</sup>James Bourne Rhead, Diaries, 111-12, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City. Rhead's journal is not clear on whether it was Cluff or Partridge that set up the share system; however, in his narrative he related the share arrangement after telling about the farewell feast for the Cluffs.

<sup>63</sup>See Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 157-65 and 182-86, for a description of the connections between commercial agriculture and sharecropping in post-Civil War Georgia upcountry.



share farmers was a recession that occurred in the United States that same year and caused sugar prices to fall dramatically.<sup>64</sup>

It appears that in 1884, the challenges for some of the share farmers was overwhelming. Partridge noted: “Kaahanui came to day and wanted me to take his interest in the cane and let him go to Utah as I had bought out his brother Kaninanalii, that is agreed to take his interest in the cane for what he was owing on the books which amounted to some over two hundred dollars.”<sup>65</sup> That Kaahanui did not make enough profit to pay off his debt in a dry year is not surprising,<sup>66</sup> What distinguishes his situation from the contract workers on Hawaiian plantations and sharecroppers in the South is that there was no an attempt to keep him on the land. It is likely that with Kānaka Maoli cultural ties to the land, the loss of the land he worked was devastating. Partridge wrote three days later:

Kaahanui renewed his request to be released to go to Utah. He was owing me some three hundred & fifty dollars not having been sucful in raising cane the past season. He proposed to let me have his house and improvements and fifty dollars cash and all his interest in the cane if I would release him and cancel his debt; which I consented to do, as I had already released his brother.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>Osorio, 207. Osorio noted that the falling sugar prices ruined several planters in 1884.

<sup>65</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 6 March 1884.

<sup>66</sup>James Hamilton Gardner, Daily journal, 7 March 1884. Gardner, who was also on the plantation at the time these shares were being run, noted that Kalawaia’s cane turned out well and amounted to more than 20 tons, “a better turnout than Kaahanui’s.”

<sup>67</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 9 March 1884.

It appears that Kaahanui felt compelled to leave La`ie in order to deal with his debt. There is not enough information to know if the share system regularly worked to the advantage or disadvantage of Native Hawaiians. If Kaahanui and Kaninanalii did leave for Utah, it is possible that during the drought and recession year of 1884, the share system may have contributed to at least two Kānaka Maoli leaving the ahupua`a of La`ie.

Most of the plantation work did not revolve around this share system. Instead, most of those Hawaiians working for La`ie Plantation worked for wages or credit in the store. As on other plantations, the preference of Hawaiians was clearly for cash. The labor shortage on the La`ie Plantation aided Native Hawaiian women in obtaining cash instead of store credit for their labor. On March 7, 1884, Partridge noted that only “half enough” workers turned out to cut cane.<sup>68</sup> The next day, “some women from Laie-maloo came for their pay for cutting cane they would take nothing but money. They do not belong to the Church but are good hands to work & are going to quit which I fear will leave us short of hands to cut cane.”<sup>69</sup> The connection between the labor shortage and cash payment was made explicit by this Partridge entry regarding the women workers:

I commenced paying money for the reason that I saw we were going to have difficulty to get sufficient laborers to keep the mill running sucfully, The cane cutters were mostly outsiders from Laiemaloo, many of them women who were good workers. When they learned that I paid money for work we had more laborers than we needed.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>68</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 7 March 1884.

<sup>69</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 8 March 1884.

<sup>70</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 28 March 1884.

On another occasion, Partridge wrote of the resistance put up by Kānaka Maoli skilled workers. It is likely that one reason the plowers could quit is because of how difficult it would be to replace them on the plantation.

I had quite a time with the plow teams, some of the boys quit work because I could not give them money, when I went out to the field there was only one plow at work, as Kalawaia [one of the Kānaka Maoli who did sugar on shares] did not come to attend to his work I concluded to leave his job, and start to breaking up some new land. I got one of the men from hoeing to go and drive team and rigged up another plow, but it took till 11 o'clock to get it started as the natives had taken off the cutter and when I got the things together to put it on they had mislaid the wrench and did not know where it was I went for another and by the time I returned they had found it but had lost one of the nuts belonging to the cutter. I had to go to the shop and find one and it was ten o'clock by the time they were ready to commence work and then a staple pulled out of the yoke of the wheel oxen of the other team, and it took an hour to get that fixed up and the team started.<sup>71</sup>

Resistance is clearly evidenced by Kānaka Maoli walking off the job when Partridge did not pay in cash. More difficult to distinguish is if losing the wrench and bolt or weakening the staple were deliberate (and, if so, very effective) attempts to slow down work by workers unwilling or unable to actually quit but who were willing to express their displeasure through resistance. If these were moments of resistance, part of their effectiveness was in how difficult it was to determine what was deliberate and what was accidental. Partridge's frustration is communicated in his journal entry of the next day, June 19:

Some more of the young men who were driving the plow teams failed to put in an appearance, so that there was only one plow running to day I requested Bro's Fox & Allred to go early in the morning and drive up the oxen and help to get everything under weigh. Kainuawa tells me the men came but seeing the Elders there thought they were sent to boss the work and therefore went home instead of going to work. This is a fair specimen of the way they act I cannot help getting pretty angry with

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<sup>71</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 18 June 1884.

them. These things we have to put up with; while we are laboring for their benefit they will treat us as badly as they possibly know how to.<sup>72</sup>

Once again it was the skilled plow men who did not show up for work. This time the walk off was not only over wages but also over the workers' insistence that they not be supervised by missionaries. This account suggests that perhaps while Partridge was plantation manager, foreign missionaries did not supervise or work in the fields as often as they had when Cluff was manager. It suggests that Native Hawaiians preferred absentee missionaries to the more equitable arrangements of putting missionaries in unskilled labor alongside Kānaka Maoli.

On the small, hybrid plantation of La`ie where workers and supervisors not only worked together but worshiped together, Kānaka Maoli resistance could offend missionaries. What is less clear is how such resistance was perceived in the homes of Kānaka Maoli on the nights when the plowers went on strike. What kinds of conversations did they have? Was there pressure exerted on friends and family not to show up in order to press the point that pay should be given in cash? Did Kānaka Maoli also talk of ingratitude on the part of missionaries? The resistance described by Partridge speaks of hidden transcripts not just surfacing but also being enacted in "low-profile stratagems designed to minimize appropriation."<sup>73</sup>

Examples of work slowdown emerge in other missionary journals. Soon after Gardner arrived on the plantation, he made these observation about workers in the field:

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<sup>72</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 19 June 1884.

<sup>73</sup>James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 188.

I went down to the cane field where the natives were working hoeing cane It looked comical to see them they were mostly women and they raise the hoe about once in five minutes and when they have raised it three or four times they sit down and rest a half an hour or so To sit and watch them in their scant clothing and black faces it makes one think of the stories they have read about the natives and the cotton fields.<sup>74</sup>

Several things catch one's attention in this narrative. One is the explicit comparison of Kānaka Maoli with African American workers in the American South. Gardner's journal contains some of the most explicitly racist entries of the missionary journals. This comment, along with other entries that he made, raises the question of what kinds of prejudices missionaries brought with them, how widespread such feelings might be, how such prejudices played into the work relations, and whether such prejudices changed over time as Haole missionaries interacted both on the plantation and at church with Kānaka Maoli.

The other striking aspect of Gardner's quotation is the strong sense that Native Hawaiian women set their own work pace. Later Gardner was assigned to supervise the hoeing crews. It is interesting to note that when Gardner spoke of the worker's indolence, he linked it with a conjunction to their independence. This suggests that what was seen as indolence was in fact an assertion of Native Hawaiian control over work processes. Just a little over two years after his arrival, Gardner wrote:

The natives are getting quite indolent & independent again, and we have been short of hands for the last two weeks. The President gave them a raking over sometime ago, about their rebellion(s) on Election day. Some of the natives took money from the Foreigner, agreeing to assist him and act as his assistant. They had already agreed by unanimous vote to go for Kanui, but money apparently was too

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<sup>74</sup>Gardner, 24 March 1881.

much of a temptation for a Native. . . . I never saw such a division among the people for a long time as there is now.<sup>75</sup>

This entry is packed full of layers that are only suggestive of the many factors that went into workers' resistance. During the time surrounding the elections of 1884 and 1886, Native Hawaiian laborers on the La`ie Plantation asserted their political independence not only through their vote but also through resistance in the workplace.

On February 6, 1886, an election took place where King Kalākaua's National Party was opposed by the Independent Party. This opposition party was led by sugar planters trying to protect their political and economic goals. They perceived the King as fiscally irresponsible and too closely aligned with their chief competitor, Claus Spreckels. Native Hawaiians opponents of the National Party resisted Haole political and economic domination and criticized the King for his support of the sugar trade and his lack of frugality.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand, Mormon missionaries supported the king. The missionaries judged the planters as exploitive of Native Hawaiians and as representing Calvinist interests. Out of this antipathy towards the King's opposition, the missionaries stood at the pulpit in a church meeting and asked Hawaiian Saints to voted for J. Kanui, who was a member of the church. The political divisions referred to by Gardner reflected divisions among Kanaka Maoli throughout the islands.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Gardner, 7 March 1884.

<sup>76</sup>Osorio, 184-185, 190-91, 208. Some of the Mormon missionary support for the King clearly grew out of the relations established with him when he visited La`ie. Kalakaua's support for the development of the sugar industry and his ties with the United States probably met with the missionaries' approval.

<sup>77</sup>Osorio, 191-192.

It is plausible that the labor shortage recorded by Partridge in his 1884 journal entries were connected to this election. Approximately two years later and the day before the 1886 election, the cart hands went on strike for less work and more pay.<sup>78</sup> Missionary Isaac Fox wrote:

On the third there was an election for Lunamakaainana. That is about the excitement there has been for some time. We have had to stop the mill because the natives wont work. The cart drivers have struck fore less work or more pay and the prest. won't give it. I think now . . . thay will go to worke again.<sup>79</sup>

It is difficult to imagine that the 1886 strike was not connected to the election because of its close proximity. One could conjecture that the cart drivers called an election holiday. Could the labor shortages of 1884 around the time of the election reflect the keen interest Hawaiians had in elections and resentment toward the foreign missionaries, who told Native Hawaiians which candidate to vote for. Work relations during the 1884 and 1886 elections suggest that the cart crew knew how strike effectively. It appears that in 1886 their group action was enough to shut down the mill. George Wilcox wrote: "I run the engine again today the cart boys struck for less work and got discharged, the roller hands then went and hauled all the cane up and ground it, and we boiled it all up and shut the mill down for a few days."<sup>80</sup> The strike effectively made it so that all the sugar workers, not just the cart drivers, could go and participate in the election.

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<sup>78</sup>George Albert Wilcox, Journals, 1884-1886, 2 February 1886, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>79</sup>Isaac Fox, Journal, 6 February 1886, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>80</sup>Wilcox, 2 February 1886.

The labor shortage experienced on the plantation was part of a general labor shortage experienced by sugar planters in Hawai'i, but it was also exacerbated in Lā'ie because the metaphor of a gathering place identified it as a site of employment for Native Hawaiians. Since plantation policy was to hire only Hawaiians, this meant that Kānaka Maoli could use the metaphor of gathering to work to their advantage. For example, while the missionaries assigned the roller hands to complete the work of the striking cart boys for one day, with the shortage of workers in Lā'ie it was unlikely that skilled cart hands would be permanently laid off. By going on strike they took an election vacation without fear of long-term unemployment. The implications of the labor shortage was understood by Partridge who threatened to hire Chinese workers.<sup>81</sup> Instead, he continued to hire only Native Hawaiians and resolved his labor problems by paying cash to the workers.

The attempts by Kānaka Maoli to control their labor were not just in the sugar fields. The fact that Native Hawaiian plantation workers in Lā'ie did not do sugar work on Saturday reaffirms that sugar was only a part of Lā'ie Plantation life. To many Kānaka Maoli, kalo was the central crop. On Friday, December 15, 1882, Edward Partridge wrote:

I find that this people are a difficult people to manage when it comes to work, they are not reliable at all, that is the majority of them. I wanted to have them come tomorrow and finish the work as there was but one days work left: but they are not in the habit of working on Saturdays and they will not come out for any one no matter how great the necessity may be. They can work if they feel disposed to and when

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<sup>81</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 28 February, 1884.



they have an uku pau or stint—they will pick in a way hard to beat. but they don't want more than they can finish in a few hours.<sup>82</sup>

More than most entries, this one has juxtaposed within it the contradictory needs of Partridge and the Native sugar workers. Unlike Gardner's description of indolent Kānaka Maoli, Partridge understood that they worked hard. However, even with this insight, Partridge's entry reflects his place within plantation structure. As a manager with the need to make the plantation fiscally sound, he strove to synchronize work between the sugar fields and the mill. The structure of the plantation gave him power to make decisions regarding whether cash was to be paid, when the workers should be called up to work on a Saturday, and whether or not the workers could continue to live on the land. Thus Partridge's description of Kānaka Maoli as unreliable holds together when it is framed from the perspective of the plantation manager. If Native Hawaiians spoke of these very same actions, they might have said that their fathers and husbands acted very responsibly by prioritizing the making of poi for their family over plantation tasks. Thus the very actions Partridge labeled as unreliable, reframed from a different viewpoint epitomize responsible action.

In describing when Hawaiians were willing and not willing to work, Partridge captured one of the key reasons why Kānaka Maoli showed a willingness to work for Lā'ie Plantation in the 1880s. The relatively small size of the plantation along with the implications of building a gathering place, meant that many of the Kānaka Maoli in Lā'ie

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<sup>82</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 15 December 1882. See also Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture & Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 1-10, 33-40. In this work Gutman explored how preindustrial works ethics could be constructed and expressed differently.

negotiated a work system of uku pau (working in stints) instead of contractual labor that required them to work for months at a time. Through resistance strategies the workers managed to get Partridge to pay with cash rather than with store credit. These strategies allowed them to raise the cash necessary to survive in a market economy, pay taxes, and also take time to work at their traditional food tasks in the ahupua`a. Lā`ie plantation workers were, to use Partridge’s term, more “disposed” to fishing in the bay, growing `awa in the mountains, and growing kalo than they were “disposed” to growing sugar cane or working in the mill. Kānaka Maoli in Lā`ie chose to continue practicing traditional food production methods. They did sugar work when it was necessary or desired, but used individual and collective strategies in Lā`ie to minimize its impact on how they lived and farmed the ahupua`a.

### Conclusion

Unlike most plantations on the islands during the latter part of the nineteenth century, sugar was not king in Lā`ie. Instead, it combined with Native Hawaiians’ traditional use of the ahupua`a to sustain community and work life. The quantity of entries in the missionary journals is weighted more towards sugar, but the notations regarding Saturday poi work and entries on resistance illuminate traditional food production in the ahupua`a. The journals also attest that the missionaries saw the growing of kalo as necessary to the success of the gathering place. They knew that it was part of what attracted Hawaiian Saints to the ahupua`a and part of why they stayed.

Kalo was not the only reason Native Hawaiians remained on Lā`ie Plantation. It appears that the metaphor of the gathering helped Kānaka Maoli negotiate more favorable labor relations than on other plantations. While the paternalism of the missionaries often manifested itself their work relations with Native Hawaiians, they saw the exploitive nature of a contract system as antithetical to the ideal of gathering. On the hybrid plantation, the metaphor of the gathering meant that only Native Hawaiians were hired. This practice created a labor shortage on the plantation that worked to the advantage of Native Hawaiians, who often resisted missionary attempts to control the work process. Kānaka Maoli successfully created election holidays, switched pay from store credit to cash, slowed down work, and altered the structure of the plantation so that missionaries increasingly left the supervision of the work to Native Hawaiians.

However, this complementary relationships between kalo and sugar could also turn into competition. It was not just Saturday poi making that took workers away from plantation work. The exchange between Waa and Partridge suggests that Hawaiian workers also tended to their kalo during the week. That is why the stint work was so appealing to Kānaka Maoli—it allowed them more control over when and where they worked. It is also why stint labor was so frustrating to missionaries—it inhibited their ability to synchronize labor on the plantation. The resistance over kalo and sugar suggests that, in the nineteenth century, it was in the interior of the ahupua`a, rather than bay where most of the resistance between cultures took place.

Thus resistance in Lā`ie was a tangled affair. It was a place where resistance to the global economy, resistance between cultures, and resistance to the plantation model were

played out. At times Hawaiians joined with the missionaries and missionaries joined with Kanaka Maoli in resisting the dominant culture and economy, at other times they resisted one another, and at times Kānaka Maoli resisted each other as they attempted to find their way through the challenges they faced.

The making of poi on Saturday signified the importance of kalo to the gathering place and plantation. However, a daily journal entry by Woolley, who came to serve as mission president and plantation manager for his second mission in 1895, indicates a watershed change in the structure of plantation life. In December of 1895, he wrote that he “went and sold some kalo to some of the natives.”<sup>83</sup> This is one of the first entries suggesting that the growing of kalo was not as widespread in the ahupua`a as it had been when Harvey Cluff wrote of his stay approximately twenty years earlier. Another entry by Woolley on a Saturday in January of 1896 marks another dramatic turn: “Met Mr. Weight and Carlson entering the cane field with 100 Chinamen to cut our cane and the Japs to lay the track.”<sup>84</sup> This entry is significant not only because the Chinese crew was subcontracted from the neighboring Kahuku Plantation but also because it signaled a beginning of sugar work on Saturday. One cannot tell from this entry if Hawaiians also worked on that Saturday, but an entry on Saturday, January 6, 1900, suggests that Hawaiians, indeed, had begun to work on sugar instead of poi on Saturdays: “I have been out to see how they were getting along cutting. We have all our men hoeing. They took

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<sup>83</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, Journal, 3 December 1895, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>84</sup>Woolley, Journal, 18 January 1896.

out 40 cars of cane.”<sup>85</sup> These entries signal the decline of La`ie Plantation as a hybrid plantation and suggest that it was becoming part of an industrial plantation center.

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<sup>85</sup>Woolley, Journal, 6 January 1900.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE LAND, THE MARKET, AND THE LOGIC OF THE PLANTATION MODEL, 1890-1916

In February of 1886, Susa Gates, the daughter of Brigham Young, wrote an article for the *Deseret News*, a Salt Lake newspaper, regarding La`ie, where she and her husband settled in for their mission. This article gives one of the most detailed missionary accounts of the lay of the land. She wrote:

Laie-Maloo (dry Laie) is a small cluster of w[h]itewashed houses with little patches of gardens, tiny rice fields, and an occasional “kalo loi,” We have heard so much of the lovely ferns, mosses, and tropical trees of this Sandwich Island home. . . . But only a rolling hilly expanse from sea to mountain, covered thickly with grass, is seen. The mountains are cut up into a hundred gorges; and you can see them, as well as mountain tops, are densely wooded. But no trees or shrubs, or even flowers are visible around you as you travel slowly along the grassy stretch of a mile and a half, lying between Laie Maloo and Laie-wai (wet Laie). In between grassy hillocks goes the buggy and now turning a curve we can see the fine new meeting house away up on a distant hillside, near which are clustered the mission occupied by the white people. But nearer at hand, on the right, the waves roll softly on to the beach. On the left are fields, which, you are told are the “cane fields.” . . . Away at the further end of the fields rise the sugar mill with its tall chimneys and outbuildings.

Gates then described the valley that was situated behind the low hill the meeting house sat on.

This valley is a lovely spot, and luxuriant with a wealth of tropical beauty. It, or rather the largest portion of it, has been leased to some Chinamen, who have chequered it off into brilliantly green fields of rice. An artesian well near the center supplies the water. All through it are scattered tropical trees, bananas, coconut, kamani, hei, hau, and kukui, and numbers of tiny gardens are brilliant with scarlet

geraniums, roses, and many tropical flowers. Grass and whitewashed board houses are scattered here and there, the homes of natives and Chinamen.<sup>1</sup>

Gates's description of the bay, grassy coastline, fertile alluvial plain, and lush mountains captures well the different parts of the ahupua`a. Gates's description and Map 2 suggests that the total amount of sugar cultivated was still relatively small in 1886.<sup>2</sup> Yet when Gates wrote this piece, market forces began to force Native Hawaiians and missionaries to make difficult decisions. Two of the formidable challenges included how to maintain agricultural diversity in the ahupua`a and how to sustain the vision and purpose of the gathering place when a global market demanded that the plantation become economically more efficient.

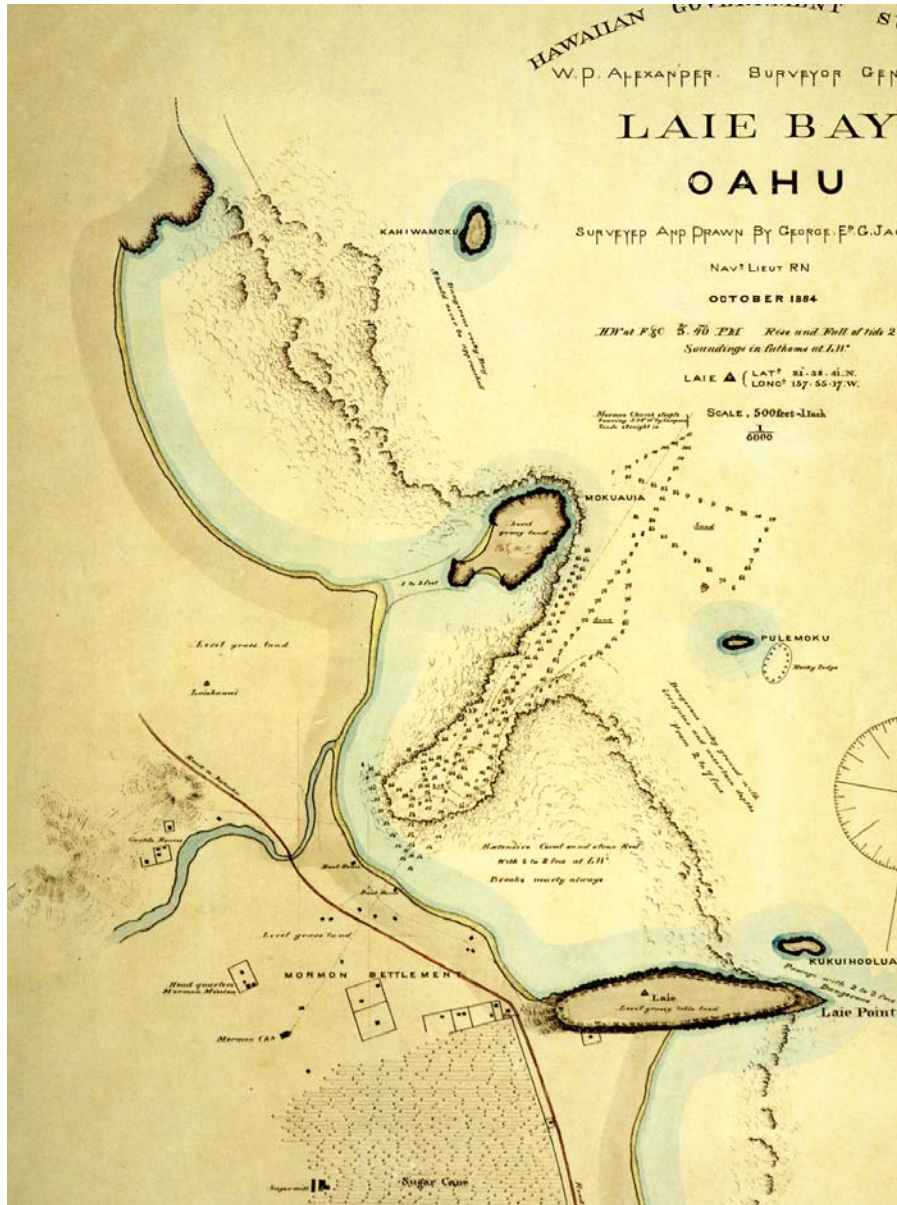
Part of the dilemma was that the metaphor of the gathering place and the model of the plantation had their own "logics" that competed against one another. Sally Engle Merry, in examining how the Western legal framework imposed on the islands by

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<sup>1</sup>Susa Y. Gates, 23 February 1886, in Andrew Jenson, comp., "History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," (photocopy), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, Lā`ie.

<sup>2</sup>It appears that the wells dug in the 1880s made it possible for sugar to be grown on the coastal plain as well in the river valley behind the missionary compound. It is puzzling that Gates did not mention the growing of kalo near the Kahawainui Stream since this is where most of the kuleana were located. Her description may reflect the beginnings of the kalo blight that added to the difficulties of growing kalo in Lā`ie during the late 1880s. A letter from Millard F. Eakle on 8 October 1889, in Jenson, suggested sugar was grown both in the Lā`iewai river valley at the foot of the mountains and also on the coastal plain that fronted the bay: "The work on the plantation has proceeded steadily, and although the dry weather has hindered some, yet through the manipulation of the water from the artesian wells, and of occasional flows from rains up in the mountains, there is now a good crop of new plant cane growing."

Map 2: Lā'ie Bay and Coastal Plain



This map indicates that only a few residents lived on the coastal plain. Most of the residents lived in the valley behind this plain. However, G. E. G. Jackson, the cartographer, focused primarily on mapping the bay. Note the field of sugar at the bottom of the map. Wells watered this sugar field.

Map by G. E. G. Jackson, 1844, in Riley Moore Moffat and Gary L. Fitzpatrick, *Surveying the Mahele: Mapping the Hawaiian Land Revolution* (Honolulu: Editions Limited, 1995), 85.



Calvinist missionaries, merchants, and their descendants helped to colonize Hawai`i, noted:

The decision to adopt new institutions such as the rule of law depended on congruent cultural logics, but once adopted, institutions such as the law had their own durability and immovability. Processes of historical change are incremental and uncertain rather than linear or inevitable. Competing cultural logics mesh at certain points and diverge at others, sending trajectories of change into directions often unanticipated or undesired by those instrumental in furthering them.<sup>3</sup>

If we replace “rule of law” with the word “plantation,” we find this quotation well suited to 1890 La`ie. There was an economic logic and immovability to the structure of the plantation that challenged the durability of the gathering place. While the plantation originally was designed to facilitate the ideal of gathering, the increasingly competitive global market meant that between 1890 and 1930 plantation imperatives began to dominate the discourse. The plantation’s fiscal needs for expansion and increased capital expenditures made it difficult for Native Hawaiians and missionaries to maintain the gathering as a central focus.

The preceding chapters looked at how Native Hawaiians and Mormon missionaries used their cultures to negotiate with an economic plantation model that did not fit easily with their values and assumptions. However, there was also a tension between the increasingly high production needs of the plantation and the ability of the land to meet those needs. The missionaries addressed that tension by transforming the hybrid plantation into part of an industrial plantation center.

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<sup>3</sup>Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai`i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 259.

### Plantation Settlement Patterns

Although all the islands in the Hawaiian archipelago lie fairly close to one another, some sustained sugar plantations more easily than others. By 1830, with the exception of Moloka`i and Lāna`i, all of the major islands had plantations established on them. However, out of all the plantations established before 1840, only Koloa and Lihue on the island of Kaua`i persisted beyond the 1876 Treaty of Reciprocity.<sup>4</sup> William H. Dorrance and Francis Morgan compiled a comprehensive listing of the sugar plantations in Hawai`i.<sup>5</sup> As indicated in Table 1, their research indicated that of all the early plantations established on O`ahu before 1830 only one persisted for more than a year, and that one lasted only seven years.

While plantations continued to be established in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s on Maui, Hawai`i, and Kaua`i, no sugar plantations were established again on O`ahu until 1863.

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<sup>4</sup>William Henry Dorrance and Francis Swanzy Morgan, *Sugar Islands: The 165-Year Story of Sugar in Hawai`i* (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 2000), 12-13, 25, 41, 54, 60-61, 82-83.

<sup>5</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 12-13. They indicated that, especially for the earliest plantations, the data may be incomplete or sometimes inaccurate because of the difficulties in obtaining the information.

Table 1: Plantations Established on O`ahu Before 1860

Plantation	First Date	Last Date	Location	Duration in Years
“The King’s Mill”	1811	1811	Honolulu	1
Don Francisco Marin	1813	1819	Pearl Harbor	7
Livinia	1823	1823	Honolulu	1
Wilkinson	1825	1826	Mānoa Valley	2
Nu`uanu	1828	1828	Nu`uanu Valley	1
Total				12

Dorrance and Morgan, 12.

The coming of the Civil War and the accompanying demand for sugar in California encouraged land speculation and the cultivation of sugar on O`ahu once again.

Table 2 indicates that this second batch of plantations persisted longer than the first ill-fated group. The average life-span of these plantations was twenty years. However, if Lā`ie, which was the only plantation out of this group that persisted into the twentieth century, is not figured into the equation, the average life-span of these plantations is fourteen years.

As O`ahu plantations began to be established, large plantation centers emerged on Maui, Kaua`i, and Hawai`i. On these islands the early sugar producers settled in ahupua`a

Table 2: Plantations Established on O`ahu Before 1876

Plantation	First Date	Last Date	Location	Duration in Years
L. & W. Chamberlain	1862	1874	Waialua	13
Kualoa	1863	1871	Kualoa	9
Nu`uanu	1863	1871	Nu`uanu Valley	9
Kaneohe Sugar Plantation Co.	1865	1891	Kaneohe (Windward)	27
Halawa Plantation	1867	1872	Hālawa Valley	6
Kaalaea Plantation	1865	1880	near Kaneohe (Windward)	16
Lā`ie	1868 <sup>6</sup>	1931	Lā`ie (Windward)	64
Keaahala Plantation	1872	1879	near Kaneohe (Windward)	8
Gordon and Halstead & Sons	1874	1898	Waialua	25
Total				177

Dorrance and Morgan, 12, 41.

on the wet side of the islands or created access to mountain water through irrigation.

Carol A. MacLennan characterized these plantation centers in the following way:

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<sup>6</sup>Dorrance and Morgan mistakenly listed 1872 as the beginning date of Lā`ie Plantation, 41. Although sugar was grown on the plantation in 1867, I list 1868 as the beginning of the plantation since that is when the mill was installed. "Biography, Benjamin Cluff," *The Cluff Family Journal* 1, 13 (June 10, 1902), 198, indicated it was in fall of 1867 that the mill was installed; however, most of the evidence suggests that it was not until the spring of 1868 that the mill was completed. See Nebeker, 11 April 1868, quoted in Jenson; Brigham Young to George Nebeker, 1 April 1868, Young Letterpress, Mss. 2736, Box 10, Folder 5, *Selected Collections*; and Brigham Young to George Nebeker, 14 May 1868, Young Letterpress, Mss 2736, Box 11, Folder 1, *Selected Collections*.

The plantation of the 1860s and 1870s was a different entity from the commercial sugar business of the 1850s. It was larger, more organized around a heavily capitalized mill, and managed from start-up to profitability through an agency system that controlled decisions from Honolulu. Those plantations with strong agents survived the difficult decade between 1866 and 1876.<sup>7</sup>

During the 1860s and 1870s when the plantations on Maui, Kaua`i, and Hawai`i emerged as plantation centers, the generally smaller O`ahu enterprises, such as La`ie, more accurately fit MacLennan's description of the earlier commercial plantations existing on Maui, Kau`i, and Hawai`i between the 1840s and 1860s. While her periodization does not work for O`ahu, the description of commercial plantation fits for La`ie from its inception until approximately 1895.

Plantation organization was makeshift. Investments in technology were small and primitive compared with other sugar-producing regions in the world at the time. Owners were inexperienced as managers and as financiers. And, the major variables important to success—land, labor, and water—were not always available or certain.<sup>8</sup>

Nonetheless, the younger, smaller, less capitalized, and less experienced O`ahu commercial plantations benefitted from the experience of the emerging plantation centers on the other islands. For example, one of La`ie Plantation's first employees was Paka, a Native Hawaiian, "who has worked in the Sugar for some time" and took "charge of the evaporators" in the mill.<sup>9</sup> When Nebeker needed to obtain capital, he turned to the

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<sup>7</sup>Carol A. MacLennan, "Hawai`i Turns to Sugar: The Rise of Plantation Centers, 1860-1880," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 118.

<sup>8</sup>Carol MacLennan, "Foundations of Sugar's Power: Early Maui Plantations, 1840-1860," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995): 34.

<sup>9</sup>Harvey Harris Cluff, *Journal and autobiography*, 133, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, La`ie.

already-existing Waterhouse agency.<sup>10</sup> Despite these opportunities, sugar planters faced two critical challenges. The plantation needed a dependable source of water and capital. While these challenges faced plantation owners throughout the islands, they particularly affected plantation owners on the less-developed O`ahu.

### Water

The work of Dorrance and Miller suggests that O`ahu was less hospitable to growing sugar than Hawai`i, Kaua`i, and Maui.

O`ahu wasn't the best location for sugar farming. Only after introducing the collection of mountain water, and digging deep wells with heavy-duty pumps, was cultivation even possible on the west side of the island.

Where it was wet, there was too little arable land, and where there was sufficient land, there was not enough rainfall.<sup>11</sup>

This assertion is supported by the persistence of the second cluster of O`ahu sugar plantations (see Table 2) between the Civil War boom and before the drilling of wells. It is not surprising to see that five of the nine began on the Windward Side of O`ahu. The Windward Side is generally one of the wettest regions on the island because of the trade winds that bring clouds to the summits of the Ko`olau mountain range. This meeting of moist air and mountain often results in rainfall. The rain then makes its way through the ahupua`a in the form of streams, springs, and aquifers. Before well technology was imported to the islands, the wet Windward Side was the logical place to begin sugar production on O`ahu.

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<sup>10</sup>Harvey Cluff, *Autobiography*, 143.

<sup>11</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 39-40.

Lā`ie is located just a few miles from the northern-most tip of O`ahu on the Windward Side. The implication of this location is that, although Lā`ie can be very moist because of its windward location, it also is susceptible to local droughts because of being near the tip of the drier North Shore. This susceptibility to local droughts was compounded by serious island-wide droughts. During the life of Lā`ie Plantation, the archipelago experienced seven substantial droughts in 1869-1870, 1877, 1878, 1889, 1897, 1919, and 1926 and two lesser droughts during the summers of 1883 and 1887.<sup>12</sup>

That the decline of some of these mid-century O`ahu plantations may be connected to drought is suggested by the fact that on O`ahu two plantations went out of business in 1871, one in 1874, one in 1879, one in 1880, one in 1891, and one in 1898.<sup>13</sup> Each of these failures fell within one to two years of a drought on the islands, and another plantation failed within three years of a drought. Since sugar cane takes approximately eighteen- to twenty-four months to mature in Hawai`i,<sup>14</sup> the financial hardships from the drought fell at harvest time when there was little yield to sell. Although Lā`ie Plantation

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<sup>12</sup>Harold S. Davis, "The Iosepa Origin of Joseph F. Smith's Lā`ie Prophecy," *BYU Studies* 33, no.1 (1993): 87; Mike Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World* (London: Verso, 2001), 256. Some of these droughts seem to have been part of a global weather pattern. Mike Davis suggested that the droughts of 1877 and 1897 grew out of El Niño weather patterns. See also William King, 20 June 1870 in Jenson; and Harvey H. Cluff to *Deseret News*, 1 October 1870, in Jenson.

<sup>13</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 12 and 14.

<sup>14</sup>Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1985), 80; Edward Partridge, Jr., Diaries, 28 June 1882, Mss B 79, Utah History Center, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

survived these droughts, this 1878 passage from Henry P. Richards indicates how damaging and painful droughts could be.

The outlook here at the gathering place is not so cheering at present as we could wish, a severe drought has prevailed upon these islands for several months past, and the cane crop has suffered materially, the damage amounting to several thousand dollars. Unless the parched and thirsty earth is soon moistened by copious showers of rain, considerable suffering in many places among the natives will be inevitable.<sup>15</sup>

Six months later, Richards wrote home:

The drought which has done so much damage for so many months past still prevails on this side of the island; it is over fourteen months since we had a good soaking rain at this place. Late showers of late are more frequent than for some time previous, but the prevailing trade wind at this place soon dries the ground and seemingly but little benefit is derived therefrom. A few of the natives who gathered here have left for other parts to seek employment and food to subsist upon, the majority still remain, trusting and praying for better times.<sup>16</sup>

It is perhaps no coincidence that during this drought five Hawaiian Saints—

Kamakaopiopio, Mahonalu, J. B. Kane, Mose, and Makaula—sought permission from the Hawaiian government to immigrate to Utah.<sup>17</sup>

It is difficult to know exactly why La`ie was able to survive the series of droughts of the 1860s and 1870s when most of the other plantations on O`ahu failed shortly after those droughts. In light of Mitchell's 1874 ban on `awa, it would be ironic if one factor in the plantation's survival was the cash brought in by `awa. Partridge noted in 1882 that "a

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<sup>15</sup>Henry P. Richards, 10 April 1878, in Jenson.

<sup>16</sup>Henry P. Richards, 21 October 1878, in Jenson. Mike Davis noted that this 1877 drought was an El Niño event and particularly dry. He also noted that "the great drought of 1876-79 was only the first of three global subsistence crises." Davis, *Late Victorian Holocausts*, 256, 6.

<sup>17</sup>H. P. Richards, 5 December 1878, in Jenson.



small patch will bring from 3 to 6 hundred dollars.”<sup>18</sup> Although there is no mention in the journals of a plantation tax on `awa, it would be surprising if there was not one, since both the harvesting of kalo and the catching of fish were taxed. Also Cluff’s phraseology regarding the plantation’s need for the `awa to be harvested suggests that the plantation as well as Native Hawaiians profited from its harvest:

From time immemorial the natives have grown the awa in high up places on the mountains and in the gulches beyond and above the range of cattle. . . . The planting and cultivation of the awa on Laie was permitted by George Nebeker in this time and at this time [1874] the crop already growing was worth several thousand dollars. We needed the money badly.<sup>19</sup>

One of the advantages of `awa is that it can be left in the ground for a number of years before it is harvested. Perhaps during the drought years of 1869/70 and 1877/78, the mountain crop of `awa was less affected by the drought than thirsty sugar and kalo. Thus the mature crop could be harvested to make up for the declining sugar yield during the years with little water. Even if there was no plantation tax to draw on, the income derived from the sale could have made it possible for Native Hawaiians to remain on the plantation. This, in turn, would help to create a stable labor force to harvest the sugar when it was ready.

These droughts became less troublesome to well-capitalized plantations after 1879. In that year on the western plains of O`ahu, James Ashley drilled the first well on

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<sup>18</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 29 July 1882.

<sup>19</sup>H. Cluff, Autobiography, 145-146.

the islands for James Campbell.<sup>20</sup> It was this, as much as the Reciprocity Treaty, that allowed Hawaiian sugar to compete on the world market. It was not long after this first well, that a well was drilled in Lā`ie. In 1881, Cluff leased 48 acres to a Chinese rice farmer. It appears that a well was dug in connection with this lease.<sup>21</sup> This task was successfully accomplished, and Cluff wrote: “This is the first well on this side of the island and quite a feeling of interest has been awakened among foreigners in regard to it; also application for leasing more land here has already been made.”<sup>22</sup> This well was significant for several reasons. The Chinese farmer not only paid rent on the land, he employed Hawaiians to plow the land for him, bringing in \$600 to the community.<sup>23</sup> Also, the plantation was willing to invest in subsequent wells because this first exploratory well reassured the missionaries that subsequent drilling efforts would most likely succeed.

Wells continued to be drilled in Lā`ie through the 1880s and even more during the 1890s. By January 26, 1901, journals and letters record approximately ten wells built in the ahupua`a of Lā`ie. Some of these wells may have been financed by Chinese rice farmers and one was financed by Kupau, a Native Hawaiian living at Lā`ie Malo`o.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. III, 1874-1893, *The Kalakaua Dynasty* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1967), 67.

<sup>21</sup>“*SANDWICH ISLANDS MISSION. Late improvements on the plantation,*” *Deseret News*, 31: 489, 23 August 1882, in Jenson. The wording of the account in Jenson does not make clear whether the well was paid for by the plantation or by the rice farmers.

<sup>22</sup>Harvey Cluff, 13 November 1881, in Jenson.

<sup>23</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 28 June 1882.

<sup>24</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 27 December 1883; Samuel E. Woolley, Journal, 31 October 1895, 8 July 1899, 14 July 1899, 8 September 1899, June 14, 1900, and 11 February 1901,

These wells lessened the threat of drought to the plantation. The water increased yield per acre and also made it possible to cultivate more land. The plantation not only financed the digging of wells but also constructed flumes and reservoirs to direct the water where needed. Each of these endeavors required a substantial investment of capital.

### Capital

The primary means of raising capital for Hawaiian sugar plantations was through a system of agencies made up primarily of merchants. The emerging agency system met the needs of capital by serving as “purchasing agents for the plantations and as selling agents for the sugar and molasses which they produced; . . . [they] arrange[d] for the supply of laborers as needed [and] . . . furnish[ed] . . . funds, by loan or credit, to keep the plantations going.”<sup>25</sup> Although the O`ahu landscape was just beginning to be dotted with small plantations, Honolulu was already the financial capital of the islands and home to the agencies that provided loans to the capital-hungry plantations throughout the islands. Lā`ie’s agent was J. T. Waterhouse. Harvey Cluff and George Nebeker went to Waterhouse to borrow money to pay for Cluff’s passage home.<sup>26</sup> It is most likely that the

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typescript, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>25</sup>Kuykendall, 80.

<sup>26</sup>Harvey Cluff, 143.

approximately \$20,000 debt that Nebeker carried to the end of the 1870s was owed to Waterhouse.<sup>27</sup> Cluff wrote that on his first mission during the early 1870s:

Notice was given by the sons of J. T. Waterhouse who held the mortgage on Laie of a foreclosure. . . . The sudden change in the financial affairs cut us off from supplies to a great and distressing condition as it was through Mr. Waterhouse that we did all our business. On Mr. Waterhouse return he sent an agent to Laie to examine the condition of affairs. His report was not very encouragin, however, he consented to let the mortgage stand and in order to enable us to harvest the present crop, he promised brother Mitchell that he might draw two cents on every pound of sugar we shipped to him, the balance would go to diminish the debt. Half of the profits arrising from other sources was to be paid to him.<sup>28</sup>

The backing provided by Waterhouse was an important factor in Lā'ie Plantation's survival during the difficult decade before the Treaty of Reciprocity.<sup>29</sup>

Nonetheless, even with the backing of Waterhouse, maintaining a cash flow was very difficult. When Cluff arrived as mission president and plantation manager in 1879, he found capital to be a major challenge.<sup>30</sup> This situation was not unusual. The small plantations located on the Windward Side of O`ahu had a difficult time producing a high enough yield to pay for the hefty capital demands of building a mill, obtaining and maintaining carts and livestock, and drilling wells and building irrigation flumes. At least two of the plantations on O`ahu's Windward Side gave up trying to grow sugar and

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<sup>27</sup>George Nebeker to John Taylor, 20 February 1879, Mission Administration Correspondence, 1877-1915, typescript, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

<sup>28</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 143-44.

<sup>29</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 118.

<sup>30</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 170-71.

turned to cattle ranching. Kualoa Plantation, whose sugar mill brick smokestack still stands erect next to the highway that circles the island, switched to cattle ranching after the drought of 1871.<sup>31</sup> Kaneohe Sugar Plantation, which was established in 1865 shut down in 1891 because of inadequate yields and was later “incorporated . . . as Kaneohe Ranch and converted . . . to stock farming.”<sup>32</sup> Cluff also considered switching the plantation to cattle ranching in order to escape the capital demands of sugar.

My eyes were opened to the unprofitable mode of sugar making with such old out of date mule power machinery. . . .

With our machinery we would get from one to two tons per acre, while with improved machinery such as was used on other plantations, they get from four to eight tons. I then gave the probable profits from stock raising if the whole land was given up to that industry. The facts are in evidence that we must put up an improved sugar mill at a cost of from \$25,000.00 to \$30,000.00 or go into the cattle business. We have made Laie a gathering place, to which some three hundred members of the Church have already gathered and if we shall decide to give up that Sugar industry and go into the cattle business we throw out of employment some three hundred people who will have to scatter out to other islands to find opportunities to labor, as we would not need more than five or six to aid in the cattle business. We labor now under the most disadvantageous circumstances that were very trying yet we forayed on hoped on, for we were in a just and righteous cause.<sup>33</sup>

Cluff took several steps to improve this situation, including planting more cane; instituting a united order work system; and borrowing more money to build a new, more up-to-date mill. Although Cluff believed going into “the cattle business” was a viable financial option, the ideal of the gathering place persuaded him to stick with sugar.

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<sup>31</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 10.

<sup>32</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 41-42.

<sup>33</sup>Harvey Cluff, Autobiography, 179.

When Matthew Noall arrived as missionary in 1885, he found the mill put up by Cluff four years earlier inefficient.

At best, the sugar mill was an old-fashioned affair. We had to dry tons of saccarine from the cane rinds, to burn the latter as fuel to run the mill. But it was expensive to build the sheds in which we dehydrated the rinds, and it was also expensive to use the rinds because we could never get them entirely dry. Several thousand dollars could have been saved annually had we been able to find some other means to mill our cane crop. The indebtedness of the Hawaiian Mission had gradually increased from \$23,000 to \$25,000.<sup>34</sup>

The mill's inefficiency contributed to the increasing debt carried by the plantation. When Noall arrived as mission president and plantation manager in December of 1891, he faced the same inefficient mill and huge capital needs.

The big deficit, as I viewed it, was due mainly to the obsolescent condition of the sugar mill. The raising of the crops was not showing a deficit in money, but the manufacture of the sugar was. We were still trying to run the mill with fuel produced from the dried cane stalks, from which the saccarine juice could only partly be crushed. And the expense of carting the rinds to the drying sheds and returning them to the fuel bins was still considerable. Also the percentage of sugar extracted from the cane was much lower than it should have been. To supplement the cane rinds as fuel, we had to haul hundreds of cords of wood from the mountains. To release this labor would make possible the use of the time in some profitable direction. A saving on the mill would amount to much, but would it be enough? I wondered.<sup>35</sup>

Noall faced a difficult choice: Should the plantation go into greater debt to raise the capital necessary to build a modern and efficient mill in order to raise productivity?

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<sup>34</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *To My Children: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Utah: Privately Printed, 1947), 35.

<sup>35</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 65.

## Expansion

In Hawai'i, the plantations that persisted did so because they expanded their sugar acreage enough to keep their mill running on a continual basis, making their capital investment cost effective.<sup>36</sup> The trend on the islands was away from many small plantations to fewer large, industrial plantations. When Cluff built a mill on the Lā'ie Plantation in 1881, approximately 72 plantations operated in the islands. As Table 3 indicates, by 1890 the number had already declined to 63. Even as the number of plantations declined in those two decades, the average acreage devoted to sugar on those plantations increased from 420 acres to 1,381 acres.

Table 3: Island-Wide Sugar Plantation Numbers and Sugar Acreage

Year	Plantation Number	Acres Per Plantation
1867	29	345
1880	62	420
1882	72	546
1884	80	Unknown
1890	63	1,381
1900	59	2,169

Dorrance and Morgan, 6.

<sup>36</sup>John Mei Liu, "Cultivating Cane: Asian Labor and the Hawaiian Sugar Plantation System within the Capitalist World Economy, 1835-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1985), 157.

At the turn of the century throughout Hawai`i, the number of plantations declined while the average size of plantations increased. In 1890, the average land cultivated on plantations was 1,381 acres and by 1900 it had almost doubled to 2,169.<sup>37</sup> Noall wrote that during his first mission in 1885 Lā`ie had 300 acres of cultivated sugar.<sup>38</sup> By 1915, Lā`ie plantation had expanded its cultivated sugar lands to 500 acres.<sup>39</sup>

This trend was obvious to the mission president and plantation managers early on. In 1884 Partridge noted how the larger sugar interests and plantations squeezed out smaller enterprises:

Mr. Waterhouse informs me that sugar has declined in price in San Francisco and New York. I think Mr. Claus Spreckles and other monopolists will manipulate the prices to suit their own convenience with a view to freeze out the small plantations. I look for it to come to that point eventually that the large firms will swallow up the small planters as is the case with most other branches of manufacture.<sup>40</sup>

After Partridge, President King attempted to expand sugar cane in Lā`ie. In 1888, Jacob Gates wrote home: “President King is gradually extending the area of our cane fields so that before long our small mill will be run to its full capacity during the greater part of the year. We have land and water sufficient to raise a thousand tons of sugar per annum, but our mill cannot make over three hundred.”<sup>41</sup> Lā`ie’s small, inefficient mill dramatically

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<sup>37</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 6.

<sup>38</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 34.

<sup>39</sup>“Pres. Smith’s Party Visits in Hawaii,” 23 May 1915, in Jenson.

<sup>40</sup>Partridge, *Diaries*, 26 January 1884.

<sup>41</sup>Jacob F. Gates, 23 April 1888, in Jenson.



slowed sugar's expansion in the ahupua`a. However, just a few miles north of La`ie on the tip between the Windward Side and the North Shore, the fairly dry ahupua`a of Kahuku was being developed into a sugar plantation. This development was made possible because of the ability to drill wells. Noall, who was plantation manager after Pack, recorded:

Just north of Laie, on a piece of land called Kahuku, a corporation was starting a new sugar plantation and a mill. I thought it wisdom to negotiate with the corporation owners to mill the sugar from our cane on a fifty-fifty basis. I successfully closed the deal, in which it was agreed that the Kahuku Corporation should cut and haul our cane to their mill, and deliver our sugar to the Port of Laie, where it would go by steamer to Honolulu. Instead of the old fashioned method of hauling by ox team and a two-wheeled cart which we had employed at the plantation the Kahuku people laid a portable track and used a steam engine for power.

When I arrived at Laie for the second mission there were about thirty acres of cane ready to be harvested, and there were a thousand cords of wood ready for fuel. I sold the crop to the Kahuku people to start their own crops, and the wood to run their mill. These negotiations opened the way toward the continuation of our plantation work. And thus at one stroke the revenue problem at Laie was at least partly solved. Though we could save by discontinuing the mill, we needed the work of growing the crops, for this labor was the main avenue of support for the natives at Laie.<sup>42</sup>

The linkage with Kahuku meant that La`ie's inefficient mill was no longer needed. The larger and more efficient mill at Kahuku allowed them to not only mill the cane they had planted, but to expand cane acreage.

Their sharing of resources and technology was similar to the plantation centers that emerged on Maui, Kaua`i, and Hawai`i between 1860 and 1880. By 1890, most plantations on the islands combined and consolidated vertically into even fewer and larger plantations. In 1893 when Noall made a contract with Kahuku to grind La`ie's

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<sup>42</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 65-66.

sugar, only 13 of the 62 plantations in the islands did not own their own mill. By 1899 Lā'ie was one of only four plantations that did not own a mill.<sup>43</sup> The strategy Lā'ie and Kahuku joining together and creating a plantation center was reminiscent of such a trend on the other Hawaiian sugar plantation islands decades earlier.

In 1891 the U.S. McKinley tariff bill became operative and sugar prices fell. This bill, designed to protect U.S. sugar growers, took away Hawai'i's favored trade status.

Kuykendall, commenting on this period, reported:

[F]or many companies, profits vanished. Red-ink entries began to multiply in the ledgers of sugar corporations and other industrial organizations, and some of the weaker companies were forced into bankruptcy. By those that survived, the most drastic measures of economy had to be taken in order to continue in business.<sup>44</sup>

Noall, who arrived as mission president that same year, was one of those sugar plantation managers who focused on increasing efficiency.

Church leaders in Salt Lake City suggested to Noall that he diversify Lā'ie's crops rather than depend primarily on sugar; however, in his autobiography, Noall gave little indication that he considered this a viable option.<sup>45</sup> Instead, Noall focused on cane.

Church historian Andrew Jenson noted: "Pres. Noall asked the privilege of putting in an Aeronoter and pump that thereby the acreage of Cane lands could [be] increased as the amount of labor on the Laie Plantation is not sufficient to supply the residents with

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<sup>43</sup>Kuykendall, 52.

<sup>44</sup>Kuykendall, 57-58.

<sup>45</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 64-65.

necessary labor.”<sup>46</sup> These pumps point to how Lā`ie’s position at the tip of the Windward Side made it possible for the plantation to transition into part of an industrial plantation center, as described by Edward Beechert.<sup>47</sup>

Hawaii’s plantations had become something more than agricultural establishments. They were becoming large-scale financial organizations with an assured income dependent only upon the volume of production. Hawaii is one of the few sugar-producing areas of the world in which production and harvesting can take place at the same time. A growing season of eighteen to twenty-four months required both extensive cultivation and ample credit. For any significant increase in production, semi-arid regions had to be brought under cultivation—and large-scale irrigation projects required substantial amounts of capital. This reliance upon imported labor also required capital, either private or public. The distance to market meant that capital returns were slow in coming. Extensive credit facilities were mandatory to finance the establishment, harvesting, and marketing of the crop. The capital investment required for large-scale milling, irrigation, labor, and transportation to urban markets quickly eliminated the small grower.<sup>48</sup>

The opening up of semi-arid lands made possible the necessary expansion to make high-capital investment feasible. Because Lā`ie was on the Windward Side of the island, the plantation generally had enough water to enable it to survive before the coming of wells

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<sup>46</sup>Jenson, 11 January 1893.

<sup>47</sup>Both Beechert (*Working*, 79-80) and MacLennan (“Plantation Centers,” 97) used approximately the same dates to describe the transition from the commercial to industrial plantations that took place in Hawai`i. Beechert saw the Treaty of Reciprocity as the impetus behind the industrial plantations and delineated the era of the industrial plantation as 1876-1900. MacLennan’s used the term “plantation center” to describe the sharing of resources and services between growing plantations as 1860-1880. She suggested that industrial plantations emerged after 1880. This study suggests that both of these terms and dating reflect broad strokes of analysis that apply more strictly to Maui, Kau`i, and Hawai`i than to O`ahu.

<sup>48</sup>Beechert, *Working*, 80.

and pumps. It also had enough semi-arid land without access to surface water so that there was room to expand sugar cane cultivation with the drilling of wells.

The opening up of the semi-arid Kahuku ahupua`a into a plantation also was possible because of wells.<sup>49</sup> This capital-intensive possibility drew the attention of prominent men on the islands such as Frank Dillingham, James Cook, and Lorrin Thurston.<sup>50</sup> Their investments helped finance the opening of Kahuku Plantation.<sup>51</sup> The Dillingham rail line from Honolulu to Kahuku was completed in 1899, making the prospects of Kahuku becoming a successful enterprise more likely.<sup>52</sup> Dillingham leased the Kahuku land from James Campbell and then turned around in 1890 to sublease the land to James Castle and several others. These investors made it possible to build the mill, flumes, wells, roads, and bridges necessary to work the semi-arid and semi-rugged terrain of Kahuku. If Lā`ie had been more centrally located on the windward coast further away from Kahuku, it is unlikely that a profitable alliance could have been made between these two plantations. The agreement was to Kahuku's benefit also as "its managers had to struggle to compete in an area severely limited by the surrounding rugged terrain."<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Kuykendall, 69-70.

<sup>50</sup>Thurston was a descendant of early Calvinist missionaries. Dorrance and Morgan, 42, 44, and 46.

<sup>51</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 44-47; Kuykendall, 67-70.

<sup>52</sup>Kuykendall, 100.

<sup>53</sup>Dorrance and Morgan, 46.

Noall's choice to create a plantation center with Kahuku made it possible for the small plantation to exist in an era of large plantations for almost forty more years. The implications of this choice altered not only village life but the very landscape of the ahupua`a of Lā`ie. Although Lā`ie continued to be an ahupua`a where kalo was grown, increasingly its production was relocated from its traditional growing grounds located near mountain and river water to land watered by wells located closer to the missionary compound and nearer to the sea. Although the choice to dismantle its mill was unusual for that late date, Noall's contract with Kahuku and the relocation of kalo production provides a clear transition marker that the plantation was changing from a small hybrid plantation to part of a plantation center.

### Choices

#### Kalo

Lā`ie was similar to the plantation centers that grew on the islands of Maui, Kaua`i, and Hawai`i in the 1860s and 1870s in that sugar expansion appears to have moved kalo production out of its traditional fields. The exact dynamics of this transition are unclear. However, it appears that sugar expansion, blight, and drought threatened the production of kalo in the ahupua`a of Lā`ie. It is difficult to ascertain what caused the blight, but it may be that growing sugar helped make kalo susceptible to blight. Plantation Manager and Mission President William King wrote to John Taylor during the summer of 1887: "The famine for Kalo still continues but we are no exception to many other places. One cause is the rot and the greater cause has been neglect to plant and cultivate it

properly.”<sup>54</sup> King’s assertion that the kalo suffered because of neglect fits in with stereotypes of “lazy” colonized people. However, it does not fit with the evidence that Native Hawaiian workers in Lā`ie preferred kalo planting to cultivating sugar. This commitment to kalo was not passing, for well into the twentieth century kalo was grown in Lā`ie.<sup>55</sup>

Instead, King’s narrative illustrates how the impact of imperialism was often invisible to colonizers. King’s description of the kalo blight suggests that traditional kalo cultural practices were seriously challenged by 1887. The blight could have been caused by a number of things, including contaminated plants brought in from other places. However, today it is known that certain conditions such as overcrowding the kalo and allowing it to sit in warm, sluggish water facilitate the growth of fungus or blight. Amy B. H. Greenwell wrote:

The old Hawaiians spaced their taro far apart and insured a steady stream of cool water through the plot, carefully tending the plants before their roots were well established. Today . . . the farmers crowd their plants, crop after crop, with the result that the whole field usually is wiped out by disease or by worn-out soil.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>William King to John Taylor, 27 July 1887, Mission Administration, quoted in Jeffrey S. Stover, "The Legacy of the 1848 Māhele and Kuleana Act of 1850: A Case Study of the Lā`ie Wai and Lā`ie Malo`o Ahupua`a, 1846-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai`i, 1997), 76-77.

<sup>55</sup>Lydia Colburn and Mary Kelii, interview by Clinton Kanahale, 30 July 1970, in Clinton Kanahale, "Interviews Conducted by Clinton Kanahale" (Lā`ie: Privately Printed, 1970), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>56</sup>Amy B. H. Greenwall, "Taro—With Special Reference to Its Culture and Uses in Hawaii," *Economic Botany* 1, No. 3 (July-September, 1947): 276-289.

At issue was the availability of water to grow that kalo. It was not just that water was important, it was that it needed to be a “steady stream of cool water.” Jaw-Kai Wang and Sally Higa wrote regarding kalo that “ample cool and fresh water also aids in reducing or minimizing if not eliminating the incidence of corm and root disease.”<sup>57</sup> The *Handbook of Kalo Basics* suggested that “the planting pit should be kept cool and moist, with no warm stagnant water around the roots. To keep your Kalo healthy and free from water-stress, water twice daily, morning and evening.”<sup>58</sup>

Competition for labor and water may have made kalo more susceptible to blight. Work in the sugar fields took men away from the growing of kalo, and kalo is very demanding in its labor needs. It may be that sugar labor made it difficult to maintain the irrigation works, to keep the kalo patches weeded, and the water flowing. Also, when the droughts of 1887 and 1891 hit Lā`ie, kalo may have already been weakened by the encroachment of rice and sugar fields, wells, water flumes, on traditional water sources. Jenson recorded an entry from Elder William King, who wrote home that the drought was causing “a serious diminuation in the yield of Kalo the chief dependance of the natives for food.”<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Jaw-Kai Wang and Sally Higa, ed., *Taro: A Review of Colocasia Esculenta and Its Potentials* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1983), 174.

<sup>58</sup>Eric Enos and Kersten Johnson, *A Handbook of Kalo Basics: For its Planting, Care, Preparation, and Eating* (Wai`anae: A Taro Top Publication, 1996), 15.

<sup>59</sup>King, 20 June 1870, in Jenson.

The small size of the mill limited the capacity of the plantation to expand. However, shortly after this 1887 blight, Noall arrived to serve as mission president. During his time on the plantation, he made several decisions, all of which had (to use Merry's terms) their own durability and immovability.<sup>60</sup> Noall surveyed the land, made an agreement to have Kahuku mill the sugar grown in Lā'ie, and perhaps most controversially moved some of the Hawaiian Saints and their lo'i closer to the ocean and missionary compound. Having served a mission in 1885, he was conscious of the difficulties of making a plantation sustainable, let alone profitable.

At Laie, to create an economy sufficient to get along seemed for a while a near impossibility; yet it was imperative. . . . I saw little hope of reducing our expenses in . . . [regard to food]. Nor were there any people now at headquarters not essential to the projects being attempted. . . . Though we could save by discontinuing the mill, we needed the work of growing the crops, for this labor was the main avenue of support for the natives at Laie.<sup>61</sup>

The need to provide employment and make the plantation financially viable created a sort of logic or imperative that motivated Noall to de-emphasize the mill and to emphasize growing sugar. More difficult to assess are his motivations to survey the land. On the one hand, he wrote that he completed these surveys to diminish conflict over kalo land. Noall, whose first mission coincided with Farr's physical altercation over the harvesting of poi,

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<sup>60</sup>Merry, 259.

<sup>61</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 64-66.



came back wanting to minimize the conflict over kalo payments.<sup>62</sup> He decided that if he surveyed the land, he could charge a fee based on acreage rather than yield. He wrote:

I remembered the quibblings between the plantation of my first mission and the natives in regard to the rental price for their individual lots. This impelled me to seek a common basis on which a standard rental value could be placed. The lots at Laie were as varied in size and shape as the ordinary crazy patch quilt. It was plain that if the size of each lot was reduced to a certain fractional part of an acre, and then given a uniform rental price per acre, we might determine the proper assessment for each lot.

I was not a surveyor, but I had done considerable drafting and “laying out” in the building industry. I bought a contractor’s level on a tripod, and manufactured a protractor of more than ordinary size. With these instruments, and plenty of stakes, and with the help of a flag man, I laid out the whole field and reduced our findings to a scale drawn map that showed each lot, its shape, and area. Of course the whole measurement was crude; it made little pretense to exactness, but it was accepted by the natives. The Chinese of the area asked for a survey of their rented rice lands, which was also made, and thus, at least for our time in Hawaii, the disputes were ended.<sup>63</sup>

Kalo does not need to be harvested all at one time; it can be left in the lo’i for a time as a form of storage. This made it difficult to collect plantation taxes on it because it was harvested as needed. There was no simple mechanism set up to collect a tax on it when it was gathered. Noall attempted to overcome this difficulty in collecting rent by surveying the land and establish clear boundaries. With the land measured, it would be easier to charge an annual fee than to collect a portion of the harvest.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>Matthew Noall and Elizabeth De Ette Laker [Noall], “The Life and Missionary Journals of Matthew Noall, 1864-1950, and His Wife, Elizabeth De Ette Laker,” comp. Helen R. Gardner and Alice Gardner, 22 June 1886, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai’i, La’ie.

<sup>63</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 67-68.

<sup>64</sup>Stover, 79-80.

However, the survey allowed Noall not only to collect rent on kalo land but also to consolidate and expand sugar land by moving some of the Hawaiian Saints who did not own kuleana lands to a new village site near the missionary complex.<sup>65</sup> Jeffrey S. Stover described the situation in these terms.

Many of the maka`āinana of Lā`ie, who did not receive Land Commission Awards, continued to live and use the `āina despite not owning it. This situation led to an increased number of disputes when the plantation expanded its sugar cane cultivation or increased the number of acres leased for rice as Kanaka Maoli felt that the plantation was encroaching upon their `āina. A similar problem faced saints who gathered to Lā`ie, cultivated land, and erected houses only to have their houses moved and their cultivated lands ploughed under when the plantation expanded its operations.<sup>66</sup>

Thus Noall relocated the Hawaiian Saints who had gathered to Lā`ie and lived out among the rice, lo`i, and sugar fields in the valley behind the missionary compound to the grasslands between the sea and that valley. Stover noted that in 1892 Noall surveyed “town lots and rent[ed] them for the nominal fee of 25 cents a year. The creation of this

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<sup>65</sup>*The Cluff Family Journal* 1, 13 (June 10, 1902): 198, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie, gives an account of Benjamin Cluff settling in Lā`ie shortly after the missionaries bought Lā`ie. The journal gives one of the more explicit descriptions of settlement patterns: “The little village occupied by the twelve missionary families, with the large plantation house in the centre, is about three fourths of a mile from the sea, and on a low hill which rises higher further back, then ends in a broken mass of immense rocks and cliffs. Native houses dotted the plantation, but were most abundant above the plantation house, among the ‘calo’ patches.” This pattern of the missionaries living in a little village or enclave, with Native Hawaiians living behind the hill among the lo`i, continued through the 1880s. Elizabeth Noall, *Journal*, 21 January 1887, wrote of going on a long walk. Her description indicates that it is most likely behind the missionary compound. She wrote that she walked quite a distance and went “to some places where we did not seem very welcome.” While we do not know exactly what she means by not being welcome, it does indicate many of the Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie lived away from the missionary compound.

<sup>66</sup>Stover, 78.

village and the encouragement of the mission presidents led to the development of “old” Lā`ie which is the housing area makai [ocean] and Kahuku side of the L.D.S. Temple.”<sup>67</sup>

This process of expanding sugar and rice cultivation while at the same time consolidating lo`i near the expanding village continued and was intensified by Samuel Woolley. It appears that while Noall moved Hawaiian Saints who did not own kuleana lands to the new village site, Woolley focused on buying lo`i and exchanging plantation property for kuleana lands. Not only was there an impetus to expand, but the means to expand were put into place with the installation of a new Corlies engine and Riedler pump in 1898 and Kahuku’s willingness to send their work gangs over to labor on the Lā`ie plantation.<sup>68</sup> With the extra water and additional men to work in the fields, the plantation had the capacity to grow more sugar. Thus the need for more land.

Stover, who did his thesis on land privatization in the ahupua`a of Lā`ie from the Mahele until the Church stepped out of the plantation business in 1931, did extensive archival research comparing the Mahele awards and tax maps to give a detailed historical overview of when and how the land was exchanged. He noted:

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, through the operations of the Lā`ie Plantation, acquired interest in only four `āpana [pieces of land] between 1865 and 1895. Over the next thirty years, however, the plantation acquired interest in at least 122 `āpana. Two factors can be attributed to this increased acquisition of Lā`ie’s `āpana. First the Church implemented new policies which focused on getting out of debt. These policies meant a shift in focus for the Lā`ie Plantation from one centered on the Kanaka Maoli saints to one focussed on their well-being, but also on profits.

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<sup>67</sup>Stover, 79.

<sup>68</sup>Stover, 87; Woolley, Journal, 18 January 1896. On this date, Kahuku sent over one hundred men to work in the fields cutting cane and laying track.

The second factor affecting the increased acquisition of Lā`ie's `āpana was Samuel E. Woolley. Woolley had served a four year proselyting mission to Hawai`i in the 1880's. In 1895, he was called on a second mission to Hawai`i as the plantation manager, a position he would hold until 1921. Under his administration, the plantation doubled its acreage under cultivation.<sup>69</sup>

The focus on profit was part of the transition to a plantation center and suggests the increasing strength of the plantation logic. Stover's archival work indicated that generally the plantation obtained kuleana lands through legal means. However, he also noted that Woolley was at times disingenuous in his land dealings, using others to buy the land as if it was for themselves rather than for the plantation. Stover noted:

Woolley's journal also shows that he used some methods which although legal remain ethically questionable. For example, Woolley employed Joseph Kekuku to speak with Kanaka Maoli kuleana owners and purchased their lands from them. Once purchased, Kekuku turned the kuleana over to the Lā`ie Plantation whereupon he received a commission for his efforts.<sup>70</sup>

Woolley's succinct journals do not indicate what form of rhetoric he used to persuade Native Hawaiians to sell their kuleanas. Thus the question remains whether he used his authority as mission president to aid his efforts as plantation manager. It would not be surprising if he did. Certainly in the past, the blending of roles had been a characteristic and even an objective of intertwining the spiritual and material in the gathering place. On a Sunday in January of 1884, Partridge called the people to work in the mill with this appeal to their faith:

I said that in consequence of the Saints of Laie not helping with the work of the Plantation the foreign Elders were detained here to work instead of going out among

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<sup>69</sup>Stover, 85-86.

<sup>70</sup>Stover, 92.

the people and preaching the Gospel and if God was displeased with it and His work was neglected in that respect the fault lies with the native saints who do not come up and assist this relieving our hands to go forth and perform the labor we were sent here to do. I again announced that we would start the mill tomorrow, and those who were calculating to work should be on hand and they would have their work set off to them.<sup>71</sup>

The sheer number of land transactions after 1895 suggests a process of commercial agriculture moving across the land, similar to that described by MacLennan when plantation centers moved Native Hawaiians “from their own scattered homes onto the plantation and the watchful eye of managers.”<sup>72</sup>

However, there is an important distinction between Lā`ie Plantation and the plantation centers on the other islands. Kalo continued to be grown, albeit in a different location. In an oral history compiled by Clinton Kanahēle, Gus Kaleohano related that “Woolley would always encourage the people to farm, not to allow these lands to go to the weeds. ‘Here is the water, plenty of water, plant, plant taro, plant taro.’”<sup>73</sup> It is difficult to know if the water and encouragement offered by Woolley was provided to promote the gathering place as it had in the past, or if its function was to diminish plantation expenses by lessening the need of the plantation to pay higher wages or provide food. Whatever the reason, the plantation and gathering place encouraged the growing of kalo, including providing well water.

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<sup>71</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 13 January 1884. The next day fifty people turned out to work at the mill.

<sup>72</sup>MacLennan, “Plantation Centers,” 114.

<sup>73</sup>Gus Kaleohano, interview by Clinton Kanahēle, 7, in Clinton Kanahēle.

Not surprisingly, the people resisted their relocation. Jeff Stover located at least two lawsuits against the plantation during this period.<sup>74</sup> However, in light of the large number of land dealings made by Samuel Woolley, the amount of resistance seems quite low, and on occasions Kānaka Maoli even approached Woolley to exchange or sell land.<sup>75</sup> Stover suggested that “many of the kuleana land owners desired to move their agricultural activities from their mauka [inland] kuleana to a location closer to their homes.”<sup>76</sup>

Although it is speculative, I offer an alternative explanation to the minimal resistance and requests to exchange land. What I suggest is that the economic logic of the plantation structure narrowed the choices open to Kānaka Maoli. Perhaps by the time Noall and Woolley sought more land to expand sugar cultivation, the societal and physical infrastructures needed to maintain and water the lo`i was disappearing. Both droughts and relocation made it difficult for kalo lo`i to prosper. As the Hawaiian Saints who had gathered to Lā`ie were relocated, and then as kuleana owners also moved, the remaining kalo planters would find it difficult to maintain the irrigation infrastructures necessary to circulate the water around the kalo. Without a critical mass of kalo patches, it would be increasingly difficult to move the water from the springs and mountain runoff to kalo.

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<sup>74</sup>Stover, 80. The court cases were *Woodruff v. Kau*, Kingdom of Hawai`i, Supreme Court 2960, (1891) and *Kwai v. Woolley*, Territory of Hawai`i, Circuit Court 4888, (1902).

<sup>75</sup>Stover, 91.

<sup>76</sup>Stover, 90.

It is not unreasonable to speculate that the blight of 1887 made it impossible to grow kalo in some of the infected fields. A statement by Noall written to Salt Lake City in 1892 succinctly captures the confluence of sugar expansion and blight that alienated Kānaka Maoli from their kuleana in the 1890s: “It would be advisable to buy out all the Kuleanas we can. All land is now laying uncultivated the natives having left it because of disease that affects the kalo grown here.”<sup>77</sup> This, added to the fact that wells provided water at the relocated loʻi near the new village, meant that if Native Hawaiians wanted to grow kalo in Laʻie, they had little choice but to sell or exchange their land. It may be that by growing kalo in uncontaminated land, some Kānaka Maoli could stay and continue to grow kalo in Laʻie. If this was the case, then it made sense for Native Hawaiians to move their residences and loʻi.

### Labor

The need to expand in order to make a profit was a condition that motivated sugar planters to seek laborers from off the islands. The depopulation of Native Hawaiians made it difficult for plantations to obtain enough workers to work the new lands they opened up. Liu described this importation of laborers:

The search for additional labor led to the immigration of more than 150,000 people between 1876 and 1900. People came from various parts of the world, including Norway, Germany, Portugal, and the South Pacific, but the primary source of labor was East Asia. Nearly 140,000 of the arrivals were from either China or Japan. The large majority of these Asians were men who came as contract laborers,

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<sup>77</sup>Matthew Noall to the Brethren, 27 February 1892, Mission Administration; quoted in Stover, 77.

under either the auspices of the Hawaiian government or the sponsorship of private businesses.<sup>78</sup>

On sugar plantations, imported laborers increasingly worked in larger numbers than Hawaiian workers.

Between 1865 and 1915 island-wide records indicate that the proportion of Native Hawaiians working on Lā`ie Plantation was higher than the archipelago average (see Table 4). Lā`ie was 21 percent higher in 1872, 91 percent higher in 1892, 75 percent higher in 1898, and 30 percent higher in 1910. Despite these higher averages, by 1895 Lā`ie began to follow the trend of hiring immigrant workers.

It appears that the first Asian workers labored on Lā`ie Plantation in December of 1895 when Samuel Woolley contracted with some Chinese workers to strip cane.<sup>79</sup> This was a major change in plantation practice. Prior to this time only missionaries and Hawaiians worked on the plantation. Approximately twenty years after he arrived as plantation manager, Woolley described one of the critical moments of the plantation moving from a hybrid plantation to an industrial plantation center: it was the moment Woolley decided that the plantation should work towards making a profit. While earlier plantation managers sought to get out of debt, Woolley's account suggests a refocusing of goals. He said:

Bro. Noall said to me, "I am sorry for you". I asked why. He said, "It is useless to plant cane. These people here trust in you to get them work. Where is the work for them to do". I returned to the house sad and downcast. I had just come. I went to my room to pray to the Lord that He would show me what to do. . . . I went down to Kahuku, Waialua, Ewa and the Oahu Plantation, and asked them if they were making money from their cane. They all said yes, I returned and said to my companions, "Let

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<sup>78</sup>Liu, 125.

<sup>79</sup>Woolley, Journal, Dec. 23, 1895.



us try to plant cane. If others can make a profit, why can't we? The land is the same." But we had no water. I wrote to . . . [Salt Lake] and I told them there was not sufficient water and asked if they would permit me to drive some wells and build some pumps.<sup>80</sup>

Table 4: Ethnic Demographic Percentages for Hawaiian Islands and La`ie

Ethnicity	Islands	ie	Islands	ie	Islands	ie	Islands	ie
	1872	1872	1892	1892	1898	1898	1910	1910
Hawaiian/part-Hawaiian	79	100	8	99	5	80	3	33
Euro/American	-	-	2	-	2	4	4	7
Portuguese	-	-	12	-	7	-	9	1
Japanese	-	-	63	-	59	13	64	43
Chinese	16	-	13	-	25	3	6	8
South Sea Islanders	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
Korean	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	6
Filipino	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-
Others/Unknown	5	-	1	1	1	-	5	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	99

Hawaiian Immigration Society, *Report of the Secretary*, 19; Bureau of Immigration, *Report of the President, Bureau of Immigration to the Legislature of 1892* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Company, 1893), 28-31, in Board of Immigration Reports, 1878-99 (hereafter cited as Board of Immigration Reports), Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu; Bureau of Immigration, *Report of the Secretary of the Bureau of Immigration for the Year Period Ending Dec. 31, 1898* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1899), n.p., in Board of Immigration Reports, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu; *Fourth Report of the Commissioner of Labor Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Committee on Education and Labor, 1911), 23, Hawai'i State Archives, Honolulu; 1910 U.S. Census Laie village, Honolulu County, Hawaii, population schedule, Enumeration District 66, [stamped number] pp. 37-66, National Archives Micropublication T0624.

<sup>80</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, Minutes of regular annual conference of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 9 April 1916, 90-91, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

While this account by Woolley conflicts somewhat with Noall's more positive assessment of the possibilities of growing cane, both accounts point to investment in wells and expansion in cultivated land. The connection to ethnicity and employment is more subtle. However, in 1921 a newspaper account told how Woolley's policy had been to give Hawaiian workers preference to the jobs.<sup>81</sup> Thus Woolley's drive to make the plantation profitable led to a policy change from only hiring Hawaiians to giving Hawaiians first choice to the jobs. By doing this, Woolley was able to expand his work force and also increase his ability to negotiate with workers for longer work hours. Woolley's policy meant that at harvest time the plantation no longer faced labor shortages, making it more difficult for Native Hawaiians to negotiate for better working conditions. Thus Woolley's drive for profit dramatically altered the workforce on Lā`ie Plantation.

Initially, the number of Native Hawaiians working on the plantation went up as cultivation expanded. However, by 1910 immigrant workers outnumbered Native Hawaiians workers on Lā`ie Plantation. It was not just the proportion that changed. The actual numbers of Native Hawaiian workers also declined dramatically. Table 5 charts the numbers of Native Hawaiians working on Lā`ie Plantation. The demographic changes suggest that by 1910 increasing numbers of Native Hawaiian workers left plantation labor in Lā`ie and chose other means to support their families.

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<sup>81</sup>“Laie Colony Cited as Model for Islands,” *Deseret News*, 26 September 1921, in Jenson.

Table 5: Number of Hawaiians/Part Hawaiians Working on Lā`ie Plantation

	1872	1892	1898	1910
Hawaiians/ Part Hawaiians	60	75	97	28

Hawaiian Immigration Society, 19; Bureau of Immigration (1893), 28-31; Bureau of Immigration (1899), n.p.; 1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37-66.<sup>82</sup>

### Immigrant Labor

If there is a single moment that signifies the transition of Lā`ie from a hybrid plantation into part of an industrial plantation center, with Kahuku as the dominant plantation, it is the coming of Asian labor to the plantation. Shortly after Woolley hired Chinese workers, Lā`ie switched to the more common six-day work week. The community itself changed, as ethnic enclaves and camps connected themselves to the still-new Hawaiian village begun by Noall. All of these changes—the extended work week, immigrant workers, and consolidated, cultural enclaves—characterized industrial plantations around the islands.

Most Native Hawaiian plantation workers outside of Lā`ie had already faced the influx of immigrant workers on sugar plantations. In the 1870s, the government and

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<sup>82</sup>The numbers for 1910 are somewhat problematic. The statistics of workers on plantations during this period are territory-wide rather than by plantation. However, the Lā`ie numbers for 1910, 1920, and 1930 are based on the government censuses, which gave both ethnicity and employment. The 1910 census is not an ideal record for tallying up how many worked on Lā`ie Plantation. When the entry for employment is listed, one has to wonder if the sugar plantation noted was Kahuku or Lā`ie. In some cases, such as Keakaohawaii Kamauoha, the census lists her as a laborer on a sugar plantation. However, I did not include her as an employee of Lā`ie Plantation because her husband is listed as a farmer on a cane farm and as an employer. Thus in this case, I surmise that both Kamauohas worked on a family-owned sugar plantation. Despite its weaknesses, the censuses do reveal much that points to labor and work trends in Lā`ie. 1910 U.S. Census, Laie village, Honolulu County, Hawaii, population schedule, Enumeration District 66 [stamped number] p. 42 [A].

planters united to create an economy favorable to sugar interests. In an attempt to supply expanding labor needs and to hold down wages, planter interests brought in immigrant workers from many lands, particularly China and Japan.<sup>83</sup>

However, the policy in La`ie to hire only Native Hawaiians created an artificially high labor shortage on the plantation between 1865 and 1895. This labor shortage worked to the advantage of Kānaka Maoli in La`ie when they negotiated for wages instead of long-term contracts and successfully maintained a five-day work week. It is one of those times when it is clear that the metaphor of the gathering muted the logic of the plantation. That this advantage disappeared with the decision to hire Asian laborers is supported by a journal entry made by J. T. Giles on May 22, 1907: “All native men out on account of not being allowed to use time for 8 o’clock breakfast also long dinner hour. However plenty of Japs around for work.”<sup>84</sup> The efforts of Native Hawaiians to protect their breakfast and lunch time was made more difficult by the fact that the plantation found “plenty” of Japanese workers to take the Native Hawaiians’ places when they didn’t show up for work.

In 1892 at La`ie, all plantation workers, with the exception of missionaries, were Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian. By 1898 Native Hawaiians made up 80 percent of the workforce, 3 percent were Chinese, and 14 percent were Japanese. By comparison, throughout the Islands Native Hawaiians and part-Hawaiians made up only 5 percent of

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<sup>83</sup>Liu, 158; Beechert, *Working*, 92.

<sup>84</sup>John Thomas Giles, Diaries, 22 May 1907, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT.

plantation workers, 59 percent were Japanese, and 25 percent were Chinese. By 1910, Lā`ie's average Hawaiian and part-Hawaiian workforce was down to 33 percent, while the total Asian work force was up to 57 percent (See Appendix A). These numbers understate the number of Asian workers who labored in Lā`ie, because at harvest time Kahuku sometimes sent over as many as one hundred workers (many of them immigrants) to cut cane and move portable railroad tracks.<sup>85</sup> It is clear that by 1910, Lā`ie was no longer primarily a plantation of Hawaiian workers. While they still constituted a considerable portion of the workforce, Asian immigrants made up the majority. Lā`ie was looking more and more like other plantations around the islands.

It is no coincidence that the first indication of immigrant labor on the plantation is accompanied by a change in the status of Saturday work. On October 28, 1895, Samuel Woolley recorded: "The business of the plantation was turned over to me." As Noall returned home, Woolley quickly moved to align the plantation more closely to neighboring models. Within two months, he recorded that Native Hawaiian laborers worked on a Saturday: "I have had several watering today as there is a good stream in both Waialele and Koloa." Then on December 20, 1895, he noted in his journal: "Went to Kahuku to see about cane cutting. Did not come to any permanent agreement. Gave the Chinese contractor until Thursday to make us an answer."<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Woolley, Journal, See 18 January 1896, 19 August 1899, 13 September 1899, 20 February 1901, 21 February 1901.

<sup>86</sup>Woolley, Journal, 21 December 1895.

The link between immigrant labor and a six-day work week is captured in a January 18, 1896, entry by Woolley where he noted the coming of Chinese and Japanese workers from Kahuku to perform day labor on Lā`ie Plantation. Significantly, this entry also reflects the coordination of work that took place between Kahuku and Lā`ie. That such synchronization impacted Native Hawaiians is indicated in the journal entry: “I have been out to see how they were getting along cutting. We have all our men hoeing. They took out 40 cars of cane.”<sup>87</sup> On the following Monday, however, Woolley had “57 of our men cutting cane besides over a hundred from Kahuku.”<sup>88</sup> The following Saturday the pattern is the same. “Kahuku sent us 86 men. We put them on cutting and put our men hoeing.”<sup>89</sup>

While we do not have a record of how Kānaka Maoli first negotiated Saturdays off, Woolley’s journal entries give us a sense of the process of creating a six-day work week. First he brought in immigrant workers to work on Saturday. Then Woolley brought in Native Hawaiian workers to hoe while immigrant workers cut cane. By the end of 1897, Woolley was not only using Kahuku gangs but was hiring Japanese workers, who were willing to work on Saturdays.<sup>90</sup> Most interesting is Woolley bringing Native Hawaiians on the plantation on a harvest day to hoe instead of cutting cane. Since cutting

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<sup>87</sup>Woolley, Journal, 18 January 1896.

<sup>88</sup>Woolley, Journal, 8 January 1900.

<sup>89</sup>Woolley, Journal, 13 January 1900.

<sup>90</sup>Woolley, Journal, 29 November 1897 and 4 December 1897.

cane was one of the most arduous of tasks, it appears that the Kahuku crew, who were most likely Japanese or Chinese, were given that task. In March of that year, even though harvest was over, Woolley expected workers to show up on Saturdays: “We were out in the field early. Have two teams hauling fertilizer, some are stripping, some are cutting lantana, others watering, etc.”<sup>91</sup> There are many subsequent entries for Saturday work on the plantation, but no explicit evidence shows Native Hawaiian workers in the field until Saturday, 23 March 1901, when the journal entry states: “Our men finished palepale ana today.”<sup>92</sup> Within five years of Woolley’s taking over the plantation, Saturday work was a feature of plantation life in Lā`ie.

Native Hawaiians supervised immigrant work gangs in Lā`ie. On 22 January 1900 Woolley noted: “Kekauoha in charge, Kahiona is transferred to the Jap gang. David Kamauoha is over Kanaka gang. Eleakala is over the water of makai well. Kekuku and David Malo, as usual, over the two watering gangs.”<sup>93</sup> Not surprisingly, just as Hawaiians had earlier resisted the efforts of the missionaries to synchronize their work, the Japanese and Chinese workers resisted the supervising Native Hawaiians’ efforts. Woolley recorded two strikes. On December 23, 1899, Japanese workers in Lā`ie struck; and on July 15, 1900, Chinese workers went on strike. These strikes appear to be similar to a series of strikes across the islands in 1900. Many of the complaints recorded regarding the

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<sup>91</sup>Woolley, Journal, 31 March 1900.

<sup>92</sup>Woolley, Journal, 23 March 1901.

<sup>93</sup>Woolley, Journal, 22 January 1900.

Japanese strikes include complaints about brutal overseers, poor sanitation, unfair task work, and requests for Japanese overseers.<sup>94</sup> In at least one case in La`ie, the complaint was about overseers. Woolley noted on July 26, 1900:

The Chinamen are on a strike. We will not give in to them. We told them they would have to go to work or get out of the house. We could charge them \$2.00 per day for every day they remained if they did not go to work. They began to get their things out. They lugged some of their traps off but when I went out in the field about 4 PM, they wanted to know if they could go to work again. I told them if they did, they would have the same luna that we proposed to say who would look after the work. I told them further that if they did not work where and as we wanted them to, they could not work at all, so they concluded to go to work.<sup>95</sup>

Woolley used this same tactic of threatening expulsion in 1899 when a Japanese gang went on strike. He told them that “they would have to leave the land” if they didn’t go to work.<sup>96</sup> Beechert helps to put this threat of expulsion in context. He argued: “The job and a place in the plantation community had more importance than many observers have attached to such employment. For the worker, to be out of work was to court disaster. Unemployment is the ultimate worker disease.”<sup>97</sup>

Woolley’s entries regarding strikes reveals how the paternalism of plantations in providing housing and land could be used to the plantation’s advantage in labor

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<sup>94</sup>Beechert, *Working*, 121.

<sup>95</sup>Woolley, *Journal*, 26 July 1900.

<sup>96</sup>Woolley, *Journal*, 23 December 1899.

<sup>97</sup>Edward D. Beechert, “Patterns of Resistance and the Social Relations of Production in Hawaii,” in *Plantation Workers: Resistance and Accommodation*, ed. Brij V. Lal, Doug Munro, and Edward D. Beechert (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 1993), 46.



negotiations. Certainly, the inexpensive housing offered by the plantation provided Woolley with considerable leverage in breaking the strike. In 1901, Woolley had some housing built for Japanese workers.<sup>98</sup> Like many other plantation managers, Woolley exploited ethnic divisions to get more work out of the sugar workers. He noted in 1901 that the Japanese Kahuku laborers worked more slowly than the Native Hawaiians from Lā`ie, so he let the Hawaiian workers off at 3:30. Thus it appears that Woolley let Kānaka Maoli workers off to motivate the Japanese workers to work harder.

With the new workers, the landscape of the ahupua`a of Lā`ie altered. Not only were Hawaiians increasingly consolidated into a central village or Hawaiian camp, but increasingly Chinese, Portuguese, Koreans, and Japanese settled in Lā`ie. As Liu noted:

The relocation of workers into consolidated camps did not initially disrupt the racial and ethnic organization of production or cause the plantations to abandon their policy of divide and rule. As the plantations constructed new villages, they segregated each central camp into several distinct ethnic enclaves.<sup>99</sup>

By 1910, the most extensive non-Hawaiian community in Lā`ie was Japanese, with thirty-six Japanese field workers listed on the census and four skilled workers who manned the pumps.<sup>100</sup> The community was large enough and diversified enough to include a Japanese Camp manager, his wife who cooked, and Shikano Nitahara who both cooked and washed for the camp, a masseuse, a storekeeper, and numerous truck

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<sup>98</sup>Woolley, Journal, 14 May 1901.

<sup>99</sup>Liu, 177-78.

<sup>100</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 42 [A], 43 [B], 44 [A], 44 [B], 45 [A], 46 [A], and 46 [B].

farmers.<sup>101</sup> A Japanese School was built on land donated by the plantation and taught by Takakyu Matsuda.<sup>102</sup> Tom Nakayama, who was born in 1912, said in an oral interview that during the day he went to Lā`ie’s elementary school and afterwards attended the Japanese school. When Nakayama was approximately three or four years old, his father built a Shinto temple in Lā`ie.<sup>103</sup> Nakayama’s father, Totaro Nakayama, first came to work on the plantation, but by 1910 both his parents worked on a family truck farm.<sup>104</sup> Tom Nakayama gives two stories that reveal ways that the different groups intersected. His first account celebrates the unity of the community.

None whatsoever, none whatsoever. Even in school, during my school days nothing—no such thing as “You are a Shinto and I’m a Mormon,” no segregation of that sort. We all worked together, pitch in together and did our work together. . . . My father used to have a celebration twice a year, you know, the [Shinto] church have some celebration. So the whole Laie town used to come over and participate in the celebration. We used to have a sumo tournament and food and all sort of things going on.<sup>105</sup>

His second account suggests that despite ethnic camps, the children and teens interacted with one another. In answering who his friends were growing up, Nakayama answered:

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<sup>101</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 44 [A], 44 [B], 45 [A], 46 [A], 46 [B], and 47 [A].

<sup>102</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 38 [A].

<sup>103</sup>Thomas S. Nakayama, interview by Kenneth W. Baldrige, typescript, 6 May 1980, 2, transcript, Behavioral and Social Sciences Division Oral History Program, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie (hereafter cited as Social Sciences).

<sup>104</sup>Nakayama, 4, in Social Sciences; 1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 44 [A].

<sup>105</sup>Nakayama, 11-12, in Social Sciences.

We had Hawaiians; we really got together with Hawaiians and you know, New Year's party and all that we used to go together and get into brawls and everything. And the missionary boys and girls, we got together with them. And we used to play all over the place.<sup>106</sup>

Although not numerically as large as the Japanese, there was also a Chinese community in 1910. Only a few of these mostly middle-aged men were married. Seven men worked on the sugar plantation as laborers, one was a tailor, one was a merchant, one was a poi pounder, three were cooks, two grew rice, and one was a truck farmer.<sup>107</sup> Three Portuguese men and their families lived in Lā`ie—all of whom held skilled jobs.<sup>108</sup> Five Koreans worked on the Sugar Plantation.<sup>109</sup> Although proportionately Hawaiians worked in larger numbers on Lā`ie than on other plantations, the diversity of Lā`ie reflected sugar planters' efforts to bring cheap labor to the islands.

#### Women

Lā`ie was not just unusual in how many Native Hawaiian men worked on the plantation, but also was unusual in how many Native Hawaiian women labored in the sugar fields. Approximately five years after a mill was first built in Lā`ie, there is a record of ten Native Hawaiian women working on the plantation.

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<sup>106</sup>Nakayama, 12, in Social Sciences.

<sup>107</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 38 [A], 41 [A], 41 [B], 42 [B], and 43 [A].

<sup>108</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37 [B], 39 [A], and 41 [B].

<sup>109</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 42 [B], 43 [A], 45 [A].

Table 6: Native Hawaiian Workforce and Gender

Location	1872			1892			1898		
	Women	Men	Percentage of Women	Women	Men	Percentage of Women	Women	Men	Percentage of Women
Lā`ie	10	50	16	25	53	32	17	70	28
All Islands	364	2,627	12	32	1,685	2	30	1,585	2

Hawaiian Immigration Society, 19; Bureau of Immigration, (1893), 28-31; Bureau of Immigration, (1899), n.p.

While statistics indicate that Hawaiian women provided a sizable portion of the Lā`ie workforce, missionary journals tell us the tasks that they performed. In 1881 James Hamilton Gardner wrote that the women planted sugar cane.<sup>110</sup> Edward Partridge noted that the Native Hawaiian women from Lā`iemalo`o who were not members of the church asked for work when they learned that he paid cash. These women cut cane and Partridge recorded that they were good workers.<sup>111</sup> He also noted the Relief Society women, most likely adult women rather than children or teenagers, worked stripping cane.<sup>112</sup> Isaac Fox wrote an entry that teases us with the hints of work life, resistance, and interaction between men and women on the plantation. The ambiguity of this entry makes it difficult to know how much was flirtatious, playful, and/or resistance.

<sup>110</sup>James Hamilton Gardner, Daily Journal, 14 March 1881, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>111</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 8 March 1884, and 28 March 1884.

<sup>112</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 29 May, 1884.

Since Thursday every thing has been about so so with the exception of the women that cut cain. On Friday thay came to the mill and began throwing water and thay threw water on every body but \_\_\_\_\_ and thay would have wet me but I shut myself in the engin room and would not let them in. I had to throw dirty oil on some of them to keep them from breaking in.<sup>113</sup>

There are no journal entries of women driving carts or working in the mill. Thus women on the La`ie Plantation, as on other plantations, did unskilled labor.

Women received less pay than men until Matthew Noall came to work as mission president and plantation manager. He wrote:

As Konohiki of Laie I felt that some adjustment in the wages of workers should be made. There were two gangs of employees on our plantation, one of men, whose wage was fifty cents per day per man, and one gang of women, whose wage was forty cents per day per woman. I announced that thereafter efficiency and not sex would be the governing point as to which gang a worker might join, which was the first instance in my knowledge when a woman's wage, for the same labor, was made to equal that of a man.<sup>114</sup>

It appears that Noall attempted to motivate the laborers to work harder by changing the rate of pay from a daily basis to piecework. It is not clear from his autobiography how this mixing of men and women worked out and whether in fact women received more pay than formerly.

Approximately seven years later, missionary Ellen Cole wrote of the women going on strike: "The women who have been to work are on a strike so there are not so many workers as usual."<sup>115</sup> Cole knew of this strike because she was the wife of the luna

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<sup>113</sup>Isaac Fox, Journal, 14 June 1885, 47, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, La`ie.

<sup>114</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *Children*, 66-67.

<sup>115</sup>Ellen Elizabeth Chase Cole, Journals, 4 January 1899, Historical Department of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City.

who supervised the women. Surprisingly, hers is the only entry on this strike. Samuel Woolley, who was out riding in the fields that day, makes no mention of this strike. Woolley made entries about strikes by Japanese and Chinese workers. Why didn't he mention this strike? Was he unconcerned about the women striking because of his access to immigrant laborers in Lā`ie and Kahuku? Did the drive towards efficiency that Noall and Woolley attempted to implement lead to this strike? It is also noteworthy that in 1897 of the 30 Native Hawaiian women working on sugar plantations on the Islands, 17 of them worked on the Lā`ie Plantation. Obviously, Native Hawaiian women across the islands had left or were leaving plantations. Thus this strike in 1899 may be a precursor to the exit of Lā`ie women from the sugar fields.

By 1910 only four Native Hawaiian women worked on Lā`ie Plantation. These women included Eliza Shimonishsi. She and her Japanese-born husband boarded with her brother, and both worked on the sugar plantation.<sup>116</sup> Awana Waa was married to Waa, Jr., and he worked as a road laborer. It was her second marriage. She also took in a boarder.<sup>117</sup> Noa Kaiu was a 63-year-old widow who worked as a laborer on the plantation. She had three boarders.<sup>118</sup> Finally, there was Lahapa Keanu. While 68-year old Lahapa worked in the sugar fields, her husband Ioanae Keanu grew kalo.<sup>119</sup> That three of the four women either boarded or took in boarders suggests somewhat straitened circumstances. The

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<sup>116</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 42 [A].

<sup>117</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 42 [B].

<sup>118</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 44 [A].

<sup>119</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 39 [A].

Keanus were in their late sixties and growing kalo. Perhaps they continued to practice the strategies of the 1880s of combining kalo and sugar production.

The Keanus raise the issue of how families worked together to create a desirable life. Kalo still played a huge role in the community. While we do not know when women moved into what had traditionally been men's work, the 1910 census suggests that they were integral to kalo's production by that time. Three women listed as the head of their families grew kalo, and three other women helped grow kalo on family farms. However, it appears that kalo was not just grown commercially but was still grown by families for their own use. Ruby Enos, who was born in Lā`ie on November 27, 1904, told how kalo was still integral to community life and, at least in her family, was grown by women and children.

When a girl, my father worked on the plantation. And we had our own taro patches. Everyone, I'll tell you, in the country had their own patches. We used to go with our mother up field and work in the taro patch. And the taro patch was so tall that we can't find anyone when you go in the taro patches. It was quite deep. But it was, oh, it was luscious. The taro was just big and you pulled. Two heaps of taro was enough for the family to cook one meal, two meals, pound in poi, you know. And it was really a good life we had there.<sup>120</sup>

It was not just the Native Hawaiian women who left their jobs in the sugar cane fields. By 1910 most of their husbands left also, leaving the work to their adolescents, Japanese workers, and Chinese work gangs.

### Generations

By 1910 plantation statistics in Lā`ie more closely resemble demographics throughout the islands. By the first decade of the new century, Japanese represented 64 percent of the

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<sup>120</sup>Ruby Enos, interview, 20 October 1982, transcript, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

islands' plantation workforce, with Native Hawaiians working on the plantations down to a very small 3 percent. The Lā`ie workforce followed that trend if not the exact trajectory. Japanese represented 43 percent, and Kanaka Maoli represented 33 percent of Lā`ie's sugar workers. This was a change from the 1898 Lā`ie numbers of 13 percent Japanese, 3 percent Chinese, and 80 percent Hawaiian. While 33 percent Hawaiian workers for 1910 is significantly higher than the archipelago average, the 47 percent decline is indicative of changes that had taken place in Lā`ie (see Appendix A).

If we follow the number trail more closely, we discover that by 1910 the majority of the Native Hawaiian sugar field workers on Lā`ie plantation were young. The average age for unskilled labor was twenty-six and the average age for the skilled and supervisory jobs of Hawaiian men on the plantation was forty-three. Particularly noteworthy is that exactly half of the unskilled Hawaiian sugar field workers listed on the census were twenty or younger.

Table 7: Age Distribution of Male Hawaiian and Part-Hawaiian Plantation Workers in 1910

Ages	Number
10-20	12
21-30	3
31-40	2
41-50	3
51-60	2
61-70	1
71-80	1

1910, U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37-66.



This suggests that sugar work was increasingly an entry level or temporary job for young Native Hawaiian men in Lā'ie. The census suggests that these young men worked in the fields part time or seasonally. In a certain respect, these numbers are understated. They do not include the children that worked during the summer on the plantation. Viola Kawahigashi was born in 1910 and was the granddaughter of Kekuku, the tax collector. She told how children, both female and male, worked on the plantation:

Well, all the children in Laie, I guess at the age of six, were encouraged to begin working the cane fields so that's when I started, up till I was 15 years of age. I remember getting up about 4:30 in the morning and getting my lunch ready—which consisted of poi and fish—then I walked over to the Laie Plantation Store and that's where all of us youngsters congregated and waited for Brother Edie Forsythe who was our luna—or foreman and then, say about 5:15, I guess, we started walking to the fields where we were supposed to be working for that day, for that week or for that month. . . . So the 6:00 whistle blew which meant it was time for us to work, so we hoed the furrows of weeds or we planted the sugar cane seedlings or we watered them, were the kinds of work we young children did. Now the wages that I earned, per day, from the time I was six to fifteen, began with 25 cents a day to I guess it was 75 cents a day. [We worked] from six to seven o'clock when we had a half-hour break to have our breakfast so we ate our poi and fish and then we resumed working, say at 7:30 until 11:00 when we had our lunch for half-hour also. And then we resumed working at 11:30 until 3:00. Now that was the schedule for each work day.<sup>121</sup>

When Kawahigashi was asked whether adults worked on the plantation, she answered:

Well, they had the adults who also worked but the adults were more the Filipinos and Japanese who had to be recruited because, like Grandfather said, when Laie was organized in 1865 the Church felt it was necessary to have some kind of industry for the members of the Church so it was decided to raise sugar cane. And so Grandfather said he worked for a little while from six to six for 50 cents a day and then one day he thought to himself, “Why should I be working in the hot sun and for 50 cents a day; I may as well resume my fishing, my gardening, and take care of my family that way.” And of course, he was employed as a tax assessor soon after that and so Grandfather left the plantation and likewise the other fathers and brothers left

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<sup>121</sup>Viola Kawahigashi, interviewed by Kenneth W. Baldrige, 7 June 1978, 5, in Social Sciences.

the plantation so it was necessary for the plantation to take in the Japanese and Filipinos and Puerto Ricans and a few Spaniards to work on the plantation.<sup>122</sup>

Evidently, young Native Hawaiian men worked in the sugar fields for 50 cents a day; but when they were older, they looked for other jobs. They could aspire to supervisory and skilled jobs on the plantation, like John Parker, the foreman, or obtain the skilled jobs held by teamster, John Kaio, or carpenter, Kuailipoilani Kekauoha.<sup>123</sup> However, the plantation offered proportionately few of those skilled jobs, so most likely the young men looked for openings on the government road crew. Some men and women chose to concentrate on growing kalo, often with the help of their families. Nine heads of households listed kalo farmer as their occupation, three of which were women.<sup>124</sup>

However, Kawahigashi's narrative is not just about job options; it is also about intensification of work on La'ie Plantation. The reason her grandfather, Kekuku, felt like he had to make a choice between plantation work and fishing and gardening is because the work hours on the plantation became less flexible.<sup>125</sup> The sporadic work of the 1880s allowed plantation workers to fish, grow kalo, and earn cash in the sugar fields. However, in the 1890s and 1900s Woolley's journal indicates that work crews labored year round on

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<sup>122</sup>Kawahigashi, 6, in Social Sciences.

<sup>123</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, 37 [B], 39 [A], and 41 [A]. Parker was part-Hawaiian. However, other Native Hawaiians also worked as supervisors. See Woolley, Journal, 22 January 1900 and 21 April 1900.

<sup>124</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37 [A], 38 [A], 42 [A], 46 [A], and 47 [A].

<sup>125</sup>This was particularly the case for Kekuku, who worked for a while as luna supervising the workers. See Woolley, Journal, 22 January 1900, 4 August 1900.

the plantation. A few representative entries convey a sense of how the act of increased production expanded the need for labor.

Saturday, April 28th, 1900 We are running two plows at Laiemaloo, a gang getting out rock and two gangs hoeing, and one fertilizing.

Wednesday, May 2nd, 1900 Have full force on the reservoir. Everything is about as usual. We are putting some fertilizer on some of [field] No. 1 to see how it will work on our land.

Saturday, June 2nd, 1900 I have been out in the field, as usual. Everything is going about as usual.<sup>126</sup>

It was not until the 1890s that fertilizer became a regular feature of Lā`ie Plantation, which meant a new responsibility for workers. The work of clearing rock and working on the reservoir signifies the plantation's expansion and its correlating need for more labor.

The most noticeable contrast to the 1880s, though, is that Saturday work had become expected. To use Woolley's word, it had become "usual." While the tasks of plowing and hoeing appeared in the early missionary journals, Woolley's journal was the first to record Saturday work. In 1882 Partridge tried to get Native Hawaiians to work just one Saturday to finish milling for the season. He was unsuccessful.<sup>127</sup> However, Woolley's journal shows that Saturday work in the 1890s and 1900s was not an occasional or seasonal request for Saturday work but an overall expansion of regular or "usual" work imposed on Saturdays. The evidence once again suggests that Kānaka Maoli men chose not to work regularly at Saturday plantation work. Two entries speak to the process of negotiation.

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<sup>126</sup>Woolley, Journal, 28 April 1900, 2 May 1900; 2 June 1900.

<sup>127</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 12 December 1882.

Sat., June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1900 I was out in the field most of the forenoon. Gave some men ukupau (piece labor) on some work.

Fri., Aug 4<sup>th</sup>, 1900 We were out in the field. Found quite a nice stream of water coming down Koloa and some down Wialele. There are only a few of Kekuku's men out today.<sup>128</sup>

Woolley used uku pau or piecework for June's Saturday work. Most likely it was easier to get Native Hawaiian men to agree to working by task than by the hour. If they got their work done early, Native Hawaiian men could then turn to their preferred Saturday endeavors. Even with this strategy, by August only a few showed up for Saturday work.

Perhaps the reason so many adult men left field work in the first decade of the twentieth century was that, at the same time they were frustrated by the long hours and Saturday work, a new employment option opened up. The majority of adult men in La'ie in 1910 did road work. It is difficult to ascertain how much of this work, if any, was done on Saturdays. In 1910, thirty Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian heads of families did road work, with twenty-one family members and boarders also working on road crews. The average age for those working on the roads was 35, with the oldest being 65 and the youngest being 15 (see Appendix C).<sup>129</sup>

The movement of adult men to road work suggests that it was seen as more desirable employment. Perhaps it gave enough flexibility to continue fishing and gardening, or perhaps it paid more. Ironically, part of what opened up the option of road work was the expansion of sugar fields. Although the census did not designate road work

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<sup>128</sup>Woolley, Journal, 9 June 1900, 3 August 1900.

<sup>129</sup>1910 "Census, Laie, pp. 37-66.

as plantation work, it most certainly was a part of creating an industrial plantation landscape and infrastructure. In 1900, Woolley recorded that Lā`ie Plantation and Kahuku planned to turn the maintenance of the roads over to the Road Board in April of 1901.<sup>130</sup>

That the road board was sympathetic to plantation interests is suggested by this entry:

I had Bro. Cole go with the Road board and see where they wished to make a new road down to the Laniloa pasture. They have agreed to change it makai. We are glad of it as it will give us more land to rent to Dom Liu and will make a better road also.<sup>131</sup>

Looking out for their interests, both Kahuku and Lā`ie managers sat on the board:

Had a call from Mr. Adams, Manager of Kahuku Plantation. He came to see me on road matters. He is Chairman. I am 1<sup>st</sup> Assistant and Geo. Kamaka 2<sup>nd</sup> Assistant. We three now form the Road Board for Koolauloa.<sup>132</sup>

Woolley and Adams, the Kahuku plantation manager, together coordinated what road work would be done and where. These roads made it possible for the plantations to expand their sugar acreage as they carved roads into mountain valleys and along the sea. Thus while the census does not list the road work as plantation work, it is clear that it was very much connected to the interests of the plantation. That road work was integrated into plantation work is suggested by this entry: “I was out in the field to see how things were getting on. Found all busy. Some are watering, some hoeing, some working on the road, etc..”<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup>Woolley, Journal, 27 October 1900.

<sup>131</sup>Woolley, Journal, 15 February 1901.

<sup>132</sup>Woolley, Journal, 14 January 1902.

<sup>133</sup>Woolley, Journal, 13 September 1901.

It appears that with the expansion of Saturday labor on the plantation and the opportunity to work on the road crew, Native Hawaiian men left the sugar fields. What is unclear is if they continued to work the kalo fields or if that was increasingly left to women and children.<sup>134</sup>

### Dependency

Creating a plantation center with Kahuku Plantation meant that Lā`ie Plantation could survive as a small plantation when most enterprises its size folded. However, the price Lā`ie Plantation paid for survival was dependency on Kahuku. This dependency is revealed in Woolley's relationship with Mr. Adams, the manager of Kahuku Plantation.<sup>135</sup> Although the agencies and plantations were organized separately for political and tax purposes, "between 1900 and 1920, the division of ownership between the plantation and agency all but disappeared."<sup>136</sup> Although Lā`ie's agent, Waterhouse, occasionally inserted themselves into decisions, they had little day-to-day say on the plantation. Part of the reason for this was that Waterhouse was one of the smallest and least influential of the agencies on the islands.<sup>137</sup> Another reason is that ultimately major decisions about the plantation

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<sup>134</sup>Ruby Enos, 20 October 1982.

<sup>135</sup>MacLennan, "Plantation Centers," 119-121.

<sup>136</sup>See Carol MacLennan, "Plantation Capitalism and Social Policy in Hawaii" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 106.

<sup>137</sup>MacLennan, "Social Policy," 105. MacLennan noted that "Waterhouse and Co. . . . either remained fiscal agents or began exerting control over plantations too late to compete with the expanding scale of production generated by the larger firms."

were generally made in Salt Lake City.<sup>138</sup> While Woolley bought supplies from Waterhouse and continued to use them as a bank, by the first decade of the twentieth century the agency had little control over Lā`ie.

However, when Lā`ie and Kahuku jointly created a plantation center, they became part of the industry-wide trend. They were exceptional in that ownership of the plantation was still held separately, but Woolley's journal reveals that, in fact, Kahuku had a great deal of control in the day-to-day decisions of running the plantation. In many ways they operated as a unit. Kahuku's managers, Baldwin and then Adams, synchronized work between the plantations in much the same way that Partridge attempted to synchronize Native Hawaiian labor in the 1880s. Although Kahuku and Lā`ie hired different workers, they often shared work gangs, sending them to the plantation where they were most needed, particularly during harvest time.<sup>139</sup> The two plantations coordinated road work.<sup>140</sup> When Lā`ie's pump broke down, Kahuku provided engineers to offer advice and took the

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<sup>138</sup>T. D. Webb, "Profit and Prophecy: The Polynesian Cultural Center and Lā`ie's Recurrent Colonialism" *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 27 (1993): 127-133. Although Lā`ie had little infusion of capital from Utah and although Lā`ie's sugar was only briefly sent to Salt Lake in its first couple of years, Webb's argument is that the dependency model applies because Utah used the plantation to finance missionary work on the islands, because power was held primarily in the hands of Utah and missionaries serving on the islands, and because title to the land was held by the Church.

<sup>139</sup>Woolley, Journal, 24 May 1902, 18 May 1903, 23 May 1903, and 8 July 1903.

<sup>140</sup>Woolley, Journal, 21 January 1896, 27 October 1900, 27 January 1902, and 28 February 1902.

part in for repair.<sup>141</sup> The two plantations shared cane seed for planting.<sup>142</sup> When there was a lime shortage on the island, Kahuku manager Adams came to Lā`ie for assistance.

Woolley wrote:

We talked over the lime situation, as there is a lime famine in Honolulu and many of the Plantations are having to shut down on account of it. So we had decided to burn some, as our Bro. Giles is a lime burner by trade. But while we were talking he recd a telephone that he could get all he needed from Waipahu. But we decided to let it go for the present. And make the test a little later on. And they will bear half the expense of the test.”<sup>143</sup>

All of these shared activities allowed Kahuku to gain greater control in getting the cane to the mill with the highest sucrose content possible. It also allowed Kahuku to maximize the use of their mill, making it more cost efficient. This was to Kahuku’s advantage. Liu noted the advantages of consolidation:

[It] allowed for better quality control over the sucrose content of the harvested sugar. When milling and cultivating were two separate activities, millers relied on each planter’s judgement to decide on the best time to harvest the crop. In a combined operation, the mill was responsible for measuring the sucrose of the cane and determining the optimal time for harvesting the crop. Third, by staggering the cultivation of the field so that crops ripened during different parts of the year, the mill reduced the risks of shutting down because of inadequate supplies.<sup>144</sup>

On the other hand, Lā`ie was too small to run its own mill and needed Kahuku more than Kahuku needed Lā`ie. The proportion of these mutual needs was asymmetrical, giving Kahuku an advantage.

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<sup>141</sup>Woolley, Journal, 15 May 1902.

<sup>142</sup>Woolley, Journal, 17 May 1904.

<sup>143</sup>Woolley, Journal, 25 April 1907.

<sup>144</sup>Liu, 175-76.



Such unevenness is reflected in the relationship between Woolley and Adams. Woolley rarely recorded trips to Kahuku to view their operations unless it was to seek expertise. However, Adams frequently rode over to Lā`ie to “chat” and synchronize labor. One Woolley journal entry noted: “Mr. Adams came over and chatted to me a while on Plantation work.”<sup>145</sup> We do not want to give undue weight to the “chatted to” that Woolley used instead of an expected “chatted with.” However, it does suggest the uneven power relations inherent in the relationship. One entry that also illuminates the power disparity was written in 1907, over ten years after the first contract was signed. Woolley wrote: “Mr Adams came over and we discussed Plantation work all forenoon. They seem to be seeking our patronage now. made me an offer to grind the cane.”<sup>146</sup> The “now” suggests that in most exchanges, Kahuku was in the power position. Adams not only synchronized in Woolley’s office, he also rode around the Lā`ie ahupua`a and fields coordinating activities with Woolley. Woolley made this 1907 entry: “I have been out in the field again looking over a road to get to No 8, with Mr. Adams and his head luna, and looking over some other matters.”<sup>147</sup> Even where the labor gangs should work was at times decided by Kahuku: “I went out in the field early with Mr. Adams to see about cutting cane we agreed to take all the men we could spare to cut cane so they could keep

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<sup>145</sup>Woolley, Journal, 3 August 1905.

<sup>146</sup>Woolley, Journal, 1 February 1907.

<sup>147</sup>Woolley, Journal, 13 February 1907.

the mill going.”<sup>148</sup> Pay for the workers was also influenced by Kahuku. On February 2,

1901, Woolley wrote:

Baldwin, Manager of Kahuku, came over and said the Chinamen were afraid to come over to cut cane at 23 cent so I told them I would give them 25 cent for cane stripped early and 23 cents for cane unstripped and would let Mr. Baldwin say what we should pay 23 cent for and what we should pay 25 cent for. The contractor was willing for that.<sup>149</sup>

These Chinese laborers who resided in and worked at Kahuku would only agree to work at a rate agreed upon by Kahuku.

Lā`ie was not completely dominated by Kahuku. Woolley also had to answer to Salt Lake City. When Kahuku asked if they could cultivate some of the mountain lands, the First Presidency denied that request.<sup>150</sup> However, when decisions had to be made regarding when to plant, where to plant, where to fertilize, or where to put roads, Kahuku’s voice dominated. This assymetrial relationship was reflected in Lā`ie’s lessened ability to control even its own landscape, which is suggested by the following entry in September of 1910:

Mr Adams come over and we came to some agreement about this years grinding He agreed to begin on our No 4 first then take of about 34 acres of this early cane then take off our Six. And the other fields as fast as they were ready. I had a long chat with him and we looked over the road they may want to change it again down in the pasture. I told him it would be all right so long as they made us a good road and a good fence then I want them to plant some trees on either side.

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<sup>148</sup>Woolley, Journal, 15 April 1907.

<sup>149</sup>Woolley, Journal, 2 February 1901.

<sup>150</sup>Woolley, Journal, 31 October 1904; February 1905 (there is no calendar date given; however, this entry appears on p. 202 of the typescript).

## Conclusion

Of the plantations begun on O`ahu in the mid-nineteenth century, only La`ie Plantation survived into the twentieth century. The fact that the plantation was begun in the 1860s, approximately two decades after sugar plantation centers on Maui, Kaua`i, and Hawai`i developed meant that a service infrastructure already existed to help get the plantation through the difficult decades before the Reciprocity Treaty. By connecting up with Waterhouse, the plantation was able to get funding, write checks, get supplies for store, and secure a middleman to sell their product.

The location of La`ie helped the plantation persist until 1931. It was on the Windward Side of the island, so for many years it received enough rainfall to grow sugar before the drilling of wells. There was enough land to diversify crops and increase cash flow. In the 1870s and 1880s, the foothills and mountains provided space for the commercial growing of `awa. Beginning in the 1880s, land leased to Chinese for growing rice provided cash for the leases and periodic sub-contracted employment for villagers. With the success of wells, La`ie transformed dry land into rice and sugar cane fields.

La`ie's relatively small operations initially worked in favor of the plantation and gathering place. Native Hawaiians preferred wage labor to contracts. Until the 1890s La`ie's acreage was so limited that labor needs were sporadic. Thus wage or day labor was preferred by both the plantation and the laborers. Part of what made La`ie unique was that in the 1880s, when other expanding plantations turned to imported laborers, La`ie continued to hire only Native Hawaiians.

However, in the 1890s, the decision was made to send the harvested cane to Kahuku to mill. It was an acknowledgment that the Lā`ie Plantation's small size made it difficult to compete with the other plantations on the islands or in the global market. To Noall, the crux of the decision was whether to continue to offer employment to the Native Hawaiians who had gathered to Lā`ie. The means to achieving this goal was to mill Lā`ie's cut cane at the newly opened Kahuku Plantation. The expansion of sugar cane transformed the land. By the turn of the century it was Kahuku Sugar Mill that dominated the landscape, with sugar increasingly spread throughout the arable land of the ahupua`a.

Ironically, Lā`ie's susceptibility to drought between 1868 and approximately 1895 meant that while it was often too wet or too dry, that very liminality allowed it to persist. The wet years allowed the plantation to survive until wells could be drilled. As Lā`ie added wells, the plantation was able to expand sugar production to drier parts of the ahupua`a. Kahuku Plantation was created after the technology for drilling wells was imported to the islands. Being at the tip of the Windward Side of the island meant that it was economically feasible for Lā`ie to ship cane to the more arid Kahuku Plantation. This close proximity also meant that it was physically feasible for Kahuku to synchronize the plantation work done at Lā`ie. Thus, another irony is that, by the missionaries' choice to make a profit helped set a course that led to the plantation becoming dependent upon Kahuku. Finally, when Noall decided that the best way to continue to provide employment for Native Hawaiians was by milling Lā`ie's cane at Kahuku, he helped set in motion the creation of an industrial plantation center. This move towards industrialization was intensified by Woolley, who suggested that his drive to make the

plantation profitable was to provide more employment and make the community more prosperous. Ironically, that process intensified the work week so greatly that employment in the sugar fields was no longer acceptable to Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie. Instead, many of them found employment doing road work. And the gathering place, which had been designed to be a Hawaiian community for Native Hawaiian Saints, was expanded by the labor needs of the industrial plantation center to include immigrant workers.

CHAPTER SIX  
THE METAPHORS OF GATHERING: THEIR COORDINATION  
AND CONFLICT, 1915-1931

On April 9, 1916, one of the oldest members of the church in Lā`ie, Elder L. B. Nainoa, spoke in one of the annual church conferences. During four days of meetings, Mormons from Lā`ie and other islands consumed 1,930 pounds of beef provided by the plantation, 198 bags of kalo provided by Native Hawaiians from Lā`ie, and fish provided by the Logan family.<sup>1</sup> This generosity of sharing the waiwai of the ahupua`a with visitors was typical of such conferences. What makes the 1916 conference particularly significant was the announcement made the previous year by the prophet Joseph F. Smith that the first Mormon temple outside North America would be built in Lā`ie. Much of the 1916 conference focused on this announcement. Nainoa's was one such talk. He stated:

I perhaps am the only old pioneer left here at Laie. I came here with my wife in 1865. In those days we planted cane. I have lived here ever since. We should all be patient and continue in the works of righteousness, because we are not all righteous. We have prayed for a long time that the Lord would help us to go to Zion [Utah], and now we have the temple brought to our own land. Let us work day and night. You from the other islands come here and help us.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joseph Kekuku, 9 April 1916, 125, Minutes of regular annual conference of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, Historical Department of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City; Samuel Woolley, regular annual, 9 April 1916, 133.

<sup>2</sup>L. B. Nainoa, regular annual, 6 April 1916, 33.

Examining Nainoa's speech is important because it was one of the few instances when a Hawaiian viewpoint on the gathering was recorded. Nonetheless, it is impossible to know how representative his talk was. Nainoa was one of the faithful. He went on a proselyting mission in 1884 to the island of Hawai'i and worked many years as one of the supervisory leaders in the Lā'ie Sunday School.<sup>3</sup> What about other Native Hawaiians in Lā'ie? How did they conceive of the metaphor of gathering? In 1889, some residents of Lā'ie and Kahana moved to Iosepa. Some Hawaiians had previously gathered in Salt Lake City and encountered prejudice there. The church decided to create a colony in the desert ranch lands near Tooele. Iosepa was modeled very much in the paternalistic pattern of Lā'ie, even being staffed by some of the missionaries who had served in Lā'ie.<sup>4</sup> Such movement to Utah suggests that to some Native Hawaiians the ideal of gathering to Zion was compelling.<sup>5</sup> It is also easy to surmise that many of those who gathered to rural Lā'ie and devoted much energy to growing kalo held tightly to the idea that the land of Lā'ie was also a legitimate gathering place. Nainoa's narrative hints at the diversity and complexity that made up the metaphor of gathering. In fact, it was not a metaphor with a meaning, but metaphors representing many understandings of what gathering meant.

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<sup>3</sup>Andrew Jenson, comp., "History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," (photocopy), 6 October 1884, 8 May 1887, 6 April 1891, 6 October 1892, and 8 April 1894, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, Lā'ie.

<sup>4</sup>R. Lanier Britsch, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawaii* (Lā'ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1989; reprint, Lā'ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 1998), 123.

<sup>5</sup>Dennis H. Atkin, "A History of Iosepa, The Utah Polynesian Colony" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958), 2. Atkin argued: "The citizens of Iosepa came to Utah to join in the great gathering movement carried on by the Church during the first few decades of its existence." See also Britsch, *Moramona*, 123-26.

It is important to note that while the records regarding Native Hawaiian views on the gathering are limited, two missionary documents record Native Hawaiian references to Lā`ie as the gathering place. These rare records give us verbatim Native Hawaiian voices at times of coordination rather than conflict. Minutes exist from a series of inter-island conferences from the 1880s and even more detailed minutes from 1915 and 1916. These records clearly privilege those Native Hawaiian voices that coordinated or worked with the missionaries' own view of the gathering. However, because the clerks of the conference sometimes attempted to record accurately the words spoken, these narratives contain shards of evidence suggesting that the construction of the metaphors of gathering by Native Hawaiians and foreign missionaries was rooted in their respective cultures. These different metaphors did more than coordinate common ground; they also helped to shape the discourse of conflict.

It is also possible to examine changes in the missionary metaphors of the gathering. Surviving records suggest that, at the turn of the century, the metaphor of gathering began to alter in Utah. Those changes meant that the idea of gathering began to lose its power to mitigate economic systems. The metaphor transitioned from the hope for a collective and centralized Zion to a more individualistic and locally-grown church. Consequently, the emphasis on bringing converts to Utah declined.

Members in Lā`ie embraced some of these changes eagerly. For example, the decision to build a temple in Lā`ie was part of this decentralizing effort, and it was greeted with enthusiasm. However, the building of the temple also signified a local reframing of the metaphor by the foreign missionaries. As with the Utah metaphor of gathering, the missionaries began to let go of the ideal of a spatially-designated gathering



place in Hawai`i. When their emphasis on Lā`ie as a place to gather diminished, the missionary need to keep the ahupua`a intact also declined. In 1927 the plantation sold off beachfront property to pay off plantation debts. Selling part of the ahupua`a and the accompanying resistance to that sale illuminated the growing gulf between the metaphors of gathering held by Native Hawaiians and missionaries. This chapter explores how the metaphors of gathering revealed themselves, both in times of coordination and times of conflict between 1915 and 1931.

#### Native Hawaiian Metaphors of the Gathering Place and the Land

In the 1850s Mormon missionaries urged Native Hawaiians to gather to Lāna`i. However, shortly after the Mormon missionaries left for Utah because of the Mormon War, Walter Murray Gibson began to shape the gathering place for his own personal ambitions and land acquisition. After Kānaka Maoli wrote to Salt Lake questioning some of Gibson's actions, missionaries returned and excommunicated Gibson. Rather than attempting to legally regain the land in Lāna`i that Gibson had gained title to, Lā`ie was chosen by the missionaries as a new gathering place.<sup>6</sup> Since only a portion of Mormon converts gathered to Lā`ie in 1865 and afterwards, it stands to reason that many of those who moved there appropriated the concept of gathering and infused it with their own meaning.

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<sup>6</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 55-58.

The records from the 1880s suggest that part of this cultural appropriation was the linking of the `āina to the metaphor of gathering.<sup>7</sup> The connection of land with gathering is revealed in two sources. Minutes of semi-annual conferences held in Lā`ie include talks by Native Hawaiians who urged their contemporaries to gather to the ahupua`a. Secondly, two court cases in the 1920s regarding land practices and the construction of authority challenged the paternalism of the missionary metaphor of the gathering. It is not argued here that these records represent all the Native Hawaiians living in Lā`ie but rather that they give us glimpses into some of the metaphors.

#### Conferences

In the mid-1880s a few foreign missionaries and one Native Hawaiian kept minutes of the inter-island conferences held in Lā`ie. Between April 1883 and April 1886, Native Hawaiian speakers gave seventy-eight speeches. Topically, these addresses included nine on gathering, forty-nine reports on congregations and missions, and eighteen on other varied subjects. Foreign missionaries gave seventy-five speeches: four on the gathering, ten reports on work accomplished, and fifty-nine on varied topics. Of the Native Hawaiian talks, many of those who reported on their congregations came from other islands. Only those from Lā`ie spoke about gathering.

The speakers from Lā`ie represented some of the most prominent church men during that and surrounding decades. Only one man, Kanu, did not regularly appear in the

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<sup>7</sup>Sally Engle Merry, *Colonizing Hawai`i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 30. Merry described cultural appropriation as “taking an existing cultural form and replaying it with different meanings or practices.”

mission history written by Andrew Jenson,<sup>8</sup> but the other six men show up frequently.<sup>9</sup> Most of these men spoke in conferences, served multiple missions, and assisted in the administration of the church. Since many of these men served at various times as missionaries to other islands, it is most likely that these men held the priesthood office of elder in the church. Kaleohano, whose grave is at the crest of the hill behind the Lā`ie Temple, was one of the first converts to the church. In an 1855 conference at Lāna`i, a motion was carried that he, Napela, and Kauwahi—those who were among the most educated of the converts—should prepare to go to Zion. After the dismantling of Lāna`i, both Kaleohano and Nepai spoke at the Lā`ie conference in 1866.<sup>10</sup> Kaleohano, Nainoa, and Kinimakalehua greeted Hawaiian royalty when they came to Lā`ie.<sup>11</sup> Kaleohano, in particular, had connections with the royal family. When Queen Kapiolani visited Lā`ie in 1878, she stayed with Kaleohano’s daughter, Kahauelio.<sup>12</sup> The missionaries asked Kaleohano to visit the king to help resolve some tax difficulties with a local tax collector.<sup>13</sup> G. L. Kanekapu showed his willingness to strengthen the gathering place by

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<sup>8</sup>Kanu mentioned that he was a lawyer and wanted to practice in Lā`ie. It would have been difficult for him to maintain a practice in such an outlying, rural village. See Minutes of meetings, October 1882-October 1886, 52, Archives and Special Collections, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie..

<sup>9</sup>For the talks, see Minutes.

<sup>10</sup>Jenson, 6 April 1866.

<sup>11</sup>Jenson, 6 October 1883.

<sup>12</sup>Jenson, 16 June 1878.

<sup>13</sup>Jenson, 15 April 1879.

serving missions in 1880 and 1884-1890.<sup>14</sup> In Lā`ie, he helped administer various religious auxiliaries such as the Young Men’s Mutual Improvement Association, where he served as secretary. In 1887 he was put in as president of the Lā`ie Ward Sunday School with Kinimakalehua as his counselor.<sup>15</sup> Kalawaia was prominent in the mission, not only because he was one of the Native Hawaiians who grew sugar on shares, but also because of his efforts to gather people to Lā`ie. Jenson recorded that Kalawaia went to Kipahulu to assist relatives gathering to Lā`ie.<sup>16</sup> These men of faith spent much of their lives in building up the church and gathering place.

The minutes from the 1880s do not always give detailed accounts of the conference talks. Often the minutes noted the topics of the talks or sometimes expanded to give short summaries. Out of the nine entries that explicitly recorded Native Hawaiians speaking on the gathering, there are three that mention both land and gathering.<sup>17</sup> It is recorded of Kalawaia: “His remarks were based on the benefits and advantages of the Land Laie, exhorting the Saints to the necessity of Gathering.”<sup>18</sup> Another entry recorded

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<sup>14</sup>Jenson, 6 October 1880, 6 October 1884, 30 September 1885, 3 April 1886, 9 October 1887, 7 October 1888, 7 April 1889, 6 April 1890.

<sup>15</sup>Jenson, 8 May 1887.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., Diaries, 19 August 1884, Mss B 79, Utah History Center, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City; Jenson, 3 March 1878.

<sup>17</sup>Minutes, 15, 27, 28, 34, 37, 41, 52.

<sup>18</sup>Minutes, 37.

Kanu as saying: “I have come here to live with you here in the land of gathering because of [my] faith.”<sup>19</sup>

This linkage of gathering, land, and faith by Native Hawaiians is striking when compared with the foreign missionaries’ references to gathering.<sup>20</sup> Only four of the foreign missionaries even mentioned gathering, and half of the time that reference was to Zion (meaning Utah). Elder Ward Pack urged the people “to prepare themselves to gather up to Zion.”<sup>21</sup> Elder Edward Partridge’s talk in 1883 suggested that “he would like to hear some of the native Elders of Laie speak, as they were better prepared to teach than those who had not gathered.”<sup>22</sup> George Cluff, said that “it is right that we should assemble here at Laie it being the ‘head,’ and thereby receive general instruction. . . . Spoke on the Gathering.”<sup>23</sup> Cluff’s address was the only recorded foreign missionary talk that gave any suggestion of gathering in Lā`ie. This dearth of foreign missionary talks promoting the gathering place may be explained by the inability of the plantation economically to sustain more families moving to Lā`ie. In January of 1883, Partridge wrote that the mission could not furnish more families with either kalo patches or steady employment.<sup>24</sup> Although Partridge did not actively recruit people to gather to Lā`ie, the metaphor

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<sup>19</sup>Minutes, 52.

<sup>20</sup>Minutes, 2, 15, 35-36, 53, 56.

<sup>21</sup>Minutes, 15.

<sup>22</sup>Minutes, 17.

<sup>23</sup>Minutes, 35-36.

<sup>24</sup>Partridge, Diaries, 16 January 1883.

continued to be used when making decisions regarding life in the ahupua`a, as evidenced by the choices Cluff and Partridge made to preserve kalo land and to hire only Hawaiians. Nonetheless, when the missionaries spoke of a gathering place, Zion came up more frequently than Lā`ie.

These talks by Kanaka Maoli and foreign missionaries suggest that in the mid-1880s the metaphor of gathering was developed by both groups, but they spoke about it and developed it differently. When Partridge wrote that he was not encouraging more families to gather because of a lack of viable lo`i and a lack of employment, it was an acknowledgment of the roles the land and its crops played in creating a gathering place.<sup>25</sup> The Native Hawaiian linkage of land with a metaphor of faith is not surprising. In precontact Hawai`i spirituality was linked to the care of the land. Such care of the land was seen as a way of maintaining pono “which is often translated in English as ‘righteous,’ but actually denotes a universe in perfect harmony.”<sup>26</sup> Perhaps in accepting the Mormon metaphor of gathering, Native Hawaiians found in their new faith a way to express and live in the balance that comes from caring for the land. This connection of

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<sup>25</sup>Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-Day Saints, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1996), 289-290, suggested that the challenge of providing jobs to incoming immigrants to Salt Lake was one reason the metaphor of the gathering was de-emphasized in Salt Lake at the turn of the century. Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 84, noted that by the end of the century in Utah, “many could not own and live off their own land.” It is perhaps no coincidence that in both Lā`ie and Utah, the emphasis on bringing people to the gathering place connected with the ability to provide land and employment.

<sup>26</sup>Lilikalā Kame`eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum, 1992), 25.

things spiritual and the land is reinforced by the following account given by Dawn

Wasson.

One of my ancestors was working on the land I live on and Wilford Cole [the assistant to Samuel Woolley] came and he said “Hey Kamauoha, who owns this land?” He said “No Hawaiian should own this much land. I’ll come and survey your land.” A couple of days went by and he started to survey, and my Kupuna came with his gun and shot it in the air and Cole left. A couple of weeks later he got a letter saying he was excommunicated from the Church and he said: “My land is my God.” This land has been in our family since 1804, and I’m the seventh generation that lives there.<sup>27</sup>

Wasson’s account not only links spirituality with the `āina but hints at the continued importance of land among Native Hawaiians today.

This importance of land to the Lā`ie metaphor was recognized at times by the Haole mission leaders. On the morning of April 8, 1916, Samuel Woolley gave a talk in conference on the gathering. He clearly connected gathering with land. Woolley said: “This land has been made a land of Zion, through the Prophet of the Lord . . . this has now become a part of the land of Zion, made so by the Lord.”<sup>28</sup> That afternoon, he gave another talk on the gathering place and drew on his knowledge of Kānaka Moali beliefs regarding Lā`ie to illuminate the sacredness of the land of Lā`ie.

Those who live here at Laie, plant taro. It hurts my eyes to look at some of the taro patches. This land was chosen by God. It was [a] place of refuge in olden times. It is a place of refuge nowadays. Those who were being pursued by the officers of the law, if they could get to Laie without being arrested they were safe. They could not be taken. We now come here to seek eternal life. We are not afraid of the enemy. We are going to attend to our work before we die, because these things cannot be done on the other side. Therefore, I consider this as a sacred place, for it has been chosen by

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<sup>27</sup>Dawn Wasson, interview by author, 27 March 2005, tape recording in possession of author.

<sup>28</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April 1916, 81.

the Lord. About 1885, President Smith was here for about two years. There was a famine. No rain. Some of the old inhabitants wanted to leave. They had no food. The servant of the Lord prophesied that if they would stay here the time would come when the water would come from the earth. I did not know at the time we dug the wells, that we were fulfilling that prophecy. The old residents said, “The Prophecy of Joseph has been fulfilled. . . .”<sup>29</sup>

By 1916 Woolley had lived in Hawai`i for approximately 24 years and was fluent in Hawaiian. In giving this talk, he drew on his knowledge of Hawaiian customs and beliefs to coordinate and develop the metaphor of gathering with the Native Hawaiian congregation. Woolley presented themes he believed would resonate with Kanaka Maoli—the care of kalo and the land it was planted on, Lā`ie as a traditional place of refuge, and the digging of wells in the ahupua`a as fulfillment of a prophecy regarding the land. In each of these cases Woolley linked the metaphors of gathering with the land and its use.

It is difficult to trace the belief of Lā`ie as a Pu`uhonua, or sacred land of refuge. A Pu`uhonua was a designation in precontact Hawai`i for a place to which people sentenced to death could flee and where they could find refuge.<sup>30</sup> After Kamahameha I conquered O`ahu, he abolished such refuges in order to distribute land to his supporters. However, Woolley presented Lā`ie as a place of refuge as if it was common knowledge.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April 1916, 92.

<sup>30</sup>S. M. Kamakau, “Ancient Hawaiian Religions Beliefs and Ceremonies,” *The Hawaiian Almanac & Annual for 1911* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, English translation of original Hawaiian manuscript, 1911), 151.

<sup>31</sup>In a 1911 address Woolley stated: “History says this land was a place of refuge in ancient times, and I want it to continue so to be. . . . The price of a house and lot at Laie is proper living.” General Minutes, Hawaiian Mission, 6 April 1911, p. 8, fd. 3; quoted in Britsch, *Moramona*, 117.



It is still part of the accepted history of Lā`ie and may represent part of its oral history.

The representation of Pu`uhonua as part of the gathering and refuge hints at how the metaphor was developed to include Hawaiian custom and emphasis on the land itself.

Woolley's narrative regarding Joseph F. Smith's prophecy clearly speaks to the tensions in the gathering place regarding water. Woolley's account is the earliest available record of this prophecy. The missionary journals from the 1880s do not record such a prophecy nor a drought at the time Smith was on the plantation. However, Smith's departure from Lā`ie in July of 1887 was the same summer that William King wrote to Utah regarding the kalo blight.<sup>32</sup> The difficulties in maintaining irrigation infrastructures were greatly compounded by the competition rice and sugar gave kalo for land, water, and labor—thus rainfall was only one factor in the kalo planters' ability to get enough water to their plants. The question remains as to how Kā naka Maoli made sense of the blight. Did they wonder if pono was lost because of their inability to grow kalo? Did the water from the new wells signal a new opportunity to create balance and righteousness through their care of the land in the gathering place? Men and women like Nainoa stayed in the

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<sup>32</sup>See Harold S. Davis, "The Iosepa Origin of Joseph F. Smith's Lā`ie Prophecy," *BYU Studies* 33, no.1 (1993): 81-108. Davis argued that this prophecy regarding drought was regarding Iosepa, Utah. However, the wording of an account of this prophecy by Joseph P. Musser (Joseph P. Musser, "Laie—Home Place of the Church in Hawaii," quoted in Davis, 83) used the terms "desolation and lack of water," which most likely points to the devastation of the kalo blight experienced on the plantation. A letter from William King to John Taylor pinpoints the date of the blight as existing when Joseph F. Smith was on the plantation. William King to John Taylor, 27 July 1887, Mission; quoted in Jeffrey S. Stover, "The Legacy of the 1848 Mahele and Kuleana Act of 1850: A Case Study of the Lā`ie Wai and Lā`ie Malo`o Ahupua`a, 1846-1930" (M.A. thesis, University of Hawai`i, 1997), 76-77.

gathering place even when times were hard. Woolley's account suggests that some of their persistence resulted from choices rooted in faith.

### Transforming Zion

The Mormon ideal of gathering emerged in the early years of the church even before the church moved to Utah. It was part of the collectivism manifested in a form of separatism. In other words, the collective was strengthened by separating economically and spatially from the dominant culture.

From the early days of the Mormon Church, the idea of gathering helped shape community and economy. It was a metaphor for integrating spiritual with material life. In nineteenth-century Utah, the metaphor of Saints gathering included the ideal of creating a collectivist commonwealth that was both self-sufficient and equitable. Between the lack of long-term success of the cooperative enterprises, the federal government's push to lessen the economic power of the church, and a declining supply of arable land in Utah, Mormons began to move away from their collectivist tradition and their emphasis on gathering. Between 1890 and 1930 the church became much more integrated into the national culture, politics, and economy.<sup>33</sup> This integration diminished the need for a separate place for Saints and build up a collectivist economy. Thus at the turn of the

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<sup>33</sup>Alexander, 180; Ethan R. Yorgason, *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003), 127-28; Richard O. Cowan, "Temples in the Pacific: A Reflection of Twentieth-Century Mormon History," in *Voyages of Faith: Explorations in Mormon Pacific History*, ed. Grant Underwood (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 2000), 129.

century, the church moved away from actively encouraging people to move to Utah.<sup>34</sup>

With the shifting of emphasis away from collectivism and separatism, the idea of Zion as a separate place began to become increasingly described in more abstract terms describing a “spiritual community.”<sup>35</sup>

The movement away from collectivism and gathering was accompanied by tensions and contradictions. Such was the case among the foreign missionaries who came to Lā`ie to attend conferences in 1915 and 1916. Theirs was a transitional generation positioned between the collectivist traditions of the past and the emerging move towards the dominant culture. Traditionally, when the missionaries returned from their proselyting districts for conference, they met together to receive instruction and share their experiences. We can observe from these meetings how they made sense of the differences and similarities between themselves and Native Hawaiians. It is in these observations that we sense their wrestlings with the tensions between their collectivist values and growing acceptance of capitalism.

Elder Delroy Eves spoke and said: “I have learned to love the people. I know they are a good people. I do not think they are better than we are, because the Lord is no respecter of persons.” This statement suggests that Eves had considered the question as to whether or not Native Hawaiians were better. Eves’ tone differs significantly from the first plantation manager, George Nebeker, who described Hawaiians in this way:

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<sup>34</sup>Alexander, 289-90.

<sup>35</sup>Yorgason, 100-101, 117.

The good seed that has been sown here seemingly has fallen on soil of but little depth, but some has taken root and bids fair to produce fruit fit for the master's use. The time it takes to produce a change in the habits and feelings of a heathenish people is sometimes discouraging; but when we consider that their ideas and sinful habits are hereditary, and their industrious and virtuous habits are acquired, we can see that it must take time to bring them to a civilized standard. The Hawaiian people no doubt stand as low in the scale of being as any people that ever received the gospel of life and salvation; and their growth in grace and in the knowledge of the truth will necessarily be slow.<sup>36</sup>

Ethan Yorgason gives us a way to analyze such narratives. In writing of how Americans, including Mormons, interacted with and towards Native Americans, he noted:

Whites use a dual image to place an unbridgable gap between Indian and white ways and to constitute Indians as timeless objects, incapable of contributing (or even adapting) to a changing society. When explaining naked land grabs and racial/cultural genocide, whites call on ideas of Indian savagery and indolence (the latter encompasses a critique of communalism). . . .

Nevertheless, Colonialism's atrocities are not easily erased from the perpetrator's culture. Glimmers of a sense that the colonizer might have illegitimately usurped often return. In such cases, Berkhofer argues, a more "positive" image of Indians as a simple, innocent, and liberty-loving people emerges. The image says more about white society than about native American societies. Such images help whites critique the failings of white society, not assist in returning power to or seriously communicating with native American groups. To the degree that whites can see their own culpability in relations with Indians, they typically transform a sense of Indian innocence in political and cultural struggles against whites into a notion that Indians possess character traits of childlike innocence. Paternalism and maternalism thus become the dominant attitudes in trying to "improve" the Indian's lot. . . . In such a climate, learning from Indian communalism to help reconstitute regional society appealed to neither Mormons nor non-Mormons.

There is no reason to suppose that either Mormons or non-Mormons would have sought alliance with native Americans on anything but paternalistic terms. Both white groups imbibed deeply in racial ideologies.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Nebeker, 9 October 1867, in Jenson.

<sup>37</sup>Yorgason, 115-116.

It would have been amazing if Mormon missionaries had not “imbibed deeply” in racial ideologies, since such beliefs were pervasive in both the United States and in Hawai`i.<sup>38</sup> Missionary records suggest an evolution of images similar to those described by Yorgason. Initially, some of the missionaries described Hawaiians as heathens. However, in the early decades of the twentieth century as the collective culture was declining, missionary narratives more often depicted Hawaiians as innocent and pure. Certainly at the beginning of the gathering place the dominant discourse among most of the missionaries was one of paternalism and the need to uplift a heathen people. When the missionaries came to Hawai`i in 1850, the Saints had just barely arrived in Utah three years earlier and, there was thought of having Hawaiians move to Utah. This was not unusual in that converts from other parts of the United States and from Europe were asked to emigrate also. With the decimation of the Hawaiian population, laws were passed in Hawai`i severely regulating such immigration. Thus through the nineteenth century, only a small number immigrated to Utah.

However, the practice of gathering in Hawai`i took on other meanings than it did in the United States or Europe. The colonial setting of the gathering affected its development. Most of the early Mormon missionaries saw Hawaiians as uncivilized and

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<sup>38</sup>Merry suggested that while the discourse on race in the United States and Hawai`i both drew on biology, there were significant differences in how race was constructed. For example, in Hawai`i, laborers did not compete with “working-class whites as they did in California, raising powerful ethnic antagonisms.” Thus immigrant culture became more incorporated into Hawai`i than those of immigrants in California. Also Merry noted that the paternalism in Hawai`i was bifurcated, with Christian Hawaiians “being regarded more sympathetically” than non-Christian immigrants, 139-40. Mormon missionary journals and minutes reveal individuals with clearly racist attitudes, with others more accepting of differences, and some in the process of changing.

their culture inferior to the Mormons'. Native Hawaiians worked and presided at local congregational levels, and they served on councils dealing with acts of immorality.

However, the missionaries rarely invited Native Hawaiians to decision-making councils that dealt with plantation or mission business, nor were they called to work at the highest ecclesiastical levels.

By the time of the 1916 conference, much of the missionary discourse was about Hawaiians as an innocent people. Such comments may speak to how thoroughly modernization had reshaped the landscape by 1915 to more fully represent missionary cultural values. The tidy yards of Lā'ie spoke of industry.<sup>39</sup> However, the missionaries' conference comments regarding Hawaiians' innocence also suggest a discomfort in 1915 and 1916 regarding their own cultural transition from collectivism to a greater embrace of individualism and capitalism.

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<sup>39</sup>When Joseph F. Smith visited Lā'ie in 1915, he was struck by the transformation from when he had lived there before. He wrote: "Besides the almost omnipresent automobile, a railroad nearly circumscribes this Island, with vast networks of rails permeating the sugar-cane fields. The old grass-thatched huts have given place to comfortable and pleasant homes and grounds beautified with evergreens and flowers. Modern furniture, comforts, and conveniences of homes have supplanted the gourds, calabashes and pandanus-leaf mats, on which the natives slept, and the native kapa, which furnished their clothing and the coverings of their beds. To a great extent the ancient and dim light of the kukui-nut and the oil lamp has given place to the brilliant illumination of modern electric lights." Joseph F. Smith, 8 July 1915, in Jenson. See also "For Kahuku and Beyond: Narrative of a Day's Outing by Train," *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1911* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1910), 131-32. This article includes the following description of Lā'ie: "Passing through Laie, the Mormon settlement, one is struck with the trim and cleanly appearance of the village; cottages and adjacent premises, fences and roadways evincing a supervising care in marked contrast to those of other sections."

Many of these missionaries had been raised by parents who sacrificed much to build up the commonwealth. While the mainland church was moving away from collectivism, Native Hawaiians in La`ie continued to hold on to their collectivist tradition. In so doing, they highlighted the contrast between what the church had once valued and the direction it was going. When Elder Stanley Hoare spoke, he elevated Native Hawaiian hearts above those of his own culture. In doing this, he used the word white in such a way that it could simultaneously depict race and purity. “I feel that we elders and sisters who are called here to labor are fortunate to have such a beautiful place in which to labor, and to work with such lovely people. Their hearts are white, and in many ways a good deal whiter than ours.”<sup>40</sup> If his reference to their whiteness of heart referred to a construct of race, it implies that he saw being white as superior to being Hawaiian. If Hoare was using the notion of white to mean pure and innocent, it infantilized Native Hawaiians and robbed them of their complexity. Perhaps he drew on both of these meanings simultaneously. Neither of these uses positioned Native Hawaiians as equal to missionaries.

That the missionaries used “innocent and pure” Hawaiians as a social critique of their own culture is suggested by the presidencies of Cluff and Partridge, which offered a contrasting view to both the early days of the hybrid plantation and the later 1916 conference. The two mission presidents most centered on collectivism—Harvey Cluff and Edward Partridge—appeared fairly open to Native Hawaiians and their culture. Both of these men had served earlier missions to the islands and were familiar with Hawaiian

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<sup>40</sup>Stanley Hoare, regular annual, 9 April 1915, 78.

language and culture when they arrived to manage the plantation. Cluff drew heavily on the notions and practices of Utah cooperatives and united order collectives. While he carried with him prejudices and paternalistic practices, he worked alongside Native Hawaiians in the fields and asked the other missionaries to do so also. Partridge showed himself to be among the least patronizing of the mission presidents. While he often was frustrated with his inability to synchronize work on the plantation, he also was able to simultaneously accept differences with little need to either diminish or glorify Hawaiians or Haoles. On one occasion he wrote:

There were only about a dozen of the society at the meeting. We learned that they were considerably divided in their feelings, that there was in fact a great difficulty among them some parties having accused others of causing the death of some children through sorcery & they were at enmity with each other. . . . I had a good opportunity to talk to them about such things which I did quite freely. But they all believe in such things and I am not at all surprised when I consider that they are taught them from their infancy, and at the same time their traditions & heathenish customs & practices are no more ridiculous or unreasonable than many of the notions of our own people. I try at all suitable occasions to impress upon the natives that those ancient practices are not to be indulged or feared by the saints but that they should fear God and seek to live according to the requirements of the Gospel.<sup>41</sup>

There is a certain equity to his assessment of “ridiculous.” when he ascribed it to both Native Hawaiians and his own people. He saw tradition rather than racial characteristics separating people.

It was during that years that Noall and Woolley worked on the plantation that many of the changes in the Utah church began to dramatically manifest themselves in Lā`ie. One of the most glaring changes was the length of Woolley’s service. Woolley

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<sup>41</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., Diaries, 8 March 1884.



came in 1895 and was released as mission president in 1919 and plantation manager in 1921. Also, Wilford Cole, who worked as his assistant, stayed on the plantation for many years. Their stay was much longer than the average two to three years of earlier mission presidents. While neither of these men received pay for their services, the length of their stay was a distinct change of course.<sup>42</sup> The length of Cole's stay on the plantation suggests that he became part of a growing professionalized bureaucracy within church businesses. On the other hand, Woolley's response to his lack of wages and length of stay on the plantation suggests that his identity moved less towards being a bureaucrat than a planter. Charles Nibley and Reed Smoot in a letter to Heber J. Grant in 1920, wrote regarding Woolley: "He certainly has grown of late years to regard the plantation there as a personal concern. So much so that he has loaned the Church's money. . . .[to friends and family]."<sup>43</sup>

The tenure of Woolley and Cluff suggests a growing emphasis on business rationalization and bureaucratization. When the church focused on the cooperative model, it appears that little attention was paid to whether a profit was made or not. As Alexander noted:

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<sup>42</sup>Wilford Cole, regular annual, 7 April 1915, 33. While neither Cole nor Woolley received a regular salary, Cole appears to have been the only one who completely supported himself. In the conference of 1915, Cole noted that he lived off the interest from the money he received when he sold his ranch. Woolley had not sold his livestock and subsequently, twenty years later they were all gone. See regular annual, 7 April 1915, 33.

<sup>43</sup>See Reed Smoot and Charles Nibley to Heber J. Grant, 13 October 1920, Lā'ie Plantation/Zions Securities Collection; Manuscript Collection, Joseph F. Smith Library Archives and Special Collections, Brigham Young University Hawai'i (hereafter cited as Lā'ie Plantation).

The church moved from a barter system to a money economy. It accomplished this as, and in part because the church paid off its debt and tithing income increased. This change is significant since most church income came from the tithes and offerings of the Saints, not from church business investments, many of which, . . . were on a precarious financial footing. Moreover, it signified another step in accepting the economic system of the external world and was a way station toward bureaucratization of church administration.<sup>44</sup>

Thus during the 1915 and 1916 conferences, the missionaries reflected the transformation of the church in Utah and in Hawai'i. However, to merely examine how these talks reveal the transformation of mainland Mormon culture is to miss how they also reveal the importance of missionary work in transforming Haole prejudices. On a regular basis, Native Hawaiians opened their homes to Haole missionaries to live in while they proselyted around different islands. This intercultural experience invited the missionaries to see Native Hawaiians in a new way. For many this opportunity to live with Kānaka Maoli paralleled their learning to speak Hawaiian, which also gave them access to Native Hawaiian meanings and metaphors. Some of the missionaries responded with a more nuanced reading of the differences between themselves and the people they had lived with. The practice of living with Kānaka Maoli did not guarantee that missionaries automatically let go of their prejudices. James Gardner, who served for just over one year among Kānaka Maoli, wrote the following when describing how Haoles used bribery to buy an election in 1884: "It really look too bad to see the poor innocent natives imposed upon so by a low white man. . . . When the great day of Judgement

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<sup>44</sup>Alexander, 95.

comes you will have to answer for this great sin of imposing upon the poor, innocent, ignorant, native. Shame!"<sup>45</sup>

While Gardner offered a scathing critique of Haole politicians, he portrayed Native Hawaiians as childlike. Nonetheless, some missionaries responded to the invitation to see differently. Elder W. Francis Bailey said in the missionary meeting:

I have changed a great deal I believe in my attitude toward the work [of proselyting]. When I first came, I saw the natives out there. It made me feel a little funny at first. I did not know whether to take the first boat back or not. I have not suffered since I have been here. I have been fed well. I have not suffered for anything.<sup>46</sup>

Another missionary spoke more enthusiastically of his relations with Native Hawaiians. Robert Hazen said: "Bro. Wright and I had been painting the house and there was a little more to do. We were helping the boys plant taro. . . . I have learned to love the people here. I am never so happy as when I am with them."<sup>47</sup>

Unlike plantation work, where whites worked as the supervisors, Hazen described working alongside Native Hawaiians and learning from them. After planting kalo side-by-side with someone who had grown up doing planting in the heavy mud, it would have been difficult to accuse Native Hawaiians of being lazy. These experiences helped the missionaries see the intertwining of faith and strength in the daily lives of the people they lived with. William Kauaiwiulaokalani Wallace III, the director of Hawaiian Studies at

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<sup>45</sup>James Hamilton Gardner, Daily journal, 9 February 1884, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>46</sup>W. Francis Bailey, regular annual, 8 April 1915, 68.

<sup>47</sup>Robert Hazen, regular annual 8 April 1915, 69.

Brigham Young University, related the following story regarding how he learned to plant kalo.

I will never forget the devotion my tutu kane [grandfather] showed to each of his kalo plants. He treated them as though they were his own children. He would take each one of them rub some dirt on the bottom of the huli (plant cuttings) hold each one up to the sky and cry out “kokua, kokua, ke Akua,” which means “give your help, give your care, O God,” to these plants. This ritual went on all day until tutu kane completed planting all of his kalo.<sup>48</sup>

It may be that the work of planting helped Robert Hazen to state and believe: “I love the Hawaiian people. I have lived with them and I have cried with them. I have talked to them about the gospel. I have heard their testimonies, and I have heard them pray. I have often wished I could pray as they.”<sup>49</sup>

In a sense what the missionary journals show is a very complicated landscape when it came to perspective regarding race and ethnicity. The relational views and practices between Native Hawaiians and foreign missionaries were neither reified nor static on either an individual or institutional level. These relations reflected individual choices, economic relationships, and cultural values. And what is critical is that the relationships themselves helped change how the missionaries viewed Native Hawaiians. As the missionaries lived with Native Hawaiians, some of them came to know Hawaiians as individuals in ways that penetrated the stereotypes Haoles brought with them.

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<sup>48</sup>William Kauaiwiulaokalani Wallace III, “Protecting the ‘Sacred Ipu’: Connecting the Sacred in Being Hawaiian-Christian in Hawai’i—A Personal Journey,” in *Revealing the Sacred in Asian & Pacific America*, ed. Jane Naomi Iwamura and Paul Spickard (New York: Routledge, 2003), 34.

<sup>49</sup>Hazen, regular annual, 13 April 1916, 70.

In living with Native Hawaiians, the missionaries needed to deal with cultural differences and in so doing displayed a continuum of responses. Some tried to make Native Hawaiians over in their own image, others acknowledged differences without disparaging either culture, and others held on to their prejudices to varying degrees. In the early years of the plantation, when the missionaries bought the ahupua`a from T. T. Dougherty and began the plantation, the dominant discourse was of uncivilized people needing to be uplifted. When the plantation was managed by Cluff and Partridge with their emphasis on the united order, a more equitable discourse and practice prevailed. When Woolley's emphasis on expanding the plantation coincided with the decline of the collectivist culture in Salt Lake, the comments of the proselyting missionaries in their meeting reflected a dissonance and tension emanating from their transitioning values.

#### The Temple and the Gathering

One of the defining moments of Lā`ie in the early twentieth century was the announcement that a temple was going to be built in Lā`ie. This temple was the first one dedicated outside of continental North America. Reed Smoot, who served as Senator from Utah in 1915, accompanied President Joseph F. Smith to Lā`ie. He gave this account of the decision to build the temple.

At 5 minutes to eight p.m. President Smith asked Bp Nibley and myself to take a walk. . . . We proceeded to the meeting house located on a little hill about 400 yards southeast of the Mission House arriving there about 8 o'clock. We entered the enclosure and stopped just west of the building and President Smith said Bp Nibley had suggested to him that as the Mission was in a financial condition that it could build a small Endowment House or Temple. . . . Pres. Smith said if that met the approval of all three of us he felt impressed to consecrate and dedicate the ground for that purpose. . . . I am positive it is the first step towards the erection of a small

temple here in Laie wherein the Hawaiian Saints as well as the Saints of the Islands of the Pacific can have their temple ordinations, sealings, baptism etc attended to. This can be considered a blessed day for members of the church living on the islands of the Pacific.<sup>50</sup>

Mormons consider temples to be among the most sacred of all places on earth. It is there that Mormons complete their ordinances for salvation. It is also the place where Mormons participate in proxy for family members who died without completing those saving ordinances. It is not hard to imagine that this idea of performing such ordinance work for departed family members was particularly appealing to a people lost so many family members to disease and death.

The building of the temple spoke not only of Smith's love for Native Hawaiians, it also reveals a major change in the Utah construction of what gathering meant.

Yorgason noted:

Gathering had lost one of its functions. . . .It lost the sense that spatial propinquity promoted needed economic equality. . . .The increasingly dominant interpretation of gathering [was] to facilitate temple attendance. . . . The notion of gathering thus no longer carried the economically egalitarian ethic it had earlier.<sup>51</sup>

The emergence of this new rendering of the metaphor meant that church leaders in Utah rarely encouraged Hawaiians or members from other regions to gather to Zion.<sup>52</sup>

The conference of 1916 is full of references to the implications of these changes. In particular, the minutes reveal the workings of a new construction of the missionary

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<sup>50</sup>Reed Smoot, *In the World: The Diaries of Reed Smoot*, ed. Harvard S. Heath (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1997), 273.

<sup>51</sup>Yorgason, 117-118.

<sup>52</sup>Alexander, 289-290.

gathering metaphor. One of the first effects was when Woolley urged people to stay in

Hawai`i:

This is the gathering place for you, because the servant of the Lord has said so and it is true. This land has become a true gathering place for you by the power of the Lord. Let us not be doubtful. This is part of Zion now. . . .

Let us build up the places where we live. Build homes here in Hawai`i, because the servant of the Lord wants us to stay and build homes here.<sup>53</sup>

The crucial phrasing is “build homes here in *Hawaii*” (italics added). In other words,

Lā`ie was no longer a temporary gathering place until Hawaiians could move to Salt Lake.

Woolley explained how Hawai`i had become part of Zion, by quoting the words of

Joseph F. Smith:

This has now become a part of the land of Zion, made so by the Lord. The servant of the Lord said still further in Honolulu, “I want to tell you that all who have had a narrow conception that Zion was only the United States, I want to tell you that after a while her borders will be extended until it shall fill the whole earth, and all this earth will become Zion.” After a while, yea it has almost reached that time when there will be no more gathering from the different parts of Europe, but they will be gathered in their own country, and temples will be built there to accomplish the work of God.<sup>54</sup>

When I first read these conference minutes I assumed that this emphasis on Hawai`i was

an effort to discourage immigration to Utah. However, a closer reading suggests that

Woolley also was removing Lā`ie as the geographical gathering place for Hawaiian

Mormons. Woolley took great care with his words as he articulated the need for Native

Hawaiians to buy lands and homes throughout the islands. Even as the metaphor of

gathering in Utah transitioned to a more localized notion of Zion, so too did this new

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<sup>53</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 6 April 1916, 10.

<sup>54</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 6 April 1916, 81.

temple in Hawai`i move the meaning of gathering away from being a specific place. Just as the letting go of the commonwealth ideal was part and parcel of letting go of the metaphor of gathering in Utah, Woolley transformed the idea of creating a separate gathering place to uplift Native Hawaiians to an ideal where Native Hawaiian Saints lived within local communities throughout the islands. For example, Woolley addressed Native Hawaiian employment off the plantation.

In July politics will begin again. You will have plenty of work on the road. Take care of the money. Let the territory help us in the work of the Lord. There will be plenty of work in Honolulu because there will be plenty of sugar to load on the boats. The shippers cannot wait. The sugar must be loaded. Every one can have work if they desire it.<sup>55</sup>

The jobs he described existed most often outside of La`ie. While Woolley was not announcing an end to the plantation, he was giving a new connotation to its purpose and meaning. This interpretation distanced La`ie Plantation from its historical economic role of supporting the gathering place to becoming merely one of many places Hawaiians could find employment on the islands. He urged the congregation to seek road work, jobs at Honolulu docks, and, of course to continue growing kalo.

Woolley's talk suggests that he feared an onslaught of people who would need jobs moving to La`ie to be near the temple. Perhaps he feared not having enough to offer the newcomers. As part of meeting this challenge, he continued to alter the metaphor by patterning it after the Utah one. He told the congregation: "Wherever you live, build

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<sup>55</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April, 1916, 92.



homes.” In other words, if the Saints lived in Maui, they should buy land and build homes in Maui.

Part of the challenge of having more people come is that by 1915 most of the available arable land was already planted. However, in 1918, the plantation purchased Koolau Agricultural Company.<sup>56</sup> This was a company that had been formed by J. B. Castle around 1906. When Castle died, the company was bought by Lā`ie Plantation and almost doubled its acreage.<sup>57</sup> However, Koolau Agricultural Company was located on the very narrow coastal plain between Lā`ie and Kahana Bay. It was not flat, was subject to floods, and was often too wet to compete with the larger and drier plantations located on the plains watered by wells. However, if sugar prices were high enough, a profit could be made and new jobs provided.

The combination of building the temple and the purchase of the Koolau Agricultural Company either allowed or initiated the largest expansion in population in Lā`ie since the early days of the plantation. In 1910, the population was 536, and by 1920 the population was 727.<sup>58</sup> Significantly, it was not just the population that increased; the

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<sup>56</sup>“Church Buys Plantation in Hawaii,” *Salt Lake Telegram*, 6 September 1918, see 22 August 1918 in Jenson. Jenson’s account said that the company along with Koolau Railroad and Koolau Water company was bought from the estate of J. B. Castle for between \$500,000 and \$600,000, and that the two plantations were to be operated together.

<sup>57</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 113.

<sup>58</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie village, Honolulu County, Hawaii, population schedule, Enumeration District 66, [stamped numbers] pp. 37-66, National Archives Micropublication T0624. 1920 U.S. Census, Laie, Honolulu County, Hawaii, population schedule, Enumeration District 142, [stamped numbers] pp. 54-68, National Archives Micropublication T0625.

Table 8: Ethnic Demographic Percentages for Hawaiian Islands and Lā`ie, 1910-1930

Ethnicity	1910		1920		1930	
	Islands	Lā`ie	Islands	Lā`ie	Islands	Lā`ie
Hawaiian/part Hawaiian	3	33	3	46	1	11
Euro/American <sup>59</sup>	4	7	3	4	2	1
Portuguese	9	1	7	2	4	1
Japanese	64	43	44	22	19	1
Chinese	6	8	5	8	1	1
Korean	4	6	4	2	1	0
Filipino	5	-	30	15	70	78
Unknown/Other	5	1	4	1	2	7
Total	100	99	100	100	100	100

1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37-66; 1920 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 54-68; 1930 U.S. Census, Laie village, Honolulu County, Hawaii, population schedule, Enumeration District 2-118, [stamped number] pp. 59-60, National Archives Micropublication T0626; *Fourth Report of the Commissioner of Labor Hawaii* (Washington, D.C.: Committee on Education and Labor, 1911), 23; *The Reference Book of Information and Statistics* (Honolulu, Thos. G. Thrum, 1920), 17; and Andrew W. Lind, *Hawaii's People* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955).

<sup>59</sup>In this table, the term sometimes include people of European descent born in New Zealand.

proportion of Native Hawaiians/part Hawaiians working on the plantation from Lā`ie increased from 33 percent in 1910 to 46 percent in 1920.<sup>60</sup>

Not only did the number of plantation workers in Lā`ie increase from 84 in 1910 to 168 in 1920, but the economy became more diversified. Seven to eight young men worked as chauffeurs.<sup>61</sup> Several of the Japanese farmers worked truck, sugar, and pineapple farms. The number of jobs doing road work declined in 1910 from 52 to 19 in 1920, suggesting that most of the expansion of sugar fields had already occurred. The temple offered a few jobs, including recorder and laborer. It may be that there were enough newcomers needing homes to support the five new house carpenters listed in the 1920 Lā`ie manuscript census.<sup>62</sup>

Approximately five of these new workers—Kahana Pukahi, John Broad, George Alapa, James Makagiau, and John Kailikea, had immigrated to Lā`ie from Iosepa, Utah.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>These numbers are problematic in that the 1910, 1920, and 1930 numbers are derived from census records. However, John Broad’s oral history says that in the 1920s some of the Lā`ie Native Hawaiian laborers worked at Kahuku Plantation. I have not been able to locate either Lā`ie or Kahuku Plantation employment records. Thus it is most accurate to say that these census numbers reflect how many Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie worked on sugar plantations. See oral history of John Edwin Broad, 10 January 1972, interview by William Wallace, Social Science. Also, Eldon P. Morrell, who served a mission in Lā`ie in 1921, came back to Lā`ie to work on the plantation. He noted that during the years when Lā`ie Plantation owned the Koolau Agricultural Co., many of the workers lived in camps along the Windward Side. “The Punaluu camp people would work in Punaluu.” Eldon P. Morrell, interview by Kenneth Baldrige, 16 and 20 January, 1981, Social Sciences.

<sup>61</sup> See Eldon P. Morrell, 16 and 20 January, 1981, Social Sciences.

<sup>62</sup>1920 Census, Laie, pp. 54-68; See Appendix B.

<sup>63</sup>1920 Census, Laie, 60 [B], 61 [A], and 62 [B]. These names are gathered from the 1920 census and were included based on whether or not children were born in Utah. In an

With the building of the temple in Lā`ie, Iosepa was disbanded. Woolley had these Iosepa colonists in mind when he described how some of these families felt:

“Why didn’t the Lord show this to us in our own country, that they were going to build a temple. We would not have come up here. We would have waited.” Some were doubtful. . . . Some of them want to return, and some are returning . . . Five families are returning. Some don’t want to return.<sup>64</sup> They say, “We are acquainted here, and we want to stay here to fulfill the Scriptures, saying that the “house of the Lord [temple] will be built in the tops of the mountains.” Therefore they are permitted to return if they so desire. It has been proclaimed by the servant of the Lord, that if they want to return, and have the means to return, the earth is free to them. Therefore, it is up to them.<sup>65</sup>

Of those families who came from Iosepa, three men worked on the sugar plantation, and two at the temple. John Broad, one of the men who came from Iosepa, recounted that housing had been prepared for those returning to Lā`ie: “When we came here, they had houses where they now call Iosepa Street. They had houses over there on both sides of the

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oral interview in 1982, Eldon P. Morrell also included the Henry and Mary Nawahine family. I did not include them because the 1920 lists all of their young children as being born in Hawai`i. It may be that they returned to Lā`ie before the temple was built. Morell also listed the Halemanu family; however, I have not located them on the 1920 census. See Eldon P. Morrell, interview by Kenneth W. Baldrige, typescript, 11-12, Behavioral and Social Sciences Division Oral History Program, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

<sup>64</sup>John Broad may be one of the ones Woolley referred to. In an oral interview Broad said of Iosepa: “The most important reason we left Iosepa to come back to Hawaii [was] because we were advised by the Prophet Joseph F. Smith. . . . We never had any problem at all on the ranch. Everything was real nice, had plenty of water and we had our farm under irrigation. It was not a dry farm–irrigation. The water was from the mountain. . . . we had plenty of water and we raised our own crops and we had one of the best–watermelon, squash, corn, potato, and cabbage and all those things you know, we raised everything there without any problem at all. It was all good.” John Edwin Broad, interview by William Wallace, 10 January 1972, 1, Social Sciences.

<sup>65</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April 1916, 81.

road built for the purpose of the people coming from Iosepa to stay here. . . .<sup>66</sup> The majority of the Native Hawaiian sugar workers in Lā`ie moved to Lā`ie after 1910, either from Iosepa or from other island homes. Only eighteen of the 1920 sugar laborers listed on both 1910 and 1920 censuses had also worked on the plantation in 1910, whereas 38 of the workers had moved to Lā`ie after 1910.<sup>67</sup>

What is clear is that this increase of Native Hawaiians working on the plantation was unusual since 46 percent of the sugar plantation workers in Lā`ie were Native Hawaiian compared to 3 percent throughout the rest of the islands. What makes it even more surprising is that it is both a real increase in number of workers and an increase proportionately from 1910. Thus in 1910, thirty-three Native Hawaiians worked on the plantation and in 1920 the number increased to forty-six Native Hawaiians worked in the sugar fields.

Thus it appears that some Kā naka Maoli moved to Lā`ie in order to be by the temple. Broad sustains this view when he stated: “The main purpose for us coming here mostly, was for temple work.”<sup>68</sup> The immigration of the families from Iosepa suggests that people from other islands also may have responded to the draw of the temple and moved to Lā`ie despite the fact that the records from 1916 suggest that gathering to Lā`ie was not particularly encouraged by the Haole missionaries. The increased numbers also speaks to both an economic boost given by the building of the temple and the expansion

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<sup>66</sup>Broad, 3, Social Sciences.

<sup>67</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, pp. 37-66; 1920 U.S. Census, Laie, pp.54-68.

<sup>68</sup>Broad, 3, Social Sciences.

generated by Koolau Agricultural Company. At the same time, the number of positions for road work declined dramatically from fifty-two in 1910 to nineteen in 1920. Since most of the expansion of the plantation already had taken place, fewer men were needed to work the roads. Those that worked on the plantation in 1920 were relatively new to the area, while those who had the more desired employment working on the road had generally lived in Lā`ie since 1910. Thus it appears that the latecomers to Lā`ie found themselves working at the less-desired plantation jobs.

#### Separation of Ecclesiastical and Material

In many ways, Samuel Woolley was a transitional missionary, who represented the intersections of colonial Lā`ie and Utah. Unlike the nineteenth-century Mormon mission presidents and plantation managers who returned home after an average of two to three years, Woolley served for over two decades. The choice to leave Woolley in for so long reflects the changes going on in Utah and how those changes manifested themselves in Hawai`i.

As in Utah, the metaphor of gathering in Lā`ie waned in official discourse and practice. Few records from that period indicate that Woolley emphasized the metaphor of gathering in Lā`ie. Despite the intensification of expansion going on in the plantation, job growth did not occur at the turn of the century. The 122 jobs in the sugar plantation offered in 1898 was a bit larger than the 84 offered in 1910. While the 1910 numbers do not include the seasonal workers sent over by Kahuku nor the road workers, they suggest plantation needs were given more emphasis than that of the gathering. Woolley's move to

hire non-Hawaiians also suggested that the plantation logic and its emphasis on business was muting the metaphor of gathering for Hawaiians. Woolley's dealings with workers suggested little of the collectivism of Cluff or Partridge. Unlike Cluff's view of the plantation from tending the cane on the ground, Woolley's angle of vision was similar to that of other plantation managers and luna on the islands who viewed their plantations from atop a horse as they rode out and surveyed the land. A representative entry of Woolley reads: "Mr. Adams came over and we went up in the field together. I rode all over the place after I parted with him."<sup>69</sup> Much of the time he did little actual supervising, leaving that to the assistant plantation manager. After returning from a trip to the other islands where he had made a tour of the different congregations, Woolley wrote on a October Wednesday in 1911 regarding Brother Cole, who supervised the work in the fields: "Bro. Cole was at Kahuku to meet me with the buggy. I found all well, and the cane harvesting going on nicely. They began to cut cane Saturday and to haul on Monday."<sup>70</sup> Previous plantation managers and mission presidents had found that harvest time took most of their attention as they tried to synchronize labor. However, Cole's experience and knowledge regarding sugar work and the plantation enabled Woolley to pay less attention to field work. All these entries indicate a stricter order of hierarchy and rationalization than the hybrid plantation carried, with Mr. Adams unofficially at the top of the local supervisory hierarchy of the industrial plantation center.

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<sup>69</sup>Woolley, Journal, 12 April 1907.

<sup>70</sup>Woolley, Journal, 11 October 1911.

This is not to say that on the increasingly rationalized plantation, Woolley did not feel the tugs of the past. However, instead of emphasizing the nineteenth-century collective spirit of the hybrid plantation, Woolley focused on plural marriage. In some ways this is not surprising. Woolley's disdain of doing unskilled labor in the 1880s reflected his frustration with the flattening of hierarchy on the hybrid plantation. Also, Woolley's extended family in Utah strongly supported post-Manifesto plural marriage.<sup>71</sup> Woolley's journal and conference minutes suggest that as late as 1915, even though the church increasingly prohibited plural marriage, it was still a topic of deep interest to him and part of his conversation with other missionaries.<sup>72</sup> Despite the Manifesto's prohibition of plural marriage, it is evident that by 1908 Woolley had married a Native Hawaiian, Hattie Davis, as his second wife. Woolley courted Davis at the home of her

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<sup>71</sup>Lance D. Chase, *Temple, Town, Tradition: The Collected Historical Essays of Lance D. Chase* (Lā`ie: The Institute for Polynesian Studies, 2000), 59-60.

<sup>72</sup>During the first two decades of Woolley's time as plantation manager, plural marriage was publically denounced from the pulpit. While most church members no longer entered into such marriages, Woolley was one of those who did. Woolley was questioned by Elder Francis M. Lyman, who opposed post-manifesto plural marriages. Woolley recorded: "Bro. Lyman called me into his office and asked m[e] many questions as to my personal affairs all of which I answered in a straight forward manner, but some of them worried me very much. they were close home but he was mistaken on some of them." See Woolley, 29 Journal, September 1910. Woolley also wrote in his journal on 13 January 1915 that Edith Hunter had been questioned as to whether or not he was teaching plural marriage. Hunter replied that Woolley taught it as a correct principle but not one that should be practiced. It appears that this question helped motivate Woolley to keep verbatim minutes for the Lā`ie conferences in 1915 and 1916. See also Ernest Miner, regular annual, 14 April 1915, 98, 14 April 1915. In that conference, Elder Miner said: "Because of the rubbish and trash that has been gathered up and sent home . . . it has been dumped out before the doors of the authorities at home until the pile became so big they had to investigate the rubbish." The combination of these narratives suggests that Woolley continued to emphasize plural marriage in his conversations through 1916.



sister, Minerva Fernandez. Once Hattie and Woolley married, she too settled in Salt Lake City.<sup>73</sup>

While Woolley's attention to plural marriage reflected ties to nineteenth-century Mormonism, both Woolley and his predecessor, Matthew Noall, reflected pleasure in Honolulu urban life. In some ways it is not surprising that Noall and Woolley spent more time in Honolulu than their predecessors. It was a growing, vibrant city. Both Woolley and Noall seemed to have used their time in Honolulu to de-emphasize the intense relations found in the collective missionary enclave of the 1880s. The Noalls spent much of their mission in Honolulu, partly because of Elizabeth Noall's ill health while she was expecting her baby.<sup>74</sup> Woolley also chose to distance himself from the other missionaries on the plantation. Although he worked for years with Wilford Cole, few of Woolley's entries mention Cole, let alone develop him as a person. Instead, Woolley's journal focused mostly on his own family and the Fernandez family. Many of Woolley's trips to Honolulu included ordering supplies for the plantation store, conducting business meetings with other businessmen, and visiting the church's congregation in Honolulu. Woolley spent the majority of his Honolulu evenings in the Fernandez home.

One month was spent in Utah and then traveling back to Hawai'i, approximately one Sunday a month was spent in Honolulu (the only other congregation Woolley If we choose the first six months of 1907 to examine where Woolley spent his time, we find

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<sup>73</sup>Chase, 63-64.

<sup>74</sup>Matthew Noall and Claire Augusta Wilcox Noall, *To My Children: An Autobiographical Sketch* (Utah: Privately Printed, 1947), 73.

that Woolley was away from the plantation almost one-third of the time.<sup>75</sup> attended besides Honolulu and Lā`ie was Waialua, and that was only one time), and approximately another twenty-one days were spent in Honolulu.

One might assume that the building of the temple in Lā`ie reinvigorated the community as far as it being the ecclesiastical center of the mission. Instead, in 1919, the same year that the temple was dedicated, Woolley was released as mission president. He retained his position as plantation manager, but Wesley Smith was assigned the oversight of the mission. Smith, who had been born on the plantation in 1886 to Julina and Joseph F. Smith, moved the mission headquarters to Honolulu. Logistically it made sense: Honolulu was the economic and transportation center of the islands and had the most access to resources. The choice reflected many of the same logics that had pulled Noall and Woolley to Honolulu.

Lanier Britsch suggested that in this move, “Honolulu and Laie became respectively the administrative and spiritual centers of the Church in Hawaii.”<sup>76</sup> In a way this explains too cleanly explains what happened. While the temple did indeed create a spiritual center, the separation of mission president responsibilities from the job description of plantation manager further strengthened the plantation logic. If the plantation was no longer there to support a gathering place and if it was no longer there to

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<sup>75</sup>This time period was chosen because it was well documented in Woolley’s journal, and also because it appears to be when he was courting Hattie Davis, who was his second wife. See Chase, 63.

<sup>76</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 137.

support missionaries, what was its role? In Lā`ie this question loomed large because of how thoroughly the plantation dominated the ahupua`a economically. Unlike Utah, where much of the challenge of making the transition to a more rational business environment was shaped by a critique of religious domination of the economy, the transitions of the church in Hawai`i took place in a different context. In the United States antimonopoly sentiment and reform movements offered by many Progressives offered a counterbalance to monopolistic tendencies. However, Hawai`i was almost completely dominated economically and politically by the Big Five sugar interests. Thus when the business aspect of the plantation became increasingly emphasized by the church, it constricted an already narrow alternative space to capitalism. Alexander noted that “the transition in business affairs [in Utah] did not cause as much difficulty for the church as did politics or plural marriage.”<sup>77</sup> The decade of 1920 to 1930 showed that, for Lā`ie, it was the transition in business affairs that was most painful. It was that transition that revealed the sundering of the metaphors of the gathering.

#### Metaphor and Beach Properties

During much of the nineteenth-century, neither the plantation nor the Utah church consistently knew their financial standing. Historian Thomas Alexander noted that “Until 1899 the church practiced virtually no budgetary control.”<sup>78</sup> This seems to have been the case in Lā`ie for much of its history. In the minutes taken of a meeting on 28 September

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<sup>77</sup>Alexander, 74.

<sup>78</sup>Alexander, 99.

1886, the missionaries discussed the financial records on the plantation. Joseph F. Smith expressed his frustration with the poor quality of accounting practices and how the records contributed to their inability to know the “true financial condition of the mission.”

He cited as an instance the manner of conducting the little store, showing it was impossible to tell what the value of the stock was, what profits if any were made, or where those profits went to. He thought it was necessary to make some change in the system of keeping of the accounts of the mission so that an intelligent and correct of all the departments of the mission could be kept and a clear and comprehensive exhibit of its financial condition be obtained; if this could be done by changing the system of book keeping from single to double entry, he was in favor of having that change made.<sup>79</sup>

Brother Hyde concurred that they should know the financial position of the plantation.

He thought business should be done on strictly business principles. . . . He was of the opinion that a statement of the account of the Mission with Mr. Waterhouse should be obtained and the account with them audited and an account be kept against him here, a thing which had not been done in the past or a least for a long time.”<sup>80</sup>

This movement towards more consistent record keeping was embraced by Noall when he returned in the 1890s to take over as mission president and plantation manager. His efforts to survey the lo`i and rice fields reflected a rationalization not only of the financial books but also of the land itself. Woolley’s journals indicate a fair amount of time spent with the books. On Friday, March 7, 1902, Woolley wrote: “I have been entering

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<sup>79</sup>Minutes, 28 September 1886, 58-60.

<sup>80</sup>Minutes, 28 September 1886, 58-60. At approximately the same time that the missionaries complained of the poor state of their financial records, the hui in Kahana (begun by Native Hawaiian Saints who left La`ie when Mitchell attempted to shut down their growing `awa) was using an “adequate double-entry accounting system with verified trial balances.” See Robert H. Stauffer, *Kahana: How the Land was Lost* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2004), 136.

accounts all day and figuring out labor.”<sup>81</sup> An existing financial statement from 1905 suggests that Woolley, indeed, kept tighter records than earlier presidents. The statement reveals that the plantation was using double entry bookkeeping, and it also included an itemized list of expenses for each sugarcane field.<sup>82</sup> Lā`ie was becoming more business-like.

In late 1907, Charles Nibley was made Presiding Bishop in the church. He instigated bringing up-to-date administrative practices in the church.<sup>83</sup> Thirteen years later Nibley was still serving as Presiding Bishop and traveled with Reed Smoot to Lā`ie. While in Hawai`i he looked over the plantation and wrote to the new prophet, Heber J. Grant, and suggested hiring a local Chinese bookkeeper who would be more adept at bookkeeping than the missionaries, who had little training or experience in accounting. He then listed the properties the church owned in Lā`ie and suggested:

We recommend that someone in whom the Trustee-in-Trust has absolute confidence, and on whom he can implicitly rely, should be sent there to represent him for the next year or two or three. The Church can well afford to pay a good man for this work. . . . it is difficult indeed to get a good manager. In fact, that is true of every business. At home here we see it in Z. C. M. I.; we experience it in banks and other places. Everything in the way of business depends on good management.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>81</sup>Woolley, Journal, 7 March 1902.

<sup>82</sup>“Financial Statement of Lā`ie Plantation, for the Year Ending Dec. 31, 1905,” Lā`ie Plantation. The balance sheet shows hold-over numbers from 1904, indicating that such reports had become a yearly event.

<sup>83</sup>Alexander, 105.

<sup>84</sup>Reed Smoot and Charles Nibley to Heber J. Grant and Counselors. 13 October 1920, Lā`ie Plantation.

This letter suggests that to authorities in Salt Lake City the plantation was a business in need of tighter management. The plantation logic had already rationalized the land by moving kuleana out of sugar fields, surveying the land and measuring it into acreage, moving Hawaiian workers into a central village, and creating a six-day work week. Such changes made the plantation profitable. Much of this money was used to support missionaries, pay workers and school teachers, build churches, and even much of the temple expense. One of the prices paid for this rationalization was a decline in the number of Hawaiian workers on the plantation. The emphasis on rationalization and profit, combined with the movement of Native Hawaiians away from the sugar plantation, Woolley's strike-breaking tactics, and Saturday work, suggests movement toward the oppositional and increasingly exploitive labor relations. This is supported by the research of Comfort Margaret Bock, who completed her thesis in 1941 on the Mormon Church in Hawai'i. She noted: "As labor conditions became complex and the natives generally were not so apt as other workers, they were replaced by Japanese and Filipinos."<sup>85</sup>

Nibley's letter suggests that another tidewater change was about to come to the plantation. The corresponding minimizing of the gathering place principle that accompanied the logic of constructing the temple meant that the plantation was free to follow principles of business management, with the bottom line increasingly emphasized.

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<sup>85</sup>Comfort Margaret Bock, "The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in the Hawaiian Islands" (M.A. thesis: University of Hawaii, 1941), 93.

The decline of the metaphor of gathering paved the way for a new manager focused on fiscal matters. In 1921, Antoine Ivins arrived as the new manager.<sup>86</sup>

#### Hawaiian Use of the Metaphor in the 1920s

The changes coming out of Salt Lake did not necessarily reflect changes in Native Hawaiian use of the metaphor. It is, in fact, during this decade when the plantation was increasingly rationalized that resistance by Native Hawaiians to the Utah redefinition of the metaphor emerged most strongly. Records suggest that, through the 1920s, the gathering metaphor was still strong among Native Hawaiian members in Lā`ie and that they still held tightly to their collectivist cultural values. Legal documents from two court cases challenging land management decisions by the plantation managers also suggest that the Native Hawaiians resisted the capitalistic logic of the plantation by asserting a collective usufruct moral rights to the land. The connection between the land and the gathering place is given further emphasis in these two 1920s court cases.

In 1920, Emalaina Parker took local church leaders—E. Wesley Smith, S. E. Woolley, Wilford Cole, and Ralph Woolley—to court over land disputes. Parker, who was married to John Parker, a sugar field foreman in 1910 and a sugar worker in 1920, argued that the church gave her land for her lifetime and that the plantation had reneged on its agreement. The copy of the bill of complaint given to the plantation contains not only the typed officious wording of a legal document, but it also contains in the margins handwritten notes that most likely belong to Samuel Woolley. This document provides one of

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<sup>86</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 137.

the most dramatic moments of juxtaposing two different cultural understandings of the metaphor of the gathering place.

Several excerpts are listed below. The comments in italics are the handwritten comments.

[Emalaina Parker] was, and now is, a member of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, which is an unincorporated voluntary religious association in the Territory of Hawaii, and that she has been and now is entitled to all the rights and privileges as a member of said association. *she is not ....*

[Emalaina Parker] alleges that said respondents . . . have been duly elected by the congregation of said church to represent said congregation and to manage the business affairs of the same. *they were not*<sup>87</sup>

In these paragraphs Parker established a collectivity or group in the ahupua`a that was defined by membership in the church. As a part of that collective she claimed certain rights, which she went on to establish in subsequent paragraphs. In the second paragraph above she rejected the paternalism of the missionaries by centering their authority in a mandate from the congregation. Mormons had and still continue the practice of sustaining their leaders by a lifting of hands. It is sometimes called sustaining and sometimes called voting. That “voting” was a term used on the plantation is evidenced by the conference minutes in 1916, when Woolley said: “After it had been announced in conference and voted upon to build a temple in Hawaii.”<sup>88</sup> It is difficult from these two excerpts to know exactly how this process was seen in Lā`ie. Woolley’s “they were not” suggests that his use of the term is more in line with a sustaining motion rather than an actual mandate.

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<sup>87</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith*, Bill of Complaint, 8 April 1920, Lā`ie Plantation.

<sup>88</sup>Woolley, regular annual, 8 April 1916, 81.



Parker's Bill of Complaint asserts a more equitable rendering of the term "vote," where the leaders of the church represented the congregation. In some ways, Parker's depiction resembles the ideal roles of ali'i nui and konohiki in precontact times to act as "a trustee of all the people" living in particular land units. Neither the people working the land, nor the rulers "owned" the land.<sup>89</sup>

And your oratrix further alleges that the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had purchased and had the use and control of . . . the District of Laie, . . . and that said lands were being apportioned out to the members of the congregation of said church, for life, who would take and cultivate the same. . . . [Parker], as a member of the congregation of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, applied to respondent S. E. Woolley, . . . manager and representative of the property of the said association for the District of Laie, for an award of a certain piece of property comprising a little less than three-fourths of an acre for the purpose of cultivating the same and erecting thereon a home in which she could live for the period of her natural life. . . .<sup>90</sup>

Here, Parker drew on traditional Hawaiian notions of property rights and reciprocity.

Such a notion existed in precontact times even down to the Mahele. MacKenzie, in describing precontact land practices, wrote:

The concept of private ownership of land had no place in early Hawaiian thought. Although some scholars have described Hawaiian land tenure as if the high chief owned the land in the Western sense, these descriptions tend to oversimplify and distort the ancient Hawaiian system. Within the Hawaiian hierarchical structure, the high chief had ultimate power, but it was not without limits. As the Hawaiian

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<sup>89</sup>Hawai'i State Dept. of Budget and Finance (Hawai'i Institute for Management and Analysis in Government), *Land and Water Resource Management in Hawaii* 148 (1979); quoted in Melody Kapilialoha MacKenzie, ed., *Native Hawaiian Rights Handbook*, (Honolulu: Native Hawaiian Legal Corporation; Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1991), 4.

<sup>90</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith, La'ie Plantation*, 2-3.

scholar David Malo wrote, “the king was over all the people; he was the supreme executive, so long, however, as he did right.”<sup>91</sup>

Parker’s bill of complaint drew on traditional Hawaiian notions of property. She did not claim the property as her own. Instead, it was the use of the property that she claimed. On the other hand, she did not see Woolley as owning the land either. His power or mana to administer the land was based on whether what he did was right.

This document not only points to different interpretations of property between Parker and Woolley, but it also suggests ways that the ideal of the gathering place and its land had been coordinated between Native Hawaiians and foreign missionaries. At the time Lā`ie was first settled, both Hawaiians and Mormons came from different but collectivist cultures. Both felt discomfort with the competitiveness and acquisitiveness often inherent in capitalism as it emerged in Hawai`i. As part of building the gathering place, it appears that when the missionaries first came to Lā`ie, both missionaries and Hawaiians who had gathered there lived on the land without title and without rent until the mid-1890s. At that time a rent of twenty-five cents per year was charged.<sup>92</sup> The timing is not surprising. The rent was invoked at the very time when the collectivity of the hybrid plantation was declining. It was also approximately the same time when many Kānaka Maoli were relocated near the missionary enclave. Twenty-five cents annually was such a

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<sup>91</sup>MacKenzie, 4.

<sup>92</sup>“Palapala Aelike, Elua,” July 1917, Lā`ie Plantation. These lease documents indicate that twenty-five cents was charged annually for rent. Britsch, 117, suggested that the rent was designed to remind tenants that the church held title to the land. This underscores that while land management was coordinated between Kānaka Maoli and missionaries, there was plenty of room for misunderstanding.

small amount that it did not challenge that Native Hawaiian sense of usufruct rights, which they held before and continued to hold after the Mahele.

In other words, the coordination of land usage in Lā`ie was not based on a complete understanding or exploration of the two cultures' very different land assumptions. It was based on mutual needs and practices that often worked together for the benefit of both groups. Each could continue to hold on to their own assumptions of how the land was used and perhaps even believe the other group held the same assumptions. The moments of rupture and resistance came when the contradictory assumptions in the two cultures surfaced. An example of how two people could use the same terminology and discourse and yet mean very different things is demonstrated in Parker's legal complaint. There Parker asserted her rights to the land based on her use and productivity. Again, she positioned herself in the gathering place by her payment of tithing.

. . . She has lived on said premises in undisputed and exclusive possession thereof since the month of July 1899, until the present time and has from time to time when requested paid to said church her tithes, to-wit, ten percent of her yearly income, relying upon her rights as a member of said church and on the agreement that the members of said congregation should have for the period of their natural lives the property upon which they had erected residences and which they had cultivated, and that she in particular would have the exclusive possession of said property so allotted to her as aforesaid. *Tithes has nothing to do with the land [regulated by lease]*<sup>93</sup>

Woolley, on the other hand, drew on Western concepts of rule of law and the regulatory power of a lease. In doing so, he compartmentalized land out of the gathering metaphor.

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<sup>93</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith, Lā`ie Plantation.*

Woolley also interpreted Parker's narrative regarding tithing as a claim of entitlement rather than as a symbol or metaphor of placement within the community.

Parker then developed her claim to the land by highlighting her use of the land.

S. E. Woolley . . . awarded . . . [Parker] the said piece of property, which at that time was uncultivated and covered with lantana bushes and other weeds; and . . . [Parker] and her husband thereupon, relying upon the statements and representations of said S. E. Woolley . . . proceeded to cultivate and fence the same and erected thereon a residence and planted flowers, fruit trees and other trees upon the same and expended two thousand dollars (\$2,000) in the erection of a residence thereon. *only on a portion of it.*

And [Parker] . . . has expended large sums of money in caring for and beautifying said premises and in repairing said residence. . . .<sup>94</sup>

However, Parker did not just establish usufruct rights. She also appropriated the paternalism of the early missionaries as a critique of Woolley. Just as the missionary metaphor had been about civilizing and creating a garden, Parker beautified the land and made it productive. She fulfilled her part of the gathering and asserted that it was Woolley and his son who diminished her ability to fulfill the metaphor.

. . . Ralph E. Woolley, as a contractor, through his agents and servants under instructions from respondents Wesley E. Smith, S. E. Woolley and Wilford J Cole, as your oratrix is informed and believes, tore down the fence on the property of your oratrix and placed building lumber upon her premises and proceeded to destroy her plants and trees, and have trespassed upon the property of your oratrix and will destroy the same *notice was duly given years ago. no fruit or shade trees upon land in question. . .*<sup>95</sup>

Then Parker went on to once again reject the paternalism of the missionary metaphor and instead highlighted the collective aspect of it.

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<sup>94</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith, Lā'ie Plantation.*

<sup>95</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith, Lā'ie Plantation.*

And your oratrix further alleges that all of these things being done by the respondents herein are without any right or justification or any instruction from the congregation of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, but under the pretended authority respondents, . . . who are assuming to manage the affairs of said organization. . . .<sup>96</sup>

The two narratives in the complaint—Parker’s and Woolley’s—speak to very different ways of seeing the gathering place. Woolley’s comments suggest a much more hierarchical church than does Parker’s. Woolley’s was more governed by paper contracts. Parker also saw a relationship, but one based on agreement and use.

Shortly after this lawsuit by Parker, Woolley was let go as plantation manager. Ivins was sent to manage the plantation, with no responsibility over the mission or the temple. A significant body of correspondence survives between Ivins and Zions Securities, which was created in 1922 to manage church-owned taxable properties.<sup>97</sup> As such, his correspondence reflected the growing separation of the ecclesiastical and business arms of the church. It details an increasingly rationalized, bureaucratic, and compartmentalized approach to business. One letter from the manager of Zions Securities, John Wells, captures the increasing intensity of record keeping and provides a striking contrast to the nineteenth-century Lā`ie letters, which conveyed an integrated sense of spiritual and material. Instead of occasional letters, this correspondence indicates a profound increase in paperwork. “We acknowledge receipt of your letters numbers 34

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<sup>96</sup>*Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith, Lā`ie Plantation; Emalaina Parker vs. E. Wesley Smith*, First Circuit Court Records Office, Honolulu. The case was dismissed when Parker did not file a bond for the payment of court costs if she lost the case.

<sup>97</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 152.

and 35, . . . together with your report of the plantation for the month of March and the monthly payroll summary.”<sup>98</sup> The next passage illuminates a growing, compartmentalized bureaucracy.

The Committee would very much like you, when writing to this office, to confine each letter to one subject, rather than to put several different items in one letter. If but one matter is taken up in a letter, it is possible for this office to give more prompt attention to the question than when the letter must go from one department to another, receiving attention in each department, as must be done when several items are treated in one letter.<sup>99</sup>

Although few archival diaries exist for this period, the business correspondence gives a picture of Ivins attempting to pull the plantation out of debt. By 1915 most of the cultivatable land in Lā`ie was in sugar, kalo, or pineapple. Rice fields had been transformed to cane land. Sugar prices were high from the First World War until approximately 1920.<sup>100</sup> However, by 1920 U.S. sugar prices had seriously dropped and the church’s sugar beet businesses in Idaho and Utah were seriously in debt. And so was Lā`ie. Overall, the 1920s were a difficult time for church businesses.<sup>101</sup>

#### Native Hawaiian Resistance to the Selling of the Ahupua`a

Britsch noted that in 1927 the church sold some beachfront property in Lā`ie to pay off debts.<sup>102</sup> This action was extremely offensive to many Native Hawaiians within

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<sup>98</sup>John Wells to Antoine R. Ivins, 20 January 1927, Lā`ie Plantation.

<sup>99</sup>John Wells to Antoine R. Ivins, 20 January 1927, Lā`ie Plantation.

<sup>100</sup>Alexander, 82.

<sup>101</sup>Alexander, 83, 87.

<sup>102</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 152.

the ahupua`a. A lawsuit was brought against the church by George K. Kekauoha, the son of H. N. Kekauoha, one of the prominent Native Hawaiian church leaders in La`ie. George Kekauoha had worked for both Kahuku and La`ie Plantations as a luna.<sup>103</sup> In 1910, the census listed Kekauoha as a po`i retail merchant.<sup>104</sup> He was listed on the 1920 census as a lawyer working at the district court.<sup>105</sup>

Britsch contextualized the beachfront land sale in the following way:

The plantation could not hold its own in the world sugar market, and by 1927 it was falling into debt. In an effort to recover its losses, Ivins decided to sell some beachfront property. But the \$275,000 brought in by this sale failed to meet the plantation debts and the sale also angered some Laie old-timers, who did not believe that the Zion's Securities . . . had the right to sell the land. Apparently some of Laie's residents did not believe that any property could be sold without their approval. The impression had grown that the land belonged to the people who lived on it, or at least that they had a right to direct its use. This was proved to be incorrect in a court case brought before the land court of the Territory of Hawaii, which was decided in favor of Zions' Securities.<sup>106</sup>

Britsch's analysis accurately conveys the legal decision; however, it portrays the court as an objective arbitrator rather than part of a system embedded with and driven by Western assumptions regarding property and morality. In this court case, Sally Engle Merry's observation that certain logics prevail is manifested. The assumptions that favored a ruling for the church's interpretation of what constituted land rights had been shaped approximately eighty years earlier when the Mahele was instituted. Those rules commodifying land made it almost impossible for the logic of Kekauoha's interpretation

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<sup>103</sup>Samuel E. Woolley, Journal, 21 April 1900 and 24 March 1902.

<sup>104</sup>1910 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 37 [B]

<sup>105</sup>1920 U.S. Census, Laie, p. 54A.

<sup>106</sup>Britsch, *Moramona*, 152.

of the gathering to prevail in a court of law. Nonetheless, both Parker and Kekauoha drew up legal documents that challenged the assumptions underlying the Mahele and the missionaries' construct of property. These documents offer not only a legal critique but a moral critique. Seventy years after the Mahele, they asserted traditional land beliefs. This is not to say those cultural traditions transported themselves unchanged over seven decades. Instead Parker and Kekauoha integrated traditional Native Hawaiian practices and their Mormon faith.

Woolley's handwritten comments on Parker's complaint suggest that, although he had lived among Native Hawaiians for most of his life, he was still caught by surprise by Parker's assertions. Even though his conference talks suggest that he had an inkling of the importance of land to Native Hawaiians, he either did not understand their framing of land usage or he understood it and rejected it. The U. S. court system sustained the views of Woolley and Ivins and carried forward the logic of the Mahele and the logic of the plantation. From the perspective of many Native Hawaiians in Lā'ie, the court ruled incorrectly. As with the lawsuit by Parker, this case points to the continuity of the Hawaiian notion of usufruct rights and the traditional emphasis of inhabitants' right to the use of the whole ahupua`a for their sustenance. It also gives voice to how some Native Hawaiians interwove these traditions with their sense of what it meant to live in the gathering place.

Kekauoha's legal arguments noticeably resemble Parker's. Kekauoha argued that he was and had been an active member of the church. They both laid out their perspective of what that membership in Lā'ie included. As did Parker, Kekauoha argued that the land belonged collectively to the members of the church.



That the said lands, and every part thereof, are the property of the several members of the said Church residing in the said Territory, to be enjoyed by them solely for church purposes in the said Territory.

That the Trustee and Trustees named in the said Application . . . did not and do not have or possess any power or authority to sell or convey the said lands or any part thereof, nor were or have been, at any time heretofore, and nor now given or invested with any power or authority to sell or convey the said lands or any part thereof; . . . That the alleged deed to the Zion's Security Corporation and other deeds whereby and whereunder the Petitioner now claims title to said Lands, if the same were executed as alleged and as set forth in the said Abstract, were acts done without the knowledge, consent, or approval of the said members of the said Church in Hawaii.<sup>107</sup>

Kekauoha also rejected the paternalism inherent in the missionary metaphor of the gathering and appropriated the idea of sustaining and consent as a restraint on the misuse of power by leaders. He stated: "The Trustees-in-Trust of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints had no right or power to convey said lands to the Zions Securities Corporation from who the applicant purchased said lands."<sup>108</sup> In this, Kekauoha critiqued both the idea of private property and the prioritization of business over the rights of the Saints living in the ahupua`a. The breaking up of the ahupua`a challenged not only the traditional concepts of land usage, but also signified a colonization of the beach.

The lawyers for Pacific Trust Company, Limited, apparently representing developers Mr. Child and Mr. Cooke, successfully petitioned for Kekauoha to give "the sum of Five Hundred Dollars" security to cover costs for the trial.<sup>109</sup> As part of this

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<sup>107</sup>Answer, Claim, and Objection of George K. Kekauoha, 56, in Legal Records, Court Cases, Box 1, 1927, Archives and Special Collections, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University, La`ie (hereafter cited as Legal Records).

<sup>108</sup>Answer, Claim, 139, Legal Records.

<sup>109</sup>The records are somewhat obscure on amounts exchanged and the actual buyers. The deed says that the exchange was for one dollar. It never refers to the buyers in individual terms. However, in his yearly report, Ivins wrote: "As you are fully aware the sale of the

motion, the attorneys obtained from the tax assessor a letter listing Kekauoha's homestead lots in Waianae and their valuation from the tax assessor. Approximately one week later, on January 7, 1928, Kekauoha withdrew his claim and objection.<sup>110</sup> The sale was sustained by the court. Fifty-two years later in an oral interview Kekauoha's niece, Bella Linkee, gave this narrative of the event:

He started to petition amongst the people here in Laie, because Laie was sold for a dollar, you know. He was sort of bringing up that same Gibson—the sale of Lanai, you know—so the people all woke up to the effect. But actually members did not put money down for this land. It was just that we pay our tithing and everything like it was the Church's purchase of the land, you see. So when President Ivins heard that my uncle was circulating this thing here—of course, the transaction had gone through already—so they bribed my uncle, they paid him so many thousands dollars. Heck, he care! He never saw the thing through.<sup>111</sup>

Linkee's rendering of the rupture over the beachfront land draws on a collective memory dating back to the lost land in Lā na`i. There is bitterness in the expression “Laie was sold

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Lā`ie Beach Lots to Mr. Child and Mr. Cooke precipitated a scrap when Torrens Title was asked for. That has now been overcome and the title has been granted.” Antoine Ivins, “Manager's report for 1927,” Lā`ie Plantation. Perhaps more importantly, much of the correspondence from 1927 regarding the land is addressed to Alexander Baldwin, agents for Lā`ie. It is likely that as agent, they pressured Ivins to sell land in order to pay off the debt to them.

<sup>110</sup>Answer, Claim, 70-76, Legal Records.

<sup>111</sup>Bella Linkee, interview by Kenneth Baldrige, 12 July 1979, 41, Social Sciences. It was not just Native Hawaiians that criticized the sale. Edward Clissold was a missionary in 1921 and settled in Hawai`i afterwards for over forty years. He also related that the land was sold to recoup plantation losses. He told Ralph Woolley (Samuel Woolley's son and a later manager of Zions Securities) that “I had never criticized his administration. . . . But I was critical of the situation that developed out here when Brother [Antoine R.] Ivins sold the beach frontage in order to cover the loss in the plantation. I was critical of that and hoped that that might sometime be remedied.” However, much of his concern was that the sale was a poor business deal. Edward Clissold, interview by Kenneth W. Baldrige, 11 February 1980/5, April 1982, Social Sciences, 30, 32.

for a dollar.”<sup>112</sup> Although the actual amount of the property was \$275,000, as is often the case in real estate transactions, the deed recorded the exchange of one dollar. The anger expressed by Linkee decades later was widespread in 1927.

### Plantation Model

The year of 1927 was difficult for the plantation not only because of the estrangement between Zions Securities and people in Lā`ie. It was also difficult because it was becoming increasingly clear that the Lā`ie Plantation was going to follow the trajectory of other small plantations in Hawai`i. It was too small and inconsequential to compete with the larger plantations. Lā`ie’s dependency on Kahuku and Lā`ie’s agent, Alexander and Baldwin, caught up with the plantation. In trying to obtain a more favorable agreement with Kahuku, Ivins attempted to renegotiate the contract. While Ivins was able to lower the amount paid to Kahuku for grinding the cane from 10 percent to 5 percent, Kahuku inserted some new expenses to be charged to Lā`ie. Ivins’s assessment of the deal was that it was a draw: “On the face of it this would appear to be a great concession but the Mill insists upon making additional expense charges that will

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<sup>112</sup>It was not unusual for deeds to give a token amount. Correspondence between Ivins and Zions Securities suggests that the amount exchanged for the beach lots was actually \$275,000.00. John Wells to Antoine R. Ivins, 2 May 1927. Lā`ie Plantation. The letter reads: “This will acknowledge receipt of the check for \$275,000.00 from Alexander and Baldwin, Lmtd., for the sale of the Laie beach lands to Mr. Child.” Also a telegram from A. W. Ivins to Antoine Ivins on 14 February 1927 stated: “ACCEPT OFFER TWO HUNDRED SEVENTY FIVE THOUSAND.” Another letter dated 29 March 1927 indicates that the Child referred to was J. F. Child. Alexander & Baldwin, Ltd. to Zions Securities. Lā`ie Plantation.

offset this perhaps totally.”<sup>113</sup> He added that Kahuku was open to further negotiation and even “willing that we should benefit by the new arrangement.”<sup>114</sup> Morrell, who worked with Ivins, was interviewed fifty-three years later and noted the following regarding the sale of the land:

It’s a sad thing to have to do but I think they were losing money and they could not continue losing money. They just could not stay in business if they did not do something about it.<sup>115</sup>

It was not just the dependency that created the difficulty. Lā`ie’s small size and position on the Windward Side meant that the volume of cane was not enough to make a profit, particularly as Kahuku negotiated contracts to its advantage. Just as important was the fact that Lā`ie was too wet to grow cane that had enough sugar in it to turn a profit. In drier parts of the islands, the cane ripened more quickly. Morrell, who worked on the plantation in 1925 explained the problem this way:

Here at Laie we had difficulty in getting our cane ripe so that we could get peak sugar content within the cane. When we would cut the water off, so that the cane would ripen—we have quite a bit of rain in this area and it would keep the cane green and the juices flowing into the cane stalk. And so the sugar content in the cane is not as great as it is at Ewa. Ewa is a drier area and when you cut the irrigation water off, then it stops growing [then] you cut it, and there’s a good deal of difference in the sugar content here. And this is one of the things that we were plagued with on this plantation; we could never get the tons of sugar that Ewa would get, because of the wet weather.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>Antoine Ivins to Zions Securities Corporation, Lā`ie. Plantation.

<sup>114</sup>Atonine Ivins, “Manager’s Report,” 8 November 1927, Lā`ie Plantation.

<sup>115</sup>Morrell, Social Sciences, 57-58.

<sup>116</sup>Morrell, 1, Social Sciences.

According to Ivins, the bright side to that year was an abundance of workers. Ivins was able to bring in large numbers of Filipinos. In his July Monthly Report, he wrote: “Labor is easier now than it has been for some time due to the unexpected arrival of a ship load of 750 Filipinos who came to Hawaii on their own accord, many of whom had been here before under contract with the H.S.P.A.”<sup>117</sup>

Much of this decade is invisible in regard to the workers. The court documents of Parker and Kekauoha give us only limited access to the people of Lā`ie. Few archival diaries give a sense of what was happening. For decades, Jenson’s history of the mission integrated mission and plantation narratives; however, with the separation of the two entities, news of the plantation declined. Some information can be obtained in the census. By 1930, Lā`ie’s population had declined to 522, approximately its pre-Temple number. Approximately 11 percent of Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie worked on the plantation, 77 percent of Lā`ie sugar workers were Filipino, and 1 percent Japanese. These numbers tell us that within ten years Lā`ie had changed dramatically. Most of the Japanese and Chinese families living in Lā`ie in 1920 moved away within the next decade. Numerically, the largest number of workers were single, Filipino men living in their own camp. The “other” group was mostly made up of Samoans who had immigrated to Lā`ie because of the temple and worked as supervisors of the Filipino workers (See Appendix B).

While this much is known, there is so much that remains a mystery. The huge decline in the number of Japanese workers is particularly puzzling. Between 1910 and

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<sup>117</sup>Antoine Ivins, Report for July, 3 August 1927, 2, Lā`ie Plantation.

1920, the Japanese community appeared robust. Yet by 1930, only 1 percent of the sugar workers in Lā`ie were Japanese, compared to 19 percent on other islands. Only four Japanese heads of family remained in Lā`ie. The number of Hawaiians in Lā`ie working on the plantation is perhaps not so surprising. It is still higher than on other plantations; but we can surmise that as Ivins took over management of the plantation and worked on rationalizing the work, Hawaiians once again chose to find other work. Their children continued to work on the plantations during summer breaks.<sup>118</sup>

Ivins suggested that the plantation be sold to Kahuku. The church held on to the land, but sold all the plantation equipment and leased out the land to Kahuku. A copy of a bill of sale, in the plantation's records, indicates that Kahuku agreed to pay off the Lā`ie's debt of \$243,162.81 to the agent Alexander & Baldwin and to pay Lā`ie Plantation \$112,500.00.<sup>119</sup>

### Conclusion

The decision to sell the beachfront property speaks to different ways of seeing the land. To Hawaiians, the ahupua`a was a traditional land unit, with all of its parts, from the top of the mountains to the reefs, seen as part of the `āina sustaining community life. All of the ahupua`a was still used by Native Hawaiians in Lā`ie to support their families. There they collected limu (sea weed), harvested fish, grew kalo, collected mangos in the mountains. When the church sold the beach lots, it broke up the ahupua`a. The beach, which had once been mostly free from colonizing influences, was slated for houses. To

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<sup>118</sup>Morrel, 4, Social Sciences.

<sup>119</sup>Bill of Sale, 7 July 1931, Lā`ie Plantation.

Hawaiians, the land and sea spoke of relationships to each other, to God, and in many ways even to the missionaries. Some Hawaiians who accepted the metaphor of the gathering linked the metaphor to the land. Through gathering and caring for the land, Native Hawaiians could once again find pono.

For most of the foreign missionaries who came, the ahupua`a and the gathering place were seen as temporary habitations for themselves and even, at times, for Native Hawaiians. In their own way and own means, they too sought a form of pono or righteousness through the gathering. In many ways it is not surprising that these two peoples could find a way to coordinate for so many decades the cultivating of the land and faith.

By 1915, it was evident that the Utah church and its missionaries had changed somewhat from the collectivist culture of the 1880s. The changing of the Utah metaphor signaled the transition of the church from a stance often critical of capitalism to one that in many ways embraced capitalism. After 1921, the plantation manager was no longer the ecclesiastical leader of the islands. He was a manager of a plantation. The consolidation of lo`i kalo made it possible for the rationalization of sugar fields. Work on the plantation for both the missionaries and sugar workers was intensified into a six-day week.

By the time the beachfront property was sold, it was becoming clear that the metaphor of the gathering for the missionaries had changed dramatically. It was also clear that the metaphor for Hawaiians was rooted in the place of the ahupua`a of Lā`ie. When

the land was sold, it was not just the ahupua`a sundered. The coordination between metaphors was sundered also.

By 1930, Lā`ie was no longer an exceptional plantation. The workforce was similar to most other plantations—mostly Filipino. As on other plantations, the Filipino workers in Lā`ie lived in a plantation ethnic camp. Thus with the demise of the gathering place, the logic of the plantation triumphed. Ironically, that triumph brought with it the end of Lā`ie Plantation as a separate entity. It could not compete in the global sugar market and was swallowed up by Kahuku Plantation. In 1931, the church leased much of its arable land in Lā`ie to Kahuku Plantation, who continued to grow sugar in the ahupua`a for the next thirty or so years.



## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

When the Mormon missionaries bought the the ahupua`a of Lā`ie in 1865, they hoped to create a gathering place where Native Hawaiian converts could settle, grow strong in their faith, and learn Western-styled industry. Together Mormon Kānaka Maoli and missionaries created a gathering place and plantation that were unique for their time. The gathering place was unusual in Mormon experience because nineteenth-century Mormon missionaries generally encouraged their converts to gather to the Great Basin. However, because of the depopulation of Native Hawaiians from disease, the laws in Hawai`i prohibited any sizable movement of Hawaiian converts to Utah. Thus the metaphor of gathering was transplanted onto the ahupua`a of Lā`ie in a colonial setting.

The colonial setting had two particularly important implications. The first was that gathering in Hawai`i, in fact, made it easier for Native Hawaiian converts to perpetuate their culture. In a satisfying symmetry, this takes us back to where we began—a visit to Lā`ie by King Kalākaua. His visit illuminates that, despite the overlay of missionary culture, Hawaiians insisted on claiming the feast as their own. In 1883, King Kalākaua arrived for the dedication of the meetinghouse, which had been begun on the earlier visit. This occasion was filled with drama as Kalākaua arrived in Lā`ie by steamer. “His Majesty expressed some doubts about being able to get in, but our native pilot (Kanawai)

assured him that there was no danger; he was accordingly given charge of the vessel and he brought her through the reef all right.” Once again people lined the road from the sea to the new meeting house. There, after the King changed and dressed in “spotless white,” he went to the church where approximately 500 people waited. The congregation sang the Hawaiian national anthem and remained standing until he was seated. These expressions of skill and respect were not unexpected by the missionaries; however, there is one entry that suggests missionary surprise at how Native Hawaiian Saints chose to express their cultural practices. After the dedication, the people retired to a “mammoth Hawaiian Feast.” In Edward Partridge’s account of the event, he noted: “This passed off very pleasantly. Some of us were a little non-plussed at first on finding that no knives, forks, or spoons had been prepared, but we soon found that all excepting our foreign ladies were prepared to follow the Royal example.”<sup>1</sup> While the lack of utensils can be seen as a small matter, it illuminates how the feast was both an expression of pride in the new church building and pride in being Hawaiian. It was the King that was the primary audience for the Hawaiian Saints at the feast, not the missionaries. Sometimes utensils were provided for missionaries. However, at this feast for the King, the Native Hawaiian Saints chose not to provide such utensils. The Hawaiian Saints structured the sharing of the bounty of the ahupua`a so that even the foreign missionaries participated in the celebration in such a way as to emphasize Hawaiian culture.

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<sup>1</sup>Edward Partridge, Jr., 6 October 1883, Andrew Jenson, comp., “History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints,” (photocopy), Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, Lā`ie.

The second implication is articulated in the missionaries' desire not just to convert Hawaiians to Mormonism but also to Western cultural practices. The missionaries did not see or treat Kānaka Maoli in equitable terms. Missionary paternalism was expressed even in how the missionaries sought to shape Kānaka Maoli relationships with the King. Harvey Cluff wrote to John Taylor in 1881: "We participated in the grand reception tendered the King on his return to Honolulu from circumnavigating the earth. We saw that many of our people were designing to go to Honolulu, and we thought it best to exercise some control over them and keep them in order; hence we arranged to hold a conference there the two days preceeding the arrival of the King."<sup>2</sup>

This uniqueness of the gathering also points to the uniqueness of Lā`ie Plantation and to the central question asked by this dissertation: Why did Kānaka Maoli continue to work on the plantation well after most Native Hawaiians left plantation work? Much of the answer lies in the crop that joined both the gathering place and plantation—kalo. Many who gathered to Lā`ie moved there and stayed not only because of their faith but also because they could continue to use the ahupua`a in Hawaiian ways. Thus growing kalo was integrated into Kānaka Maoli appropriation of the metaphor of gathering. Part of this integration included continually negotiating ways to more fully control the means of their food production. They continued to grow kalo, `awa, sweet potatoes, and to fish the bay. While the archival records clearly document the continuity of these foodways, offer only hints of the collective relationships of labor used to grow and process these foods. Matthew Noall's account of kalo planters resisting to Enoch Farr's claim to konohiki

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<sup>2</sup>Harvey Cluff to John Taylor, 13 November 1881, in Jenson.

rights in taxing the harvest suggests that La`ie planters continued to work together. This collective approach not only speaks of traditional labor practices but also of a resistance to missionary efforts to regulate kalo production and fishing rights.

While kalo was a central focus for Hawaiian Saints who gathered to La`ie, it was also necessary to find a sustainable commercial crop. After the disappointment of the colony in Lāna`i, Native Hawaiian members moved to La`ie only after missionaries showed a willingness to invest capital into a mill. The early missionaries experimented with several crops, finally finding success with sugar. Together Kānaka Maoli and missionaries moved towards creating a hybrid sugar plantation. Especially unusual was the fact that the plantation did not use contract labor. Instead the plantation used stint labor and sharecropping for sugar production. The wage labor was clearly seen by missionaries as less exploitive than contract labor and letting the land out for shares was an attempt to sidestep the conflicts that grew out of wage labor. The small size of the plantation gave flexibility to manager and laborer alike. When the work season was slow, maintenance could be performed by a few Kānaka Maoli and missionaries. At times of harvest, a call could go out to increase the workforce.

The metaphor of the gathering powerfully influenced the structure of labor relations on the plantation. For example, the missionary metaphor of gathering was heavily influenced by the collective culture brought from Utah. The missionaries experimented with various forms of cooperatives and united orders among themselves. Cooperative housing, kitchens, and labor focused not just on furthering the missionaries' ability to proselyte but also to make the plantation more financially viable. This collective

culture and the construction of work as an expression of faith meant that missionaries performed labors not usually done by Whites on plantations. Not only did this emphasis provide the Mormon plantation managers the ability to synchronize labor with a fluidity that other plantations lacked by moving the missionaries in and out of skilled and unskilled labor, but it also provided a motivation for the missionaries to increase the intensity and efficiency of their labor for a higher cause.

The metaphor of the gathering also contributed to Hawaiians working on the plantation as long as they did. Since the purpose of the plantation was to support the gathering of Hawaiians, a policy emerged that lasted until the late 1890s of hiring only Hawaiians. This created an artificial labor shortage that increased the negotiating power of Kānaka Maoli in shaping labor practices. Until the early 1900s, when Samuel Woolley hired Japanese and Chinese workers, Kānaka Maoli successfully maintained Saturdays for making poi. They also successfully used work slowdowns and strikes. It appears that the strikes in 1884 and 1886 not only expressed resentment against missionaries' attempt to control Hawaiians voting patterns but deliberately created election holidays.

Since I argue that La'ie Plantation was exceptional, the merits of the study are not in generalizing its findings for other plantations. Rather the benefit of this study is that it extends the boundaries of existing plantation literature to include Kānaka Maoli experience on sugar plantations for the last part of the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the twentieth century and how they appropriated Christianity to face the challenges of imperialism. Studying Mormon experiences in Hawaii, with its rich repository of records, allows us to examine the choices some maka'āinana made when

confronted with complex choices.<sup>3</sup> One interpretation is to see such acceptance of religion as assimilation and accommodation. Certainly, in Hawai`i, Western religions increased the cultural, legal, and economic domination of foreigners. However, in the face of that growing domination, nineteenth-century La`ie suggests that it could also provide a space for Hawaiians to protect and perpetuate many traditional practices. In this ahupua`a, the connection to the land and to kalo continued strong until 1930 and beyond. While Kānaka Maoli adapted to the Mahele and used the legal system to resist some missionary incursions on the land, the response to the selling of the beachfront property in 1927 reveals that many Native Hawaiians in La`ie still conceptualized land in terms of usufruct rights rather than commodification and privatization. Oral histories combined with Antoine Ivin's observation of the intense anger generated by the selling of beachfront land suggests that such a view of the land was widespread in the community.

Part of this study also points to the processes that contributed to the decline of kalo cultivation and loss of lands on the islands. One reason Noall and Woolley could

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<sup>3</sup>The emphasis in La`ie on kalo suggests that many who gathered were commoners. Additionally, Jonathan Osorio suggested that the highest rank of those who attended the Calvinist missionary school, Lāhaināluna, in the 1830s was most likely "at best, chiefly servers, nothing more." Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo`ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai`i Press, 2002), 15. This perhaps puts in context the connections some Native Hawaiians Saints who lived in La`ie had with Hawaiian royalty. Men such as K. H. Kaleohano and Jonathana H. Napela, who both gathered to La`ie, graduated from Lāhaināluna. See Scott G. Kenney, "Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 1. Also see Andrew Jenson, comp., "History of the Hawaiian Mission of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," (photocopy), November 1869, 18 June 1878, and 29 April 1879, Pacific Island Room, Joseph F. Smith Library, Brigham Young University Hawai`i, La`ie, for a sampling of contacts made between these men and royalty. Such connections also point to the need to examine the genealogies of the people that lived in La`ie at the time the missionaries bought the land and the genealogies of those who came as part of the gathering.

justify actively seeking kuleana land was because the kalo blight made it difficult to continue to grow kalo in the traditional places. What they did not see or would not see is how the cultivation of sugar and rice contributed to the demise of kalo production. Even with the blight, Kānaka Maoli in Lā`ie tenaciously and creatively found ways to continue growing kalo. Because the metaphor of the gathering place created an artificial labor shortage, their efforts to keep Saturdays free for processing their poi continued on the plantation until the early 1900s. This decade seems to be an important one in regards to kalo, for it appears that it was also during this time that women moved away from plantation work into family lo`i kalo. The fact that women worked on the plantation before 1900 and then in lo`i after suggests that the movement into sugar work by women in Lā`ie freed up men to work more often in the lo`i kalo. Then as the men moved into road work, it appears that women and children moved into the loi kalo. While it is not clear from the records the exact dynamics of this process, the records testify that family work strategies adapted to the changing market economy in order to continue the production of kalo.

This study also reveals the sophistication with which Native Hawaiians practiced their faith. Some missionary leaders clearly misused their authority, including Walter Murray Gibson and Fredrick Mitchell. In both of these cases, Native Hawaiians wrote to Salt Lake asking for reprieve. In these two examples, both mission leaders were relieved from their duties. Cluff's record of the Mitchell incidence gives us more insights into the dynamics of that period. What emerges is not a critique or rejection of faith but Kānaka Maoli insistence on controlling the means of their production. When the metaphor of

gathering was strong, mission presidents managed the property with the notion that it was for the benefit of the church collective. As the plantation transformed from a hybrid plantation to part of a plantation center, profit became the goal. Both Noall and Woolley actively sought to acquire land for the plantation and moved kalo lo`i closer to the bay. This process of land acquisition and business rationalization culminated in the management of the ahupua`a being transferred from missionary management to Zions Securities Corporation, the property manager for the church. Zions Securities was structured in such a way as to maximize profits. Community bitterness towards church land practices seems to have intensified at this time. Since the move to make the plantation more businesslike grew out of changes emanating from Salt Lake City, success from an appeal to church hierarchy was unlikely to succeed. George Kekauoha attempted to stop the sale of property through the legal system. Since that system was based on the notion of defending property owners' rights, it is not surprising his effort failed.

In a world that increasingly seems divided into camps of secularism and fundamentalism, such studies of faith are important, particularly in postcolonial settings such as Lā`ie. Missionary work in many parts of the world can legitimately be seen as a part of the process that tears down traditions and community. However, Lā`ie suggests that religious movements can also facilitate the ability of people to hold on to many aspects of their collective culture even in the wake of capitalism. The institutional capital provided to run the plantation and the wages paid to Kānaka Maoli by the plantation provided greater opportunities for Kānaka Maoli to live in an increasingly capitalistic market economy *and* continue to work the ahupua`a in traditional ways. Lā`ie plantation



allowed them to persist in many traditions without having to directly take on the system in order to preserve them. While the Mormon missionaries rarely understood the depth of the connection Kānaka Maoli had with the `aina, they learned enough to consistently open up room and water for its cultivation. The coming together of Kānaka Maoli and missionaries created a culture where kalo was valued publicly as well as privately.

Today similarities continue to exist between the hybrid plantation of the nineteenth century and Brigham Young University Hawai`i, which is located in Lā`ie. While the managers of the hybrid plantation wanted the plantation to be economically healthy, the evidence suggests that during that time the logic of the gathering muted the drive for profit. While the university wrestles with current trends towards high corporate influence, the sponsorship of the church still provides the opportunity to create an alternative space to capitalism where profit is not the driving force in determining its success. However, in the same way that the plantation upper hierarchy was dominated by Haoles, the university administration and faculty is primarily peopled with U.S. mainland professors; staff positions are primarily drawn from local residents. Instead of a missionary compound on the hill, faculty live in rented houses clustered together. Lā`ie is still predominantly Mormon; thus, the intertwining of ecclesiastical and local life often weave together. The structure still invites complicated processes of coordination, conflict, and resistance between cultural groups.

Issues of metaphors and models are not just academic musings. They speak of interaction with systems and power entering into daily life. Contemporary Lā`ie wrestles with land issues once again that threaten to massively rupture our coordination into

conflict. Rocketing real estate prices mean that local families and their children increasingly cannot afford to rent or buy houses in Lā`ie. The university also finds itself reassessing housing issues as it becomes increasingly difficult to attract faculty to such an inflated real estate market. The successor of Zions Securities, now called Hawaii Reserve, Inc., promotes economic development with discussions of new hotels and shopping centers. The displacement promised by these developments unavoidably exacerbates divisions within the community.

The historical development of metaphor and model in the ahupua`a of Lā`ie suggests that contemporary coordination in Lā`ie is not so much based on in-depth intercultural understandings of the various metaphors but more on a common language of faith that often camouflages our differences. The global real estate market in Hawai`i currently threatens to further disrupt the coordination between cultural and economic groups in Lā`ie the same way that the rationalization of the plantation and accompanying land practices did in the first three decades of the twentieth century. As various housing and development proposals from the university and Hawaiian Reserves continue to emerge, the success of finding solutions that allow the creation and maintenance of alternative spaces to the sharp edges of the global real estate market will be greatly determined by whether the people and institutions of Lā`ie come together to draw on our various metaphors. Much depends not only on the thoroughness of our discourse and exploration of those metaphors but also on how the dynamics of hierarchy and authority play out in privileging which metaphors and models are chosen.

Appendix A

Sugar Plantation Workers by Ethnicity  
1872-1910

Ethnicity	1872				1892				1898				1910			
	Islands		Lā`ie		Islands		Lā`ie		Islands		Lā`ie		Islands		Lā`ie	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hawaiian/Part-Hawaiian	2991	79	60	100	1717	8	77	99	1482	5	97	80	1339	3	28	33
Euro/American	-	-	-	-	409	2	1	1	658	2	5	4	1599	4	6	7
Portuguese	-	-	-	-	2526	12	-	-	2064	7	-	-	3906	9	1	1
Japanese	-	-	-	-	13019	63	-	-	16786	59	16	13	28106	64	36	43
Chinese	600	16	-	-	2617	13	-	-	7200	25	4	3	2761	6	7	8
South Sea Islanders	-	-	-	-	141	1	-	-	68	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Korean	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1752	4	5	6
Filipino	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2269	5	-	-
Others/ Unknown	195	5	-	-	107	1	-	-	321	1	-	-	2185	5	1	1
	3786	100	60	100	20536	100	78	100	28579	100	122	100	43917	100	84	99

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## Appendix B

### Sugar Plantation Workers by Ethnicity 1910-1932

Ethnicity	Islands		Lā`ie		Islands		Lā`ie		Islands		Lā`ie	
	1910		1910		1920		1920		1932		1930	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian	1339	3	28	33	1322	3	59	46	615	1	19	11
Euro/American	1599	4	6	7	1206	3	5	4	900	2	2	1
Portuguese	3906	9	1	1	3086	7	2	2	2022	4	2	1
Japanese	28106	64	36	43	19474	44	28	22	9395	19	2	1
Chinese	2761	6	7	8	2378	5	11	8	706	1	1	1
South Sea Islander	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	12	7
Korean	1752	4	5	6	1982	4	2	2	442	1	0	0
Filipino	2269	5	0	0	13061	30	19	15	34915	70	130	78
Other/Unknown	2185	5	1	1	1795	4	0	0	952	2	0	0
	43917	100	84	99	44304	100	127	100	49947	100	168	100

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## Appendix C

### Hawaiian Road Workers by Ethnicity 1910-1930

Ethnicity	Laie 1910		Laie 1920		Laie 1930	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hawaiian/Part Hawaiian	52	100	20	100	19	83
Euro/American	-	-	-	-	1	4
Portuguese	-	-	-	-	-	-
Japanese	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chinese	-	-	-	-	-	-
South Sea Islander	-	-	-	-	3	13
Korean	-	-	-	-	-	-
Filipino	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other/Unknown	-	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>100</b>

Census, 1910, 1920, and 1930

### Road Workers by Age 1910-1930

Age	Laie 1910		Laie 1920		Laie 1930	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
11-20	5	10	1	5	2	11
21-30	20	38	3	16	8	41
31-40	14	27	6	32	3	16
41-50	7	13	4	21	2	11
51-60	4	8	1	5	3	16
61-70	1	2	4	21	1	5
71-80	1	2	-	-	-	-
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100</b>

Census, 1910, 1920 and 1930.

## GLOSSARY

Ahupua`a	Land division extending from mountain to sea
`Āina	Land
`Aka`akai	Bulrush
Ali`i	Chief
`Āpana	Piece of land
`Awa	Kava
Haole	Foreigner (often referring to Whites)
Huli	Plant cuttings (usually kalo)
Imu	Underground oven
Kāheka	Shallow tide pools
Kahuna	Priest, a person skilled in a discipline of work
Kalo	Taro
Kapu	Taboo, prohibition
Kō	Sugar Cane
Konohiki	Headman of the ahupuaa under the chief
Kuleana	Both a right and a responsibility; also the pieces of property claimed as part of the Mahele.
Limu	Seaweed
Luna	Foreman
Mahele	Dividing and sharing. The term also refers to the dividing of the land into private property between 1845 and 1850
Maka`āinana	Commoner
Mana	Spiritual power
Pilikia	Troubled, hard up for something and it causes problems
Pono	A state of harmony, goodness, and/or righteousness
Pu`uhonua	Land of refuge where lawbreakers would go to work out their penance if they previously escaped death
Tūtū Kāne	Grandfather

Uku pau	Piece labor, working in stints
Waiwai	Accumulated wealth

### GLOSSARY OF HAWAIIAN TERMS AND PHRASES

E Ola Mau Ka Mō`ī	Long live the King
Kanaka Maoli	Native person
Kānaka Maoli	Native people
Kōkua, kōkua, e ke Akua	“Give your help, give your care, O God”
Lā`iemalo`o	“Dry Laie”
Lā`iewai	“Wet Laie”
Lo`i kalo	Wetland taro patch

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