

**He Mau Palapala Mai Kalipōnia Mai, Ka ‘Āina Malihini
(Letters from California, the Foreign Land)
Kānaka Hawai‘i Agency and Identity in the Eastern Pacific
(1820-1900)**

By

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History

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Date: December 13, 2019

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis is to explore the ways in which working-class Kānaka Hawai‘i (Hawaiian) immigrants in the nineteenth century repurposed and repackaged precontact Hawai‘i strategies of accommodation and resistance in their migration towards North America and particularly within California. The arrival of European naturalists, American missionaries, and foreign merchants in the Hawaiian Islands is frequently attributed for triggering this diaspora. However, little has been written about why Hawaiian immigrants themselves chose to migrate eastward across the Pacific or their reasons for permanent settlement in California. Like the *ali‘i* on the Islands, Hawaiian commoners in the diaspora exercised agency in their accommodation and resistance to Pacific imperialism and colonialism as well. Blending labor history, religious history, and anthropology, this thesis adopts an interdisciplinary and ethnohistorical approach that utilizes Hawaiian-language newspapers, American missionary letters, and oral histories from California’s indigenous peoples. I argue that precontact strategies were critical to preserving and holding onto an ethnic Hawaiian identity in encounters with merchants, missionaries, and indigenous peoples in California throughout the 1800s.

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I am not Hawaiian, nor am I from Hawai'i. Yet even as a *haole* from the mainland, I feel I have a *kuleana*, a Hawaiian word meaning “responsibility” to present a historical narrative of Hawaiian history that is connected to California. My ancestors include Euroamerican settler Thomas J. Farnham, son of a Presbyterian pastor, who likely witnessed and lived among Hawaiian people in the Pacific Northwest (Fort Vancouver) and on voyages to the Hawaiian Islands. My parents and their siblings grew up in Northern Montana and established relations with Native American people from the Rocky Boy Reservation and Fort Belknap Reservation. I was raised primarily in California within a Protestant household, and, therefore, share a certain philosophical connection with American missionary and Hawaiian Congregationalists – a connection that hit home while standing in the sanctuary of Kawaiaha‘o Church (built in 1842) in downtown Honolulu. As a descendant of Euroamerican settlers, as kin of relatives with Native American ancestry, and as an ethnohistorian, I feel a responsibility to uncover sources of information that have been ignored, forgotten, and/or perhaps marginalized to the detriment of indigenous peoples.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Strangers move about but native sons remain.
- Samuel Kamakau¹

In the *'olelo Hawaii* (Hawaiian language), there is a word for a stranger, foreigner, or newcomer to a place – *malihini*.² However the term can also be used to describe a land being visited for the first time – a land that is foreign, or strange and unfamiliar. In the nineteenth century, working-class Hawaiian immigrants were *malihini* (strangers, foreigners) in California, while California's landscape was simultaneously *ka 'āina malihini* (the foreign land) to such immigrants.³ However Hawaiian immigrants, chroniclers of their own diasporic history in the Pacific World, came well equipped with tools for familiarizing and connecting themselves with this foreign landscape. With these tools they stopped moving about as “strangers” and became “native sons” of land they eventually came to view as an extension of the land of their birth. When the *palapala* of Hawaiian immigrants are compared to Euroamerican accounts, a story emerges that calls to mind precontact strategies of accommodation and resistance to sociopolitical power. The purpose of this thesis is to explore the ways in which working-class Hawaiian

¹ Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Rev. ed. (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1992), 377.

² Henry P. Judd, Mary Kawena Pukui, and John F. G. Stokes, *Handy Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English Hawaiian*, (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1995), 278. This thesis italicizes Hawaiian-language words and text with English translations appearing in parentheses or cited below Hawaiian-language text. Hawaiian diacritical markings—the *kahakō* or macron, indicating a stressed vowel, and the *'okina*, representing a glottal stop—are not included in the Hawaiian-language material cited in this thesis unless they appeared in print or in personal handwriting. The Hawaiian language glossary in Appendix A can also be referred to for definitions. All translations of Hawaiian-language material in this thesis from R. Keao Nesmith unless otherwise specified.

³ I use the term “Hawaiian” and “Kānaka Hawai'i” interchangeably throughout this thesis to refer to the indigenous people of Hawai'i, who often identified themselves as “Kānaka Hawai'i” in nineteenth century literature. Other terms used by scholars include Kānaka 'Ōiwi, Kānaka Maoli, and Native Hawaiian.

immigrants in the nineteenth century repurposed and repackaged these precontact strategies in their migration towards North America and particularly within California. I argue that these strategies were critical to preserving and holding onto an ethnic and national Hawaiian identity in encounters with merchants, missionaries, and indigenous peoples in the diaspora.

Until the last decade, Hawaiian historiography has suffered from cultural biases that favored Euroamerican over indigenous perspectives. Early narratives of the out-migration of Hawaiian laborers in the nineteenth century lacked a theoretical framework centered on the Polynesian experience.⁴ However, thanks to David Chappell's groundbreaking work *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships*, the historical interpretation of the Pacific Diaspora has shifted, placing greater emphasis on the oral traditions and written material that record Pacific Islander voyagers in the diaspora.⁵ In *Double Ghosts*, Chappell introduced the concept of a second diaspora of Pacific Islanders triggered by the arrival of European and American whaling ships in the late 1700s (the first diaspora represented by the ancient migration of Polynesian mariners/settlers to the islands such as Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island.)⁶ Pacific Islanders, numbering more than thirty thousand during the first century of these voyages, served a vital role in cross-cultural contact and integration of the world economy during the late eighteenth

⁴ See Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, 3 vols., (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938-1967); Gavan Daws, *Shoal of Time: A History of the Hawaiian Islands* (New York: MacMillan, 1968).

⁵ Chappell calls these voyagers "double ghosts" because "the oral traditions about their journeys are scattered across a vast sea of islands, and the written data are fragmentary and dispersed through hundreds of journals, logs, and memoirs." David Chappell, *Double Ghosts, Oceanic Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 2015), xiv.

⁶ Archaeologist Patrick Kirch states "it is now reasonable to argue that the first arrival of Polynesians in Hawai'i is unlikely to have occurred much before AD 1000, although the event could conceivably have been sometime in the 10th century." Patrick V. Kirch, "When Did the Polynesians Settle Hawai'i? A Review of 150 Years of Scholarly Inquiry and a Tentative Answer," *Hawaiian Archaeology* 12 (2011): 22, Academia.edu.

and early nineteenth centuries. Chappell explains this "shipping out" of Oceanians as a counter-exploratory response to Euroamerican expansion - a two-sided process involving a variety of participants.

Chappell's work encouraged other scholars to conceive of the Pacific Ocean as a cultural and social waterscape, allowing for the understanding of different colonial and indigenous peoples on a more global scale. Two particularly notable examples are Matt K. Matsuda's *Pacific Worlds, A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* and David Igler's *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush*.⁷ Both works approach the Pacific World as an integrated space connected by labor, commercialism, and imperialism. Matsuda conceives of "the Pacific" as a "multiple sites of *trans-localism*, the specific linked places where direct engagements took place and were tied to histories dependent on the ocean."⁸ In this kind of trans-local construction of the sea, Polynesian histories are no longer marginalized but become central to the historical narrative. Igler's work draws upon Matsuda's methodology to examine Pacific Encounter history from 1778 to 1848, introducing the geographic concept of an *eastern Pacific*. Prior to the 1770s, the eastern Pacific "encompassed a disconnected set of indigenous homelands and contending European imperial ventures," but by the early nineteenth century the transoceanic flow of furs, hides, and whale oil connected these

⁷ Other noteworthy examples in the literature include Gary Okihiro, *Island World, A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009); Nicholas Thomas, *Islanders: The Pacific in the Age of Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012); and David Armitage and Alison Bashfourth, eds., *Pacific Histories: Ocean, Land, People* (Basingstoke; New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.)

⁸ Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds, A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 5.

indigenous homelands with maritime traders in a commercial network.⁹ These works inform my approach towards interpreting California history from a Pacific World perspective rather than one dictated by narratives of the American West. Furthermore, they orient my understanding of *Alta California* as a maritime borderland.

In recent years, a large body of Native-driven historiography has, as Hawaiian scholar Kealani Cook explains, created a “strong foundation for understanding Kānaka negotiations between the values, institutions, and ideas rooted in *Ka Wā ‘Ōiwi Wale* and those introduced from foreign lands.”¹⁰ “*Ka Wā ‘Ōiwi Wale*” is a Hawaiian concept defined as the time between the settlement of the Hawaiian Islands and sustained European contact, in other words the history of Hawaiians in their interactions with ethnic groups, cultures, and religions across the Pacific.¹¹ Hawaiians had an ancient tradition of voyaging to Pacific islands as a means of understanding their geography, adapting to change, and contesting imperialism. In *The World and All the Things upon It, Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration*, Chang asks scholars to understand Hawaiian immigrants as “agents of global exploration” rather than as passive participants in globalization. Similarly, in *Return to Kahiki*, Cook examines Hawaiian relationships “with other Oceanic peoples as a part of a broader effort to ensure the survival and success of the *lāhui* in the face of social, political, and cultural changes” but with added

⁹ David Igler, *The Great Ocean, Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 5-8.

¹⁰ Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki, Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (Studies in North American Indian History Series), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 18.

¹¹ David Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It, Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016); “Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces,” *Journal of American History* 98, no 2 (September 2011): 384–403, JSTOR; “We Will Be Comparable to the Indian Peoples: Recognizing Likeness between Native Hawaiians and American Indians, 1834–1923,” *American Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (September 2015): 859-886, Project MUSE.

emphasis on Hawaiian foreign mission work.¹² Both Chang and Cook inform my approach towards interpreting Hawaiian migration history through the lens of geography – physical and cultural – allowing for a Hawaiian-centric understanding of California’s landscape.

However, an analysis of the Hawaiian diaspora in the Eastern Pacific must also take into consideration the intersection of gender, culture, and agency in Pacific World. Several scholars of Hawaiian history have focused on the agency of *ali'i* (chiefly class) against the structure of European imperialism, colonialism, and hegemony. Hawaiian scholar B. Kamanamaikalani Beamer defines agency as referring to “individuals, or culturally affiliated groups ability to exercise their will against or within the structure which surround them,” and explains that agency should be “understood in reference and opposition to structure.”¹³ For purposes of this thesis, I employ a definition of agency commonly applied by scholars of California ethnohistory, particularly those describing the resistance of the indigenous peoples of California to missionary, mercantile, and settler colonialism. For example, in "Landscapes of Refuge and Resiliency, Native California Persistence at Tomales Bay, California 1770s-1870s," Schneider and Panich define indigenous agency as "strategies native people used to assert and modify their identities, as well as maintain or reestablish connections to meaningful places."¹⁴ Much like Hawaii in the early 1800s, California was, as Hurtado describes, a multiethnic frontier where the “collision of nations and the mixture of cultures . . . have made the

¹² Cook, *Return to Kahiki, Native Hawaiians in Oceania*, 4.

¹³ B. Kamanamaikalani, “Na wai ka mana? ‘Ōiwi Agency and European Imperialism in the Hawaiian Kingdom” (PhD diss., University of Hawai’i, Manoa, August 2009), 5, <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/20601>.

¹⁴ Tsim D. Schneider and Lee M. Panich, “Landscapes of Refuge and Resiliency: Native Californian Persistence at Tomales Bay, California, 1770s-1870s,” *Ethnohistory* 66, no. 1 (January 2019): 21, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-7217293>.

identification of racial, cultural, and national status of individuals a tricky business.”¹⁵ Part of the “mixture” involved indigenous people establishing relationships with immigrant populations to incorporate European and American goods into local trade economies and expand social networks. For example, historian Natale Zappia defines an “interior world” space in the Southwest based on trading and horse raiding with “fluid geographic boundaries incorporating different communities in varying degrees over five centuries” amongst the Mojaves, Quechans, and Southern California Indian communities.¹⁶ This “interior world” concept is also applicable to California’s Sacramento River Valley, where Maidu and Miwok communities had developed complex trade networks based on furs, fish, and other resources. Historian Ashley Riley Sousa has demonstrated how intermarriage was a form of agency particularly for Maidu and Miwok cultural groups in the pre-Gold Rush era.¹⁷ These interpretations of California’s history are critical to understanding trade and marital relations as expressions of indigenous political power and control within the Pacific World, of which California was very much a part.

Related to this discourse, some scholars have argued that Hawaiian immigrants became more “Indian” in their identity as a result of repeated encounters with the indigenous people of North America in the 1800s. Historians Jean Barman and Bruce Watson point out that both “Hawaiians and Indians in the Oregon Territory were

¹⁵ Albert Hurtado, *Intimate Frontiers, Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), xxi.

¹⁶ Natale Zappia, “The Interior World: Trading and Raiding in Native California, 1700-1863” (PhD diss., University of Santa Cruz, 2008), 8, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

¹⁷ Ashley Riley Sousa, ““An Influential Squaw””: Intermarriage and Community in Central California, 1839–1851,” *Ethnohistory* 62, no. 4 (2015): 707-727, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-3135306>; Ashley Riley Sousa, “Indians and the Colonization of Central California” (PhD diss., Yale University 2013).

explicitly excluded from the dominant society” and, as a result, Hawaiians were absorbed into local Native American communities through intermarriage.¹⁸ Likewise, Chang argues that “American Indian people became a central site around which Kānaka reflected on colonialism and their own situation.”¹⁹ These arguments, along with those for agency, invite us to view Hawaiian immigrants in the diaspora from a different perspective. Historian Greg Rosenthal argues that an “indigenous Hawaiian working class” formed during the era of transoceanic globalization and capitalist expansion in the early 1800s. “Rather than facing colonization and in situ victimization,” he explains “thousands of Hawaiian workers challenged their Native leaders and the state as well as *haole* employers and imperial usurpers alike by moving their bodies along pathways opened up by globalization.”²⁰ However, this argument dismisses the complex, highly stratified society of precontact Hawai’i, where religion and authority were closely intertwined and where there already existed a subordinate working class, the *maka’āinanana* (commoners).²¹ This subordinate class accommodated and sometimes even rebelled against the dominant *ali’i* who enforced the *kapu* system (rules, prohibitions, and practices established for everyday life), which was directly tied to the manifestation of *mana* (spiritual or material power).²² This understanding allows us to

¹⁸ Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise, Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 191.

¹⁹ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 227.

²⁰ Gregory Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i, Native Labor in the Pacific World*, (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018), 4.

²¹ Patrick V. Kirch, “The Evolution of Sociopolitical Complexity in Prehistoric Hawai’i: An Assessment of the Archaeological Evidence,” *Journal of World Prehistory*, 4, no. 3 (September 1990), 316.

²²The term *kapu* is the Hawaiian derivative of the Polynesian concept of *tapu* (taboo), which Kirch defines as “an age-old concept in Polynesia” which was elaborated to “isolate and protect the high-ranking elite, to emphasize their distinctiveness and godlike qualities.” Polynesian nobility received their *mana* by virtue of their descent from high-ranking ancestors but it was incumbent upon them to manifest *mana* benevolently, in the interests of the people. Patrick Von Kirch, *A Shark Going Inland Is My Chief: The Island Civilization of Ancient Hawai’i*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 136, 298. For further discussion

view immigrant resistance to Pacific colonialism as both *maka'āinanana* agency and manifestations of *mana*, or an assertion of Hawaiian, not “Indian,” identity.

In context of this thesis, it important to explain why “identity” has been chosen over “indigeneity” to describe the ethnic and national orientation of Hawaiians in the nineteenth century. The term “indigeneity” is problematic due to its politically charged connotation. Scholars of Hawaiian history typically use the term “indigeneity” to refer to the collective rights and ancestry of the descendants of peoples born in the Islands in precontact Hawai'i. However, race, blood, and politics often come into play. According to anthropologist J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, many Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians have become “invested in blood quantum as proof of *indigeneity* and rely on fractionalizing measurements of one's ‘blood amount’ as a marker for cultural orientation and identity.”²³ In addition, she explains that a long line of discourses, what she terms a “process of deracination,” have worked to erase Hawaiian “indigeneity” by dismissing off-island Hawaiians, allowing for appropriation of Hawaiian identity by non-Hawaiians, and overemphasizing racial hybridity.²⁴ As David Welchman Gegeo explains, scholars of indigenous history often employ “indigenous” in a variety of ways to refer to “third-world and minority peoples [sic] struggles against invasion, colonialism, and political oppression.”²⁵ Hence, “indigeneity” takes on similar meanings when used in the same

regarding *mana*, see Kirch, “Evolution of Sociopolitical Complexity,” 329 and Robert Blust, “Proto-Oceanic *mana Revisited”, *Oceanic Linguistics* 46, no. 2 (Dec., 2007): 404-423, JSTOR.

²³ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity*, (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 5-6.

²⁴ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” *The Contemporary Pacific* 9, no. 1 (2007): 139, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2007.0019>.

²⁵ David W. Gegeo, “Cultural Rupture and Indigeneity: The Challenge of (Re) visioning 'Place' in the Pacific,” *The Contemporary Pacific: A Journal of Island Affairs* 13, no. 2 (Fall 2001): 492, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2001.0052>.

context. While this understanding takes into account definitions set forth by the 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), Chang points out that “today’s notion of the indigenous as a global category is part of a process and conversation that Kanaka have been engaged with for over a century.”²⁶ Hokulani K Aikua defines “indigeneity” as “the place from which we see the world, interact with it, and interpret social reality, . . . and less about political status, blood, and geography.”²⁷ While Aikua’s fluid understanding of “indigeneity” best suits the analysis for this project, I prefer the term “identity” when describing the ethnic and national orientations of Hawaiian immigrants in the nineteenth century.

I define Hawaiian “identity” according to Hawaiian understandings of, relationships with, and genealogical connections to the *‘āina*. As many scholars of Hawaiian history have demonstrated, Hawaiian identity is intimately connected with conceptions of *‘āina*. These conceptions are deeply rooted and intertwined with genealogical relationships to their *akua* (gods), *kūpuna* (ancestors/grandparents), and other Kānaka Hawai’i. According to scholar Carlos Andrade, the term *‘āina* is derived from the root word *‘ai* and broadly translates as “that which feeds.”²⁸ This translation is informed by the *mo’olelo* (history or tradition) of Wākea and Papa, as told by Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa:

Wākea and Papa, the sky-father and earth-mother, . . . were half-brother and half-sister. These two were said to be the parents of islands, Hawai’i and Maui (and later Kau’i, Ni’ihau, Lehua, and Ka’ula), as well as the ancestors of

²⁶ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 228-229.

²⁷ Hokulani K. Aikua, “Indigeneity in the Diaspora: The Case of Native Hawaiians at Iosepa, Utah,” *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3, Alternative Contact: Indigeneity, Globalism, and American Studies (September 2010): 491, JSTOR.

²⁸ Andrade Carlos, *Hā‘ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2008), 2, 6.

ka Lāhui Hawaii. According to tradition, their first human offspring was a daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani (to generate stars in the sky), who matured into a great beauty. A desire for his daughter welled up in Wākea, but he hoped to gratify his desire without his sister and wahine (woman or wife) knowing of it. . . . One one of the *kapu* nights, Wākea was able to be alone with his daughter, Ho‘ohōkūkalani, and he seduced her. . . . The first child of Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani was an unformed foetus, born prematurely; they named him Hāloa -naka (quivering long stalk). They buried Hāloa -naka in the earth, and from that spot grew the first *kalo* (taro) 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.²⁹

Throughout Polynesia, it is considered the reciprocal duty of *Ali‘i Nui* (high chiefs) and elder siblings to “feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. So long as younger Hawaiians love, serve, and honor their elders, the elders will continue to do the same for them, as well as to provide for all their physical needs.”

Kānaka Hawai‘i are connected through this genealogy because Kānaka Hawai‘i are both descendants of and nourished by the *kalo* and the ‘*āina*.³⁰ Anthropologist Jocelyn Linnekin explains that, as of the early 1980s, there remained small rural communities on Maui, on Niihau, in eastern Molokai, and in Kona, on the island of Hawaii, with residents who identified themselves as *kama‘aina* (children of the land).³¹ These residents are directly descended from the original *maka‘āinana* of the Hawaiian Kingdom, or the “fixed residents of the land” per Hawaiian historian David Malo.³² Even as Kānaka Hawai‘i individuals moved to California and intermarried with indigenous Maidu and Miwok groups, they held on to this notion of ‘*āina*

²⁹ Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 24.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25.

³¹ Jocelyn Linnekin, “Defining tradition: variations on the Hawaiian identity,” *American Ethnologist* 10, no. 2 (May 1983): 242, <https://doi.org/10.1525/ae.1983.10.2.02a00020>.

³² David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities [Moolelo Hawaii]*, translated by Nathaniel B. Emerson (1898), B. P. Bishop Museum Special Publication no. 2, Honolulu (1951), 195.

The methodological framework for this thesis draws upon the theory and methods of scholars in the fields of anthropology, linguistics, cultural studies, and sociology. This thesis relies heavily on Hawaiian-language material for analysis and interpretation. I have included the *mo'olelo* (histories) recorded by Hawaiian historians such as Samuel Kamakau and David Malo along with the published newspaper articles and personal correspondence written by working-class Hawaiian immigrants. Both oral and written expressions of the Hawaiian language in the nineteenth century, such as *kanikaus* (mourning chants of lamentation), were necessarily poetic and ambiguous in the Hawaiian context and often carried a *kaona*. Mary Kawena Pukui defines *kaona* as an “inner meaning” that “was sometimes so veiled that only the people to whom the chant belonged understood it, and sometimes so obvious that anyone who knew the figurative speech of old Hawaii could see it very plainly.”³³ Noelani Arista describes *kaona* as “metaphoric, allegorical, or symbolic meaning” or “double, multiple, or hidden meanings” to a particular audience of listeners.³⁴ And Brandy Nālani McDougall defines *kaona* as “meaning hidden out in the open, with a range of both the “hiddenness” and “openness” of meaning engaged.”³⁵ Though I have exercised caution in my interpretation of Hawaiian-language material, it is the very nature of *kaona* that makes

³³ Mary Kawena Pukui, “Songs (Meles) of Old Ka’u, Hawaii,” *The Journal of American Folklore* 62, no. 245 (July – September 1949): 247, JSTOR.

³⁴ Noelani Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method,” *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 125, no. 3 (2010): 665-666. Modern Language Association.

³⁵ Brandy Nālani McDougall, “Putting feathers on our words: Kaona as a decolonial aesthetic practice in Hawaiian literature,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 3, no. 1 (2014): 3, <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.821.9267&rep=rep1&type=pdf>.

such material useful for illustrating the kind of 'hidden transcripts' of power that have been described by sociologist James C. Scott.³⁶

In addition to Hawaiian-language material, this thesis makes use of Protestant missionary correspondence that, although written predominantly from a Eurocentric bias, reveal important clues as to the nature of early Hawaiian immigration to California and their religious influences at the time. Secondary sources on religious history in the United States were consulted for the interpretation of these letters and the personal motivations of missionaries themselves. In the reading of these sources, what becomes clear is that the children of the first missionaries to arrive on the Islands were impacted as much by Hawaiian immigrants as the immigrants were by the missionaries. Not only were missionary sons bilingual but bicultural in their identity as well, swearing loyalties to both the Hawaiian Kingdom and the United States. Their perspective adds further proof that religion played a central role in the exercise of agency in the diaspora and that Hawaiian efforts to collect *mana* did not disappear, but in fact intensified, after Protestant Christianity was introduced to the Islands.

Finally, the methodology for this project relies on tribal oral histories to add yet another indigenous voice to the story of the Hawaiian diaspora – that of the indigenous people of California. Here I follow in the footsteps of Drew Gonrowski and her work “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai’i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California,” which incorporates oral histories from the Konkow-Maidu community

³⁶ Scott defines “hidden transcript”, among other things, as a critique of power employed by subordinate groups “behind the back of the dominant.” He also states that “oral traditions, due simply to their means of transmission, offer a kind of seclusion, control, and even anonymity that make them ideal vehicles for cultural resistance.” James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance, Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990), xii and 160.

and from the children of Hawaiian settlers and California indigenous women in Sutter County.³⁷ My analysis includes additional oral history material from the Nisenan-Maidu community that emphasizes familial connections between Hawaiian immigrants and indigenous peoples in California. It also illustrates that an “interior world” of indigenous trade and intermarriage still operated within the Sacramento River Valley late into the nineteenth century. Hawaiian immigrants stepped into that world the moment they arrived in the Valley with John Sutter in 1839.

This thesis will demonstrate the ways in which Hawaiian immigrants repurposed and repackaged precontact strategies of resistance in their migrations throughout the Eastern Pacific by focusing on three separate time periods in Pacific World and California history. Chapter 2 highlights the oral traditions, sexual relationships, dress, and performative strategies that Hawaiian seamen employed within the maritime trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Chapter 3 focuses on how Hawaiian miners in California’s Sierra foothills made use of religion (particularly Protestantism), literacy, and intermarriage to exercise agency among indigenous peoples in the Gold-Rush era from 1848 to roughly 1868. Chapter 4 examines how the Hawaiian fishing community of the Sacramento Valley asserted identity through a continuance of the above-mentioned strategies in combination with finding their own economic/labor niche that helped them to create a meaningful connection with the California landscape. The juxtaposition of Hawaiian with California history throughout each chapter is intended to convey the transnational complexity of this story and to underscore the fact that Hawai’i was internationally recognized as a sovereign country before the United States’ forced

³⁷Among the tribal oral history interviews used by Gonrowski are those with Henry Azbill, who is discussed further in Chapter 4 of this thesis. See also Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 126-137.

annexation of the Islands in 1898. This type of analysis will hopefully shed new light on the Hawaiian diasporic experience as well as the histories of other immigrant groups specifically in California, causing scholars to pay closer attention to role of ethnogenesis in such histories.

CHAPTER 2

HAWAIIANS IN THE MARITIME TRADE

In the early fall of August 1839, Ioane o Keaala o Ka'iana, grandson of *ali'i* Ka'iana'ahu'ula, stepped off an unnamed pinnace (small boat from a larger ship) onto the shore of the lower American River in the Sacramento Valley. The pinnace, part of a flotilla including the schooners the *Isabel* and the *Nicolás*, had been acquired by John Sutter from Boston trade merchants.¹ Such ships had been carrying Hawaiians across the Pacific Ocean to Alta California for decades. Their nation, like others in the Pacific region, sought to take advantage of the maritime commerce that lay waiting along the Alta California coastline. Nearly twenty-one years prior to Sutter's arrival in Sacramento, Hawaiian sailors participated in a raid on the presidio of Monterey, a raid instigated by French Argentine sailor and corsair Hipolito Bouchard.² Seven of those sailors survived to tell their experiences to a Russian-American Company employee at Sitka.³ Such stories spoke of the ways that Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants engaged with competing imperial interests and expanded their knowledge of the Pacific World in the post-Captain Cook era. The majority of Hawaiians who migrated to California's coastline during the maritime era did not have connections to royalty. Rather, they were common laborers engaging with transoceanic globalization, capitalist expansion, and Pacific imperialism. Yet all carried with them traditional concepts inherited from the time of *Ka Wā 'Ōiwi Wale* on the

¹ Al Hurtado, *John Sutter, A Life on the North American Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 60.

²For details regarding Bouchard's raid see Peter Uhrowczik, *The Burning of Monterey: The 1818 Attack on California by the Privateer Bouchard* (Los Gatos, California: CYRIL Books, 2001) and Lewis W. Bealer, "Bouchard in the Islands of the Pacific," *Pacific Historical Review* 4, no. 4 (Dec., 1935): 328-342, JSTOR.

³ The Board of Directors of the Russian-American Company, "About the Arrival on the Sitkan Coast of a Spanish Vessel with a Sandwich Islander Crew," in *California Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1848, Early California Commentaries, Volume 2* compiled, translated, and edited by James R. Gibson with assistance from Alexei A. Istomin (Norman, Oklahoma: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013), 101-102.

Islands, and were prepared to apply these concepts as tools of resistance in colonial engagements.

This chapter challenges two popularly-held notions that, until the last decade, have dominated historical literature regarding California. The first notion places California's history within a narrative of land-based European exploration and settlement of the North American "frontier." From the perspective of indigenous peoples and European explorers in the Pacific World, California was hardly uncharted territory in the early 1800s. Using Iglér's Pacific World model, commercial trade in furs, skins, whale oil, and cattle hides situated California within an *eastern Pacific* region in the early to mid-eighteenth century. It would not be until the late 1840s that U.S. expansionism reconfigured the state as part of the *American West*.⁴ Second, this chapter disputes the notion that John Sutter's Hawaiian workers were an anomaly in patterns of Hawaiian out-migration to North America in the nineteenth century. In fact, they were only one group among many that voyaged on a maritime circuit from the Hawaiian Islands to the Pacific Northwest, from the Islands to California, and from the Islands to the Atlantic Coast (and sometimes back to California.) This chapter underscores the significant presence of Kanaka Hawai'i seamen on California's coastline before 1839 while demonstrating how these immigrants repurposed traditional tools of agency through variety of ways in colonial maritime environments.

Mobility, migration, and exploration had been part of the Kānaka Hawai'i toolkit for negotiating and leveraging sociopolitical power on the Islands long before the arrival of the first Euroamerican ships in the late eighteenth century, This was true as much for

⁴ David Iglér, *The Great Ocean, Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush* (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 8-10.

the *ali'i* as it was for the *maka'āinana*.⁵ In fact, the first Hawaiians to explore the *eastern Pacific* straddled the spectrum of Hawaiian social classes. These individuals were part of, as Chappell describes, a “select club of Hawaiians that fur traders took to China and Northwest America.”⁶ In 1788, a man known as Ka'iana'ahu'ula (hereafter referred to in this chapter as “Ka'iana”)⁷ and a woman named Ka Wahine (referred to as “Winee” and “Wynee of Hawai'i” by the English) boarded the British merchant ships *Iphegenia Nubiana* and the *Felice Adventuro*, respectively, both under the command of fur trader and Englishman John Meares.⁸ Ka'iana was an *ali'i* of Kaua'i Island and “probably among the twenty or thirty most highly ranked of the hundreds of thousands of people in the islands” while Ka Wahine was a member of the *maka'āinana*.⁹ Meares described Ka'iana as “Herculean” and “replete with dignity, . . . having lived in the habits of receiving the respect due to superior rank in his own country, he possessed an air of distinction.”¹⁰ Ka Wahine was described as possessing “virtues that are seldom to be found in the class of her countrywomen to which she belonged; and a portion of understanding that was not to

⁵ Notable sources on the prehistoric exploration and colonization of Oceania by Hawaiians include Geoffrey Irwin, *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014) and Patrick Von Kirch, *Feathered Gods and Fishhooks: An Introduction to Hawaiian Archaeology and Prehistory*, (Honolulu, T.H : University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

⁶ Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 36.

⁷ The English referred to him by the name “Tianna” and “Tyanna”.

⁸ Ka Wahine was the personal servant (or “lady’s maid”) of Frances Trevor Barkley, wife of Captain Charles Barkley of the Western ship *Imperial Eagle*. Captain Barkley had left Ka Wahine in Canton, China where Meares found her in 1788 and had her board the *Felice*. John Meares (1916) [1791]. “Hawaiian Historical Society Reprints (1787, 1788, and 1789). Extracts from Voyage Made in the Years 1788 and 1789 From China to the Northwest Coast of America, with an Introductory Narrative of a Voyage Performed in 1786, From Bengal, in the Ship “Nootka””. Hawaiian Historical Society. hdl:10524/643; Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 33-38. Ka Wahine was the first Kanaka woman to travel aboard a European vessel and the first indigenous Hawaiian known to encounter the Northwest Coast of America, Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 19-20. On the general exploration of the Pacific by Native Hawaiian women see K.L. Nalani Wilson, “Na Wahine Kānaka Hawai'i Holowa'a: Native Hawaiian Women Voyagers,” *International Journal of Maritime History* 20, no. 2 (December 2008): 307-324, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/084387140802000215>.

⁹ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 38.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

be expected in a rude and uncultivated mind.”¹¹ Such descriptions reflected a British and Euroamerican explorer proclivity for categorizing all Islanders, regardless of class or social rank in Hawaiian society, as untouched, uncorrupted, and unspoiled by civilization.

Similar understandings of Pacific Islander natives as “unspoiled” are evident in journals for early Russian maritime explorations as well. The scientific expedition of the Russian vessel the *Ryurik [Rurik]* (1815-1818) is a case in point. Adelbert von Chamisso, a naturalist hired to lead the expedition (Otto von Kotzebue as Captain), was heavily influenced by his experiences with natives in the Pacific World, particularly a Ratak Island native named Kadu. Once Kadu boarded the *Rurik* in 1817, Chamisso instantly prodded him with questions on botany, religion, customs, language, and knowledge of the world beyond the Marshall Islands. According to Iglar, Chamisso’s relationship with Kadu “decidedly influenced the naturalist’s view of the indigenous communities they encountered” including the natives of the Hawaiian Islands, whom Chamisso felt had been corrupted by European colonialism.¹²

But in these early voyages aboard British and Russian vessels, Pacific Islanders were gathering as much *‘ike* about the Pacific World as their foreign counterparts were learning about them. While in Honolulu, Chamisso watched as Kadu “disappeared among the [Hawaiian] natives [and] early learned how to communicate with the Hawaiians.”¹³ Ka Wahine and Ka’iana, according to Chang, learned about the foreign world through a “gendered lens.” In returning to Hawai’i, Ka Wahine brought back with her the “gendered material of Western culture” including a mirror, porcelain basin, porcelain bottle, a gown,

¹¹ John Meares as quoted in Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 20.

¹² Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 129-130.

¹³ Adelbert von Chamisso as quoted in Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 141.

a hoop, a petticoat, and a cap. Similarly, Ka'iana, according to Meares, acquired and wore British-style garments.¹⁴ In addition, Ka'iana observed and absorbed knowledge about foreigners in Macao, Zamboanga (on the island of Mindanao in the Phillipines), and Nootka (Yuquot or Clayoquot) Sound, on the west coast of Vancouver Island in British Columbia.¹⁵ It was at Nootka in August 1788, that Ka'iana met and interacted with indigenous peoples known as the Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka), including Chief Maquinna ("Maquilla") and Chief Waccanish/ Wickanish.¹⁶

However, this was not the first time the Nuu-chah-nulth had encountered Hawaiians aboard foreign vessels. The Nuu-chah-nulth Indian Comekela, brother of Chief Maquinna, had returned to his native land aboard the ship *Felice Adventurer* in May 1788 after stops in Hawaii and China. During his voyage he had met Ka'iana, as the *Felice* was part of the same trading venture under the management of Capt. Meares. According to Meares,

Tianna [Ka'iana] and Comekela were old acquaintances, but by no means intimate friends, as the former held the latter in a very low degree of estimation; and, accordingly, we did not observe any very cordial appearance of joy at their present meeting. As Comekela had been in the Sandwich Islands [Hawaii], on his first leaving America ... he was qualified to give [Chief] Maquilla [Maquinna] an account not only of Tianna but the country from whence he came.¹⁷

In June of 1791, the Boston ship *Columbia Rediviva* captained by American Robert Gray anchored at Clayoquot [Yuquot] Sound to barter for furs. During the *Columbia's*

¹⁴ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 48.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-71.

¹⁶ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 65-68. Iglar spells the name of the Indian village at Nootka Sound as "Clayoquot" instead of "Yuquot" which is used by Chang. In addition, Iglar uses "Wickanish" instead of "Waccanish" (Chang's spelling) to refer to the Chief of Clayoquot/Yuquot. Iglar describes Chief Wickanish as "the most powerful chief in Clayoquot [Yuquot] Sound" who "carefully orchestrated the environment in which trade took place between outsiders and his Nuu-chah-nulth network of villages." Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 78.

¹⁷ John Meares as quoted in George Quimby, "Hawaiians in the Fur Trade of North-west America, 1785-1820," *The Journal of Pacific History* 7 (1972): 94, JSTOR.

anchorage, a Hawaiian sailor known variously as Atu, Ottoo, Jack Atu, Jack Atoe, and Jack from the Island of Ni’hau, abandoned ship to live (temporarily) among the Nuu-chah-nulth before being forcefully returned to the *Columbia*. The journal of the *Columbia* reported that “Ottoo, our Sandwich Island boy, found means to leave the ship and go among the natives.”¹⁸ Although Atu’s reasons for departing are unclear (though it likely had to do with desiring freedom), in the process he became acquainted with the Nuu-chah-nulth’s Chief Tootiscoosettle and well as Chief Wickanish.¹⁹ In such encounters, Hawaiian voyagers learned about European imperialism as well the limitations of that imperialism when it came to engaging with indigenous nations.

However, as the stories of Atu and other sailors illustrate, there are challenges in using European accounts to understand Kānaka Hawai’i motives for boarding foreign vessels bound for the Eastern Pacific. Early European sources present a predominantly naturalists’ point of view and insist that Kānaka Hawai’i embarked voluntarily and cooperated fully on European voyages. But upon closer examination, we can also see examples of coercion. According to available records, Atu voluntarily joined the *Columbia* on its way to China and eventually to Boston. But when the *Columbia* left Boston on its second voyage to the Northwest Coast, Atu was downgraded in rank from “Hawaiian chief Attoo” to “Cabin Boy” – a rank “much closer to indentured servant than visiting island dignitary,” as Iglar points out.²⁰ This downgrade might suggest why Atu felt compelled to desert ship at Clayoquot Sound. Another example of possible coercion is Atu’s shipmate Opai (also known as Opie, Jack, Jack Opie, Kalehua, and Tarehooa),

¹⁸ Quimby, “Hawaiians in the Fur Trade of North-west America, 1785-1820,” 94.

¹⁹ Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 77-79.

²⁰ “Officers and Crew of the *Columbia*,” in F. W. Howay, *Voyages of the *Columbia* to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), 447; Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 79.

who transferred to the brig *Hope* in Boston and then eventually onto Captain George Vancouver's ship *Discovery*. Opai confided in his friend Joseph Ingrahim, captain of the brig *Hope*, that he "wished to return on board the *Hope*," yet "Captain Vancouver refused to discharge him till his return to Owyhee."²¹ Also taken aboard the *Discovery* in 1792 were two young Hawaiian women, Raheina and Tymarow, who were formerly captives of the British ship *Jenny*. According to Iglar, the crew of the *Jenny* had kidnapped the two women from the Island of Ni'hau, but Vancouver agreed to return the captives to their homeland.²² In such situations, the boundary between willing sailor and captive servant became fuzzy, particularly as the circumstances of working environments change.

A perhaps clearer case of coercion is presented in Russian accounts of Frenchman Hipolito/Hyppolite Bouchard's planned raid on Monterey, California. In mid-summer 1818, just as the *Rurik* was completing its voyage, the Spanish frigate and warship *Argentina* was sailing into Honolulu harbor. The *Argentina*, captained by Bouchard, carried Spanish insurgents from Buenos Aires along with Filipino seamen from Manila. In Honolulu, Bouchard negotiated with Hawaiian King Kamehemeha for the *Santa Rosa*, a ship tied up by the monarch over compensation for cargoes of sandalwood.²³ According to Captain-Lieutenant Mikhail Vasilyev, who was told the story of the Monterey raid by Spanish officials in 1821, the insurgents "seized several Sandwich Islanders as sailors."²⁴ Vasilyev's account seems plausible given that from 1526 until 1763 (the year of signing of

²¹ Mark D. Kaplanoff, ed. *Joseph Ingrahim's Journal of the Brigantine Hope on a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of North America, 1790-92*, (Barre, MA: Imprint Society, 1971), 76; Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 80.

²² Iglar, *The Great Ocean*, 80-81.

²³ Matt K. Matsuda, *Pacific Worlds, A History of Seas, Peoples, and Cultures*, (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 126.

²⁴ Mikhail Vasilyev, "Excerpts from Mikhail Vasilyev, 'Remarks on [Alta] California,' 1821" in *Early California Commentaries, Volume 2, California Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1848*, compiled, translated, and edited by James R. Gibson, 192, (Norman, Oklahoma: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2013.)

the Treaty of Paris) almost all Pacific islanders who found themselves aboard Spanish ships were "black birded" (kidnapped.)²⁵ In December of 1818, both the *Argentina* and *Santa Rosa* arrived on the shores of Monterey and opened fire on the port while up to 500 armed men (including Kānaka Hawai'i sailors) burned and looted the presidio. Bouchard ordered several of the "Sandwich Islanders" and his rebels to board a Spanish schooner seized outside Santa Barbara, at which point the schooner began following the *Argentina*. According to Vasilyev,

The same day there was a mutiny aboard the frigate [*Argentina*], and the revolutionary flag was lowered. The insurgents moved from the schooner to the frigate, leaving 5 Sandwich Islanders on the schooner. . . . One of these islanders had been at Sitka, and they decided to seek it; fortunately, they arrived safely . . . and gave the schooner to the [Russian American Company's] governor, Lieutenant Yanovsky . . . Three Sandwich Islanders were set free, and two were kept as witnesses, and the schooner was given the name *Fortuna*.²⁶

That the three Sandwich Islanders were "set free" by the RAC implies that they had been held under captive circumstances.

Other European/Russian accounts of Bouchard's voyage reveal Hawaiian agency and resilience. According to a report from the Board of Directors of the Russian-American Company (RAC), the schooner carried seven (not five) Sandwich Islanders, all of whom "declared unanimously that Bouchard, the captain of the rebel Spanish frigate *Argentina* and *Santa Rosa*, had taken them aboard as sailors from the Sandwich Islands." Here the word "seize" is noticeably absent from the narrative, perhaps because the sailors were ashamed of the experience or, perhaps, because they in fact chose to board the ships. According to the sailors' story, after the mutiny, one of the Sandwich Islanders took charge

²⁵ David A. Chappell, "Kru and Kanaka: Participation by African and Pacific Island Sailors in Euroamerican Maritime Frontiers," *International Journal of Maritime History* 6, no. 2 (December 1994): 91, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/084387149400600205>.

²⁶ Vasilyev, "Excerpts from Mikhail Vasilyev," 192.

of the schooner as captain. This man “had sailed before on American ships but scarcely knew the use of a compass.” Instead he was likely familiar with traditional Polynesian sailing techniques, which often relied on the constellations as a navigational tool.²⁷ Instead of following the frigates as directed by the Europeans, he and his shipmates devised a plan to sail back to the Sandwich Islands with the intent of giving the schooner to their king, Tomi-omi [Kaumauli]. Unfortunately, the lack of food and water on the ship interfered with this plan. “After sailing 82 days . . . they arrived at Sitka instead of the Sandwich Islands. They had a half barrel of water and provisions for only two days,” according to the account. In addition, the schooner had a “very large leak,” which the sailors were quite aware of.²⁸ That they survived for almost three months under these conditions and made it to Sitka was likely less a miracle than an outcome of the sailors’ initiative and perseverance. The sailors had made a conscious decision to evade Bouchard’s orders, choosing instead to return home and pay allegiance to their king. In the process, they had gained new knowledge not only of California but of the imperial powers who were seeking control of that new frontier and how Kānaka Hawai’i might fit into that colonial regime.

Here and elsewhere along the Pacific Coast of North America, Hawaiians quickly established a reputation in the maritime trade for their skills in seamanship, boat handling, and hunting. The Hawaiian Islands, ideally located in the central Pacific, provided a port where fur trade ships (both Russian and American) could take on fresh provisions, rest up

²⁷ For information regarding the use of navigational skills of Oceanians, see Geoffrey Irwin, “Pacific Seascapes, Canoe Performance, and a Review of Lapita Voyaging with Regard to Theories of Migration,” *Asian Perspectives* 47, no. 1 (2008): 13-27, <https://doi.org/10.1353/asi.2008.0002>; and David Lewis, *We, The Navigators, The Ancient Art of Landfinding in the Pacific*, Second Edition, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994).

²⁸ Board of Directors of the Russian-American Company, “About the Arrival on the Sitkan Coast of a Spanish Vessel with a Sandwich Islander Crew,” [St. Petersburg], 14 January 1821, in *Early California Commentaries, Volume 2, California Through Russian Eyes, 1806-1848*, compiled, translated, and edited by James R. Gibson, 101-102.

before heading to China, spend the winter between fur seasons, and obtain skilled and experienced native seamen.”²⁹ In 1812, just a few years prior to the arrival of the Kānaka Hawai’i crew at Sitka, the RAC had completed construction of the settlement known as Fort Ross or Colony Ross in California. According to anthropologist Kent Lightfoot, the colony “facilitated three major enterprises: harvesting California sea otters and fur seals, producing grain and beef, and manufacturing goods primarily for trade with the Franciscan padres.”³⁰ With the Hawaiian Islands quickly becoming a hub for commercial shipping traffic in the Pacific, the RAC recognized Hawaii's potential for producing sandalwood, sugarcane, and food crops as well as serving as a convenient mid-Pacific stop between Kamchatka and colonies like Fort Ross.³¹ Through Russia’s trade with the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants made their way into Colony Ross.

Hawaiians represented just a small percentage of a diverse workforce at Colony Ross. Ethnic Russians at Fort Ross were primarily dependent upon the indigenous populations of Alaska, and California for labor, provisions, and companionship. According to correspondence from the Company's Main Office to the Ross Office dated 28 January 1818, three Sandwich Islanders were stationed at Ross in 1818.³² By 1821, the adult male population of Ross included six Kānaka Hawai’i. These men were Gerri (a sailor), Karya (cowherd), Maktim (cowherd), Kek’kii (no occupation listed), James

²⁹ John T. Grider, *A Foreign Voyage: Pacific Maritime Labour Identity, 1840-1890*, ([Place of publication not identified]: SUN MeDIA Bloemfontein, 2017), 133.

³⁰ Kent Lightfoot, *Indians, Missionaries, and Merchants, The Legacy of Colonial Encounters on the California Frontiers*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 121.

³¹ Kent G. Lightfoot, “Russian Colonization: The Implications of Mercantile Colonial Practices in the North Pacific,” *Historical Archaeology* 37, no. 4 (2003): 17, JSTOR.

³² In 1820, the total population of Ross was 335 persons; in 1821 it was 236 persons.

Men'shoi (no occupation listed), and Jack Fortunskii (no occupation listed).³³ Maktim was noted as having arrived in Sitka in September of 1821 via the Russian-built vessel *Buldakov*, a ship launched from Russia in 1820.³⁴ He and the other Hawaiian workers at Fort Ross likely resided with Pomo and Miwok laborers in the Native Californian Neighborhood, the largest residential area associated with Ross Colony. Chang describes this multi-ethnic environment as a “Native American world with a European colonial incursion – and therefore a world with strong resonances to Hawai’i and its Western incursion.”³⁵ For Hawaiians, such an environment required adaptability to new languages and new indigenous cultures. This would also be true elsewhere along the Pacific Coast during the fur trade era.

Hawaiian labor was valued not just at Fort Ross but in the Pacific Northwest as well. While the Russians established Fort Ross, the Pacific Fur Company was constructing Fort Astoria, on the mouth of the Columbia River. In 1811, German-American merchant John Jacob Astor arrived in the region on the *Tonquin* with twenty-four Hawaiians hired in Honolulu, including an individual by the nickname of “John Coxe.” In 1821, the British Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC) took over the fort. The HBC viewed the Sandwich Islands an ideal labor supply source for their fur trade operations. According to labor historian Edith L. Burley, Hawaiians had a reputation among the British for “honesty, submissiveness, and bravery.” HBC employee George Simpson considered Sandwich Islanders “valuable in establishing new Countries” and suitable for employment at guards

³³ Sannie Kenton Osborn, “Death in the Daily Life of the Ross Colony: Mortuary Behavior in Frontier Russian America” (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, August 1997), 385, <https://www.fortross.org/lib/68/death-in-the-daily-life-of-the-ross-colony.pdf>.

³⁴ Osborn, “Death in the Daily Life,” 385; Andrei V. Grinëv, Translated by Richard L. Bland, “Russian Maritime Catastrophes during the Colonization of Alaska, 1741-1867,” *The Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 102, no. 4 (Fall 2011): 189, JSTOR.

³⁵ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 164.

or in “common drudgery about the Establishments.” In addition, Burley adds, “Sandwich Islanders were very cheap, paid only in food and clothing, until 1823, when Chief Factor John Dugald Cameron allowed them £17 a year, the same as the rest of the servants.”³⁶ By the 1840s, the company employed hundreds of Kānaka Hawai’i workers via a three-year contractual agreement signed by Kamehameha III; payment ranged anywhere from £17 a year to as much as £25 a month by 1850.³⁷ For comparison, in 1849, HBC seamen’s wages were £4 per month, the equivalent of \$16.³⁸ The dramatic increase in wages reflected, not only the high value the HBC placed on Kānaka Hawai’i labor, but also an attempt to slow the steady increase in the number of employee desertions by the end of the fur trade period.

Like Ross Colony, the HBC relied heavily on the indigenous population of the Pacific Northwest and Hawaiians not only for hunting fur-bearing mammals but for navigation, general construction, and agricultural provisions. According to Barman and Watson, Kānaka Hawai’i performed a “range of jobs, as millers, watchmen, woodcutters, cooper’s assistants, personal servants, porters, general laborers, house builders, cow [herders], sheep [herders], pig herders, and gardeners.”³⁹ They were also employed in building boats, as middlemen on the canoes and York boats, and as seamen on the

³⁶ Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company, Work, Discipline, and Conflict in the Hudson’s Bay Company, 1770-1879* (Toronto, New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 95.

³⁷ Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 205. Burley states that, in 1850, HBC employee Captain A. J. Weynton had to hire “14 Sandwich Islanders who were completely unacquainted with the duties required of them” aboard the ship *Mary Dare*, which had lost most its crew at Honolulu. When the ship reached the Columbia River, it was necessary to hire more men in Victoria at a rate of £25 a month. Some of these men were possibly Native Hawaiian as well.

³⁸ Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 204.

³⁹ Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise, Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006), 95.

Company coast vessels.⁴⁰ Additionally, they were a key labor force in the construction and operation of the first HBC sawmill in the region, located five miles upstream from Fort Vancouver. They also worked as farm laborers. Captain Charles Wilkes wrote in his journal for the United States' 1841 exploring expedition of the Columbia River that "Vancouver exhibited the aspect of an extensive farming establishment, with its well-stored granaries, sacks of grain, &c. All showed that the crops had been plentiful, . . . Soon after the wreck of the *Peacock*, Captain Hudson, hearing that Dr. M'Laughlin was in want of hands to aid him in the harvest, despatched [sic] the Kanakas belonging to the *Peacock* up to Vancouver, to assist in gathering it."⁴¹ Many of the Kānaka Hawai'i who worked for HBC lived in a community outside of the company's Fort Vancouver, referred to as Kānaka Village.⁴²

Unlike at Ross Colony, Kānaka Hawai'i workers of Fort Astoria and Fort Vancouver were expected to serve as intermediaries between Euroamerican and Native American groups although, as Chappell points out, Oceanic voyagers "were not necessarily any more sympathetic or adept at interpreting local cultures than Euroamericans were."⁴³ For example, in June 1812, the *Tonquin* left Astoria to trade off Vancouver Island with local natives (likely of the Klallam culture). Insulted over fur

⁴⁰ Janice K. Duncan, "Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees, 1785-1860," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973), 99, <http://hdl.handle.net/10524/133>.

⁴¹ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*. Volume V. (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1845), 123. Captain William L. Hudson, who was assigned to Wilkes Exploring Expedition, commanded the *USS Peacock* which wrecked at the mouth of the Columbia River in 1841. See NA Howerton, "The Untold Story of the Peacock Wrecked in 1841," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 43, no. 2 (June 1942): 129-134, JSTOR.

⁴² Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 35, 54, 57, 101, 111-112, 115-117, 120-122, 129, 263, 303; Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 102-103; Tom Koppel, *Kanaka, The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*, (Vacouver/Toronto: Whitecap Books, 1995), 12-13; Dr. Edward and Alice Beechert, "Hawaiians at Vancouver," National Park Service, US Department of the Interior, Fort Vancouver National Historic Site, August 15, 2019, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/hawaiiansatfortvancouver.htm>.

⁴³ Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 75.

prices, the Klallam Indians “blew up” the ship and all men aboard, including a dozen Kānaka Hawai’i seamen, were killed.⁴⁴ Other times, the HBC used Hawaiian workers to pacify local Indian tribes by force. In 1828, trader Alexander McLeod led a punitive expedition against the Klallams with a party comprising over sixty men including Iroquois, Chinooks, and “Owhyees” [an early trader term for Kānaka Hawai’i workers.]⁴⁵ Six “Kanakas” manned the *Cadboro*, which was to support the land party, while two other Kānaka Hawai’i men identified as Tourawhyheene and Cawinai manned canoes of the overland force.⁴⁶ McLeod wrote in his notes that the “the Iroquois, Owhyee, and Cheenook slaves painted themselves ready for battle” before the attack, suggesting that Euroamericans understood Kānaka Hawai’i as subjugated indigenous people.⁴⁷ Both Iroquois and Chinookan-speaking groups were enslaved by fur traders.⁴⁸ Reverend Herbert Beaver, an Englishman who had arrived at Fort Vancouver in 1836, wrote “I have seen more real slavery in the short time I have been here than in the eight years and a half I was in the West Indies.” In fact, he described in lurid detail an account of a “Sandwich Islander flogged and then kept in irons for five months and five days.”⁴⁹ Beaver’s account, along with McLeod’s, suggest that at least some Kānaka Hawai’i men in the Pacific

⁴⁴ Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 104.

⁴⁵ Eva Emery Dye and Frank Ermatinger, “Earliest Expedition Against Puget Sound Indians,” *Washington Historical Quarterly* 1, no. 2 (Jan., 1907): 16, 23, JSTOR.

⁴⁶ Duncan, “Kanakan World Travelers and Fur Company Employees,” 99. “Cawinai” (listed as “Cowanaia”) worked in the fur trade at Fort Vancouver from 1817 to 1839. Tourawhyheene (identified as “Tourawhyheine”) worked for thirty years in the fur trade until 1847, at which point he returned to O’ahu. Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 234, 428.

⁴⁷ Dye and Ermatinger, “Earliest Expedition Against the Puget Sound Indians,” 23.

⁴⁸ For histories of the trade of Iroquois and Chinook slaves in the Pacific Northwest see Yvonne P. Hajda, “Slavery in the Greater Lower Columbia Region,” *Ethnohistory* 52, no. 3 (2005): 563-588, <https://doi.org/10.1215/00141801-52-3-563>; James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships, and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841*, (Montreal: McGill Queen’s University Press, 1992); and Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, *The Chinook Indians, Traders of the Lower Columbia River*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988).

⁴⁹ Thomas E. Jessett, *Reports and Letters of Herbert Beaver, 1836-1838* (Portland, 1959) as quoted in Edith I. Burley, *Servants of the Honourable Company*, 179.

Northwest fur trade were working under the same coercive conditions as their Native American counterparts.

One of the reasons Hawaiian workers were relied on as intermediaries was their aptitude for learning new languages quickly, particularly the indigenous languages of Oceania and the Pacific Northwest. Opa'i's bilingualism aboard the ship *Discovery* apparently proved quite valuable to Captain Vancouver as he outfitted his ship at Hawai'i in 1791.⁵⁰ At Fort Vancouver, fur traders were immersed within a number of indigenous languages, including Iroquois, Cree, and Chinook – the latter considered by many as the universal trade jargon. Many Kānaka Hawaii workers for HBC spoke a pidgin dialect that borrowed terms from all of these languages as well as French, Russian, and English.⁵¹ This is likely one of the reasons why Louis Kanota, a Kānaka Hawai'i employee of the HBC, was employed by fur trapper John Work as a scout for his California fur brigade expedition in 1831-1832. According to Duncan, Kanota was a “favorite of Work's” and was allowed to bring his wife and child on the expedition. Work's journal of the expedition frequently praised Kanota's abilities as a hunter, scout, and retriever of stolen horses.⁵² Men like Kanota made it possible for European traders to successfully communicate with indigenous groups and expand their trade networks.

As Fort Vancouver grew in the 1830s, an increasing number of Kānaka Hawaii men turned to indigenous women in the region for companionship. Historian E. Momilani

⁵⁰ Igler, *The Great Ocean*, 80.

⁵¹ For a history of the Chinook trade jargon see George Lang, *Making Wawa: The Genesis of Chinook Jargon, First Nations Languages Series*, (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2008).

⁵² Duncan, “Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees,” 100; Duncan, “Minority Without a Champion,” 27. Louis Kanota's name was variously spelled “Kanata”, “Kanola”, and “Kanotti” in Work's Journals. William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips, *The Journal of John Work*, (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), 64. See also Alice B. Maloney and John Work, “Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition of 1832-33 for the Hudson's Bay Company (Continued),” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 22, no. 4 (Dec., 1943): 323-348, JSTOR.

Naughton states that at Kanaka Village outside of Fort Vancouver, “there was a significant number of marriages between Hawaiian men and Indian women. Most of the tribes these Hawaiians married into were close to the forts where they were employed.” Naughton adds that, “it appears that there was a certain amount of prestige involved in Indian women marrying Hawaiians” since “several Hawaiians even married chief or sub-chief’s daughters.”⁵³ Such kinship ties had its advantages for the British. When fur trade revenues began to decline, the HBC branched out to trading other commodities, including lumber and pickled salmon. Brined salmon was sent to the Oahu in barrels from the Northwest Coast beginning in 1830, the popular Hawaiian dish *lomilomi* was introduced to Hawaiian Islanders in this way. Meanwhile at Kanaka Village, intermarried couples established a resident communal population that came to rely on such provisions. After their contracts expired, Kānaka Hawai’i seamen were less likely to return to the Islands and leave their Native American wives and children behind.

Of course, otter hunting and trapping was not the exclusive domain of the British or the Russians; American fur hunters also employed Kānaka Hawai’i sailors in this endeavor. In January 1816, American otter-hunting ships the *Albatross* and the *Lydia* were captured by Mexican forces off Santa Barbara; the crew included two “Kanakas.”⁵⁴ In the 1830s, American trans-Pacific merchant ships with Hawaiian migrants appeared in the Channel Islands in a last-ditch effort to profit from the otter fur trade. While American marksmen shot at rafts of sea otters from the shore of Santa Rosa Island, Kānaka Hawai’i men were sent to swim out and retrieve the corpses. According to Rosenthal, “only when

⁵³ E. Momilani Naughton, “Hawaiians in the Fur Trade: Cultural Influences on the Northwest Coast, 1811-1875” (MA thesis, Western Washington University, August 1983), 30-32.

⁵⁴ Pubols, *The Father of All*, 85.

Euroamerican . . . hunters, more accustomed to shooting fur-bearing mammals in the forest of North America came to Alta California, were the so-called amphibious Hawaiians necessary to perform the maritime aspects of the hunt.” Hawaiian sea otter hunters were generally paid a wage of ten to twenty dollars a month. Captain George Nidever, for example, referred to “a Kanaka Indian, employed to swim out for the otter killed; at \$16 a month.”⁵⁵ These wages were comparable to those paid to HBC seamen in 1849, but amounted to just over half of each otter skin itself. According to Captain Wilkes, in 1841 American hunters were bringing in “from four to five hundred sea-otter skins” valued at thirty dollars each.⁵⁶

It is important to note that term “kanaka” had racial connotations. In the early decades of the 1800s, both Europeans and Americans appropriated “kanaka” as a term for enslaved Pacific Islanders who were captured in the “black birding” trade in the South Pacific.⁵⁷ Historian David Chang argues that the term became a slur in Pacific trade pidgin similar to calling American Indian women “squaw” or African American men “buck.”⁵⁸ As the American whaling industry blossomed in the 1820s, American ship captains began categorizing *all* Pacific Islanders working on their ships, whether slaves or

⁵⁵ William Henry Ellison, ed., *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever, 1802-1883*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), 36, 40; Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 140. Nidever is perhaps best known for leading the expedition to San Nicolas Island to rescue the Nicoleño (Tongva) woman Juana Maria, otherwise known as Karana in Scott Odell’s *Island of the Blue Dolphins*. See also Adele Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1941); and Marla Daily, “The Lone Woman of San Nicolas Island: A New Hypothesis on Her Origin,” *California History* 68, no.1-2 (Spring - Summer, 1989): 36-41, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25158513>.

⁵⁶ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, 158.

⁵⁷ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 35; Sources on the “blackbirding” trade include Emma Christopher, Cassandra Pybus, and Marcus Buford Rediker, eds., *Many Middle Passages: Forced Migration and the Making of the Modern World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007) and J.A. Bennett, “Immigration, ‘Blackbirding’, Labour Recruiting? The Hawaiian Experience, 1877-1887,” *Journal of Pacific History* 11 (1976): 3-27, <https://doi.org/10.1080/00223347608572288>.

⁵⁸ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 33.

voluntary hired hands, as “kanakas.”⁵⁹ Historian Nancy Shoemaker, who has written extensively on indigenous whalers of the Atlantic World, argues that American sailors “probably did not understand the premise of respect lying behind the word ‘kanaka’ but used it indiscriminately when referring to newly recruited foremost hands sharing quarters in the ship’s forecabin and natives observed alongshore and throughout the Pacific, not just for those who spoke Polynesian languages.”⁶⁰ This suggests that Kānaka Hawai’i may have viewed the term “kanaka” less as a slur and more as a label of their working-class status on board ships.

The whaling fleet that sailed the Pacific and operated out of Hawaii originated in New England. One of the largest concentrations of Kānaka Hawai’i was housed in Nantucket Island, second only to New Bedford, Connecticut.⁶¹ The majority of Kānaka Hawai’i sailors using Nantucket as their base resided in the African-American neighborhood of Newtown, founded by descendants of the first African slaves brought to Nantucket. As Chang explains “Kānaka lived in places where white Americans did not occupy a normative position, and Kānaka generally lived among dark-skinned people.”⁶² In a sense, life on the Atlantic Coast for Hawaiian workers mirrored residential arrangements with Native American women in the Pacific Northwest. Many Kānaka Hawai’i whalers boarded with and/or were married to African-American women. One example was William Whippey, owner of the “Canacka Boarding House,” who was

⁵⁹ Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, xiii. It is important to note that the term “Kanak” is used by modern indigenous groups across the Pacific, particularly in New Caledonia. See David Chappell, *The Kanak Awakening: The Rise of Nationalism in New Caledonia*, (Honolulu : Center for Pacific Islands Studies, School of Pacific and Asian Studies, University of Hawai’i, Mānoa, 2016).

⁶⁰ Shoemaker, *Native American Whalers and the World*, 87.

⁶¹ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 186. New Bedford is actually a town in Massachusetts, so it is unclear if Chang meant to refer to New London, Connecticut, another significant home for the New England whaling fleet.

⁶² Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 163.

married to an African American woman.⁶³ Anti-miscegenation laws prevented “White People” from marrying “People of Color.” But it is unclear whether or not Kānaka Hawai’i islanders chose to live in Newtown for this reason or simply because they wished to live in areas where white Americans did not.⁶⁴

Such experiences on the Atlantic Coast often shaped Kānaka Hawai’i responses to work in maritime California. Since the early nineteenth century, Boston trade ships and whaling vessels had regularly sailed from the Atlantic seaboard around the Cape Horn and up the California coastline. As of 1845, the American whaling fleet counted six hundred and seventy-five vessels, the majority of which were cruising the Pacific Ocean. Many of these vessels stopped at islands in both the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean for labor and provisions. “Our ships are constantly in the practice of taking on board extra hands, from the Azores [archipelago of Portugal], Cape de Verdes [Cape Verde Islands of Africa], and South Sea Islands [islands of Polynesia]” reported Captain Wilkes.⁶⁵ By the mid-1800s one out of every five sailors in American whaling fleet (including Boston trade merchant vessels) was Oceanian, and at least a quarter of these were likely from the Hawaiian Islands.⁶⁶ These crewmen comprised what Rosenthal describes as a “surprisingly large floating population of Hawaiian migrant workers living up and down the coast of Alta California in the Mexican period.”⁶⁷ It was on the Boston trade vessel the *Pilgrim*, that hide worker and author Richard Henry Dana, Jr. first encountered Kānaka Hawai’i

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 186-187.

⁶⁴ For more information on miscegenation laws of the 19th century, see Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶⁵ Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, 485-486.

⁶⁶ Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, xiii.

⁶⁷ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 135.

crewmembers, working both onboard ships and along the shores of San Diego, Santa Barbara, and San Francisco Bay.

As detailed in his book *Two Years Before the Mast*, Dana befriended a group of twenty Hawaiian workers who were living on a San Diego beach in an abandoned bread oven dubbed the “Kānaka Hotel.” While working at the nearby Bryant & Sturgis hide house, Dana spent much of his free time with these men, and during this time, he observed many of their strategies for adapting to a colonial maritime environment.⁶⁸ Hawaiian seamen often adopted English-language nicknames as a means of both preserving identity and combatting racial stereotypes. American ship captains alternately labeled Kānaka Hawai’i men’s “complexions” as “Dark,” “Black,” “Copper,” “Yellow,” “Light,” and “Colored.” Some were given nicknames such as “Jim Crow” (a blackface racial stereotype) or “Tellum-by-by-Darco.” Rosenthal argues that, aside from embracing racial stereotypes, such nicknames also functioned as a *curriculum vitae* of a sailor’s life experiences.⁶⁹ Dana’s account of the Hawaiian crewmembers he encountered illustrates this point.

Some are called after the vessel they are in; other by common names, as Jack, Tom, Bill; and some have fancy names, as Ban-yan, Fore-top, Rope-yarn, Pelican, etc., etc.. Of the four that worked at our [hide] house, one was named “Mr. Bingham” after the missionary at Oahu; another, Hope, after a vessel that he had been in; a third, Tom Davis, the name of his first captain; and the fourth, Pelican, from his fancied resemblance to that bird. . . . But by whatever names they might be called, they were the most interesting, intelligent, and kind hearted people that I ever fell in with.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, illustrated by Alexander Dobkin with an introduction by May Lamberton Becker, (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1946), 162-178.

⁶⁹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 136.

⁷⁰ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 165.

Dana admits that he and other American sailors frequently taunted Davis, whose two front teeth were knocked out as a sign of grief over the death of the Hawaiian *moi* Tamahaha.

“We used to tell him that he ate Captain Cook, and lost his teeth in that way . . . He would always be excited at that; and say [in half Hawaiian/half English] – “*Aole!*” (no!) “Me no eat Captain Cook! . . . My father see Captain Cook! Me-no! . . . New Zealand Kānaka eat white man; - Sandwich Island Kānaka, - no. Sandwich Island Kānaka [are] *ua like pu na haole* – all ‘e [the] same a’[to] you foreigners!”⁷¹ Despite his sympathetic observations, it appears Dana succumbed also to certain Western stereotypes of Pacific Islanders (e.g., that they all practiced cannibalism) common in the mid-nineteenth century.⁷²

On board maritime vessels, Kānaka Hawai’i sailors were subordinate to a dominant colonial society. Chappell explains that “the only way to survive, even to succeed on an alien deck was to learn the rules of an unequal system and then explore the boundaries of the roles open. Given the power hierarchy of the deck, Kānakas had to do what was expected, and they did so with skillful mimicry.”⁷³ Hawaiian performative traditions and oral culture served as a powerful means for mimicry. Dana (somewhat astutely) observed that the Kānaka Hawai’i men he worked with “had great powers of ridicule, and are excellent mimics; many of them discovering and imitating the peculiarities of our own people, before we had seen them ourselves.”⁷⁴ Sometimes this mimicry involved dress. Just as Ka’iana donned British-style garments in the 18th century while on board the *Iphegenia*, Kānaka Hawai’i sailors such as “Thomas Edwards,” who

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 166.

⁷² In his novel *Moby-Dick*, author Herman Melville imagined a scene in New Bedford, Massachusetts where “actual cannibals stand chatting at street corners; savages outright” – a reference to Pacific Islander crewmen he observed during his time in New England. Cited in Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 74.

⁷³ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 163.

⁷⁴*Ibid.*, 169.

was employed in California's hide and tallow trade, wore pantaloons, Merino wool shirts and Panama hats to blend in with fellow shipmates.⁷⁵ Mimicry was also accomplished through singing, chanting, and storytelling in the Hawaiian language. Dana observed that the Kānaka Hawai'i workers would "sing about persons and things around them, and adopt this method when they did not wish to be understood by any but themselves." "It is very effectual," he continued, "for with the most careful attention I never could detect a word that I knew. I have often heard Mr. Mannini, who was the most noted *improvisatore* among them, sing an hour together, when at work in the midst of Americans and Englishmen; and, by the occasional shouts and laughter of the Kānakas, who were at a distance, it was evident that he was singing about the different men that he was at work with."⁷⁶ All of these accounts suggest that Kānaka Hawai'i sailors maintained a certain degree of anonymity in their critique of colonial power by utilizing Hawaiian oral traditions.⁷⁷

Gender plurality provided another means of agency and power accommodation for Kānaka Hawai'i sailors working in a male-dominated environment.⁷⁸ Several historians have explored aspects of gender and notions of manliness among sailors in the maritime community, and a few have suggested that homoeroticism was commonplace among

⁷⁵ "Canaca and Indian Accounts" and "Book Canacar" in Folders 7, 8, and 11, Box 1, William A. Leidesdorff Collections, MS 1277, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

⁷⁶ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 166.

⁷⁷ My assessment is based on Scott's assertion that "The anonymity possible within oral culture derives from the fact that it exists in only impermanent forms though being spoken and performed. . . . The practical result is that folk culture achieves the anonymity of collective property, constantly being adjusted, revised, abbreviated, or for that matter, ignored," Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 160-161.

⁷⁸ Gender plurality is common throughout the Polynesian cultures of Oceania. See Margaret Jolly, "Moving Masculinities: Memories and Bodies Across Oceania," *The Contemporary Pacific* 20, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 1-24, <https://doi.org/10.1353/cp.2008.0010>.

sailors.⁷⁹ Traditional Hawaiian understandings of gender and sexuality included the concept of the *aikāne*. Chang defines the meaning of *aikāne* (which literally translates into English as ‘brother’) as a “romantic same-sex friend, generally and unproblematically assumed to be a sexual partner.”⁸⁰ However, the tradition of *aikāne* in the Hawaiian Kingdom dates at least as far back as the eighteenth century, when young males looked to gain *mana* and achieve higher social status by currying favor with Hawaiian nobility. Journals recorded by Captain James Cook and his associates on Cook’s Third Voyage of discovery (1776-1780) included reports of young men called *aikāne*, who were attached to the court or train of the *ali’i* (chiefs), and whose functions were sexual, social, and political.⁸¹ In his exploration of the Pacific World in 1787-1788, Ka’iana adopted British sailor John Meares as his *aikāne*. Meares accounts of Ka’iana, according to Chang, hint at “homoeroticism and romantic love but leaves the reader wondering.”⁸² Within a racially-divided maritime society, adoption of a European captain or merchant as an *aikāne* would have certain sociopolitical and economic advantages for young Kānaka Hawai’i seamen looking to gain *‘ike* about the world.

Like the story of Ka’iana and Meares, an *aikāne* relationship in the traditional Hawaiian sense is hinted at in Dana’s experience with the Kānaka Hawai’i sailors and hide workers at San Diego. In his account, he explains that:

My favorite among all of them, and one who was liked by both officers and men, and by whomever he had anything to do with, was Hope. He was an

⁷⁹ Some examples in the literature include B. R. Burg, *An American Seafarer in the Age of Sail: The Erotic Diaries of Philip C. Van Buskirk, 1851-1870* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Kealani R. Cook “The Fragile Masculinity of Jack Tar: Gender and English-Speaking Sailors, 1750-1850” (MA thesis, University of Hawai’i, 2005), Academia.edu; and Robert J. Morris MA, JD, “Aikāne: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships in the Journals of Captain Cook’s Third Voyage (1776-80),” *Journal of Homosexuality* 19, no. 4 (1990): 21-54, https://doi.org/10.1300/J082v19n04_03.

⁸⁰ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 44.

⁸¹ Morris, “Aikāne: Accounts of Hawaiian Same-Sex Relationships,” 21.

⁸² Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 43.

intelligent, kind-hearted little fellow, and I never saw him angry, though I knew him for more than a year, and have seen him imposed upon by white people, and abused by insolent officers of vessels . . . Every Kānaka has one particular friend, whom he considers himself bound to do everything for, and with whom he had a sort of contract, - an alliance offensive and defensive, - and for whom he will often make the greatest sacrifices. This friend they call *aikane*; and for such, did Hope adopt me.⁸³

It is unclear whether Dana and Hope shared the same understanding of their *aikāne* relationship. Historian Noenoe Silva and Chang both argue that, by the late nineteenth century, the word *aikāne* was "purified" of its sexual meaning by American Christian missionaries, and in print meant simply "friend," although in Hawaiian language publications its metaphorical meaning could mean either "friend" or "lover" without stigmatization.⁸⁴ Perhaps both Dana and Hope understood *aikāne* in a strictly platonic sense, especially given Dana's remark that "every Kānaka has one particular friend." However, Dana continued that during the four months that he lived on the San Diego beach, he and Hope "were continually together, both in work and in our excursions in the woods, and upon the water." Dana admitted that he "really felt a strong affection for him [Hope], and preferred him to any of my own countrymen there; and I believe there was nothing which he would not have done for me."⁸⁵ Such comments, coupled with the documented existence of homosocialism in the maritime environment and Hawaiian understandings of *aikāne*, suggest that the relationship between Dana and Hope may have been sexual in nature.

Regardless of the nature of their relationship, the adoption of Dana as an *aikāne* most likely saved Hope's life. When Hope became deathly ill from an unknown disease,

⁸³ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 167

⁸⁴ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*. (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 66, 77; Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 44.

⁸⁵ Dana, *Two Years Before the Mast*, 273.

Dana looked after him with particular care, administering medicine he had obtained from a shipmate.

Nothing could exceed the delight of the Kanakas, when I came bringing the medicines. All their terms of affection and gratitude were spent upon me . . . yet they all made known by their manner. . . . An oven, exposed to every wind and change of weather, is no place to take calomel; but nothing else would do, and strong remedies must be used, or he was gone. The applications, internal and external, were powerful, and I gave him strict directions to keep warm and sheltered, telling him it was his only chance for life.⁸⁶

Unemployed at the time, Hope was able to obtain free medicine from a merchant ship via his *aikāne*, something the average sick Kānaka Hawai'i sailor would not have been able to achieve. Like Ka'iana, Hope used a precontact Hawaiian tradition to his advantage in a colonial environment.

Traditions like mimicry and *aikāne* also had their advantages for the collective status of Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants. By 1840, Kānaka Hawai'i sailors composed a significant portion of the labor force on maritime vessels at every port in California. As Grider explains “California’s rocky coast, high surf and few suitable ports, meant that a great deal of boat work was necessary in order to move goods from shore to ship.”⁸⁷ Many merchants in the hide and tallow trade had come to recognize and value their excellent boat-handling skills, particularly in the rough surf. The American merchant Edward Vischer, who spent time sailing along the California coast on a schooner appropriately named the *California* in 1842, observed that:

Kanakas have become almost indispensable for the ships along the coast of California. For the technical work on board and the maintenance of masts and rigging, European sailors are usually employed, but under their guidance the Kanakas are very useful for every kind of work, for

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 274. Calomel was a mercury-based compound used extensively by American doctors from the late 1700s to the 1860s to treat a wide variety of medical conditions.

⁸⁷ Grider, *A Foreign Voyage*, 133.

maneuvering the ship, for taking in and crowding the sails, and for any dangerous task on the masts or yards. . . they are superior when it comes to the difficult task of handling boats. They row uniformly, steadily, and untiringly, and are extremely dexterous in bringing a sloop safely and undamaged through breakers which no European would dare to cross. Many captains not acquainted with these shores owe their rescue to the resolution of these islanders, to their admirable skill in swimming, and to their familiarity with the surf.⁸⁸

Such descriptions, argues Rosenthal, fed into the Euroamerican notion that Hawaiian men were best suited for “amphibious” labor and nothing else.⁸⁹ However, it also ensured some collective bargaining status in an environment lacking other sailors who were as equally skilled for “amphibious” tasks.

Kānaka Hawai’i sailors protected and supported themselves collectively in a similar manner that *maka’āinana* workers did under the control of Hawaiian *ali’i*. If treated well as a group, they responded well individually, but if an individual was wronged, they often resisted as a group. Vischer wrote:

These men are modest, supple, and easily led by fairness and kindness; but a single rude word or abuse may break their zeal and good spirits forever. Their companionship on board or on shore is a model of brotherly harmony and mutual affection such as I have observed only occasionally among South American Creoles, but never among Europeans or North Americans. . . . Kindness, willingness, and adaptability are striking traits in the character of the Sandwich Islanders.⁹⁰

⁸⁸ Erwin Gustav Gudde and Edward Vischer, “Edward Vischer’s First Visit to California,” *California Historical Society Quarterly* 19, no. 3 (Sept., 1940): 194-195, <https://doi.org/10.2307/25160885>. The reputation of Kānaka Hawai’i workers as strong swimmers and divers continued well into the Gold Rush era. In an account regarding placer mining on the American River, William Leinhard indicated that “as Sandwich Islanders are remarkable swimmers, our boys lost no time diving in the deepest spots in the river. After each plunge they would bring up several freshwater clams, and would work until they had gathered a large number of them.” Heinrich Leinhard, *A Pioneer at Sutter’s Fort 1846-1850 The Adventures of Heinrich Leinhard*, No. 3 of the Calafia Series, translated and edited by Margeurite Eyer Wilbur, (Los Angeles: The Calafia Society, 1941), 147.

⁸⁹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 137.

⁹⁰ Gudde and Vischer, “Edward Vischer’s First Visit to California,” 195.

As discussed previously in this chapter, Kānaka Hawai'i sailors were subjected to prejudice and physical abuse in the maritime environment. For this reason, a Kānaka Hawai'i sailor only "allowed himself to be hired in a group of three or four," according to Vischer. When their contracts had expired, they would stay together and look for another ship, or start "some sort of establishment on shore" and share their profits equally. "Whatever the individual possesses is at the disposal of the others: a drink of water or brandy, a piece of bread, everything is common property. A cigar or pipe makes the rounds as long as there is any tobacco."⁹¹ In fact, sailors often went into debt and/or went hungry for the sake of their countrymen. Such strategies were critical to ensuring protection from abuse and maintaining a sense of Kānaka Hawai'i community.

It was within the maritime setting described by Dana and Vischer that Sutter came to California with ten or so Kānaka men and women in tow. In many ways though, the story of even these famous Hawaiian immigrants to California does not start with Sutter but with another individual of Kānaka Hawai'i ancestry, William Heath Mahi Davis, also known as William Heath Davis, Jr., or "Kanaka Bill." Davis, Jr. was born in Honolulu in 1822 to William Heath Davis, Sr. of Boston and Hannah Holmes, daughter of Oliver Holmes from Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Mahi Kalanihooulumokuikikai, a Hawaiian woman of nobility. Davis first traveled to California in 1831 on a ship that had sailed from Boston to the Hawaiian Islands before sailing to trade for fur in Sitka, Alaska, and then to California to trade in Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego before returning to Honolulu to trade horses on its way back to Boston. He then returned to California in 1833 and again in 1838, after which he remained stationed at Yerba Buena as

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

an independent merchant. His payroll and business accounts reflect an ongoing trade of merchant goods, such as sugar, tea, coffee, and clothing, in exchange for hides, tallow, sea and river otter skins, beaver skins, and money from leading officials and pioneers of Alta California at the time.⁹² Many of the sea otter skins he accepted were likely obtained by Kānaka Hawai'i fur hunters working in the Channel Islands for the RAC under Captain George Nidever.

Davis' observations of Alta California, along with Hawaiian newspapers and archival material, provide an important Pacific World perspective on Sutter's establishment of New Helvetia. Davis stated that the brigantine *Clementine* arrived at Yerba Buena from Honolulu with Captain Sutter and his Kānaka Hawai'i workers on board in June of 1839. While in Honolulu, Sutter had befriended the then United States Consul to Hawaii, John Coffin Jones, who became the common-in-law husband of Hanna Holmes Davis after Davis, Sr. had passed. It was through Jones that Sutter met the Governor of O'ahu, Mataio Kekuanoa, an *ali'i* at birth and the father of two kings, Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V. Kekuanoa's uncle, his father's brother, was Ka'iana, the *ali'i* who had travelled to Alaska and the Pacific Northwest with Englishman John Meares in 1787. Sutter negotiated a contract with Governor Kekuanoa for a group of ten or eleven "Kānakas" at a rate of \$10 a month for three years, upon which he left

⁹² William Heath Davis, *Sixty Years in California: A History of Events and Life in California; Personal, Political and Military, Under the Mexican Regime; During the Quasi-Military Government of the Territory by the United States, and After the Admission of the State into the Union, Being a Compilation by a Witness of the Events Described* (San Francisco, California: A.J. Leary Publisher, 1889), 1-3, 7, 10, 13, 15; Lydia Rider Nye, *The Journal of a Sea Captain's Wife, 1841-1845: During a Passage and Sojourn in Hawaii and of a Trading Voyage to Oregon and California*, ed. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr. (Spokane, Washington: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2004), 22; Kauanui, "Diasporic Deracination and 'Off-Island' Hawaiians," 143-144.

Honolulu in April of 1839.⁹³ Ka'iana's grandson, Ioane o Keaala o Ka'iana, was included among the individuals contracted for their services.⁹⁴

On board the *Clementine*, Sutter's "Kānakas" voyaged to Sitka, Alaska before heading south to Yerba Buena, where they arrived in July of 1839.⁹⁵ Charles W. Kenn, a Hawaiian researcher and historian, has determined the names or identities of eight of these "Kānakas": Harry (also known as "Kanaka Harry"), Manuiki (Harry's wife), Manaiki (Manuiki's brother and Harry's brother-in-law), Harry's brother (no name is provided), Sam Kapu, Elena Kapu (Sam Kapu's wife), Maintop (also known as "Captain Maintop"), and Ioane Keaala o Ka'iana (hereafter referred to as Ioane Keaala).⁹⁶ Captain Maintop

⁹³ Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 152; Charles Kenn, "Sutter's Hawaiians," *The Saturday Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 1956, Ulukua Hawaiian Electronic Library; William J. Breault, *John A. Sutter in Hawaii and California, The Significant Impact of the Kingdom of Hawaii and the Honolulu Merchants on John A. Sutter*, (Rancho Cordova: Landmark Enterprises, 1998), 38, There is some disagreement over the exact number of Native Hawaiians Sutter brought to California in 1839. Ethel Damon, granddaughter of missionary Samuel C. Damon (who arrived in the Islands in 1845) stated that "He (Sutter) made a long return journey to California via Alaska [Sitka] as a supercargo of a trading ship (the *Clementine*) in which he had interested some Honolulu merchants, taking with him *twelve* Sandwich Island natives." Ethel M. Damon, *Samuel Chenery Damon*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1966). William Heath Davis Jr. stated that the ship *Clementine* arrived in Yerba Buena with "three Hawaiians and their wives." Davis, 15. Sutter recalled decades later that he brought over 8 men and 2 women. John Sutter, "Reminiscences" as quoted in Erwin G. Gudde, *Sutter's Own Story: The Life and Times of John Augustus Sutter and the History of New Helvetia in the Sacramento Valley* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1936), 20.

⁹⁴ Ka'iana and his wife Kekupuohi had a son named Keaala. Keaala and Kekuapo'i'ula were in turn the parents of Ioane Keaala o Ka'iana (Ioane Keaala). Ioane Keaala would eventually marry a Concow Maidu woman named Su-my-neh and have two children, one of whom was Mele Kainuha Keaala (otherwise known as Mary Asbill), in the Tá'yimk'oyo'-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat area of Butte County, California. Harry Asbill (Mary Asbill's son and Ioane Keaala's grandson) indicated that Ioane was known in Chico as "John Kelly" and by his grandchildren as "Grandpa Keaala." See, Margaret Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*. (Chico, California: Jensen Graphic, 1974), 16-18, 31 ; Koppel, *Kanaka*, 31; Kenn, "Descendants of Captain Sutter's Kanakas," 92; "Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill", MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico; Henry Azbill's Family Tree, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico; Sousa, "'An Influential Squaw'," 722, 727,

⁹⁵ Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, 15-16; Alexander Spoehr, "Hawai'i and the Gold Rush: George Allan of the Hudson's Bay Company Reports on His 1848 Pursuit of Captain John Sutter," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 26 (1992): 125, <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10524/308/JL26131.pdf>.

⁹⁶ Kenn includes names of additional Kānaka Hawai'i men employees who worked for Sutter but were not a part of the original group that arrived in 1839. These include Kukui, Edwin Mahuka, Robert Pāniani, Yankee Jim, Kanaka Jim, Jim Crow, Captain Ross, William Kanui, and Thomas Nahopuna (also referred to as Hopu). Charles W. Kenn, "Descendants of Captain Sutter's Kanakas," *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Conference of California Historical Societies*, ed. Richard Coke Wood (Sonora, Calif.,

was considered one of California earliest “Kanaka” pioneers.⁹⁷ On April 16, 1889, the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported that Maintop

had first visited California in 1824 on a whaler, and since 1839 had been a resident of that State and Idaho . . . Maintop was running a schooner on the Sacramento [River], for Sutter when gold was discovered in California and still has the blue vest with naval buttons worn at that time. . . He was married by the first Justice of Sacramento April 21, 1849.⁹⁸

Whether or not the other remaining immigrants on board the *Clementine* had prior knowledge of California’s coastline is unknown, but they were certainly not the first Hawaiians to have seen Yerba Buena.

Here we can return to Davis’s observations to get a sense of the new maritime “frontier” Sutter’s Hawaiian crew would soon find themselves in by fall of 1839. At Yerba Buena, the crew transferred to the schooners *Isabel* and *Nicolas*, and a pinnace Sutter purchased from sea merchants Nathan Spear, William Hinckley, and Captain John Wilson. They left Yerba Buena on August 9, 1839 for the Sacramento Valley. Davis who commanded the *Isabel*, recalled that, when the fleet “anchored in front of what is now Sacramento City, [the crew] saw on the banks of the river some seven or eight hundred Indians, men, women, and children. . . They came off to our anchorage in large numbers in canoes made of tules.”⁹⁹ Not unlike the territories of the Pacific Northwest, Sutter’s crew had entered waterways that were shaped and controlled by indigenous meanings of the landscape. For his Hawaiian crew, Sacramento was as much a maritime environment as Nootka Sound or Fort Vancouver.

Mother Lode Press: 1956), 87-101; Charles W. Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas,” *Sutter County Historical Society News Bulletin* 1, no. 5 (1956): 3-5.

⁹⁷ “Coast News,” *Marin Journal*, April 25, 1889, California Digital Newspaper Collection (CDNC).

⁹⁸ “A Pioneer of 1824,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 16, 1889, CDNC.

⁹⁹ Davis, *Sixty Years in California*, 18.

Sutter, who had observed HBC fur trade operations, immediately turned to his Kānaka Hawai'i workers to establish amiable relations with the Valley's indigenous peoples. He informed Davis Jr. that "as soon as he found a suitable site he would immediately build a fort as a means of defense against the Indians."¹⁰⁰ The task of his Hawaiian workers was not only to assist with building the fort, but to ensure labor tranquility amongst the hundreds of California natives (including Nisenan, Miwok, and Yokut) who would eventually be laboring at New Helvetia by 1846.¹⁰¹ Some Americans would compare these Sacramento Valley natives to Pacific Islanders. In 1841, Navy Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition compared women of the "Kinkla" tribe on the Feather River to "Polynesians" in dress and language. "The peculiar *Polynesian* dress, called the maro," wrote Wilkes, "which in this case was made of strings from the Californian flax, is common in this part of the country. Where this cannot be procured, they use the tula [tule]."¹⁰² Similar to British and Russian naturalists, American scientific explorers attempted to make sense of the Pacific world by comparing and contrasting traits of indigenous peoples.

As they began to work Sutter's land grant, the Hawaiian group at New Helvetia sought opportunities that would ensure them social prestige and communal solidarity. Harry was appointed as the overseer at Hock Farm, established by Sutter in 1841 on the west bank of the Feather River approximately thirty-five miles north of present-day Sacramento, the site of Sutter's fort. Keaala served as the majordomo, or overseer, of the

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁰¹ Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 73.

¹⁰² Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, 188.

vaqueros at New Helvetia.¹⁰³ Sutter's Launch, the *Sacramento*, came under the command of Maintop by 1845. According to historian Richard Dillon, it was Captain Maintop who gave the Sacramento River seasonal names in the Hawaiian language – *Muliwai Konaloli* (Turbulent River) in the winter, and *Muliwai Ulianianikiki* (Dark, Smooth, and Swift-flowing River) in the summer.¹⁰⁴ All three men are mentioned frequently in Sutter's *New Helvetia Diary*.¹⁰⁵ Meanwhile, Manuiki and Elena Kapu taught the Indian girls to wash and sew. Much has been written on the sexual relationship between Sutter and Manuiki; whether or not this relationship had any bearing on Kānaka Hawai'i status within New Helvetia colony is unclear.¹⁰⁶ What is clear is the esteem Sutter seemed to have for his Kānaka Hawai'i workers. "I could not have settled the country without the aid of these Kānakas," he would later recall.¹⁰⁷ What he likely did not understand is that his "Kānakas" were transferring strategies of adaptation from a maritime to agricultural environment.

Meanwhile in San Francisco. Kānaka Hawai'i sailors continued to be in high demand, particularly for their boat handling skills. William A Leidesdorff, an Afro-

¹⁰³ Wilbur and Leinhard, *A Pioneer at Sutter's Fort, 1846-1850*, 47. William A. Leinhard states that Harry took charge of Hock Farm in the spring of 1846 after "Major Hensley" left for the war (probably the Mexican-American War).

¹⁰⁴ Richard Dillon, *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California*, (Santa Cruz: Western Tanager Press, 1967), 94.

¹⁰⁵ John A. Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary, A Record of Events Kept by John A. Sutter and His Clerks at New Helvetia, California from September 9, 1845, to May 25, 1848*, (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1939), 102, 119, 120, 122, 133, 136.

¹⁰⁶ By 1845 Sutter was having an affair with the Hawaiian woman, Manuiki, with whom he broke off relations at some point in 1846. Whether Harry was Manuiki's original husband to whom she returned after her affair with Sutter or whether Sutter simply portrayed Manuiki as a married woman in his recollections to deflect possible scrutiny of their affair is unclear; Sousa, "'An Influential Squaw'," 129. Charles Kenn contends that Harry and Manuiki were already a married couple when they left Hawaii with Sutter; Kenn, "Sutter's Canacas," 4. By 1850, however, Manuiki was married to John Kapu, the son of Elena and Sam Kapu; "Married", *Sacramento Transcript*, 12 December 1850, CDNC. Further discussion of Manuiki, John Kapu, and their family appears in Chapters 2 and 3 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁷ John Sutter as quoted in Dillon, *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California*, 94.

Caribbean entrepreneur, rancher, and labor contractor, exerted “near monopoly control over Hawaiian workers” in the city, contracting over twenty of the estimated forty Kānaka Hawai’i men and women living and working in San Francisco on the Gold Rush. In 1846, four Kānaka Hawai’i sailors signed a contract to work for Leidesdorff on a whaling vessel for ten months at twelve dollars a month. Two of these individuals were a couple, a man and woman referred to as “Keo ni ma,” *Keoni mā* in the Hawaiian language, which translates as “Mr. and Mrs. Johnny.”¹⁰⁸ In Leidesdorff’s other account books, these individuals are listed as “Capt. Johney ‘Canaca’” and “Johney Winee” (“Winee” was likely Leidesdorff’s shorthand for the Hawaiian word *wahine*, meaning “woman” or in “wife” in English).¹⁰⁹ Surprisingly, Leidesdorff paid “Captain Johney’s” wife a separate but equal salary from her husband for her services. By November 1847, he had increased worker wages to \$15 per month.¹¹⁰

Yet payroll accounts also indicate that Leidesdorff was not a forgiving employer and frequently operated off a debt-indenture system similar to Sutter’s operations at New Helvetia.¹¹¹ For example, a man known as “Jim” who shipped out on December 22, 1847

¹⁰⁸ William A. Leidesdorff, August 22, 1846, cited in John Ryan Fischer, *Cattle Colonialism, An Environmental History of the Conquest of California and Hawai’i* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 114.

¹⁰⁹ “Canaca and Indian Accounts” and “Book Canacar” in Folders 7, 8, and 11, Box 1, William A. Leidesdorff Papers, MC1277, California Historical Society, San Francisco. Though the presence of Native Hawaiian women aboard whaling vessels in the 19th century was rare, particularly off the coast of *Alta California*, it was not unheard of. The few women who did make it onto American whale ships were captains’ wives. Pubols cites the story of a Native Hawaiian woman named Margarita Peque who, along with her husband Captain George Washington Ayres of the American ship *Mercury*, were apprehended by Spanish forces off the coast of Santa Barbara in 1813. Margarita and her young daughter stayed behind after Ayres was expelled to San Blas. She accepted baptism as a Catholic under the sponsorship of de la Guerra’s wife Maria Antonia. Margarita then changed her name to “Maria Antonia de la Ascension Stuart.” Pubols, *The Father of All*, 84.

¹¹⁰ “Canaca and Indian Accounts” and “Book Canacar” in Folders 7, 8, and 11, Box 1, William A. Leidesdorff Collections, MS 1277, California Historical Society, San Francisco. Leidesdorff records that workers Harry Oahu, Joe Ham, and another simply written as “Ben” were hired in November 1847 to work “in Launches or on Shore for and in consideration of the sum of \$15 per month.”

¹¹¹ Since Alta California was cash poor during the Mexican era, Leidesdorff’s workers were likely paid a combination of scrip and/or barter goods such as hides, otter skins, or beaver skins – all of which were

was docked pay for having lost “1/2 day burying a Canaka.” “Captain Johnney Canaca” was similarly docked for the same reason. Captain Johnney’s wife, along with “Joe Ham” and “John Russel,” played hooky from work and ending up misplacing one of Leidesdorff’s anchors. Each individual was docked four dollars for their share in the loss. “Thomas Edwards”, who served for six months, seventeen days as Captain of the “Launches Rainbow Spray” and then another six days as a sailmaker between 1847 and 1848 was owed \$186.50 (at a pay of \$15 per month). A number of cash advances and a bottle of champagne from Leidesdorff, coupled with purchase on credit of pantaloons, a “fine Merino wool shirt”, a Panama Hat, a Beaver Hat, and some fiddle-strings set Edwards back \$117.27. In the end, he only received \$69.23 for his services.¹¹²

The Kānaka Hawai’i workers who manned boats in Yerba Buena and New Helvetia frequently worked side-by-side with the indigenous people of California. This is reflected in Leidesdorff’s accounts, New Helvetia records, and tribal oral histories. For example, the overseer of Leidesdorff’s Sacramento Valley rancho occasionally sent “Indian children” to Yerba Buena by way of Sutter’s launch. Between 1844 to 1846, Sutter was able to liquidate nearly one-third of his trade debt with Leidesdorff by supplying him with Indian workers.¹¹³ Several entries in the New Helvetia Diary demonstrate Sutter’s heavy reliance on whaleboats, frequently manned by Kānaka Hawai’i captains, to

typical forms of currency prior to the Gold Rush. Hurtado states that “For pay Sutter issued Indian workers a metal disk, which they hung around their necks. It was perforated with distinctive hole for each standard work period credited to the “earner who redeemed the disk at Sutter’s store for trade goods.” Albert Hurtado, ““Saved So Much as Possible for Labour:” Indian Population and the New Helvetia Work Force,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 6, no. 4 (1983): 65, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.06.4.n20tr6292642115q>.

¹¹² “Canaca and Indian Accounts” and “Book Canacar” in Folders 7, 8, and 11, Box 1, William A. Leidesdorff Collections, MS 1277, California Historical Society, San Francisco.

¹¹³ Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 68-69,

transport those workers (along with agricultural goods) to Yerba Buena. Weather conditions complicated matters:

Wednesday, November 12th [1845] . . . Arrived the whaleboat with Maintop (Kānaka);

Tuesday, January 13th, 1846. Started the whaleboat for the Yerba Buena – rained, the launcheros did not come so the boat did not leave the embarcadero;

Wednesday, January 14th, 1846. The boat started down the river this morning – met Capt. Leidesdorff & Capt. Hinkly – whaleboat was ordered by Capt. Leidesdorff to go and assist the launch ship;

Monday, March 6th, 1848. News that my Launch has suffered greatly by a heavy southeaster, and is leaking. Mr. Long lost a Canaca (Harry’s brother) who was swimming after the boat in the Night in the Suisun bay.¹¹⁴

Sutter’s men also operated flat-bottomed keelboats, which were propelled by pole up and down the Sacramento River.¹¹⁵ In an interview with anthropologist John P. Harrington in the early twentieth century, a Hawaiian man named Ben Frost indicated that “Indians and Cawacas [Kānakas] used to work these boats – white men would not work these boats.”¹¹⁶ At San Francisco, Sacramento, and the rivers in between, Kānaka Hawai’i sailors were still immersed in a maritime industry that trafficked in indigenous labor late into the 1840s.

As illustrated throughout this chapter, the concepts that had been inherited from time of *Ka Wā ‘Ōiwi Wale* on the Islands allowed Kānaka Hawai’i sailors to accommodate and resist maritime colonialism in ways different from indigenous groups in

¹¹⁴ Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary*, 12, 23, 121.

¹¹⁵ John D. Barnhart, “A Virginia Steamboat Captain on the Sacramento,” *Pacific Historical Review* 9, no. 4 (Dec. 1940): 445-459, JSTOR.

¹¹⁶ Sheri Jean Tatsch, “The Nisenan Dialects and Districts of a Speech Community” (PhD diss., University of California at Davis, 2006), 264-265, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global. Frost also shared with Harrington knowledge of Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants who lived in the Sacramento River Valley later in the nineteenth century, including John Wilson and Edward Mahuka who are both discussed in Chapter 4 of this thesis. Frost was frequently identified as “Kanaka Ben” and “Kanaka” in Sacramento newspaper articles published in the early 1900s. For examples, see “Ben Frost Captured,” *Sacramento Union*, July 22, 1909, CDNC and “Kanaka Still At Large,” *Sacramento Union*, June 8, 1909, CDNC.

California. First, they were continuing a tradition of Oceanic counter-exploration initiated by their ancestors. Second, immigrants applied traditional understandings of gender and masculinity both on ship and on land. Third, and perhaps most importantly, they utilized the Hawaiian language and oral traditions as a means of resistance and disguise. These were the tools of agency which could be repurposed for engagement with imperial powers in a colonial maritime environment. California's coastline was but an extension of an *eastern Pacific* where Kānaka Hawai'i seamen applied these tools in their labor since the early 1800s. However, the promise of economic compensation was not the only reason Hawaiian immigrants were drawn to California's coastline or San Francisco, for that matter, before 1848. Many were drawn for religious reasons. Workers like Leidesdorff's "Captain Johnney Canaca" were included in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) efforts to convert Hawaiians to Protestantism. As will be illustrated in the next chapter, Hawaiians took advantage of the religious ideals and literacy offered by Protestantism to gain and express *mana* in a foreign and often harsh environment.

CHAPTER 3

MINERS, MISSIONARIES, AND HAWAIIAN EVANGELISM IN THE GOLD RUSH

On October 13, 1863, Hiram R. Nālau succumbed to smallpox at Irish Creek, a former mining settlement in El Dorado County, California - otherwise known as “Kanaka Diggings” to Americans and “Alikī” to Hawaiians.¹ An article published on February 20, 1862 in the Hawaiian newspaper *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* printed Nalau’s reported last words.

Eka H'aku, e Iesu e; e aloha mai ia'u iloko O ko'u popilikia nui, a e uhi i ka nani ou e ke Akua maluna iho o ko'u mau hoa'loha, na kane, na wahine, ame na keiki pu; a i hookahi a'u mea e noi aku ia oe, o ka haawi mai i ka oluolu o ko'u kino, a i ole ia, O kou lawe aku paha ia'u mai keia ola ana, a i manao oe e lawe ia'u, e lawe oe ia'u me ka pomaikai, a e hookipa i kuu uhane ma kahi e maha ni, i ola au ame ka pomaikai ma o Iesu la kuu Haku. Amene.²

Lord, Jesus, have mercy on me in my great affliction, and spread your glory, oh God, upon my friends, the men, the women, and children as well. And one thing I ask of you is that you give comfort to my boy or that you take me from this life. And if you should think to take me, take me with blessings, and receive my spirit where it may find rest so that I may live with blessings through Jesus, my Lord. Amen.

Like Nālau, many Kanaka Hawai'i immigrants in California in the 1850s were products of missionary schools present on the Islands since the 1820s. Raised under a Christian

¹ Irish Creek is a branch of Dutch Creek, a tributary of the South Fork American River. Erwin G. Gudde, *California Gold Camps: A Geographical and Historical Dictionary of Camps, Towns, and Localities Where Gold Was Found and Mined; Wayside Stations and Trading Centers*, ed. Elisabeth K. Gudde (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 170, 181-182; Richard H. Dillon, "Kanaka Colonies in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 24 (Feb. 1955): 17-23, JSTOR; Charles Kenn and Lowell Smith, "A Visit to California Gold Fields," *Annual Report of the Hawaiian Historical Society* 74 (Fall 1965): 3-11; David Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces," *The Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 387, <https://doi.org/10.1093/jahist/jar250>.

² T.K. Kaaiahua, W.D.K. Paniani, A.E. Mahuka, J.A. Kapahu, Hariata Waiaholo, and Adamu K. Waiaholo, "Kanikau Aloha No Hiram R. Nalau [A Loving Lament for Hiram R. Nalau]," *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, February 20, 1864, Papakilo Database.

doctrine, they had been taught that hard work, literacy, and devotion to the Bible were hallmarks of civilization. Many Hawaiian immigrants viewed labor in California's gold mines as a way to satisfy these ideals. The trip to California provided a means of escaping direct missionary supervision and paternalism as well as an opportunity to apply ideas they had learned from both missionaries and their Hawaiian ancestors in a new land.

This chapter examines how the California Gold Rush transformed the relationship that Kānaka Hawai'i laborers had with Christianity and American missionaries in general. With the exception of works by Laurie F. Maffly Kipp and Steven Avella, little has been written about the religious climate of California during the Gold Rush Era.³ Similarly, few works focus any attention on Christian missionary work by native-born Hawaiians in Oceania or western North America during this same time period.⁴ Yet both Hawaii and California were situated within a multinational region dominated by colonial empires (e.g. American, British, Russian, Mexican, etc.) where various religions were inextricably linked to authority. If we view California as the eastern edge of a Pacific empire that was being heavily influenced by Protestant ideals of civilization in the mid-nineteenth century, then we can examine the Gold Rush era with a different lens, one in which the American foreign-mission movement comes into focus. Historian Haunani-Kay Trask writes that “colonialism has, as one of its goals, the obliteration rather than the incorporation of

³ Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1994). Steven Avella, “Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West, 1850-1869, in Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Sacramento” in *California History* 79, no. 2, *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California* (Summer, 2000): 250-279, JSTOR.

⁴ Recent historical narratives on foreign missionary work in Oceania and North America include Kealani Cook, *Return to Kahiki, Native Hawaiians in Oceania* (Studies in North American Indian History Series), (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Joy Schulz, *Hawaiian By Birth, Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017); and “Bone of Our Bone, The Geography of Sacred Power, 1850s-1870s,” in Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 195-227.

indigenous peoples.”⁵ However, the religious evangelism that took place among Hawaiian communities in California’s Gold Rush appears to be an exception to this statement. The Hawaiian evangelism that took place in Gold Rush-era California primarily involved Protestant Christianity, specifically New England Protestantism. Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants caught up in the Gold Rush applied ideas of Protestantism in their relationships with indigenous peoples in the Sierra foothills of California. In essence, this was a form of religious agency in the Hawaiian diaspora that, heretofore, has not been clearly identified by scholars.

Examination of events in Hawaii that preceded the discovery of gold in California is critical for understanding the religious ideology that Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants brought with them into the mines. In precontact Hawaii, the political state was as inseparable from the society’s religion as America was inseparable from Protestantism. During Hawaii’s ‘Missionary Period’ (1820-1863), which partially overlapped the Gold Rush period (1848-1868), the Hawaiian kingdom experienced sweeping political and cultural change, which, in actuality, intensified the connection between government and religion. In 1819, Queen Ka’ahumanu and Queen Keōpūolani, the mother of King Kamehameha II (also known as Liholiho) advocated for the overthrow of *'Aikapu* (sacred eating), the group of Hawaiian *kapus* that forbade men and women (including the ali’i or chiefs) from eating in one another's presence.⁶ By strictly observing *'Aikapu*, the *mō’ī* (king or monarch of Hawai’i) guaranteed *pono*, or a right and proper relationship between

⁵ Huanani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter, Colonialism and Sovereignty*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999), 26.

⁶ *Ai* means “food” or “to eat, consume, destroy” and *kapu* means “forbidden” or “sacred”. Judd et. al., *Handy Hawaiian Dictionary*, 215, 254.

the *mō'ī*, the *ali'i*, and *maka'āinana* of the Islands in traditional Hawaiian society.⁷

Thigpen argues that as a practice, *'Aikapu* was already in decline well before it was officially abolished by Kamehameha II. Not only had *ali'i* and the *maka'āinana* of the Islands already broken the *kapus*, but “they also had witnessed foreigners regularly engaging in free eating without sanction.” In the context of increasing disease and depopulation, the abolition of the segregated eating practice took on new meaning. Westerners, who engaged in free eating (called *'ainoa* in the Hawaiian language) seemed immune to the kinds of disease decimating the population of Hawai'i.⁸ Therefore, many Islanders had already deemed *kapus* that prescribed *pono* as unnecessary long before the Hawaiian monarchy officially abolished *'Aikapu*.

Just as monarchs were eradicating the *'Aikapu* from Hawaiian society, New England Christians were reading about the story of a young Kānaka Hawai'i man known as 'Ōpūkaha'ia, more commonly known as Henry Obookiah. According to his memoirs, 'Ōpūkaha'ia fled the Sandwich Islands on an American ship and was met by Yale College student Edwin Dwight in 1809. 'Ōpūkaha'ia broke down in front of Dwight, weeping and confessing that he could neither read or write, nor was he educated in the Gospel. Dwight befriended 'Ōpūkaha'ia and found him living arrangements with his cousin, Timothy Dwight (the President of Yale College), who agreed to tutor 'Ōpūkaha'ia in the English language and the Gospel.⁹ For New England Christians, 'Ōpūkaha'ia's story both heightened the perception of the problem of “paganism” in the world and focused their

⁷ Lilikalā Kame'elehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea lā e Pono ai?*, (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 138, 145-147.

⁸ Thigpen, *Islands Queens and Mission Wives*, 86.

⁹ Edwin W. Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a Native of Owyhee, and a Member of the Foreign Mission School; Who Died at Cornwall, Connecticut, February 17, 1818, Aged 26 Years*, (New Haven, Connecticut: Office of the Religious Intelligencer, 1818).

“evangelical energies” on a place and people perceived to be in need of Christian uplift. Thigpen states that ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia “seemed to embody both the problem of savagery and the promise of Christian civility properly and effectively imparted.”¹⁰ In the midst of religious zeal inspired by the Second Great Awakening (1790-1840), an episode which conveniently overlapped with entry of New England whaleboats into the Pacific (see Chapter 1), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) focused their attentions on the native population of the Hawaiian Islands. The ABCFM dispatched the first of twelve companies of missionaries to the Islands in 1820.

When the New England brig *Thaddeus* arrived at Kohala, Hawai‘i on March 30, 1820, Hiram Bingham, Sr. and other ABCFM missionaries were quite pleased to see Hawai‘i’s traditional religious system unraveling. Bingham recollected:

How our hearts were surprised, agitated, and encouraged beyond every expectation, to hear the report - "Kamehameha is dead - his son Liholiho is king - the tabus are abolished - the images are destroyed the heiaus of idolatrous worship are burned, and the party that attempted to restore them by force of arms has recently been vanquished!" The hand of God! How visible in thus beginning to answer the prayer of his people, for the Hawaiian race!¹¹

As previously stated, the ‘*Aikapu* was already in decline well before Queen Ka'ahumanu and Queen Keopuolani advocated for its eradication. But Queen Ka'ahumanu's formal decision to break the ‘*Aikapu* and to allow ‘*ainoa* (free eating) posed a direct challenge to the Liholiho's/Kamehameha II's power and established her authority as an *Ali'i Nui* (High Chief). By 1825, Queen Ka'ahumanu had officially converted to Christianity at the

¹⁰ Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives*, 33-34.

¹¹ Hiram Bingham as quoted in James Matthew Kester, “Remembering Iosepa: History, Place, and Religion in the American West” (PhD diss., UC Santa Barbara, 2008): 101, ProQuest Dissertations and Theses Global.

Kawaiaha'o Church in Honolulu, Hawaii.¹² Liholiho and other powerful *Ali'i Nui* of the kingdom would soon follow, tipping the balance of political power and authority towards the Church and the American missionaries who operated them. By 1840, with the economic assistance of King Kamehameha III (Kauikeaouli), 15,000 indigenous Hawaiian children were enrolled in American missionary schools across the islands.¹³

Literacy was the primary tool by which missionaries accomplished the ABCFM's objectives of converting Island natives to Christianity as well as educating and "civilizing" them in Western ways. As historians Noenoe K. Silva and Jennifer Thigpen have illustrated, Hawaiians understood the power of the written word to gain access to colonial systems of power and negotiate a global economy. Silva notes that "[s]aying the word gives power to cause the action."¹⁴ *Ali'i* such as Ka'ahumanu, Liholiho, and Kauikeaouli used the written word in interactions with foreign traders, to communicate amongst other *ali'i* of the Islands, and in general diplomacy with foreign dignitaries and mission wives.¹⁵ But for Protestant missionaries, literacy facilitated the learning of the Gospel to a wider audience particularly among the *maka'āinana* or common people of the Islands. In colonial New England, the law required that everyone – even women – learn how to read and great emphasis was placed on reading the Bible.¹⁶ This emphasis on literacy carried over into the liturgy of the 1800s. Hence the Bible was translated into *'ōlelo Hawaii* via a collaborative effort between American missionaries, the Hawaiian *ali'i*, and the

¹² Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives*, 84.

¹³ Joy Schulz, *Hawaiian By Birth, Missionary Children, Bicultural Identity, and U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 26.

¹⁴ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press Books (2004), 169.

¹⁵ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 32; Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives*, 95.

¹⁶ Jennifer E Monaghan, "Literacy Instruction and Gender in Colonial New England," *American Quarterly* 40, no.1 (March 1988): 26, JSTOR.

monarchy's *kāka'ōlelo* (chiefly advisors).¹⁷ In transcribing the Hawaiian language, as Schulz states, missionaries "shifted the Hawaiian language subtly yet unreservedly toward Christianity, forcing Hawaiians to follow."¹⁸ This process began with Hiram Bingham Sr.'s translation of the Bible into the Hawaiian language and continued with the production of religious periodicals, all of which advocated the replacement of ancient Hawaiian religious *kapus* with Christian rules, including strict Sabbath keeping, temperance, and monogamy. Newsprint was a key part of the missions' conversion and education strategy.

All the newspapers published in the Hawaiian Islands from 1834 to the early 1860s were controlled by white missionaries or white settlers. According to Chang, these papers "reflected European and (especially) American missionary perspectives and served missionaries" agendas in Hawai'i.¹⁹ Helen Chapin explains in *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* that American Calvinist missionaries in the 1820s "reduced" the Hawaiian language to a written language, and Kānaka Hawai'i "quickly and eagerly adopted literacy and the printed page."²⁰ Up to 1850, American Protestant missionaries ran the only Hawaiian language press under a category type defined as 'Establishment newspapers,' or mainstream press that is "part of a power structure that formulates the policies and practices to which everyone is expected to adhere."²¹ In 1834, the ABCFM

¹⁷ Jeffrey Lyon, "No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible," *Palapala* 1 (2017): 113-114, <http://hdl.handle.net/10125/43986>.

¹⁸ Joy Schulz, "Empire of the Young: Missionary Children in Hawai'i and the Birth of U.S. Colonialism in the Pacific, 1820-1898" (PhD diss., University of Nebraska, 2011), 207-208, ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global.

¹⁹ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 230

²⁰ Helen Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 16.

²¹ Chapin indicates that Establishment newspapers fell into three main categories: 1) periodicals in Hawaiian published by a Protestant missionary; 2) newspapers in English published by the same mission; or 3) secular newspapers in English representing the haole elite. Other types of newspapers in Hawaii fell under

started a newspaper called *Ka Lama Hawaii (The Hawaiian Luminary)* at the Lahainaluna Seminary in Lahaina, Maui. This was followed by a second newspaper produced by the Protestant Mission of Honolulu, Oahu, called *Ke Kumu (The Teacher)*. By 1840, the Protestant mission began producing bilingual papers such as the *Ka Nonanona (The Ant)* and *Ka Elele Hawaii (The Hawaiian Messenger)* in effort to reach English-language audiences as well. The editor of these two papers, Presbyterian missionary Richard Armstrong, was appointed to the position of Minister of Public Instruction for the Kingdom of Hawaii by King Kamehameha III on April 3, 1846. As Minister, he used his newspapers to promote Western education, evangelization, and civilization of Kānaka Hawai'i people.²² After 1860, Kānaka Hawai'i writers asserted ownership over these papers, reflecting a discernible shift from missionary to Kānaka Hawai'i interests.

Most Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants first learned about California's Gold Rush through missionary-edited newspapers. Missionaries, in fact, tried to discourage their followers from leaving the Islands for California, expressing concerns that mining in such an environment might have a deleterious effect on the moral and physical self. An article dated August 26, 1848 in *Ka Elele Hawaii*, one of first Hawaiian-language newspapers to report on the gold-mining activities in California, had the following to say about the conditions in California.

Ua lohe hou iho nei makou, he nui maoli no ke gaula malaila, ma ka muliwai Saremento: hookahi paha haneri mile ka laula a me ka laula o ka nahelehele aahi i loaa'i, ua huiia me ka lepo, a ua nui ka poe hele ilaila e eli iho a imi goula no lakou. Ua loaa nui i kekahi poe, ua loaa hapa i kekahi poe. Nui loa no nae ka pilikia malaila; Eia kekahi pilikia,

umbrellas of “opposition” (established as an alternative to establishment newspapers); “official” (government sponsored newspapers); and “independent” (newspapers not affiliated with a special interest). Helen Chapin, “Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From “He Liona” to the Pacific Cable,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 18 (1984): 51, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5014448.pdf>.

²² Chapin, “Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903,” 52.

*o ka wi; aole ai, kaumaha loa ke kumukuai o ka ai. Loihi loa kahi e
loaa'i ka ai, Eia kekahi pilikia, o ka mai; nui ka mai, a nui hoi ka
make. Eia kekahi; nui ka inu rama, a me ka haunaele; aole Kanawai,
aole mea nana e hoomalu; aole la Sabati; he wahi ino loa maoli no.
Pela mai ka poe hele malaila, a hoi mai. Ua lana ka manao o
kekahi poe kanaka e holo ilaila. No ka naaupo! Mai holo; e noho no;
aole pono ka holo ilaila. E ike auanei kakou, o ka poe holo ilaila, e
poino ana.²³*

We have heard that there are large quantities of gold there at the Sacramento River: it's about a hundred miles wide and the wild brush where you get it is probably about a hundred miles wide. It's mixed in the dirt, and lots of people go there and dig for gold for them. Some find a lot. some find just a bit. But there are lots of problems there; some problems being famine, no food; the cost to buy food is very dear. Where to get food is far. Another problem is sickness. There is lots of sickness and many deaths. Another thing is lots of rum drinking and rioting. There is no law and no one to enforce. There is no Sabbath. It is really a bad place. That is what people say who go there and make it back. Some people hope to go there; because they are ignorant! Don't go. Stay. It's no good to go there. You will see that those who go there encounter problems.

Famine and disease were common concerns about Gold Rush society among missionaries, but for the people of the Hawaiian Islands, such concerns took on special importance. Since the arrival of Captain Cook and other explorers in the 18th century, the Hawaiian population had been steadily declining. The estimated precontact population stood at nearly half a million, by 1831, the missionary census had recorded only 130, 313 Hawaiians. According to historian Seth Archer, as many as 22,000 lives were lost between 1832 and 1836, with no reported epidemic; syphilis was particularly devastating to the Kānaka Hawai'i population during this period.²⁴ In early 1849, the English-language newspaper *The Polynesian* estimated that the entire Hawaiian population stood

²³ "He Goula Ma California, [Gold in California]," *Ka Elele Hawaii*, August 26, 1848, Papakilo Database.

²⁴ Seth Archer, *Sharks upon the Land: Colonialism, Indigenous Health, and Culture in Hawai'i, 1778-1855*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 41-44, 137, 200.

at 80, 461. In this context, the Hawaiian newspaper depictions of California goldfields took on special meanings.

However, missionaries had more selfish reasons for discouraging Hawaiian emigration to California – reasons that had to do with business interests. In an article published in *Ka Elele Hawaii* in February of 1849, one missionary wrote:

Ua oleloia e holo ana kekahi poe Kanaka Hawaii i Kalifonia. Holo no ke aha? No ka maikai o ke anu anei? No ka makemake i ka pololi, a me ka haunnele anei? Aole no ke gula no, ea. Uoki ia; no ka mea e aho e noho pu me ka wahine a me na makamaka, me na keiki maanei, me ka hooikaika i ka mahi ko, kofe, uala kahiki, hanai hipi. a me ua mea e ae, a loa ka mea kalepa, aole ole o ke gula.²⁵

It is said that some Hawaiians are going to California. Why go? Is it because the cold is good? Because you like being hungry and for the riots? Certainly not for the gold. That's enough because it is better to stay with the wife and friends and children here working hard to grow sugar cane, coffee, potatoes, raise cattle, and other things, and have a business, not gold.

The reference to “working hard to grow sugar cane, coffee, potatoes, raise cattle, and other things” reflected missionaries’ desires to promote a local agricultural economy – one that benefited them personally. According to Silva, missionaries and their descendants “came to have an interest in the plantation economy that was emerging as the result of a new land tenure system.”²⁶ This new system (further discussed in Chapter 4) involved the privatization of Hawaiian lands. As more and more missionaries were appointed or elected to positions of power and influence in the Hawaiian Kingdom’s legislature during the 1840s, they were given large tracts of land, a number of which were converted to plantations for growing sugarcane, and other agricultural products. These individuals comprised what would come to be known as the *haole* [foreign] missionary-planter-

²⁵ “Untitled,” *Ka Elele Hawaii*, February 2, 1849, Papakilo Database.

²⁶ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 31.

business elite. This elite class hoped the Gold Rush would lead to a steady development of agriculture and trade as potatoes and other vegetables brought a high price from sales to hungry California miners. Some Hawaiians even chose to raise their own coffee, potatoes, and livestock for direct sale to eager shipping merchants. If enterprising agriculturalists could not convince Hawaiians to work for them on sprawling plantations, then, at the very least, the profits to be made off the agricultural trade would be circulating within Hawaii's economy.

However, the missionaries' stark and gloomy depiction of California's Gold Rush environment stood in contrast to the rosier portrait painted by English-language only newspapers controlled by the Hawaiian government. On June 25, 1848, the Honolulu-based, government-supported paper, *The Polynesian*, reported, "An exceedingly rich gold mine has been discovered in the Sacramento Valley, and all classes and sexes have deserted their occupations and rushed en masse to make their fortunes....We can assure our readers there is no hoax in this; for we have seen the gold with our own eyes, and it really benefited our optics."²⁷ A month later, the *Polynesian* reported that, "The little city of Honolulu has probably never before witnessed such an excitement as the gold fever has created. Probably not less than 200 will leave for California in the course of two months."²⁸ The majority of subscribers to *The Polynesian* consisted of English-language speaking Hawaiian royalty and Euroamericans, many of whom were children of missionary parents. These missionary children were somewhat ambivalent about the ABCFM's Sandwich Island Project but had been raised on the Islands surrounded by the Hawaiian language and cultural traditions. They were also eager to make a name for

²⁷ "California," *The Polynesian*, June 25th, 1848, quoted in Kester, "Remembering Iosepa," 70

²⁸ "Gold Fever," *The Polynesian*, July 9th, 1848, quoted in Kester, "Remembering Iosepa," 70.

themselves. With gold beckoning, Schulz states, “many mission boys could not resist an adventure so close to home.”²⁹ John Gulick convinced his parents Peter and Fanny to allow him to visit Oregon missionaries, only to immediately head to San Francisco and mine for gold.³⁰ His brothers Theodore and Luther would eventually follow his lead, not so much for gold, but to monitor Kānaka Hawai’i evangelical activities in California.

Evangelical interest in California increased rapidly after 1848, particularly among Protestant missionaries from the American Home Missionary Society (AHMS). Following the massacre of Marcus and Narcissa Whitman (1847) at the hands of Cayuse Indians in Oregon, California was viewed as a more attractive alternative for evangelism on the Pacific Coast. The Indian populations of California region were thought to be “docile and nonaggressive,” and eastern boosters provided free publicity regarding the region’s abundant resources; as such, writes Maffly-Kipp, evangelists believed that “California could set a spiritual example for the rest of the nation to follow.”³¹ Therefore the AHMS and the ABCFM (the foreign counterpart to the AHMS) funded and dispatched “enthusiastic Protestant evangelicals” to California who concentrated their evangelical efforts in major urban areas in California, including Sacramento, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.³² “Heaven is not quite forgotten here in this worldly place,” wrote one miner from San Francisco in December 1849, indicating evangelical churches had some measurable effect on mining populations.³³ California represented a new “foreign field” for American missionaries, some of whom had previously lived abroad. Kānaka Hawai’i

²⁹ Schulz, “Empire of the Young,” 165.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 166.

³¹ Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, 43.

³² Avella, “Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West,” 253.

³³ *Ibid.*, 262.

Christians, inspired by this new movement, would follow suit in their own missionary efforts.

As discussed in Chapter 1, a large population of Kānaka Hawai'i men already resided in California before the discovery of gold, a by-product of the hide-and-tallow trade in the Mexican Era. San Francisco's first census, conducted in 1847, noted at least forty immigrants from the Sandwich Islands in the city, constituting 8.7 percent of San Francisco's growing population and representing the majority of Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants living in California prior to the Gold Rush.³⁴ "The Sandwich Islanders," stated the *Sacramento Daily Union*, "are usually employed as boatmen in navigating the bay, and they are said to be very serviceable in the business."³⁵ The presence of these "Sandwich Islanders," along with a sizable Chinese immigrant population, made San Francisco an ideal urban location for Protestants looking to establish a place of worship for such populations.³⁶ A visiting soldier named K.H. Dimmick wrote in August 1847 that a Protestant "sabbath school" had been established in Yerba Buena that summer, and the enrollees "included a promising class of kanakas."³⁷

Still others worked and resided in the Sacramento Valley region as laborers for John Sutter. Captain Maintop, one of the original 10 immigrants who arrived in Sacramento with Sutter in 1839, was also a practicing Christian. A *Sacramento Union* article dated April 15, 1889 indicated that Maintop was for some time "a preacher to his

³⁴ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i*, 142.

³⁵ "The First American Census in California," *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 25, 1860, CDNC.

³⁶ Maffly-Kipp states that the Reverend A.D. Smith "reasoned that Chinese immigration demonstrated the willingness of pagan populations to learn from the Protestant example," Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, 48.

³⁷ K. H. Dimmick to Sarah [his wife], August 2, 1847, quoted in Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai'i*, 142-143.

country, men of whom there were many on this coast.”³⁸ When he entered the Portland Hospital of Oregon at the age of 80, he still had:

in his possession letters of recommendation from the pastors of the Methodist and Presbyterian churches at Marysville, California, in 1852 endorsing him as a good citizen and a preacher. In these letters as well as in one from R. B. Stratton, pastor of the M.E. church in Yreka in 1855, he styled Rev. Maintop.³⁹

The men Maintop preached to included miners living in Jacksonville, in Southern Oregon – a place commonly known as Kanaka Flat.⁴⁰ Kanaka Flat belonged to a larger network of Hawaiian miners that included Yreka, in Siskiyou County, California where Christian followers congregated at a local Methodist Church.

Protestant missionaries viewed Hawaiian immigrants as opportunities for modeling moral behavior in an otherwise demoralized Gold Rush society. One missionary who embraced this view was the Reverend Timothy Dwight Hunt, a “New School Presbyterian” originally dispatched by the ABCFM to minister in the Hawaiian Islands. Hunt had been appointed to his post in the Islands in 1843 where he “trained native seminarians with little apparent success,” all the while writing letters to relatives in New York that were “tinged with bitterness towards the indolence of the heathen population.”⁴¹ His apparent disillusionment with Island ministry, coupled with the sudden departure of Islanders for the gold fields, prompted Hunt to abandon his plans for

³⁸ “A Pioneer of 1824,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, April 16 1889, CDNC.

³⁹ “A Very Old Pacific Coaster, Brief But Interesting Sketch of Captain Maintop, An Aged Kanaka,” *Morning Oregonian*, April 15, 1889, Newspapers.com.

⁴⁰ For more information on the Kanaka Hawai’i community at Kanaka Flat in Oregon see Chelsea Rose, “Lonely Men, Loose Women: Rethinking the Demographics of a Multiethnic Mining Camp, Kanaka Flat, Oregon,” *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 3, *Reversing the Narrative* (2013): 23-35, <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF03376906>; Chelsea E. Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night:’ Archaeology, History, and the Myth of The Mining Camp Kanaka Flat, Oregon” (MA thesis, Sonoma State University, 2009), ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global; and Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina Palālewa i Ke Kai,” 55-75.

⁴¹ Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, 70.

building a new mission in Honolulu and return to American soil. On October 25, 1848, Hunt's wife Mary wrote, "The great excitement and emigration to the coast consequent to the discoveries of gold in California have rendered the forming of a new church here [in Honolulu] impracticable and my dear husband has also gone to San Francisco to try and do good there . . . we and others have felt that Providence has opened before him a door of greater usefulness at California and that it was his duty to go."⁴² Despite his failure to attract a following on the Islands, Hunt's official explanation to the ABCFM for his departure to California was that he "wanted to minister to his immigrating flock."⁴³ Mary had her doubts: "I wonder what he will do in such a land of strangers! Their best hotel [is] like the lowest grog shop! No regard for the Sabbath, or religion, or human life! . . . I fear that he may be obliged to return without having found a door of entrance there, the gold diggers have become so desperate!"⁴⁴ Both Mary's and her husband's ambivalence towards ministry in California is ironic given that Hunt would have more influence among Kānaka Hawai'i Christians in California than he ever did in the Islands.

Upon his arrival in San Francisco, Hunt immediately accepted the post of "city chaplain" and established the First Congregational Church in San Francisco.⁴⁵ By the end of 1852, that church's membership stood at fifty-two, and the majority of those were Hawaiian Christians.⁴⁶ The *Sacramento Daily Union*, in an article dated October 13,

⁴² Mary Hedges Hunt to "My dear brother", Letter dated October 25, 1848, SF Theological Seminary, Hunt, Timothy Dwight Diaries, Letters, Papers, 54 _BX 9225H9A1 Boxes 1-4, Box 4, Letters from Mary Hedges Hunt.

⁴³ Maffly-Kipp states that Hunt called California the "New England of the Pacific," implying a line of cultural influence by Protestant evangelism from the east to west. Maffly-Kipp, *Religion and Society in Frontier California*, 71.

⁴⁴ Mary Hedges Hunt to "My dear brother," letter dated October 25, 1848.

⁴⁵ Avella, "Phelan's Cemetery: Religion in the Urbanizing West," 261.

⁴⁶ History of the First Congregational Church of San Francisco, accessed February 9, 2019, <https://www.sanfranciscoucc.org/history/>.

1853, reported that “for several years . . . Mr. Hunt has called together from various sections of the State, . . . [the Kanaka] portion of our population, many of whom are his former parishioners.” By “former parishioners”, the article suggested that some of the immigrants had worshipped under Hunt on the Islands as well. On one occasion, Hunt told the *Union*, “no less than one hundred and fifty of these Islanders of the Pacific responded to the call extended to them” in California.⁴⁷ He also ministered to Kānaka Hawai’i miners in the field. On August 3, 1855, the Reverend Hunt wrote that “on a long and tedious journey in our hottest month, exploring for our missionary purposes,” he had discovered “a company of Islanders at Yreka in Siskiyou Co. near Oregon to whom I preached to, about 30 of whom I administered the Sacrament at the Methodist Church.”⁴⁸ Hunt owed his popularity among Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants to two factors: 1) his familiarity with the Hawaiian language; and 2) ongoing communication with a network of ABCFM missionaries traveling to Kānaka Hawai’i mining camps throughout Oregon and California in the 1850s. However, what he communicated to his Hawaiian followers quite often contradicted what he communicated to his fellow missionaries.

Hunt’s letters reveal the evolving nature of the missionary-Kānaka Hawai’i relationship in California, a relationship initially characterized by paternalism. In a letter dated April 23, 1849, Hunt explained that he met with “5 of the 6 church members” who had been sponsored by missionary Rev. Dwight Baldwin from the Island of Maui.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ “The Kanaka Meeting – Interesting Religious Exercises,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, October 13, 1853.

⁴⁸ Timothy Dwight Hunt to Bro. Clark, August 3, 1855. Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>.

⁴⁹ Dwight Baldwin ministered at Waine‘e Church (now called Waiola Church) at Lahaina on the island of Maui from after 1836 to the end of his career. Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, *Portraits of American Protestant missionaries to Hawaii*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette Co., 1901), 29.

Based on Hunt's correspondence, this group of Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants had appointed a man named Kaenaena as their cultural and spiritual leader.⁵⁰ On the day of their meeting,

Hunt explained, the immigrants

seated themselves on the grass before the door [of the First Congregational Church] and I gave them a lecture, as [an] introductory to life in this place. I inquired first what they intended to do, to go to the mines immediately or remain awhile in town? They replied that for awhile they would remain here. I then asked them where they were to stop and whether they had brought a house with them. They replied that they have a "*hale aho*" [sic] but where to set it up they knew not. I then pointed out to them a retired [sp?] place on the beach, under the lee of a pali [sp? – possibly shorthand for "palisade", a fence wall] where they would be sheltered from the cold raw winds from the sea and where wood also would be convenient.⁵¹

While Hunt's inquiries about living arrangements did reflect a concern for the men's well-being, they also indicate an interest in keeping these men close to the Church physically and morally. Hunt wrote that he "cautioned them against the corrupting influences of the place, particularly intemperance, Sabbath breaking, and gambling (They will not be much tempted to the '*hewa Hawaii*')."⁵² "*Hewa Hawaii*" (literally translated as "wrong or evil Hawai'i") was a common missionary reference to pre-Christian religious practices in the Islands.⁵³ Hunt urged "the maintenance of prayer and reading of the Bible and meetings for prayer and exhortation, as means of preservation against the temptations of wicked men." He also alluded to the "bad character which their countrymen had previously

⁵⁰ A "R. Kaenaena" was later recorded as residing in a mining camp at Jacksonville, Oregon by another ABCFM missionary, Theodore Gulick; however, it is difficult to determine if this was the same individual that Hunt encountered in the Spring of 1849. See Theodoora Gulick [Opio Kulika], "Na Kanaka Hawaii ma Kaliponia [About Hawaiians in California]," *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, 12 September 1863, Papakilo Database.

⁵¹ Timothy Dwight Hunt to Rev. Baldwin, letter dated April 23, 1849. Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission," *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>. "*Hale aho*" appears to be misspelling of the phrase "*hale ako*," which refers to a thatched house usually made of grass. Personal correspondence between R. Keao Nesmith and April Farnham, November 14, 2019.

⁵² Timothy Dwight Hunt to Rev. Baldwin, April 23, 1849.

⁵³ R. Keao Nesmith, Personal Correspondence between R. Keao Nesmith and April Farnham, November 14, 2019.

sustained here” and hoped that “their [emphasis Hunt’s] good conduct would redeem their national and Christian name.”⁵⁴ Hunt assured Rev. Baldwin that, “So you see, dear Bros., that I have in a measure looked after your wandering sheep. . . . My foreign Congregation was full.”⁵⁵ The paternal relationship Hunt maintained with Kānaka Hawai’i converts would be mirrored by other missionaries visiting the mines, yet it would also be increasingly challenged by various forms of religious agency.

In California, Kānaka Hawai’i created their own places of religious worship, and those missionaries not willing to travel and engage with these places risked losing their flock. Hunt took great pride in the fact that he was fluent in the Hawaiian language. “It has been a great satisfaction to me during my residence here that I could speak the language of the Hawaiians and thus meet with a company of them from Sabbath to Sabbath and preach to them the gospel,” he wrote.⁵⁶ But to use this fluency to his advantage, Hunt had to meet with Kānaka Hawai’i followers in San Francisco on their own place of residence – the beach – rather than in the church sanctuary. In a letter to Rev. Baldwin dated June 8, 1849, Hunt described one such sabbath meeting:

One cloth tent and one house of poles covered [by] *lauhola* [sic] mats constituted their *Kauhale Hawaii* [Hawaiian Village or Neighborhood]. Some twenty or thirty natives were together, Kaenaena occupying somewhat a central position among them. . . . I took for my seat and pulpit a half barrel of pork covered over with a small mat. We sung the hymn “*Pomaikai wale no lakou*” [“They Are Truly Blessed”] . . . after which I lead them in prayer. I then took for my text, “*O ka punikala, a ka mole no ia o na hewa a pau*” [“The Lust of Money is the Root of All Evil”] . . . All this was under the open heavens and in view of the Bay and shipping.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Timothy Dwight Hunt to Rev. Baldwin, April 23, 1849.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Timothy Dwight Hunt to Rev. Baldwin, letter dated June 8, 1849. Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>. The term “lauhala” (literally translated as “pandanus leaf” with *lau* meaning “leaf”) refers to the leaves of the hala tree (*Pandanus tectorius*); Judd, et. al., *Handy Hawaiian Dictionary*, 269. Native Hawaiian immigrants apparently carried leaves of the hala

That Hunt was required to engage with objects representative of ancient Hawaiian culture reflects a subtle resistance to colonial systems of power. Preaching in such conditions, Hunt and his colleagues relinquished some control over their worship services to Kānaka Hawai'i Christians.

But Hunt could not persuade his “foreign Congregation” to stay in San Francisco for long. By midsummer of 1849, the majority of Kānaka Hawai'i residents in the city had left for the Sierra Nevada's foothills, including Hunt's family cook and domestic servant, Makaiki.⁵⁸ “Kanaka” mining camps, so named by Americans, sprung up quickly in and around El Dorado, Butte, and Sutter Counties shortly after gold was discovered. According to the 1850 U.S. census, approximately 122 Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants lived in within settlements in the larger El Dorado County region along the middle and south forks of the American River.⁵⁹ These included Sutter's mining camp, “ten miles above Mormon Island with 100 Indians and 50 kanakas,”⁶⁰ and Kanaka Diggings, with “about 75” Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants situated at Irish Creek just outside Coloma in El Dorado County. The Kānaka Hawai'i community of Irish Creek, also referred to as Kanaka Diggings, was located approximately three miles northeast from Coloma, about two and

tree with them on their journeys across the Pacific. According to R. Keao Nesmith, the correct transcription of “*O ka punikala, a ka mole no ia o na hewa a pau*” in the Hawaiian language is “O ka puni kālā, ‘o ka mole nō ia o nā hewa a pau.” R. Keao Nesmith, Personal correspondence between R. Keao Nesmith and April Farnham, November 14, 2019.

⁵⁸ Timothy Dwight Hunt to Rev. Baldwin, letter dated June 8, 1849. Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed April 13, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>.

⁵⁹U.S. Census Bureau, 1850, El Dorado County, California. All adult males living in El Dorado County with the birthplace of Sandwich Islands were listed as gold miners in the 1850 census. The 122 Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants include those living in Kelsey and vicinity, the South Fork of the American River, Smiths Bar, Horse Shoe Bar, Lacy Bar and Manhattan Bar, and Auburn and vicinity. Nineteen more people from the Sandwich Islands were listed in Placerville and vicinity, Mathinias Creek, Salmon Falls, and the middle fork of the American River but it is not clear if they were Kānaka Hawai'i. Cited in Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 87-88.

⁶⁰ Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 81.

one-half miles southwest of Garden Valley, below the falls on Irish Creek and not far above the junction of Irish and Slate Creeks.⁶¹ One source indicates that Irish Creek “was also known as Kanaka Town.”⁶² In addition to Kanaka Diggings, described as one of the “largest settlements the Kanakas had in the gold country,” there were several smaller Kānaka Hawai’i mining settlements at Salmon Falls, Kelsey, and Cherokee Flat/Yankee Hill along the American River and Yuba Rivers in El Dorado County. These settlements were also given various nicknames as “Kanaka Bar,” “Kanaka Gulch,” “Kanaka Canyon,” or “Kannacker Bar” by outsiders.⁶³ Kānaka Hawaii immigrants who had already been working for John Sutter in the area had an advantage -- they were able to search for and find gold in these areas before Euroamerican miners began pouring into the region.

The proximity of the Irish Creek colony to the town of Coloma was a concern to American missionaries, in large part due to xenophobia. Overall, the general feeling among Americans and Californians in 1849, wrote the *Daily Alta California*, was that “foreigners should not be allowed to dig for gold.”⁶⁴ Kānaka Hawai’i men were quickly counted among these “foreigners,” and so were Native Americans. Kullomah, a Nisenan-Maidu town situated near the site of gold discovery, along with other indigenous towns along the American River, became the target of a violent extermination campaign by Euroamerican. Many of these immigrants were Oregonians stoked by anxieties over the creation of a “mixed-race” and hostilities towards settlers. When the U.S. Congress passed a land grant act for the Oregon Territory, the territorial delegate Samuel R.

⁶¹ “Kanaka Town,” *Oakland Tribune*, March 17, 1946, Newspapers.com; Lowell Smith, “Ka Holo Ana O L. Kamika Mai Sacramenato I Coloma [The Travels of Lowell Smith from Sacramento to Coloma],” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, January 12, 1859, Papakilo Database.

⁶² Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, 181-182.

⁶³ Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 83.

⁶⁴ *Daily Alta California*, May 1, 1849, CDNC.

Thurston ensured that Kānaka Hawaii immigrants were excluded from applying for such grants. “I am not for giving land to Sandwich Islanders or negroes . . . the Canakers and negroes, if allowed to come there, will commingle with our Indians, a mixed-race with ensue, and the result will in wars and bloodshed in Oregon,” he stated.⁶⁵ Thurston apparently did not realize that Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants had already been arriving and “commingling” with Native Americans in Oregon since 1812 (see Chapter 1). Thurston’s statement followed an attack by Oregonian miners on a Nisenan village downstream of Coloma, leaving “as many as thirty Nisenan people” dead and “forty to sixty” more villagers taken prisoner.⁶⁶ The prisoners were taken to Coloma, where most were released with exception of seven Nisenan men; days later the men were gunned down after attempting to escape, triggering what would come to be known as the California Indian Wars.⁶⁷

It was in this climate of xenophobic hostility that many American missionaries began trailing Kānaka Hawai’i into the gold country, both out of concern for their morality and for their personal well-being. Missionaries typically began their visits in the United States in the Pacific Northwest before dropping into California, as was the case for Reverend Samuel C. Damon. In July 1849, Damon paid a visit to Kanaka Diggings. During his visit, he wrote, “I invited all to assemble, when about 75 made their appearance near a beautiful spring and under some excellent shade trees. There I endeavored to explain to them the causes of the difficulties between Americans and foreigners.”⁶⁸ The

⁶⁵ Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 138.

⁶⁶ Madley, *American Genocide*, 89

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 90

⁶⁸ Samuel C. Damon, “Kanaka Diggings,” *The Friend*, December 1, 1849 - Newspaper, *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed October 25, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/1121>. According to the Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive website, *The Friend* began as a monthly English-language newspaper for seamen, and included news from both American and English newspapers. It

Reverend cautioned the men of Kanaka Diggings to be “upon their guard” and not to “give offence” to the Americans. What acts offended Americans was not defined. Despite his concerns about violence, Damon was pleased to see the majority of Kānaka Hawai’i men at the Irish Creek encampment adhering to principles of the Christian faith. “I was glad to learn that a majority of the Hawaiians were true to their tee-total principles, while those who were seduced had been long upon the coast and away from missionary influences,” he wrote, implying that the community was abstaining from alcohol. “It was gratifying to learn that these people regularly assembled upon the Sabbath for Divine Service, which was conducted by two of their number, well established in the faith.”⁶⁹ Missionaries still loyal to the Hawaiian mission project felt compelled to report their findings back to ABCFM officials as soon as possible. Rev. Hunt summarized Damon’s report on his Kanaka Diggings visit to other missionaries on the Islands. On July 23, Hunt wrote that Damon had: “spent a night recently . . . at the ‘Kanaka Diggings’” and had reported that the immigrants at ‘Kanaka Diggings’ were “behaving well and were getting some gold” and were having “meetings on the Sabbath.” But Hunt also added that Damon “overheard one or two of them [Kānaka Hawai’i men] early one morning engaged in secret prayer.”⁷⁰ This “secret prayer” suggests a certain degree of social and cultural agency on the part of Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants who were being monitored by outsiders.

gradually expanded to adding announcements of upcoming events, reprints of sermons, poetry, local news, editorials, ship arrivals and departures and a listing of marriages and deaths. Rev. Damon was the publisher and editor of *The Friend* from 1843-1885. He published between a half million and a million copies of the periodical, most of which he personally distributed.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ Hunt to Baldwin, July 23, 1849. “Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>.

Rev. Hunt, perhaps more than other missionary in California, exhibited strong paternalistic feelings towards these immigrants. Though he could not prevent them from running to the mines, Rev. Hunt took comfort in the fact that hardships like disease and loss of property would bring his “flock” closer to his (and the ABCFM’s) watch. For example, Hunt reported that Baldwin’s sponsored-parishioner Kahookau had:

not been to the mines but has worked steadily at his trade at \$10 per diem! He has been once or twice quite sick with a cold . . . he says he is afraid to remain – saying “*Aole ku pono, keia aina i kou kino.*” [This country is no good for my health]. Other natives are also setting their faces homeward. The natives who went up a few weeks since to the mines were nearly all taken sick immediately but at last reports they were recovering.⁷¹

In fact, Hunt felt that Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants were incapable of navigating Gold Rush society without his guidance.

I always urge natives to return, telling them that this is an ‘*aina ku pono ole ia lakou*’ [country not good for them]. Of course, what I can do for them in consistency with any white (!) [emphasis Hunt’s] duties I do cheerfully. Poor creatures! They are here ‘as sheep without a shepherd.’⁷²

What Hunt meant exactly by “white duties” is unclear but the phrase indicates a definite social bias, underscoring that the ABCFM’s philosophy endorsed the racial paradigm that placed Hawaiian immigrants towards the bottom of the civilization ladder.

Despite such infantilization, Kānaka Hawai’i Christians in the mines still supported the overall objectives of the ABCFM. One way they did this was by spreading their religious and educational influence via *palapala*. *Palapala* is a Hawaiian-language term referring to any written texts. It was particularly advantageous when it came to resisting the dominant colonial power (including missionaries) and conveying transcripts

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Hunt to Baldwin, October 21, 1850. “Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed February 11, 2019, <https://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/575>.

of resilience in the Hawaiian language.⁷³ When Reverend Lowell Smith visited Irish Creek in September 1858, he delivered “*he mau Baibala, kauoha hou, himeni hoolea, himeni kamalii, lira, haiao, hoikehonua, helunaau, helu kamalii*” (Bibles, new testament, hymns of praise, children’s hymns, lyrics, sermons, geography, math, basic arithmetic) and other secular and non-secular works,. It is important to note that some of these works were not simply translations from English to the Hawaiian language but authored in the Hawaiian language by scholars such as David Malo.⁷⁴ With these works, therefore, the oral traditions of precontact Hawai’i, traditions that had served as a form of disguise and mimicry in the maritime era, could still be shared with and used by Hawaiian laborers in the Gold Rush in a new way.⁷⁵

Smith also brought Hawaiian-language newspapers, which were critical for Kānaka Hawai’i miners to communicate with relatives back home. In a letter published in *Ka Hae Hawaii (The Hawaiian Flag)* in 1858, eighteen-year old Henry Nahoa at Irish Creek wrote to his relatives “*Aloha me ka waimaka, owau no nei o Nahoa ko keiki, kaikunane, mai hoohehewehewa lakou, eia no au i California nei, eia ma Irish Creek*” (Farewell with tears. I am Nāhoa, your son, your elder brother, do not judge me, Here I am in California in Irish Creek.)⁷⁶ According to Rosenthal, “love (*aloha*) and tears (*waimaka*)

⁷³ According to Scott “written communication is more effectively anonymous than spoken communication,” Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 161.

⁷⁴ L. Kamika [Lowell Smith], “Ka holo ana o L. Kamika mai Sacramenato i Coloma [The Travels of Lowell Smith from Sacramento to Coloma],” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 12 January 1859, Papakilo Database. Malo is known to have translated books from the Bible so they could be published in the Hawaiian language. From about 1835 he started writing notes on the Hawaiian religion and cultural history. The book, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* [The History of Hawaii] was first published in Hawaiian around 1838. See Davida Malo and Malcom Nāea Chun, *Ka mo ‘olelo Hawai’i = [Hawaiian Traditions]*, (Honolulu, Hawaii: First Peoples Productions, 2006.)

⁷⁵ Scott emphasizes that even “modern, print-dominated societies contain a large contemporary oral tradition that is generally ignored by cultural historians,” Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 160.

⁷⁶ R. Henry Nahoa, “He mea hoakaka na ko’a poe ma ke kino,” [A clarification for my people on the body],” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 14, 1858, Papakilo Database.

were the twin poles of the Hawaiian migrating workers' experience" in California. Thus Hawaiian-language literature provided the means of communicating these sentiments.⁷⁷

Newspapers among Kānaka Hawai'i communities in California also provided a means for Hawaiian resistance to American colonialism on the Islands. The goal of ABCFM's Sandwich Island Mission revolved around the idea of "three selfs": self-support, self-governance, and self-propagation. Rufus Anderson, the Boston-based official who directed ABCFM operations worldwide from 1832 to 1866, had worked since 1848 to increase Kānaka Hawai'i involvement in the governance of the Mission project on the Islands. In 1851, as a result of Anderson's efforts, the Aha Hui Misonari ma Hawaii or Hawaiian Mission Society (HMS) was created to evangelize the Pacific. In 1854, the Sandwich Island Mission was renamed the Aha Hui Euanelio Hawaii or the Hawaiian Evangelical Association (HEA); this organization took over governance of Congregational activities in the Islands from the ABCFM. As of 1863, both HEA and its sister organization, the HMS, remained dominated by elderly white ministers. Anderson felt this white dominance jeopardized the HMS's overall intent to promote religious independence for the Hawaiian Kingdom. At an annual meeting in June 1863, he persuaded the HEA to take over the HMS, grant full membership to Hawaiians, and to work on ordaining more Hawaiian pastors.⁷⁸ Out of twenty large churches in Hawaii, sixty

⁷⁷ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 133.

⁷⁸ Rufus Anderson, *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission* (Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1870), 287; John P. Erdman, "A Brief Historical Sketch of the Hawaiian Board of Mission," in *The Centennial Book*, 77; Norman Meller, "Missionaries to Hawai'i: Shapers of the Island's Government," *Western Political Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (December 1958): 795, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/106591295801100403>. For 1854 changes as well as the 1863 constitution, see Minutes of the Meetings of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, 1854 (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1854), 4; Minutes of the Meetings of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association, 1863 (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1863), 37.

parishes were created and placed under the charge of native pastors with the guidance and support of the Hawaiian Board and its corresponding secretary.⁷⁹

The HEA's actions in the early 1860s emboldened Kānaka Hawai'i Christians in California. In the 1860s, the majority of Hawaiian immigrants in California subscribed to three Hawaiian-language newspapers. One was *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a (The Independent)*, what Chapin calls the "longest-running and most successful Hawaiian language journal" lasting from 1861 to 1927.⁸⁰ The Reverend Luther Halsey Gulick, a son of ABCFM missionaries, served as the newspaper's first editor.⁸¹ Two other newspapers popular amongst Kānaka Hawai'i miners were *Ka Hae Hawaii* and *Ka Hōkū Loa (The Great Star)*, which were edited by the Reverend Lowell Smith. Iosepa [Joseph] Opunui was an enthusiastic subscriber and supporter of both papers. In May of 1861, from Salmon Falls, El Dorado County, Opunui wrote to Rev. Smith:

Owau no ka mea makemake e lawe i ka Hoku Loa i keia makahiki; a me kahi poe paha ma El. Dorado Conte; aole nae au i ike i ko lakou manao. Ua hoouna pakahi aku au i ka Hoku Loa, i na hoalauna o'u ma kela wahi keia wahi o Kalifornia nei, a me ko'u kauoha ikaika aku e lawe i ka Hoku Loa, a me ka Hae Hawaii, makemake paha, aole paha?⁸²

I am one who would like to subscribe to *Ka Hōkū Loa* this year, along with some others in El Dorado County. I don't know just yet what they think about this though. I sent *Ka Hōkū Loa* to each of my colleagues here in California, and I also urged them to subscribe to *Ka Hōkū Loa* and *Ka Hae Hawai'i*, asking if they would like that or not.

⁷⁹ Meller, "Missionaries to Hawai'i," 795.

⁸⁰ Chapin defines "establishment" newspapers as those papers representing "dominant and prevailing interests through the century." Chapin, "Newspapers of Hawai'i 1834 to 1903: From "He Liona" to the Pacific Cable," 47.

⁸¹ Both Luther Halsey Gulick and Theodore W. Gulick were the sons of Peter Johnson Gulick and Fanny Hinckley Thomas. Their parents were American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries and part of the third group of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands.

⁸² Iosepa Opunui, "Mai Kalifonia mai [Out from California]," *Ka Hōkū Loa*, July 1, 1861, Ulukua: Hawaiian Electronic Library.

As he wrote this letter, Opunui was battling illness, probably smallpox. “*Aha ae nei o’u mahina i waiho ai maluna o kahi moe, a o ka lima keia o ka mahina. He fiva . . . Hiki wawe ka owaka ana o ka waha me he uwila la ka hiki wawe, nolaila, ua lana ko’u manao ma o Iesu Kristo la; ka Haku hookahi no ia o na mea uhane ola a pau..*” (I have been confined to bed for four months now and this is the fifth month. I came down with a fever as quick as opening the mouth or a flash of lightning, so I have hope in Jesus Christ, the Lord, who is the same over all spiritual matters.)⁸³ Despite illness, Opunui remained enthusiastic about Hawaiian missionary causes in the Pacific World, including California.

One of these causes involved indigenous peoples of California. Since the early 1830s, Hawaiian children had been taught in missionary schools that they and what missionaries termed “Ilikini” or “Inikini” (Indians) were separated morally and racially. According to Chang, American Congregationalist missionaries believed in a “tiered hierarchy of civilization and races that placed Kanaka at an intermediary stage between supposedly *na’auupo* (ignorant and innerly dark) Indians and *na’auao* (enlightened) Americans and Europeans.”⁸⁴ In this intermediary stage, Kānaka Hawai’i people in the process of conversion were struggling out of ignorance – the struggle itself created pain, hunger, and sometimes death. This notion is perhaps best expressed in an article published in *Ka Elele Hawaii* on July 14, 1849, in which one missionary explained that:

*He ano nawaliwali ko Hawaii lahuikanaka, ua ku kulanaiana ia, no ka mea, ua haalele ko nei Lke ano pegana y aole nae i paa loa ma keano Kristiano, aia ma kahi waena. Ua hoonuiia ka eha o ka poe i hahai i na akua. . . . Manomano ka hemahema a me ka naaupo, a me ka pilikia a me ke kaumaha o ia poe.*⁸⁵

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 232.

⁸⁵ “No Ka Hoowalewale [Temptation],” *Ka Elele Hawaii*, July 14, 1849, Papapikilo Database.

The Hawaiian people have a weakness, they are on shaky grounds since they abandoned paganism. They have not yet embraced Christianity solidly. They are somewhere in between. The pain of those who worship the gods has been increased . . . They are incredibly clumsy and ignorant. They are people who experience problems and are sad.

Comparing Hawaiians to Native Americans, the same missionary expressed hope for the salvation of Hawaiian souls.

*Ua kaulana loa ka poe Inikini, ka poe hihii o ka nahelehele'ma Amerika akau, no ko lakou ikaika i ka hele wawae, a no ko lakou hoomanawanui i ka eha ma ka pololi, a ma ka hanainoia mai. No ia mea, ua maopopo ia o ka haaleie ana i keia ano kahiko, ano pegana, a o ke komo ana iloko o ke ano hou, oia ke ano Kristiano, he mea ia e nawaliwali ai ke kino, a e make ai i kekahi manawa. Nolaiia paha ka olelo i olelo pinepineia, "Uapau i ke aiiia na pegana e ka poe i hoolakaia."*⁸⁶

The Indians are very famous, those of the wild of Northern America, for being very strong at walking and for their endurance in pain and hunger and in enduring being mistreated. It is due to that we know that when one abandons the old ways, the pagan ways, and enters into the new ways, the Christian ways, that is how the body becomes weak and dies sometimes. That is probably where the common expression comes from, "Pagans are eaten away by those who have been forgiven."

According to historian Kealani Cook, pre-Christian Hawaiian spirituality or local "pegana" spiritual practices were condemned by ABCFM missionaries as "vestiges of lingering *na'au*."⁸⁷ As a result, Hawaiian Christians/Congregationalists began embracing the Protestant vision of the world as spiritually separated between the *ka malamalama* (light) and *ka pouli* (dark). Cook explains that these followers of American Congregationalist missionaries "typically looked to Congregational religion and an idealized future of American culture to define the Hawaiian future, a future bathed in foreign *na'auao* (inner light or enlightenment)."⁸⁸ One way that

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Cook, *Return to Kahiki*, 70.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5, 32-40.

Hawaiian Congregationalists, including the immigrants at Irish Creek, tried to distance themselves from *na 'aupo* (darkness, ignorance) was to evangelize other indigenous peoples in the Pacific World.

With this purpose in mind, in May of 1862 the community of Irish Creek/Kanaka Diggings established the *Aha Hui Misionari Hawaiian O California* (Hawaiian Missionary Society of California) in Coloma, California. In the minutes of its first meeting convened May 14, 1862, the appointed Director, Theodore Weld Gulick (T. W. Gulick, “T.W. Kulika”, or “Kulika Opio”) asked “*Heaha la ka meae hoio ai o ka malamalama mawaena o ka lahui Inikini?*” (How can the light go forth amongst the Indian peoples?) Society member L. H. Kapua’ a stood up and reported on the “*ka noho ana o ka lahui Inikini ma California nei,*” (the lifestyle of the Indian people here in California.)⁸⁹ A committee comprising Kapua’ a, Hairam R. Nālau, and J. M. Kake was appointed to determine how to accomplish the society’s primary goal, that is how the indigenous peoples of California could be enlightened and uplifted by Christianity. After speaking at length about the missionization the Islands, Nālau expressed his personal thoughts on the matter:

Ua maopopo ae la ia kakou, o ke aloha io no ka mea nana i hoomalamalama ia kakou, e like me kela mau olelo maluna, a e like me ko lakou aloha ia kakou, e pono ia kakou ke haawi i ko kakou aloha no kekahi mau lahui Pegana hou aku, e noho ana i ka pouli o ka naaupo, a me ka poelele o ka make; e haawi io i ko kakou aloha, me ka minamina loa i ko lakou mau uhane; e pule nui aku hoi i ke Akua me ke aloha oiaio, e nonoi aku a e paulele ia ia, i hiki ai ia ia ke hooko mai e like me ko kakou makemake. No ko kakou aloha i na uhane o ka poe Pegana e noho ana iloko o ka pouli, nolaila, ua hapai ae nei kakou i keia hana maikai, oia ke kukulu ana, a me ka hoolilo ana ia kakou iho i Aha Hui, e like me ia" i haia maluna.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Gulick, Theodore [Kulika Opio], “Halawai Mua O Ka Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o California [First Meeting of the Hawaiian Missionary Society of California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko 'a*, November 8, 1862, Papakilo Database.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

We have come to understand that it is love that has enlightened us as stated previously, and as they [the missionaries] loved us, we also must give our love to other Paganistic peoples living in darkness and ignorance and in the dark night of death; and give our love sincerely having compassion for their souls; to pray often to God with genuine love to ask for faith in him so that he can bring to pass our desires. Because of our love for the souls of the Pagans living in darkness, we therefore take on this good work to establish and make ourselves into a Society as stated above.

From Nālau's perspective, the people of Hawaii were a former "*lāhui Pegana*" (Pagan nation) that now had a moral duty to spread the word of Christianity to other *lāhui Pegana*, including those of North America. Such language reflected a recognition of indigenous sovereignty often lacking in American descriptions of *Inikini* or Indians, with the exception of ABCFM missionaries who were travelling through the Sierra foothills of California in the Gold Rush period. The correspondence of these missionaries offers a glimpse of the religious evangelism perpetuated by Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants who saw themselves as living in *ka 'āina malahini* amongst *lāhui Pegana*.

In fact, the founding of the *Ka Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii O California* coincided with one of the darkest periods of California's history. The Gold Rush triggered what came to be known as the California Indian Wars, a series of massacres, wars, and battles between the United States Army (or often the California State Militia), and the indigenous peoples of California lasting well into the 1870s. As Susan Lee Johnson has demonstrated, the "cultural and demographic cataclysm that the Gold Rush visited upon California Indians was rooted in part in the prevalence of sexual violence against native women and the disruption of native patterns of intimacy."⁹¹ The California Indian Wars not only

⁹¹ Susan Lee Johnson, "'My Own Private Life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," *California History* 79, no. 2, *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California* (Summer, 2000): 332, JSTOR. For more on how the Gold Rush impacted native women specifically, see also Albert Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier*, 169-92.

traumatized indigenous women physically and mentally, but also left them without husbands, fathers, and sons.⁹² In addition, indigenous groups of the Sierra foothills and Central Valley experienced forced relocation to reservations such as Nome Lackee and the Nome Cult Farm, precursor to the Round Valley Reservation at Covelo in Mendocino County. In the fall of 1863, in an event commonly known as the “Konkow Trail of Tears”, 461 individuals from the Concow-Maidu, Wintun, Wappo, and other indigenous nations were force-marched from Bidwell’s Rancheria in Chico to Covelo. Many of these people, already ill at the start of the journey, died en route or were gunned down by U.S. Cavalry. At Round Valley, the 277 individuals who survived the journey were confronted with over-crowding, lack of food, unsanitary conditions, and disease. Many indigenous peoples were forced to hunt and gather subsistence foods off the reservation to support their families; however, migration across reservation boundaries subjected these peoples, particularly women and children, to abduction and indentured servitude on Anglo-American ranchos.⁹³ Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants felt a moral responsibility to aid these women and children with the hope that adopting them, marrying them, and converting them to the Protestant faith would save them from such experiences.

Intermarriage served as the foundation for this conversion. Hawaiian men in the mines likely did not suffer a scarcity of female partners as some scholars have claimed, despite anti-miscegenation laws that prohibited non-white men from marrying white

⁹² The California Indian Wars are also referred to as the “War of Extermination” against indigenous peoples of California. See Benjamin Madley, *An American Genocide, The United States and California Indian Catastrophe*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); and Brendan C. Lindsay, *Murder State: California’s Native American Genocide, 1846-1873*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009).

⁹³ William J. Bauer, Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 54; Madley, *American Genocide*, 318-319; Michele Shover, “John Bidwell’s Role in the 1863 Indian Removal from Chico, Part 2, and through 1866,” *Dogtown Territorial Quarterly* 50 (Summer 2002): 34-59.

women.⁹⁴ Many scholars have dispelled the myth that gold mining camps of Oregon and California were a bachelor-dominated frontier.⁹⁵ Women of various ethnicities – Hispanic, Chilean, Irish, African-American, California Indian, etc. – lived and worked in the mines, particularly in California’s “Southern Mines,” a region defined by the Sierra Nevada foothills tributary to the San Joaquin River, including such towns as Jackson and Mokelumne Hill in the north, Sonora and Columbia in the mid-section, and Coulterville and Mariposa in the south. According to Johnson, immigrants from outside the United States along with some African Americans and non-indigenous outnumbered Euroamericans in the Southern Mines.⁹⁶ In addition, several Hawaiian women accompanied men on their voyages from the Islands to California prior to the discovery of gold. There were, in fact, more Hawaiian women in California in 1860 than in 1850, especially when figured as a percentage of the total Hawaiian population in the state enumerated in the U.S. Census (2 percent of 230 migrants counted in 1850 were women; 11 percent of 71 migrants in 1860 were women).⁹⁷ But for Kānaka Hawai’i Christians,

⁹⁴ California instituted a miscegenation law in 1850 that listed “negroes,” “mulattoes,” and when it was amended in 1880, also “Mongolians.” Although the law was unclear as to how Kanaka Hawai’i individuals were to be racially classified, it was implied through census classifications that they were People of Color who were prohibited from marry whites. Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America*, 84-85; also cited on Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 223. The State of Oregon passed a legislative act in 1862 that specifically prohibited the intermarriage of whites with “Negro, Chinese or any person having one quarter or more Negro, Chinese or Kanaka blood, or anyone having more than one-half Indian blood” Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 138.

⁹⁵ Some examples in the literature include Margaret Purser, ““Several Paradise Ladies Are Visiting in Town”: Gender Strategies in the Early Industrial West,” *Historical Archaeology* 25:4, 1991, 6-16, <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF03373520>.; Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush*, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2000); and Nancy J. Taniguchi, “Weaving a Different World: Women and the California Gold Rush,” in *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California*, K. Starr and R. J. Orsi, editors, 141-168, (University of California Press, Berkeley, 2000), JSTOR.

⁹⁶ Johnson, “My Own Private Life,” 325.

⁹⁷ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 150-151. Given the prevalence of Native Hawaiian individuals mentioned in Hawaiian newspapers as living in California mining camps in 1860, the census number of 71 migrants appears to be quite low. For further discussion why migrants were not accurately counted and/or misrepresented in the U.S. Census, see Chapter 4.

who were being monitored by American missionaries for “moral” behavior and who shared a mutual experience with indigenous peoples of California in regards to the Euroamerican colonization of native homelands, an intramarital relationship with an indigenous woman (who in some cases may have been of mixed ancestry) likely made the most sense. Such partnerships simultaneously provided female companionship while carrying out the mission of spreading Hawaiian *na ’auao* to indigenous souls.

The story of a Concow-Maidu woman known to Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants as “Wai’ūlili” is a case in point. Wai’ūlili was born around 1844 in a village near the middle fork of the Feather River, twenty-five miles north of Oroville in Butte County. This was the territory of the Konkow people, members of the Maidu family of languages.⁹⁸ Missionary T.W. Gulick wrote “*Aia no ma na kuahiwi o na Mauna Sierra Nevada, ma ka Hikina loa o Kaliponia, he nui loa na Ohana Ilikini. Ma ia kuahiwi no, maloko o ka Ohana Kongkowali, ua hanau o Waiulili, o Lakaakaa me Hitokane kona mau inoa Ilikini.*” (On the Sierra Nevada Mountains in the far east of California there are many Indian tribes/families. In that mountain, among the Kongkowali Tribe/Family, Wai’ūlili was born. Lakaakaa and Hitokane are her Indian names.)⁹⁹ At the age of ten, Wai’ūlili was adopted by Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants above Oroville (probably at a place called Kanaka Bar) through the tradition of *hānai* and given her *keiki hānai* (adopted child) name of Wai’ūlili (meaning “Babbling Waters”) to represent her new membership as a “*kaikamahine Hawai’i*” (Hawaiian daughter).¹⁰⁰ Charles Aarona, a native of Molokai,

⁹⁸ Francis Riddell, “Maidu and Konkow” in *Handbook of the North American Indians, Volume 8, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 370.

⁹⁹ Kulika, Jr. [T.W. Gulick] “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia [Waiulili (Babbling Waters) An Indian Woman of California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a*, 12 July 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* The word *hānai* is literally translated as meaning “to raise, rear, feed, nourish, sustain.” *Mākua hānai* (adoptive parents) took in and cared for, fed, and raised their *keiki hānai* (adopted child), who were

described Wai‘ūlili as “*he wahine makaukau no ma ke olelo Hawaii, me he mea la ua hanau kupa ia oia ma Hawaii*” (a woman highly proficient in Hawaiian language as if she was born natively in Hawai‘i.)¹⁰¹ At the age of thirteen, she married G. H. Kaumakea, a Kānaka Hawai‘i immigrant from Waiākea, Hilo, Hawai‘i, who arrived in California in 1852. Together they had two sons, Samuela and Kaumakea Jr.. Upon G. H. Kaumakea’s death in Fremont, Yolo County (1859), Samuela was adopted by Kaumakea’s brother-in-law, B.E. Kamae, while Kaumakea Jr., was adopted by J.D. Kenō. Both Kamae and Kenō lived at Irish Creek.¹⁰² According to scholars Nancy Morris and Robert Benedetto, Kenō (also referred to as “Kanao”) was considered the “Christian Chief of a colony of Hawaiians and Nisenan Indians at El Dorado County, California.”¹⁰³ In 1860, Wai‘ūlili married A. E. Mahuka (Edward or Edwin Mahuka), a native of Kohala, Hawai‘i. Together, they had a daughter named Lipica (spelled Rebekah or Rebecca in English) and built a home at Irish Creek, where they were living when T. W. Gulick and his brother L. H. Gulick visited the settlement in the Spring of 1862.¹⁰⁴

often the children of relatives or friends. An adopted child was also known as a “*kama hānai*” (feeding child). Under adoption circumstances, the “feeding child” comes to “feel more active affection for the family that raises it and in whose home it spends its childhood than for its true parents.” Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 158

¹⁰¹ C. Aarona, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai [Letters from California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, June 21, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹⁰² Gulick, Dr. Luther H. [Kulika Kauka], “No Ka Mai Puupuu Liili, Ma Irish Creek, Kaliponia [Regarding Smallpox in Irish Creek, California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 5, 1862, Papakilo Database; Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio], “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia” [An Indian Woman of California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, 12 July 1862, Papakilo Database; Gonrowski states that Kanao was a brother or cousin to John Kapu, the founder of the Hawaiian fishing colony/community of Vernon/Verona on the Sacramento River, Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 159.

¹⁰³ Nancy J. Morris and Robert Benedetto, *Nā Kahu: Portraits of Native Hawaiian Pastors at Home and Abroad, 1820–1900*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2019), 16.

¹⁰⁴ Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio], “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia” [An Indian Woman of California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, 12 July 1862, Papakilo Database; Gulick’s brother, Dr. Luther Halsey Gulick, also visited Irish Creek in 1862. However, most of the accounts of Irish Creek published in *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* were written by T.W. Gulick.

Historian David Chang asserts that missionaries likely viewed these marital unions as forms of cohabitation rather than sanctioned matrimony. Gulick used the terms “*una mareia*” (was married) and “*mare*” to describe Wai‘ūlili’s union with her Kānaka Hawai’i partners. As Chang points out, the use of such terms can “encompass many other meanings, from American common-law marriages to pairings endorsed by Native nations outside of American norms.”¹⁰⁵ Yet evidence indicates that Hawaiian men and Native American women were at the time joined in marriage sanctioned by church, state, and covenant. In a letter published in the *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* on October 25, 1862, T. W. Gulick (“Kulika Opio” in print), wrote “*Ma ka la eiwa o ko makou halawai ana, oia ka Poakolu, ua mareia e Rev. M. Smith, he Kahunapule no Coloma mai, o Mere Kenao me A. L. Kamakapu, ua maikai no ka mare ana. Ua hoonaniia oloko o ka halepule me na lau uliuli a me pua aala, a ua makai no ke nana aku*” (On the 9th when we met, which was Wednesday, Rev. M. Smith, the pastor from Coloma, married Mere Kenāo and A. L. Kamakapu. The wedding went well. The interior of the chapel was decorated with green leaves and fragrant flowers, which were beautiful to look at.)¹⁰⁶ The marriage was recorded as taking place on July 9, 1862 in El Dorado County.¹⁰⁷ Mary Kenāo was the former Native American wife (“*wahine Ilikini*”) of J.D. Kenāo, who succumbed to smallpox on May 12, 1862.¹⁰⁸ Also in a letter published on July 7, 1866, Reverend Lowell Smith mentions a marital service he carried out in the Kānaka Hawai’i community

¹⁰⁵ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 169.

¹⁰⁶ Gulick, Theodore [Kulika Opio], “He Palapala na ko makou elele i holo aku nei I Kapalakiko,” [Letters from Our Neighbors in San Francisco], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, October 25, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹⁰⁷ Marriage ID# 272625, Western States Marriage Record Index, Brigham Young University-Idaho Special Collections and Family History, accessed on December 2, 2019, <http://abish.byui.edu/specialCollections/westernStates/westernStatesRecordDetail.cfm?recordID=272625>.

¹⁰⁸ Gulick, Dr. Luther H. [Kulika Kauka], “No ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek Kaliponia” [Regarding Smallpox in Irish Creek, California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 5, 1862, Papakilo Database.

of Grapevine Gulch (near Ione) in Calaveras County: “*Mare. Ua mare au i kekahi kanaka me ka wahine Ilikini*” (*Weddings. I married a Hawaiian man and an Indian woman.*)

Smith also mentions other “married” Native American/ Kānaka Hawai’i couples living in the community: “*Meri Kupokoli, he Ilikini, ka wahine mare a Kaaiahua; o Maria, he Ilikini, ka wahine mare a Makuahine,*” (Meri Kupokoli, an Indian, the wife married to Ka‘aiāhua; and Maria, an Indian, the wife married to Makuahine.)¹⁰⁹ Such language suggests that sanctioned matrimony did take place, at least in a few instances, between Kānaka Hawai’i men and Native American women during California’s Gold Rush period, particularly where ordained pastors/ministers were available to perform such services.

Whether or not these unions were officially recognized by church, state, or covenant, it is clear that T.W. Gulick and other missionaries approved of Kānaka Hawai’i efforts to convert California’s indigenous peoples. Wai‘ūlili, in particular, was the poster-child for Christian uplift. With paternalistic language typical of American missionaries at the time, Gulick reported of the Irish Creek community:

Elima paha mahina mamua aku nei, ua ala nui mai na kanaka palaka maanei, a ua haalele i na hana lealea o ke ao nei, a ua imi nui kekahi ma na mea e pono ai ko lakou uhane. A o Waiulili no kekahi, ua hele nui i na halawai, ua heluhelu pinepine i ka Palapala Hemolele, ua hapai pu me na wahine i ka hana ma na halawai; ua hoike no me ka minamina i kona pouli loa mamua, a me ka naaupo o kona mau makua; a ua pule no ia ma na halawai, a ma na wahi ike ole ia, i ke Akua mana ma ka Lani. Nui no kona makemake e kii aku i kona makuahine e hoi mai e noho pu me ia maanei, i hiki pono ke ao aku ia ia, ma na mea nui o ka uhane.¹¹⁰

About five months ago, the thoughtless Hawaiians here woke up and abandoned the entertainments of this world and sought out the needs of the soul. Wai‘ūlili was among them. She went to services and read often from the Holy Bible and took on the work in services with the other women and confessed with regret the

¹⁰⁹ Lowell Smith [L. Kamika], “Mai a L. Kamika mai. [Koena o kela pule.]” [From L. Smith [Rest of that Week], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 7, 1866, Papakilo Database.

¹¹⁰ Gulick, Dr. Luther H. [Kulika Kauka], “No ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek Kaliponia” [Regarding Smallpox in Irish Creek, California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 5, 1862, Papakilo Database.

darkness she was in before and the ignorance of her parents, and she prayed in services, as in other place, to the powerful God in Heaven. She greatly desired to get her mother [Lemaine] and bring her to live here in order to teach her in the things of the soul.

Wai‘ūlili had also taken on the role of Western homemaker. Gulick also admitted “*A ua kahaha kuu naau i ka ike ana i ka wahine Ilikini, e noho malie ana, e malama pono ana i ka hale, e humuhumu ana i na kapa maikai no ke kane, a me ke keiki, e holoi ana me ka aiana maikai ana i na kapa ; a me kuu ike ana i kona hoolohe pono ana i na mea i weheweheia ma na halawai; nolaila, hauoli loa no au,*” (My heart was shocked to see an Indian woman living calmly taking care of the house, sewing good blankets for her husband and children, washing and ironing the clothes well, and in seeing her paying such close attention to what was being explained in services. I was so glad.)¹¹¹ Wai‘ūlili had apparently learned reading and domestic chores from her former husband, G.H. Kamakea for in the same letter Gulick wrote “*Ua ao pono no o Kamakea i kana wahine, ma ka heluhelu palapala, ma ka humuhumu, a me na hana e ae. kupono i na wahine.*” (Kamakea had taught his wife well how to read, to sew, and other skills that women should know.)¹¹² For missionaries, domesticity and “proper” attire signified a great deal about the “civility” of the wearer.¹¹³

Missionaries were also encouraged that California Indian women were following Wai‘ūlili’s lead in regards to the adoption of Western ways. Following his visit to Irish Creek, Dr. L.H. Gulick reported:

¹¹¹ Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio], “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” [Waiulili (Babbling Waters), An Indian Woman of California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 12, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹³ Thigpen, *Sacred Queens and Mission Wives*, 77. For example, Thigpen explains that a dress with a bonnet or other head-covering was “a sign of submissiveness to both God and men” among New England women.

Ua loa ia'u maanei he 24 kanaka, a o ka hapanui o ia poe, he poe kanaka Hawaii, elua mau kanaka no na mokupuni o ka Hema, elua wahine Hawaii, ekolu wahine Ilikini, a me na kanaka hapa Ilikini eha. Aole no au i hikilele ia mau mea, a aole no hoi au i manao he hiki i na wahine Ilikini ke kamailio i ka olelo Hawaii, a ke heluhelu hoi i ka Baibala, ke oki a me ka humuhumu a me ka aiana i ka lolo o ka lakou mau keiki ; a i ka ike aku hoi i kekahi kaikamahine Ilikini ewalu makahiki paha, e heluhelu ana i ka Baibala me ka hoomaopopo, a me ka ike hoi i nei mau wahine Ilikini elua, e huipu ana ma ka haipule, a me ka hai mai hoi i ka minamina no ko lakou naaupo mamua, a me ka menemene hoi no ko lakou pilikoko i ka noho hupo mai; a me ka ike aku hoi ia lakou e ake nui ana e loa ka ike a me ka naauao hou aku.¹¹⁴

Here I have found 24 people, most of whom are Hawaiians, two of the islands of the south, two Hawaiian women, three Indian women, and four part-Indians. . . . I was surprised that the Indian women could speak Hawaiian and read the Bible, cut and sew and iron the clothes of their children, and to observe one Indian girl about eight years old reading the Bible with comprehension and these two Indian women joining in on the services telling of how they regret their ignorance of the past, and how they have compassion for their relatives who live in ignorance seeing them desire more knowledge and education.

Based on such observations, Kānaka Hawai'i Christians were having measurable influences on the religious beliefs and lifestyles of indigenous women nearby. Becoming Protestant meant adopting Western gendered understandings of gendered domesticity – maintaining the household, doing the laundry, and reading (particularly the Bible). These were all signs to missionaries that Hawaiian religious evangelism was succeeding in California.

Moreover, Protestant ideals of land improvement and industriousness were praised over subsistence lifestyles. When T.W. Gulick visited Butte County in July of 1862, Wai'ūlili's mother, Lemaine, was engaged in the summer salmon harvest with other members of her Konkow-Maidu community. He and A. E. Mahuka observed

¹¹⁴ “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” [Letters from California], *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, June 21, 1862, Papakilo Database.

approximately fifty “*Ilikini*” who were fishing and gathering according to seasonal subsistence practices. Gulick described the scene in detail:

*A pau ka manawa kupono no ka lawaia ana, alaila, haalele lakou i keia wahi, a hele i ka ohi i ka hua o na laau Oka. Oia no ka lakou ai nui, ka lakou kalo no paha ia. Kui no lakou i na hua, a lilo ia he palaoa ; alaila, hui keia palaoa me ka wai wela, a lilo ia he poi. A ina ua lako lakou i kei poi, a me ke Kamano maloo, aole lakou makau i ka pololi.*¹¹⁵

When fishing time is over, then they would leave this area and go and gather the nuts of the oak trees. That was their main diet, like their taro maybe. They smash the nuts and turn that into flour. Then they mix this flour with hot water until it becomes like poi. If they only had poi and dried salmon they would have no worries about hunger.

The “poi” was in reality a type of acorn porridge – acorn being a common staple among the indigenous peoples of California. Yet Gulick disparaged these subsistence practices along with Konkow-Maidu living arrangements:

*A o kekahi mau ano mauu, ua ono loa ia lakou ke ai, a hele no lakou ma na kula, a ma na kihapai o na haole e ai ai i ka mauu, e like me na lio, a me na Bipi. . . O keia ohana, aole lakou i kanu i kekahi mea, i ko lakou noho ana maanei i keia wa, aole o lakou hale ; he wahi pa nahelehele mawaho mai, a ua hamama wale no maluna. A o ko lakou hale e noho ai i na mahina anu, ua uuku loa, a lapuwale maoli. Aole au i ike ma Hawaii, i na mea like me keia, aole hale maoli, he puoa wale no.*¹¹⁶

They eat some ridiculous things, like earthworms crawling in the dirt, which they love to eat. They like to eat some kinds of grasses and they go to plains and the gardens of the white people to eat the grass like horses and cattle. . . This [Konkow] family did not plant anything living here at this time. They did not have a house. There was a field of bushes outdoors and it was completely open above. The houses they lived in the cold months are very small and ridiculous. I haven’t seen anything like it in Hawai’i. It isn’t really a house, but a shack.

In contrast to this scene, Native Americans and Hawaiians at Irish Creek were building Western-style homes and gardens. For the *Marysville Daily Appeal*, T. W. Gulick explained that, “Most of their dwelling houses [at Irish Creek] are quite rough, but [J.D.]

¹¹⁵ Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio], “No Lemaine, Ka Makuahine o Wailulli [About Lemaine, The Mother of Waiulili],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū ‘oko ‘a*, September 13, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹¹⁶*Ibid.*

Kenāo, perhaps the most substantial Hawaiian Christian in California, I found living in a little clap-board house, put up by himself, painted outside and in, and two of the rooms neatly papered.”¹¹⁷ For the *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, he also described the dwelling of A. E. Mahuka and his wife Wai‘ūlili as ““*he hale kupono iki no, a he mala maikai, ua ulu no na laau hua ono o Kaliponia, a me na ipu, kapiki, ia mea aku, a ia mea aku,*” (a good, small house, with a good garden, where good fruits of California grew, with melons, cabbage, and all sorts of things.)¹¹⁸ In other words, Irish Creek residents were “improving” the land through building and agricultural cultivation, hallmarks of American citizenship in the eyes of missionaries, while retaining the respectable character they had earned by learning the Protestant religion.

In the spring of 1862, the Irish Creek community was hit by a devastating smallpox epidemic. Dr. L. H. Gulick had been summoned to the camp to aid the sick and carry out funeral services. On May 27, 1862, he wrote “*Ma ka la 25 o Aperila, oia ka la puka au ma keia wahi, a ua laha e ka mai Hebelā mawaena o na kanaka o onei. Eha mea i ola mai; hookahi kanaka o Kipouno Mangsia ua make. A i ka hiki ana mai, ekolu mea mai ia manawa,*” (On the 25th of April, when I arrived at this place, an epidemic of the Hebrew disease had spread amongst the people here. There were four survivors; one man called Kipouno Mangsia died. And since my arrival, there have been three who have come

¹¹⁷Theodore W. Gulick, “Christian Diggers and Hawaiians in California” *Marysville Daily Appeal*, 28 May 1862, CDNC.

¹¹⁸ Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio] “No Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia [About Hawaiians in California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 26, 1862, Papakilo Database.

down with this disease.)¹¹⁹ By May, J.D. Kenāo and Wai‘ūlili had also succumbed to the disease as explained by Dr. Gulick.

Ma ka Poakahi, i ka la 12 o Mei, ua make o J. D. Kenao, a me kana keiki. Ma ka Poalua, ua hana makou hookahi pahu nui no laua elua, a ua hoomoe makou i ke keiki ma ka poli o kona makua, a ua kanu no pela, me ke kanikau a me ke aloha nui; aka, me ka hauoli nui no kekahi no ko makou manao, ua pomaikai maoli laua i keia wa, mawaena o na anela ma ka Lani. Ua kanu no na kino, me ka manaolana, e ala hou mai no—he mau kino nani loa. . . . Ekolu la mai, i ka la 15 o Mei, a ua make ka wahine o Mahuka, he wahine Ilikini i mahalo nuiia, a he wahine haipule no. O Waiuliuli kona inoa. Ekolu ana keiki, eia no ke ola nei ka makuakane.¹²⁰

On Monday, the 12th of May, J. D. Kenāo and his son [Kamakea Jr.] died. On Tuesday, we made a large coffin for the two of them and we laid the son on the bosom of his father and we buried them that way with much lament and expressions of great love; but to the joy of our thoughts as well, those two are very blessed now among the angels of Heaven. The bodies are buried with hope that they will be resurrected as glorious bodies. . . . Three days later on the 15th of May, the wife of Mahuka died, an Indian woman who was greatly appreciated, a devout woman. Her name was Wai‘āliuli. She had three children, and the father is still living.

T.W. Gulick was particularly stricken by Wai‘ūlili’s loss, writing “*Ua kuhihewa no au, e ola hou ana o Waiulili, a e lilo ana paha ia i mea ao aku i na Ilikini. Aka, aole pela ko ke Akua manao,*” (I wrongly supposed that Wai‘ūlili would recover and become a teacher for the Indians. But that was not the plan of God.) He asked the people of Hawaii “*Auheha oukou e na kanaka haipule o kuu aina hanau, aole hu mai ko oukou aloha, no kela*

¹¹⁹ Gulick, Dr. Luther H. [Kulika Kauka], “No ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek Kaliponia [Regarding Smallpox in Irish Creek, California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 5, 1862, Papakilo Database. “*Hebela mawaena*” [Hebrew disease] is likely a reference to smallpox which was prevalent in mining camps through California. T.W. Gulick used similar language in describing the epidemic at Irish Creek “*Mamua o kuu hiki ana mai maanei, ua laha ka mai Hebela mawaena o keia poe kanaka.*” (Before I got here, the Hebrew plague was rampant among these people.) Theodore W. Gulick [Kulika Opio], “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia [Waiulili (Babbling Waters) The Indian Woman of California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 12, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹²⁰ Dr. L.H. Gulick [Kulika Kauka], “No ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek Kaliponia [Regarding Smallpox in Irish Creek, California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a*, July 5, 1862, Papakilo Database. The ‘father’ to whom Dr. Gulick referred to was A. E. Mahuka, whose mixed ancestry daughter Rebekah Mahuka (Waiuli’s third child) under his care at the time of Waiuli’s death.

makuahine o Waiulili; a me na uhane Ilikini, he kanalima tausani ma Kaliponia nei, e noho ana maloko o ka pouli loa ? Ina pela, e hoouna wikiwiki mai i ka malamalama ia lakou, o make e lakou,” (So all you devout people of my homeland, doesn’t your aloha spill over for that mother, Wai‘ūlili, and for the fifty thousand Indian souls here in California living in such darkness? If so, please send light over to them quickly lest they die prematurely.)¹²¹ Whether this was a call for additional missionaries or additional Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants to come to the aid of indigenous peoples in California is unclear.

In the fall of 1863, a second smallpox epidemic hit Irish Creek, this time claiming the life of Hiram R. Nālau, committee member of the *Aha Hui Hawaii ma California*, Church Treasurer, and model Christian of the Irish Creek community. With Nālau’s passing, the *Aha Hui Hawaii ma California* literally seemed to fade from existence. But we know Kānaka Hawa’i immigrants still carried forth the mission society’s stated goal of bringing *na’auao* to indigenous souls long after Nālau’s death. In 1866, Reverend Lowell Smith (“L. Kamika”) wrote the following about the Hawaiian community at Grapevine Gulch:

*Hoi no au ia ahiahi i ke kauhale malumalu o kanaka. Halawai nui makou ia po - a kakahiaka ae halawai hou; ahiahi ae la, halawai hou, a kuka loihi ma na mea e pono ai ko lakou mau uhane. Ua akaka lea ko lakou hemahema no ke Kahunapule ole, e noho pu, e kiai, a e alakai ia lakou. Ua lako no lakou i na Baibala, a me na Himeni a me na Lira. Ua akamai i ka heluhelu ana, a me ka himeni ana. . . Hookahi wahine ilikini kai noi mai i Baibala Hawaii.*¹²²

I went back that evening to the shady village of the Hawaiians. We met that night in a service and in the morning we met again. That evening we met

¹²¹ Gulick, Theodore W. [Kulika Opio], “No Waiulili—(Babbling Waters.) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia [Waiulili (Babbling Waters) An Indian Woman of California],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a*, July 12, 1862, Papakilo Database.

¹²² Smith, Lowell [L. Kamika], “Mai a L. Kamika mai. [Koena o kela pule.] [From L. Kamika [Rest of that Week],” *Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a*, July 7, 1866, Papakilo Database.”

again and discussed at length what was needed for their souls. Their deficiencies were evident due to lack of a Pastor to live amongst them, to tend to them, and to lead them. They had been supplied with Bibles and hymnals and song books for children. They were proficient in reading and singing. . . There was one Indian woman who requested a Hawaiian Bible.

In 1868, the Reverend John Pogue of the Hawaiian Islands recalled a visit to California earlier that year during which he sailed on the steamer *Moku Mahi* up the Sacramento River to Fremont, a small town approximately 25 miles from Sacramento. At Fremont he was greeted by Kānaka Hawai'i villagers from another riverside town Pogue called "Verenona"; the villagers included Edward Mahuka, his Native American wife "Kini" (also known as "Jenny", "Jeanie", and "Jane" Mahuka), John Kapu, his wife Manuiki, and their three daughters: Hanagula, Harieka, and Rebekka. Kini and Mahuka were reported by Pogue to be formally married by 1868. In addition, he described Kini, Harieka, and Rebekka as fluent in the Hawaiian language and well-read in Hawaiian language *palapala*, including the *Baibala Hemolele* (Hawaiian Bible). In addition, he wrote "*Heluhelu pinepine ae la lakou i ka Nupepa "Kuokoa," a he nui ko lakou ake ana i ka nuhou i pai ia ma ia Nupepa,*" (they often read the newspaper "Kuokoa," and they have a lot of interest in the news that was printed in the newspapers.)¹²³ The religious evangelism initiated by missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands now continued in California through a different group of people, Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants.

¹²³ J.F. Pogue, "Hawaiian Settlements in California," *The Friend*, August 1, 1868; J.F. Pogue [J.F. Pokue], "No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi [Eyewitness Information from California]," *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, 19 September 1868, Pāpakilo Database. "Verenona" is a reference to the former town known as "Vernon" or "Verona" in Sutter County. It was located on the opposite side of the river from Fremont. For additional discussion on this town as it relates to Native Hawaiians in California, see Chapter 4.

In many ways, Kānaka Hawai'i decisions to dig gold and establish kinship with indigenous women in the mines subverted missionary control. Though missionaries discouraged Kānaka Hawai'i men from leaving their homeland, they left anyhow, bringing their Christian values with them. And even after missionaries followed these immigrants into the gold country, Hawaiian miners exercised agency with regard to their religious practices and their relationships with indigenous women. Precontact strategies of resistance disguised in the form of Hawaiian-language worship and *palapala* or written communication proved useful in asserting religious autonomy while providing the superficial appearance of compliance with missionary expectations. In a sense, *palapala* was to Hawaiian miners what oral traditions were to Hawaiian seaman – a hidden transcript of resistance. And by borrowing Protestant ideals of marriage, gender, and domesticity, Hawaiian immigrants in the mines could manifest *mana* within their communities. In this way, Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants resisted missionary paternalism in California's gold country.

By the late 1860s, a combination of disease, Euroamerican hostility, and inflation had driven Hawaiians out of the mines and forced them to find an economic niche elsewhere in American society, a pattern mirroring the experience of other immigrant communities, such as the Chinese, in California at the time. Many Hawaiian immigrants in Northern California found their niche along the Sacramento River. The next chapter examines how labor choices in the Central Valley were critical for maintaining a connection with the *āina* and asserting Hawaiian identity.

CHAPTER 4

LAND, LABOR, AND HAWAIIAN IDENTITY IN THE CENTRAL VALLEY

On December 25, 1860, a resident in Honolulu signing only as “Maoli” addressed a letter to Dr. Frick, the editor of *The Miner*, a French-language newspaper in San Francisco. Maoli inquired as to Dr. Frick’s opinion regarding an unidentified *haole* man who had sought to obtain Hawaiians to work for him as contract laborers in the California mines. Dr. Frick replied cynically,

Ina i makemake na keiki kuapaa ole o ka aina oluolu o Hawaii, e hoomahui i ka noho ana o na keiki hookaumahaia o Aperika ma na mea e pili ana i na ahā hookolokolo, a me ke Aupuni, a me na kanaka; ala ıla, pono ia lakou e holo i Kaliponia. . . Ina imi lakou i hana oi ka luhi, i haku oi ka hookaumaha ana, i ola kaumaha, oluolu ole, i a me ka pilikia o ka malihini i hoowahawaha ia no kona ili eleele; alaila, pono ia lakou e holo wikiwiki i Kaliponia. “He mau wahi olelo no ka holo ana o ua kauaka maoli i Kaliponia.”¹

If the un-enslaved children of the gentle land of Hawai’i wish to mimic the living conditions of burdened African children in matters pertaining to the court system, the Nation, and men, then they should go to California. . . If they seek after tiring work, with bosses who impose burdens, a difficult life, unkind, with many problems for outsiders who are despised for their black skin, then they should go quickly to California.

In many ways, working conditions for Hawaiian plantation laborers in the Islands did not differ much from those faced by African slaves in the American South, or from those faced by Kānaka Hawai’i sailors in the maritime trade, for that matter. In the latter half of the 19th century labor was a hot topic in the nation of Hawaii just as slavery was in race-

¹ “He mau wahi olelo no ka holo ana o na kanaka maoli i Kaliponia,” [A few words on the going of Hawaiians to California] *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 17 April 1861, Papakilo Database. It is interesting that the writer of the article employed the term “kanaka maoli” to describe Native Hawaiians rather than the more common “kānaka Hawai’i” term used by Native Hawaiian writers in the nineteenth century. “Maoli” is translated as “native” or “genuine.” Judd, *et.al.*, *Handy Hawaiian Dictionary*, 281.

sensitive, Civil War-torn America. It was important for *haole* employers of Kānaka Hawai'i laborers to distinguish their contract labor system as separate from slavery, particularly because of the ties such employers had to New England and the South. In California, many Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants rejected contract labor in favor of independent work, in particular fishing, that reinforced their identity as people of *Ka Lāhui Hawaii* (the Hawaiian Nation).

This chapter builds upon the scholarship of historian Drew Gonrowski who has examined the ways Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants incorporated California geography into a sense of *'āina* (land), a concept closely tied to Hawaiian identity. Gonrowski writes that relationships to the *'āina* of Hawaii were “bound through community and family connections as well as travels and communication.”² By the late 1860s, immigrants had thoroughly mapped the gold country and Central Valley with Hawaiian-language place names – *Pilimona* (Fremont), *Wawana* (Vernon), and *Kakalameko* (Sacramento), to name a few – indicating that they had incorporated these places into their understanding of the *'āina* of Hawaii. But unlike Gonrowski, I argue that relationships to the *'āina* were also bound by the work that Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants chose in the Central Valley, namely fishing. This type of work allowed immigrants to form a distinct Hawaiian community and strengthen their attachment to and identification with the Hawaiian nation. Labor choice for Hawaiian immigrants in the Central Valley was clearly indicative of indigenous agency, as defined by Schneider and Panich, because it allowed them to maintain and reestablish a connection to meaningful places.³

² Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 4.

³ Again Schneider and Panich define indigenous agency as “strategies native people used to assert and modify their identities, as well as maintain or reestablish connections to meaningful places.” Schneider and

In addition, my analysis of the Hawaiian community of the Sacramento River Valley takes into deeper account oral histories and personal correspondence from both Hawaiian and Native American individuals regarding life on the river. Tribal oral histories from the Maidu community demonstrate that Native Americans and Hawaiians understood the landscape in different ways despite their shared communal residence and kinship with one another. Furthermore, Hawaiian immigrant letters to both relatives and missionaries on the Islands indicate a distinct acknowledgement of separate “Indian” and “Kānaka Hawai’i” cultural and national identifications in the 1800s. Racial categorizations applied by census enumerators could not, and did not, erase these identifications. In other words, Kānaka Hawai’i immigrants did not identify themselves as “Indian” simply because they were living and raising families with indigenous individuals in the Sacramento River Valley.

Since Hawaiian identity is intimately connected with the land, attempts to sever indigenous ties to Hawaiian lands in the mid-1800s directly impacted the Hawaiian immigrant experience. Hawaii’s traditional land tenure system had been undergoing changes since the death of King Kamehameha I in 1819. But up until 1848, the Hawaiian Kingdom had essentially held land in common for the *maka’āinana*. While other areas of Polynesia had developed under an autonomous village system, in Hawaii the absence of a village political system and dispersion of the population linked the commoner to his *‘ohana* (family) rather than a piece of property or real estate.⁴ Traditional Hawaiian society was predominantly agrarian. Malo described the *maka’ainana* as “the country

Panich, “Landscapes of Refuge and Resiliency: Native Californian Persistence at Tomales Bay, California, 1770s-1870s,” 21.

⁴ Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii, A Labor History*, (Honolulu University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 17

people [who] were strongly attached to their own homelands, the full calabash, the roasted potatoes, the warm food, to live in the midst of abundance.”⁵ Commoners used the land to cultivate *kalo*, sweet potato, and fish ponds for subsistence agriculture, to meet the reciprocal obligations to the *‘ohana* and the political community at large.

Missionary William Ellis described cultivation in the district of Waiakea:

The whole [land] is covered with luxuriant vegetation, and the greater part of it formed into plantations, where plaintains, bananas, sugar-cane, taro, potatoes, and melons, come to the greatest perfection. Groves of cocoa-nut [sic] and bread-fruit trees are seen in every direction, loaded with fruit, or clothed in luxuriant foliage. The houses, are for the most part, larger and better built, than those of many districts, through which we had passed. We thought the people generally industrious; for, in several of the less fertile parts of the district, we saw small pieces of lava thrown up in heaps, and potatoe-vines growing very well in the midst of them, though we could scarcely perceive a particle of soil. . . . several large ponds or lakes literally swarm with fish, principally of the mullet kind. The fish in these ponds belong to the king and chiefs, and are *tabu*, from the common people.⁶

Under the traditional Hawaiian land tenure system, a hierarchy of *Ali’i*, *konohiki* (land managers and stewards), and *maka’ainana* had overlapping rights to, and interests in, the products of the land.⁷ In precapitalist Hawai’i, the *konihiki* acted as “middlemen between the *maka’ainana* (commoners who grew food and caught fish) and the *ali’i* (the ruling class who lived off of *maka’ainana* (labor))” according to Rosenthal.⁸ This ensured a distribution of resources that adequately supported all levels of the hierarchy.

After 1819, however, changes in the Hawaiian ruling class and the dominance of foreigners in government and trade began to upset the communal balance achieved by the traditional land tenure system. In an attempt to accumulate wealth and create a private

⁵ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities [Moolelo Hawaii]*, 91.

⁶ William Ellis, *Journal of a Tour Around Hawaii: The Largest of the Sandwich Islands*, (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1825), 186-187.

⁷ Kame’eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 9.

⁸ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai’i*, 161.

commerce-based economy, the chiefs ordered the wholesale cutting of sandalwood on the Islands. Thousands of commoners were ordered to cut quotas of sandalwood in the Kohala mountains, which, upon delivery to the chiefs, were shipped to Honolulu for sale to international traders and merchants. The sandalwood industry, combined with new taxes on produce and the further spread of foreign disease, took its toll on land cultivation and the *maka 'āinana* as a result. Malo described the life of the *maka 'āinana* in the 1820s and 1830s, as a “life of weariness [because] they were compelled at frequent intervals to go here and there, to do this and that work for the lord of the land, constantly burdened with one exaction or the other.” In the eyes of missionaries and Christian converts like Malo, the weariness was often conflated with a growing lack of industriousness. In 1838, Malo stated that “some of the country people were very industrious and engaged in engaged in farming or fishing, while others were lazy and shiftless, without occupation. A few were clever, but the great majority were inefficient.”⁹ Foreigners believed the remedy for this apparent indolence lay in capitalism, land privatization, and compulsory work.

The growing missionary-*haole*-elite, an economic class comprising wealthy missionary children and foreign landowners, envisioned for Hawaii a market-oriented agriculture based on a capitalist model that would require extensive land resources and an organized work force. According to Beechert, Hawaii’s taxation system under the “Declaration of Rights and the Laws of 1839” (generally referred to as Hawaii’s 1840 constitution), along with additional legislation, completed the transformation of the

⁹ Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities [Moolelo Hawaii]*, 91-92.

Hawaiian system into a capitalist political economy.¹⁰ Taxes under the constitution included *auhau o ke kino* (poll tax), *auhau o ka āina* (land tax), and *na la koele* (labor tax).¹¹ The word *kō‘ele* can be translated as “small land unit farmed by a tenant for the chief,” as “Friday” because commoners worked on the chief’s farm on this day,” and also as “any work [performed] for a chief.”¹² The government labor days, or *lā kō‘ele*, required *maka‘āinana* to work on specific days for the king and *konohiki*. The law specified that the first two weeks of each month would have six days devoted to *lā kō‘ele*. In the first week, two days would be served working for the king and one day for the *konohiki*. In the second week, one day would be spent for the king and two days for the *konohiki*, making a total of seventy-two days per year devoted to government labor days.¹³ Taxes and the capitalist economy introduced by international trade were meant to incentivize Kānaka Hawai‘i to be more industrious.

The next step towards developing a market-oriented agricultural industry was to redefine the lands of Hawai‘i as private property. Under the 1840 constitution, the *mō‘ī*, *ali‘i*, and *maka‘āinana* jointly owned the land. However, beginning in 1845, the Hawaiian Kingdom initiated a five-year process known as the *Māhele* (literally translated as the “Division”), which transformed Hawaii’s traditional land system from one of communal tenure to private property ownership. From January to March 1848, the

¹⁰ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 25. See also the following sources on the 1840 constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom: S. M. Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961); Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom. Vol. 1: 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1938); Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

¹¹ *Ke Kumu Kanawai, a me Na Kanawai o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, Ua Kauia i ke Kau ia Kamehameha III* (Honolulu, Oahu, 1941), 18-23; *Hawaii: Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Established in the Reign of Kamehameha III* (Lahainaluna, 1842), 24-32, cited in Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina Palālewa i Ke Kai,” 34.

¹² Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina Palālewa i Ke Kai,” 35.

¹³ Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 378.

Hawaiian Kingdom redistributed property interests in three distinct land bases among three groups: the *mō'ī*, *ali'i*, and the government (for the *maka'ainana*). Beamer best illustrates the process by describing “all the Hawaiian *'āina* as a cake with three distinct layers. The *Māhele* was [to be] the instrument to remove the layers of the king and chiefs, leaving the *maka'ainana* layer in perpetuity.”¹⁴ In actuality, the land was divided into not three but six layers: the *mōi'*, *ali'i*, *konohiki*, government, foreigners, and *maka'ainana*, all in unequal amounts. In addition, the *maka'ainana* were not given opportunity to secure title to land in fee simple (that is, to claim their *kuleanas* or land commission rights) until passage of the Kuleana Act of 1850.¹⁵ Because few were familiar with the required legal paperwork, many commoners were unable to secure land claims. According to Kameilihiwa, there are about 3,897,600 acres in the Hawaiian Islands; on paper, the *maka'ainana* should have received 1,299,200 acres if the land had been divided equally three ways.¹⁶ In reality, the Hawaiian Land Commission granted only about 30,000 acres (represented by 9,337 *kuleana* awards) to commoners of the Kingdom.¹⁷

With Hawaiian land now privatized, foreign landowners looked to *maka'ainana* as a ready workforce in developing mass-scale commercial agriculture on the Islands. Young Kānaka Hawai'i men were viewed as the planters' first choice as field hands for growing crops such as sugarcane, coffee, and other foodstuffs that were increasingly in demand on the global market. According to calculations made in 1847 by Gerritt Judd,

¹⁴ Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu, Hawai'i: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 129, 142-143.

¹⁵ Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008), 44, 54, 56; Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana*, 151.

¹⁶ Kameilihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 211.

¹⁷ Marion Kelly, “Changes in Land Tenure in Hawaii, 1778-1850” (MA Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1956), 131.

minister of the interior, Robert Wyllie, minister of foreign affairs, and Levi Chamberlain, a missionary leader, there were twenty thousand Kānaka Hawai'i males of an age "fit for labor" in the Hawaiian Kingdom; this number represented roughly 25 percent of the Native population on the Islands.¹⁸ Many of these men had already experienced working for foreigners in the decade prior to the *Māhele*. In May 1839, an American firm named Ladd & Company hired 400 *maka'ainana* to plant sugarcane on land in Koloa, Kaua'i, for commercial harvest.¹⁹ Historian Ronald Takaki indicates that Ladd and Company "had agreed to pay a tax [a fee of twenty-five cents per month] for each man employed to Kauikeaouli, the king of the Hawaiian islands, and Kaikioewa, the governor of Kaua'i, and to pay the workers satisfactory wages."²⁰ However, the wages the company offered - - twelve and half cents per day in scrip redeemable only at the company store -- proved unsatisfactory and workers went on strike in 1841. In 1846, the government criminalized "indolence" and additional statutes were passed explicitly forbade Hawaiians from signing on as seamen on whaling ships.²¹

Worker indolence led Hawaiian elite and white plantation owners on the Islands to propose what Beechert describes as the "traditional solution of plantation economies elsewhere in the world" – contract labor – in 1850.²² That same year, white planters founded the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society; among the organization's aims was to promote the "introduction of Coolie labor from China to supply the places of the rapidly

¹⁸ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 30-31.

¹⁹ Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 3, 4. Koloa Plantation was on 980 acres that had been leased by Ladd and Company from Kamehameha III for fifty years at \$300 a year.

²⁰ Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*, 3-4.

²¹ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 35-37. Twelve and a half cents per day was the most commonly reported wage as late as 1850 on the Islands.

²² *Ibid.*, 40.

decreasing native population."²³ Many men had worked in the Pacific maritime trade under signed contracts with their employers, typically anywhere from three to ten years; yet these early contracts were often governed by maritime labor law and quickly degenerated into “forms of servitude difficult to distinguish from the traditional chattel slavery which surrounded the exploitation of African workers.”²⁴ By 1848, slavery had been officially abolished in the United Kingdom and the indentured system had fallen out of favor in its colonies.²⁵ However, in the United States, namely Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York, there existed statutes derived from earlier English laws governing indentured servitude, a labor practice no longer prevalent in these states.²⁶ William Little Lee, who by 1850 was King Kamehameha III’s principal legal advisor, drew from these essentially antiquated statutes when he authored the law formerly known as “An Act for the Government of Masters and Servants.”²⁷ For the next five decades, the Masters and Servants Act served as the legal foundation for Hawai’i’s rapidly expanding sugar plantation labor system.

The Hawaiian Masters and Servants Act, enacted on June 21, 1850, essentially codified a system of contract labor in the Islands. Under the law, all able-bodied Hawaiian men were expected to acquire employment as either apprentices or wage laborers. Section 1 of the labor law defined two categories of servants in the Hawaiian

²³Transactions of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society 1, 8 (1850), quoted in Christopher D. Hu, “Transplanting servitude: the strange history of Hawai’i’s U.S.-inspired contract labor law,” *Stanford Journal of International Law* 49, no. 1 (2013): 279, HeinOnline.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 41.

²⁵ In other parts of the world, slavery persisted well into the early twentieth century. For examples, see J. H. Galloway, “The Last Years of Slavery on the Sugar Plantations of Northeastern Brazil,” *The Hispanic Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (Nov., 1971), 586-605, JSTOR and Samuel Martinez, “From Hidden Hand to Heavy Hand: Sugar, the State, and Migrant Labor in Haiti and the Dominican Republic,” *Latin American Research Review* 34, no. 1 (1999): 57-84, JSTOR.

²⁶ Hu, “Transplanting servitude,” 284.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 281.

Kingdom: apprentices or “those engaged to serve any one in order to learn some art, trade, or profession, or other employment” and wage laborers or “those who engage to serve by the day, week, month, year, or some other fixed time, in consideration of certain wages.” A key part of the Act specified that, “Any person who attained the age of twenty years may bind himself or herself, by written contract, to serve another in any art, trade, profession, or other employment, for a term not exceeding five years.” Special provisions were written into the law to prevent the abuses of slavery or bound service. “Cruelty, misusage, or violations of the term of the contract” would serve to invalidate that contract upon a hearing before a district magistrate (sec. 1423), fines ranging from five to one hundred dollars that could be levied against the master (sec. 1423), and contracts were limited to a maximum indenture period of ten years (sec. 1418).²⁸ Although plantation masters had the authority to discipline, they were liable for misconduct and obligated to issue only lawful commands. Perhaps more importantly, workers could not excuse themselves from work to file a complaint without being officially charged with deserting and refusing service. If a laborer abandoned or refused to work, he could be committed to prison at hard labor until he consented to serve, and the costs of court action were assessed against him.²⁹

In addition to establishing an indentured/contract labor system in 1850, the Hawaiian Kingdom took legal action against immigration. A companion bill to the Masters and Servants Act forbade Hawaiian subjects from leaving the country without permission of the King. According to its preamble, the law was necessary to “prevent the emigration of Hawaiians to California where many had encountered severe distress and

²⁸ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 42.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 46.

misery.”³⁰ The Gold Rush had exacerbated Hawaii’s labor shortage by luring hundreds of young men to California’s goldfields. Many missionaries and/or their offspring had become plantation owners themselves and were concerned about maintaining a labor supply that was not undermined morally by cultural practices outside the plantation, such as hula performances. “Puritan work ethic and disdain for traditional Kanaka Hawai’i practices dovetailed seamlessly with the attempts to exploit Kanaka Hawai’i labor,” explains historian Noenoe Silva.³¹ The message from the Hawaiian Kingdom to Hawaiian men in the 1850s was clear: stay home, work the land, and conform to rules of Christian morality.

Contract work on Hawaiian sugar plantation was tedious, back-breaking labor in harsh weather. It involved clearing the land, digging irrigation ditches, planting, fertilizing, weeding, hoeing, cutting, and loading the rough cane on a daily ten to twelve-hour shift. In a tropical environment with intense sunlight and equally intense rainstorms, workers were constantly exposed to heat stress or hypothermia; all for little compensation at the end of day.³² A *mele* (song) of the day perhaps best captures work conditions on a sugar plantation:

PUA MANA NO

*Nonoke au i ka maki ko,
I ka mahi ko.
Ua ‘eha ke kua, kakahe ka hou,
Poho, Poho.
A ‘ai‘e au i ka hale ku‘ai,
A ‘ai‘e au i ka hale ku‘ai.*

SURE A POOR MAN

I labored on a sugar plantation,
Growing sugarcane.
My back ached, my sweat poured,
All for nothing.
I fell in debt to the plantation store,
I fell in debt to the plantation store.

³⁰ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 37.

³¹ Noenoe Silva, “He Kanawai E Ho’opau I Na Hula Kuolo Hawai’i: The Political Economy of Banning the Hula,” *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 34 (2000): 32-33, <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10524/347/JL34035.pdf>.

³² Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*, 58.

*A noho ho 'i he pua mana no,
A noho ho 'i he pua mana no.*

And remained a poor man,
And remained a poor man.³³

Poor working conditions contributed to rising illness among Hawaiian contract laborers.

As Hawaiian schoolteacher and scholar Joseph M. Poepoe described,

A ua loa hoi kekahi mai na hoounauna ino mai a na haku mahiko, i ka hana iloko o ka ua a me ka la ino, ke anu o ke kehau huihui o ke kakahiaka nui molehulehu wale, nolaila, inoino ke koko, paakuku oiai, aohe mea nana e lomilomi, e opaopa, e hahi, a ua like no hoi ka poe kumakahiki me ka poe i loa i ka mai pake.³⁴

Other illnesses are from the sugar plantation bosses wickedly sending workers to work in the rain and on stormy days, in the cold of the freezing dew of the dark early morning, and therefore, the blood becomes bad and clots, since there is no one there to lomilomi [massage], and the people on yearly contracts are just like people with leprosy.³⁵

Due the prevalence of the disease among indigenous Hawaiians in the 1800s, leprosy was commonly associated with any individual on the Islands who appeared sickly regardless of the nature of their condition. Although the Hawaiian Masters and Servants Act had been designed to prevent the appearances of slavery in contract labor, Hawaiian-language material indicate that working conditions on sugar plantations were abusive. Most Kānaka Hawai'i workers rejected such conditions. Desertion was extremely common throughout the sugar industry, as were labor strikes and skirmishes. By the 1860s, many plantation owners were abandoning Hawaiian labor in favor of Chinese workers.

Just as contract labor was being standardized in the Kingdom of Hawaii, so to was the nature of labor changing within California's gold-mining industry. At the height of the Gold Rush, many Kānaka Hawai'i miners were making enough to send earnings back

³³ Mary P. Pukui and Alfons L. Korn, *The Echo of Our Song: Chants & Poems of the Hawaiians* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i, 1973), 122.

³⁴ Joseph M. Kanepuu, "Ka Honua Nei," July 26, 1877, quoted in Silva, *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, 95.

³⁵ Translation by Noenoe K. Silva. Silva, *The Power of the Steel-Tipped Pen*, 96.

home to their families. In a letter to Reverend Baldwin dated July 23, 1849, Reverend Timothy Hunt informed that “Brother [Samuel C.] Damon spent a night recently . . . at the ‘Kanaka Diggings.’ He said they [the miners] were behaving well and were getting some gold. He brought down some of their gold to take to their friends (Oahu *kama'aina* I suppose).”³⁶ In another letter dated October 21, 1850, Reverend Hunt wrote:

Do you remember Keau, a native and a teacher, who came over last year from your place? Last fall he deposited with me for safe keeping \$200 in gold coin and then returned for another “spoils” [sp?]. He died this year on the banks of the Yuba [River] and [previously] sent word to have the money forwarded to his children. I have therefore exchanged his money for a draft on Starky [sic], Janion, and Co., Honolulu payable to Brother Castle on order and have enclosed the “original” to him and retain the duplicate. You will be glad, I know, to be at the trouble to appropriate the money as requested.³⁷

Not all Hawaiian immigrants entrusted missionaries with their earnings; others invested in local business ventures. Jim Crow, one of John Sutter’s Hawaiian workers, was also successful mining for gold along the Yuba River. In 1849, he joined Major William Downie’s prospecting company then eventually left Downie’s company to start his own hydraulic mining company called “Kanaka” at the gold mining camp known as “Crow City.”³⁸

³⁶ Hunt to Baldwin, July 23, 1849. “Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed July 15, 2019.

³⁷ Hunt to Baldwin, October 21, 1850. “Hunt, Timothy Dwight - Missionary Letters - 1845-1855 - to members of the mission,” *Hawaiian Mission Houses Digital Archive*, accessed July 15, 2019. “Starkey, Janion, & Co.” was a trading company founded in Liverpool in April 1845 by Englishmen James and John Starkey and Robert Cheshire Janion. Richard A. Greer, “Along the Old Honolulu Waterfront,” *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998), 53–66, <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/5014698.pdf>. “Brother Castle” was a reference to Samuel Northrup Castle, a businessman and politician in the Kingdom of Hawaii who founded the firm Castle & Cooke with Amos Starr Cooke. Robert D. Warren, “Life of Samuel Northrup Castle” (PhD diss., Georgetown University, 1963), ProQuest Theses and Dissertations Global.

³⁸ Jim Crow Canyon (or Jim Crow Ravine) is located three miles east of Downieville. William Downie, *Hunting For Gold: Reminiscences of Personal Experience and Research in the Early Days of the Pacific Coast from Alaska to Panama* (San Francisco: The California Publishing Co., 1893), 34-35, 52, 89-91; Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, 177.

By 1859, however, simple placer mining techniques had been replaced by more sophisticated hydraulic technologies and immigrants were paying the price. In a letter dated January 12, 1859, Reverend Lowell Smith wrote, “I know their [Kānaka Hawai’i] work, the gold digging; and I also saw some foreigners and Americans, digging the gold. They do not find much these days, because of little water. Two dollars [a day] . . . and nothing more.”³⁹ Hydraulic mining corporations, the majority of which were owned by American business entrepreneurs, monopolized the means of production in gold country. Individual miners were increasingly forced to work as wage laborers for these corporations, which employed upwards of several hundred men to wash gold with sluices and/or blast mountains with high-pressure water monitors. According to one estimate, a California gold miner's "wage" declined from \$20 per day in 1848 to \$10 per day in 1850, to \$5 per day by 1853, and to \$3 per day in the late 1850s.⁴⁰ In addition, Hawaiians also had to contend with two foreign miners’ tax measures. The first, enacted in 1850, required miners who were not citizens of the United States to pay a licensing fee of \$20 a month. Although this tax was repealed in 1851, the influx of Chinese in 1852 prompted the passage of another act that provided for an additional tax of \$3 per month, later raised to \$4.⁴¹ Given the miners’ tax and inflationary prices, immigrants had little left at the end of the month for basic supplies. In a letter dated July 7, 1866, Reverend Smith observed of the Kānaka Hawai’i community at Grapevine Gulch:

*. . . aole i oi aku ko lakou pomaikai ma ko ke kino, ma ka oihana eli gula,
mamua o na kanaka e noho ana ma Hawaii, ma ka aina hanau. I ka hana*

³⁹ Lowell Smith [L. Kamika], “Ka Holo Ana O L. Kamika Mai Sacramenato I Coloma [The Travels of Lowell Smith from Sacramento to Coloma],” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, January 12, 1859, Papakilo Database.

⁴⁰ Daniel Cornford, ““We all live more like brutes than humans”: Labor and Capital in the Gold Rush,” *California History* 77, no. 4 (Winter 1998): 93, JSTOR.

⁴¹ Cornford, ““We all live more like brutes than humans”: Labor and Capital in the Gold Rush”, 86; Dillon, “Kānaka Colonies in California,” 18; Holliday, *The World Rushed In*, 400-401.

mau ana me ka hoopalaleha ole, ua loa ia lakou ka ai a me ka i-a, a me ka lole; ua mau nae ko lakou ilihune. He poe auwana ma ia wahi aku a ia wahi aku, nolaila, aohe maikai ko lakou hale; aole kanuia na mea e nani ai, a e pomaikai ai maloko o na mala. Ua noho malihini lakou, a o ka hele aku koe ma kahi e. Ekolu hoi mile mai keia wahi aku a hiki i Vallecito, ke kauhale a lakou e hele aku ai e kuai i ka palaoa, ka bipi, ka waiu-baka, ke ti, ke ko a me na mea paahana.⁴²

. . . they were not better off physically in their gold digging compared to those living in Hawai‘i, their homeland. As they applied themselves to work without turning away, they were well supplied with all they needed to eat and with clothing; but they were still poor. They were vagabonds going from place to place, so their home was not good; nothing was planted to beautify or profit from in the garden. They lived as foreigners about to move on to somewhere else. Three miles from this place all the way to Vallecito [Murphy’s Diggings] is the village they go to, to buy bread, beef, butter, tea, sugar, and tools.

Smith’s observations indicate that many Kānaka Hawai‘i men were still migrating from place to place to make ends meet. Still members of the Grapevine Gulch community, reported Smith, “*aloha mai lakou ia’u i kekahi mau dala, a me kekahi gula lepo*” (graciously donated money to me as well as gold dust) and paid money for the *Ka Nupepa Kū’oko ‘a*, despite their economic status, an indication of their loyalty to homeland causes.⁴³

Even Kānaka Hawai‘i miners who had the means to pay for the license tax were not guaranteed economic security. An American miner on the Yuba River wrote to the *Sacramento Transcript* to say that a license officer named “Mr. Royer” paid a visit to Kanaka Dam “ostensibly to grant licenses to the Kanakas here, but in reality to jump their claims.” When Capt. Coxe, described as the “head chief of the Kanakas,” and the other

⁴² Smith, Lowell [L. Kamika], “Mai a L. Kamika mai. [Koena o kela pule.] [From L. Kamika. [Rest of that week.]],” *Ka Nupepa Kū’oko ‘a*, July 7, 1866, Papakilo Database.

⁴³ *Ibid.* The article also mentions that the Grapevine Gulch community included the following Native American women and children: “Meri Kupokoli, the wife of Ka‘aiāhua;” “Maria, the wife of Makuahine;” “Ema, a part Indian, 5 years old;” and “Meri, a part Indian, 3 months old.”

immigrants tried to give Royer the twenty dollars for the license to the Yuba River claim, Royer denied the money. The American miner stated that Royer “came here with a large posse to support him, and the best of the joke is this: he refused the license money when tendered him, alleging that it was too late to receive it after he had summoned a posse, and no reasoning could induce him to alter his decision. Again, a great part of the posse, to my personal knowledge, was composed of foreigners.” Afterwards, “the claims taken from these Kanakas were given to these other foreigners, part of his [Royer’s] posse.” Coxe also had a three months license on the Bear River that “was still good and in full force” which Mr. Royer wanted to compromise for, but Coxe refused and told his men to leave the area.⁴⁴ Despite such administrative abuses of power, Capt. Coxe would not be deterred from mining for gold in California,

But for many immigrants from the Islands, mining labor began to smack of plantation labor conditions at home. Even non-missionary *haole* disapproved of working conditions in California. On April 17, 1861, just days after the U.S. Civil War had commenced, an editor with *Ka Hae Hawaii* requested that immigrants in California respond to accusations by “Dr. Frick,” a Honolulu foreigner, that labor conditions in California mimicked the conditions of “na keiki hookaumahaia o Aperika” (burdened African children). The editor asked:

1. *Ua pilikia anei oukou i ka noho ana ma Kaliponia, ma na mea e pili ana i na aha hook lokolo a me ke Aupuni ?*
2. *Ua pilikia loa oukou no ke anuanu a me ka wela ?*
3. *He wi oukou a he pilikia no ka ai ole, a no ka maikai ole o ka ai oia aina?*
4. *Ua nele oukou i na lole kupono ole, na lole hulu hipa a me na balankete?*
5. *Ke luhi nui ko oukou i ka hana ana malaila ?*
6. *He ano hookaumaha wale na haku haole o oukou ?*

⁴⁴ “The Foreign License Law,” *Sacramento Transcript*, September 21, 1850, CDNC. Kanaka Dam is the same as Kanaka Bar on the Yuba River.

7. *He ano kaumaha, mehameha, oluolu ole ko oukou noho ana malaila, aolo paha?*

8. *He nui na mai a me na mea ino e hoowalewale ai i ka uhane me ke kino o kanaka ma ia aina, oi aku mamua o na mea ino oonei?*⁴⁵

1. Are you experiencing difficulties in your living conditions in California with regards to the justice system of the country?
2. Do you suffer difficulty due to the cold and the heat?
3. Do you suffer from famine and going without food or due to bad food in that country?
4. Are you without proper clothing, wool clothes and blankets?
5. Are you exhausted from the work you do there?
6. Do your foreign bosses burden you with difficulties?
7. Are you sad, lonely, uncomfortable in your living conditions there or not?
8. Are there sicknesses and vices that tempt the soul and body of man in that country, more so than the vices found here [in Hawaii]?

Only one immigrant, a fisherman by the name of T. B. Kamipele living in Vernon,

California, answered the newspaper's inquiry. He wrote in part:

He wahi pua oliva ka'u e hooili aku ia oe, a nau ia e lawe aku ma na kahi eha o kou Aupuni. I ike na makua, a makamaka o ka poe e noho ana ma Kalifonia nei. . . .

*He luhi ka noho ana ma keia aina, he nui ka hana, ua hanaia na la a pau, aole he mahuahua o kahi mea i loa mai, o ka inoino o ka opu kai hooko ia. Oia kahi mea i loa no ia la. I na makahiki i hala aku mahope, oia ka wa pono o Kalifonia nei. I keia mau makahiki e noho ia nei, o ka poe a pau e noho ana ma na kuahiwi, e eli ana i ke gula, aole i loa ka uku kupo no ka hana ana. O ke kapalili o ka houpo kai pono i kahi ai a me kahi ia, oia kahi mea i loa mai. A, no keia nele la, aole e hiki aku ke hoi i ka aina hanau. E like me na palapala a ka poe e palapala mai nei i ko lakou mau makamaka e noho ana ma Kalifonia nei.*⁴⁶

I offer you an olive flower. Will you please take it to the four corners of your country so that parents, friends of those living here in California may know. . . . Life here is tiresome and one works hard, and you work hard everyday but do not realize expansion [wealth], but experience hunger as your reward for the day. Recent years have seen better times here in California. These years in which we live, everyone living up in the mountains digs for gold, but do not get a worthy pay for the effort. What

⁴⁵ "He mau wahi olelo no ka holo ana o ua kanaka maoli i Kaliponi [A few tips on how the native can travel to California]," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, April 17, 1861, Papakilo Database.

⁴⁶ T. B. Kamipele, "No Kalifonia mai. [From California.]," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 3, 1861, Papakilo Database.

they earn is the pangs of hunger and a want of food and fish. And because of this lack [of pay] they cannot return to their homeland. It is just as it is said in letters of the those who write to their friends living here in California.

Perhaps more importantly, Kamipele indicated that many immigrants had become frustrated with contract employment in California. “*Ka hana hoolimalima me na haku haole, ua pili aku no i ke ano o na kauwa hooluhi*” (The act of contract labor with white owners is very much like hard slavery), he explained. He cited as an example:

*Ua lawe mai kekahi haole o Coneki, i kekahi poe kanaka mai ka aina mai, he kanalima paha ka nui o lakou. Iloko oia hui o Kekuaiwahie a me Kapuaa, ua hana no lakou me ko lakou haku, a hala na mahina eono. Aole i loaa iki mai kekauwahi uku iki o ko lakou luhi ana. Haalele iho la lakou, a hele aku la kela mea keia mea ma kana wahi i manao ai.*⁴⁷

One white man, Coneki, brought some Hawaiians from the homeland, about fifty of them in total. Among that group was Kekuaiwahie and Kapua‘a who worked with their boss for six months. They were not paid at all for their labor. They left and each went their separate ways.

Just as in Hawaii, Kanaka Hawai‘i laborers in California were beginning to reject contract work with *haole* employers in favor of independent work in more ideal environments. The Sacramento River of the Central Valley offered one such environment.

Census statistics for the nineteenth century exemplify how post-Gold Rush agriculturalization of California shifted demographics throughout the state. This is particularly true for the Kānaka Hawai‘i immigrant population of the state. Many scholars of Hawaiian immigration to North America have pointed out that Kanaka Hawai‘i miners were largely “invisible” to census enumerators, due both to

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* It is possible that “Coneki” may not have been a name but shorthand for the man’s title as a *konohiki* or land manager. After the Great Māhele, white employers began to take on this title amongst their Native Hawaiian contract employees; see Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawai‘i*, 161.

inconsistencies in racial categorization as well as to the transient nature of miners throughout Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and California.⁴⁸ The 1850 U.S. Census listed only 230 Kānaka Hawai'i residents living in California, with nearly half living in Sutter County.⁴⁹ The majority of these residents were listed in the federal census without personal names, only a label of "Kanaka" or listing of their origin of birth -- "Sandwich Islands" or "South Sandwich Islands" -- provide a clue to their ethnicity. As David A. Chang notes, the 1860 census for the Coloma Township in California "provides not even a means to trace [Kānaka's] identities because they are listed under such Anglo-American names as Charles and Mary Aaron, Frank Harrison, and Thomas Boyd, at a time when few Kānaka Hawai'i had such names."⁵⁰ By 1870, the U.S. federal census for California indicated that 439 individuals born in the Sandwich Islands were living in California. Many of them held occupations such as "farmer" or "fisherman."⁵¹ Several of these individuals are identifiable as Hawaiian fishermen living in Sutter County, including (corrected spellings of surnames in parentheses): J H Wahenealotha, Wha Bolava, S Galva, J Kahorhulis, W D Pāanani (Paniani), B M Kekae, Henry Mahoa (Nahoa), B Papu, J Bolava, John Kaper (Kapu), Mapuavia, A.E. Mahuka, John Russell, Bull Kaawa, John Kalasar, John Osgood, George Osgood, Joseph Bigely, Davies Bigely, and John Q Bigely.⁵² Immigrants became more "visible" as they left the gold country and settled near farms and towns of the Central Valley, towns such as Vernon, Nicolaus, Marysville, and

⁴⁸ Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 161, 211; Gonrowski, "Ka 'Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai," 245-248; Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 147-151; Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 178-184.

⁴⁹ Rosenthal, *Beyond Hawaii*, 146.

⁵⁰ David Chang, "Borderlands in a World at Sea," 387.

⁵¹ U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, California. In some cases, the individuals listed may have been of American or mixed Hawaiian-American ancestry because they were the offspring of American missionaries who came to the Islands in 1820.

⁵² U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California.

Chico. As they left the gold mines they entered into new occupations in the agricultural and fishing industries that still allowed them to work on the fringes of colonial society.

As previously noted, communal fishing was an activity closely tied to traditional Hawaiian connections to and understandings of *'āina*. Fishing had similarly connected California's indigenous peoples to the riverscape for centuries. Groups such as the Valley Nisenan and Plains Miwok lived in close proximity to prime fishery resources in the Valley and were intimately familiar with how to extract those resources. Between 1839 and 1848, John Sutter relied heavily on the local indigenous population in the Sacramento Valley region to provide fish for the maritime trade market. Skilled Native fishermen from *Sama*, a Gualacomne (also spelled in the literature as “Gualacumne”, a Plains Miwok tribelet) village that had been relocated to the banks of the Sacramento River after Sutter established New Helvetia, hauled in huge catches of salmon using handmade fishing nets and weirs.⁵³ The salmon was then preserved in barrels and shipped from New Helvetia to neighboring ranchos including that of William Leidesdorff.⁵⁴ Hence, Sutter called the village of *Sama* the “fishing *Rancha* [sic].”⁵⁵ The indigenous trade in salmon continued well after the discovery of gold. According to one estimate, the Indians of the Central Valley were harvesting up to nine million pounds of salmon, or roughly 650,000 fish, per year from California rivers and streams in the 1850s.⁵⁶

⁵³ Richard Levy, “Eastern Miwok” in *Handbook of the North American Indians, Volume 8, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 399.

⁵⁴ John Sutter to William A. Leidesdorff, Spring of 1846 in Sousa, “Indians and the Colonization of the Central Valley,” 129-130. When Leidesdorff requested salmon in the spring of 1846, Sutter apologized for not being able to send it because the “Indians are just repairing their nets, but every voyage I will send you some when they can be procured.”

⁵⁵ An entry in John Sutter's diary dated 8 December 1846 states “Started Launch for Hock – Launch at the fishing Rancha – Reced letters from Capt Hull,” Sutter, *New Helvetia Diary*, 44.

⁵⁶ Andrew C. Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History*, (New York : Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2013), 46.

Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants recognized the control that indigenous peoples of California had over the fishery resources of the Central Valley river system and sought ways to ally with them to gain access to those resources. Sometime after 1842, Kānaka Hawai'i immigrant Ioane Keaala o Ka'iana (Ioane Keaala, also known as “John Canaca” and “John Kelly”), who was an *alcalde* at Sutter's Hock Farm, married a Gualacomne (Plains Miwok) woman named Sinamein, who was from *Sama*. As historian Ashley Riley Sousa has pointed out, the alliance with Gualacomne fishermen created by this marriage provided Kānaka Hawai'i with first-class access to salmon, sturgeon, and other prized fish in the Sacramento River. In return, Gualacomne fisherman “gained knowledge of their potential consumers. Who better to judge the quality of Gualacomne-pickled salmon than a Hawaiian?”⁵⁷ After Sinamein passed, Keaala moved to Chico and married a Konkow Maidu woman named Suy-me-neh. They had two daughters, one of them was Mele Kainuha Keaala, also known as Mary Azbill, mother to Henry Azbill.⁵⁸

Kānaka Hawai'i immigrant Thomas B. Kamipele was also married to a Native American woman, a Mokolumne (Plains Miwok) named Sinamae.⁵⁹ In the following *kanikau* for Sinamae, who passed sometime in 1865, Kamipele describes the techniques Hawaiians used to catch fish on the river:

<i>Kuu wahine mai na waa pea hulilua</i>	My wife from the masted vessels that turn this
<i>Fremont,</i>	way and that at Fremont,
<i>Na waa lawaia ia no Kakalameto mai,</i>	The fishing boats from Sacramento,
<i>Keia poe lea e hoopuni nei i ka ia he</i>	

⁵⁷ Sousa, “Indians and the Colonization of the Central Valley,” 130.

⁵⁸ Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Henry Azbill to Dorothy Morehead Hill, January 6, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico; Photograph of Mele Kainuha Keaala and John Azbill's Gravestone, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico; for more information regarding Ioane's and Mele's life see also Margaret Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians* (Chico: Jensen Graphic, 1974); and Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 157-160.

⁵⁹ Levy, “Eastern Miwok”, 399. “Mokolumne” is also spelled “Muquelumne” and “Muquelemne” in the literature.

*kamano,
Kani ka pio, o ka huki ia o ka upena,
Ui ae nei L.H. Kapuaa,
Kuu ae hoi ka kaua upena,
Ku ke ehu a ka wai iluna he kakini
keia,
Ka ia ili ooi o California,
Ka mano niho ole o ka muliwai nei,
Auwe kuu wahine, kuu hoa luhi hoi.⁶⁰*

These people who enjoy surrounding salmon fish,
The whistle blows and the fishing net is pulled up,
L.H. Kapuaa calls out,
"Let out our fishing net,"
The spray of the water rises onboard, "this is a dozen,"
The prickly-skinned fish of California,
The toothless shark of this river,
Alas my wife, my companion who labored with me.

The techniques described here are similar to traditional fishing methods Kānaka Hawai'i people used on the Islands. In ancient times, deep sea fishermen obtained their lines from farmers who raised the *olona* plant, the bark fibers of which were twisted into cord and then fashioned into large nets that, if filled with fish, required from ten to twenty canoes to hold them all.⁶¹ Use of these techniques required that fishermen work with nets in unison. This group style of fishing was particularly important for Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants looking to identify with a certain cultural community, particularly in the riverside town of Vernon.

The town of Vernon/Verona, located just south of the junction of the Feather and Sacramento Rivers and roughly eighteen miles to the north of Sacramento, was originally established as a trading center in 1849 for miners of the Feather and Yuba Rivers. It was centrally connected to the various towns and mining communities in the gold-mining region by a network of rivers. Within a few short years it was superseded by Marysville in the north, a town that became an important metropolis of the Feather and Yuba river mines; however Vernon remained an active agricultural town until the late

⁶⁰ Thomas B. Kamipele, "Make Ma California [Death in California]," *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, May 4, 1865, Papakilo Database.

⁶¹ Beechert, *Working in Hawaii*, 5.

nineteenth century. The evolution of Vernon as a Kānaka Hawai'i "fishing" colony appears to have its origins on the opposite side of the Sacramento River, at the former town known of Fremont in Yolo County. In nineteenth century *kanikau* composed by Kanaka Hawaii immigrants, both Fremont (sometimes referred as *Pilimona*) and Vernon (sometimes referred to as *Wanana* or *Verona*) are frequently mentioned in adjacent lines, indicating that Kānaka Hawai'i laborers were moving between the two neighboring communities regularly up until 1870. For example, in his *kanikau* for Hairam R. Nālau, published in 1864, Adamu K. Waiaholo writes:

<p><i>Auwe kuu muli kuu pokii, Kuu mea minamina e noho nei. Kuu hoa hele o ke kula wela, O ke kula la-ila-i o Nawale Eu hai a holo e ka pokii, I komo i ka malu o ka laau, Luu aku i ka wai o Pilimona, He luana noho ana e Wanana Auwe kuu muli kuu pokii,⁶²</i></p>	<p>Oh, my dear younger brother, My dear one whom I regret who remains, My dear traveling companion of the hot plain, Of the peaceful plain of Nawale. Where my younger brother goes swiftly, To enter the shade of the tree, Diving into the water of Pilimona, Lingering for some time at Wanana, Oh my dear younger brother.</p>
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In her *kanikau* for Nālua, Mrs. Hariata Waiaholo also mentions Pilimona and Wanana as well as other locations in the Central Valley and Sierra foothills:

<p><i>O ka lau Oriva ka'u aloha, I ka Iu a i ele ia e ka No, Nana i ke kula o Lonopa I ke kula laula e Wanana Ka huina wai lepo e Pelewa, Ka waiho lua mai a Pilimona, A ka uapo i Kakalameko Ninau ka uhane i ke alanui, O ke ala kaamahu e Polokamu, Huli aku na maka i ke kuahiwi, Nana i ka uka o Alike Ia uka noho mai i ka iuii, Lulana i ka lai o ia uka, He uwe helu mai o Waiaholo,</i></p>	<p>How I love the olive leaf, In the heights dug up by the Northerly winds, Looking down on the plains of Lonopa, On the expansive plains of Wanana, The junction of dirty waters of Pelewa, Lying here and there all the way to Pilimona, To the bridge at Kakalameko, The soul asks along the road, About the steam train track of Polokamu, The eyes turn towards the mountains, Gazing upon the heights of 'Alike, The uplands on the mountain tops,</p>
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⁶² Kaaihua T.K. *et. al.*, "Kanikau Aloha No Hairam R. Nalau. [A Loving Lament for Hairam R. Nalau.]," *Ka Nūpepa Kū'oko'a*, February 20, 1864, Papakilo Database.

*Aloha ino no kuu pokii,
Kuu mea minamina e noho nei,
Kuu hoa alo ua alo i ke anu,*

*Alo aku kaula o ka ino nui,
O ka ua lokuloku i ka laau,
O ka po hau anu o ka hooilo,
I mehana i ka ula wela o ke ahi,
Auwe kuu kane kuu hoa luhi,*

*Kuu mea minamina e noho nei.*⁶³

So peaceful in the uplands,
Waialoho grieves events past,
Oh, my poor younger sibling,
The troubled one who remains,
My dear companion with whom I endured
the cold,
You and I faced vicious storms,
The drenching rains of the forest,
The cold, snowy nights of the winter,
Warming ourselves by the flame of the
fire,
Oh, my dear husband, my companion
with whom I endured so much,
The one I regret who remains with me.

Both Adamu and Hariata Waihaolo's naming of places in the Hawaiian language represented the Kānaka Hawai'i process of remapping California geography in a way that connected with their identity as people of *Ka Lāhui Hawai'i*. Sacramento was *Kaklameko*, Irish Creek *'Alikī*, Vernon *Wanana*, Fremont *Pilimona* and so on.⁶⁴ This process of making *ka 'Āina malihini* (foreign land) more familiar from a Hawaiian worldview was only made possible through migration and labor. The Kānaka Hawai'i people who congregated at Vernon and along the Sacramento River had shared in this experience. Hence, the Kānaka Hawaii fishermen called their community at Vernon "Pu'u Hawai'i," literally translated as "Group of Kānaka Hawai'i."⁶⁵ Kenn explains that this name was used by Kānaka Hawai'i "in honor of their home land as a place for Hawaiians where they might seek and find refuge."⁶⁶

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ The equivalent American town names for *Lonopa*, *Pelewa*, and *Polokamu* in California could not be determined as of the final completion date of this thesis.

⁶⁵ Henry Azbill, Recorded by Dorothy Hill, March 4, 1971, Recorded Interview, Dorothy Hill Native American Collection, MSS 160, DHAC-0020, Track 1, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University Chico, Chico, California; Kenn, "Sutter's Canacas," 4.

⁶⁶ Kenn, "Sutter's Hawaiians," 5; Kenn, "Descendants of Captain Sutter's Kanakas," 88.

Although originating at Vernon, the Kānaka Hawai'i community of the Central Valley extended the length of the Sacramento River from the Feather River south to its junction with the American River. Another immigrant, John Willson, who had previously worked on a whaling vessel along the California coastline, moved to the town of Vernon in the early 1880s. There he made a living as both a farmhand and a fisherman up and down the river. It was in the hopfields of Wheatland (probably Durst Ranch) that he met his Irish-Native American wife Mary.⁶⁷ In an interview conducted with Bernice B. Gibson and Irmina Rudge in the summer of 1956, John and Mary Willson's daughter, Mabel Willson Armstrong, recalled that,

Most of the Hawaiian people made their living fishing on the river. Different seasons produced different kinds of fish. Stripped [sic] bass, black bass, catfish and salmon were the principle [sic] kinds of fish sold. The catch was delivered by boat, alive, to the fish markets in Sacramento. Some of the markets [buyers] were Davis and Johnson, Pancos and the Chinese markets all located on the river front. The fish were taken to market in a type of crate fastened to the side of a boat like a barge.⁶⁸

When John Willson first arrived in Vernon, he “made his home with Mohonka [Ed Mahuka] and family, one of the earlier settlers of Vernon. Mohonka owned a livery stable and a saloon,” and also worked in the fishing industry. John and Mary Willson had nine children who attended school in a one-room schoolhouse at Vernon. Armstrong also recalled other “Hawaiian families who lived around Vernon in the early days” involved with farming and fishing, including the Murray family.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Bernice B. Gibson, “The Hawaiian Colony of Vernon,” *Sutter County Historical Society News Bulletin* 1, no. 7 (October 1956): 3-4.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 5. That “Mohonka” is Ed Mahuka is confirmed by the fact that Gibson stated that “Mohonka had a daughter who was a victim of the deadly disease, Smallpox, while she was quite a young girl. She was buried in the little cemetery on the ‘point’ across the river from Mabel Armstrong’s home.” Mahuka, who lived in Vernon and worked as a fisherman and saloon operator, had a daughter Elena who died of smallpox at the age of eight years. “Died,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 25, 1884, CDNC.

Tribal oral histories corroborate Kānaka Hawai'i activity in Sacramento's commercial fishing market as well as a close connection between Hawaiian and California Indian communities in the Central Valley. In an interview with Elizabeth McKee dated January 19, 1984, Betty Murray Castro, of Nisenan Maidu, Hawaiian, Irish, and Chileno ancestry, talked about the experiences of her half-Hawaiian, half-Maidu mother, Viola Kahuka Kaola Murray growing up on the Sacramento River. Viola's parents were Jim Namew Murray, Sr., of full-blood Hawaiian ancestry and Anna Rose Hill Murray, who was described as "half-Maidu" and "half-Hawaiian."⁷⁰ According to Betty Castro, Viola was born and raised at *Pusune*, a Valley Nisenan town that was situated roughly in the vicinity of Sacramento's current Discovery Park at the junction of the American and Sacramento Rivers.⁷¹ Castro indicated her mother Viola was "born in the scow [houseboat] there." Castro states that her grandfather Jim Murray Sr. travelled up and down the river with his wife and three children "from 1890 . . . until . . . 1901 or so . . . when my grandfather moved . . . to Ver . . . Vernon; I say . . . we all say Vernon but its Verona. . . And he built on the levee, levee or river bank, but for some reason he didn't like it where he was so he went to the "Point." . . . the Indian name for that point was, "alass" [pronounced "oll-ash"] the Sacramento River on the right side and the Feather on the left."⁷² These recollections from Betty Castro and her mother Viola confirm that

⁷⁰ Jim Namew Murray, Sr. was the maternal grandfather of Betty Castro, who identified herself in an ethnographic interview as of mixed Hawaiian, Maidu, Irish, and Chileno ancestry. Castro identified her maternal grandmother Anna Rose Hill Murray as "half breed Maidu and Hawaiian". Elizabeth Betty Murray Castro to Elizabeth McKee, *Center for Sacramento History Ethnic Community Survey, Native Americans*: 1983/146; January 19, 1984 – Side A.

⁷¹ Norman L. Wilson and Arlean H. Towne, "Nisenan," in *Handbook of the North American Indians, Volume 8, California*, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 388.

⁷² Castro to McKee, *Center for Sacramento History Ethnic Community Survey, Native Americans*: 1983/146; January 19, 1984 – Side A. Transcript courtesy of the United Auburn Indian Community.

in the late nineteenth century Maidu families were still residing at or near indigenous townsites along the Sacramento River.

Several examples exist where Miwok and Maidu women incorporated Kānaka Hawaii immigrants into the social fabric of their communities. Many families of mixed Miwok/Maidu and Hawaiian ancestry lived along the Sacramento River by the 1880s. This is evident in Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants' own correspondence. In a letter dated April 12, 1888 immigrant Luke Kualawa writes "Some of us Kānaka Hawai'i are in Sacramento in salmon fishing. . . . Some are on the ranch. Five of us are here [at Vernon] and two half-Indians, a total of seven."⁷³ Native American intermarriage with foreigners was one means of resisting Euroamerican colonialism. Sousa writes Plains Miwok – and Valley Nisenan – speaking women of Central California engaged with settler men at New Helvetia from 1839 to 1851 according to native customs and in response to challenges presented by epidemic disease and missionization."⁷⁴ But this interaction continued into the Gold Rush period. Johnson writes, "native peoples contended with a polyglot influx of immigrants, producing any number of possible cross-cultural inter actions, some of which must have been sexual."⁷⁵ Today, certain Miwok and Maidu families, for example, count Chinese, Chileans, African Americans, Irish, Hawaiians, or a combination thereof, among their forebears due to Gold-Rush era relationships. One of

⁷³ Luke Kualawa to Mr. Forbes, letter dated April 12, 1888, Folder "Kuap – Kualawa, L. 1879-1888," Hawaii Evangelical Association Archives, Collections of the Hawaiian Children's Society, Mission Houses Museum, English-language translation by the Hawaiian Mission Houses Children's Society.

⁷⁴ Sousa, "'An Influential Squaw'," 723.

⁷⁵ Susan Lee Johnson, "'My Own Private Life': Toward a History of Desire in Gold Rush California," in *California History* 79, no. 2 *Rooted in Barbarous Soil: People, Culture, and Community in Gold Rush California* (Summer, 2000): 332, JSTOR.

the foremost artists of California, Harry Fonseca, described his own ancestry not only as Nisenan-Maidu but also as Chilean, Portuguese, Cape Verdean, and Hawaiian.⁷⁶

And yet as Kānaka Hawai'i men entered the Native American community, it is clear they kept their ties to Hawai'i and asserted their own identity through labor and language. According to Castro, a number of Hawaiian men lived and worked as salmon fishermen near *Pusune*. "Quite a few [Hawaiians] got themselves an . . . Indian lady, and then raised a family," Castro stated. "That's where the Cooks come in. He [John Cook] was a Kanaka . . . Hawaiian. . . . And the Spencer's and the Ma'hous, . . . so many," In addition, Castro describes in detail her mother Viola Murray's recollection regarding how Hawaiian fishermen went about selling their fish in the Sacramento market.

My mom never did dare forget the name of the fella that brought the fish in right there on Front Street . . . his name was Alec Johnson and he peddled his stores . . . To that one Alec Johnson and was a Johnny Lewis used to buy fish from my grandfather [Jim Murray Sr.] and [from] the Ma'hous and K'auas and then they would come from town over to well my grandfather had his scows and they would buy fish there, you know? . . . sometime that he would sell four or five depending on how many fish people wanted to have for supper or whatever kind of meal. I don't know how much pound or anything or how much price of one fish was, salmon I think had to have done better because I think mom said the salmon brought in two dollars, two dollars in those day, her days, was good money!⁷⁷

When Kānaka Hawai'i fishermen returned to *Pusune* at the end of the day, they spoke the Hawaiian language to their children and practiced indigenous Hawaiian traditions.

"Hawaiian fathers learnt [sic] their kids Hawaiian and their mamas learnt [sic] them

⁷⁶ Johnson, "'My Own Private Life'," 332, 343. Fonseca gave a presentation on his family and, more generally, on the impact of the Gold Rush on native peoples at a session entitled "The Legacy of the Gold Rush on Diverse Peoples," Gold Fever! Symposium, Autry Museum of Western Heritage, Los Angeles, October 24, 1998. Fonseca's artwork has been exhibited nationally and internationally.

⁷⁷ Castro to McKee, *Center for Sacramento History Ethnic Community Survey, Native Americans:* 1983/146; January 19, 1984 – Side A.

Maidu. So they [the children] spoke two languages,” according to Castro. In the month of May, “all of the Hawaiians would get together and they’d have like lanterns or candles on the boats and they’d sort of up and down the river there down to where it would come to the Point, turn round’ come back and they’d be singing, and that was usually night time. . . . And of course they had their fish and poi but this was done at nighttime and could have been [on] account of the Old King over in Hawaii maybe, she [Viola] never knew.”⁷⁸ Given the timing of the celebration, it is likely the men were commemorating the death of King Kamehameha I, otherwise known as the Kamehameha the Great, founder and first ruler of the Hawaiian Kingdom, who died in May of 1819.⁷⁹ Though Hawaiians shared space and kinship with California Indian peoples, their identity as Kānaka Hawai’i people was not erased.

By the late 1880s and 1890s, it was not uncommon for immigrants who made their livelihood from the river to change residences frequently throughout the year -- moving from temporary river camps to scows. This lifestyle allowed them to take advantage of economic opportunities on a seasonal/cyclical basis. But it also brought them into direct conflict with the expectations of American society. In 1870, the State of California passed a law that made it illegal to “place any net for the purpose of fishing in any slough whose waters run into or from the Sacramento river, or to place any obstruction across the mouth of such slough in such a manner as to prevent the free

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ Esther T. Mookini, "Keopuolani: Sacred Wife, Queen Mother, 1778-1823," *The Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 1, <https://evols.library.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/10524/569/JL32007.pdf>.

ingress or egress of fish.”⁸⁰ The Hawaiian fishing technique of set netting ran counter to the law. In November 1891, the *Sacramento Daily Union* reported that:

It is said that a Kanaka fisherman is in the habit of nightly violating the fishing law at Sacramento Slough, near Fremont, a few miles up the Sacramento River. The law prohibits the use of set nets, but this fellow goes to the slough at night, sets his net across it, and hauls it in in the morning before daylight. Sacramento Slough is a great breeding place for perch, and the fishermen who obey the law complain loudly of the action of this alien poacher and his comrades, who are rapidly exterminating that valuable species of fish.⁸¹

Kānaka Hawai’i fishermen during this time were being blamed for the rapid decline of river perch, one of the last fish species to be commercially harvested from the Sacramento River around the turn of the century. In fact, the fisherman in question may have been Edward Mahuka, a leader of the Hawaiian community who actively fished the waters of Nelson Slough and Sacramento Slough at the time. Another article from the *Sacramento Daily Union* dated 16 June 1889 stated that “Kanaka Luke [likely Luke Kualawa] and Ed Mahooka [sic], two fishermen arrested up the river by Captain Dalton of the Fish Patrol, were taken before Justice Devine yesterday and admitted to bail in the sum of \$100 each. The exact nature of the charge — beyond the fact that it is for violating the fish law — is not known.”⁸² A hundred-dollar bail was a considerable sum for a Kānaka Hawai’i fisherman making only a few dollars a day selling fish on the Sacramento market.

Chang and few other scholars argue that in the context of mid-nineteenth century California census practices, “the most common racial trajectory for Kānaka was toward

⁸⁰ “California Legislature, Eighteenth Session, Senate,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, 15 February 1870, CDNC.

⁸¹ “Alien Fish Poachers, With Set Nets They are Destroying the River Perch”, *Sacramento Daily Union*, 3 November 1891, CDNC.

⁸² “Brief Notes,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, June 16, 1889, CDNC.

Indianness.”⁸³ Gonrowski chronicles the lives of John W. Paniani (also spelled “Pāaniani”) and his wife Emily Butler Blockwell Paniani as two examples of this racial trajectory. John, whose father was Kānaka Hawai’i and mother was Konkow, was racially labeled four different ways on U.S. censuses from 1880 to 1920, beginning with “Mulatto”, to “Kanaka,” to “Black,” to “Indian.” By 1918, according to scholar William Bauer Jr. John Pāaniani was identified as an “Indian from Butte County” and living on the Round Valley Reservation.⁸⁴ His wife Emily was labeled from “White,” to “Kanaka,” to “Indian,” from 1880 to 1920.⁸⁵

The life of Ed Mahuka is another oft-cited example. Mahuka and his wife Kini [Jane Mahuka] had a daughter, Ellen, as well as two sons, William (Imikula) and John (Elikula). Ellen died of smallpox at eight years old.⁸⁶ Mahuka, along with his wife and children, were labeled “Black” by census enumerators in Vernon, Sutter County in the 1870 and the 1880 census.⁸⁷ Interestingly, Jane Mahuka, although of Wintu ancestry according to Kenn, was noted in the 1880 census as having been born in the “Sandwich Islands.”⁸⁸ Sometime in 1888, Mahuka and his family moved north to Chico to live and work near the Keaala family on the Bidwell Ranch, along with a number of Konkow-Maidu and Mechoopda-Maidu people.⁸⁹ Mahuka had previously written a letter

⁸³ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 183.

⁸⁴ William J. Bauer, Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941*, (University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 162.

⁸⁵ Gonrowski, “Ka ‘Āina PalĀlewa i Ke Kai,” 255-257.

⁸⁶ “Died,” *Sacramento Daily Union*, July 25, 1884, CDNC; Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas,” 4; Kenn, “Descendants of Sutter’s Kanakas,” 88.

⁸⁷ Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It*, 180; U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California.

⁸⁸ Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas,” 4; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California.

⁸⁹ In 1863, 300 Indians in Chico moved to the Chico Rancheria (Bidwell’s Ranch) for protection. They and their descendants remained and worked there for the next 70 years. In March 1869, the Mechoopda village was relocated to Sacramento Avenue, approximately one mile from Bidwell’s residence. “Five Views, An Ethnic History Site Survey for California,” National Park Service, on-line book (1988), https://www.nps.gov/parkhistory/online_books/5views/5views1h51.htm.

persuading King Kamehameha V to request release of his cousin Ioane Keaala and his family from the Round Valley Reservation at Covelo in Mendocino County, where Maidu Indians had been forced marched by U.S. cavalry in 1863. Later in 1881, when King Kalākaua visited Sacramento, Mahuka cited the genealogy that linked both him and Mele Kainuha Keaala (Mary Azbill), Ioane Keaala's daughter, to King Kalākaua through their common ancestors⁹⁰ Upon his death in 1895, Mahuka was labeled as "Indian" both in his death certificate and in local newspapers.⁹¹

Despite how "Indian" he appeared on paper, Mahuka always identified with the Hawaiian nation. In May of 1879, A.E.K Kaweluolanihuli wrote a letter from West Butte County, California to *Ka Nupepa Kū'oko'a*. In the letter he documented a journey he had taken throughout California in the spring of that year. By ship, he voyaged from the Islands to San Francisco then boarded a train to Oakland, then another to San Jose, then to Santa Clara, then to Stockton, and finally to Sacramento. In Sacramento, he was greeted by several members of the Kānaka Hawai'i community in the Central Valley. He described his encounter with them as follows.

halawai aku la au me J. Kamohai he kanaka Hawaii oia ma Sacramento kona wahi, he rumi hana kona ma ke kaona he hoohinuhinu (polished) kana hana, ia maua kamailio ana hele mai ana elua mau kanaka Hawaii o A. Edward Mahuka, me Kimo, a lulu lima pu iho la me ke aloha, o keia A. Edward Mahuka oia ka hooilina o Kapu i make, he keiki Hawaii kuonoono ia ma Sutter County nei, ua komo kona inoa iloko o ka heluna waiwai o ko Kaleponi poe, he hapalua hora paha ko makou ku ana malaila a hoi mai la i ka home o J. Kamohai, ua hooluolu iki malaila no ka pule hookahi, a huli hoi mai no Vernon Sutter County ka home noho o ke keiki lalawai o Sutter County nona ka inoa i hai ia ae la maluna, he

⁹⁰ Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*, 17. Henry Azbill explained to Dorothy M. Hill that [Ed] Mahuka was "my mother's uncle" who was a cousin "to my grandfather [Ioane] Keaala," Henry Azbill to Dorothy Morehead Hill, January 6, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico.

⁹¹ Record of Death for Edward Mahuka, 1895, Chico, California, Ancestry.com; Permit to Inter for Edward Mahuka, 1895, Chico, California, Ancestry.com; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, Dorothy M. Hill Collection, California State University, Chico; Kenn, "Descendants of Captain Sutter's Kanakas," 95.

*kanaka oluolu a akahai ka noho ana, he ano hoohaahaa, o ka inoa nae ua kiekie, ua mare i ka wahine a ua loaa kana kaikamahine.*⁹²

I met with J. Kamōhai a Hawaiian man based in Sacramento who had an office in town whose occupation was polishing. As we talked two Hawaiian men came over, A. Edward Mahuka and Kimo and we shook hands and exchanged greetings. This A. Edward Mahuka is the heir of [John] Kapu, who died, a well-to-do Hawaiian here in Sutter County whose name is listed among the wealthy in California. We stayed there for about a half an hour and came back to the home of J. Kamōhai and rested there for a week and then came back to Vernon Sutter County, to the home of the wealthy son of Sutter County whose name appears above [Mahuka], a kind and humble man who humbles himself, but whose name is quite lofty. He is married and has a daughter [Elena].

Kaweluolanihuli's descriptions of Kapu as a "*he keiki Hawaii kuonoono*" (well-to-do Hawaiian) and Mahuka as a "*ke keiki lalawai*" (wealthy son) were not only true literally but figuratively as well. For in the tradition of old Hawaii, both men had been appointed by their fellow countrymen as *lunas* (spiritual and cultural leaders) of the Kanaka Hawaii community in the Central Valley of California. Like Kapu, Mahuka had also adopted children in the tradition of *hanai*.⁹³ In fact, his adopted son Albert was present at Mahuka's burial service according to an article published in the *Oroville Weekly Mercury* on March 15, 1895.

Among the mourners at the grave of the red man. . . was Albert Mahuka, a white man, the adopted son of the deceased. . . Eighteen years ago, while fishing on the Sacramento river, Mr. Mahuka saw a white woman about to strangle an infant and throw its body into the river. Hastening to her, he begged the babe, which his Indian wife took to her heart, and, having just lost her infant, nourished it as her own, and most lovingly they cared for him and sent him to school and now he inherits by his father's will, nets, boats and

⁹²A. E. Kaweluolanihuli, "He Leta Mai Na Aina e Mai, [Letters from The Other Land]," *Ka Nupepa Kū'oko 'a*, July 5, 1879, Papakilo Database. John Kapu was identified by Charles Kenn as the original "leader of the fishing colony at Verona," in Sutter County. Kenn, "Sutter's Canacas," 4.

⁹³J. Makanui, Rebeka Mahuka, and Ioane A. Kapahukula. "Mai Kaliponia Mai [From California]," *Ka Nupepa Kū'oko 'a*, October 9, 1869, Papakilo Database; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California. According to Charles Kenn, Mahuka and his wife Jane adopted a Hawaiian girl by the last name of "Keola" (a probablye reference to the name "Keaala") and a "white boy" named "Albert." Kenn, "Descendants of Captain Sutter's Kanakas," 94; Kenn, "Sutter's Hawaiians," *The Saturday Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 1956. Ulukua Hawaiian Electronic Library.

business. . . . Touching was it to see the grief of this youth [Albert] at the loss of this more than father to him, for, without ties of blood or race, he was given the place of son in the best sense.⁹⁴

As illustrated by both *Ka Nupepa Kū'oko'a* and the *Oroville Weekly Mercury*, fishing is what centrally connected Mahuka to the Hawaiian community on the Sacramento River. And he was recognized in death for that connection.

To reiterate, the creation of an economic niche in California Central Valley based on the fishing industry allowed Hawaiian immigrants to establish a meaningful connection to place and strengthened their attachment to and identification with the Hawaiian nation. Rural communities in precontact Hawaii had always been maintained by connecting and caring for the *'āina* through fishing and farming. Fishing along the Sacramento River was no different in this regard. Metaphorically speaking, Hawaiian fishermen on the Sacramento River were the *maka 'āinana* of the Central Valley, distanced from the control of *haole* employers.

⁹⁴ "All Indian's Humanity," *Oroville Weekly Mercury*, 15 March 1895. CDNC.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Scholars have just begun to paint a picture of what agency looks like in one's own homeland. *Ali'i* agency in Hawai'i and the agency of indigenous peoples in California against mercantilism, missionization, and settler-colonialism are just examples previously mentioned in this thesis. But what does agency look like in diaspora? In particular, what does it look like within a region where multiple dominant groups are competing for power and hierarchies of power are constantly shifting? I have attempted to answer these questions for a particular group of working-class immigrants in the Pacific World of the nineteenth century – Kānaka Hawaii laborers – with the hope that a similar framework can be applied to other immigrant groups in the Pacific Diaspora. When they entered the Pacific World in the 1820s, immigrants moved from one complex, stratified society to *multiple* complex, stratified societies. My findings indicate that Hawaiian commoner/working-class immigrants found the greatest success in these new colonial societies by relying upon pre-existing strategies of cultural accommodation that were modified to new situations.

With respect to agency, it is not enough to just talk about mobility, migration, and movement in relation to Hawaiian labor in the diaspora. To be sure these are definitely traits of *working-class* agency, but the same could be said for any sailor, miner, or other worker in the diaspora, regardless of their ethnicity, who occupied sociopolitical ranks subordinate to the dominant society. The agency exhibited by Hawaiian laborers in the Pacific Diaspora was also *indigenous* in nature due to its historic connection to the

everyday lifeways of *maka 'āinana* in precontact Hawai'i. In other words, the agency they expressed in the Pacific Diaspora did not spring from transoceanic globalization and capitalist expansion in the nineteenth century. It represented a repackaging and repurposing of old cultural tools for resisting and accommodating authority.

Kānaka Hawai'i immigrants expressed agency in myriad ways. But in essence all of these strategies had three traits in common: 1) they were grounded in oral tradition and culture; 2) they were grounded in *mana* and spiritual belief; and 3) they were grounded in kin relationships with foreigners and the land. With respect to the first trait, it has been demonstrated that in the maritime, Gold Rush, and post-Gold Rush eras of California, Hawaiian laborers utilized oral traditions to communicate messages of resistance and transmit beliefs in religion, culture, and identity. Mimicry, storytelling, and *palapala* manifested *mana* through the Hawaiian language. Similarly, sexual/intramarital relationships with foreigners garnered Hawaiians a certain degree of power and sociopolitical control in colonial environments. Establishing kin relations with the indigenous women, within indigenous defined territory, expanded Hawaiian communities in the Pacific World while simultaneously reinforcing a sense of Hawaiian identity.

Additionally, what the story of Hawaiian immigrants like “Hope”, Hairam Nālau, or Edward Mahuka illustrates is that California was still very much connected to the Pacific World in the late nineteenth century. Although U.S. imperialism was transforming this region from the *eastern Pacific* to the *American West*, immigrants from the Pacific nonetheless viewed the landscape as an extension of their own country's experiences and exploration. California lay within the margins of the Pacific waterscape and Polynesian exploration. Kānaka Hawaii commoners viewed the land they colonized

as an extension of their own indigenous homeland and considered themselves first and foremost citizens of the Hawaiian nation operating within an American society. With the Hawaiian diaspora in the 1800s, Hawaiian commoners became a part of California's settler colonialism. As a result, their agency intersected with that of indigenous peoples like the Maidu and the Miwok, who were having to integrate colonial structures and power within their own "interior world."

However, what about the rest of North America and its connections to the Pacific World in the nineteenth century? How did other immigrant groups exercise agency in the Hawaiian diaspora and what role did indigenous peoples play in this effort? Specifically, a closer examination of intramarital relationships between Hawaiians and indigenous peoples of North America would be fruitful, especially with additional sources from the disciplines of anthropology and archaeology. Further exploration of the role of indigenous peoples played in Pacific Coast maritime activities, whaling and fur-hunting in particular, would also add to the current historical narrative regarding indigenous maritime labor in North America. Hawaiian immigrants also evangelized in other parts of North America in the nineteenth century, including Utah. It would be interesting to connect these evangelical efforts with the evangelism that took place in Gold Rush era California, as well as Oceania in the same period. And a broader study of the ABCFM missionary presence in the American West in the 1800s would be equally valuable. Hawaiian missionaries present a unique case that demonstrates that indigenous peoples had a measurable impact on their colonizers – with biculturalism and religious syncretism common byproducts of these interactions. Finally, early California history would benefit from further analysis based on the perspective of immigrants with oral

histories and written archives as equally rich and detailed as that of the Hawaiian people. By understanding the strategies immigrants like Hawaiians used to counter colonialism and preserve identity, we can better understand the mechanics of ethnogenesis and, perhaps the shared experiences, of all California immigrant groups.

APPENDIX A: HAWAIIAN-LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

- ‘Ahahui – Society, organization
Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii ma Honolulu – Hawai‘i Mission Society at Honolulu
Ahahui Misionari Hawaii o California – Hawai‘i Mission Society of California
Ahupua‘a – Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
‘Āina – Land
‘Āina malihini –Foreign land
‘Āina paiālewa i ke kai - The land(s) that are reached after traversing the rough sea; the country(ies)
to which people/cargo/things are taken and brought from; the terrain that resembles a stormy/wavy sea because of the high waves that resemble white-capped mountains like those in the northwest.
‘Aikapu – Sacred eating
Aikāne - Brother
Akua – God
Ali‘i – Chief, ruler
Ali‘i nui – High Chief
Aloha – Love, affection, compassion
Hānai – Adopt; to raise, rear, feed, nourish
Haole – White person or people; foreigner
Heiau – Temple
‘Ike – Knowledge
‘Ili ‘Āina – A land division smaller than an ahupua‘a; a subdivision of an ahupua‘a
Ilikini – Indian
Inikini – Indian
Ka Wā ‘Ōiwi Wale - Time between the settlement of the Hawaiian Islands and sustained European contact, in other words the history of the Islands that includes exclusively indigenous Hawaiians.
Kahuna – Priest (plural: Kāhuna)
Kānaka – person, human being
Kānaka Hawai‘i - Hawaiian
Kane – man or husband
Kanikau – Grief chant
Kalo – Taro
Kama‘aina – Children of the land
Kaona – Multiple or veiled meanings
Kapu – Forbidden, sacred
Kaumaha – Dismal, heavy, sad
Keiki Hānai – Adopted child
Konohiki – Chief who managed an ahupua‘a
Kula – Gold; plain, field, open country
Kuleana – Responsibility
Kupuna – Ancestor, grandparent (plural: Kūpuna)
Lāhui – Nation
Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea – Restoration Day

Lā Kō‘ele – Kō‘ele days, or labor tax, also referred to as government labor days
Luna – Spiritual or Cultural Leader
Māhele - Division
Maka‘āinana – General population, commoners
Mākua Hānai – Adoptive parents
Malahini – Strangers, foreigners
Malamalama - Light
Mana – Spiritual power
Mele – Song
Mele Ko‘ihonua – Cosmogonic genealogies
Moku – District, island
Mō‘ī – King, monarch
Mo‘okū‘auhau – Genealogy
Mo‘olelo – Histories, literature, narratives
Muliwai - River
Na’auao - inner light or enlightenment
Na’aupo – ignorance or darkness
‘Ohana – Family
‘Ōlelo–language
Palapala – writing, inscription, letters
Pegana - Pagan
Poi – Mashed, cooked kalo thinned with water
Wahine – Woman or wife

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