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Minority without a champion: the Kanaka contribution to the western United States, 1750-1900

Janice K. Duncan
Portland State University

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF Janice K. Duncan for the
Master of Arts in History presented March 28, 1972.

Title: Minority Without A Champion: The Kanaka
Contribution to the Western United States,
1750-1900.

APPROVED BY MEMBERS OF THE THESIS COMMITTEE:

[REDACTED]
Gordon B. Dodds, Chairman

[REDACTED]
Thomas J. Vaughan

[REDACTED]
Joan Jorgensen

Kanakas, Owhyees, Blue Men, were all names given to laborers from Hawaii, or the Sandwich Islands, who contributed significantly to the economic, cultural, and political history of the United States territory west of the Mississippi River in the period 1750-1900.

The Sandwich Islands first entered the international economic scene in the latter eighteenth century when its excellent ports and favorable climate made the Islands an ideal winter harbor and stopover for merchant ships, whalers, and explorers' vessels who needed to replenish food and water supplies, or make necessary repairs. Just as frequently the crews of these vessels needed to be supplemented, and the Kanakas were eager to travel and to receive

the wages paid to seamen. Kanaka seamen sailed with William Douglas, Robert Gray and George Vancouver; and as seamen and land based laborers for the North West Company, Astor's expedition, the Russian-American Company, Hudson's Bay Company, and Nathaniel Wyeth's Columbia River Fur and Trading Company.

In 1834 the first American missionaries arrived in the Northwest and they immediately made demands on the Islanders for labor supply. Both the Methodists and the ABCFM missionaries hired Kanakas for building, kitchen chores, farm labor, blacksmithing, and as herders. When the Oregon country began to attract annual emigrations from the East, the Kanakas found their skills also in demand by these new settlers. They were hired to work in the sawmills or as farm and house servants.

Their seamanship opened doors all over the world for them, and involved the Islanders in various foreign intrigues. In Japan they were among deserters imprisoned and mistreated by the Oriental isolationists. During the American Civil War many were taken prisoner by Confederate pirate ships. They also played a role in the movement to improve the lot of sailors by appearing before the British admiralty courts seeking redress for poor treatment aboard British ships.

Those Kanakas who remained on the American mainland wanted to become citizens of the United States with their white neighbors. Their petition to the territorial

government of Oregon, however, was refused. Restrictions were placed upon their continued immigration into the Northwest area, they were ignored by the 1849 Oregon census, the U. S. Consul in California received instructions from the Secretary of State barring the Kanakas from assistance or protection in California ports, and a long verbal battle ensued in the U. S. Congress over excluding them from the Donation Land Act.

But the Kanakas were still recognized as excellent seamen and this occupation took them north to Kamchatka and south to California, Mexico, and around the tip of South America to ports of the eastern U. S. Those who left the sea worked in California gold fields, preached to Digger Indians, became part of the Mormon movement in Utah, or continued to serve the Hudson's Bay Company, Puget's Sound Agricultural Company, and the Russian-American Company.

Throughout their historical journey in western America, they remained loyal, inconspicuous, and hardworking. But they also had dark skins and were foreign in origin. Once they threatened white superiority and white acquisition of land titles they became the targets of discrimination. They were not slaves so they could not be emancipated, but the white, Protestant ruling hierarchy could not allow them to become citizens and thereby free to settle land and demand the protection of American laws. They therefore found themselves classed with the Negro, Chinese, and Indians as undesirable elements in America's "Manifest Destiny".

By 1900 most Kanakas had chosen to return to their homeland rather than recede into the shadows of American life, but their contributions to western America deserve recognition.

MINORITY WITHOUT A CHAMPION:
THE KANAKA CONTRIBUTION TO THE WESTERN
UNITED STATES, 1750-1900

by
Janice K. Duncan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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TO THE OFFICE OF GRADUATE STUDIES:

The members of the Committee approve the thesis
of Janice K. Duncan presented March 28, 1972.

[REDACTED]
Gordon B. Dodds, Chairman

[REDACTED]
Thomas J. Vaughan

[REDACTED]
Joan Jorgensen

APPROVED:

[REDACTED]
Jesse L. Gilmore, Head, Department of History

[REDACTED]
David T. Clark, Dean of Graduate Studies

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CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND EXPLOITATION

The lure of the unknown has excited men from time immemorial. The earliest great seafarers of Egypt, Mycenae, Phoenicia, Greece, and Rome sought to widen the known world -- and their own power and influence -- by discovering new peoples, unknown lands, and fresh experiences. A similar restlessness and challenge of exploration survived the fall of the Roman Empire and the demise of the Middle Ages to rise again with the emerging nation-states of the fifteenth century.¹ For these new political entities the adventure and the challenge were augmented by additional considerations: economic independence, social recognition, and political prestige.

Thus did Columbus sail to the west to win social prominence and wealth for himself and to gain for the Spanish monarchs a dominant position in Europe that would endure for nearly a century.² And in response, in the following centuries, the English, the French, the Dutch, and the

¹Sidney Painter, A History of the Middle Ages 284-1500 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), p. 221.

²Helen Miller Bailey and Abraham P. Nasatir, Latin America: The Development of Its Civilization (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), pp. 10-11; 27.

Russians made domestic sacrifices to pursue similar conquests or a shorter route to the important trade of China. The French attempted to build their empire in Canada, the Dutch along the northern Atlantic coast of America, and the Russians in the area of the Bering Sea. The English, too, dispatched colonists to the Atlantic Coast and they continued to support exploration of the Pacific. One of these expeditions was led by Captain James Cook who sailed in December, 1777, to find islands at a midpoint in the Pacific to provide fresh water and food for trading vessels enroute to and from China.³ A year later, his mission accomplished, Cook named his insular discovery after his patron, the Earl of Sandwich.⁴

The Sandwich Islands, now known as Hawaii, are located at 18°50' and 28°15' north latitude, 154°40' and 178°15' west longitude. There are twenty islands in the archipelago but even now only seven are inhabited: Hawaii, Maui, Oahu, Kauai, Molokai, Lanai, and Niihau. The land and the inland water area comprise 6,424 square miles.⁵ Cook described the Islanders as physically strong possessing brown eyes, regular teeth, a skin color that varied from light olive to darker shades, and dark, wavy hair. A

³The Voyages of Captain James Cook Round the World, (7 vols.; London: Richard Phillips, 1809), VI, pp. 210-11; 231. Hereafter cited as Cook Voyages.

⁴Ibid.

⁵John Paxton, ed., The Statesman's Yearbook 1970-1971 (107th ed.; New York: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 613-15.

Polynesian people, they inhabited a mountainous land that favored lush vegetation because of a tropical climate and adequate rainfall.⁶ The surrounding waters encouraged the development of fishing and sailing skills by which the majority of the Islanders produced their food.

The culture of the Sandwich Islanders was complex. Politically, the population was divided by a feudalistic system composed of the local chieftains who ruled, the alii, and those who served, the makaainana. The latter were technically free men but, like European serfs of the Middle Ages, were tied to the land and held no political rights.⁷ As in the manorial system of Europe also, land was leased, not owned, and the occupants were considered vassals of the local chieftain. Both makaainana and alii worshiped natural gods: Kane as creator, Ku as god of war, Lono as fertility goddess, and Kaneloa as ruler of the celestial world.⁸ As medieval Europeans prayed to various saints to insure good crops, so the Islanders worshiped gods of nature to assure good fishing or to pacify the feared volcano of the island of Hawaii.⁹ These then were the people

⁶Cook Voyages, pp. 210-211; 231.

⁷Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom 1778-1854: Foundation and Transformation (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), p. 9. Hereafter cited as Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom.

⁸Ibid., p. 7.

⁹Ibid.

Cook discovered in 1778. They were a primitive but not warlike people who lived by the sea under a monarchical system quite suitable for their isolated location.

Captain Cook, their discoverer, was only the first European to penetrate their isolation and he was soon followed by vessels and crews representing France, Spain, Russia, and the United States until by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Sandwich Islanders had lost their insulated position and their rulers faced the seemingly impossible task of catapulting forward several centuries, economically, politically, and socially, and their institutions were confronted by those of national states, international maritime laws, and economic patterns totally unintelligible to the Islands' peoples. The newcomers abused and ridiculed their gods. Faced with the task of almost instantaneous adaptability to European law and governmental structure, international commerce, and Christianity, the Hawaiians were concurrently introduced to various foreign products and manufactured goods that destroyed their economic base and created severe cultural problems both internally and in their relations with the foreigners.

How was the transition to be accomplished successfully? Was it even possible? The answers to these new questions were determined in the traditional manner. From the beginning of history in the Islands warring chiefs had fought among themselves to acquire prestige and even larger

numbers of subjects. The introduction of European weapons and ships made it possible for the more crafty to acquire a great advantage over their opposition and Kamehameha was the chief who capitalized upon foreign culture and his own leadership capacities to achieve consolidation of the Islands into a single kingdom in 1810.¹⁰ The beginning of a national state was accomplished. After this period of internal consolidation the new king and his people accepted foreign merchants and the concomitant modern economy they could provide and by 1820 the Islanders also had permitted Protestant missionaries to enter and to teach, and ultimately¹¹ to destroy the pagan gods. The challenge and adventure and necessity of investigating the world that surrounded the islands came also to the Hawaiians and, as representatives of their king (as the word Kanaka meant in Hawaiian) the Islanders signed on as crewmen aboard the ships that now stopped frequently at Honolulu or Lahaina to acquire¹² provisions or to winter.

For the most part it was the young Kanakas who began to engage the foreign world on its own terms soon after the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their abilities as accomplished seamen made them welcome additions to ships'

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 30-32; 50.

¹¹Ibid., p. 100.

¹²Guy William Bennett, "Early Relations of Sandwich Islands to Old Oregon Territory," Washington Historical Quarterly, IV (April, 1913), 117. Hereafter cited as Bennett, "Early Relations."

crews and in a short time the Kanakas also had won respect¹³ as hardworking and loyal employees. Many continued as seamen but others went ashore in several areas of the Pacific coast of North America to seek new opportunities and new trades. Kanakas were hired by the Hudson's Bay Company, North West Company, American Fur Company, and Pacific Fur Company.¹⁴ They acquired the skills of European boatmen, blacksmiths, and soldiers. When the Protestant missionaries arrived in the Pacific Northwest Kanakas became an important labor source, the same role they performed later for American settlers flooding into the region in the 1840's.¹⁵

Many Kanakas never fulfilled their duties as representatives of the Hawaiian monarch quite simply because they did not return to the Islands. Some met death before it was possible to return, but others relished the new freedom, as well as the monetary rewards, they found along America's Pacific coast.¹⁶ The adventurers who did return, however, brought to their homeland a new outlook and sophistication about the modern world in addition to an

¹³W. Kaye Lamb, ed., The Journal of Gabriel Franchère (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969), p. 70. Hereafter cited as Franchère Journal.

¹⁴See Chapter III.

¹⁵See Chapter IV.

¹⁶Richard A. Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas: Notes on Hawaiian Emigration Before 1848," Journal of the West, XI (April, 1967), 221. Hereafter cited as Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas."

unfamiliar manner and dress. Their experiences produced an understanding of the Americans, British, and other nationalities that subsequently proved important to the shaping of Hawaiian foreign policy and to the growth of the Island nation.

The numerous Kanakas who delayed their return to the Islands also contributed to the American nation. They formed an important part of the labor force west of the Rockies and helped make possible rapid economic growth in this area during the 1840's and 1850's. Although always a minority in numbers, their accomplishments were numerous. They remained docile, hardworking, loyal, but none of these attributes could guarantee them continued acceptance once the uninhabited West became populated with Americans who believed in the superiority of the white race and in the God-given right of white men to acquire all land, claim all profits, and control all "inferior," non-white peoples.

The nation to which they had so willingly contributed finally rejected the Kanakas just as it spurned Indians, Chinese, and Negroes. By 1900 most Kanakas resident on the mainland had recognized the futility of seeking homes, security, and equality in the United States and retreated to their homeland where their abilities were respected and where the benefit of their experiences was eagerly sought. In the Islands they helped to build a government that would

in time offer security and equality to all races.¹⁷ Kanakas might well have made similar contributions to the development of the American West if the dominant race had accepted them in the nineteenth century as qualified, intelligent, and desirable citizens.

¹⁷E. W. McGraw to Matthew P. Deady, December 24, 1864. Oregon Historical Society, Deady MS. 48.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS: WORLD TRAVELERS AND FUR COMPANY EMPLOYEES, 1785-1860

Once Cook had discovered his Pacific stopover at the Sandwich Islands, it was not long before merchant vessels and whaleships of several countries were putting into the Island harbors. In 1785 the King George, captained by Nathaniel Portlock, and the Queen Charlotte, Captain George¹ Dixon, had stopped at the Islands briefly for supplies. In the next ten years vessels from England, France, Russia, and the United States sought the advantages offered by a stop at the Islands for fresh water and provisions. Its climate and harbors also recommended it as a wintering base and Captain Cook was only the first to recognize this additional advantage.

These first years out of oblivion also brought the Island people a new outlet for their curiosity and for their excellent abilities on the sea. The ships that stopped in the Islands often were looking for additions to their crews, either as seamen or as personal servants for the officers or for the wives of merchant captains who often accompanied

¹Albert Pierce Taylor, Sesquicentennial Celebration of Captain Cook's Discovery of Hawaii (1776-1928) (Honolulu: Archives of Hawaii Commission, 1929), p. 31.

² their husbands. In May, 1787, the British ship Imperial Eagle took aboard an Hawaiian woman, Winee, to be the personal servant of the captain's wife, and she thus became the first recorded Islander to leave her homeland.³ In China the captain's wife decided to travel on to Europe and Winee was left behind to return to the Islands. She found passage on the Nootka, then in the China Sea, and met an Hawaiian chief, Kaiona [Tianna], who had agreed to accompany John Meares aboard the Nootka when it left the Islands in August, 1787.⁴ There were two other Kanakas who boarded the Nootka with Winee. They "...had been brought to China by different ships, rather as objects of curiosity, than from the better motive of instruction to them, or advantage to commerce."⁵ Meares considered the Islanders intelligent and dignified and described Winee 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 be expected in a rude and uncultivated mind."⁶

²Robert C. Schmitt, "Population Characteristics of Hawaii, 1778-1850," Hawaii Historical Review, I (April, 1965) 199. Hereafter cited as Schmitt, "Population Characteristics."

³Ralph S. Kuykendall and A. Grove Day, Hawaii: A History From Polynesian Kingdom to American State (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961), p. 31.

⁴John Meares, Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789.. (London: J. Walter, 1790), pp. 9-10. Hereafter cited as Meares, Voyages.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Journal entry February 5, 1788, ibid.

Winee fell ill with a fever and Tianna, although a chief, cared for her constantly. Then Tianna also became ill and Meares decided to transfer the Hawaiians to James Douglas' Iphigenia since its course was set directly for the Islands. Winee died aboard the Iphigenia February 5, 1788, and was buried at sea but Tianna recovered and later joined another voyage to Nootka Sound. Meares was even higher in his praise of Tianna and considered him to have the "...capacities which education might have nurtured into intellectual superiority..."⁷ Once Tianna returned to the Islands this intelligence and the first-hand knowledge of European weaponry he had acquired could only have strengthened convictions already held by the various chieftains that such military techniques were far superior to their own. Kamehameha shrewdly adapted the European technology, employed its weaponry effectively against his countrymen, and⁸ gained control of the Islands in 1810.

While internal warfare still raged, the number of vessels arriving in the Islands increased. After 1788, all the vessels headed for the Pacific Northwest coast made stops there, and several of them took aboard Hawaiian men. In 1789 Captain Robert Gray sailed with Chief Attoo who⁹ accompanied him all the way to Boston. He was with Gray

⁷Ibid.

⁸Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, pp. 30-33; 50.

⁹Bennett, "Early Relations," 120.

when he discovered the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792.¹⁰ That same year the HMS Jenny sailed from the Islands for Nootka Sound with two Hawaiian women who later transferred¹¹ to the Discovery captained by George Vancouver. They returned with him to the Islands in 1794, at which time Vancouver had his ship carpenters teach the Hawaiians how¹² to build the large European vessels.

Kamehameha I thus took control over the Islands partly through utilizing modern firearms, and then continued to adapt his country and its people to the technology of the industrializing and mobile world. The early European explorers had returned home with fantastic estimates of the riches to be gained on the coast of the Pacific Northwest through sea otter and whales. This news traveled rapidly and each year after the beginning of the nineteenth century there was an increase in the number of ships that began the journey from Boston or England to the Pacific Northwest. They all stopped in Hawaii and many needed additional crew members. The Hawaiian people, especially the young men, also wished to benefit from this new opportunity and volunteered readily for duty with the merchant vessels.

¹⁰R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," Oregon Historical Quarterly, 35(March, 1934), 25. Hereafter cited as R.C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon."

¹¹"Menziess' California Journal," intro. by Alice Eastwood. California Historical Society Quarterly, II(January, 1924), 265.

¹²Agnes C. Conrad, "Hawaiian Registered Vessels," Hawaiian Journal of History, 3 (1969), 31.

Two young Hawaiians named Hopoo and Obookiah were among those eager to offer their services. In 1807 they joined the crew of a vessel captained by John Brintnall of New Haven, Connecticut, Hopoo as a cabin boy and Obookiah as a sailor.¹³ They landed in New York in 1809 and were taken in by the families of Captain Brintnall and Dr. O. Hotchkiss. Hopoo later returned to the sea and served during the War of 1812 before being captured and imprisoned by the British in the West Indies Islands. In 1816 Hopoo returned to New England, found Obookiah, and went with him to Litchfield Farms to study for the ministry.¹⁴ Unfortunately, Obookiah died before the two could return to their Islands as ministers, but Hopoo did reach Hawaii again in 1819.¹⁵

The captains too began to ask for the services of Kanakas, or Owhyees, as the Sandwich Islanders came to be called. The term Owhyees was an approximate pronunciation, by English and American standards, of the island of Oahu. Kanaka was originally a Polynesian term for a man of aboriginal blood.¹⁶ It would later become a derogatory word by those who wished to impress the Hawaiians with their

¹³"Memoirs of Thomas Hopoo," The Hawaiian Journal of History, 2 (1968), 43, 46. Hereafter cited as "Hopoo Memoirs."

¹⁴Ibid., 53.

¹⁵Ibid., 53-54. The Friend (Honolulu), March 5, 1859.

¹⁶Merze Tate, The United States and the Hawaiian Kingdom: A Political History (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 45n.

low position on the status ladder. To the Islanders, however, it meant approximately the same as the English word agent.¹⁷ Thus, the kanaka of Kamehameha was his agent or business associate just as the American Foreign Secretary would be the kanaka of the President of the United States.

In 1811 John Jacob Astor's Tonquin sailed into Honolulu Harbor on its way to establish a fur post on the Pacific Northwest coast. The Tonquin's captain, Jonathan Thorn, wanted to hire twenty-four of the Islanders, twelve as seamen and the remaining half to work at the proposed fur post.¹⁸ Kamehameha was interested in Thorn's proposal, but he also wanted first-hand information about what such a lucrative business as supplying seamen and laborers to the growing fur trade might involve. The king therefore appointed one of his favorite kanakas, Naukane, to go aboard the Tonquin as a royal observer. Naukane had witnessed the death of Captain Cook and was a member of the royal family that took over power with Kamehameha in 1810. Because Naukane resembled one of the Americans, he became known as John Coxe and retained the name throughout his long and colorful life in the Pacific Northwest.¹⁹

¹⁷Hawaii: Sandwich Islands correspondence, British Foreign Office, 1842-74. Oregon Historical Society on microfilm. Hereafter cited as British Foreign Office microfilm.

¹⁸David Kittelson, "John Coxe: Hawaii's First Soldier of Fortune," Hawaiian Historical Review, I (January, 1969), 195. Hereafter cited as Kittelson, "John Coxe."

¹⁹Ibid.

In February, before the Tonguin left Hawaii, two Islanders volunteered to dive for some pulleys that had been dropped overboard. Captain Thorn promised to pay four yards of cloth if the Kanakas succeeded in retrieving the

²⁰pulleys. The Islanders proceeded to demonstrate their

abilities as divers and were timed under water for four min-

²¹utes on one dive. The American crewmen were impressed

with the Kanakas as good sailors also and since the Islanders were eager for adventure, more of them could have been

²²engaged for the Pacific Fur Company.

Fortunately for Coxe, his position as royal observer did not require him to remain aboard the Tonguin after it reached the North American coast. The ship developed its first problems March 24, 1811, on approaching the Columbia River. A small group including Stephen Weeks and two Kanakas were sent out in a small boat to make soundings of the river entrance, but an ebbing tide made it impossible

²³for them to return to the Tonguin. Weeks and the Kanakas drifted until their boat was swamped whereupon the two Islanders immediately stripped off their clothes, righted the boat, bailed it out, and retrieved the oars. The Kanakas then helped Weeks into the boat but it was so cold

²⁰Franchere Journal, p. 59.

²¹Ibid., p. 59.

²²Ibid., p. 70.

²³Ibid., pp. 72-74.

that shortly after midnight one of the Hawaiians died. When the two remaining men reached shore the next day, Weeks dragged the second Kanaka onto the beach but his grief over his companion's death had so affected the second Kanaka that he refused to go further. Weeks covered him with leaves²⁴ at the edge of the forest and left him to die.

On the 25th Thornton had sent out a search party for the lost seamen. Weeks was soon found and the next day,²⁵ March 26, the second Kanaka was discovered still alive. That same day a burial service was held for the dead Islander. The Kanakas dug a deep hole in the sand, placed the body inside, and put in offerings of biscuit, pork and tobacco. After the grave was filled the Islanders formed a double line facing east, one of them, acting as a priest, sprinkled the others with water, and then a short prayer was said. The ceremony then ended, the men returned to the ship, and the Tonquin continued its way up the Columbia²⁶ River.

Coxe went ashore with the twelve Kanakas hired as laborers to build Astoria. The Tonquin's captain decided to do some further exploring and trading with the Indians along the northern coast but he and his crew, including the

²⁴Milo M. Quaife, ed., Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1923), pp. 70-1. Hereafter cited as Quaife, First Settlers.

²⁵Franchère Journal, p. 74.

²⁶Ibid., p. 75.

twelve Kanakas hired as seamen for three years' service, soon ran into difficulties with the natives that ended in disaster. The natives and Captain Thorn could not agree on fur prices, the Indians attacked the Tonquin, and all of the men aboard were killed and the vessel sunk.²⁷

The remaining Kanakas also were experiencing problems at Astoria. The labor required to build a fort in the wilderness was exhausting, and the Islanders, "...used to a dry, pure atmosphere, sank under its influence; damp fogs and sleet were frequent,...," the food also was bad and as a result, half of the work crew usually were down sick.²⁸ By July, however, the fort was at least livable and on July 22, David Stuart and seven others, including John Coxe, set out to establish a post in the interior.²⁹ Along the upper Columbia Stuart's party met that of David Thompson of the North West Company.³⁰ Thompson was taken by the humor and wit of Coxe, and negotiated to exchange one of his men, a Canadian named Boulard, for the Kanaka.³¹ For his part, Coxe seemed willing to remain in the new country and did not feel obligated to return to the Islands to report to his

²⁷Wayne R. Kime, "Alfred Seton's Journal: A Source for Irving's Tonquin Disaster Account," Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXXI (December, 1970), 314-15.

²⁸Quaife, First Settlers, p. 81.

²⁹Ibid., p. 111.

³⁰Kittelson, "John Coxe," 195.

³¹Ibid., 123.

king. Those makaainana who had contracted themselves as seamen and laborers to the Pacific Fur Company certainly enjoyed the new freedom offered by the Northwest even more than their royal observer.

Coxe joined Thompson and traveled with him to Fort William on Lake Superior.³² The Kanakas who remained at Astoria welcomed a second Astor ship, the Beaver, on May 12, 1812.³³ This ship brought five Canadians, one of whom was Ross Cox, seven Americans, and twelve Kanakas to augment the employees. Astor's men were having difficulties competing with the North West Company and the loss of the Tonquin had reduced supplies. Astor's employees also were frequently lured away by better offers from the Canadian company, but the final blow to Astor's ambition came when war broke out between England and the United States.³⁴

Coxe, as a North West Company employee, became involved in an expedition sent to seize Astoria. He sailed with the force from Portsmouth, England, aboard the Isaac Todd March 25, 1813. After a transfer to the HMS Raccoon, Coxe and the other Company employees reached the Columbia River November 30. By then, however, the Pacific Fur Company had been sold to the North West Company and nothing was left to seize.³⁵

³²Ibid., 195.

³³Franchère Journal, p. 114.

³⁴Quaife, First Settlers, p. 195.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 195-6.

Coxe and the other Kanakas remained at Astoria, re-named Fort George, until August, 1814, when the thirty-two Islanders who had contracted with the defunct Pacific Fur Company found themselves without jobs and forced to return to their home.³⁶ Coxe felt obligated to return with them and end his function as royal observer.³⁷ They sailed aboard either the Columbia or the Isaac Todd, the latter³⁸ manned by Kanaka seamen.

The North West Company, however, had been impressed by their brief experiences with the Islanders, and it continued to bring them into the Northwest to serve at Fort George and in the interior. Ross Cox, one of the Company clerks who arrived in 1812, made many entries in his³⁹ journal on the Kanakas. He considered them far superior to freemen, and "...not wanting in courage, particularly against the Indians, for whom they entertain a very cordial contempt;...."⁴⁰ They were used to augment the crews of the coast trade vessels and to replenish the inadequate work parties ashore. They were submissive to the Company employees,

³⁶Ibid., pp. 270-1.

³⁷Ibid., p. 196.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 270-1.

³⁹Ibid., p. 195.

⁴⁰Alexander Ross, The Fur Hunters of the Far West... (2 vols.; London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1855), p. 294. Hereafter cited as Ross, Fur Hunters.

honest, trustworthy, and willing to perform any duties of which they were capable.⁴¹ As expert swimmers they were invaluable in righting swamped canoes and keeping less able employees from drowning. Ross lauded their industry but did not feel that they were capable of leadership. Since the North West Company hired them for a wage of merely food and clothing, the Kanakas also were cheaper labor than that of the Canadian voyageurs.

In 1816 the Company's Colonel Allen arrived at the Columbia. Aboard was a Russian renegade named Jacob who had been placed in irons for inciting mutiny.⁴² No doubt the captain of the Colonel Allen wanted to rid himself of this problem sailor so Jacob was left at Fort George. He promptly began preaching desertion to the Kanakas at the fort and one night led eighteen employees, including Kanakas,⁴³ toward California. The next day an interpreter was sent to overtake the deserters and when he did he found the Islanders were ready to abandon the treacherous Jacob. "...the fugitive islanders wheeled about, and, accompanying the interpreter, returned again to the establishment on the third day."⁴⁴

⁴¹Ibid., p. 293.

⁴²Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 82.

⁴³Ibid., p. 83.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 84.

In January, 1817, the North West Company ship Columbia returned to Hawaii for repairs and to cure pork. Her captain had orders "...to bring as many of the Sandwich Islanders to the Columbia River as...could conveniently ⁴⁵accommodate_d." The Islanders were still eager to join the fur companies on the American mainland. Those who had returned from the ill-fated Astoria venture were probably among the first to volunteer. Coxe would have been among them if his king had not had other plans for him. ⁴⁶The experienced Kanakas certainly did not return to the Islands to condemn laboring for the fur companies or recruits would have been difficult to obtain.

When the North West Company established Fort Walla Walla in July, 1818, those employees stationed at the post consisted of twenty-five Canadians, thirty-two Kanakas, and thirty-eight Iroquois under the leadership of Donald Mac-⁴⁷kenzie. Mackenzie had quarreled with his superiors at Fort George over the amount of supplies and men he would need at the new fort to trade successfully in the interior, but he ended up with the thirty-eight Iroquois who gave the party trouble almost from the beginning. These Indians plotted against Mackenzie and finally attacked him one night. He was

⁴⁵Peter Corney, Voyages in the Northern Pacific... (Honolulu: Thomas G. Thrum, Publisher, 1896), p. 69.

⁴⁶Kittelson, "John Coxe," 196.

⁴⁷Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 178. Fort Walla Walla was located on the east bank of the Columbia near the mouth of the Walla Walla River.

saved by the arrival of "...some of the Canadians and faithful Owhyhees⁴⁸ sic,..."

Mackenzie and his party wintered among the Snake Indians in 1820. Three of his Kanakas had been sent to another area to hunt beaver and when they did not return, Mackenzie sent out a search party which found "...the place where they had been hunting, and where they had been murdered; the skeleton of one of them was found, but nothing else"⁴⁹ The river in the area was thereafter known as the Owhyee. Mackenzie and the remainder of his group returned to Fort George to conclude this unsuccessful expedition which Cox attributed to the employment of too many freedmen rather than "Good, steady men of character, thrifty and perservering,...no matter to what class or country they may belong..."⁵⁰ Cox was prejudiced against unsatisfactory workers, but not against racial groups.

The North West Company had developed other problems and could not concern itself with the quality of its employees or their welfare. For several years the Company and the Hudson's Bay Company had been fighting to gain control of the fur empire east of the Rocky Mountains and to eliminate the opposing company as a competitor.⁵¹ By 1820 the HBC was

⁴⁸Ross, Fur Hunters, pp. 158-60.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 264-5.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 144-5.

⁵¹Ibid.

encroaching in the Pacific Northwest and at the same time the American whalers were beginning to flood the Northwest area with ships sailing out of Nantucket, New Bedford, and New London.⁵² Both the Americans and the HBC threatened the Indian trade and the Hawaiian labor market previously under control of the North West Company. Finally, on March 26, 1821, the English government forced a merger of the HBC and North West companies.⁵³ Ross Cox was among the employees who joined the HBC. His experience would be needed if the HBC was to accomplish the task of consolidating two work forces without losing efficiency, and of defeating the American competition.

The Kanaka labor force was a key factor in the HBC operation. Ross pointed out the inadvisability of using freedmen and the unreliability of the Iroquois and other Indian tribes.⁵⁴ The Canadian voyageurs were desirable employees but were also expensive and independent and many of them were unwilling to leave the Red River Settlement area. The only other source of cheap labor was in the Sandwich Islands and by 1823, 200 Kanakas had left the Islands although many of them were aboard American whalers.⁵⁵

⁵²Hiram Bingham, A Residence of Twenty-one Years in the Sandwich Islands;... (Hartford: Hezekiah Huntington, 1848), p. 134. Hereafter cited as Bingham, Residence of Twenty-one Years.

⁵³Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 278.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 141.

⁵⁵Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," 206.

In fact, they were so often employed "...that a reserve of trained sailors...formed in the islands."⁵⁶

Obviously, the HBC needed to find ways to attack the labor problem that faced the Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, Dr. John McLoughlin. He was an astute businessman, as evidenced by a net worth of \$142,585.02 when he retired, who exerted a powerful influence as chief factor at Vancouver, as is well known.⁵⁷ The first move toward cornering the labor market in the Islands came in July, 1824, when Richard Charlton was appointed consular agent there.⁵⁸ Astor had offered the Kanakas room and board, clothing and a set amount of merchandise for their labors.⁵⁹ The North West Company did not pay the Islanders either, but the HBC offered them ten pounds per year.⁶⁰ There were other incentives too, for "Hawaiians who had worked for some years could look forward to a life of wealth and ease on their return home."⁶¹

⁵⁶Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 221.

⁵⁷McLoughlin-Fraser Family papers, 1796-1857. Oregon Historical Society, MS. 927, on microfilm.

⁵⁸Joseph Planta to Richard Charlton, July 7, 1824. British Foreign Office microfilm.

⁵⁹Bennett, "Early Relations," 121.

⁶⁰R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," 28.

⁶¹Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 221.

By 1825, 300 Kanakas had left the Islands.⁶² Their exodus coupled with epidemics of measles and smallpox and the introduction of syphilis by the white men had rapidly reduced the Island population which had been estimated at 300,000 in 1778 but had dropped to 134,750 by 1823.⁶³ Kamehameha realized the threat facing his people and initiated a poll tax on laborers likely to be lost to the community during a long-term foreign employment.⁶⁴

It was also during the period 1823-1825 that Kamehameha I visited England to discuss the future of his Islands with George IV. John Coxe was in this party that sailed for England aboard the whaleship L'Aigle.⁶⁵ Unfortunately, the king and his wife succumbed to measles before they could meet the British king, but the remaining Kanakas, including Coxe, attended an audience with George IV on September 11, 1824.⁶⁶ The bodies of Kamehameha and his queen were returned to Hawaii aboard the Frigate Blonde captained by Lord Byron, cousin of the poet.⁶⁷ Coxe no longer was bound by his

⁶²Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," 206.

⁶³Ibid.

⁶⁴Sir George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World, During the Years 1841 and 1842 (2 vols.; London: Henry Colburn, 1847), pp. 77-8. Hereafter cited as Simpson, Narrative.

⁶⁵Bingham, Residence of Twenty-one Years, pp. 202-4, 259.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Letter, July 23, 1824. British Foreign Office micro-film.

loyalty to the king and he immediately offered his services
⁶⁸to the HBC. He was only one of approximately thirty-five
⁶⁹working for the Company by 1825.

The Kanakas were employed in building boats, as
 middlemen on the canoes and York boats, and as seamen on
⁷⁰the Company coast vessels. John Work, operating out of
 Fort George, also employed Islanders and in April, 1825,
 he was requesting McLoughlin to furnish more boats, "...
⁷¹manned with whites and Owhyhees." Later that year Mc-
 Loughlin wrote to the Company's headquarters in London com-
 plaining that the captain of the William and Ann was late
 arriving at the Columbia. When the ship did arrive, the
 captain kept half of the Kanakas on board although McLough-
⁷²lin needed all of them at the fort.

On May 10, 1826, Alexander McLeod, one of the HBC's
 chief traders, started out on an expedition to trap beaver

⁶⁸Kittelson, "John Coxe," 197.

⁶⁹John M. Hussey, The History of Fort Vancouver and
 its Physical Structure (Tacoma: Washington State Historical
 Society, [1957?]), pp. 182-84. Hereafter cited as Hussey,
Fort Vancouver.

⁷⁰Burt Brown Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin
 written at Fort Vancouver 1829-1832 (Portland: Binfords &
 Mort, 1948), p. 334. Hereafter cited as Barker, McLoughlin.

⁷¹John Work Journal, entry April 4, 1825. Oregon
 Historical Society MS. 319.

⁷²John McLoughlin to Governor, etc., October 6, 1825,
 Vol. IV, McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters (6 vols.; London:
 The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1941). Hereafter cited by
HBR Vol. number.

south of the Columbia. His party included three Kanakas, one of whom was probably Louis Kanota, who would later join John Work's California brigades.⁷³ The HBC also used Kanakas to assist in the pacification of local Indian tribes. The first such punitive expedition was led by McLeod in 1828 against the Clallum Indians. The party consisted of over sixty men including Iroquois, Chinooks, and Owhyees. Six Kanakas were aboard the Cadboro which was to support the land party, and two others, Tourawhyheene and Cawinai, manned⁷⁴ canoes of the overland force.

It was during this same period that Fort Langley was established.⁷⁵ James MacMillan and Archibald McDonald were placed in charge of twenty-five men to build the fort of whom at least two were Kanakas.⁷⁶ The Islanders did all the sawing for the buildings erected, and upon the arrival of the Cadboro in September, 1827, two other Islanders from the ship went ashore to help root out tree stumps.⁷⁷ When

⁷³John Work, Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945), p. 103. Hereafter cited as Work, Journal.

⁷⁴"Earliest Expedition Against Puget Sound Indians," intro. by Eva Emery Dye. Washington Historical Quarterly, 2 (January, 1907), 16, 23.

⁷⁵Fort Langley Journal, 1827-1830. Oregon Historical Society on microfilm. Fort Langley was located near the mouth of the Fraser River.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Entry, September 6, 1827, Fort Langley Journal.

the fort enclosure was completed the Kanakas began work on the storehouse and other interior buildings, and after their completion they started plowing to prepare for potato planting.⁷⁸

Both McLoughlin and Sir George Simpson recognized the importance of a sawmill in the Northwest and McLoughlin built the first HBC sawmill in the region in 1828 which was located five miles upstream from Fort Vancouver and was operated by Kanakas.⁷⁹ At first there was only one saw and eight Kanakas to operate it who received wages plus board⁸⁰ that consisted largely of smoked salmon and sea biscuit. The timber in the area seemed unlimited and production would not only furnish lumber for the building of ships and forts,⁸¹ but also was in demand in Hawaii. The Hawaiian market would help the HBC control the coastal trade, and the building boom in the Islands guaranteed good prices.⁸²

By the summer of 1830 McLoughlin could write to Charlton that 200,000 feet of lumber was being sent to the Islands. In the same letter McLoughlin requested that

⁷⁸Entry, September 10, 1827, and January, 1828, Fort Langley Journal.

⁷⁹Donald H. Clark, "Sawmill on the Columbia," The Beaver, Outfit 281, No. 1 (June, 1950), 42. Hereafter cited as D. H. Clark, "Sawmill."

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²HBCS Vol. IV, pp. 622-23.

Charlton, "...by the first vessel of ours consigned to this place which touches at Wahoo [sic] next Spring send us fifteen active Owhyhee young men on the same terms as those you procured for Captain Simpson, - - and optional with us to send them back next fall if we did not require them[.]"⁸³

The loss of the William and Ann in 1829, which sank at the mouth of the Columbia, was a serious blow to McLoughlin and the Company for two reasons: the ship itself was needed if the HBC was to continue its control of the coastal trade; and the loss of the men aboard, including Kanakas, depleted the already inadequate work force.⁸⁴ McLoughlin informed London that the ship had to be replaced and recommended a complement of twenty-five men and officers "... to which this number might be made up with Sandwich Islanders by the Captain being instructed to procure them from Mr. Charlton..."⁸⁵ Since the original William and Ann crew had included ten Kanakas, plus another sixteen intended for duty at Fort Vancouver, a new crew of twenty-five would be half Islanders (allowing five for the officers requested.)⁸⁶

McLoughlin did not limit his use of Kanakas to Fort Vancouver. In 1831, he wrote Peter Skene Ogden at Fort

⁸³ McLoughlin to Charlton, August 4, 1829, HBRS Vol. IV, p. 27.

⁸⁴ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., August 5, 1829, HBRS Vol. IV, pp. 29-38.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Simpson that he was sending four Islanders to replace those already at the fort whose annual contract had expired (thus the Kanakas had been at Fort Simpson at least since 1830).⁸⁷ Shortly after he wrote his letter to Ogden, McLoughlin sent two Kanakas to Francis Heron at Fort Colville.⁸⁸

On October 27 and 31, 1831, McLoughlin again wrote Charlton that another cargo of lumber was being sent to the Islands. At the same time, since the Griffin was contemplated as a purchase to replace the William and Ann, Charlton was requested to sign up a crew for one year with wages of six pounds, six shillings for first mate, four pounds, four shillings for second mate, and two pounds, ten shillings for seamen.⁸⁹ McLoughlin wanted Charlton to engage as many as possible.⁹⁰

John Work's California brigade in 1831-1832 employed the Kanaka, Louis Kanota, as a scout. Kanota was a favorite of Work's and was allowed to bring his wife and child on the expedition.⁹¹ It was also Kanota who had been to California earlier and was therefore familiar with the area. Work's

⁸⁷ McLoughlin to P. S. Ogden, August 14, 1831. Barker, McLoughlin.

⁸⁸ McLoughlin to Francis Heron, September 9, 1831. Ibid. Fort Colville was located on the upper Columbia. Fort Simpson was located near Port Simpson in British Columbia.

⁸⁹ McLoughlin to Charlton, October 27, 1831. Ibid.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Work, Journal, p. 103.

journal contained numerous notations praising Kanota's abilities as a hunter, scout, and retriever of stolen horses.⁹²

Then in 1832 McLoughlin discovered a new competitor had arrived in the Northwest. Nathaniel J. Wyeth arrived to establish what he hoped to be a prosperous Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company. From the beginning, however, Wyeth experienced difficulties in keeping his men from deserting to the HBC.⁹³ Many of those he managed to keep were incapable of managing boats on the Columbia and others were frequently down with illnesses.⁹⁴ In March, 1832, Wyeth wrote Simpson suggesting that the HBC would find it advantageous to supply Wyeth with the laborers he required.⁹⁵ Simpson, however, was more interested in ridding the Northwest of Wyeth and did not intend to cooperate by supplying a labor force. When Wyeth set out for Fort Walla Walla in February, 1833, he had only two men with him.⁹⁶

Wyeth then returned East to accumulate additional capital and supplies and to make an agreement with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to supply their goods at rendezvous

⁹²Work, Journal, p. 103.

⁹³Journal entry November 6, 1832. F. G. Young, ed., The Correspondence and Journals of Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth 1831-6. (Eugene: University Press, 1899). Hereafter cited as Wyeth, Journal.

⁹⁴Journal entry October 24-25, 1832. Ibid.

⁹⁵Wyeth to George Simpson, March 12, 1832, ibid.

⁹⁶Journal entry February 3, 1833, ibid.

the next fall.⁹⁷ Such an arrangement, he felt sure, could be a profitable business arrangement and would make it unnecessary for him to continue his operations completely on the coast dominated by the HBC. But his expenses were mounting, and since he could not contract with the HBC to acquire cheap labor, he was forced to seek men at St. Louis. There he had to pay wages ranging from \$250 per year for a contract of eighteen months to a high of \$300 per year for a three-year contract.⁹⁸

When Wyeth reached the rendezvous the Rocky Mountain Fur Company refused to honor its contract and further made serious efforts to steal away his men, but Wyeth "...hired enough of theirs to make up, and ⁹⁹did not fear falling short of troops." When he started out for Fort Walla Walla¹⁰⁰ Wyeth had 120 mules and horses, and forty-one employees. Since he remarked on the small wages he paid the new employees, they must have been Kanakas and/or Indians, or both.

Wyeth's party arrived at Walla Walla September 2,¹⁰¹ 1834. On the 15th after traveling down to Vancouver he met his ship, the Mary Dacre, Captain Dan Lambert in charge.

⁹⁷Wyeth to Tucker and Williams, July 1, 1834, ibid.

⁹⁸March 13, 1834, ibid.

⁹⁹July 1, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰⁰ibid.

¹⁰¹Journal entry September 2, 1834, ibid.

The captain "...was well and brot [sic] me twenty Sandwich Islanders and two Coopers two Smiths and a Clerk."¹⁰² Wyeth and his new employees started back up the Columbia on October 13. On the 26th Wyeth sent out Captain Joseph Thing, 13 Kanakas, and eight whites to reach Fort Hall. Thing's party had all the best horses and when Wyeth started out his four Kanakas had to travel by foot "...for want of Horses and goods on miserably poor animals."¹⁰³

Before Wyeth's party had traveled far he learned that all of Thing's Kanakas had deserted him. On November 11, 1834, Wyeth traveled to Thing's camp and learned that "...the Kanakas had taken about two bales of goods and twelve horses."¹⁰⁴ Wyeth sent out a search party, gave Thing his four Kanakas and another ten employees so he could proceed to Fort Hall, and awaited the outcome of the search.¹⁰⁵ The next day he was notified "...that the Kanakas had not touched the Columbia nor passed the Utalla [Umatilla] River and that Richardson had got a party of Indians to accompany him and horses and had taken up pursuit on land."¹⁰⁶ Through November until March, 1835, Wyeth received various information on the whereabouts of his deserters. He suspected that much

¹⁰²Journal entry September 15, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰³Journal entries October 26, 31, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰⁴Journal entry November 10-11, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰⁵Journal entry November 18, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰⁶Journal entry November 12, 1834, ibid.

of the information given him by the Indians was merely for the purpose of receiving tobacco, but he recorded each one in his journal. Six Kanakas were reported at the John Day River; later Indians at the Des Chutes said two had stolen Indian horses, shot a chief, and then started down the river.¹⁰⁷ Wyeth hoped this last occurrence was untrue because he did not want to make an example of the Kanakas to quiet the Indians; obviously he was unaware of the animosity that existed between the two races.

In February Wyeth heard that of the runaways "...ten took the trail over the Blue_{c,1}, one was drowned in crossing some ford_{c,1}, one froze in the upper country_{c,1}, that the residue rafted on the Snake river_{c,1}, one more died somehow about the falls_{c,1}, that seven are gone down to Vancouver_{c,1}." When he reached the fort February 12, Wyeth found the Kanakas there completely sick of their job so he decided not to treat them¹⁰⁸ severely.

According to the ledgers of Fort Hall, the Kanakas were paid \$10 per month, most of which they spent on clothing and tobacco. Most of the recovered deserters were returned to Fort William at the mouth of the Multnomah (Willamette). The runaways were identified as Bill King, Lawler, Isaac, Dick, Charley, George Adams, Jack, Harry, Negro, Tom Bull, Harry Parker, John Palmer, and Harry Pickard. The

¹⁰⁷Journal entries November 25, 31, 1834, ibid.

¹⁰⁸Journal entry February 6, 1835, ibid.

total value of the property they stole was recorded as
¹⁰⁹
 \$3135.54.

Wyeth's problems did not end with the loss of his Kanakas and in December, 1836, he wrote to the HBC Committee in London informing them he was breaking up his company. He requested the assistance of the HBC in finding a purchaser for the property at the Columbia River, Walla Walla, and Fort Hall.¹¹⁰ In a similar letter to McLoughlin, Wyeth also asked help in finding means to return his remaining seven Kanakas to their Islands. "I will further observe that there are more Kanakas to be returned to the Islands than is mentioned..., and that my intention is that they shall all be returned to their homes."¹¹¹ Then Wyeth wrote Thing at Fort Hall that he wished the Kanakas returned to their homes, "...unless an arrangement mutually satisfactory can be made to transfer them to the service of the Hudson Bay Company, and it will be proper to write to the American Counsel at Oaha stating to him the names of those who have died in the country, and the disposal of the residue."¹¹²

On January 9, 1837, Wyeth received a reply to his letter to the HBC in London. It stated that the HBC would purchase his goods and provide passage to Hawaii for the

¹⁰⁹Fort Hall Account Books, July 31, 1834-August 1837. Oregon Historical Society, MS. 1198, on microfilm.

¹¹⁰Wyeth to Governor, etc., December 9, 1836, *ibid.*

¹¹¹Wyeth to McLoughlin, December 9, 1836, *ibid.*

¹¹²Wyeth to Thing, December 9, 1836, *ibid.*

Kanakas, Joseph Thing, Abel Baker, and C. W. Walker "...
charging a fair and moderate passage money,...."¹¹³

Some of the Islanders, however, did not wish to return to their homes. In a ledger entry for June 18, 1837, Joseph Thing wrote that the Kanakas turned over to the HBC were Bill King, Dick, Jack Lawler, Charley, and Harry Parker.¹¹⁴ Rice, Pig, John Bull, and Dido evidently accepted the HBC's¹¹⁵ passage to Hawaii.

The HBC was once again in complete control of the area west of the Rockies. But its labor supplier in Hawaii was creating problems for the British government that threatened to end his career and leave the HBC in Oregon without an agent to keep McLoughlin supplied with Kanakas. In the first place Charlton was not well liked because of his aristocratic manners.¹¹⁶ Then in 1837 he was involved in an attempt to keep two Catholic priests on the Islands after Kamehameha II had expelled them.¹¹⁷ Charlton was subsequently called to England and William Miller was appointed in his absence. The British government was anxious to settle the misunderstanding created by Charlton's actions and the concurrent short British occupation of the Islands.¹¹⁸

¹¹³William Smith, Sec. HBC, to Wyeth, January 9, 1837, *ibid.*

¹¹⁴Columbia River Fishing & Trading Company ledger, June 18, 1837. Oregon Historical Society MS. 938B.

¹¹⁵*Ibid.*

Charlton, however, made claims on some Island land supposedly granted to him in 1826. The land was located near the fort at Honolulu harbor and by 1844 was considered quite valuable with twenty-seven buildings located on it.¹¹⁹ The British government refused to rule on the dispute and Charlton would not produce the deed so that the Hawaiian government could make a decision.¹²⁰ Finally, arbiters were appointed for both sides, John Ricord representing the Hawaiian government and R. C. Wyllie as arbiter for Charlton.¹²¹ According to James Hunnewell of Boston the deed was either a forgery or else the witnesses involved did not know what they were signing. Hunnewell had lived in the Islands in 1825-6 and felt certain Charlton's claim was a hoax. He suggested that if the British government really wished justice it would "...transfer Rich. Charlton from the Sandwich Islands to New Holland for the remainder of his life."¹²²

¹¹⁶Duncan Finlayson to James Hargrave, February 29, 1836. G. P. Det. Glazebrook, ed., The Hargrave Correspondence (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1938), p. 230.

¹¹⁷Bingham, Residence of Twenty-one Years, p. 507.

¹¹⁸Alex Simpson to Governor Kekioanaoa, September 28, 1842. British Foreign Office microfilm.

¹¹⁹Articles of agreement, March 25, 1844, *ibid.*

¹²⁰*Ibid.*

¹²¹*Ibid.* William Miller to G. P. Judd, March 18, 1844.

¹²²"Extract from a letter from James Hunnewell Esquire, of Boston dated 20th April 1846," *ibid.*

Neither Hunnewell's opinion nor the Island land system, based on leasing rather than ownership, proved sufficient evidence, however, and Charlton finally was granted title to his claim.¹²³

In 1839 Alexander Simpson had been appointed to conduct the HBC business in the Islands but he also proved to be more interested in fostering his own prosperity.¹²⁴ In 1841 George T. Allan replaced him.¹²⁵ These disruptions in the Islands did not promote good business with the HBC in the Pacific Northwest but they would have been even more serious except that in 1840 a contract had been signed with Kamehameha III to supply the HBC sixty additional Kanakas for a three-year period.¹²⁶ This contract set several specific conditions. First, the exact term of service (three years). Secondly, if any of the Islanders deserted, the Company would pay twenty dollars. Finally, if any died, the twenty dollar assessment would not apply. This penalty would apply, however, if at the end of the three-year period those Hawaiians wishing to return to the Islands were not allowed to do so.¹²⁷ The contract made no provisions, however, for determining and adjudicating any violations.

¹²³Ibid.

¹²⁴HBR Vol. VI, pp. 404-6.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶R. C. Clark, "Hawaiians in Early Oregon," 28.

¹²⁷D. H. Clark, "Sawmill," 43.

By 1848 the number of Kanakas that had left the Islands had risen to 3,500 and the Island population had dropped to 82,000, of which almost 2000 were foreigners.¹²⁸

The HBC's total establishment now consisted of sixteen chief factors, twenty-one chief traders, five surgeons, eighty-seven clerks, sixty-seven postmasters, and 1200 permanent servants. There were also 500 voyageurs, and 150 officers and crews of vessels. The governor-in-chief, Sir George Simpson, estimated that at least 3000 were given employment each season.¹²⁹

But Simpson had also become convinced that this permanent work force included too many Kanakas, a fact which was contributing to the depopulation of Hawaii. On March 1, 1842, he wrote McLoughlin that no more should be hired.¹³⁰ This letter was sent from Honolulu where Simpson had stopped briefly during his journey around the world. Significantly, it was here also that he recorded what he considered to be the reasons for the severe decline in the Hawaiian population. First, was "...a spirit, or at least a practice, of emigration among the men,..." and the second cause was the depravity of the women.¹³¹ He estimated that 1000 Kanakas

¹²⁸Kittelson, "John Coxe," 196.

¹²⁹Testimony of Sir George Simpson, February 26, 1857, Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Parliament, House of Commons, 1857.

¹³⁰Simpson to McLoughlin, March 1, 1842. HBRS Vol. VI, p. 271.

¹³¹Simpson, Narrative, pp. 14-15.

left the Islands annually, going to California, Oregon, or aboard whaling vessels "...a considerable portion...said to be permanently lost to their country, either dying during their engagements, or settling in other parts of the world."¹³²

McLoughlin did not agree with his superior that no more Kanakas should be hired, especially since his men were still requesting replacements. He therefore wrote to London stating that he had found it "...necessary to order fifty Sandwich Islanders from Woahoo by the Columbia, this number will barely, if it does, replace the retiring Servants next year, and the other Vacancies in the Department, caused by deaths, and the Sandwich Islanders, who have been sent by the Vancouver and Columbia this fall to Woahoo, say fourteen."¹³³ Since McLoughlin had no authority to disregard the orders of Simpson, he considered the need for additional Kanakas of such importance that he was willing to risk severe censure for his actions hoping that the HBC Council would realize their necessity and condone his disobedience.

McLoughlin and Simpson soon clashed again, however, this time over a killing at Fort Stikine that resulted in the death of John McLoughlin, Jr. The subsequent investigation was carried out by Simpson who reported that he had heard testimony that McLoughlin's son had ordered two Kanakas at the fort to shoot a voyageur named Heroux.¹³⁴ The

¹³²ibid.

¹³³McLoughlin to Governor, etc., December 4, 1843.
HERS Vol. VI, p. 182.

Kanakas did not shoot Heroux but later that same night Heroux turned on McLoughlin, Jr., and shot him. Two Kanakas were reported to have witnessed the killing, "Captain Cole (a Sandwich Islander who saw Heroux stand with his foot on ¹³⁵McLoughlin's neck writhing in the agonies of death), and Kalepe (another...Islander who saw Heroux fire the fatal shot and heard ¹³⁶McLoughlin fall),..." Further testimony by Thomas McPherson suggested that all of the men at the fort except an Islander named Pouhow had signed an agreement to murder McLoughlin.

There were eleven Kanakas and an equal number of Canadian¹³⁷ians and Iroquois at Stikine. Such a large conspiracy against one man does not seem plausible from examination of the testimony. If everyone at the fort was, indeed, involved it would have been much simpler to tell Simpson the murder was perpetrated by unknown Indians not connected with the fort. It is more likely that the Kanakas, who had no ability in English or French, did not realize what was being planned. When they testified before Simpson, through an interpreter from the Cowlitz, they related what they had seen, accusing only the man that had actually fired the

¹³⁴McLoughlin to Governor, etc., November 10, 1844. HBRS, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7.

¹³⁵November 20, 1844, ibid., p. 19.

¹³⁶July 7, 1842, ibid., p. 161.

¹³⁷McLoughlin to John Fraser, April 12, 1843. McLoughlin-Fraser Family microfilm.

fatal shot, and proving once again their loyalty to the one
¹³⁸
 in authority.

In fact, Simpson informed London that he was satisfied that the testimony of Cole and Kalepe "...was meant to be correct,"
¹³⁹ and he also felt the fault was McLoughlin's for
¹⁴⁰
 not enforcing discipline and for drinking too heavily. Simpson had the Canadians and Iroquois jailed and sent Heroux to Sitka for trial by the Russians because Stikine was
¹⁴¹
 located in Russian Territory. Dr. McLoughlin was furious over Simpson's conclusions and completely convinced that his findings were incorrect. He went so far as to send his own interpreter, William Spencer, to Stikine aboard the
¹⁴²
Cadboro to question the Kanakas involved. McLoughlin was faced with problems closer to home, however, and the murder of his son was deliberated in London for some time. Although it was eventually settled without denigrating the character of McLoughlin's son, he and Simpson had reached almost total estrangement over the investigation and never
¹⁴³
 again reconciled their differences.

¹³⁸ Sir George Simpson to Governor, etc., January 5, 1843. HRS, Vol. VI, p. 349.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ McLoughlin to Governor, etc., June 24, 1842. HRS Vol. VI, p. 45.

¹⁴¹ McLoughlin-Fraser Family microfilm, ibid.

¹⁴² McLoughlin to Governor, etc., June 24, 1842. HRS Vol. VI, p. 45.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

The problems facing McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver were created to a large extent by the arrival of American missionaries, followed shortly after by increasing numbers of settlers from east of the Mississippi River. McLoughlin knew, perhaps instinctively, that these frontiersmen who threatened the HBC power in the Northwest could not be starved out or bought off. But if he assisted them in any way, McLoughlin would once again be disobeying orders -- from Simpson and from London. Yet McLoughlin did disregard the directives from London on many occasions; the first time was in November, 1839, when he wrote George Pelly at the Islands asking him to engage "...one single [Kanakan] with a married man and his wife for Mr. E. Young, charging all expences to [Young's] accounts and providing them a passage.
 144
 ..."

But the Company remained determined to keep the Americans out of the Northwest. One of the obvious ways was to maintain loyalty of the HBC's servants by keeping them content so they would not be tempted by offers from the Americans to work for them -- and labor would be a necessity for the new settlers. In former years, the HBC had proved quite successful in capturing the employees of its competitors and now it must find a way to retain the loyalty of its own labor force.

144 McLoughlin to George Pelly, November 11, 1839. HBC Archives B.223/b/24 fo. 54d. Ewing Young arrived in Oregon in 1839; later his death and the problem of his estate led to efforts toward local government organization.

In July, 1844, McLoughlin wrote to the HBC agents in Hawaii requesting them to send him a loyal, educated Kanaka to be employed at Vancouver for the purpose of preaching to his fellow Islanders and serving as their leader. Later that year Kanaka William arrived in the Northwest.¹⁴⁵ James Douglas considered him well qualified for the tasks at hand,¹⁴⁶ except for his lack of English. By 1848 Kanaka William had twenty to forty regular Hawaiians at Sunday services. He was given a private dwelling by the Company, and a building within the stockade, formerly the chaplain's schoolhouse and kitchen, was remodeled for the Kanaka church. It was fifty feet by twenty-five feet in dimensions, but probably¹⁴⁷ was destroyed before 1858.

The immediate Company territory surrounding Vancouver covered 457 acres which including Kanaka Village, occupied¹⁴⁸ by servants of the HBC, counted sixty to seventy-five buildings, some of them arranged neatly along the road that led from the wharf to the Catholic church.¹⁴⁹ The building styles included American framed, edged slabs, or hewn logs. Most of them were only one story but many had ceilings and

¹⁴⁵Hussey, Fort Vancouver, introduction.

¹⁴⁶Ibid.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Henry J. Warre and M. Vavosour to Sec. of State for the Colonies, October 26, 1845. Oregon Historical Society MS. 47, on microfilm. Hereafter cited as MS. 47.

¹⁴⁹Hussey, Fort Vancouver, pp. 216-20.

150
 were either papered or plastered. Although Kanaka
 Village also included Indians, half-breeds, and whites, each
 group living on its own street, the name no doubt indicated
 a greater longevity or fondness attached to the Hawaiian
 servants who resided there. 151 There were "...from 300 to
 400 [Kanakas] employed on the Columbia River, in the service
 and vessels of the Hon. Hudson's Bay Co. on that coast." 152
 and they were still being hired for three-year periods at
 wages of \$10 per month. 153

The HBC decided upon a further method to strengthen
 the Company's position in the Northwest. In 1839 the Puget's
 Sound Agricultural Company was formed to contribute to the
 self-sufficiency of the HBC and to hold land that otherwise
 might be preempted by the increasing numbers of Americans
 flooding into the area. The PSAC was ostensibly a separate
 corporation but its laborers, leaders, and areas of culti-
 vation were supplied through the HBC.

By 1845, it was estimated that western Oregon was
 inhabited by some 6000 persons, of which at least 1000 were
 British subjects. 154 Many of these were employed as farmers

150 Ibid.

151 Ibid.

152 The Friend, September 4, 1844.

153 Ibid.

154 Warre and Vavosour to Sec. of State, October 26,
 1845, MS. 47.

or herders near Vancouver and at Fort George or Cowlitz Farm. In the vicinity of Vancouver 1200 acres were under cultivation and grazing was provided for 2000 sheep, 1300 cattle, and 700 to 800 horses.¹⁵⁵ The PSAC imported excellent stock including improved breeds of hogs and Southtown, Leicester, and Merino sheep. The chief swineherd at Vancouver was none other than John Coxe, still in the Northwest and still loyal to his Company employer, of whom McLoughlin thought so much that the grazing land below Vancouver was known as Cox-Eliheh, or Coxland.¹⁵⁶

Kanakas also labored at Fort George and Cowlitz, and at Fort Boise fourteen Islanders were employed under James Craigie, the trader in command there.¹⁵⁷ Kanakas also were located at Nisqually, Colville Town, and the San Juan Islands.¹⁵⁸ At Fort George, Alexander Lattie kept a daily journal of his labors and those of the Kanakas in his charge. They cleaned house, brought in firewood, worked in the gardens and stores.¹⁵⁹ One could sew and another made repairs on the canoes; others herded the livestock and tracked down those who strayed because there were no fences. Only when

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶W. F. Tolmie to M. P. Deady, June 12, 1876, MS. 48.

¹⁵⁷"Port Boise: From Imperial Outpost to Historic Site," Idaho Yesterdays, 6(Spring, 1962), 36. Hereafter cited as "Port Boise."

¹⁵⁸C. A. Bagley, "Early Life on Vancouver Island," Oregon Historical Society, MS. 101 on microfilm. Hereafter cited as MS. 101.

his Kanakas were already busy would Lattie employ natives.

On May 11, 1846, one of the Islanders assisted Lattie in surveying and marking a claim for Peter Skene Ogden and the two then forced a Negro squatter to leave.

Cowlitz Farm cultivated 1000 acres of wheat, oats, barley, and potatoes. It also had a dairy and horse park. The Kanakas at Cowlitz put up fences, repaired salmon barrels, built a stable and house, split rails for sheep pens, and worked in the fields. They were even willing to work on holidays which was considered to be "...much to their credit." On March 23, 1849, one of them, Kaloma, went to Fort Nisqually in exchange for a French-Canadian, another indication of the demand for Kanaka laborers.

The laborers at Cowlitz received from seventeen to twenty-seven ² in salary. In 1847-48 nine Kanakas were employed and ten others, mostly French-Canadians. A year later only seven French-Canadians were at Cowlitz although the number of Kanakas remained the same. In 1849-50 five Islanders were employed: Honolulu, Hoolapa, Jomano, Kamaka,

¹⁵⁹Alexander Lattie, Fort George Journal, Feb. 25-July 25, 1846. Oregon Historical Society MS. 540 on microfilm.

¹⁶⁰Ibid.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Simpson, Narrative, p. 178.

¹⁶³Priscilla Knuth and Thomas Vaughan, ed., "The Round Hand of George B. Roberts, The Cowlitz Farm Journal, 1847-51." Oregon Historical Quarterly, LXIII (June, Sept., 1962), 117, 120.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., 157.

and Mowee. Six French-Canadians worked at Cowlitz during
 167
 the latter year.

In 1849 the Rev. Samuel C. Damon, editor of Honolulu's
Friend newspaper and minister in Hawaii for the Seamen's
 Friend Society, visited the Northwest Coast. At Vancouver
 he visited with the Kanakas employed there, and expressed
 gratification that the HBC was paying the salary of an Ha-
 waiian minister and school teacher, Kanaka William. 168
 He also talked to "...an old Kanaka who had been nearly forty
 years in the company's service, during which period he had
 169
 visited England." This was John Coxe who had originally
 left the Islands aboard the Tonquin.

Damon's visit coincided with the year that many HBC
 employees deserted for the California gold mines, the year
 that American emigration reached a new peak, and the year
 that the United States law officially reached the new Oregon
 Territory. The implications of these developments were
 important to the HBC and its servants. The Company was, in
 fact, on the decline south of 49° and would soon be forced
 to abandon many of its posts, including Fort Boise. 170
 In

165 Ibid., 168.

166 Cowlitz Farm Employee Lists. Oregon Historical
 Society MS. 135.

167 Ibid.

168 Samuel C. Damon, "Our Log-Book." Oregon Historical
 Society MS. 803. Hereafter cited as MS. 803.

169 Ibid.

1855 the United States and the Sandwich Islands concluded a treaty providing for U. S. goods to enter the Islands duty free, an agreement that threatened the HBC trade to the Islands since the Company did not have similar privileges.¹⁷¹ By 1859 the HBC had terminated its Hawaiian affairs and a year later the U. S. Army began destruction of Kanaka Village to provide an area for drilling a light artillery battery.¹⁷² Even Kanaka William was forced to vacate his home and watch it be destroyed.¹⁷³

The era of the Hudson's Bay Company south of the forty-ninth parallel had ended but its Kanaka employees did not depart with the other Company servants. The HBC had failed in keeping out the Americans, and these new settlers were eager to avail themselves of a well trained and diversified labor force. Such a force was available for by this time an estimated 4,000 Kanakas had left the Islands, a migration representing 12% of the Hawaiian males over 18 residing in Hawaii where the total population had declined to 84,165.¹⁷⁴ The Kanakas willingly remained in the Northwest to be sought

¹⁷⁰"Fort Boise," 37.

¹⁷¹Lord Clarendon to William Miller, December 31, 1855. British Foreign Office microfilm.

¹⁷²Richard W. Van Alstyne, "International Rivalries in the Pacific Northwest," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XXXVI (September, 1945), 210. Hussey, Fort Vancouver, pp. 107-8.

¹⁷³Hussey, ibid.

¹⁷⁴Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," 206.

by new employers, or traveled into areas of the West to seek new experiences and additional skilled trades.

CHAPTER III

FOR THE GLORY OF GOD: PROTESTANTS AND MORMONS

During the early nineteenth century when the North West Company and HBC were struggling for supremacy on the northern American continent, their major concern was to achieve domination of the fur trade and to attain the greatest possible profit. Such motives did not lend themselves to concern for the welfare of their employees who were victims of this contest. Liquor was used in large quantities to foster trade and, in the process, to ease the discomforts of the traders.¹ Equipment and clothing allowances were niggardly--one blanket, one shirt and a pair of trousers.² Their food was mainly hulled Indian corn and melted fat.³ Religion was completely ignored because it would interfere with the quest for profits--a day of rest taking away twenty-four hours from the fur hunt.⁴

¹Philip Lehman, "The Religious, Moral, and Educational Activities of the Hudson's Bay Company." Oregon Historical Society MS. 729. Hereafter cited as MS. 729.

²Gordon Davidson, The North West Company (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1918), p. 230.

³Ibid.

⁴MS. 729.

It was after the merger in 1821 that the first Protestant missionaries were sent out, and by 1823 the first church had been established at Red River Settlement.⁵ New company rules were established for religious improvement of employees, and wage scales were promulgated.⁶ Sunday was to be observed at all posts with religious services at which all employees and their families were urged to attend. Women and children were to be assigned "virtuous" tasks during the week and a father was expected to devote time to the education of his family.⁷

In May, 1836, McLoughlin and the employees of Fort Vancouver received their first religious instructor, Herbert Beaver, who had been selected by Sir George Simpson to represent the Church of England in the Northwest. Beaver's appointment represented another clash between Simpson and McLoughlin, who had been trying to obtain a Catholic priest for his post since most of the employees were of that faith.⁸ Beaver was not only a clergyman but also an English aristocrat who looked down upon members of the merchant class, including McLoughlin.⁹ Both Beaver and his wife considered the Indians "...nasty and dirty", and all HBC employees

⁵Ibid.

⁶John McLeod, Journals and Correspondence from 1812 to 1844. Typescript from originals at Dominion Government Archives.

⁷Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, Parliament, House of Commons, p. 368.

"...ignorant and unruly...."¹⁰ He complained of the number of slaves owned by the Company men, but kept a body servant in his own household.¹¹ He objected strongly to the behavior of the employees and use of liquor in the Indian trade but was continually overdrawing his own liquor allowance.¹² In fact, both Beaver and his wife were fond of their wines.

William C. McKay, one of the HBC employees, called Beaver "...overbearing, dictatorial, haughty, and Proud...."¹³ He and McLoughlin clashed from the beginning since neither wished to relinquish authority. McLoughlin was Catholic and refused to submit to Beaver's demands that his marriage be legitimized by a Protestant clergyman.¹⁴ Beaver retaliated by verbally attacking Mrs. McLoughlin and by sending a long report to the Aborigines' Protection Society of London in which he indicted the treatment given HBC employees, including the Kanakas.

In this report Beaver stated that the Kanakas were little better than slaves and were frequently flogged or imprisoned.¹⁵ He cited an instance in which a Kanaka¹⁶

⁸Thomas E. Jessett, ed., Reports and Letters, 1836-1838, of Herbert Beaver (Portland: Champoege Press, 1959), p. xvi. Hereafter cited as Beaver Letters.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰William C. McKay to Col. Thomas M. Anderson, July 17, 1891. Oregon Historical Society, MS. 495. Hereafter cited as MS. 495.

¹¹Beaver Letters, p. 140.

¹²McKay to Anderson, ibid.

¹³Ibid.

"...was confined in irons for the space of five months and four days..." for shirking his duty, then later was found to be innocent of the charge.¹⁷ Beaver complained that the Islanders had received no religious instruction even though some of them had been with the Company for several years.¹⁸ Even recent arrivals from the Islands, where they had been taught by missionaries since 1820, quickly forgot their Christianity. The women who accompanied the Kanakas were "...more than commonly depraved."

This last criticism Beaver aimed at all the Company employees including McLoughlin, but he felt the solution as applied to the Islanders was careful screening by an HBC agent in the Islands before Kanakas were allowed to enroll with the Company. He also wanted to establish a requirement that the new Kanaka employees have a certificate of baptism and a marriage license.¹⁹ Beaver's report also stated that the small advance the Kanakas received before leaving the Islands had to be given to their chiefs, clothing for the colder climate might cost an entire year's wages, and a 100%²⁰ mark-up was charged by the Company for necessities.

¹⁴Beaver Letters, p. xxi.

¹⁵To the Aborigines' committee of the meeting for sufferings... Oregon Historical Society, Beaver MS. 372. Hereafter cited as MS. 372.

¹⁶Beaver Letters, p. 86.

¹⁷MS. 372.

¹⁸Beaver Letters, p. 131.

Beaver's report created a furor, not only at Vancouver but also in London. James Douglas wrote in reply to Beaver's accusations that the clergyman was not interested in ministering to anyone, and certainly was not a champion for the better treatment of the Kanakas. He had refused to accept a married Islander and his wife for house servants because he did not want to go to the trouble of teaching them.²¹ Beaver also had refused to bury a Kanaka because he had not been baptised and when McLoughlin read the services himself, the chaplain loudly condemned such a "...profanation of the service...."²² Beaver's incongruous behavior finally resulted in his dismissal by Douglas. He returned to England in November, 1838, three years before his appointment expired, and died in South Africa on May 31, 1858.²³

The HBC's first experience with Christian ministers at Vancouver had been a most unhappy one. It was not surprising that McLoughlin and the London committee viewed with alarm the first American missionaries who appeared from east of the Mississippi River. What was surprising, however, was McLoughlin's decision to offer reasonable assistance to the

¹⁹Ibid.

²⁰MS. 372.

²¹Beaver Letters, pp. 131-3.

²²Ibid. The Kanaka that McLoughlin buried in the fort cemetery was not, however, John Coxe, as claimed by Kittelson for Coxe was still alive ten years later.

²³Beaver Letters, pp. xlii-xv.

Americans rather than strictly enforce the Company directive to discourage in every way possible the likelihood that the missionaries would establish themselves permanently in the Northwest.

Jason Lee and his nephew, Daniel Lee, were the first to arrive in the Oregon country. They were received hospitably at Fort Vancouver September 16, 1834, and McLoughlin²⁴ offered helpful suggestions on where to locate their mission. In 1836 the Lees began building in the Willamette Valley and soon were reinforced by another party sent out by their²⁵ Methodist Mission Board.

Samuel Parker was the first representative of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to arrive on the Pacific coast. He reached the Oregon country in 1837, visited the Methodist mission at Willamette Falls, and then returned East to urge the immediate organization of a mission to Christianize the Nez Perce and Flathead tribes²⁶ located in the vicinity of Fort Walla Walla. Marcus Whitman, who had accompanied Parker on part of his journey in 1835, headed the first A.B.C.F.M. mission that arrived at²⁷ Vancouver September 12, 1836. His party consisted of his

²⁴Diary, Jason Lee, April 20, 1834-July 17, 1838. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1212.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Parker to David Greene, Sec. A.B.C.F.M., June 27, 1837. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1206.

²⁷David Greene to Lewis Cass, Sec. of War, February 25, 1836. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1203.

wife, Narcissa, Mr. and Mrs. Henry H. Spalding, and William²⁸
H. Gray. Whitman began to build at Waiilatpu among the²⁹
Cayuse, and Spalding located at Lapwai with the Nez Perce.

It was in 1838 that McLoughlin applied to the Catholic³⁰
Bishop of Quebec to send priests to the Northwest. These
Catholic priests, however, approached this new mission field
with an entirely different concept than that of their Pro-
testant counterparts and did not place the greatest emphasis
upon acquisition of wealth, permanent missions, land, or per-
manently located Indians. Neither did they, for some rea-
son, attempt to convert the Kanakas, so far as available³¹
records indicate.

Both missionary groups had arrived in Oregon terri-
tory with only the absolute essentials of quipment and
food. The rest of their goods had to be shipped via the
long passage around the tip of South America. They needed
to build shelters and plant crops as soon as they arrived in
order to survive during the first winter, but they had
brought no labor force with them, as they considered their
primary duty was to the spiritual conversion of the Indians
rather than to material matters. But neither their faith
nor the "savages" they had come to save could keep them from

²⁸ Narcissa Whitman to Mrs. Jerusha Parker, October 3,
1838, MS. 1203.

²⁹ Henry Spalding to Mr. and Mrs. Bridges, May 5, 1840.
Oregon Historical Society MS. 1201.

³⁰ Beaver Letters, p. xix.

starving during the first winter and so their welfare fell largely upon the shoulders of McLoughlin and the services of the HBC. It was McLoughlin who supplied them with farm and building tools, and it was through him that the missionaries acquired a labor force of Kanakas, when the Rev. Hiram Bingham in the Islands was unable to fill their requests.³²

The missionaries had only just begun their new tasks when they discovered that the Indians were unreliable as a labor force because they were neither sedentary nor willing to accept unquestioningly the white man's concept of civilization. The Indians craved the power the strangers exhibited but not the drudgery or inferior status the missionaries insisted they accept. Kanakas, however, were highly recommended by the HBC and immediately pleasing to the missionaries for they were not "native savages" who needed to be taught the ways of civilization.. They would be willing to become farmers instead of hunters and would agree to live on a small plot of land so the remainder could be taken by superiors. The Kanakas then represented a viable labor force that, for the moment at least, posed no threat to missionary dreams of spiritual conquest or to the growing preoccupation of the clergy with material wealth.

Kanakas were employed by both the Methodist and A.B. C.F.M. missions. Jason Lee reported to his mission board

³¹Francis Norbert Blanchet, Historical Sketches of the Catholic Church in Oregon...(Portland, 1878).

³²Alexander Simpson to McLoughlin, October 1, 1840. HERS Vol. VI, p. 239.

that the Kanakas were used in groups of five or six for building purposes, and that farmers usually had three except³³ during harvest periods when more were hired. Their wages were \$10 a month, the salary paid by the HBC, although the Islanders preferred "...\$7³⁴ a year, Beaver prices."

In March, 1843, Gustavus Hines, another of the Methodist group had written the board complaining about the treatment of the Islanders and accused Jason Lee of mismanagement of the Methodist missions including the mission farmers who were allowed "...a numerous gang of 'Kanakas' whose labour does not pay their board, but who are paid ten³⁵ dollars per month whether sick or well,..." Before his death, however, Hines reversed his position and contradicted³⁶ the contents of this letter.

Alvan Waller was another Methodist who deplored the treatment given the Kanakas and wished to do something to improve their situation.³⁷ Their dependability and loyalty made them less heathen in the eyes of the missionaries and plans were made to acquire a number of them to come to Oregon to act as instructors for fellow Kanakas and to hold³⁸ services for them each Sabbath. The plan did not materialize through the missionaries, but it was less than a

³³Statement before Missionary Board of the Methodist Church, July 1, 1844, Jason Lee MS. 1212.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Methodist Missions MS. 1224.

year later that McLoughlin sent to the Islands for a Kanaka
³⁹minister.

Both Methodists and A.B.C.F.M. personnel came to rely more and more on their Kanaka laborers. They worked on the farm, in the kitchens, and learned blacksmithing skills.⁴⁰ If they left to return to Hawaii, or to find other employment, their former employers expressed great distress. In 1843, L. H. Judson wrote to Amos S. Cooke in Honolulu requesting a married Hawaiian with his wife. He admitted that plenty of Indians were available "...but they are not such help as we need, especially if our families are sick,⁴¹ and Indian girls we cannot get unless we take them at an age so young they afford us no help and even when they grow up they very frequently run away."⁴¹ Judson further claimed to have made arrangements for the four to five Kanakas employed by him at Mission Mills to have Sunday meeting facilities. Such improved conditions should be considered, Judson wrote, before rejecting his requests for additional Kanaka help, but in any case Judson promised to "...trust the future in the

³⁷A. F. Waller to Amos Cooke, August 25, 1842. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1210.

³⁸L. H. Judson to Amos Cooke, August 6, 1843. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1223.

³⁹Hussey, Fort Vancouver, introduction.

⁴⁰MS. 1212, *ibid.* Henry Perkins to Daniel Lee, January 4, 1839. Oregon Historical Society MS. 1211.

⁴¹Judson to Cooke, August 6, 1843, *ibid.*

hands of God believing that whatever privations I am called to endure after making all due efforts to present them shall be over-ruled to our good."⁴²

A. B. Smith, of the A.B.C.F.M. mission at Kamiah, also wrote his superiors lamenting the lack of reliable Indian labor and wondering how he would manage without the Hawaiian who had left him recently "...principally on account of his being alone, having none of his countrymen with him to converse with."⁴³

Both Whitman and Spalding employed Kanakas at their stations. Narcissa Whitman was particularly impressed with her Islanders not only because they were such good laborers but also because of their kind feelings and strong loyalties. In one of her many letters to her mother she asked that her mother remember the Kanakas in her prayers, a sentiment she did not express at any time toward the Indians at Waiilatpu.⁴⁴ When one of her Kanakas, Joseph, became ill and died, Narcissa again wrote to her mother lamenting the death. "Our loss is very great[.]; He was so faithful and kind always[.]; ready and anxious to relieve us of every care...."⁴⁵ Narcissa was certain his soul had been saved.⁴⁶

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³A. B. Smith to Rev. David Greene, August 31, 1840. Oregon Historical Society, MS. 1200.

⁴⁴Narcissa Whitman to Mrs. Prentiss, December 5, 1836. MS. 1203.

⁴⁵Ibid., October 9, 1840.

⁴⁶Ibid.

When one of the Hawaiians at the Methodist mission died, a similar expression was written in the journal of one of the mission teachers. "Rora, the Hawaiian, a faithful servant of the mission died in full assurance of a home in heaven.... [It is a] Pleasing reflection that Rora...is now praising God in heaven with as favorable acceptance as the delicate European."⁴⁷

In one instance one of Spalding's Kanakas stepped in to protect his life during a bitter argument between Spalding and an Indian. According to an apocryphal account related by Cushing Eells, a Kanaka also was involved in events following the Whitman Massacre.⁴⁸ One of the Islanders at Fort Walla Walla was sent to Fort Vancouver to inform McLoughlin of the massacre. On his return trip he was intercepted by Indians near The Dalles, tied up and threatened with death unless he cooperated by detailing the action planned against the Cayuse. The Kanaka refused to speak so his brains were beaten out on a stone and his body thrown into the river.⁴⁹ There is no official record of such a messenger being sent but such an oversight could be explained by the excitement of the moment. The animosity between Indians and Hawaiians has been mentioned previously

⁴⁷Journal entry November 21, 1839, The Grains... Oregon Historical Society, Belknap MS. 91 and 92, p. 118.

⁴⁸A. B. Smith to David Greene, October 21, 1840. Cushing Eells to Greene, December 10, 1847. MS. 1200.

⁴⁹Eells to Greene, *ibid.*

in the use of the Kanakas as punitive forces against various tribes by both the North West and Hudson's Bay Companies. It is therefore quite plausible that such revenge was perpetrated on an individual Islander.

Kanakas also were more easily accepted into the church than were the Indians. In 1839, Henry Perkins described a religious revival held at Mission House in which a Kanaka and William A. Slacum were converted at the same time. The Hawaiian, Charles Cahanaiah, was learning the blacksmithing trade at the mission. He attended the revival meetings and during one of them requested to be admitted into the Meth-
⁵⁰ odist Church. The missionaries did not doubt the Kanaka's sincerity as they frequently did in the case of the few
⁵¹ Indians who requested acceptance.

In June, 1848, Rev. George Henry Atkinson arrived at Fort Vancouver aboard the Cowlitz. He would ultimately labor in Oregon Country for forty years on behalf of the Indians, Chinese and Alaskan natives, and serve as educa-
⁵² tion advisor to Governor Joseph Lane. He visited Fort Vancouver after first arriving on the coast and described

⁵⁰ Henry Perkins to Daniel Lee, January 4, 1839. MS. 1211. William Slacum was sent to report on the Oregon Territory in December, 1836, by President Jackson.

⁵¹ A. B. Smith to Greene, September 3, 1840, MS. 1205.

⁵² "Diary of Rev. George Henry Atkinson, D.D., 1847-1858," ed. by Ruth E. Rockwood. Oregon Historical Quarterly XXXX (March, June, September, December, 1939), 57-60. Hereafter cited as "Atkinson Diary."

the fort as a parallelogram with inclosed houses for offices and clerks, a fur store, trading shop, bakery, meat shop, and offices.⁵³ Peter Skene Ogden had a Catholic priest living with him but Kanaka William had his own house in the rear of the fort area.⁵⁴ Later Simpson replaced McLoughlin with James Douglas who moved both Catholic clergy and Kanaka William outside the fort area to increase storage facilities within the enclosure.⁵⁵

Atkinson described Kanaka William as a Christian missionary to his people with twenty to forty members in his church. He was not ordained but enjoyed an excellent reputation.⁵⁶ He reported weekly to Ogden on the number of his countrymen who had been drinking during the previous week -- the most serious problem among the Kanakas as well as the other HBC employees. "They drink without mercy, buy it on Saturday and have Sabbath to get sober in so as to work on Monday."⁵⁷ During Atkinson's visit at the fort he also watched Indians, Kanakas, and Scots shearing 15 to 20,000 head of sheep.⁵⁸ On June 20 he called "...to see the Hawaiian Cox, who saw Captain Cook murdered. He [was] about 82 years of age. He [had] traveled some, to Eng[land], Am[erica], etc. [Coxe] Does not wish to go to the Islands, does not care to attend meeting."⁵⁹

⁵³Ibid., 181.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Thomas M. Anderson, "The Vancouver Reservation Case. A Legal Romance," Oregon Historical Quarterly, VIII (September, 1907), 223.

Rev. Damon also visited Vancouver and John Coxe during his journey along the Northwest coast. He conversed with other Kanakas at the fort, although by 1849 many of them had left for the California gold fields. Damon was impressed by the fact that the HBC had hired Kanaka William as a preacher and school teacher although "...he was laboring under serious hindrances, in consequence of so many...becoming (palaka)⁶⁰ indifferent to religion."

Although the Kanakas apparently had no contact with Catholics in the Northwest, and had expelled them from the Islands,⁶¹ they were exposed to the new Mormon religion in 1844 and quickly adopted its teaching.⁶² In 1846 Sam Brannon and his Mormon party touched at the Islands on their way to California and on December 12, 1850, Henry Bigler and nine other Mormons arrived to begin the first Mormon mission in Hawaii.⁶³ One of this group, George Q. Cannon, translated the Book of Mormon into Hawaiian between 1852 and 1854.⁶⁴

⁵⁶"Atkinson Diary," 181-2.

⁵⁷Ibid.

⁵⁸Ibid., 184.

⁵⁹Ibid., 185.

⁶⁰The Friend, December 1, 1849.

⁶¹Unknown to William Miller, September 27, 1843. British Foreign Office microfilm.

⁶²Atkin, Dennis H., "A History of Iosepa; The Utah Polynesian Colony." Unpublished thesis, Brigham Young University, 1958, p. 7. Hereafter cited as Atkin, "Iosepa."

⁶³Kuykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, pp. 78-9.

In 1854 a City of Joseph was established on Lanai Island to serve as a temporary gathering place until all the Hawaiian Mormons could travel to Utah.⁶⁵

Bigler soon left the Islands to return to Utah but in 1857 Brigham Young asked him to prepare another mission to Hawaii.⁶⁶ This he did, followed three years later by Walter Murray Gibson who had received permission from Young to start another Mormon mission.⁶⁷

This sustained Mormon activity was little appreciated by the Protestant groups who had until this time enjoyed a monopoly of missionary enterprises in the Islands. Even the British Consul, William Miller, became concerned and wrote to London for instructions. He received instructions to advise the Hawaiian government to object to the immigration of the Mormons and to forbid their landing by passing temporary legislation.⁶⁸ Miller also was advised that the British admiral in the area had been directed to give assistance, if the Hawaiian government requested it, in keeping the Mormons from attempting to land by force.⁶⁹

⁶⁴"Extracts from the Journal of Henry W. Bigler," Utah Historical Quarterly, 5 (April-October, 1932), 138. Hereafter cited as "Bigler Journal." Kuykendall, ibid.

⁶⁵Kuykendall, ibid.

⁶⁶"Bigler Journal," 141.

⁶⁷The Friend, October 1, 1864.

⁶⁸Earl of Malmesbury to William Miller, June 3, 1858. British Foreign Office microfilm.

⁶⁹Ibid.

Gibson, however, defeated much of the Mormon attraction on the Islands by his peculiar actions at Lanai where he gave himself the title of Chief President of the Island of the Sea, sold church offices, and claimed great progress with Hawaiian children until their parents interfered.⁷⁰ Organization, he said, was his aim, not preaching, since the Islanders already had received too much of that. A delegation arrived from Utah in 1864 and accused Gibson of⁷¹ acquiring lands under the guise of head of the Mormon church. They also condemned Gibson for taking money from deluded natives, who "...have invested their money in the Mormon church, and they would be very glad to get it back." Gibson denied taking such money or investing in land at Lanai stating that "There were no such lands in this kingdom, ...Certain natives constituting a Mormon Society, did design⁷² to purchase land on this island,..." but they had failed. Brigham Young was not convinced of Gibson's good intentions⁷³ however, and he later left the Islands.

Gibson's self-emulation may have quieted the fears of the Protestant leaders and British representatives on the Islands, but it did not seriously effect the determination of those Kanakas converted to the Mormon faith to join the gathering in Utah. Unfortunately, it was also at this

⁷⁰The Friend, October 1, 1864.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²November 4, 1864, *ibid*.

⁷³October 1, 1864, *ibid*.

period that the Island government was making its strongest efforts to keep all Hawaiians at home and it was not until 1867 that one Kanaka, Napela, was allowed to visit the Mormon territory.⁷⁴ His praise of Utah and the church's progress there increased the pressure on the Hawaiian government to release Kanaka Mormons until finally, in 1883, several⁷⁵ were given permission to immigrate.

These first Islanders in Utah settled in Salt Lake City and by 1889 approximately seventy-five were living in the city.⁷⁶ They encountered problems, however, in being assigned to the most difficult and least dependable type of work.⁷⁷ This indication of non-assimilation prompted the first presidency of the church to appoint the Hawaiian Colonization Committee in 1889 to select a permanent and more agreeable location for the Kanakas.⁷⁸ All of the committee members had been missionaries to the Islands, and the Kanaka community at Salt Lake City were asked for their opinions and recommendations.⁷⁹ By June of the same year it was decided

⁷⁴Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 8.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 9.

⁷⁷"The Sandwich Island Country and Mission," The Contributor, XVII (October, 1896), p. 738. Hereafter cited as "The Sandwich Island Country."

⁷⁸Leonard J. Arrington, "The L.D.S. Hawaiian Colony at Skull Valley," The Improvement Era, 57 (May, 1954), 314-315. Hereafter cited as Arrington, "Skull Valley."

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 315.

to purchase a Skull Valley ranch owned by John T. Rich,⁸⁰ located seventy-five miles southwest of the city. The property consisted of 1,920 acres with good water, a supply of timber in the nearby mountains, and a saw mill already in operation five miles to the east. Rich also was willing to sell his livestock consisting of 129 horses and 335 head⁸¹ of cattle. No Indian threat had to be considered since most of them had already been relocated on reservations in⁸² Juab and Uintah counties.

The new Kanaka home was named Iosepa in honor of Joseph F. Smith and the Iosepa Agriculture and Stock Com-⁸³pany was formed to administer operations. There were seven stockholders, one of whom was I. W. Kauleinamoku who would become the leader of the Kanaka colonists. The other⁸⁴ administrators selected were Americans. In this respect Iosepa was unique among the Mormon colonies for it was not⁸⁵ ruled by its settlers. Each of the stockholders was entitled to a city lot at Iosepa, the company was to acquire

⁸⁰Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 10; "The Sandwich Island Country," 738-39.

⁸¹Arrington, "Skull Valley," 315.

⁸²Atkin, "Iosepa," pp. 2, 10-11; Arrington, "Skull Valley," 314.

⁸³Arrington, "Skull Valley," 315; "The Sandwich Island Country," 739. Iosepa is the Hawaiian word for Joseph.

⁸⁴Arrington, "Skull Valley," ibid.

⁸⁵Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 1.

all lots fronting on the town square, and lands adjoining the townsite were to be homesteaded under the Desert Land or Tree Culture Acts.⁸⁶ The company seal was a rising sun with a motto in Hawaiian.⁸⁷

The first Hawaiians arrived at their new home on August 28, 1889.⁸⁸ On this Hawaiian Pioneer Day forty-six Kanakas drew lots to determine their land portion, and began the tasks of building houses, a schoolhouse and store, laying out streets, and constructing an irrigation system.⁸⁹ A death in September made it necessary to select a location for a cemetery.⁹⁰ The ecclesiastic organization at Iosepa, in contrast to that of its administration, included several Kanakas as president of the Teachers Quorum, counselors, and Sunday School superintendents.⁹¹

Iosepa harvested good crops the first year and additional income was obtained by either selling feed to other ranchers in the area or contracting to care for the livestock of neighbors through the winter. Gradually, the Kanakas purchased their own animals including cattle, sheep and hogs.⁹² By 1892 the colony was reported to be

⁸⁶Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 1; Arrington, "Skull Valley," 365.

⁸⁷Arrington, "Skull Valley," ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid.

⁸⁹Arrington, "Skull Valley," ibid.; J. Cecil Alter, "Latter Day Colonizing by Latter-Day Saints," The Deseret News, December 16, 1911.

⁹⁰Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 17.

prosperous with "...four hundred acres under cultivation in hay and grain...over three hundred tons of lucern, wheat, oats, and barley...about six thousand bushels...and enclosed with cedar posts and wire fencing...,1600 acres..."⁹³

Workers received either a daily or monthly wage according to their work and then charged their purchases through the company directly against this wage. No money was paid or spent until after the beginning of the twentieth century.⁹⁴

Unfortunately, Utah and all of the United States suffered through a severe depression in the 1890's which forced down farm prices and threatened many businesses with bankruptcy. This situation affected Iosepa to the extent that, by 1897, the First Presidency seriously considered renting out the site to a private rancher to operate.⁹⁵ This drastic step was not taken, however, and by the early 1900's Iosepa was considered "...the most successful individual colonization proposition that has been attempted by the 'Mormon' people in the United States..."⁹⁶

It was to the credit of these Hawaiian Mormons that the above statement should be directed since there were only six Americans who lived at Iosepa. What was accomplished there in the twenty-eight years of its existence

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid., p. 33.

⁹³Arrington, "Skull Valley," 366; Deseret Evening News, December 22, 1894.

⁹⁴Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 23.

was through the hard work, perserverance, and courage of
 its Kanaka residents.⁹⁷ These Islanders created a community
 in the desert with wide streets, neat houses, lawns, and
 flower gardens.⁹⁸ Iosepa's cleanliness was well known; its
 citizens formed musical groups and participated in various
 athletic activities and supported the Mormon Church both by
 example and monetary contributions. Education also was
 taken seriously and a school was operating in 1889, while
 in other respects the Hawaiians exhibited an amalgamation
 of Island customs with those of their Utah neighbors. They
 remained fond of poi and seafood, substituting wheat flour
 for taro and carp for the abundant fish life of the Islands.
 But they also accepted American desserts, clothing, and the
 music of the area.⁹⁹ Iosepa's citizens enjoyed the priv-
 ilege of voting and took this duty seriously although they
 never became active politically.¹⁰⁰

Although the colony had financial difficulties, work
 was always guaranteed throughout the year. There was some
 agitation for higher wages in 1894 but prompt action by
 the board of directors eliminated further problems. At

⁹⁵Arrington, "Skull Valley," 366.

⁹⁶The Deseret News, December 16, 1911.

⁹⁷Deseret Evening News, December 19, 1903.

⁹⁸Ibid.

⁹⁹Utah Enquirer, November 1, 1889; Deseret Evening News, November 14, 1896; Atkin, "Iosepa," pp. 56-57, 66-68.

¹⁰⁰Atkin, "Iosepa," p. 29.

this time men received from \$1 to \$1.50 per a 10-hour day,
 women .50 to .75, and boys .25 to .75 per day.¹⁰¹

The many hardships and adjustments that faced the Kanakas did not result in any movement to return to their Islands. In fact, it was the Hawaiian government that made repeated efforts to entice the Iosepa citizens back to Hawaii. In 1894 they were offered free passage to return, and the Church presidency announced they were free to do as they pleased. Although there were a few who accepted this offer, they were at the Islands only a short time before they began to seek ways to return to Utah.¹⁰² After Hawaii became a United States territory in 1898 a few Iosepans returned to the Islands, but no further efforts were made to entice them away from Utah until 1917.¹⁰³

It was in this year that the Church sold Iosepa to the Deseret Livestock Company and the Kanakas returned to their homeland.¹⁰⁴ There were several reasons for the closing of Iosepa: (1) the frequent outbreaks of illness among the Kanakas, including leprosy; (2) the financial problems of the Mormon Church which made it difficult to continue support of Iosepa even after it began to prosper; (3) the

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰²Deseret Evening News, December 22, 1894.

¹⁰³Ibid.

¹⁰⁴Herald Republican, November 1, 1917; Deseret Evening News, November 1, 1917..

building of a Mormon temple at Laie, Oahu. The location of a gathering place on the Islands left little reason for the Hawaiians to remain in Utah, but there were still many who did not wish to leave. The Church agreed to assist financially, however, and after one large group left those remaining behind realized that Iosepa could not be continued. ¹⁰⁵

Today Iosepa is dead. Most of the houses were torn down and the streets and cemetery overgrown with weeds. But the Kanakas who built Iosepa proved themselves capable of enterprise, self-government, and perserverance in the face of great odds. As they had exhibited great loyalty and ability to the fur companies and missionaries of the Pacific Northwest, so they remained loyal to their chosen faith even though it had meant isolation and illness in the Utah desert.

¹⁰⁵Atkin, "Iosepa," pp. 78-81; Salt Lake Herald, June 20, 1896.

CHAPTER IV

NEW SKILLS AND NEW ADVENTURES

The Kanakas had proven themselves valuable laborers for the fur trade companies, for the American missionaries, and for themselves. They had expanded their skills to include those of boatmen, loggers, blacksmiths, farmers, and builders. Now as the Oregon country and California began to attract many new settlers from the United States, the Kanakas discovered that these abilities created new demands for their labor.

When Edward Vischer traveled to California in 1842 to establish himself as a merchant, he arrived aboard the schooner California.¹ According to Vischer, all of the crew of his vessel with the exception of the captain, mate, cook, and steward were Kanakas. "These Kanakas," he wrote, "have become almost indispensable for the ships along the coast of California."² They were superior in handling boats and performed most of the less technical tasks. Many of the captains who were unfamiliar with the Pacific shore believed they owed their lives and the safety of their ships to the

¹"Edward Vischer's First Visit to California," tr. and ed. by Erwin Gustau Gudde. California Historical Society Quarterly, 19 (September, 1940), 193.

²Ibid.

Kanakas. Vischer also remarked on the conduct of these Islanders as being praiseworthy, modest, sensitive, and willing to share.³ The log of the Emily Bourne which touched at Hawaii in 1832 also contained a comment upon the excellent ability of the Kanakas in handling boats.⁴

In 1843, James Douglas arrived in the Northwest to survey an area for a new HBC fort at Victoria on Vancouver Island. The construction of the fort began June 4, 1843, and after its completion roads were built in the area. These roads were constructed by using boulders as a foundation and then placing six-inch planks side by side for a walkway. "All the heavy labour was done by Indians and Kanakas...the latter being expert axemen."⁵

By 1846 the population of Oregon country was estimated at 9000, not including the Indians. There were also about thirty Negroes "...and about double that number of Kanakas or Sandwich islanders!" These last "acted, as cooks and house servants to those who [could] afford to employ them."⁶ It was also during 1846 that Captain John Paty became naval supervisor for the Hawaiian king and the king's representative on the American Pacific Coast.⁷ During Paty's

³Ibid.

⁴Edward Joesting and D.E. Livingston-Little, "A Scotsman Views Hawaii..." Journal of the West, II (April, 1970), 196.

⁵Harry Gregson, A History of Victoria 1842-1970 (Victoria, B.C.: Victoria Publishing Co., Ltd., 1970), p. 6. Hereafter cited as Gregson, Victoria.

American journeys he found fifteen Kanakas at Acapulco, Mexico, some of whom had served in the Mexican naval service. He also noted many of the Islanders in California.⁸

The Northwest settlers were just beginning to realize the wealth represented by the thick forests that covered their mountains, and lumber mills were among the earliest private businesses. In 1843 such a mill was built thirty miles east of Astoria by Henry H. Hunt and B. T. Wood.⁹ In 1846, A. E. Wilson bought out Wood's interest and introduced the first Kanakas as laborers there. Wilson contracted for the Islanders at five dollars per month with board included (salmon and potatoes), and each Kanaka received twenty-one dollars in advance before leaving the Islands.¹⁰ At first there were five Islanders including George Washington, but in 1847 a sixth Islander was hired.¹¹ Anson Sterling Cone and Clement Adams Bradbury, both from the eastern United States, also were employed at the mill and learned to respect the abilities of the Kanakas.¹² According to Bradbury,

⁶ Report of Lt. Neil M. Howison, U. S. Congress, House, 30th Cong., 1st sess., H. Doc. 29, February 29, 1848.

⁷ Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 223.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ John Minto, "From Youth to Age as an American," Oregon Historical Quarterly, IX (June, 1908), 128.

¹⁰ Astoria Mills, Columbia River, ledger, Sept. 1, 1845-April 30, 1847. Oregon Historical Society MS. 979B. Hereafter cited as Astoria Mills ledger. Minto, "From Youth to Age," ibid.

¹¹ Astoria Mills ledger.

however, the wages for white lumbermill workers were twenty dollars a month, paid in script and grindstones.¹³

During this same period twenty-five to thirty Islanders were working at the HBC mill near Oregon City in positions from hewers, fidders, and rafters, to sawyers.¹⁴ The Oregon Milling Company also employed Kanakas and in 1846 the Spectator reported an accident there in which "...a Sandwich Islander, came very near having his leg amputated by...a saw."¹⁵

Labor costs were high and continued to rise through the 1850's, which benefited the growing number of Kanaka laborers. There were several reasons for these high labor costs: the initial expense of reaching the Pacific coast for American laborers, the lack of training in mechanic's skills for young Americans growing up in the area, and business speculation coupled with high interest rates.¹⁶ The Kanakas, however, were brought to the coast at someone else's expense and were not averse to manual labor. They were thus in constant demand, a need that obviated any prejudice at least for the moment. Wages were paid to Islanders in San Francisco by the town council without deliberation and with

¹²H. S. Lyman, "Reminiscences," Oregon Historical Quarterly, II, IV (September, 1901 and 1903), 315; 251.

¹³Ibid., II, 315.

¹⁴Hussey, Fort Vancouver, p. 200.

¹⁵Oregon Spectator, February 5, 1846.

no demand for a union card.¹⁷ As common laborers work was always available at \$3.50 to \$5 per day, while on the East Coast such labor paid only \$2.50 per day.¹⁸

Ship's carpenters brought \$10 per day, blacksmiths \$8, longshoremen \$6, and farm hands \$50 per month.¹⁹ All of these wages were at least double those paid in the East where bricklayers were paid only \$13.50 a week and farm workers only \$22.11 a month.²⁰ Kanaka longshoremen in San Francisco earned \$6 per day or approximately \$156 per month. As common laborers in California, they received \$78 while those Islanders still employed by the Oregon missionaries as farm hands or by the HBC were receiving only \$10 per month. Given this wage differential, it is no wonder that many Kanakas traveled to California even before the gold rush had begun. According to the 1850 census, California had 319 Islanders while the number in Oregon had dwindled to 50.²¹ A great number, however, were along the eastern coast. Massachusetts claimed 89, Connecticut 45, New York 40, and Rhode Island 8.²² Kanakas also were living in some of

¹⁶ John Hittell, The Commerce & Industries of the Pacific... (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1882), p. 99. Hereafter cited as Hittell, Commerce.

¹⁷ Review by Robert Ernest Cowan of San Francisco Town Journal. 1847-1848. California Historical Society Quarterly, V (December, 1926), 407.

¹⁸ Hittell, Commerce, p. 99.

¹⁹ Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, pp. 459-60.

²⁰ Hittell, ibid.

the southern states such as Alabama, Virginia, Louisiana, and Texas; and in the midwestern areas of Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, and Wisconsin.²³ Kanakas never formed a majority of the working force in any area after 1845, but their influence was felt throughout the United States especially in the area west of the Rocky Mountains.

Kanaka impact was greatest as seamen; indeed, their abilities in this respect had been recognized as early as 1811.²⁴ Whalers and merchant ships sailing out of eastern ports customarily stopped at the Islands to obtain Kanaka reinforcements.²⁵ The captain of the brig Ann, of Bryant and Sturgis Company, Boston, was only one who received orders to sail to Hawaii and "Take as many stout Islanders as will increase your crew to 21 or 22...and when you return from the coast [Pacific Northwest] discharge and pay them off in such articles of trade as you have left..."²⁶ Most American ships not only stopped at the Islands enroute, but also returned to winter there.²⁷ It was an excellent situation

²¹MS. 803. Seventh Census of U. S.: 1850 (Washington, 1853).

²²Seventh Census, ibid.

²³Ibid.

²⁴U. S. Congress, House, H. Doc. 29, ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Huykendall, Hawaiian Kingdom, p. 88.

²⁷HERS Vol. XXII, p. 615.

for both parties -- the Americans could acquire seamen of ability at low wages, and the Kanakas did not have to sign three-year contracts or winter in the cold climate of the Northwest.

As the number of American and foreign vessels stopping at the Islands increased so also did the number of Kanakas joining them as seamen. The tonnage of American vessels employed in foreign trade jumped from 706,463 in 1815 to 877,031 in 1816.²⁸ By 1829 the value of the cargoes of those stopping at Hawaii was estimated at \$4,000,000 and between 1824-44, 52 war ships and 1712 whaleships, three-fourths of which were American, had entered Island ports.²⁹ In 1823, 200 Kanakas had signed on whalers, in 1832 there were 400, and in 1836, 600.³⁰ For the period January 1, 1843, to June, 1844, the following number of Kanakas had been recruited: for whalers, 114; California merchant vessels, 51; Columbia River trade, 50; French ship Lion, 12; vessels to Mazatlan, 10; to Valparaiso, 8; Russian vessels, 6; and vessels trading to China, 5.³¹

Adventure was not the only reason that so many Kanakas left their homes. The wages on the Islands were low in contrast to those paid aboard the foreign vessels. Unskilled labor ashore averaged from 12½ to 50 cents per day, \$2 to \$6 per month, while Kanaka seamen were paid \$5

²⁸Statistical Annals...of the United States of America (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson & Son, 1818), p. 319.

²⁹Bingham, Residence of Twenty-one Years, p. 358.

to \$12 per month on merchant vessels.³² Aboard whalers they were paid by 'lays', or shares, which varied from 120th to 250th of the value of cargo taken. Most Kanakas as well as the majority of American and European seamen received 140th³³ to 150th shares.

The Islanders were eagerly sought by foreign captains, all of whom held high respect for Kanakas under their employ. They were considered subordinate, docile, good natured, and trustworthy.³⁴ Their swimming abilities made them especially useful for handling boats in rough surfs. Many Hawaiian seamen never returned to the Islands, but those who did were "...readily distinguishable amongst the population, by their superior cleanliness, dress and assimilation to foreigners in their manners and habits."³⁵

However, the fact that many Kanakas did not return home became a major concern of the Island government. The Hawaiian census in 1849 showed a continuing decrease in the native population and the "large number of Hawaiian youth who have left in whaleships and never returned" was

³⁰ Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 222.

³¹ The Friend, September 4, 1844.

³² Schmitt, "Population Characteristics," 358.

³³ The Friend, ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

considered a major cause of this decline.³⁶ The numbers who left annually "was computed at 4000," many of whom left wives and families to fend for themselves.³⁷

Two measures were taken to meet this population decline crisis. First of all, after 1844 native seamen could be hired only at the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina, and then only with the governor's consent.³⁸ Any vessel taking away kanakas without such permission would be fined \$400. Those leaving, whether "...domiciled alien, naturalized foreigner or native," had to present a passport issued by the Hawaiian Minister of Foreign Relations.³⁹ Vessels discharging Kanakas had to do so at the designated ports of Honolulu and Lahaina.⁴⁰ These attempts at control did not decrease the number of Kanakas leaving the Islands but it did increase the funds in the Hawaiian treasury since taxes were assessed against "Shipping Natives."⁴¹ In 1847, the gross receipts from this tax, at Honolulu only, were \$876.25. In 1852 the amount received at Honolulu was \$950, at Lahaina, \$457.50.⁴²

The second measure taken by the Hawaiian government was to assess a second tax against those Kanakas leaving

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷November 15, 1849, *ibid.*

³⁸September 15, 1852, *ibid.*

³⁹February 1, 1847, *ibid.*

⁴⁰*Ibid.*

⁴¹February 1, 1848, *ibid.*

families behind to insure their proper support.⁴³ This measure was even more lucrative even though the amounts collected were not supposed to be added to the Island treasury. Careful statistics were kept, however, and in 1852 the amount assessed at Honolulu totaled \$1,003, and Lahaina⁴⁴ \$708.

Kanakas also were serving aboard native vessels that formed a growing fleet called the Mosquito Fleet.⁴⁵ Eighteen Islanders were recruited for this fleet in 1843-44.⁴⁶ By 1872, twenty-six Hawaiian vessels were manned by Kanakas and often the captain was a native who had received his experience aboard foreign ships.⁴⁷

There was, of course, another reason why some Kanakas did not return to their homes. All seamen often met with tragedy and the Kanakas received their share. In a few cases they also became involved in mutiny or piracy, and frequently they became ill and died at sea. John Colcord reported picking up three Kanakas at Norfolk Sound who had been left in California by their previous ship. They had

⁴²February 1, 1853, *ibid.*

⁴³Simpson, Narrative, pp. 77-8; Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 224.

⁴⁴The Friend, *ibid.*

⁴⁵July 1, 1845, *ibid.*

⁴⁶Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 222.

⁴⁷The Friend, July 1, 1845.

then joined a second vessel which was attacked by pirates. The Islanders were the only ones left aboard so they steered north hoping to reach land. When they reached Norfolk Sound the Russians confiscated their ship but Colcord arrived soon⁴⁸ after and returned them to the Islands. In 1834, the Chinchilla, captain [T.?] Meek, picked up two Kanakas stranded on Fanning's Island, and returned them to Hawaii. It was later discovered these Kanakas had been involved in the killing of their original employer. Both were tried, found⁴⁹ guilty, and executed.

Shipwrecks were common and often fatal to crews. In November, 1842, the whaleship Holder Borden, sailing out of Massachusetts, was lost with a cargo valued at \$65,000.⁵⁰ The crew which included five Kanakas, built a small boat⁵¹ from the wreckage and managed to return to Honolulu. When the whaler Baltic was wrecked off Kamchatka on June 16, 1844, three Kanakas were among the crew that was lost. The Hawaiian schooner Paalua was lost in April, 1845, but her⁵² Hawaiian crew managed to swim to land. When the whale-ship Triton was attacked by natives off Sydenham's Island

⁴⁸Journal of John Nason Colcord. Oregon Historical Society MS. 234.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰The Friend, November 1, 1844.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²May 1, 1845 and August 15, 1846, *ibid.*

part of her crew was massacred. One Kanaka, however, risked his own life to protect that of his captain, Thomas Spencer,⁵³ and both eventually managed to reach safety.

Kanaka seamen who became ill aboard ship were an especial problem of foreign consuls along the Pacific Coast. Thomas O. Larkin, the American consul in California, attempted to care for sick seamen and operated a hospital in their behalf. In 1841 he accepted five Kanakas with smallpox from the bark Don Quixote.⁵⁴ Larkin, however, was not certain where his authority ended and who he was authorized to accept. He wrote to William Hooper, American Vice-consul at Oahu, asking his advice on accepting sick Kanakas from American ships.⁵⁵ Larkin felt that "From Mr. [Daniel] Webster's (former Secretary of State) opinion that everyone under our flag is entitled to its protection..." that he must accept them. Larkin further informed Hooper that he looked "...for many cases of Natives of your Islands being brought to this Consulate from American Whale Ships. [He had already] buried two Kanakas, and [was] attending to some others."⁵⁶ At the same time Larkin wrote John C. Calhoun,⁵⁷ Secretary of State, requesting his opinion on the matter.

⁵³September 1, October 1, 1848, *ibid*.

⁵⁴George P. Hammond, ed., The Larkin Papers... (9 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951) I, p. 96. Hereafter cited as Larkin Papers by volume.

⁵⁵Vol. II, p. 274, *ibid*.

⁵⁶*ibid*.

Before he could receive a reply from either Hooper or Calhoun, Larkin accepted three Islanders from the brig Monmouth who were ill with scurvy. Captain H. B. Hedger certified that the Kanakas, "...John Pilikin, Harry Coffen and George Washington..." were released to be cared for at the Consul hospital.⁵⁸ Pilikin and Coffen were later placed aboard the Don Quixote as foremast hands, but Washington⁵⁹ reappeared in Oregon in 1846 as a lumber mill hand.

In November, 1844, another Kanaka named Peter Perry was attacked by two California soldiers, severely cut with a razor, and robbed.⁶⁰ Perry was employed as a house servant by Larkin, who immediately protested to Manuel Micheltorena, the Mexican governor of California. Larkin requested punishment of the attackers to the full extent of Mexican law as soon as possible. He also informed Micheltorena that one of the soldiers involved had made previous assaults. The punishment for at least one of the soldiers was only four months in irons and then transfer to San Blas.⁶¹

Larkin eventually received an answer to his question on accepting Kanaka seamen although it came from the U. S. Treasury Department, not Secretary Calhoun. Larkin had

⁵⁷Ibid., pp. 309-10.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 278.

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 350; Astoria Mills ledger.

⁶⁰Larkin Papers, Vol. II, p. 283.

⁶¹Ibid.

claimed an amount of \$45 for boarding the Islanders from the ⁶²Monmouth. On June 12, 1845, Stephen Pleasonton of the Treasury Department wrote Larkin that "the Amount of Voucher No. 7, being for the boarding of George Washington, John Piliken and Henry Coffen, natives of the Sandwich Islands [is rejected]...., as the men were not American Seamen and therefore not entitled to relief."⁶³

By this time, however, the Hawaiian government was taking steps to provide its own foreign consuls. On August 25, 1848, official instructions for such consuls were ⁶⁴adopted in the Islands. These instructions forbade consuls from protecting Hawaiian subjects who had committed crimes, and from issuing passports to anyone known to be a deserter, drunkard, gambler, or of bad character in general. In cases where Hawaiian subjects died intestate, the consul was to take an inventory of his goods and dispose of them by public auction, but the consul was forbidden to interfere with the local government's jurisdiction over land or other ⁶⁵immovable property of Kanakas. The instructions also provided for the payment of salvage charges in case of wrecked Hawaiian vessels, and "In cases where Hawaiian subjects complain to the Consul of wages withheld, the Consul [was] to

⁶²Ibid., p. 353.

⁶³Vol. III, p. 235, ibid.

⁶⁴Extracts from instructions to diplomatic agents..., August 25, 1848. British Foreign Office microfilm.

employ his good offices with the employers..., and where justice is refused,...to recommend them courteously to the authorities of the country [involved]...."⁶⁶

It was also as crewmen of a United States ship that Kanakas made a small contribution to an international incident in 1848-49. Eight Hawaiians aboard the USS Lagoda, owned by Jonathan Bourne, Jr., of Massachusetts, joined in a desertion that took place off the coast of Japan on June 6, 1848.⁶⁷ Fifteen crew members including the Kanakas left the ship in their whaleboats and landed near the Straits of Matsmai. One of the Americans involved, John Brady, had been reported previously as a runaway from the Liverpool off the coast of Patagonia.⁶⁸

These deserters were imprisoned by the Japanese and fairly well treated until they escaped twice. Then the recaptured prisoners were forced to trample on a crucifix to prove they were not Catholic, and imprisoned in cages at Nagasaki with their feet in stocks, no fires or lights, and little clothing.⁶⁹ On December 17, one of the Kanakas, Maui, hung himself. The Japanese did not remove the body

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷U. S. Congress, Senate, S. Doc. 59, 32nd Cong., 1st sess. Jonathan Bourne, Jr., was the father of Oregon's Senator Bourne.

⁶⁸The Friend, November 1, 1848.

⁶⁹October 1, December 20, 1849, *ibid.*

for two days and then would not allow the other crewmen to bury their dead companion. On January 24, 1849, one of the Americans, Ezra Goldthwaite, died. Goldthwaite had been treated by a Japanese physician, and the remaining crewmen later stated that they were sure foul play had caused his death.⁷⁰

In April, 1849, Commodore D. Geisinger, United States Naval Commander in the East Indies, sent Commander James Glynn and his ship Preble to effect the rescue of the deserters. Glynn spent two weeks at Nagasaki arguing with Japanese officers and local officials before the prisoners were released.⁷¹ The rescued seamen claimed they had deserted because of harsh treatment. The incident was investigated by the U. S. Congress but no apparent punitive action was taken. Depositions on their treatment or reasons for leaving their ship were not taken from the Hawaiians involved.⁷²

Seagoing Kanakas, however, eventually learned to demand their rights according to the current maritime practices. In 1850, seventeen Islanders sought court redress from the owner of the British schooner Enigma. The Kanakas claimed damages for privations suffered aboard the schooner during a voyage to Hong Kong. They were forced to sleep on

⁷⁰October 1, 1849, *ibid.*

⁷¹October 1 and December 20, 1849, *ibid.*

⁷²Senate Document 59, *ibid.*

deck, given little water, and only 45 days' rations for a voyage that lasted 63 days.⁷³ As a result four of their number died. The British court ruled that the maritime act had been violated and awarded a \$2000 settlement.⁷⁴ Just a year later the death of a Kanaka aboard the British ship Pekin was thoroughly investigated in an English court.⁷⁵ The treatment of seamen was under attack at this period, and many governments were re-evaluating the long standing maritime codes. It is significant that Kanakas were included in the reappraisal since it indicates to what extent their numbers and abilities were appreciated.

Numerous instances have been recorded of the maritime skills of Kanakas being praised by sea captains or other persons, of which the following is only one example. A. J. Wing, captain of the whaleship Canton, reported being shipwrecked in 1854. The survivors managed to reach an island but it had no water or vegetation. Fortunately, according to Wing, "...by the assistance of an expert Kanaka swimmer, some of the crew, were enabled to communicate through the rough seas with the wreck, from which they saved a quantity of bread and other provisions."⁷⁶

The daring Kanakas were not frightened away from their seafaring livelihoods even by the threat of becoming involved

⁷³The Friend, October 15, 1850.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵September 1, 1853, ibid.

in the American Civil War. One of the Island newspapers mentioned as early as 1863 that Islanders had taken sides in the conflict,⁷⁷ and in September, 1865, this same paper reported several Kanakas had become captives aboard the Confederate pirate ship C. S. S. Shenandoah which was attacking Union whalers. The captain of the Shenandoah, James I. Waddell, captured and burned these vessels after presenting crews with the ultimatum of joining him or being marooned. Some fifty Kanakas finally were returned to the Islands by Waddell who reported to have been "...rather partial to Hawaiians...."⁷⁸

The Russian-American Company also employed Kanaka seamen and laborers. The Company, first chartered in 1799, was under the complete control of the Russian government who wanted to expand in the Pacific, and since the Company colonies in Alaska could not support themselves, the government expressed interest in California as early as the 1790's. For the same reasons Company efforts were made in the Hawaiian Islands but American influence with Kamehameha made Russian control impossible.⁷⁹

By 1811 Russian interests in the Pacific had concentrated in Alaska and northern California. Fifteen

⁷⁶March 1, 1855, *ibid.*

⁷⁷February 2, 1863, *ibid.*

⁷⁸September 1, 1865, *ibid.*

⁷⁹S. B. Okun, The Russian-American Company (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 50, 94. Hereafter cited as Okun, Russian-American Company.

settlements were established in the northern continent and adjacent islands, while at Ross forty-nine Russians labored to produce sufficient grain and livestock to feed the northern colonies.

⁸⁰ Ross Settlement was one square mile in area protected on the seaward side by a 70-foot precipice. Employees' quarters were located half-way between the fort and Bodega Bay, the Company's harbor. Buildings included a tannery, mill, workshops, storerooms and a cattle shed.⁸¹ The Company continued efforts to expand in California even after investigations showed that Ross was only capable of feeding itself, and after repeated complaints from the Spanish government denying the legality of the Russian colony in California and claiming non-payment of duties.⁸²

Ross and all the Russian colonies faced a severe labor problem from the beginning of their existence compounded by the still prevalent system of serfdom that existed in Russia. The dubious methods of the Company in acquiring settlers and seamen, and their treatment after employee contracts were signed applied not only to Russian peasants but also to Aleuts, Indians, and Kanakas in the Company's service. Since Alaskan natives were the most numerous and most vulnerable however, they suffered most and complaints of their

⁸⁰Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 55, 134. Main Office to Spanish Ambassador de Zea Bermudez, August, 1817, Records of the Russian-American Company 1802, 1817-1867, on microfilm. Oregon Historical Society. Hereafter cited as Russian-American Company microfilm.

⁸¹Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 123, 127, 239.

mistreatment are recorded in Company correspondence as early as 1816.⁸³ There are numerous references to the high death rate among these people, the Company organized them into forced labor gangs, and discouraged efforts to Christianize them.⁸⁴

The labor shortage apparently was most severe aboard the Company vessels used in transporting furs and supplies. The lack of qualified crews resulted in sixteen shipwrecks, out of a total fleet of only 32 vessels. The adeptness of the Kanakas as seamen made the Islands a logical recruiting area for Company employees, and Hawaiians were early considered as replacements for Aleuts on the Alaskan islands.⁸⁵

Conditions of employment could not have been attractive even disregarding the severe climate. All employees were at first signed up for seven years but later this was extended to fourteen years.⁸⁶ Many were falsely recruited, paid by half-shares rather than by wages, and could not leave the colonies without permission of the government.⁸⁷ Malingering resulted in loss of half of the annual salary which was 350 rubles in 1821.⁸⁸ The government charged a high

⁸²Main Office to Gov. Gen. Leontie A. Hagemeister, August 12, 1819, Russian-American Company microfilm.

⁸³Gov. Gen. Ivan Borisovich Pestel to Minister of Interior Kozodavlev, March 31, 1816, *ibid*.

⁸⁴Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 204, 211.

⁸⁵Okun, Russian-American Company, p. 99. Main Office to Gov. Gen. Aleksande Andrevich Baranov, March 22, 1817; Main Office to Hagemeister, January 6, 1821, *ibid*.

fee for renewal of passports, required of all employees in America, but the passports were renewed even when employees refused to give their written consent.⁸⁹ An oath of allegiance to the Russian czar was required, and the government supervised the issuance of clothing, medical and educational services.⁹⁰ Employees who authorized allotments for their families did so for the duration of their employment; under no circumstances could they later be decreased or terminated. Company monopoly of supplies placed employees in a position not dissimilar to that of miners in early American company towns -- they were kept in debt to the Company for necessities and were forbidden to leave the colonies so long as such a debt existed.⁹¹ The Company correspondence records only one instance in which Kanakas were given approval to return to their Islands,⁹² no approvals were included for natives, and the very few for Russian peasants indicate the permission was granted so the government would not have the responsibility of dependent families.

⁸⁶ Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 171-73.

⁸⁷ Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 176-7. Main Office to Gov. Gen. Matvei Ivanovich Muraviev, March 8, 1821, Russian-American Company microfilm.

⁸⁸ Main Office to Muraviev, January 15, 1820, and March 15, 1821, *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Main Office to Muraviev, May 20, 1820, and February 27, 1827, *ibid.*

⁹⁰ Main Office to Muraviev, March 24, 1826; January 20, 1820; to Gov. Gen. Petr Egrovich Christiakov, March 31, 1827.

Under such working conditions it is not surprising that labor shortage and desertion continued to plague the Company, or that repeated requests that census information be supplied the Russian government were ignored.⁹³ The Company had good reason to avoid complying with such requests but, as a result, little reliable data on numbers of employees is available. In 1833 the population at Ross was reported as 199 of which only 41 were Russian, and in 1843 at least four Kanakas were engaged for the Kamchatka labor force. In 1851 the population of all the Russian-American colonies was given as 9,273, including 1,070 Kanakas.⁹⁴ Any additional figures were either never reported or destroyed later by the Company.⁹⁵

But regardless of the number of Kanakas who served the Russian-American Company or American and foreign merchant

⁹¹Main Office to Christiakov, *ibid.*; Main Office to Muraviev, March 27, 1825, *ibid.*

⁹²Main Office to Muraviev, March 27, 1825, *ibid.*

⁹³Okun, Russian-American Company, p. 204. Main Office to Christiakov, March 31, 1827, Russian-American Company microfilm.

⁹⁴Okun, Russian-American Company, pp. 140-44. Greer, "Wandering Kamaainas," 222. "Letters of A. Rotchev, last Commandant at Fort Ross,..." tr. and intro. by Frederick C. Cordes, California Historical Society Quarterly, XXXIX (June, 1960), 109.

⁹⁵Both S. B. Okun and Raymond H. Fisher, author of the guide to Russian microfilm records, report that Company records in St. Petersburg have never been found and are presumed destroyed.

and whaling vessels, or the increasing number of privately owned businesses in the Pacific Northwest and California, the fact remains that the Islanders were everywhere evident and expanding their horizons and abilities. They were continuing to function as a part of the available labor force, and to draw demands upon their various skills. But as the United States expanded to the Pacific Ocean and foreign competition dwindled or was completely eliminated, the economic picture changed and Kanaka fortunes began to decline. The first indication of future economic reversal for the Islanders came in 1848 when gold was discovered in California.

CHAPTER V

KANAKA GOLD FEVER

When Johann Augustus Sutter reached California in 1839 he immediately presented himself before the Mexican governor, Juan Alvarado, and convinced the governor to sell him a large amount of land north of San Francisco on the American River.¹ At the same time Sutter informed Alvarado that he had brought with him a labor force that consisted of "...5 White Men and 8 Kanakas [sic; (two of them married)]!"²

Sutter prospered by selling supplies to arriving emigrants, either from Oregon or the East, by selling livestock and produce to Californians, and by trapping furs under the very noses of HBC traders until he bought the Ross fort and surrounding acreage in December, 1841, a purchase that effectively limited HBC activities in the area thereafter.³ The province of California meanwhile was becoming a great attraction to Americans, for its harbors at Monterey and San Diego were regular stopovers for whalers and merchant vessels, and Sutter had every intention to

¹John A. Sutter, The Diary of Johann Augustus Sutter (San Francisco: Grabhorn Press, 1932), p. 3.

²Ibid.

³Ione E. Harkness, "The HBC Enterprises in California," Oregon Historical Society MS. 728.

continue growing with California. He urged the Monterey government to end its relationships with the HBC and meddled in local political splits favoring the side he considered most likely to gain control.⁴ The HBC finally did decide to sell all its properties in California in 1846, but Sutter was not successful in obtaining political alignments with the Americans.⁵

The foreign population in California, centered in San Francisco, was growing rapidly, and by June, 1847, 375 whites had located there in addition to forty Kanakas and ten Negroes.⁶ This population included few women (only one of the Islanders was a woman) and 4/5's of it was under the age of 40.⁷ The Kanakas and Negroes "...formed nearly one-fifth of the population, and were mostly employed as servants and porters. Many of the Sandwich Islanders were engaged in navigating the bay, and were very expert boatmen."⁸

One of the whites counted as a member of the San Francisco population was James H. Wilbur, a Methodist minister who eventually traveled to Oregon and became part of the staff at Willamette Institute.⁹ At the time he lived in

⁴ James A. Forbes to Eustace Barron, January 27, 1845. British Foreign Office microfilm.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, pp. 176-8.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

San Francisco he counted only 160 houses with most of the population living in tents or shanties.¹⁰ He organized a Sabbath school and instructed a class of five Kanakas who Wilbur considered to be "...remarkably smart and apt to learn. He [taught] 3 of them the Alphabet so they [knew] every letter during the School[.]"¹¹

Meanwhile Sutter had decided to build a grist mill on the American River to add another facet to his growing empire.¹² Workers at the mill discovered gold and it was not long before this exciting news had reached Oregon and all of the United States east of the Mississippi. The laboring classes of San Francisco were among the first to desert their positions and head for the American River.¹³ This first rush included Indians, Mexicans from Sonora, California Kanakas, and settlers from Oregon, the latter also including Kanakas.¹⁴

The discovery of gold changed the pattern of California growth and, in particular, the situation of its laboring classes. Wages rose to \$12 to \$30 a day, and jobs still

⁹James H. Wilbur Journal. Oregon Historical Society MS. 98 on microfilm.

¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, p. 133.

¹³Ibid., p. 209.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 133. MS. 803.

went begging.¹⁵ In Oregon and other surrounding areas mechanics, farmers, merchants, doctors, and ministers started for the gold fields by the thousands.¹⁶ They left profitable businesses, sacrificed property, and paid high prices for mining supplies without a second thought. Soldiers deserted and crews jumped ship once they reached San Francisco Bay.¹⁷

Many also began leaving the Islands for the gold fields. Some wrote back that all the gold stories were true and opportunities were excellent even if the Islanders decided not to mine.¹⁸ \$200 a month had been offered one man to take charge of a ship, while anyone could get \$6 a day for labor ashore. Some reported that \$10-\$20 a day was made digging but this estimate might jump to as high as \$500 a day.¹⁹

Other Islanders, however, soon discovered the hardships involved -- the difficult labor, cold weather, and much sickness.²⁰ Kanakas returned from the Sacramento River with fever and ague, but not gold, and they were quick to suggest that those in the Islands stay there and avoid the unrewarding hardships and the extremely high prices that included \$1 per pound for coffee, butter, or potatoes, and \$50-\$100 for one woolen blanket.²¹

¹⁵Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, p. 215.

¹⁶"Atkinson Diary," 361.

¹⁷"Atkinson Diary," ibid. Sutter's Diary, p. 50.

California was indeed booming. Its population increased by 15,000 during the first six months of 1849, and by the end of the year some 40,000 people had landed at San Francisco while another 3,000-4,000 seamen deserted.²²

Wages continued to rise and property values soared. Land worth \$15 in 1847 had risen to \$400 in 1848, and to \$10,000 by 1849.²³ The population was swollen by large numbers of Chinese and Mexicans who mingled on San Francisco streets with "bad-smelling" Negroes and "handsome" Kanakas.²⁴

The Islanders at the mining areas had little success and experienced difficulties with other miners because of their unorthodox methods. The Kanakas were so adept as swimmers and divers that they could effectively scour the river bottoms for gold. American miners did not appreciate such methods because they were not capable of performing such feats themselves. Along the American River, for instance, Kanakas worked an area some 50 yards long and 15 feet deep. The Kanakas here filled empty kegs with rocks and then attached the kegs to ropes.²⁵ The kegs were sunk at likely

¹⁸The Friend, October 1, 1848.

¹⁹November 1, 1848, *ibid.*

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, pp. 243-44.

²³The Friend, November 1, 1848.

²⁴Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, p. 258.

spots and then the Islanders dove into the water to shovel sand from the bottom of the river into the kegs.²⁶ After the kegs were hauled up the sand was washed in cradles to separate out the gold.²⁷

Kanakas also settled along rivers in Sierra, Trinity, El Dorado, and Stanislaus counties. There were eight Islanders at Verona and another forty at La Grange.²⁸ The Hawaiian community at Indian Creek was led by Kenao and included twenty-four Kanakas, two Hawaiian women, and several Digger Indian women. Those at Indian Creek were considered Christians -- perhaps five of their number had previously attended the Rev. Wilbur's Sunday school. Kenao lived in a painted clapboard house he had built. The Digger women had been taught to speak Hawaiian, could read the Hawaiian Bible, and were extremely neat housewives.²⁹ All of those at Indian Creek contributed funds to build a community church and to support a foreign missionary.³⁰ Some of the Kanakas without their families sent gold dust back to the Islands for their support.³¹ Unfortunately, in 1862, smallpox claimed

²⁵C. W. Haskins, The Argonauts of California (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert, 1890), pp. 77-78.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Richard H. Dillon, "Kanakan Colonies in California," Pacific Historical Review, XXIV (February, 1955), 22. Hereafter cited as Dillon, "Kanakan Colonies."

²⁹Alta California, May 24, 1862.

the lives of several of these Islanders, including Kenao and his stepson.³²

In 1849, the Rev. Damon, who as mentioned published The Friend newspaper in Honolulu and operated the Seamen's Chapel there, decided to visit California while on the Northwest Coast.³³ After reaching San Francisco, he set out with the superintendent of Methodist Missions to visit the various Kanaka settlements. He was eager to find old friends but since "...there had been much difficulty between Americans and foreigners at other places, [he was also] desirous of cautioning the Hawaiians to be upon their guard and not to give offence to the Americans."³⁴ Those Damon spoke to³⁵ listened carefully and asked "sensible" questions.

Damon received about twenty letters to deliver in the Islands for the Kanakas, and was received warmly wherever he went. At one settlement he found an American lawyer selling the Kanakas liquor,³⁶ but Damon later reported that he had been "...glad to learn that a majority of the Hawaiians

³⁰Ibid.

³¹The Friend, February 2, 1863.

³²Alta California, ibid.

³³The Friend, December 1, 1849.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

"were true to their tee-total principles, while those who were seduced had been long upon the coast and away from missionary influence!"³⁷ Damon was certain many met regularly for Sunday services conducted by members of their own group.³⁸

Many of the old friends Damon discovered digging for gold had previously been seamen. Seamen's wages had jumped to \$200 a month and officers' wages even higher, yet he found that few seamen were willing to rejoin ships even at rates of \$1000 for seamen on vessels sailing for the United States.³⁹ The magnetism of the gold fields was reflected in the number of vessels stranded in San Francisco's harbor in October, 1851. 232 were American, 36 British, and 11 French. Another 148, apparently completely abandoned,⁴⁰ had been run aground to serve as store buildings. San Francisco's population had climbed to 25,000 (California had 264,435) and the poor living conditions resulted in a cholera epidemic. The number of burials exceeded 4800 by the end of 1854, while before 1850 the total burials had been less than 1000.⁴¹

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Soulé, Annals of San Francisco, p. 355.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 594-6.

The foreign immigration, particularly of Chinese, was still high, and it was only the Chinese who were considered disorderly and undesirable.⁴² This dislike of the Chinese developed into a strong prejudice that spread to Mexicans, Peruvians, Chileans, and finally to the Kanakas, because as foreigners they threatened American dominance in the gold fields. Increasing demands were thus made to have them barred from the mines.⁴³ In 1850 the California legislature passed a law requiring foreigners to pay \$20 per month for the privilege of mining. Such a fee made it impossible for many to continue mining since this amount might not be dug in a month. The few who remained merely were denied permission to use the permit issued with payment of the fee. Such was the case when Captain Coxe attempted to mine under a permit he had legally purchased on the American River.⁴⁴

Kanakas were no longer welcome in the gold fields, but when they attempted to return to other labor fields, they also found they were facing discrimination that had at first been leveled at the Chinese. The California Senate had passed an act calling for "Exclusion, specifically of 'Chinese or Kanaka carpenters, masons, or blacksmiths, brought here in swarms under contracts to compete with our own

⁴²Ibid., p. 368.

⁴³The Friend, December 1, 1849.

⁴⁴Dillon, "Kanakan Colonies," 18. Coxe was a Kanaka leader on the American River and was perhaps John Coxe of the HEC.

"mechanics, whose labor is honorable, and as well entitled to social and political rights as the pursuits designated' learned professions."⁴⁵ Still, many of the Islanders refused to return to their homeland. In 1860, 138 of them⁴⁶ were still in California. Of those who left many merely followed the trail of gold to British Canada where a rush had begun April 25, 1858, and later moved on to Oregon.⁴⁷ In Victoria the same problems faced the permanent inhabitant, even if to a lesser degree, as had almost overwhelmed San Francisco. The town "...swarmed with open latrines, tents, lean-to's, Negroes, Kanakas, Chinese, Jews, Frenchmen...who congregated like birds of a feather...the Jews on Johnson Street, the Chinese in nearby Little Canton, the Kanakas on Kanaka Row [now Humboldt Street] and the negroes⁴⁸ wherever they could find room."

The gold rush in the Klamath river area in Oregon began in 1870, and many Hawaiians migrated to that area to operate placer mines. At the height of the rush approximately one hundred were located along various creeks and one Hawaiian mine remained in operation until 1885.⁴⁹ There

⁴⁵U. S. Congress, Senate, 50th Cong., 1st sess., Congressional Record, p. 8225.

⁴⁶Paul S. Taylor, "Foundations of California Rural Society," California Historical Society Quarterly, XXIV (September, 1945), 340.

⁴⁷Gregson, Victoria, p. 12.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 13.

was a Kanaka school and cemetery at Klamath River and President Herbert Hoover visited the former during a fishing trip.⁵⁰

Some of the 138 Kanakas who did not leave California began missionary work with the Digger Indians, considered the lowest of Indian groups because of their wandering habits and low social structure. No church had bothered to consider their salvation, but the Islanders moved into their midst, taught them new skills, and even intermarried with them.⁵¹ One of these Diggers, John Makani, was sent to the Islands for religious training by the Hawaiian Missionary Board and later returned to California to teach and Christianize his tribe.⁵² But the Diggers were doomed as surely as other California Indian groups before them, and Kanakas who were themselves facing discrimination in this area could do little to protect their Indian charges.

As the American nation began looking toward the beginning of a new century, citizens of the western United States were just beginning to realize their full economic and political potentials. Growth in the West, however, began with immigration from the East and this movement

⁴⁹Medford Mail Tribune, March 22, 1967.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹The Friend, December 1, 1849.

⁵²Dillon, "Kanaka Colonies," 21.

westward embodied a spread and accentuation of white superiority principles. The Chinese in California were the first to experience the implications of this doctrine because at the time of the gold rush they were the most numerous and most foreign in their social habits. What started with the Orientals, however, quickly spread to threaten members of the Hawaiian nation, not because, as has been indicated, the Kanakas were disorderly or unchristian in their social structure, or unwilling to work equally as hard as the Americans. The reason was simply because they were not white and such a prejudicial outlook was incapable of discriminatory application. California was only the beginning to the racial struggle facing Kanakas in the West. What the gold rush of 1849 initiated, the political turmoils of the last decades of the nineteenth century completed.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL DEFEAT

The mid-nineteenth century was a period of considerable political upheaval throughout the United States, in the Hawaiian Islands, and in Great Britain. The British, embodied in the HBC, and Americans had disputed for thirty years the boundary and possessory rights in the Oregon country.¹ As the numbers of American settlers increased along the Columbia River, their demand for a settlement of the dispute and protection under the American flag increased. At the same time Englishmen were beginning to question the rightness of monopoly as represented by the HBC, and the Company itself had reached the conclusion that the profitability of the Oregon country was rapidly disappearing.² As John McLoughlin had earlier realized, it had been impossible to stop the American immigrant tide and so he had supported them economically and cooperated in the establishment of the Oregon Provisional Government in 1843.³

¹Frederick Merk, The Oregon Question (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. x.

²Ibid., pp. 234-254; 309-336.

³Oregon Archives; including the Journals, Governors' Messages, and Public Papers of Oregon... (Salem: Asahel Bush, 1893), pp. 12-13.

Unfortunately, McLoughlin's cooperation had not eliminated the antagonism that existed between the Americans and British subjects, and by the time the Oregon Question was settled in 1846 the British subject or employee had become a focal point for intense dislike and discrimination. This antagonism was an important factor in the political organization that led to the establishment of Oregon Territory in 1848.

1848 was also the year that the United States and Mexican governments concluded the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the Mexican War. This treaty and the boundary settlement in Oregon added 1,2000,000 square miles to the American territory, including the rest of Texas, and all of New Mexico and California.⁴ The United States had extended itself to the Pacific fulfilling its "Manifest Destiny" and creating a continental democracy. Expansion, however, also would soon increase the problems related to sectionalism within the United States. It was already evident that the young democracy was moving inexorably toward an internal conflict over states' rights and slavery.

The opposing forces that would clash over the issue of Negro suffrage manifested several additional social phenomena that influenced the political characteristics of the Oregon country in 1848. Whether or not it is true that racial prejudice became more pronounced as the American

⁴Ray Allen Billington, Westward Expansion: A History of the American Frontier (Third Ed.; New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), pp. 586-87.

nation expanded westward, the fact remains that such prejudices were exhibited in Oregon against Negroes, Kanakas, Indians, and the Chinese. No distinction was made among any of these groups -- all were inferior because none were white. Similarly, anti-Catholicism was rampant, not only because of the prominence of the Protestant missions in Oregon, but also because a similar movement soon would blossom east of the Rockies in the Know-Nothing Party.⁵

Oregon politics and political leaders, therefore, were only mirrors of Eastern thought during the same period, with only minor variations to accommodate social differences. Easterners, for the most part, were unfamiliar with Indians unexposed to American civilization, but the menace of those in the Northwest was exploited after the Whitman Massacre.

Land was of paramount importance to all Americans regardless of their location, and the demand for its effective exploitation for the benefit of white Americans increased racial problems. Americans believed that land ownership meant prosperity, social acceptance, and individuality. Land was nationalism, democracy, and equality at the polls and the man who owned land and tilled the soil was a symbol of respect, the American dream, and a blossoming agrarian myth. Agrarianism encompassed racial

⁵Richard Hofstadter, The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R. (New York: Random House, 1955), pp. 70-74.
 Ray Allen Billington, The Protestant Crusade 1800-1860 (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. 234.

prejudice -- toward the Indian because he did not accept the symbol or the dream, and toward Negroes, Kanakas, and Chinese because land acquisition for them meant less land available for whites to control and exploit. The obvious solution was to deny minorities consideration under the various U. S. land acts and this policy, in turn, furthered prejudicial social, political, and economic behavior on the part of a white, Protestant majority.

The Islands also were facing problems of expansion and nationhood. The population still was threatened by disease and loss of its young men to foreign merchant vessels and labor markets.⁶ Kamehameha III and his advisors were making progress toward establishing a democratic form of government but outside influences were becoming increasingly difficult to control or subordinate. American observers were expressing a fear that the Hawaiian government would "...soon be in [the] hands of Foreigners."⁷ It was not so much annexation by a foreign government that was feared, however, as of "...white Kanakas. [who] will work the Rightful owners and proprietors of the Sovereignty out of place, power, and interest and everything belonging to the aboriginal!"⁸

⁶British Foreign Office to William Miller, November 15, 1853. British Foreign Office microfilm.

⁷Markin Papers, Vol. V, p. 80.

⁸Ibid.

Americans, of course, saw only British usurpers among these white Kanakas, and Stephen Reynolds, of Honolulu, was hopeful that the United States would send a new consul and commissioner to the Islands to do some "...taming among the⁹ Heathen-ish white skin-Kanakas." The British placed the blame on Americans who, the British Consul claimed, had framed the Constitution and laws of the Island kingdom, directed all Church affairs, and controlled the King, his chiefs, and all the Islanders.¹⁰ Even the judicial system had Americans serving as jurors although at least a portion of the judges were natives. Lord Aberdeen, Britain's foreign minister, was very much aware of the bitter feeling in the Islands between Americans and Englishmen, but he wrote his Hawaiian consul that England could not combat the American influence openly, but should rather work to reverse native opinions.¹¹ Such persuasion was not easy in view of the previous British forced landing on the Islands and of Charlton's successful land grab. But Americans had displayed their greed too and many United States ship owners, as well as British merchants, were suspected of purchasing vessels in the Island area simply to claim the right, according to Hawaiian law, to register such vessels as Hawaiian and thereby avoid payment of all harbor dues.¹²

⁹Vol. IV, pp. 197-98, ibid.

¹⁰Lord Aberdeen to William Miller, September 25, 1843. British Foreign Office microfilm.

There were also many on the United States mainland, including Samuel R. Thurston, Oregon's Congressional representative, who openly advocated American control of Hawaii, and in a letter published in the Salem Spectator Thurston admonished his constituents to "...keep an eye to the Sandwich Islands. Fate has written the destiny of the natives of those Islands, and the New England of the Pacific, Oregon, must and should make and write the future history of the Islands themselves....The North American continent, with the Islands of the seas, is ours by the gift of God."¹³ Thurston's American dream did not stop at the Pacific coast and his actions in ostracizing Kanakas from Oregon and in keeping them from participating in the political and economic future of that area reflect an expansionistic attitude nearly half a century before the Spanish-American War.

Foreign intrigue for Hawaiian favor was observed not only by Kamehameha III and his advisors, but by his subjects as well whose uneasiness resulted in a petition addressed to the king, August 1, 1845, asking for the dismissal of all foreigners serving as Hawaiian officials, withdrawal of citizenship for foreigners, and cessation of

¹¹Ibid.

¹²John Ricord to G. P. Judd, October 7, 1844, *ibid*.

¹³Oregon Spectator, June 27, 1850.

land sales to any non-Hawaiians.¹⁴ Approximately 1600 petitioners stated that since the United States, Great Britain, France, and Belgium had all agreed the Islands were independent, "...therefore it is very clear to us, that it is not proper that any foreigner should come in and be promoted in your kingdom, among your chiefs, and your people."¹⁵

To the king and his advisors, however, the problems of administering the Island government without the assistance of foreigners was, at least for the present, out of the question since these outsiders were the ones with the capital and qualifications necessary to carry on the economic affairs so vital to the Islands. The king therefore replied to the petition by citing the advisability of allowing foreigners to become Hawaiian citizens since those so accepted could not only be protected by the law but could also be subject to its punishment. And "...If his Majesty thinks it expedient to sell lands to his own people, is it proper for him to refuse another, who has forsaken the land of his birth, and his first chief, and become a Hawaiian subject? By no means, for this would be using partiality."¹⁶

Such was the sense of justice expressed and practiced by the ruler of a people considered to be heathenish,

¹⁴The Friend, August 1, 1845.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

backward, and racially inferior by many Englishmen and Americans. And such was the political situation in the Pacific Northwest and, indeed in all of the United States, that this conviction expressed by a recently Christianized savage can be cited as one of the few statements embodying true Christian principles in the treatment of races equally upon their merits alone. As shown above, the Kanakas in California found themselves equated with the Chinese not because they were disorderly as the Chinese were considered, nor because their numbers threatened white superiority as the mass Chinese emigration appeared to have done. The association was apparently only through skin color for that which was not white was inferior.

The growth of discrimination against Kanakas in the newly created Oregon Territory was more complex but the foundation was the same.¹⁷ Certainly the labor demand had not lessened for one of Oregon's most respected citizens stated emphatically that "...labor of any kind is more valuable [in Oregon] than in any of the states."¹⁸ The numbers of the Islanders had declined during the California gold rush, some had gone to the Victoria mines, and many others had followed the Hudson's Bay Company's withdrawal¹⁹ to the north. The Kanakas frequently had been praised

¹⁷Oregon Territory was established August 3, 1848, and included the present states of Idaho and Washington.

¹⁸Matthew P. Deady to Benjamin Simpson, July 28, 1857, MS. 48.

for their loyalty and diverse abilities and there is no evidence to suggest a sudden reversal or desertion of these qualities.

But the discrimination was there and growing in intensity as the Oregon country organized itself politically and then moved toward statehood. In California it had been the Chinese problem that had engulfed the Kanakas, but in the Northwest it was the introduction of the Negro and growing antagonism over slavery and land acquisition that combined to eliminate Hawaiian claims to equal rights under American law. The Negro problem was, however, only one manifestation of a racial bias that was part of American expansion and the Protestant myth that only the white man was chosen of God to prosper and conquer. This God-given right to transform the New World, to Christianize and civilize the original inhabitants, was believed as strongly by New England Puritans as by their descendants who crossed the Mississippi River. The American Indians were the first to face this "righteous cause" and the first to retreat before its advance.²⁰ The Indian had no right to the land he occupied because he did not exploit it. The white man therefore acted justly in taking it from him since the Indian who could not and would not adopt civilization

¹⁹Gregson, Victoria, p. 12. MS. 101.

²⁰Spalding MS. 1201.

soon enough to save some of the land for himself was only demonstrating another manifestation of racial inferiority.

The Negroes shared the same label of inferiority and were treated in a similar manner when it came to a question of their rights to be free, to seek protection under the law, and to acquire property. Few, if any, Northern abolitionists could honestly admit they wanted to accept the black man as an equal, or to give him identical property rights. The Northerners with few exceptions championed Negro rights in order to oppose the South whose representatives dominated the Congress, and supported
²¹
state rights.

The Northwest entered the political arena just as the American racial problem was becoming a major political question. In fact, many Oregon settlers had come from Missouri where the question of race relations had been especially prominent. It is therefore not surprising that the problem appeared early in Oregon politics. Neither is it surprising that Kanakas were included in the attempts to ostracize politically inferior races. The Hawaiians
²²
were, after all, "...as black as...Negroes of the South," they were identified with the hated HEC, and, inexcusably from the white man's vantage point, they had made known

²¹C. Vann Woodward, The Strange Career of Jim Crow (Second Revised Edition; New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 5, 7, 17-21.

²²H. S. Congress, House, 31st Cong., 1st sess., May 28, 1850, Congressional Globe, 1075-80.

their desire to become American citizens, to settle, vote,
²³
 and own property in Oregon country.

In June, 1844, the Oregon Provisional Government passed an act regarding land claims which stated "That no person shall hold a claim under the provisions of this act except free males, over the age of eighteen, who would be entitled to vote if of lawful age..."²⁴ The voting right²⁵ already had been restricted to free, white males. Just six months later the Provisional legislature enacted legislation requiring Negroes, mulattos, and by implication²⁶ Kanakas, to leave Oregon. If they did not do so, they would be subject to arrest and trial and, if found guilty (as if there could be any question of this) they would be auctioned off publicly to any individual needing laborers, with the stipulation that the said employer would remove his forced labor out of the area within six months after²⁷ their period of labor ended.

To be certain that no misunderstanding existed as to where Kanakas stood, the government singled them out for further legislation. At the December session, 1845, an act

²³The Friend, October 1, 1849.

²⁴Act on Land Claims passed June 25, 1844. Laws of a General and Local Nature passed by the Legislative Assembly, 1843-49. Hereafter cited as Oregon Laws.

²⁵Suffrage under the Ordinance of 1787 was, by common consent, so limited.

²⁶An Amendatory Act regarding Slavery, etc., December 19, 1844, Oregon Laws.

was introduced stipulating "That all persons who shall hereafter introduce into Oregon Territory ~~any~~ Sandwich Islanders...for a term of Service shall pay a tax of five dollars for each person so introduced."²⁸ An additional section of this bill called for an annual \$3 tax on persons already employing Kanakas and not returning them to the Islands.²⁹

The discriminatory practices of the Provisional Government were echoed in the Organic Act creating Oregon Territory that was adopted by the U. S. Congress on August 3, 1848.³⁰ This act provided that the first governor was to require that a census be taken of the Oregon population for the purpose of determining qualified voters to elect territorial representatives and a Congressional delegate. Those qualified to vote were specifically stated as being white, male inhabitants, over 21 years of age, who were residents of the territory.³¹ After the first election, however, Congress relinquished authority to determine voting qualifications to the Oregon assembly, provided that said voters were still over 21 and either citizens of the

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Provisional and Territorial Government microfilm, No. 1634, Oregon Historical Society.

²⁹Ibid.

³⁰Territorial Papers, U. S. Senate, Oregon, HR. #439. Oregon Historical Society on microfilm. Hereafter cited as Oregon Territorial microfilm.

³¹Ibid.

United States, or individuals who had sworn an oath of
intention to become citizens.³²

The 1849 census showed a population of 9083 in ten
Oregon counties.³³ By provision of the Organic Act this
total could not include the numbers of Indians, half-breeds,
or Hawaiians in the territory, and they were excluded from
voting in the first election.³⁴ Thereafter, however, the
legislative assembly was empowered to set voting qualifi-
cations with the exception of age and citizenship. The
Hawaiians in the Territory were aware of this provision
and therefore several appeared before the proper officers
stating their desire to become United States citizens and
thereby be privileged to vote in future elections.³⁵ Their
request was considered by the first territorial governor,
Joseph Lane, but he evaded the responsibility of decision
by referring the matter to William P. Bryant, the first
appointed Supreme Court Judge of the Territory.³⁶

Bryant, unfortunately for the Kanakas, was not inter-
ested either in championing the rights of minorities

³²Ibid.

³³The Friend, October 1, 1849.

³⁴H.R. #201, Oregon Territorial microfilm.

³⁵The Friend, ibid.

³⁶Ibid. The author found no record of this petition
in the Oregon Archives, Congressional documents, or the
papers of Bryant and Lane.

specifically, or in the new territory generally. Bryant certainly does not deserve remembrance for his action on the Kanaka petition since he also managed to avoid the issue by expressing uncertainty about authorization under the existing United States laws.³⁷ The law was explicit, however, in denying citizenship to the African race and therefore, again obviously by implication, Bryant decided the Kanakas could not be allowed to acquire citizenship.³⁸

A comparison of the treatment received by the Kanakas, as foreigners in Oregon, with the statement and practice of the Hawaiian government toward its foreigners supports a conclusion that these "Island savages" had learned the principles of democratic government and equality under the law better than their teachers.³⁹ And the treaty concluded between Hawaii and the United States in 1849 only serves to clarify the disparity that existed between principles espoused by the United States government and those actually practiced.⁴⁰ Under Article 8 of this treaty citizens of both countries were entitled to complete freedom of movement, residence rights, and to equal taxation while residing in the other country. Such citizens also were "...free in the states of the other to manage their own affairs..."⁴¹

³⁷The Friend, ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹The Friend, August 1, 1845.

⁴⁰The Friend, September 1, 1850.

The disparity is obvious as the political situation in Oregon alone has shown. The Kanakas, or their employers, were not equally taxed, the movements of the Islanders were restricted, they were refused the right of citizenship through residence, and they could not purchase liquor or testify against whites in the courts.⁴²

Neither were they to be allowed to occupy property, real or personal, as an examination of the writing, debate over, and passage of the Oregon Donation Act in the U. S. Congress will show. Samuel Thurston was elected by Oregonians eligible to vote as their territorial representative to the Thirty-first Congress. He was dedicated to the cause of acquiring adequate land donations for the Oregon settlers if they were white, and unassociated with the HBC.⁴³

As a first step toward passage of the Oregon Land Bill, Thurston introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives in May, 1850, requesting that the territorial committee be instructed to gather information on several points relating to Oregon lands.⁴⁴ First, the

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Amendatory Act, December 19, 1844, Oregon Laws. Oregon Spectator, September 12, 1850. Oregon Statesman, December 27, 1853. No. 1634, Provisional and Territorial Government microfilm.

⁴³U. S. Congress, House, May 28, 1850, ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

present population of the area and the number of American citizens and foreigners should be determined. Secondly, Thurston wanted to know what inducements had been given to emigrants. Thirdly, the traveling time to the area, both by land and by sea should be considered. Finally, the justice of donating land to American citizens then in the territory and to all foreigners who would become citizens, and the rules that would govern donations made to native⁴⁵ born and naturalized citizens, must be constructed.

By the middle of May the debate over wording of Oregon's land bill had begun in earnest and Thurston made the first of several determined efforts on behalf of exclusive white land ownership by proposing an amendment "That there shall be and hereby is granted to every white male settler or occupant of the public lands, American half-breeds included, members and servants of the Hudson's Bay and Puget Sound Agricultural Company excepted,⁴⁶" a certain amount of land. Several House members immediately objected and pointed out that two sets of requirements based upon either present or future occupancy was discriminatory. James Bowlin of Missouri spoke against reclaiming property and driving off former HBC employees.⁴⁷ To

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

this latter objection Thurston referred the House members "...to the Supreme judge of our Territory, for proof that this Dr. McLoughlin refuses to file his intention to become an American citizen."⁴⁸ Thurston, in attacking McLoughlin, was protecting his political future by offering evidence that he supported the Oregon missionaries who were locally powerful and almost unanimous in desiring the downfall of McLoughlin. He knew at the time that McLoughlin had made known his intentions to become an American citizen so his purpose was to use McLoughlin as a shortcut to the true objects of his determination for discriminatory land law action -- The Negroes and Kanakas.

If, in fact, Thurston had desired exclusion of McLoughlin and/or his white employees, he would never have stated his willingness to accept a land law that donated land to foreigners willing to swear allegiance to the United States.⁴⁹ There was also a specific racial grouping implied in Thurston's references to the HBC because Indian employees were automatically eliminated, and the French-⁵⁰ Canadians had either been accepted by Oregonians,⁵¹ or had returned to Red River Settlement. It is clear which

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Provisional government papers on microfilm, 1523, 12196.

⁵¹Ross, Fur Hunters, p. 234. Testimony of Sir George Simpson, February 26, 1857, Select Committee on Hudson's Bay Company.

employees were left -- and it is also apparent that Thurston was doing nothing unusual in attacking the Negroes. There were no House members who spoke out against this discriminatory practice. All Thurston needed to show, then, was the connection between Islanders and Negroes who would, he stated, "...if allowed to come [to Oregon],...commingle with our Indians, a mixed race [would] ensue, and the result [would] be wars and bloodshed in Oregon.", and his statement that the Kanakas were of the same skin color as the Negroes was calculated to present a picture of unmistakable similarity between the two races for Congressional members who had never seen an Hawaiian or had any exposure to their abilities and attributes.⁵²

Thurston also expressed the opinion that if Negroes were allowed into the Territory they too would intermarry with local Indians, "...and a mixed race would ensue inimical to the whites; and the Indians being led on by the Negro who is better acquainted with the customs, language, and manners of the whites, than the Indian, these savages would become much more formidable than they otherwise would, and long and bloody wars would [result]..."⁵³ There is no doubt that Thurston felt an inter-relationship between Kanakas and Indians would have the same result. Nor is

⁵²U. S. Congress, House, May 28, 1850, ibid.

⁵³Thurston to members of House of Representatives, n.d., Oregon Historical Society MS. 379.

there doubt that he had complete faith in the superiority of white blood since he expressed no fear of granting land and suffrage to half-breeds.⁵⁴ They were, after all, the offspring of early Oregon emigrants and children "...of our brethren,...all of them adhere_d to the whites," and their voting influence in Oregon required careful political manipulation by Thurston.⁵⁵

The Donation Act that passed assisted only the white population and reflected Thurston's success in obtaining legislation that would effectively confine Kanakas to their Islands. Such restrictions did not, however, stop the conflict over land rights and equality under the law. In fact, there were some in Oregon who questioned the tactics, if not the results. G. L. Curry, for instance, expressed more concern with the need for encouraging population growth than the overindulgence of the present settlers.⁵⁶ The land act also led to a clash between Thurston and Judge O. C. Pratt over the interpretation of the clause relating to the naturalization of foreigners (except Hawaiians) and their subsequent eligibility to vote because Pratt had ruled that the Territorial Legislature did not have the right to restrict voting, after the first election, to those foreigners who had completed the naturalization

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶G. L. Curry to S. R. Thurston, December 14, 1850. Oregon Historical Society MS. 700.

process.⁵⁷ Thurston sharply attacked this ruling in a way that indicated he was most interested in protecting the white, Protestant image. Clearly, wrote Thurston to Samuel Parker and Wesley Shannon, the law applied to the first election only, otherwise, any Negro who acquired American citizenship would have the right thereafter to vote in Oregon.⁵⁸

Those who questioned the provisions of the Donation Land Act were accused of being supporters of the HBC and of desiring the political demise of Thurston.⁵⁹ Oregon's congressional delegate also was careful to publicly make known his contributions to Oregon's future, and to point out any errors or misquotations that appeared about the Act in Oregon newspapers not his firm supporters.⁶⁰

Kanakas, therefore, found themselves excluded, by reason of a dark skin that tied them to the Negro-American population rather than to the white, Anglo-Saxon one, from acquiring the rights of citizenship and the security of home and land. This discrimination embittered the Hawaiians and made the return to their homeland appear more attractive.

⁵⁷O. C. Pratt to Samuel Parker, May 31, 1850. Oregon Historical Society MS. 426.

⁵⁸Ibid. Thurston to Samuel Parker and Wesley Shannon, August 31, 1850. Oregon Historical Society MS 379.

⁵⁹Wesley Shannon to Thurston, September 4, 1850, *ibid.*

⁶⁰Thurston to Asahel Bush, February 27, 1851, *ibid.*

Such a decision was more sensible than fighting a losing battle against discrimination and, although some did intermarry and lose their racial identity, many returned to the Islands. There they continued to exhibit a sense of racial equality that was apparent nowhere else in the world.⁶¹

This Christian behavior continued to puzzle their supposed teachers and white Americans who visited the Islands. The fact that all grades of racial mixtures, "...from the genuine white to the unadulterated Kanaka...mingled together upon terms of perfect equality[;]" was both repugnant and incomprehensible to many who witnessed it.⁶² Not surprisingly these same people were the first to ignore Kanaka contributions to the growth of the western part of the United States, and were the most consistent in labeling them uneducated savages. This double standard as applied to American race relations has changed little in the last seventy-five years. Treatment of minorities is still a problem in the United States, and the Kanaka contributions and historical importance is still largely ignored.

⁶¹The Friend, August 1, 1845.

⁶²E. W. McGraw to M. P. Deady, December 24, 1864, MS. 48.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The Hawaiians first came to the North American continent west of the Rockies as seamen, as adventurers, and as representatives of their king. They were accepted as skilled sailors, courageous and hardworking laborers, and intelligent and loyal employees. During the first decades of the nineteenth century Kanakas won a respected place with the Hudson's Bay Company, helped to build Astoria and to staff the establishments of Nathaniel Wyeth, trapped and explored from the coast to the Rockies, north to Alaska and south into California, and represented an important and reliable labor force in the Northwest to fur trader, missionary, and early American settler.

Many Kanakas served the merchant vessels, whalers, and even warships of the contenders for control of the Pacific Northwest -- the British, the Russians, and the Americans. Once again they proved themselves skilled seamen, loyal and courageous, enamoured of Christian and democratic principles. Never did they threaten to overrun the American West, seldom did any Kanaka give cause for distrust or criminal prosecution.

In fact, by the latter half of the century, most Kanakas were involved in the various economic activities

that made possible the rapid growth of the area west of the Rockies. They were producing lumber for expanding industry, guiding ships safely into various coastal harbors, or farming and herding livestock to satisfy food demands of the area. In sum, these Kanakas had become sedentary, semi-permanent inhabitants, agrarian in outlook, just as American settlers first were preceded by explorers, trappers, and hunters who paved the way for American farmers and businessmen.

Their early history gives sufficient evidence of the Kanakas' abilities to change, to adapt, and to adjust according to the prevailing economic situation. It was therefore not surprising that the Islanders also sought personal wealth in the gold fields, or that they served diligently the religious faiths they adopted to achieve self-improvement. The personal sacrifices they made in the Utah desert or in accepting Digger Indians as a missionary cause were not unlike those made by earlier Kanakas in trapping through the wilderness or serving at isolated forts where weather and environment were totally alien to them. They were a strong and determined people, capable of inventiveness, willing to adapt in order to prosper.

But they were also a brown people who were not Anglo-Saxon, and who originated in a foreign land. Once the Americans of the eastern half of the United States began moving across the Rockies in large numbers, Kanakas faced a

discrimination aimed at the Chinese, Indians, Negroes, and themselves. The principle of white men's superiority and God-given right to exploit, legislate, and eliminate all minority races was not to be easily controlled and its strength grew as its adherents moved westward. The Kanakas wanted only equal rights -- to settle, to acquire land and sustenance, to raise a family, to continue to contribute to the growth and prosperity of their adopted country. What they received was almost total denial of such rights and opportunity. So the Kanakas returned to their Islands and by 1900 their presence in the area west of the Rockies could be associated with only a few scattered population areas.

What Kanakas might have contributed as United States citizens after 1900 can never be known, and what they achieved in Hawaii is another story. There is no doubt, however, that Kanaka contributions prior to the beginning of the twentieth century deserve careful consideration in the evaluation of the HBC influence upon future coastal growth, in the study of the exploration and settlement of the area, and in the determination of factors that influenced economic progress in the area west of the Rockies.

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