



*J. H. Napela*

FIG. 1. Jonathan Hawaii Napela (1813-1879), taken in 1869 during his trip to Salt Lake City. Photograph by Charles R. Savage.

# An Islander's View of a Desert Kingdom

## Jonathan Napela Recounts His 1869 Visit to Salt Lake City

*Fred E. Woods*

Jonathan (Iohatana) Hawaii Napela (fig. 1) bridged cultures. As one of the first Hawaiian converts to Mormonism, he helped George Q. Cannon translate the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language in 1852-53,<sup>1</sup> he instigated the first language training center for foreign missionaries in 1853, and he helped establish the first gathering place for the Hawaiian Saints in 1854. In 1869 Napela visited Salt Lake City. In an April 11, 1871, letter to Brigham Young, Napela recounted his visit as he reported it to the Hawaiian king, Kamehameha V. Written in Hawaiian, the letter is evidence of Napela's ability to bridge his native and adopted cultures and pave the way for the restored gospel to take root in the Hawaiian Islands. In 1873, his wife, Kitty, contracted leprosy (Hansen's Disease) and she and Jonathan went to the leper settlement on the island of Molokai. For the remaining years of his life, Jonathan presided over Latter-day Saints living in the leper colony.<sup>2</sup> Jonathan died of leprosy August 6, 1879, and Kitty died less than two weeks later.<sup>3</sup>

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1. George Q. Cannon, Journals, January 5, 1852, Church Archives, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City (hereafter cited as Church Archives).

2. Andrew Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints," 6 vols., typescript, January 27, 1878, Church Archives, notes that in 1878, there were seventy-eight members of the Church in two branches in Kalawao and Kalaupapa.

3. *Kalawao Death Register 1879-1880*, Hawaii State Archives, Honolulu. See also Robert J. Morris, review of *News from Molokai*, by Alfons L. Korn, *BYU Studies* 17, no. 3 (1977): 379-81.

## Fred E. Woods

In researching many traveler accounts, Dr. Fred Woods observes converts building intercultural bridges. Jonathan Napela was such a person, he says. "Napela was the first known Hawaiian convert to visit Salt Lake City and to be endowed. He assisted George Q. Gannon with the translation of the Book of Mormon into the Hawaiian language, probably making Napela the most famous Hawaiian convert to Mormonism. Napela not only crossed cultures, but in this priceless letter he provides a rare glimpse of an Islander's view of a desert kingdom. In the letter, Napela symbolically stretches his hands out in each direction, bridging the vast cultural ocean that lay between his local political leader, the Hawaiian monarch, and his distant spiritual leader, President Young."



Jonathan Napela is considered by many to be the most famous Hawaiian convert to Mormonism. Descending from royal lineage (known to Hawaiians as the *ali'i*), he was born September 11, 1813, in Honokowai, on the island of Maui.<sup>4</sup> Here on Maui (Lahaina), at the age of eighteen (1831), Jonathan began his formal education at a Protestant school called Lahainaluna, where he was one of forty-three students, including the later well-known Hawaiian scholar David Malo.<sup>5</sup> From this academic foundation, Jonathan developed a

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4. Jonathan Hawaii Napela's Hawaiian name was Namahanaikaleleonalani, as noted in Genealogy of Hattie Panana Kaiwaokalani Napela, typescript, Bishop Museum, Honolulu, citing *Honolulu Advertiser*, July 19, 1901. He was the son of Hawaiiwa'aole (father) and Wikiokalani (mother). *International Genealogical Index*, CD-ROM, v. 5.0, file no. 1235151.

5. Scott G. Kenney, "Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 31 (1997): 18. Primary documents covering the Lahainaluna classes may be obtained at the Children's Museum Library in Honolulu. Kenney is correct on this point of education, but he is incorrect on the date of Jonathan's birth and thus on the date he began school at Lahainaluna.

keen mind and went on to practice law. On August 3, 1843,<sup>1</sup> he married Kitty Kelii-Kuaaina Richardson, who was also from *ali'i* blood.<sup>6</sup> They had one known child, named Hattie Panana Kaiwaokalani Napela.<sup>7</sup> Jonathan also served as a district judge in Wailuku during the years 1848-51.<sup>8</sup>

Jonathan was introduced to the Church by missionary George Q. Cannon, and on January 5, 1852, he was baptized.<sup>9</sup> Cannon wrote that there were negative consequences for Jonathan's conversion: "I had an interview with Mr. Napela this morning.... He told me that his office of Judge was paw or stopped. I asked him if he thought that his entertaining me had any effect in their breaking him; he said he thought it was mainly attributed to that."<sup>10</sup>

Napela and Cannon developed a wonderful symbiotic relationship as Cannon taught Napela the restored gospel and they worked together on the Book of Mormon translation. Cannon wrote that Napela "could give me the exact meaning of words. The meaning attached to many words depended upon the context... . Probably but few in the nation were as well qualified as Brother Napela, to help me in this respect."<sup>11</sup> In addition, Napela showed Cannon a greater dimension of faith. Cannon recalled one particular experience in his journal. After Cannon and others had prayed for good weather for a spring conference, they then decided to have their meeting the following day indoors, thinking the weather would be unpleasant. However, when they were about to enter a shop for the meeting, Cannon writes, "Napela and a few more of the native brethren came up as we were going and he asked if we were going in the house to meet after asking the Lord to bless us with fine weather; he said it did not manifest faith; he appeared much surprised—and we felt to be rebuked for our lack of faith and we started for a grove."<sup>12</sup>

To Jonathan should go the credit for first suggesting a language training center for missionaries. As evidenced in Cannon's journal in the

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A letter written by Jonathan Napela to E. O. Hall, October 23, 1873, Board of Health Records 1873, Letters Incoming, Hawaii State Archives, supports his birth being in the year 1813.

6. Kitty was half Hawaiian and half Caucasian.

7. *International Genealogical Index*, file no. 1235151.

8. Document from the Judiciary History Center, Honolulu. Appreciation is expressed to Chris Mahelona (a Napela descendant) for bringing this document to my attention and scanning it for me.

9. Cannon, Journals, January 5, 1852.

10. Cannon, Journals, July 4, 1851" Thanks is expressed to Chad M. Orton for bringing this point to the attention of the author, as well as other items pertaining to the relationship of Napela and Cannon.

11. George Q. Cannon, *My First Mission* (Salt Lake City: Juvenile Instructor Office, 1879), 59.

12. Cannon, Journals, April 1, 1852.

spring of 1853, Napela recommended that upon arriving" in the Hawaiian Islands, Utah elders should first learn the native language at Napela's home. Redick Allred explained that Napela "wanted to keep us [the Utah elders]' in school 2 months & then we might go, for he thought we would begin to talk [in Hawaiian] in that time to get our places of appointment."<sup>13</sup> Not only were Napela's language training plans put into immediate practice in his home,<sup>14</sup> but LDS Missionary Training Centers currently use this same time sequence for missionaries assigned to most foreign-speaking missions. In addition, the Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian Language and Cultural Studies is an integral part of the BYU-Hawaii campus.

At the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii] Mission Conference on October 19, 1853, several missionaries, including Cannon and Napela (the only Hawaiian), were appointed to find a gathering place for the Hawaiian Saints.<sup>15</sup> The next day, this committee traveled to the island of Lanai to explore possible locations. On the return voyage from Lanai to Lahaina, Cannon notes that "Bro. Napela prayed aloud to the Lord, by my request to bless us with a breeze and it was only a few minutes before we had to unship our oars and we were gliding along delightfully before a pleasant breeze."<sup>16</sup> In the following year the Palawai Basin on Lanai was officially established as the first Hawaiian gathering place.<sup>17</sup> For nearly a decade, the Palawai Basin would be Napela's primary place of residence.

In 1857 the Utah missionaries were called to return to the mainland due to the Utah War. Soon after, Walter Murray Gibson came to the Hawaiian Islands, and during the years that Gibson presided over the Church in Lanai, Napela served as a member of his first presidency (1862-64).<sup>18</sup> In 1864, Gibson was excommunicated for apostasy, while Napela joined with other Hawaiian Saints in establishing a Mormon plantation at the newly

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13. Cannon, Journals, April 8, 1853; Redick Allred, Journal, April 27, 1853, Church Archives. Thanks to Chad M. Orton for sharing this information with the author.

14. Ephraim Green, Diary, typescript, April 9, 16, 20, 1853, BYU Hawaii Special Collections.

15. Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission," October 19, 1853.

16. Cannon, Journals, October 21, 1853.

17. For more information on this topic, see Fred E. Woods, "The Palawai Pioneers on the Island of Lanai: The First Hawaiian Latter-day Saint Gathering Place (1854-1864)," *Mormon Historical Studies* 5 (Fall 2004): 3-35.

18. Kenney, "Mormons and the Smallpox Epidemic of 1853," 18. For more information on Walter Murray Gibson, see Gwynn Barrett, "Walter Murray Gibson: The Shepherd Saint of Lanai Revisited," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 40 (Spring 1972): 142-62; and R. Lanier Britsch, "Another Visit with Walter Murray Gibson," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 65-78.

designated gathering place in Laie on the island of Oahu.<sup>19</sup> Here Jonathan supervised the temporal work of his LDS Hawaiian brothers.<sup>20</sup>

The following letter is the last of four known letters written by Napela to President Brigham Young, all written in Hawaiian.<sup>21</sup> The first one, written in the spring of 1852 shortly after his entrance into the Church, noted, among other things, "This is the church of God, and that it is the gospel which is preached by the white men from the Rocky Mountains." Jonathan further noted, "My desire is great to see you, ye Fathers of the gospel of Jesus Christ."<sup>22</sup>

President Young had written to the Sandwich Islands missionaries in early 1855, "If some of the native brethren would accompany you that come here the ensuing season, I should be pleased to see them, and if they find by trying our winter that they can endure this climate, I shall be glad to have them gather to this place as fast as the way shall open for them to do so."<sup>23</sup> A few months later, the Sandwich Islands Mission voted to send Napela and three other Hawaiians to Utah.<sup>24</sup> However, the Hawaiian monarchy

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19. "Sandwich Islands Mission," *Deseret News*, November 30, 1864, 67, reported the minutes of a mission conference held in Honolulu in October 1864. During this conference, Napela stated, "We have been listening to plain but great truths, we have sinned ignorantly. We were deceived and led away by Gibson's cunning words, and thereby have broken the sacred covenants we had made, but we are now undeceived, therefore let us renew our covenants and be faithful. I know this work is of God, that Joseph Smith and Brigham Young are prophets of God."

20. Woods, "The Palawai Pioneers on the Island of Lanai," 24-35.

21. The first letter was written on April 8, 1852, from Wailuku, Maui. Written on the back of Napela's letter was a letter written by George Q. Cannon to Brigham Young on the same day. Napela's letter appeared in "Foreign Correspondence," *Deseret News*, November 27, 1852, 4, in the Hawaiian language, followed by the English translation that George Q. Cannon provided. Cannon noted in his letter that Napela was "the most influential man that has yet joined the Church" and added that Napela was "anxious to see the Valley and the folks there." The other two letters were written on October 11, 1865, and May 2, 1868, and are found in Brigham Young Letters, Incoming Correspondence, Church Archives.

22. "Foreign Correspondence," 4.

23. Brigham Young to Philip B. Lewis, B. F. Johnson, and The Brethren of the Sandwich Islands Mission, January 30, 1855, Brigham Young Letters, Outgoing Correspondence, Church Archives.

24. Eli Bell, Journal, July 25, 1855. Bell's entry was apparently extrapolated for the mission history and is evidence for the entry in Jenson, "Manuscript History of the Hawaiian Mission," July 25, 1855.

had previously established a law prohibiting immigration,<sup>25</sup> which delayed Napela's meeting President Young for another fourteen years.

On June 22, 1869, Napela and George Nebeker<sup>26</sup> left Honolulu for San Francisco on the *D C Murray*<sup>27</sup> and continued by train to Salt Lake City.<sup>28</sup> Their arrival was reported in the *Deseret News*:

Elder George Nebeker... was accompanied by Elder J. H. Napela, a native of the Sandwich Islands, who became a member of the Church about eighteen years ago, and is the first of that race who has visited this country. He has been welcomed warmly by all who have met him, and his meeting with some of the Elders who have labored there has been affecting. They have never forgotten the many acts of kindness which they received from him while on the Islands. They left the Islands on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of June, and had a slow passage, three weeks having been spent on the water.<sup>29</sup>

Nebeker brought with him "six tons and a half of sugar and eighty barrels of molasses, the product of the plantation of Laie."<sup>30</sup>

In Utah Napela fulfilled his long-anticipated dream of meeting Brigham Young. Napela was seated with the First Presidency and Quorum of the Twelve for viewing the July 24 holiday celebration, and the next day, Sunday, he and Nebeker addressed a congregation. Jonathan spoke "in his native tongue, his remarks being interpreted by Elder

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25. The law stipulated that "no native subject of the King shall be allowed to emigrate to California or other foreign country." Raymond Clyde Beck, "Palawai Basin: Hawaii's Mormon Zion" (MA thesis, University of Hawaii, 1972), 27; "Hawaiian House of Nobles and Representatives," *Penal Code Session Laws* 1850, section 1,154.

26. George Nebeker was born in Delaware in 1827 and came to the Salt Lake Valley in 1847. In the fall of 1864, he and Elder Francis A. Hammond were assigned to purchase land for a new gathering place, which was selected in Laie, on the island of Oahu. Nebeker served as the president of the Sandwich Islands Mission from 1865 to 1873. Andrew Jenson, *Latter-day Saint Biographical Encyclopedia: A Compilation of Biographical Sketches of Prominent Men and Women in The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 4 vols. (Salt Lake City: Andrew Jenson History, 1901-36), 1:682-83; 4:340.

27. The *D C [Colden] Murray* was a bark that made regular trips between Honolulu and San Francisco during this period. A number of LDS missionaries sailed on the *D C Murray*. Both Napela and Nebeker are attested on the passenger list for this vessel disembarking from Honolulu on June 22, 1869. Passenger List, *D C Murray*, June 22, 1869, Hawaii State Archives.

28. The transcontinental railroad had just been completed on May 10, 1869, intersecting at Promontory Point, in Utah Territory.

29. "From the Sandwich Islands," *Deseret Evening News*, July 22, 1869, 2.

30. "From the Sandwich Islands," 2.

Geo. Q. Cannon."<sup>31</sup> Napela received his own endowment on August 2, 1869<sup>32</sup> (the first known Hawaiian to do so), and was baptized as a proxy for the deceased King Kamehameha I. Napela had a photograph taken by Charles Savage (see fig. 1).

When Nebeker and Napela returned to Hawaii in November 1869,<sup>33</sup> Nebeker reported that they

found the brethren and sisters glad to see us and to hear what good news we had to tell them about the Saints at home \_\_ Bro. Napela has visited the king several times and has been kindly received. The king makes a great many inquiries about the people of Utah and his trip there. The present that President Young sent was kindly received and one promised in return.<sup>34</sup> The king advises Bro. Napela to offer himself as a candidate for the next Legislature.<sup>35</sup>

Nebeker's letter evidences that Kamehameha V was very interested in Utah and that the king encouraged Napela to run for political office.<sup>36</sup>

Napela's memorable 1869 visit to Utah is brought to light in this unique four-page letter dated April 11, 1871 (fig. 2). In this account, written with ink in his own hand, Napela provides Young with a recounting of the visit as he explained it to the Hawaiian king, Kamehameha V, about eighteen months after he returned from Utah. The letter was translated into English by Jason Achiu.

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31. [George Q. Cannon], "The Celebration," *Deseret Evening News*, July 26, 1869, 2; "Sabbath Meetings," *Deseret Evening News*, July 26, 1869, 3.

32. *International Genealogical Index*, file no. 1235151.

33. In George Nebeker to the Editor [George Q. Cannon], written November 21, 1869, *Deseret News*, December 15, 1869, 529, Nebeker states that they "arrived in Honolulu on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November," but the passenger list evidences that they arrived on November 5, 1869. On this passenger list, Napela is listed as forty-five years of age, from Honolulu, and as having the vocation of a preacher. Nebeker is noted as age forty, from Honolulu and with the occupation of a farmer. Passenger List, *D C Murray*, November 5, 1869, Hawaii State Archives. Appreciation is expressed to archivist Jason Achiu for bringing these manifests to the attention of the author.

34. Nebeker's letter does not say what either present was, but they may have been photographs of the givers.

35. Nebeker to the Editor [George Q. Cannon], *Deseret News*, December 15, 1869, 529.

36. A few months later, Nebeker wrote another letter, stating, "In my last letter I promised you some political news. Brother Napela lost the election by forty votes. The people here have become so advanced in civilized life that they are acquainted with all the 'ins' and 'outs' and intrigues of a political struggle, and to succeed here it takes money, just as it does elsewhere, and we thought it would not pay to invest, so our friend Napela [Napela] came out a little behind." George Nebeker, Letter from Laie, Oahu, written March 14, 1870, *Deseret News*, April 13, 1870, 113.

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pona ou e Ka Makua

Ma ka huna o adiahi' u kaka ke po<sup>hou</sup> i na manawa  
 o ka la 20 o Naremas 1869 ma hiki au ma ka ke  
 le o Kamehameha V. u hiki i ka wamano oia po  
 ma'i luna mai au o Ka Makua B. C. Murray o ke ko  
 manua manawa i hiki ma'i i Hawaii nei oue G  
 Mettler.

Ua hoi au i ka moolelo ma Kamehameha, ma  
 i Hawaii nei au; aia ma i na mea e pili  
 ana i na Kauhakai; aka i na mea e ke alaha  
 o a hiki i ka Salt Lake; a ma na mea e pili  
 ana ia au; ma'i Kamehameha: hiki au ma  
 Kela ma ke Kua wahi o Uta, ma Kamehameha  
 i na la ma 24 Epelani; a ma Kamehameha  
 ma Kela a ma na mea pua ma ti. <.\* ^ ^ ^ ^ ^ j  
 Koke i na mimita pakala.

FIG. 2. First page of a letter from Jonathan H. Napela to Brigham Young, April n, 1871, written in Hawaiian. This letter tells how Napela met with King Kamehameha V and told the king about his 1869 trip to Utah. The letter is found in Brigham Young's correspondence and is now housed in the Church Archives, Salt Lake City.

## Letter from Jonathan Napela to Brigham Young, April 11, 1871

To our father, B. Young, a leader for this earth:

I am J. H. Napela, with deepest regards and everlasting joy.

It has been awhile, a year and a half, since I've spoken to you about what I saw there, so I am now reporting again to you, our father.

At 6 p.m. or thereabouts on November 20, 1869 I reached the home of my King, Kamehameha V, where I stayed until sunrise. I had come from the ship *DC Murray* and that is the date when G. Nebeker and I arrived back in Hawaii.<sup>37</sup>

I've given an account of my travel from Hawaii, not what happened from shore to shore, but on what happened along the rail route to Salt Lake, and about you: from what you do, your traveling to everywhere in Utah, your clothes on the July 24 holiday,<sup>38</sup> and your mediation between some merchants and creditors which was quickly settled in a few minutes.

I informed my King about your counselors, G. A. S. [George A. Smith] & D. H. W. [Daniel H. Wells], and the quorum of twelve, and so forth including all the levels of leaders, and about the one special garment and explained the significance of that garment.<sup>39</sup> It is something so a person will not have base desires, but does not punish the conscience of a people.

I also spoke of your wisdom as far exceeding any government on earth, and of your great wealth, and of all the people in Utah.<sup>40</sup>

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37. Napela seems to be off a bit in his dating and sequence of events. This is understandable since he was writing about a year and a half after he returned to Hawaii. See note 33.

38. It is not known exactly what Brigham Young was wearing on this festive occasion. President Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles participated in a procession that day. [Cannon], "The Celebration," 2.

39. The garment mentioned here has reference to the special clothing received by Church members who participate in the LDS endowment ceremony.

40. Prior to Napela's encounter with the king, Kamehameha V was aware of Young. Having received a letter from Young dated March 24, 1865 (see Brigham Young Letters, Outgoing Correspondence), Kamehameha V was keenly aware of Young's influence. In this letter Young had requested that the Hawaiian monarch allow a group of Latter-day Saints to settle in Laie, where they could teach the doctrine of "practical salvation" to the Hawaiians gathered with them. This same year, the king replied that the Mormons would be allowed to settle and conduct temporal affairs, but warned that they would not be received on the same standing as other Christian faiths. Foreign Office and Executive Papers, 1865, Hawaii State Archives. Jeffrey S. Stover (in "Not All Is Simple: The Political Reasons for King Kamehameha V Not Wanting the Mormon Colony to Preach," Mormon

I reported there is no hotel for the citizens of Utah, but did see one for visitors. That all the people of Utah will dine in their own homes, they do not eat in hotels.<sup>41</sup> The people have sufficient food. I told of the people being kind, just like Hawaii's people.

I commented on how unusual it was to get supplies so quickly, as there is no great ocean near Utah, or river from the east, or great highway, yet there are supplies.

I said there is no small locale where B. Young's words do not fall. B. Young makes two circuits to every part of Utah annually.<sup>42</sup>

I reported that Utah is a peaceful place. Among the people there is no stealing, adultery, fighting, talking at night or drunkenness. However the soldiers do get drunk and must labor on the road in uniform with their pistols at their side.<sup>43</sup> A very odd thing is that their superior is made to labor on the road also. When I asked G. Q. C. [George Q. Cannon] he replied it is so the sinners will not grumble.

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Pacific Historical Society Proceedings, March 16, 1996, 53-54) maintains that the chief concern of the king was that he viewed Young as having both religious and political control of the LDS people. Thus, he apparently feared the implications of Young's political power.

41. According to *The Salt Lake City Directory and Business Guide for 1869*, comp. E. L. Sloan (Salt Lake City: E. L. Sloan and Company, 1869), 78, the principal hotels at this time were the Salt Lake House, the Townsend House, the Revere House, the Mansion House, and the Delmonico. Napela seems to be implying that at this time the Utah Saints ate in their homes and not in public places.

42. The purpose of Young's visits was to encourage and counsel the Saints scattered in many settlements in Utah Territory. On this topic, see Gordon Irving, "Encouraging the Saints: Brigham Young's Annual Tours of the Mormon Settlements," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 45 (Summer 1977): 233-51.

43. The soldiers who interacted with the Saints in Salt Lake City were stationed at Fort Douglas, which was established near the city in 1862. According to Charles G. Hibbard, California volunteers were assigned to this location soon after the Civil War broke out as they were needed "both to protect the overland mail route and to keep an eye on the Mormons." In 1869, the transcontinental railroad allowed for the rapid deployment of troops. By 1947, military property at this facility began to be sold to the University of Utah. In 1975, after over a century of service, Fort Douglas was designated as a National Historic Landmark. Charles G. Hibbard, "Fort Douglas," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, ed. Allan Kent Powell (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1994), 199-200. For a more detailed treatment of this topic, see Leonard J. Arrington and Thomas G. Alexander, "The U.S. Army Overlooks Salt Lake Valley: Fort Douglas, 1862-1965," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 33 (Fall 1965): 326-50.

I reported there is no church minister fee, no doctors fee, no lawyer's fee, no messenger [courier] fee, no preaching the gospel fee.<sup>44</sup>

It is not uncommon for a person traveling on the roadway, upon seeing a gate open will close it and continue on. The children there will do the same.

I informed my King that B. Young's responsibility to Kamehameha I was concluded, as I was baptized on his [Kamehameha I's] behalf; but that he [the King] is responsible for the remainder of his ancestors buried in the earth and that their salvation rests upon him and that he must think about them. Young was saved. There was much astonishment before me and appreciation and the validation of everything.

I reported that the people are educated.<sup>45</sup>

Our father: I am presently on a mission to all the Hawaiian Islands to preach the gospel. President G. N. [George Nebeker] and the counselors have selected longtime church members in Hawaii to constitute ten mission leaders and I am one of the ten.<sup>46</sup>

I reported on the source of your great wealth like this, that any wealth or chattel B. Young receives is not from the Mormon people, but created from his leadership.<sup>47</sup> He was appointed governor of Utah and with his annual salary he purchased businesses such as a sawmill, flourmill and so forth.

From these businesses he receives annual payments. I saw a theater established by him which pays him \$12,500. annually. That theater has revenues of not less than \$6000. every week.<sup>48</sup>

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44. Napela seems to be giving a Utopian view of Utah society. Perhaps his view was the result of free services he received in Salt Lake City.

45. For the impact Brigham Young had on Utah education during this period, see Frederick S. Buchanan, "Education among the Mormons: Brigham Young and the Schools of Utah," *History of Education Quarterly* 22 (Winter 1982): 435-59.

46. Elder H. H. Cluff reported, "Bro. Napela attended conference and seemed more interested than at any previous time since his return from Salt Lake. He in connection with thirteen others were appointed as missionaries to visit all the islands of this group, Bro. Napela having charge and instructions to look after affairs generally on the several islands." "Correspondence," H. H. Cluff to Editor [George Q. Cannon], written October 15, 1871, *Deseret News*, November 15, 1871, 484.

47. "After the settlement of his debts and the credit for income earned as church president, Young's estate amounted to slightly less than \$700,000 in cash, stocks, real estate, and other property available to the heirs." Thomas G. Alexander, *Utah, the Right Place: The Official Centennial History* (Salt Lake City: Gibbs Smith Publisher, 1996), 191.

48. Ronald W. Walker notes that the Salt Lake Theater was used from 1861 to 1928. He further explains that Brigham Young was the person who advanced

I've told this account not just to the King, but to the Protestant congregations and all other conventions.

If you please, my wife is angry with me for giving your photograph to the King and she has none.<sup>49</sup> Could I please obtain another photograph of you for my wife, Kitty, when G. Nebeker goes there in June.<sup>50</sup> 11 April 1871  
God save you. Amen.

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the project from beginning to end. Ronald W. Walker, "Salt Lake Theater," in *Utah History Encyclopedia*, 484-85. Leonard J. Arrington explains that the theater held three thousand persons and was "the first theater of importance west of the Mississippi." Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints 1830-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958), 211-13.

49. In an earlier letter to Brigham Young, Napela requested a photograph of Brigham as well as other Church leaders, including Joseph and Hyrum Smith, as well as Young's counselors in the First Presidency and the Quorum of the Twelve. Jonathan Napela to Brigham Young, Brigham Young Letters, October 11, 1865, Incoming Correspondence, Church Archives.

50. Apparently George Nebeker did not make a trip to Utah in June 1871. However, the *D C Murray* Passenger List, dated December 14, 1872, does list George Nebeker leaving Honolulu bound to San Francisco on this date.

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