

HE KAMI INITINI:
HOW NATIVE HAWAIIAN GOVERNANCE AND AMERICAN INDIAN POLICY
BECAME LINKED IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

HISTORY

JUNE 2019

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible without the resolute support of my husband, Larry Buchanan. Through all the trials and uncertainties of pursuing a doctoral degree, he traveled the road with me and never once waived, holding steady in some turbulent moments. I dedicate this dissertation to him and gratefully thank him for his love and devotion; he breathed life into the wonder and outcome of this journey.

I extend my deepest thanks, also, to the History Department at the University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa. The support of the entire faculty and staff was ever-present throughout my studies. Mahalo to Sue Carlson, Dr. Matthew Lauzon, Dr. Shana Brown, Dr. David Hanlon and Dr. James P. Kraft for their guidance through the doctoral process.

Moreover, I am especially grateful to my committee members who patiently listened to each new bit of research, helping me to further explore and contour this text. My committee chair, Dr. Suzanna Reiss, deserves more accolades than I can proffer here. She has been steadfast, patient, kind, encouraging and inspiring. In my conversations with her I kept thinking she reminds me of a beautiful winding river – it moves almost imperceptibly, weaving through various terrains, welcoming and bringing life. It seems still on the surface, but still waters run deep. She asked me to think deeply and has given me the tools to seek out hard questions, consider potential answers, and accept uncertainties. She has taught me it is possible to swim in unknown waters, even when I am tentative in my abilities.

I am also expressly grateful to Dr. Noelani Arista. Had it not been for the gracious and patient teaching of kumu Arista, I, like many other scholars, would have missed some of the stories offered here. It was Dr. Arista who took me to the Hawaiian archives, showed me documents, introduced me to the history of women ali‘i and helped me see what I had previously overlooked out of ignorance. She further inspired me to seek out the many women in history who have been unheard and lost in translation. In like manner, Dr. Kathy Ferguson, also helped me to “discover” the histories of women and how they have moved through our past to determine our futures. To these extraordinary women I am extraordinarily grateful.

Profound gratitude is also extended to Dr. David Hanlon, who has been a mentor and role model since my first class at UH. He provided a foundation and staunch dedication to help me succeed. He has been a luminous presence throughout my doctoral journey and I, like many other students, flourished under his guidance. Similarly, Dr. Fabio López Lázaro offered a wealth of historical background, theory, and practice to assist in my research. One of my greatest experiences along this journey was spending a day with Dr. López Lázaro in the Hawai‘i State Archives as he pointed out the many, many “stories” that each document can reveal.

I must also acknowledge the help of additional professors at UH who freely gave their time and mentoring. Dr. Richard Rath began this journey with me, accepting me as a doctoral student and guiding me through the process of coursework and finally comprehensive exams. He provided thoughtful and challenging new ideas as we discussed this project over many years. I am particularly grateful to Dr. David Chappell as well, who inspired this research while I was still pursuing my M.A. at California State University, Northridge. It was his book, *Double Ghosts*:

Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997), which first helped me to see the connections presented here. He showed me what could be found in the historical research and what still needed finding. He also took great interest in my educational journey and offered extensive feedback on this manuscript though he had recently retired and was not obligated to do so. He is a superb mentor in every sense.

I am also deeply indebted to the professors who have served as faculty advisors for the UH Mānoa chapter of Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society (PAT). I was encouraged to get involved in our PAT chapter (*Alpha Beta Epsilon*) in 2012 by Dr. Robert McGlone. I spent wonderful hours with Dr. McGlone discussing my ideas about this research and he led me to pertinent materials to illuminate this story. He took great interest in all of his students' projects and he especially encouraged me to take on the leadership of our PAT chapter. That experience has allowed me to hone my own skills as a mentor and teacher, and I will be eternally grateful for his support. Though Dr. McGlone passed in the summer of 2015, I feel his spirit throughout this work. He also introduced me to faculty advisors Dr. Karen Jolly and Dr. Peter H. Hoffenberg. Dr. Karen Jolly has been a stalwart leader and kumu over the past eight years. Like many of the professors mentioned here, she graciously offered her time to discuss my research and helped contour several of my conference papers which ultimately became chapters in this dissertation. Likewise, Dr. Peter H. Hoffenberg believed in my abilities and trusted me to lead our PAT chapter and reach for heights never previously attained for our hui of students. His faith and encouragement helped me believe in myself.

I must also mention here my thanks to Dr. Thomas Devine at California State University, Northridge. Serving as my M.A. committee chair, Dr. Devine, like many of the professors listed above, went above and beyond the call of duty with his inspired teaching and steadfast support of my research. As I noted in my M.A. thesis, he gave me the courage and tools to articulate a dream and pursue doctoral studies.

Finally, I would like to thank my 'ohana of family and friends. My sisters, Renee Bock and Michelle Davison sent their aloha across the ocean to keep me grounded throughout this process. They gave me the strength to keep moving forward and to follow my dreams. Diana Mayer Maloyan also provided steadfast support, spending hours listening to me talk about new discoveries in this research and offering her feedback. I am humbled by her graciousness. I am also especially grateful to my 'ohana of friends and colleagues, most notably J. Susan Corley, Chelsea DeMott, J. Uluwehi Hopkins and Catherine 'Imaikalani Ulep. They have supported me through thick and thin and have inspired me to think about history in new ways. I expect we will spend many more years "talking history," sorting through archival materials, and taking delight in each new discovery. I cannot imagine having traveled this journey without them.

To all, I thank you for this huaka'i.

ABSTRACT

He kami Initini:

How Native Hawaiian governance and American Indian policy
Became Linked in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth-century, Native Hawaiian governance and American Indian policy in the U.S. were connected, reverberating across the Pacific and back in a loop of proactive and reactive legislation. This study follows an arc of history from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to the year 1887. In this period, an “American” space was problematically tested and defined, but that space was only possible by dispossessing others of their space. My dissertation asserts that the development of what became American governance was intricately linked to the power of indigenous places. Those policies live on with us today in America and get imported and transformed around the world “as needed.”

This dissertation seeks to consider troublesome questions in U.S. history and assert new connections between Native American, Native Hawaiian, and American developments in the nineteenth century. It shows that the expansion of the U.S. and the fulfillment of an American national paradigm hinged on the interactions and negotiations that were cultivated with native people. These negotiations became the founding principles of American domestic and international policies and traversed territory from New England to O‘ahu. What is more, the negotiators between and within nations were frequently women, and native people interacted with and learned from the experiences of other indigenous nations as they encountered American imperialist ambitions.

Following social, religious, political, legislative, cultural and commercial networks across both Euro-American and indigenous worlds, this research disrupts notions that Native American and Native Hawaiian governmental policies were separate and distinct entities, uninfluenced by

one another and thus "by-products" of "manifest destiny." Additionally, the research reveals the emerging concepts of "rightful" possession of land and the patriarchal ambitions of American colonizers. Most importantly, this study focuses on the women absented from traditional histories of the period, "recovering" the integral space that women – both native and non-native – created and governed, acting as authorities and mediators in policymaking, challenging suppression, and ultimately altering the trajectory of indigenous and American destinies.

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INTRODUCTION

He kami Initini:
**How Native Hawaiian governance and American Indian policy
Became Linked in the Nineteenth Century**

In the nineteenth-century, Native Hawaiian governance and American Indian policy in the U.S. were connected, reverberating across the Pacific and back in a loop of proactive and reactive legislation. But mechanisms of dispossession were planted in the fields of American promise, predicated by the authority of "founding fathers" who claimed "democracy" while embedding gendered ideologies and contradictory indigenous policy. The evidence clearly shows that the expansion of the U.S. and the fulfillment of an American national paradigm hinged on the interactions and negotiations that were cultivated with native people. From these negotiations emerged many of the principles and precedents that became central to both American domestic and international policies in the nineteenth century and those that have continued to prevail in the twenty-first century. What is more, the negotiators between and within nations were frequently women, and native people interacted with and learned from the experiences of other indigenous nations as they encountered American imperialist ambitions. Thus, this dissertation aims to achieve the following goals: (1) disrupt notions that American Indian policies and Native Hawaiian governmental policies were separate and distinct entities, uninfluenced by one another and thus "by-products" of "manifest destiny," (2) reveal the connections between emerging concepts of "rightful" possession of land and the patriarchal ambitions of American colonizers (3) use feminist methodology and approach to "recover" the women – both native and non-native – who interacted as authorities and mediators in policymaking, altering the trajectory of indigenous and American destinies, and

(4) illuminate the vast social network between Hawai'i and the U.S. which incorporated indigenous thought and process so that scholars and researchers can continue to explore these entangled and complex relationships.

Hence the title of this project is drawn directly from an 1845 Hawaiian petition which seems to exemplify just how entangled and complicated indigenous connections became in the nineteenth century. In May of 1845, two years after a British attempt to annex the Hawaiian Islands, Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli, proposed "a careful revisal of the Laws" of the Hawaiian Kingdom in an address to the legislature.¹ In order to implement new legislation that would address the issues of foreigners as well as strengthen the economic position of Hawai'i, Kamehameha III announced the appointment of three men to take on new positions which in essence presumed the authority already held by the female ali'i (rulers) and kuhina nui, Kekāuluohi, who held equal power to the king. Her position was likened to a "premier," but the adoption of these new positions presaged a change in the balance of power in the kingdom. New proposals concerning land legislation also came to the fore, provoking the maka'āinana (the common people) to appeal directly to the Hawaiian ali'i their concerns over sale or forfeiture of land. One petition dated June 12, 1845 from the people of Kona-Kailua on the Island of Hawai'i was directed at first to Kekāuluohi, (Ka'ahumanu III), but when it was discovered that she had died only days before receiving the appeal, another petition was produced, addressed to Kamehameha III and the language was urgent and direct: "Do not sell the land to new foreigners from foreign countries." The petition goes on to state, "We have heard that you have all agreed

¹Acknowledging the subsequent recent recognition by foreign powers, he declared, "We are well aware that the Word of God is the corner-stone of our kingdom. Through its influence we have been introduced into the family of the independent nations of the earth." As an "enlightened" nation, he emphasized, "it is our wish to cultivate the relation of peace and friendship with all nations, and to treat the subjects of all with equal justice." "The King's Speech to the Legislature," May 20, 1845, Lydecker, 17.

to sell land to the foreigners and *that the Premier was the only one who did not agree to your thoughts*. Therefore our thought is to appeal to you, the chiefs."² The petition voices the people's concern that the Hawaiian government could not protect them from the discrimination and racism Euro-Americans brought with them to the islands in their pursuit of wealth. In Article Eleven, the makaʻāinana explain, "the foreigners despise us and we hear them revile us to our faces "Common Indians" (He kami Initini.) Who indeed would acknowledge the white skinned people over ourselves as alii? That would be the nature of their work hereafter."³ The document suggests that Native Hawaiians understood they were pejoratively compared to American Indians as a "reduced" and "subordinated" class by Euro-Americans. This understanding is additionally amplified by the use of the word "kami" in this context. According to Pukui and Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary*, "kami" could also mean "damn" as in the term kami pulu meaning "damn fool."⁴ Thus "he kami Initini" suggests not only a diminished status as "common Indians" but also a more derogatory meaning as "damn Indians," a term more likely to be associated with American epithets toward indigeneous people. It further suggests that Native Hawaiians feared their land, rights, and autonomy might be usurped as they recognized and contemplated how Native Americans in the still forming United States were being viewed and subsequently dispossessed by the American government. Thus, they were appealing to the Native Hawaiian government to resist acknowledging "the white skinned people over ourselves as alii."

² "Petition from the people of Kona, Hawaii. To Kamehameha III and the Legislature," Kailua, June 25, 1845. Hawai'i State Archives, General Records of the Legislature, 222-2-3: Leg. 1845 Petitions. Archival translation. Italics added to emphasize the direction of the kuhina nui.

³ "Petition from the people of Kona, Hawaii. To Kamehameha III and the Legislature," Kailua, June 25, 1845. Hawai'i State Archives, General Records of the Legislature, 222-2-3: Leg. 1845 Petitions. Archival translation.

⁴ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu, 1986) 126.

It is precisely because scholars have tended to examine Native Hawaiian governmental policies and American Indian policies as separate and distinct entities that historians have not investigated how one influenced the other. However, analysis of the historical records demonstrates that Hawaiian policies were shaped by many of the same issues and concerns which were molding American Indian policy in the states. Moreover, policies in Hawai‘i in the mid-nineteenth century to allocate and restructure property rights may have been the prototype for later Indian policies, particularly in the West after the close of the Mexican-American war in 1848. For example, the Māhele of 1848 effectively redistributed the land of Hawai‘i and dispossessed and restricted the access of the maka‘āinana. While this was not the original intent of the Māhele, successive legislation increasingly gave foreigners access to land title. By 1854, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, George W. Manypenny, was incorporating similar strategies in his negotiations with Indian tribes in western territories, using allotment-style divisions of land.⁵ Just as the Māhele and subsequent legislation in Hawai‘i opened up the possibilities for transferring the ownership of indigenous lands into the hands of private American investors, allotment strategies in U.S. American Indian policy resulted in dispersing and dividing Indian territories, opening up vast tracts of land for private sale and settlement. On a federal level, the

⁵ One of the first of these allotment-style treaties was negotiated by Manypenny in the "Treaty with the Omaha: March 16, 1854." Available from <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Treaties/TreatyWithTheOmaha1854.html>; Accessed 12 July 2018. Article 6 indicates, "The President may, from time to time, at his discretion, cause the whole or such portion of the land hereby reserved, as he may think proper, or of such other land as may be selected in lieu thereof, as provided for in article first, to be surveyed into lots, and to assign to such Indian or Indians of said tribe as are willing to avail of the privilege, and who will locate on the same as a permanent home, if a single person over twenty-one years of age, one-eighth of a section; to each family of two, one quarter section; to each family of three and not exceeding five, one half section; to each family of six and not exceeding ten, one section; and to each family over ten in number, one quarter section for every additional five members."

Dawes Act of 1887 operated in a similar manner as the Māhele legislation in that it dispossessed Native Americans of their traditional land base and in so doing also undermined their autonomy.⁶

This study draws from numerous secondary and primary sources from fields which have traditionally been separated. It analyzes documents from Hawaiian, Native American, and American histories. Above all, this study attempts to "listen" to voices which have been subsumed or marginalized in former histories, amplifying those "silences." It incorporates some of the newest, cutting-edge historical analyses as exemplified by the work of historians such as Noelani Arista which demonstrate that it is simply not enough to read archival documents; we must also *listen* to both historical voices and historical silences. The long tradition of Hawaiian oral narrative, history, song, and culture was not diminished or confined when New England missionaries helped to create the written language; it was, in fact, amplified. The mo'olelo (stories, histories), decrees, and intents of the Hawaiian kingdom were reiterated through speech to reverberate long after their commitment to a printed document.⁷ What is more indigenous voices in America were recorded in both oral and written history and this study will illuminate how Native Americans wrote about Hawaiians and how Hawaiians documented their knowledge about indigenous people in America. It will show that these communities were not disparate but rather interacting on an international scale, confirming their sovereignty and finding ways to maneuver and mediate an onslaught of Euro-American interaction and increasingly aggressive presumptions.

⁶ "An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes," transcript of Dawes Act (1887). Available from www.ourdocuments.gov; Internet. Accessed 28 April 2010; 30 March 2019.

⁷ Noelani Arista, "Listening to Leoiki: Engaging Sources in Hawaiian History." *Biography* 32.1 (Winter 2009), 69-70; Noelani Arista, "Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method," *PMLA* (May 2011); Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

The connections between Native America and Native Hawai‘i have only recently been acknowledged in histories of the nineteenth century and there is not a well-developed historiography of this aspect of American history. The histories are often separated or mentioned as part of passing interactions. Some works that begin the discussion of indigenous crossroads, however, provide a place to begin ferreting out the details of these lives. David Chappell's *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (1997) provides a comprehensive look at the "Second Diaspora" in Oceania, including extensive information on Native Hawaiians who were employed throughout the Pacific in the mid-nineteenth century.⁸ Gary Okihiro's *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (2008), expands this examination of the diaspora, and further touches on how Native Hawaiians integrated their lives in the U.S., long before American annexation of the islands.⁹ Like Chappell, while Okihiro touches on specific stories in which Native Hawaiian lives became linked with Native Americans, his work focuses more on remedying the general absence of Hawaiian accounts in American narratives. Barman and Watson's *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787 - 1898* (2006), comes closest to examining both the professional and personal relationships that Native Hawaiians and Native Americans developed in the emerging West.¹⁰ All three works provide enticing leads to further primary research, but they survey broad periods and cannot go into depth about how these relationships affected indigenous relationships with the state. The most recent contribution to this discussion has been David Chang's *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (2016). Chang uses Hawaiian language

⁸ David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

⁹ Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

¹⁰ Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest 1787-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

documents alongside the extensive research of professors and students from the University of Hawai‘i to make his case, showing that Native Hawaiians "actively engaged in the process of global exploration, that in the process they deliberately shaped their place in the world, responding to the challenges of Western colonialism."¹¹ His work is innovative in his attempt to portray a broad arc of history from Native Hawaiian or Kānaka Maoli perspective, but it also must assume some connections where Chang has found gaps in either the oral or written records. Still, it builds on a conversation that I developed myself in my M.A. thesis, *Indigenous Destinies: Native Hawaiian and Native American Crossroads* (2011) which is further augmented and magnified in this dissertation. Where his work attempts to notice the wide-ranging ways in which Kānaka Maoli engaged a global community, I will show that these interactions had specific and pointed impacts engaging a conversation with both American and Native American legislators which included and often relied upon women of various backgrounds and social strata.

Legal histories, such as Jon Van Dyke's *Who Owns The Crown Lands of Hawai'i*, Stuart Banner's *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska*, and Linda Parker's *Native America Estate: The Struggle Over Indian and Hawaiian Lands* can provide an overview of the legal terrain of the nineteenth century, but they also tend to center

¹¹ David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016) xv. Chang gives credit to several eminent UH Mānoa scholars including David Chappell, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, Noenoe Silva, Noelani Arista and Hokulani Aikau, among others. Additionally, he cites the work of Wayne Hinano Brumaghim, *The Life and Legacy of Heneri ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia Hawai‘i’s Prodigal Son*. (M.A. Thesis, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, 2011), and seems to echo my own research as well as that of Drew Christina Gonrowski, author of *Ka ‘Āina Paiālewa i ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai‘i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, 2015).

around Western ideas about law, illustrating how legislation was *imposed* upon indigenous people in distinct areas, rather than a product of indigenous interactions.¹² Other legal histories, like Walter Echo-Hawk's *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided*, detail how sequential legislation changed the landscape of Native American rights in the U.S., but do little to connect that with events in the Hawaiian Islands.¹³ In a similar manner, Kēhaulani Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* begins to examine the connections between Native Hawaiian and Native American legislation, but does not fully explore the connections in the early nineteenth century.¹⁴ While her study comes closest to discussing how the Dawes Act of 1887 affected Native Hawaiian legislation, and in particular the Hawaiian Homes Act of 1920, Kauanui does not examine how earlier Native Hawaiian governance influenced U.S. federal Indian law. Still, each of the studies above has come into sharp focus with reiterations of the Native Hawaiian Government Reorganization Act (also known as the Akaka Bill, first proposed to Congress in 2000), and discussions over federal recognition, which beg further analysis of nineteenth-century indigenous connections.¹⁵

¹² Jon M. Van Dyke, *Who Owns The Crown Lands of Hawai'i?* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008); Stuart Banner, *Possessing the Pacific: Land, Settlers, and Indigenous People from Australia to Alaska* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Linda S. Parker, *Native America Estate: The Struggle Over Indian and Hawaiian Lands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

¹³ Walter R. Echo-Hawk, *In the Courts of the Conqueror: The 10 Worst Indian Law Cases Ever Decided* (Golden, Colorado: Fulcrum Publishing, 2010).

¹⁴ J. Kehaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008).

¹⁵ "An Act to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with the Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity." 111th Congress, 2nd Session, H.R. 2314 in the Senate of the United States: Received February 24, 2010. Available from www.govtrack.us; Internet. Accessed 2 August 2010, 18 April 2011; "A Bill to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity." 112th Congress, 1st Session, S.675 in the Senate of the United States, March 30, 2011. Available from www.govtrack.us; Internet. Accessed 18 April 2011.

Recent histories about indigenous literacy in the nineteenth century also delve into how Native American authors used print culture as a means to influence policies and assert autonomy, but works such as Maureen Konkle's *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (2004) and Phillip Round's *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (2010), leave out a key piece of that same period: namely the development and copious archives of Hawaiian language newspapers beginning in the 1830s.¹⁶ Literally, only a handful of books take on the task of analyzing the import of the Hawaiian language newspapers and perhaps the most well-known is M. Puakea Nogelmeier's *Mai Pa'a I ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back*. Nogelmeier asserts that, "the range of Hawaiian written works in the 19th and early 20th centuries is impressive. Surveys of national repositories in the United States indicate that the archive of Hawaiian writings is greater than the sum of written material produced by all Native American societies during the 19th and early 20th centuries."¹⁷ Some secondary sources that have utilized this mammoth archive are Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa's *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? Ko Hawai'i Āina a me Nā Koi Pu'umake a ka Po'e Haole: Pehea lā e Pono ai*, and Kamanamaikalani Beamer's *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation*.¹⁸ Of late, Noenoe Silva has also produced a new volume, *The Power of the Steel-tipped*

¹⁶ Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

¹⁷ M. Puakea Nogelmeier, *Mai Paa I ka Leo: Historical Voices in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010) 59.

¹⁸ Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? Ko Hawai'i Āina a me Nā Koi Pu'umake a ka Po'e Haole: Pehea lā e Pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014).

Pen: Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History (Duke University Press, 2017), with the intent to "further the project of mapping Kānaka Hawai‘i (Native Hawaiian) intellectual history."¹⁹ While her work further illuminates the ways that Native Hawaiians created discourse in the nineteenth century, her approach incorporates modern indigenous politics which can seem distant from early and mid-nineteenth-century historical context.

This is where looking at sources with the intent to connect Native Hawaiian, Native American, and American worlds elucidates a new conversation in the development of indigenous life and policies in the nineteenth century. Both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans not only documented their own histories in newspapers, journals, and legislative records from the mid-nineteenth century, they also documented news of the world and sought to acknowledge other sovereign nations. For Hawaiians, the experiences of "inikini" or "ilikini" – Indians – in the changing terrain of America was also far more explicitly described in reference to specific nations like the "Keroke" – the Cherokee. Journals from Euro-American missionaries, merchants, and legislators also documented the experiences of Native American people who sailed into Honolulu. Native American sailors, for example, noted their experiences and impressions of Hawaiians and Pacific Islanders. Nancy Shoemaker's recent work, *Native American Whalemens and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (2015) sheds light on some of the experiences of indigenous people abroad, incorporating the fluid landscape between Native American and Native Hawaiians in the mid-nineteenth century. Still, as she notes,

As popular in the nineteenth century as it is today, the cultural encounter narrative provided a powerful framework for drawing racial distinctions between the

¹⁹ Noenoe K. Silva, *The Power of the Steel-tipped Pen: Reconstructing Native Hawaiian Intellectual History*. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2017) 1.

civilized and savage, a polarity that allotted no clear role for the Native American whaler nor for the other natives (Hawaiian, Tahitians, Maoris, and so on) swept up by maritime trades into colonization's workforce. Cultural encounters involving whalerships were messy affairs with "Indians" on ships and on shore. The position of native New England whalers was especially fraught with ambiguity. The memory of European expansion into North America acted as a template for the cultural encounter narrative and heavily influenced ideas about what an Indian was.²⁰

Government and legislative records from the mid-nineteenth century in tandem with newspapers, journals and correspondence reveal how public perceptions and the very trajectory of American "progress" was contoured first by the private lives and power of indigenous people in the Americas and the Pacific. Shoemaker goes on to note that the "position of native New England whalers was especially fraught with ambiguity" because their own past was influenced by the colonial state in British America and the history of interactions with Native American people. She attests, "Long accustomed to foreign usurpations of their land and culture, living in New England under a colonial state, they simultaneously stood on the front lines for the early stages of foreign intrusion in other parts of the world."²¹ But this statement, once again, puts Euro-American men back at the center of the discussion when, in fact, documents clearly reveal that indigenous people in North America and in Hawai'i understood themselves as participating in a global connection not predetermined by Euro-American ambitions. Instead, their participation in foreign relations, their commentary on events outside of their nations, and even their private choices in marriage can be seen as sites of exertion *against* the early and ongoing "stages of foreign intrusion."²²

²⁰ Nancy Shoemaker, *Native American Whalers and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 7.

²¹ Shoemaker, 7.

²² Shoemaker, 7.

With that said, a combination of indigenous approach and feminist methodology informs this study in order to discern how women, in particular, interacted in the political, social, religious, and economic developments which linked Hawaiian governance and American Indian legislation in the mid-nineteenth century U.S. By focusing on the women -- both native and non-native, drawn together through both social networks and discourse networks and speaking from places of power and oppression -- new dynamics make themselves known, illustrating how women connected indigenous worlds amid Euro-American ambitions. It is clear, for example, that kuhina nui, like Kekāuluohi, played such a part, performing a critical role in the governance of the islands, mediating between traditional Hawaiian hierarchies and newly-adopted Western styles of government. But this research study will not simply illuminate the powerful and privileged. It will seek to discover how women of various backgrounds maneuvered to physically and spatially "map" their own worlds, using different strategies to resist the patriarchal hegemony that U.S. imperialism in the nineteenth century intended to impose.²³ It will center the actions of diplomacy squarely on the "ties that bind" families, fortunes, and futures.²⁴

Thus, this study employs feminist methodology, theory, and focus as tools to envision obscured connections. It provides a means to ask different questions, to listen to multiple voices, and to hear the silences of the past by engaging two concepts in particular -- intersectionality and

²³ Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nation* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2013).

²⁴ This draws also from the work of scholar Tiya Miles, *Ties That Bind, the Story of an Afro-Cherokee Family in Slavery and Freedom* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005); Tiya Miles, "'Shall Woman's Voice Be Hushed?': Laura Smith Haviland in Abolitionist Women's History," *Michigan Historical Review* 39.2 (Fall 2013): 1-20; Tiya Miles, "The Lost Letter of Many Ann Battis: A Troubling Case of Gender and Race in Creek Country," *Native American and Indigenous Studies*, 1.1 (Spring 2014): 88-98.

discourse.²⁵ What is more, this dissertation examines and defines what I have called the "rhetoric of civilization." The issue of indigenous sovereignty was at the forefront of American consciousness in the mid-nineteenth century. It permeated "mainland" or continental politics and American futures abroad, for the United States could not continue its economic expansion nor build its strength without a resolution to what became known as the "Indian problem." That "problem" had always been attacked with a unified state and church effort. The rhetoric of civilization was wielded as a weapon against those perceived and distinguished as "heathens" or "barbaric" in order to facilitate the rise of the United States. In a forthcoming book by Kathleen M. Sands, *American Wars of Religion: the Embattled Heart of Our Public Life*, she contends "Americans have used the rhetoric of religion both to advance opposed interests and to protect precious values such as equality, liberty, limited government, community, dignity, and distributive justice. These, like 'religion,' are words. Therefore they have histories that shape and sometimes cramp the meanings we can create with them."²⁶ She further qualifies how the "rhetoric of religion" could be construed to different meanings: "To confuse matters more, when the Framers spoke of America's foundations, they sometimes used words like 'civilization,' 'morality,' 'good order,' and 'patriotism' interchangeably with 'religion.' In short, the Framers handled religion with an unselfconscious doubletalk, at cross-purposes not only with each other but also with themselves."²⁷ Thus, American framers and legislators created the rhetoric of

²⁵ In particular, using Kathy Davis' analysis of "Intersectionality as Buzzword," and Wendy Brown's discussion of "Freedom's Silences" in her volume *Edgework* help navigate this terrain. Kathy Davis, "Intersectionality as Buzzword," *Feminist Theory*, 9:1 (2008): 67-85; Wendy Brown, *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005). In her book, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets*, Dr. Kathy Ferguson explains, "Discourse networks are best understood as layered sites of struggle, where hegemonic understandings are produced, contested, and reproduced." Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 23.

²⁶ Kathleen M. Sands, *American Wars of Religion: The Embattled Heart of Our Public Life*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 27.

²⁷ Sands, 80.

civilization to both control and define their new and quite tenuous boundaries. This dissertation will illuminate how that discourse could also be used and wielded by indigenous people as well to defy Euro-American desires and define their sovereign status.

"Christian civilization," then, as the founders dreamed America, was bound to indigenous realities. Historian Steven J. Rockwell notes "Indian affairs were absolutely critical to virtually all calculations of interest, of politics, of economy, of social situation, and of national survival and future development."²⁸ What is more, women, of both native and non-native descent, amplified, complicated, and exerted their authority and ideas on the "problem" of indigenous place within American claims to territory. These women not only participated in the conversation, but became themselves a contested confluence of notions about race, class, gender, indigeneity, and sexuality. The concept of intersectionality, as Kathy Davis explains, is "the interaction of multiple identities and experiences of exclusion and subordination."²⁹ The women who interacted and intercepted the politics of indigeneity from the 1820s to the 1880s engaged this force on multiple levels and from varied backgrounds. For the most part, they have been previously ignored by mainstream historians as belonging to a collectively powerless group -- without economic means, without the right to vote, and sequestered in domesticity. It is only in the last thirty years that we have begun to explore their separate identities and spheres of influence and with each renewed "discovery," we find that they are not only connected to the proprietors of power, they are frequently the source of power and the fulcrum by which power turns.

²⁸ Stephen J. Rockwell, *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 2.

²⁹ Davis goes on to explain that intersectionality, like much of feminist theory, revels in ambiguity: this "vagueness and open-endedness of 'intersectionality' may be the very secret to its success." Kathy Davis, "Intersectionality as Buzzword," *Feminist Theory*, 9:1 (2008): 67-85.

With these tools in hand, this study locates the spaces where women, both native and non-native, interacted politically, economically, and socially to shape their respective nations. It will demonstrate, as scholar Mishuana Goeman has asserted, indigenous women, in particular, "mapped nations," creating physical and spatial territories in the nineteenth century which influenced national policy and deflected dispossession.³⁰ It will also reevaluate how discourse brought women together, as exemplified in the marriage of Harriett Gold, the legislative career of kuhina nui like Kekāuluohi, and the reformist impulse and works of both the ruling women of Hawai‘i and the writer Helen Hunt Jackson. These are literally just a few of the women who impacted political and social trajectories in the mid-nineteenth century. While a woman like Helen Hunt Jackson is more widely known for her enormous influence on the Indian policies of the 1880s, she was just one of many who used their personal, familial, and political connections to engage a powerful social network to enact change.³¹ But her voice is only one voice that must be seen in the context of indigenous writers of the same period. Long before Helen Hunt Jackson's work, *A Century of Dishonor*, came to prominence in the 1880s, other women were making their voices heard. Some, like Queen Ka‘ahumanu, both wrote and were more widely quoted by others. Some, like Harriett Gold Boudinot, were changing the direction of nations with their personal connections and public perseverance. Feminist historian Wendy Brown provides a useful description for understanding how both articulated speech and silences work to convey meaning. She writes,

silence and speech are not only constitutive of but also modalities of one another. They are different kinds of articulation that produce as well as negate each other. Silence calls for speech, yet speech, because it is always particular speech,

³⁰ Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nation* (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 2013).

³¹ Helen Hunt Jackson was the author of *A Century of Dishonor* (1881), and *Ramona* (1884), among other works which exposed the brutality of America attacks on Indian people. Her legacy as a reformer evokes complicated responses, but interestingly, her poetry also appears in Hawaiian newspapers of the 1880s.

vanquishes other possible speech, thus canceling the promise of full representation heralded by silence. Silence, both constituted and broken by particular speech, is neither more nor less "truthful" than silences; silences harbor meaning. When silence is broken by speech, new silences are fabricated and enforced; when speech ends, the ensuing silence carries meaning that can only be metaphorized by speech, thus producing the conviction that silence speaks.³²

Locating and reexamining the works and words of women helps us retrace those reverberations and discover how, when, and where these presences might be reconfiguring sites of struggle, who is listening, and who is responding.

Chapters & Connections

This study begins, then, in Chapter One with the story of a woman and how she brought various worlds together, integrating Native America, Hawai‘i and the early creation of the United States. Harriett Gold Boudinot made a choice at the very young age of twenty-one to defy the wishes of her missionary family and friends and marry the Cherokee leader Elias Boudinot, calling him "The Husband of My Choice." In recent years, historians have illuminated the complexities of "borderlands" history as physical locales or disputed lands where integration, interaction and contests for autonomy took place. But female historians have begun to reshape and challenge just where borderlands begin and end and who determines the fluidity of that space. As Drew Gonrowski notes in her study, *Ka ‘Āina Paiālewa i ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai‘i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California*, historian "Kathleen DuVal challenges the idea of borderlands in *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* by stating that, although the concept 'has yielded important insights into both European-American ways of defining and conquering new lands and native American understandings of

³² Wendy Brown, *Edgework: Critical Essays on Knowledge and Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 83.

and reactions to those process,' the study of borderlands frames 'the Americas as places where whites gradually imposed borders' which, 'can obscure the fact that Indians constructed and contested their own borders, geographic and metaphoric, long before Europeans arrived.'"³³ This was not only true before Europeans arrived, as is well-documented in April Lee Hatfield's *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century*, but well into the era of American republic-building, which was itself an exercise in testing borderlands.³⁴ In the case of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot, they made their bodies the site of interaction. For Harriett in particular, her body *was* the borderland which peopled an integrated space through her Cherokee children. She used her choice in marriage to pursue her own cause of "Christian civilization" while also confronting the racist and hypocritical tendencies of those peddling the rhetoric of civilization. The union of the Boudinots, their residence in Cherokee territory, as well as the birth of their six children in a mere ten years provides insight into the frontline challenges of indigenous nations in the 1820s and 1830s and ultimately changed the trajectory of lives. Harriett had a clear view of the oppression of women in the burgeoning nation of "freedom," and thus she made the personal political, an impact which can also be seen in the life of her Cherokee husband, leader, and publisher of the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

Chapter Two, "Forging Sovereignty across Fluid Worlds," examines the way that a global consciousness pervaded the world of Harriett and Elias Boudinot and the fluid and uncertain boundaries that intersected American, Native American, and Hawaiian worlds. This chapter shows how Atlantic and Pacific worlds were entangled. The policies which shaped the

³³ Gonrowski, 28; quoting Kathleen DuVal, *The Native Ground: Indians and Colonists in the Heart of the Continent* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 9.

³⁴ April Lee Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia: Intercolonial Relations in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

Americas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, (part of an “Atlantic” world), motivated further investigation in the Pacific, leading ultimately to engagement with Hawai‘i. In particular, the early 1800s was a world with shifting and unclear boundaries: borderless rather than borderlands. Negotiation with indigenous nations was required, not requested, and because indigenous people did not share Western principles of land ownership or commercial exchange, it was difficult, if not impossible, for Euro-Americans to discern and implement an effective means of asserting their own trade and political autonomy; in many cases, they struggled to be granted recognition among indigenous people in the Atlantic and Pacific. This chapter further follows the ways that Native Hawaiian rulers both asserted and also determined recognition of nations and boundaries in the continuously changing fortunes of the early 1800s. It further introduces the reader to the role of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), founded in New England in 1810 and their burgeoning and extended effect on indigenous nations. What is more, this chapter reveals the ways in which merchants, privateers, and newly-minted authorities, like Hipolito Bouchard of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata (Argentina), sought out the help of the Hawaiian ali‘i to solidify their own claims in the “new world” of the Americas as well as the Pacific. This chapter shows, that even before ABCFM missionaries arrived in the islands in 1820, the Hawaiian ali‘i, with deft precision, were using written contracts and were exercising and displaying their autonomy through knowledge of the global trade passing through the islands.

Chapter Three, “‘O ko Georegia poe, oia ka enemi’ - *The people of Georgia, they are the enemy*,” details more fully how the ABCFM implemented concurrent missions among the Cherokee and the Sandwich Islands in the first half of the nineteenth century. When the ABCFM missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i (also known as the Sandwich Islands) in the spring of

1820, language proved their first and most efficient tool of influence. As in their concurrent mission among the Cherokee, the ABCFM missionaries set about mastering and documenting the indigenous language, giving it a written and recordable form. The Native Hawaiians who had been educated at the Cornwall School for "Indian youth" served as mediators between the Americans and the Hawaiian rulers; using native speakers as their guides, the ABCFM missionaries implemented an effective approach to their "civilization" efforts in the Sandwich Islands. What is more, from the initial efforts of the ABCFM to the precedent-setting legislation of the early republic, American relations with indigenous people in both America and Hawai'i centered around the goals of "Christian civilization."³⁵ Thus, Chapter Three looks more closely at these intersections, and the legal maneuvers and legislation which directly linked American assimilation efforts operating within these nations. It examines the legal precedents that preceded the Removal Act of 1830, which dispossessed the Cherokee of their traditional lands despite a federal guarantee of sovereignty, and which ultimately undermined the ABCFM's efforts among that tribe.

Responding to this new model in American Indian legislation, the ABCFM vigorously criticized removal policies while at the same time strengthening its commitment to missionary efforts in Hawai'i. As the Kingdom of Hawai'i became a strategic global location amid Euro-American expansion, the ABCFM proposed Western and Christian ideologies to the Hawaiian

³⁵ *Missionary Album: Portraits and Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands*, compiled by the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1937, 1969), 17. The directives to the Sandwich Islands missionaries included the following: "Your views are not to be limited to a low, narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your marks high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization. You are to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible, with skill to read it;...to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society; and you are to abstain from all interference with local and political interests of the people and to inculcate the duties of justice, moderation, forbearance, truth and universal kindness."

ali‘i (rulers) who incorporated elements of a Western style government and economy as a means to negotiate with increasing pressures from foreign arrivals. This chapter further follows the history of Hawaiian rulers such as the kuhina nui Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha II (Liholiho) and the strategies of the chiefs and chiefesses who guided and mentored Kūikeyaouli, (Kamehameha III), into a new era of Hawaiian governance, utilizing the talents of ABCFM missionaries like William Richards among others as trusted advisors in the Hawaiian government. This chapter also explores the myriad ways the Hawaiian ali‘i asserted their power, and how their connection to the ABCFM informed them of the challenges of Native Americans in the expanding United States. Richards, in particular, had witnessed an acute lesson from the Cherokee experiment and worked with the Hawaiian government, urging the monarchy to create a constitution, restructure government, and differentiate property rights.

Chapter Four, “Kuhina Nui - Contemplating Kekāuluohi,” examines how the role of kuhina nui was implemented in the 1840 Hawaiian Constitution. In the case of Hawai‘i, it is impossible to overlook or underestimate the power of women ali‘i, the chiefesses and kuhina nui, who steered the direction of the Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1848, the Hawaiian Kingdom underwent perhaps the most massive political, economic, and social changes of any independent nation of its time. Starting in 1820, when the ancestral religions were tempered and the ABCFM first arrived, the Hawaiian monarchy changed the national religion and transformed an oral culture to a literate one across 90 percent of the population. Moreover, the rulers continued to integrate Western capitalist ideology into their economy and incorporated the talents of Native Hawaiian, European, and American “statesmen” and women to restructure and reinforce a political system that would stand out among the Euro-American global reach of the mid-nineteenth century. Taking proactive measures, the Hawaiian

monarchy cleverly used information to protect Hawaiian sovereignty and autonomy in the face of aggressive nations. The Hawaiian rulers revolutionized their world, all in the span of one generation. They not only recognized Hawai'i's power in the new global economy, they engaged converging worlds to ultimately determine the destinies of other nations. Moreover, through their connection with the ABCFM, they understood how Europeans and Americans perceived native people, and the ali'i calculated that to be seen as "civilized" and "enlightened" among these *outside* nations would enhance their political capital. Although they faced severe population loss, military intimidation, and annexation threats, before the government implemented the greatest redistribution of lands in the 1848 Māhele, the Hawaiian rulers additionally heeded the lessons of Native American nations, and sought to both appropriate and accommodate Western diplomatic tools in concert with Native Hawaiian governance to remain autonomous.

This chapter also attempts to engage and speak back to historical conversations that have tapered the power of indigeneous female rulers. In the case of Hawai'i, the kuhina nui navigated complex and changing political terrain during this period; this chapter provides a glimpse into the power of female ali'i in crucial moments and how they used their position to move fluidly between and through both Western and Hawaiian rules of governance. Kekāuluohi's story is important because her position as kuhina nui marked an historical change in the Kingdom of Hawai'i. We still have few historical examinations of how the women who held this position transformed not only the kingdom, but in fact the world. Ralph Kuykendall's multi-volume history, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, published in 1938, recounted the powerful position that kuhina nui like Ka'ahumanu held in the changing landscape of Hawaiian government, but his account

seems to narrate the success of the "civilizing" process in the islands.³⁶ Contrastingly, other historians from the mid-twentieth century, such as Harold Whitman Bradley and John Chinen equally present "progress" narratives which slowly and deliberately absent the role of not only Hawaiian women, but all women as being virtually non-players in the diplomatic or commercial life of the now labeled "American Frontier" in Hawai'i.³⁷ Even later publications like Norman Meller's "Missionaries to Hawaii: Shapers of the Islands' Government," published in 1958, repeat the pattern of women in absentia, excluding entirely the power of the female ali'i and forgetting other females in the "Shapers of the Islands' Government."³⁸ Women are noted in the text almost as markers – place holders – with no further description of their own journals, letters, transformations, or impact. In comparison to the writings of the ABCFM missionaries more than a century earlier, the early and mid-twentieth century histories increasingly erased any trace or expression of gender, sexuality, or female power that did not fit into the victorious heteropatriarchy of a triumphant America. But the Hawaiian Renaissance of the late 1970s helped to reclaim this history along with the resurgence of Hawaiian language and Hawaiian language documents to vivify the power of women ali'i leaders culturally and historically. Since then, response from Native Hawaiian historians such as Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, Haunani-Kay Trask, Esther T. Mookini, and Noelani Arista have drawn on Hawaiian cultural tradition and oral histories to provide a more full-bodied understanding of how genealogy, for example, connected

³⁶ Ralph S. Kuyenkendall, Ralph S. *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, Volume I (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1938).

³⁷ Harold Whitman Bradley, *The American Frontier in Hawaii: The Pioneers, 1789-1843*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1942); Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848* ([Honolulu]: University of Hawaii Press, 1958).

³⁸ Norman Meller, "Missionaries to Hawaii: Shapers of the Islands' Government." *Western Political Quarterly* 11.4 (Dec., 1958): 788-799.

the Hawaiian women of the nineteenth century to an ancient past and a prescient future.³⁹ These works all forthrightly move women and sexuality back to the center of historical examination, but we have yet to create multiple biographies of the most important power brokers of the mid-nineteenth and late-nineteenth century in Hawai‘i – the women ali‘i and kuhina nui who helped make the global world turn in their negotiations at the center of the Pacific. Kekāuluohi was one of these women who both listened and spoke to the world.⁴⁰

Chapter Five, "Our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence," details how the idea of "manifest destiny," which had helped legitimize the Mexican-American War, came to apply more generally to an increasingly righteous American imperialism as the country expanded west.⁴¹ In virtually the same months that the Hawaiian rulers were signing the *Buke Māhele*, the United States was signing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which expanded the country by another third to the shores of the Pacific. The very same Californios, California Indians, and Native Hawaiians who had just a generation before fought against each other in the struggle over Alta California now found themselves inhabitants of the United States, though with few if any of the political rights bestowed upon settlers. The discovery of gold in California

³⁹ Kame‘eleihiwa, Lilikalā. *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? Ko Hawai‘i Āina a me Nā Koi Pu‘umake a ka Po‘e Haole: Pehea lā e Pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992); Kame‘eleihiwa, Lilikalā. *Nā Wahine Kapu. Divine Hawaiian Women* (Honolulu: Na Mea Hawai‘i, 2016); Haunani-Kay Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1999); Esther T. Mookini, Esther T. "Keōpuōlani, Sacred Wife, Queen Mother, 1778-1823," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 1- 24; Noelani Arista, "Listening to Leoiki: Engaging Sources in Hawaiian History." *Biography* 32.1 (Winter 2009): 66-73; Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai‘i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019). This is just a partial list of those women who have helped to bring this history to light and continue to move it forward.

⁴⁰ Some non-native women were also part of this surge in the 1980s when UH Mānoa professor Barbara Bennett Peterson compiled a volume entitled *Notable Women of Hawaii* highlighting the histories of both native and non-native women in the islands. Her work was contemporaneous with the work of Jane Silverman, who wrote on the mid-nineteenth century transformation of government in Hawai‘i, but who also published the first biography of Ka‘ahumanu in 1987; Barbara Bennett Peterson, ed., *Notable Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1984); Jane L. Silverman, *Kaahumanu: Molder of Change* (Honolulu: Friends of the Judiciary History Center of Hawaii, 1987).

⁴¹ As described by John O'Sullivan in "Annexation," *The United States Democratic Review*, 17.85 (July-August, 1845), 5.

gave further impetus to that viewpoint, and throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, American political leaders and social reformers embraced the ideology that those people who exhibited an "elevated state of Christian civilization," *deserved* to control and accumulate the wealth of the land. Indigenous societies that stood in the way of national growth were often removed – either through displacement or attack – from their homelands to reservation lands where, it was reasoned, they might learn to assimilate and adopt the ways of "enlightened" America. These events and the rhetoric of civilization that was shaping the body of America's expanse was not unknown to Hawaiian people. As this chapter reveals, knowledge was once again shared in newspapers, letters, and even the maps which defined the U.S. in the mid-nineteenth century. The names of Native American nations, their battles and suffering, were repeated in Hawaiian language stories and news of the world. These communications also further entrenched an idea of "Indian," and which people might fall into that category.

Though Hawai'i seemed far removed from the clamor, it had become by the mid-nineteenth century a critical economic lynchpin for the U.S. More importantly, the success of Native Hawaiians in assimilating and integrating the ways of "enlightened" nations soon became a model for those Americans looking for a resolution to the "Indian problem." As the Hawaiian implementation of the Māhele increasingly allowed foreign incursion into the islands, American officials discovered that the way to assimilate indigenous people "to an elevated state of Christian civilization" was not through a religious conversion, but rather an economic one.⁴² By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the extraordinary transfiguration of the Native Hawaiian government and land tenure system prompted American legislators to adjust and adapt their own approach to "civilizing" Indians on the western frontier of the U.S. With the passage of the

⁴² *Missionary Album*, 17.

General Allotment Act or Dawes Allotment Act in 1887, the United States federal government employed the strategies introduced in the Māhele to divide, distribute, and privatize the remaining native land in America.

Chapter Six, "The Power of Trust," details how networks of people, bound together through familial, political, social, and corporate ties, reached across the ocean and continent to affect national and global changes. These ties extended to both native and non-native power brokers of the nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century the descendants of ABCFM missionaries and indigenous leaders were heading up influential posts in U.S., Native Hawaiian, and Native American governments. Jeremiah Evarts, one of the key developers of the ABCFM, the Cornwall school and the push for the Sandwich Islands mission throughout the early 1800s, was part of that legacy. Evarts' son, William Evarts, would later become a formidable attorney and the U.S. Secretary of State in the 1880s; he was a diplomat and legislator for literally all of his adult years. He was intimately connected to the policies which led to the development of the Dawes Act. Elias and Harriett Boudinot's sons would also be involved in the politics of the Cherokee nation. But these lives, too, are still left unexplored in histories though they left important legacies. As Theresa Strouth Gaul notes in her history, one of the sons, William Penn went on to have a "long career as a newspaperman and public servant" in Indian country.⁴³ Elias Cornelius Boudinot, too, had a complex life, with a career in law, but later acting as "an officer in the Confederacy during the Civil War and after the war, served the Cherokees in a number of prominent public roles."⁴⁴ The children of the Boudinots were always acutely aware of the ongoing struggle in America's "Indian Problem." Those ties were also attached to the outcome

⁴³ Theresa Strouth Gaul, *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), footnote 44, p. 76.

⁴⁴ Strouth Gaul, footnote 44, p. 76. See also James W. Parins, *John Rollin Ridge: His Life & Works* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991, 2004), 211.

of the Civil War, which reasserted the supremacy of federal power. In the aftermath, subsequent legislation promised to guarantee the rights of those "born or naturalized in the United States," excepting Indians.⁴⁵ As a "ward to his guardian," the federal government used its now strengthened position to pursue bellicose policies towards indigenous people that it had initially legitimized in the Removal Era endured by Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot.⁴⁶

This chapter also investigates the most tangible and simultaneously the most elusive links of the nineteenth century – railroad "ties." The building of the transcontinental railroad in the U.S. defined American aspirations for growth and economic wealth with its goal to connect the east and west. The economic ties incorporated through the railroad expanded out, beyond the frontier, to include speculators and shipping operations that could carry American goods across the nation to international markets. Still, scholars have tended to look at the economy of the railroad as insulated on the American "mainland," without considering how the designs for usurping indigenous domains might be extended across the Pacific. But archival evidence shows that Native Hawaiians and Native Americans were also vested in these projects, too. They created their own communities as historian Drew Gonrowski points out, but they also participated in the economies and mining booms along the routes.⁴⁷ What is more, throughout

⁴⁵ "Constitution of the United States, Amendments 11-27," Available from *The U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html; Internet. Accessed 31 March 2011. The fourteenth amendment, ratified on July 9, 1868 provides in Section 1 that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." However, Section 2 was interpreted to qualify that statement. It stated that "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed." Until the Citizenship Act of 1924, Indians were not automatically considered citizens of the United States.

⁴⁶ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1831, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L.Ed. 25. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 163.

⁴⁷ Drew Christina Gonrowski, *Ka 'Āina Paiālewa i ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai'i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California* (PhD. Dissertation), University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2015. There are copious other examples as illustrated in archives across the Western United States. One area of promise that has yet to be fully explored is in the early communities of Nevada territory: *Certificate of Incorporation of the Kanaka Gold and Silver Mining Company*, June 5, 1863, Box TERR-0082, File # 52, Nevada State Library and Archives, Carson City, Nevada.

the 1870s and 1880s, New England sons like Charles Francis Adams (son of President John Quincy Adams and grandson of President John Adams), and William Evarts were involved with litigation and legislation of the transcontinental railroads. Chester R. Barrow's biography documents that Evarts, in particular, was called upon to represent the Union Pacific in a number of cases including a suit initiated by Congress to "sue the stockholders of the Union Pacific for recovery of alleged fraudulent profits" derived from the *Credit Mobilier* scandal.⁴⁸ The scandal, which embroiled public figures such as congressional members Henry L. Dawes, and James G. Blaine, (later to act as Secretary of State before and after the Bayonet Constitution), and even presidential hopeful James Garfield, linked the political, economic, and social networks of legislators tasked to guide both domestic and foreign policy. Moreover, it exposed the conflicts inherent in federal policies that promised financial incentives. The leadership of the railroad, its corporate power, and its political persuasion continued to be fostered by an exclusive network of colleagues who also fashioned American Indian policy in the U.S. and influenced Native Hawaiian government and investment.

This chapter also shows the many ways that Hawaiians, Native Americans and U.S. reformers engaged what Helen Hunt Jackson called "A Century of Dishonor."⁴⁹ From the late 1860s through the development of the Dawes Act in 1887, the United States exacted some of its most brutal attacks on indigenous people, all the while looking west towards the commercial prospects of the Pacific. This chapter touches on ties between both powerful women and "common" women which altered the trajectory of nations and are rarely explored in our current scholarship. From Ka'ahumanu to Lili'uokalani, the Hawaiian women embodied a balance of

⁴⁸ Chester L. Barrows, *William M. Evarts: Lawyer, Diplomat, Statesman* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 255-256.

⁴⁹ Helen Hunt Jackson (H.H.), *A Century of Dishonor: A Sketch of the United States Government's Dealings with Some of the Indian Tribes* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1881).

power within a group of aliʻi who acted together to govern the nation. Hawaiian models of governance were firmly intact throughout the nineteenth century and the power of the women aliʻi was a barrier that Western administrators could not understand nor effectively counter. What is more, just prior to the landmark legislation of Native American lands in the U.S. in 1887, the matriarchs of the Hawaiian aliʻi had begun to consolidate their land holdings into trusts. Their actions tell us that these leaders understood their landholdings might be subject to the increasing antagonism of American businessmen in the islands. The passage of the Dawes Act in the U.S. only amplified the American government's determination to diminish native-owned property through reassignment, and later, fee simple sale and transfer. The power of Native Hawaiian women served as a beacon in this period, demonstrating how women resisted the designs of the all-male governing and corporate entities in the U.S. It also shows how these same women aliʻi considered and intersected with the reform impulses of women in America. This chapter also follows the huakaʻi (journey) of Queen Kapiʻolani and Liliʻuokalani as they toured America on their way to England for Queen Victoria's jubilee in 1887. Through newspaper accounts of the journey, it shows the strategic political, social, and economic connections made by the ruling women, who visited the very men at the center of power in the U.S. on the dawn of the Dawes Act legislation. It shows how their diplomatic travels may have been an important counter to aggression unfolding at home in the Hawaiian kingdom. While the aliʻi women were on their journey, American businessmen conspired against the leadership of Hawaiʻi, forcing the Bayonet Constitution in June of 1887. It seems that this forced concession by Kalākaua, relenting to the demands of foreginers, coincided with the palpable absence of the aliʻi women. Had they been present in Hawaiʻi at that time, the haole businessmen might not have been so bold as to try and undermine or side-step their power.

The final Epilogue to this study reflects on how historians do their work and what work is still to be done. It acknowledges that historians must “listen” to multiple voices in historical documents while knowing that we cannot tell all of the stories. Still, we continue to live with them. The Epilogue also looks at just a few of the sources that could not be included in this dissertation but engender more questions and offer new connections between Native American, Native Hawaiian, and American histories. There is an abundance of material yet to be analyzed that will surely point to new insights and understanding of American, Indigenous, and global histories of the period. The Epilogue also considers how patterns of legislation, ideas of inclusion and exclusion, legal precedent, and ongoing power struggles play out in the twenty-first century with weighty outcomes for both native and non-native communities in America.

Lastly, I must include a word here about language and translation in this manuscript. To maintain the integrity of primary resources, I have quoted all sources as they originally appeared. In some cases, the reader may notice alternate spellings or versions of Hawaiian words or names. Where multiple spellings for an individual, place, or thing are evident I have provided footnotes to assist the reader in identification. I have additionally incorporated the use of Hawaiian words and names to describe entities which do not have an exact English language equivalent. I have chosen not to italicize these words and have described their meaning within the text, including footnotes where needed. Because Hawaiian words often have multiple meanings, it is important to note that a precise translation into English is sometimes impossible. In her book, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, historian Noenoe Silva acknowledges the difficulties of translating accurately the meanings of Hawaiian words. Quoting Larry Kimura, she explains, "Whenever Hawaiian is translated into English, the English words used add cultural connotations to the idea conveyed, while eliminating intended

connotations and meanings of the original Hawaiian."⁵⁰ Wherever possible, I have used my own translation of Hawaiian, but my skills are limited and I have relied more heavily in this study on the translations and transcriptions of scholars and Hawaiian language speakers who have lifetimes of experience in interpreting and elucidating the language. I am indebted to those kumu (teachers) who opened the door to a new world by giving me a beginning knowledge of the Hawaiian language. This dissertation simply would not exist without the help of Keoki Faria, Pono Fernandez, Kawehi Lucas, Kaliko Baker, Lalepa Koga, and my dissertation committee member Noelani Arista. These kumu were kind and patient with me as I tried to overcome my struggles as an older student learning a new language. What is more, I was introduced to a group of historians – my fellow history graduate students – who were also learning and perfecting their Hawaiian language skills. I am indebted to the assistance of J. Susan Corley, J. Uluwehi Hopkins, Catherine ‘Imaikalani Ulep, and Iasona Ellinwood for allowing me to ask them questions about my translations and helping me refine short passages.

In the years that I worked with my committee members on this research, I often heard that this dissertation was ambitious. I understood that what I proposed covered a span of time that could produce multiple dissertations. However, I believe that perhaps we might not see those different directions without a study which covered the full arc of the nineteenth-century history presented here. This dissertation, then, is offered as a means to offer new and cogent connections between Native Hawaiian, Native American, and American histories. It is offered as a way to show that these connections were linked by women and to bring their histories to the forefront. It is more importantly offered as a map for future historians, for much work remains.

⁵⁰ Silva, 12. For additional Hawaiian translations, see Henry P. Judd, *The Hawaiian Language and Hawaiian-English Dictionary: A Complete Grammar* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Service, presumed first ed. 1939, 1961), and online Hawaiian dictionary *Ulu kau: The Hawaiian Electronic Library* available from www.wehewehe.olelo.hawaii.edu.

Finally, it is offered as a means to reenvision historical pasts: to reconnect what has been subsumed and reconfigure how we understand the ways we both inherit and create historical memory.

CHAPTER ONE

"With the Husband of my choice"

When Harriett Gold, a daughter of New England, married Cherokee leader Elias Boudinot in 1826, both she and her husband understood their lives were at stake. Harriett was descended from a family of New Englanders fully vested in Congregationalist ideology as a tool to transform a burgeoning United States. Her relatives and close social circle were all involved in the development of the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall, Connecticut, a project of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) meant to train "the sons of various heathen tribes."¹ That Harriett would fall in love with one of these sons was not factored into the paternal plans of the ABCFM. Elias Boudinot, also called Buck Watie and the son of a prominent Cherokee family, proved not only capable of learning the "civilizing" process, but in fact, became a leader in the efforts among his classmates and later within the Cherokee Nation. He was an astute linguist, mastering translations of works from English to Cherokee and Cherokee history to English, who helped to develop and refine the written form of the Cherokee language. He went on to edit one of the first indigenous newspapers, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, and provided political commentary on issues affecting the Cherokee Nation, the U.S. and the Hawaiian Islands. He was a vocal political force defending his nation throughout the 1820s and 1830s who worked with agents of the ABCFM to maintain the sovereignty of his people.

Still, the marriage of Gold and Boudinot was not uniformly celebrated because it challenged ideas about what the new United States might or might not become. Though intercultural relationships had defined the early colonizing efforts of British America, by the

¹ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising A Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization Among the Hawaiian People* (Canandaigua, NY: H.D. Goodwin, 1847, 1855), 57-58.

1820s the budding United States seemed more intent on regulating marriage and those who would inherit power and wealth. In short, by the 1820s Euro-Americans now had wealth to lose in contested spaces. John Demos points out in his study *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic*, "In 1738, [Cornwall] town officials recorded the marriage of a Narragansett Indian named Zephaniah Wix to Lydia Dibble, a white woman from a solidly respectable local family. This pair would go on to birth and raise thirteen mixed-race children, with no apparent resistance from others in the community."² But as the U.S. fought the War of Independence and then its second manifestation in the War of 1812, American government and sovereignty was still a fragile reality. "Intermarriage," as historian Ann McGrath observes,

became a hidden plotline in settler sovereignty. Casual sexual relations did not attract the same concern, perhaps because it was the longer-term unions that entwined families. During times when nations were trying to define themselves and to imagine their futures, the power nexus of colonizer-Indigenous nations became complex. In their attempts to contain heterosexual unions across colonizing and color lines, settler states used various techniques to assert the authority of their liminal state entities.³

Thus, the marriage of Harriett and Elias can be seen as a microhistory that literally embodied the struggles of nationhood for Americans and Native Americans in the early nineteenth century. Gold and Boudinot's lives intersected where Euro-American desires to move from colonists to colonizers pushed against indigenous sovereignties in the newly formed U.S. While the story seemingly begins in Connecticut, the unraveling of their lives reveals the vast social, political, religious, and economic networks to which they were connected and which

² John Demos, *The Heathen School: A Story of Hope and Betrayal in the Age of the Early Republic* (New York: Knopf, 2014), 143; Edward Starr, *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut: A Typical New England Town* (New Haven, CT, 1926), 402. Lydia Dibble Wix is also referred to as "Lidiah" and "Lydia" in *The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records: Colchester 1699-1850, Colebrook 1779-1810, Columbia 1804-1852, Cornwall 1740-1854* compiled by Lorraine Cook White (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1996), 410.

³ Ann McGrath, *Illicit Love: Interracial Sex and Marriage in the United States and Australia* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 2.

connected the politics of New England to those of the new "American" South and even further to the far reaches of the Hawaiian Islands. Their story serves to introduce us to the players in a larger arc of history which crossed not only geographical distance, but extended over sixty years through families and legislators who would ultimately determine the fate of nations in America, Native America and the Hawaiian Islands.

Harriett and Elias, along with their contemporaries from New England to Cherokee territory, swam in a different sea of consciousness than we have been exposed to in prior historical narratives. Our histories have divided the American experience by region: New England versus the Southeast, the Atlantic world versus the Pacific world, European or Euro-American culture versus that of indigenous people or African slaves. However, these worlds were far more fluid, continually intersecting and interacting, united in marriage, children, and the blood poured into American soil. Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot had a much larger consciousness of the "ties that bind": the global world which precariously impacted any sense of order in the nascent U.S. surrounded by indigenous power. Thus, the story of Gold and Boudinot introduces us to a genealogy of historical characters that predates their marriage: people who contoured and endured the hardships of nation-building and whose lives left marks which rippled well into the late nineteenth century. They are woven into the fabric of nations, but the individual strands and elements are so tightly bound as to be almost invisible. Yet, each individual strand is important. Native Americans, Native Hawaiians, and New Englanders that moved in and between worlds in the nineteenth century were intricately connected, bringing with each interaction social and political spheres that began prior to their meeting and lingered far beyond their departure.

Curiously, but significantly for the larger picture, their marriage started with a Native Hawaiian abroad: ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia. The story of ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia was widely known in the early nineteenth century and is still explored today. Using Hawaiian language sources, oral histories and nineteenth century resources, historian Wayne Hinano Brumaghim explains that ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia and his fellow Hawaiian and friend, Thomas Hopu, arrived in New York in 1809 aboard the brig *Triumph*.⁴ They were just two of numerous Native Hawaiians traveling abroad in the early nineteenth century, some sent by Hawaiian ali‘i (rulers, elites) to learn about different peoples and places so as to inform the ruling chiefs about affairs abroad. Historian John Demos further elaborates saying that "Obookiah [‘Ōpūkaha‘ia] ranked as the most famous Hawaiian emigrant of this time, but there were others." Quoting Edwin W. Dwight's *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah*, Demos continues,

His friend and shipmate Thomas Hopoo [Hopu] had, after living "for a season" in New Haven, chosen to resume "the life of a sailor." Hopoo served on "several privateers during the late war [the War of 1812]," and, when that was over, he worked as a coachman for a family in the "interior of the country." A year later, unemployed and increasingly despondent, he wandered back to New Haven in hopes of finding passage home to the Pacific. But here he was intercepted by "Christian friends" and persuaded to "stay and obtain an education."⁵

What is more, *A Narrative of Five Youths from the Sandwich Islands, Now Receiving An Education In This Country*, an ABCFM tract "Published by Order of the Agents Appointed to Establish a School for Heathen Youth" in 1816, indicates that ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia exhibited "a strong relish for the Bible; is constant in reading it; and seldom will any object or circumstances prevent his reading daily some portion of the Scriptures...He has studied the English Grammar so far as to be able to parse most sentences with facility." The narrator explains that ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia

⁴ Wayne H. Brumaghim, *The Life and Legacy of Heneri ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia Hawai‘i’s Prodigal Son*. (Thesis M.A.) University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa, 2011, 70.

⁵ Demos, 29; E.W. Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a Native of the Sandwich Islands, Who Died at Cornwall, Connecticut, February 17, 1818, Aged 26* (New Haven, CT, 1818).

studied one book of Euclid's Elements of Geometry; and by his own exertions, without any regular instructor, has acquired considerable knowledge of the Hebrew. He has read several chapters in the Hebrew Bible, and translated portions of them into his own language. He manifests a taste for the Hebrew language, and is much pleased to study it.⁶

As Brumaghim elaborates in his study, 'Ōpūkaha'ia brought with him to New England linguistic skills that Euro-Americans had not anticipated, and he began the first steps to translate Western works into Hawaiian language.⁷ His devotion to learning, understanding, and translating the world into a new Hawaiian literacy inspired members of the ABCFM to create the Foreign Mission School where Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot would later meet.

Moreover, Hiram Bingham later elaborated on this development. In his 1847 account, Bingham, a prominent member of the ABCFM and one of the first missionaries to Hawai'i, described how the school evolved, after "two tawny youths of the Hawaiian race, 'Ōpūkaha'ia (Obookiah) and Hopu," were brought to New Haven, Connecticut:

Acquaintance with these youth, and their readiness to avail themselves of Christian instruction, called attention to others who came from time to time from the same country...Other youths, from other islands, and from several of the aboriginal tribes of the American continent, were found to be desirous of receiving instructions, giving similar promise of aid to the cause of improvement, among their respective tribes. Aiming to secure the salvation of these strangers, and to make their agency available in spreading the Gospel in heathen countries, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established, in 1816, a school at Cornwall, Conn., for the sons of various heathen tribes.⁸

The object of the school was not only to proselytize and convert the "heathen tribes," but to provide a substantial education wherein these same students could work among their own people

⁶ American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *A Narrative of Five Youth From the Sandwich Islands: Now Receiving an Education In This Country* (New York: Printed by J. Seymour, no. 49 John-street, 1816), 11.

⁷ Brumaghim, 79.

⁸ Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising A Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization Among the Hawaiian People* (Canandaigua, NY: H.D. Goodwin, 1847, 1855), 57-58.

to carry on the work of the mission. The ABCFM encouraged these young men to "become useful missionaries, physicians, surgeons, schoolmasters or interpreters," as a means to endorse and disseminate the ideals of "Christianity and civilization." In the beginning, the Cornwall School "embraced Opukahaia and several other Hawaiians, eight Cherokees, three Stockbridges, two Choctaws, two Oneidas, two Caughnowagas, one Tahitian, one Marquesan, and one Malayan."⁹ In 1818, the school counted among its pupils, "six from the Sandwich Islands; two from the Society Islands; one from the island of Timor, a Chinese in language; one from Bengal; one from Malaya; six American Aborigines of different tribes; and three sons of our own country."¹⁰ Historian Gary Okihiro found that by 1825, the school had added "four Chinese" and a "'Jew of England.'"¹¹ In its ten year period, the school "brought 24 different native languages to Cornwall."¹² As John Demos notes,

As best as one can determine, the total of scholars ever present at the Mission School was ninety-five...Of this number, the largest group was composed of Native Americans: forty-two in all, representing fourteen different tribal affiliations. The second-largest was Pacific Islanders: twenty-four, including nineteen from the Hawaiian archipelago.¹³

The breadth of cultural "types" of students at the school is significant because it directly reflects who the ABCFM, (and New Englanders in general), saw as needing instruction in "civilization." Demos writes that the "impulse to save the world, and thus to arrive at a perfect 'millennium,' has a history that is wide, deep, and (in its later parts) distinctively

⁹ Bingham, 58.

¹⁰ *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Compiled From Documents Laid Before The Board at the Twelfth Annual Meeting, Which Was Held at Springfield, Mass., Sept. 19, & 20, 1821* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1821), 200.

¹¹ Okihiro, 83.

¹² "Foreign Mission School, 1817-1826." Available from *Cornwall Historical Society* at http://www.cornwallhistoricalsociety.org/foreign_mission_school.html; Internet. Accessed 8 December 2010.

¹³ Demos, 231.

American...world saving would become an abiding American goal."¹⁴ Demos also recalls the works of Cotton Mather to make that point. However, it is resoundingly evident that early Americans, and New Englanders in particular, were seriously intent on saving themselves first. Their "united" states were not quite as united as they had hoped and more importantly, they were surrounded by indigenous worlds and foreign nations which not only blocked their westward movement, but infiltrated their increasingly bustling ports. The "new" world they had entered was a thoroughly global affair beyond the control of the small communities that now forged a new America. What is more, the concept of "citizenship," as described by historian Carrie Hyde was undefined in early America. Hyde writes that, "Before the Civil War, the United States was a federation of states but not yet a unified nation."¹⁵ Perhaps the ambiguity of a stated "citizenship" was purposefully employed as regional areas like New England and their heirarchies within strived to assert and construct identity. Hyde continues that "many states lacked relevant legislation on the subject and there was no centralized federal definition of citizenship to which politicians could refer for guidance."¹⁶ Hyde further points out the absences – the silences – on this matter, pointing out "what the law leaves unsaid is itself a valuable indication of broader assumptions at various moments in history."¹⁷ The presence of indigenous people at Cornwall tested the limits of who was to be included and who was to be excluded in the democratic experiment and experience in nascent America. The ABCFM seemed to welcome diverse students as a means to "Christian civilization," and in that manner, though the Native Hawaiian students had especially inspired the ABCFM, Cornwall also educated two

¹⁴ Demos, 57, 59.

¹⁵ Carrie Hyde, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018) 5.

¹⁶ Hyde, 5.

¹⁷ Hyde, 32.

notable Cherokee students of elite status: John Ridge and Elias Boudinot. Still, it must be remembered that indigenous people – both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans – were “citizens” of their own nations: a fact undisputed at this time. This is where the discussion of terms like “citizenship” and “identity” become problematic in connecting indigenous histories because neither Native Hawaiians or Native Americans defined these terms by Euro-American standards. As Hyde concedes, “Sovereignty, not citizenship, was the paradigmatic symbol of Native autonomy and political empowerment in the early United States.”¹⁸ As the ABCFM envisioned it the students at Cornwall were intended to be trained as emissaries to to their *own* nations. Ridge and Boudinot in particular were sons of substance – sons of wealthy leaders and influencers who would play a critical role, not only in the life of the school, but in the trajectory of the Cherokee Nation and its meaning for U.S. foreign relations ever after.¹⁹

Furthermore, the ABCFM reached out to the public to aid in its work. It used the stories of both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans to publicize and garner additional support for the school. In a story about Kaumuali‘i, a son of the Kaua‘i king, "Tamoree," the ABCFM promoted the value of their mission in the November 12, 1816 edition of the *Boston Recorder* by recounting how an American ship in Hawai‘i had been saved by the efforts of "King Tamoree":

An American ship, and the lives of several American seamen have thus been preserved by the humane exertions of King Tamoree. Let every American then remember that Tamoree has a son in this country...that he has recently been taken under the protection of the American Board of Commissioners, and sent to Connecticut to be educated, with a view to his return to his native country. We trust that when our countrymen are called upon to contribute for the education of Heathen Youth, these facts will not be forgotten. How can we better manifest our gratitude to the father, than by restoring to him under such circumstances his long lost son.²⁰

¹⁸ Hyde, 34.

¹⁹ *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, 53, 204; Okihiro, 82-87.

²⁰ *Boston Recorder*, November 12, 1816; Okihiro, 80-81. "King Tamoree" referred to in the article above is actually Kaumuali‘i, king of Kaua‘i prior to the unification of the islands by King Kamehameha I. In his account, Bingham

Encouraged by faith and funding, by October 1819, the ABCFM had organized its first missionary party to the Sandwich Islands. Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester and Jeremiah Evarts, who later served as Corresponding Secretary for the ABCFM, among other officers of the Board, provided the instructions and preparation for the endeavor.²¹

Harriett, born in 1805, would have known all of these people and was thoroughly familiar with the stories of Hawaiians who inspired the school. She was the youngest daughter of fourteen children and her brother-in-law Rev. Hermann Vaill sponsored a number of indigenous students, including some from Hawai'i. In fact, the ABCFM tract *A Narrative of Five Youth From the Sandwich Islands* indicates that when John Honoli'i arrived in Boston in 1815, he was "providentially found" and sent to New Haven to be educated: "A place was soon found for him at the Rev. Mr. Vaill's of Guilford, where he began to learn the first rudiments of the English language."²² While Harriett may not have become close friends of the young scholars, she would have heard about their successes from her family as part of her extensive social and community network, at the same time being encouraged to keep her distance from the "heathen tribes." A decade after Honoli'i's arrival, when Harriett confessed her love for Elias Boudinot, "The loudest protests," notes historian Karen Woods Weierman, "came from Harriet's brother Stephen and her influential brothers-in-law, General Daniel Brinsmade, the Reverend Herman Vaill, and the

clarifies the reason for the early nineteenth-century confusion and varied spellings of Hawaiian names: "In the oft recurring names of the principal island, the largest village, and of the king of the leeward islands, 'Owhyhee,' 'Hanaroora,' and 'Tamoree,' scarcely the sound of a single syllable was correctly expressed, either in writing or speaking, by voyagers or foreign residents....Shipmasters and learned men agreed in calling the king of Kauai and his son in America, Tam'oree." In his further description of the development of the Hawaiian language, Bingham explains that the more accurate spelling of the name is "thus, Ka-u-mu-a-li-i," Bingham, 153-154. To maintain the integrity of primary resources, I have quoted all sources as they originally appeared. However, where multiple spellings for an individual, place, or thing are evident, I have provided footnotes to assist the reader in identification.

²¹ Bingham, 60.

²² American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. *A Narrative of Five Youth From the Sandwich Islands: Now Receiving an Education In This Country*, 29.

Reverend Cornelius Everest. Brinsmade and Vaill spoke from an insider's perspective, since Brinsmade was one of the school agents, and Vaill had been an assistant teacher at the school."²³ The love affair that evolved between Harriett and Elias was more than just an inconvenience for the school. From all accounts, it was a battle that played out in both public and private forums as evidenced from the letters between Harriett, Elias, and Harriett's family. That Harriett and Elias professed their love for each other at all was seen as a somewhat obscene display; marriage was a matter of familial concern, controlled by fathers, brothers, and patriarchs who sought to make the best match to maintain and build *their* wealth. Gold and Boudinot saw their marriage as an extension of the deeper commitment they both felt for the progress of their nations, inspired most importantly by their own educations.

Theresa Strouth Gaul explains in her work, *To Marry an Indian: The Marriage of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot in Letters, 1823-1839*, that Elias, "known during childhood by the name 'Gallegina' or 'Buck'" was nurtured in a life of education. He was virtually the same age as Harriett, born around 1804, and began his education early at the age of six, attending mission schools in Cherokee territory. He was also connected to Cherokee leadership through his family lineage as the nephew of Major Ridge. Major Ridge's son, John Ridge, was cousin to Elias and later accompanied him at the Cornwall School. Of Elias, Strouth Gaul elaborates, "On his way to the school, he visited a prominent benefactor of the Foreign mission School, the elderly New Jersey statesman and philanthropist Elias Stockton Boudinot, and assumed his name in a common practice."²⁴ Boudinot arrived at the Cornwall School in 1818, just a teenager; both

²³ Karen Woods Weierman, *One Nation, One Blood: Interracial Marriage in American Fiction, Scandal, and Law, 1820-1870* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 19.

²⁴ Strouth Gaul, 6. Letters are here quoted as Strouth Gaul transcribed them, including original spellings of words. As Strouth Gaul notes in her Introduction, the information about Elias Boudinot's early life can be found in the work of Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 3-6.

he and Harriett were only 14 or 15 years old when he arrived and it is not difficult to understand how these youths may have experienced a first love during those adolescent years. But it was not until after Boudinot left the school in 1822 that Harriett and Elias began to correspond and as Strouth Gaul describes, "their courtship progressed entirely through the exchange of letters".²⁵ Their devotion to each other and to their ideals about how American and Native American communities could coexist incorporating Christian benevolence, education, and compassion pierced through their letters.

What is more, the letters reveal a larger world of connections between the New Englanders of the school, the Cherokee Nation, and the Kingdom of Hawai'i and its sons abroad. In particular, Harriett's brother-in-law, Rev. Herman Vaill urged her to remember the model students from Hawai'i and their profound influence on both the Cornwall School and the overall goals of the ABCFM mission. Vaill was writing, however, in response to the heinous acts of Harriett's brother, Stephen. Harriett was repeatedly warned by her male relatives to cease and desist in her attentions to Boudinot. Her older brother Stephen publicly burned her image in effigy in his protest. Strouth Gaul recounts Harriett's fear of the outrage that Stephen expressed, using a description by Edward C. Starr in his 1926 book, *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut, A Typical New England Town*, saying that Harriett "knew her brother Stephen would feel worse over her marriage than any one else."²⁶ But Harriett's own description in her letters is more profound and haunting. Just barely twenty years old, she wrote on June 25, 1825 to her brother Herman and sisters Flora Gold Vaill and Catharine Gold, "Never before did I so much realize the worth of religion & so much pity those, who, in time of trouble were without this inestimable

²⁵ Strouth Gaul, 8.

²⁶ Strouth Gaul, 1; Edward Comfort Starr, *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut, a Typical New England Town* (New Haven: Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, 1926), 154.

treasure." Her words seem to convey that those she should trust – her brothers and patriarchs of the family – were among those who "were without this inestimable treasure."

Of her marriage announcement, she prefaces the description of the effigy burning declaring, "I still have the consolation of feeling that I have not acted contrary to duty & that what I have done as respects forming a connexion is not adverse to divine approbation." Harriett seemed to defend herself and her marriage as a call by a higher power, but she would be castigated for that vision. She describes feeling unsafe in the town as news spread of her pending marriage. The outcry that came next resembled nothing short of a mock lynch mob or witch-burning. Effigies of Harriett, Sarah Northrup, (recently married to Cherokee leader John Ridge), and Elias Boudinot were hauled out in public:

The church Bell began to toll one would conclude, speaking the departure of a soul. Mr. John C. Lewis and Mr. Rufus Payne carried the corpses & Brother Stephen set fire to the barrel of Tar or rather the funeral pile – the flames rose high, & the smoke ascended – some said it reminded them of the smoke of their torment which they feared would ascend forever. My heart truly sung with anguish at the dreadful scene The Bell continued to toll till 10 or 11 O'clock...There is a great division of feeling among many but especially in our family. It appears as though a house divided against itself could not stand.²⁷

Harriet, though young and sequestered for her safety, was not afraid to call out the display for its appearance of a "funeral pile" or pyre. She was not afraid to name the perpetrators to her reverend brother. She comments that this display was in hearing distance of the Cornwall School, intimating that this "ritual" as carried out by those who presumed patriarchal leadership in the town was a seeming act of terror in conflict with the goals of the "Academy." What is more, she clarifies,

Whatever you, or others may think I do know that no individual whoever has in any way influenced me in forming a connexion. Mr & Mrs. Northrop do suffer most cruelly & unjustly. They feel grieved to the heart. Mrs. N & her family have left Cornwall for the present—it being unsafe for her to be here. Many of the good

²⁷ Harriett Gold to Herman and Flora Gold Vaill and Catharine Gold, 25 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 84.

people of this place do feel greatly [wounded?] by the proceedings of last Wednesday eve. I fear Brother Stephen has, to prevent scandal brought a real scandal upon himself which cannot easily be wiped off. Even the most unprincipled say, they never heard of anything so low even among the heathen as that of burning a Sister in effigy.²⁸

Harriet placed the blame for this spectacle upon those that perpetrated the simulated terror and she writes with a scorpion's sting at times. She makes it clear that "even the most unprincipled" – those that are not of her own family caliber or status --- "say, they never heard of anything so low, even among the *heathen*." She wielded the weapons of her brothers against them, claiming their status as "uncivilized." However, in a long response from June 29, 1825, Rev. Herman Vaill went to great lengths to dissuade her from her marriage plans, shifting the blame. He warns her on "the danger lest you should read with a spirit of prepossession in favour of your own scheme: I do hope you will here stop & resolve to read & consider my advice." The tone is mixed with "brotherly" concern and also punishment as she pursues her "scheme" in Vaill's opinion. He acknowledges to her, "I know you have long had a desire to become a missionary helper in the cause of Christ among the heathen; & that you were ready to say, whenever the Providence of God should open the door for your entrance upon the work, 'Here am I: send me.'"²⁹ Still, he refers to her intended marriage to Boudinot as a "selfish inducement" rather than a means to continue the work of the ABCFM, the Cornwall School, and the missionary objective. He admonished her,

But as it respects yourself, Harriett, I give you this advice, because as I view the subject, you cannot fulfil your designs of marriage with the person in question, without an evident disregard to the interests of the School, & the cause of missions; & a total inconsistency as it respects your Christian profession.³⁰

²⁸Harriett Gold to Herman and Flora Gold Vaill and Catharine Gold, 25 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 85.

²⁹Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 91

³⁰Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 93.

For Vaill, Harriett's nuptials could not and should not be tolerated. Though her plans to marry followed the precedent of marriage between former Cornwall scholar and Cherokee leader John Ridge and New England daughter Sarah Northrup, Vaill attacked Harriett's marriage as a "total inconsistency as it respects your Christian profession." He knew the marriage of Ridge to another New England daughter just a year before was seen as an anomaly and only endured because John Ridge was the son of the famous Major Ridge who had assisted Americans in the War of 1812, supporting none other than Andrew Jackson in New Orleans.³¹ Vaill reminded her,

You cannot but know that the friends of the School do feel opposed to such connexions, as wholly inexpedient, on account of their tendency to injure the school, & the interests of the great cause which the school was designed to promote. This is the fully expressed opinion of the best friends & most liberal patrons of the Institution. You know this to be the case. The experiment has been tried; & it was an experiment which nearly cost the school its life.³²

Using the term "experiment," Vaill reflects on the ABCFM approach to "civilizing" indigenous people as a larger, overarching trial endeavor in which some groups would be favored as more "successful" than others. The term reappears throughout the nineteenth century documents as a way to measure whether Native Americans and / or Native Hawaiians were fulfilling the ultimate goals purported in a rhetoric of civilization. Though intermarriages between white men and indigenous women had long been tolerated and in fact had been seen as a means of assimilating indigenous people to the "civilized" world that Euro-Americans wished to create, the "experiment" of white women marrying indigenous men, even those of high status like Ridge and Boudinot, was seen as a bigger threat. As historian Ann McGrath points out,

Harriett still had to contend with collective notions of colonizing history. Indians could be uplifted toward a progressive future, but a white woman should not be pulled backward. In this conception of history's predetermined path, Harriett was swimming downstream, against the tide of history. A marriage between a white

³¹ See Thurman Wilkins, *Cherokee Tragedy: The Ridge Family and the Decimation of a People* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1970, 1981, 1986).

³² Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 95.

women and Indian man was against the assumed order of things; it was against historical logic.³³

Herman Vaill continued in his letter to chastise Harriett and vilify Elias Boudinot by holding up the stories of 'Ōpūkaha'ia and Thomas Hopu in contrast. He reminds her that the school was established with one goal: "The object of it was to civilize, & to Christianize the heathen; to prepare them to become, like Thomas Hopoo, the sober, chaste, kind husbands of wives from among their own people; & to qualify them to become the enlightened, converted, & obedient subjects of the kingdom of Christ."³⁴ At the time of this letter, Thomas Hopu had already traveled with the first ABCFM missionaries to Hawai'i, (the Sandwich Islands mission), arriving in 1820. He served as translator for the ali'i (chiefs) and had assisted with translating the Bible as well as proselytizing and preaching among his fellow Hawaiians. He carried on the legacy that 'Ōpūkaha'ia had died too soon to fulfill. Vaill pled with Harriett,

I entreat you, Harriett, to read again the Narrative of the Sandwich Island Youths; read again the Life of the lamented Obookiah; call to mind the time when the best friends the heathen ever had, met at Cornwall...Will you, who saw the Banners set up in the Name of Christ, will you put forth your hand, & pluck the Banners down? Before you say you will, go, my dear Sister, once more, & read the inscription over Obookiah's grave. Think of his redeemed Spirit, falling down before the Throne, & blessing God for a Christian education, & for all the good which the School will bring to poor Owhyhee.³⁵

Vaill lays the fate and future of the school, and perhaps the aspirations of the ABCFM itself, at the feet of Harriett, a twenty-year-old young woman. He ensured that in her marriage to Elias Boudinot, she would carry the weight of "the inscription over Obookiah's grave." In some ways, he is even perhaps blaming the sacrifice and death of 'Ōpūkaha'ia on her, making a martyr of

³³ McGrath, 74; See also Gregory D. Smithers, *Science, Sexuality, and Race in the United States and Australia, 1780-1940*, Revised Edition (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2017), 40-41.

³⁴ Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 95.

³⁵ Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 96; E.W. Dwight, *Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, a Native of the Sandwich Islands, Who Died at Cornwall, Connecticut, February 17, 1818, Aged 26* (New Haven, CT, 1818).

him, while indicating that she will be denying the "Name of Christ" and forever "damning" "poor Owhyhee." He ensured that the connection to Hawai'i and Native Hawaiians would never leave her mind, even as she held steadfast to her plans to marry. Vaill chillingly rebuked her, noting, "perhaps you will say as others have said before, that if the Mission School be of God, it will stand; but if it be of men, it ought to fall; & no matter how soon. *Beware how you say it, or even think it. Beware how you try the experiment to ascertain the nature of the Institution.*³⁶ Though Vaill refers to the "institution" of the school, he is intimating a much larger institution in his reference. Simply put, perhaps Vaill felt Harriett was undermining the patriarchal ambitions of America which did not include accepting indigenous men as equals to those "founding fathers." She, alone, threatened the future of the American "civilizing" process. He punished her verbally, questioning her commitment to Christian ideals, and the "natural" social order. In fact, the abuse that Harriett was subjected to illustrated an American pattern of punishment for females who tread against the grain.

Vaill did not stand alone in his views and it would take further persuading for other Gold family members to accept that Harriett and Elias were resolute in their decision to marry. But Vaill's words could not be dismissed as he called her the "female enemy" of the ABCFM crusade to "civilize" those considered "heathen." Historian Ann McGrath also notes in her work that Vaill's reference to Harriett as "the one female enemy" was his "beginning a tirade of emotional blackmail;" but clearly these words coupled with the public demonstration by her brother Stephen were meant to threaten Harriett in a very real way, in which she feared not only being outcast from family, friends, and community, but potential bodily harm.³⁷ The public actions and discussions about the marriage also prompted other influential members of the ABCFM to

³⁶ Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 95. Italics included are my own emphasis.

³⁷ Herman Vaill to Harriett Gold, 29 June 1825; Strouth Gaul, 97; McGrath, 45.

weigh in on the prospects of the marriage. Historian John Demos detailed that "Secretary Evarts poured out his feelings in a series of letters to missionary colleagues."³⁸ The moral compass of Jeremiah Evarts stood out in this conversation, as he asked,

Can it be pretended, at this age of the world, that a small variance of complexion is to present an insuperable barrier to matrimonial connexions, or that the different tribes of men are to be kept forever & entirely distinct?³⁹

The timing of Evarts' letters, too, on July 5, 1825 and August 26, 1825 suggests he was writing in direct response to the public effigy-burnings. Though Evarts echoed the sentiments of Harriett herself, he also feared that these hostilities would endanger the life of Elias Boudinot, who, as Demos describes "had reportedly been 'conducting well': teaching school for a time, living with his father and doing farmwork, assisting in the creation of a Cherokee census, and remaining true to his Christian faith and practice." But Boudinot was receiving "anonymous letters, filled with most scurrilous abuse and threatening his life" – in short, death threats.⁴⁰ These were not the last death threats directed at Boudinot, and both he and Harriett knew full well the risks they were taking in this marriage. Nevertheless, these public protests and private punishments seemed to only fuel the role that Elias Boudinot, assisted by Jeremiah Evarts as Corresponding Secretary of the ABCFM, would play in succeeding months. What is more, it seems Harriett understood that the path of her marriage gave her a unique position not afforded many women in America in the early nineteenth century. She was entering a union in which she would be considered an equal partner. Harriett herself travelled with her husband and Jeremiah Evarts on their speaking engagements. She made the personal political.

³⁸ Demos, 188.

³⁹ Demos, 188 as quoted from Jeremiah Evarts to Rev. Dr. Chapin, July 5, 1825, ABC 1.01, vol. 5, nos.326-27; Jeremiah Evarts to Rev. T. Stone, August 26, 1825, ABC 1.01, vol. 5, nos. 359-61.

⁴⁰ Demos, 189

Indigenous Networks

While these considerations of the marriage between Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot make their marriage unique in its intersections of social and political networks, the union also brought together an extended geographical picture that united indigenous networks. Hawai'i and the efforts of the ABCFM through the "Sandwich Islands Mission" were never far from the Boudinots' consciousness. In fact, the ABCFM made it a regular feature in the *Missionary Herald* to pair the progress of the Cherokee along with the Sandwich Islanders.⁴¹ But Harriett's personal connection to Native Hawaiian students was also evident throughout the letters between her family members. On July 30, 1825, Catharine Gold wrote to Herman and Flora Gold Vail reminding them to be careful how they speak of Harriett's plans, so as not to upset Harriett's parents, who had now turned toward supporting her decision and were contemplating withholding resources from their contentious sons. In addition, Catharine notes, "Kamo [John Iris Kamo] is dead. he was buried to day. Why is it that most all of the most promising [Owyheeans], do not live to return home Mysterious Providence."⁴² The mention once again of the contrast between the turmoil presented by Boudinot and the "most promising" vision of the Native Hawaiians reiterates the distinctions and memories Herman Vaill cast upon Harriett. It seems another reference to "the inscription over Obookiah's grave."

⁴¹ An example can be seen in *Missionary Herald, For the Year 1824, Vol. XX* (Boston: Published for the Board by Samuel T. Armstrong, Crocker & Brewster, 1824), January 1824, 1- 3. See Figure 1.

⁴² Catharine Gold to Herman and Flora Gold Vail, 30 July 1825; Strouth Gaul, 114.

THE LONG PRAIRIES.—Near where the line, which separates the states of Mississippi and Alabama, intersects the dividing line between the Choctaw country and the white settlements on the south; 140 miles south-easterly from Mayhew.

Mr. Moses Jewell, *Assistant Missionary*.

A school will probably be opened at the Six-Towns next spring.—Very successful efforts have been made by the Choctaws, in the S. E. part of the nation, to put an end to intemperance and infanticide among them.

V. MISSION AMONG THE CHEROKEES OF THE ARKANSAW.

Commenced in 1820. There is only the station of

DWIGHT.—On the west side of Illinois creek; four miles north of the Arkansaw river; 200 miles above the Arkansaw Post; and 500 miles from the junction of the Arkansaw with the Mississippi.

Rev. Alfred Finney and Rev. Cephas Washburn, *Missionaries*; and Messrs. Jacob Hitchcock and James Orr, *Assistant Missionaries*.

VI. MISSION AT THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

Established in April, 1820. It has two stations,—Hanaroorah and Wymai.

HANAROOORAH.—On the island of Woahoo. Rev. Hiram Bingham and Rev. Asa Thurston, *Missionaries*; Messrs. Daniel Chamberlain and Elisha Loomis, *Assistant Missionaries*; and Thomas Hopoo and John Honoo-

On the 19th of November, Rev. William Richards, Rev. Charles S. Stewart, and Rev. Artemas Bishop, *Missionaries*; Dr. Abraham Blatchely, *Physician*; Messrs. Joseph Goodrich, and James Ely, *Licensed Preachers and Assistant Missionaries*; Mr. Levi Chamberlin, *Superintendent of secular concerns and Assistant Missionary*; and four natives of the Sandwich Islands,—embarked at New Haven, Con. to join the mission at the islands,

Mr. Loomis is a printer, and there is a press belonging to the mission. A year ago they commenced printing a spelling book in the native language; and they design to print a catechism historical and doctrinal, a Scripture tract, and a grammar and vocabulary, as they make progress in the language. The children in the schools manifest a great avidity for books.

VII. MISSION TO PALESTINE.

The first missionaries, Messrs. Fisk and Parsons, arrived at Smyrna in January, 1820. Rev. Pliny Fisk and Rev. Daniel Temple, *Missionaries*

The Rev. Jonas King, *Missionary*, who has been residing at Paris for the sake of the literary advantages of that city, (See, vol. xviii, p. 353,) has probably joined this mission by this time. He proposes to continue in the mission three years.

Rev. William Goodell and Rev. Isaac Bird, *Missionaries*, embarked at New York, in the early part of last month, for the mission in Western Asia.

The Rev. Levi Parsons died at Alexandria, in Egypt, on the 10th of February last, greatly lamented by his companion in labors, and by all the patrons of missions. A very affecting account of his sickness and

Figure 1: From the *Missionary Herald, For the Year 1824*, Vol. XX (Boston: Published for the Board by Samuel T. Armstrong, Crocker & Brewster, 1824), January 1824.

Ultimately the Cornwall School closed in public reaction to the marriage of Gold and Boudinot. The end of the educational "experiment" took on new meaning in national circles, reconfiguring the future of indigenous and Euro-American relationships. Historian Gary Okihiro quoting from *The Foreign Mission School* (1969) by Paul H. Chamberlain, Jr., notes "The students at the Foreign Mission School -- 'young men of many races' -- must have been a source of racial, gender, and sexual anxiety in the Cornwall area. As put by a local historian, 'Although the people of New England were more than ready to offer both their blessings and their cold cash for the project of religiously converting the heathens of far-away islands, their very natures

rebelled at the idea of accepting the converted and saved souls as equals."⁴³ For the ABCFM, it meant that they would have to alter their course in the "civilizing" process, sending more groups of missionaries to foreign territories to further learn and translate indigenous languages in order to proselytize. What is more, this change in direction had far-reaching consequences in both American and Cherokee territory as Boudinot assumed new leadership roles. Shortly after Harriett and Elias were married in March 1826 in her parents' home, Elias delivered a lecture which was published as "An Address to the Whites: Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the 26th of May, 1826."⁴⁴ The opening lines of the address manifest the profound way that his thoughts had changed through the trials of the preceding months. It impacted how he saw himself, how he imagined others saw him, and his deep desire to advocate for the Cherokee people. To a Northern audience, he explained,

Some, there are, perhaps even in this enlightened assembly, who at the bare sight of an Indian, or at the mention of the name, would throw back their imaginations to ancient times, to the ravages of savage warfare, to the yells pronounced over the mangled bodies of women and children, thus creating an opinion, inapplicable and highly injurious to those for whose temporal interest and eternal welfare, I come to plead.

What is an Indian? Is he not formed of the same materials with yourself? For "of one blood God created all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth."⁴⁵

As the young couple soon settled down in Boudinot's home at New Echota, his role as editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* provided a venue to appeal to a broad audience, speaking of the news, issues, and what some saw as the "progress" of the Cherokee Nation towards "civilization." The impulses of New England, the Cherokee Nation, and the Hawaiian Islands

⁴³ Okihiro, 82-87.

⁴⁴ Elias Boudinot, "An Address to the Whites: Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the 26th of May, 1826," (Philadelphia: Printed by William F. Geddes, 1826). *Amherst College Digital Collection*. Available from <https://acdc.amherst.edu/view/asc:427890/asc:427892>; Internet. Accessed 20 December 2017.

⁴⁵ Elias Boudinot, "An Address to the Whites: Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the 26th of May, 1826," (Philadelphia: Printed by William F. Geddes, 1826), 3.

intersected in Boudinot's stories. What is more, Boudinot's close connection with Jeremiah Evarts also informed the Cherokee leader about the struggles and strategies of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Evarts corresponded with Kaʻahumanu, and the challenges to Hawaiian sovereignty by merchants and competing foreign nations were widely known in American circles in the late 1820s and early 1830s. In turn, Boudinot published a commentary on Queen Kaʻahumanu, who also served as kuhina nui, (a Hawaiian governance designation similar to regent or premier in western terms), from 1819 until her death in 1832.

Kaʻahumanu's direct rebuke of aggressive foreigners appeared in a full-page article in the *Cherokee Phoenix* of October 15, 1828. The article was entitled "Another Outrage" and it followed up on stories which had appeared in American newspapers in 1825 entitled "Outrage At the Sandwich Islands." The initial "outrage" occurred when the crew of the *Dolphin*, which had been denied access to Hawaiian women, physically threatened ABCFM missionary William Richards and others in February 1825. The ensuing riot was heard, apparently, all the way to New England and throughout Cherokee territory. The presence of the ABCFM and their efforts to "Christianize" and "civilize" the "heathen" made it more difficult for Euro-American men to "have their way" with both Hawaiian women and the nation. Contrarily, Euro-American merchants contended that the ABCFM was manipulating the government, and exercising undue influence. The ABCFM published pamphlets in the United States, denying an exaggerated role, declaring, "When we have been requested by the chiefs or people to give instruction or advice, we have uniformly and perseveringly withheld it on all points where we could not refer the decision of the question either to scriptures, or to the uniform practice of christian nations." Furthermore, ABCFM officials defended their missions among both Native Americans and the Native Hawaiians, explaining,

If these doctrines and duties, when faithfully taught, by precept and example, have no good influence...we may challenge the wisdom of the world to devise a system of morals, and to propose any practicable measures, which will raise a savage tribe or a heathen nation from their native depravity, to a state of civilization and virtuous life.⁴⁶

William Richards, in the manner of Jeremiah Evarts, sent letters describing the events to New England newspapers to illustrate that the ABCFM was in fact defending American values and the right of "enlightened" native governments to rule autonomously. He included Ka'ahumanu's response to the captain deemed responsible for the riot, noting Ka'ahumanu said to him, "We have turned to the Lord, and we wish all our people to do the same--for this reason, we have laid the law.--*We make no law for you, nor for your men, nor for your women--it is for our own females we have made the law.*"⁴⁷ As leader, Ka'ahumanu intended to shield her nation and protect Hawaiian women, while putting to her own use the tactics and tools of her aggressors.⁴⁸

Boudinot, as editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, highlighted the role of Ka'ahumanu and Hoapili, the governor of Maui, in the "new" outrage. He recounts,

The Herald [*Missionary Herald*] for the present month gives the particulars of a third outrage committed by men from a civilized and Christian Country, on the Native Authorities of the Sandwich Islands and the members of the Mission. -- Some notice of these transactions appeared three or four weeks ago, in extracts of

⁴⁶ "To the Friends of Civilization and Christianity," Publication of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Island Mission, at Kailua; signed by all the members present from the five stations, October 3, 1826 (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1826).

⁴⁷ *New-Bedford Mercury*, January 5, 1827. Italics included are my own emphasis. Note: The date on the first page of the paper is incorrectly listed as January 5, 1826. As is evidenced from the content and reference to "Abstract Of A Meteorological Journal Kept In This Town For The Year 1826," on the front page, the correct date should be January 5, 1827. This is confirmed by comparison to journals describing the event (Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising A Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization Among the Hawaiian People*), and other newspapers which carried the article such as the *Salem Gazette*, December 26, 1826, and the *Norwich Courier*, January 3, 1827. Note also, the online cataloguing of this issue of the *New-Bedford Mercury* is incorrectly listed on www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu. It is listed under the newspapers for 1826; there is an additional hand-corrected edition listed under the year 1827.

⁴⁸ About this time, Ka'ahumanu was also baptized by William Richards. She adopted a Christian name, choosing "Elisabeta," perhaps in emulation of "Elizabeth of England, the strongest and most illustrious of queens," Jane L. Silverman, *Kaahumanu: Molder of Change* (Honolulu: Friends of the Judiciary History Center of Hawaii, 1987), 97.

a private letter. We are glad to see the whole affair, in all its turpitude, held up, as it is in the Herald, to the detestation of the civilized world.⁴⁹

Boudinot's choice of words is notable in this piece. He condemns the sexual outrage committed by "men from a civilized and Christian country," and their attempts to circumvent laws of the Hawaiian rulers while simultaneously harkening back to the same hypocrisy these men exhibited in chastising his own marriage to Harriett. In addition, his description of the attempted assault on both the women and sovereignty of the indigenous Kingdom of Hawai'i reminds readers of similar struggles which were unfolding in Cherokee territory. Throughout the late 1820s the state of Georgia was trying to constrain Cherokee sovereignty and territory with the ultimate goal of removing Cherokee people from their land. Perhaps it is not an overreach to say that Boudinot was trying to show that the "outrage" was in fact an assault; an attempted "rape" of women *and* nations. As these battles were playing out in local, state, and federal legislation, Boudinot reminds his readers that American aggression was manifesting itself "to the detestation of the civilized world." What is more, he details,

The history of this affair is well written by *Hoapiri*, [Hoapili] the governor of *Maui*, (of which island *Lahaina* is the port,) in an official despatch addressed to *Kaahumanu*, the regent of the Sandwich Islands. Before the reader enters upon the perusal of this document, let him recollect, that four years previous to the date which it bears, the man who wrote it was an uninstructed pagan, not able to read or write.⁵⁰

When Boudinot clarifies that the dispatch from Hoapili was written by "an uninstructed pagan, not able to read or write," who acquired command of written language in a short four years, he is also reminding readers of his own educational journey. He is in fact pointing to the extremely rapid progress in Hawai'i, recalling the "ideal" of civilization which required literacy among a nation but equally alluding to those who were instructed at the Cornwall School, including

⁴⁹ *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 15, 1828.

⁵⁰ *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 15, 1828.

himself. What is more, Boudinot prints parts of the letter to Ka‘ahumanu from Hoapili, showing how the governor of Maui was following the explicit instructions of the kuhina nui: "because you and we [the chiefs, ali‘i] had said, the women must not go on board the ships for the purpose of prostitution. I have strictly observed this word of ours."⁵¹ It echoed the power of Ka‘ahumanu's prior kauoha (command) and Boudinot further explained,

All of the readers of these pages may not have been informed, that *Kaahumanu* has been a person of great authority at the islands for the last twenty-five years; that she was one of the wives of old Tamehameha [Kamehameha I]; that in her former state, she was like other pagan rulers, except that she exhibited uncommon talents and extraordinary haughtiness; that, three or four years ago, she first gave evidence which has since been continued, of strict religious principle; that she was admitted to the church in December 1825; that she was previously associated with Karaimoku [Kalanimoku] in the government, as joint regent with him, till the young king should be of sufficient age and capacity to administer the public concerns, that since the death of Karaimoku [Kalanimoku], this trust devolves upon her alone; that her influence and authority with the natives are paramount and undisputed; *that though foreigners have tried to render her odious with the natives, they do not appear to have succeeded at all; and that she uses per power discreetly, and to the satisfaction of the chiefs and people.*⁵²

The article takes up most of the front page of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and the details of the event, the characterization of Ka‘ahumanu and the ruling ali‘i, and the political commentary cannot be mistaken in Boudinot's exposé. Significantly, Boudinot describes the roles of the female chiefs, mentioning Nahienaena, "the young princess" and sister to Kauikeouli, "the young king, then in the fourteenth or fifteenth year."⁵³ He also distinguishes Hoapili or Hoapili-kane, the male ali‘i governor of Maui from his wife, Hoapili-wahine, a female ali‘i of equal stature. These descriptions also recall the matriarchal power and matrilineal nature of Cherokee governance which conferred identity and wealth through the female family line. These were (and are) cultural norms in the Cherokee Nation which were later incorporated in the Cherokee

⁵¹ *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 15, 1828.

⁵² *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 15, 1828. I have added italics here to emphasize Boudinot's words.

⁵³ *Cherokee Phoenix*, October 15, 1828.

Constitution and law protecting the rights of Cherokee women. It was important because intermarriage in Cherokee culture was common. McGrath contends, "According to the 1825 census, 147 white men were married to Cherokee women and 73 white women were married to Cherokee men. By 1835 the proportion of 'mixed bloods' had increased to 23 percent of the population. This shows that intermarriage was not rare; however, in total, such couples represented only 1.6 percent of the Cherokee population."⁵⁴ Still, Cherokee law grappled with ways to control white men from gaining Cherokee property through intermarriage. For white women like Harriett who soon identified themselves and their children as Cherokee, they did not have the same, full rights of inheritance as indigenous Cherokee women. This made their marital decision and situation even more precarious should their husbands pass.⁵⁵ Still, Harriett made clear to her family where her loyalties lie. In an 1831 letter to her sister Flora, and notorious brother-in-law Rev. Herman Vaill, she wrote,

I have thought much of my Father's family of late, & especially my [dear] Sisters. I suppose you sometimes get together. Le[t] Harriett be remembered, though absent, I sometimes very much wish to compose one of your circle again. I do not mean, that I could be placed back among you; (that I could never submit to, unless providence made it as plainly my duty as it did to leave you) but that I could sit with you as I am; with the Husband of my choice – who not only professes, but is truly worthy of my warmest affections—m[y t]enderest love. Our little cherokees I will not say much about – only wish you could see them & judge for yourselves. Tell Father, I think he will have to make an heir of William Penn – for he is said, by all, to look like him & I think he has no other grand son who does resemble him. Now do not wait so long before you write us again & tell us all about yourselves & our family connections & the little nieces & nephews. I know not how many you have – but suppose somewhat about half a dozen. Kiss them all for me & let them know that their they have Cherokee Cousins.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ McGrath, 153.

⁵⁵ McGrath, 167.

⁵⁶ Harriett Gold Boudinot to Herman and Flora Gold Vail, 7 January 1831; Strouth Gaul, 173.

By 1831, Harriett had plenty of time to think about her choices, including her adopted national identity and her decisions, which included a fierce defense of Cherokee sovereignty and a future for her children. Her husband, along with Jeremiah Evarts had already begun to speak on the challenges facing the Cherokee nation and urged others to send memorials and appeals to the U.S. Congress. Notably, Evarts published many articles defending the Cherokee people and their territory using the pseudonym of William Penn.⁵⁷ Harriett later would name her first son William Penn, an honor she bestowed upon Jeremiah Evarts. As she describes in her letter, she reminds her family of the loyalty they owe her, too, reminding them, "Our little cherokees I will not say much about – only wish you could see them & judge for yourselves. Tell Father, I think he will have to make an heir of William Penn – for he is said, by all, to look like him & I think he has no other grand son who does resemble him."⁵⁸ As the Cherokee nation was soon embroiled in the Supreme Court cases *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) which would ultimately set precedents in American federal Indian policy, both Harriett and Elias wove their personal lives into the political battles. Their children would carry the names of those who stood for Indian sovereignty while Boudinot, the editor, repeated and recalled the sovereign state of nations, which included both the Cherokee Nation and the Kingdom of Hawai‘i.

Boudinot's public outcry through the *Cherokee Phoenix* and in his speaking engagements grew ever more fervent in the late 1820s and into the 1830s. His connections to the ABCFM and the role of missionaries in Cherokee territory also remained strong as he worked with Samuel Austin Worcester, the nephew of Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester, the Board member who had helped

⁵⁷ "Guide to the Evarts Family Papers - Overview." Available from *Yale University Library* at <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4423> Internet. Accessed 26 March 2019.

⁵⁸ Harriett Gold Boudinot to Herman and Flora Gold Vail, 7 January 1831; Strouth Gaul, 173.

organize the Sandwich Islands mission. Samuel Austin Worcester had joined the ABCFM in 1823 and was appointed to the Cherokee mission in 1825. Samuel Austin Worcester would also suffer imprisonment in order to test and curb the limits of the state of Georgia in or near Indian territories. The *Worcester v. Georgia* case would force the Supreme Court justices to define the limits of state, federal and Indian jurisdictions.⁵⁹ The court made clear that states' rights did not supersede Indian government or federal rights and that, in fact, the state was subordinate to federal law.⁶⁰ All of this played out as Harriet and Elias, now in their mid-twenties, continued to build their family and work in Cherokee territory. But their lives would be most tested by the passing of the Removal Act. The Removal Bill passed and was signed into law in May 1830, largely with the help of President Andrew Jackson and it began the process of taking land from Cherokee people, only to "remove" them to new "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi. The process was not complete, however, without a formal treaty, which was signed, ironically, in the home of Harriett and Elias Boudinot. By December 1835 it was clear to Boudinot and his cousin John Ridge that Georgia's aggression would not be contained. Despite the various campaigns in writing, speeches, memorials, and even Supreme Court cases appealing to the federal government, the passage of the Removal Act and the specific leadership of Andrew Jackson left few choices for Cherokee leaders. Boudinot and the Ridges were among the party who signed The Treaty of New Echota forcing Cherokee people to leave their traditional lands in the Southeast.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Worcester v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1832, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 483. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, David H. Getches, Daniel M. Rosenfelt, and Charles F. Wilkinson, eds. (St Paul: West Publishing Co., 1979), 167.

⁶⁰ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1831, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L.Ed. 25; *Worcester v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1832, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 483. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 161, 167.

⁶¹ Strouth-Gaul, 60-61.

The moment marked an unraveling with repercussions that were felt throughout families and nations. Harriett, at the young age of thirty-one, died in 1836 shortly after giving birth. Boudinot, distraught by the loss of his wife and his home, attempted to carry on, later remarrying another daughter of New England, Delight Sargent. He certainly knew her a long time as she was listed in the 1834 *Missionary Herald* as a teacher in Brainerd all the way back to 1817.⁶² Once again, this report of the missionaries among foreign nations placed the information about Hawai'i (Sandwich Islands) and the Cherokees side-by-side in their publication. In 1838, Elias, his new wife, and children left their traditional Cherokee territory "ahead of the large-scale exodus known as the Trail of Tears."⁶³ But the tragic ending of the story was not yet complete. As more and more Cherokee people left Georgia to make the trek to "Indian Country" in what would later become the states of Oklahoma, Arkansas, Missouri and Texas, the death toll climbed. More than four thousand people died along the trail and the misery that Boudinot had tried to prevent grew only deeper. The Cherokee Nation did survive, but Boudinot, Major Ridge and John Ridge would not. All were assassinated in 1839 by those allied with John Ross, a Cherokee traditionalist and leader who had virulently opposed the Treaty of New Echota. Thus, like Harriett, Elias' life was cut short, but their connections came back full circle and the sons and daughters of this same social network would influence the development of government policy in Cherokee territory, the Hawaiian Islands, and the U.S. simultaneously throughout the nineteenth century. The Hawaiian rulers and ABCFM missionaries who had been working in Hawai'i for almost twenty years must have looked upon the Cherokee removal with horror as they saw similar American aggressions replayed in the islands. And, in fact, documents in Hawaiian language from as far back as 1837 recount the plight of the Cherokee which was later

⁶² *The Missionary Herald*, January, 1834, Vol. XXX, No. 1, page 6.

⁶³ Strouth Gaul, 65.

revisited in Hawaiian language newspapers in the mid and late-nineteenth century. As will be discussed in Chapter Three, ABCFM officials identified the people of Georgia as an “enemy” to Cherokee people, and in some ways, an enemy to the “civilized” progress of the United States.⁶⁴

In the end, perhaps Hermann Vaill's admonition to remember the inscription on ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia's grave was a prescient warning of the personal and political sacrifices that defined the forging of America. The final resting places of ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia, Harriett Gold, and Elias Boudinot remind us that the histories of the U.S., the Cherokee Nation, and the Hawaiian Islands are not simple or clear linear histories. In fact, they are everything but that. Instead, their stories were entangled, contoured both by loss and dispossession while simultaneously reflecting personal choices that had local, familial, and national ramifications.⁶⁵ ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia, Harriett Gold, and Elias Boudinot did not die in their original homelands and were not buried in their place of birth. ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia originally left Hawai‘i to escape the political turmoil created as Kamehameha I sought to consolidate power over all of the islands.⁶⁶ When ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia later died of illness at Cornwall, he was made a martyr of sorts for the ABCFM and their mission to

⁶⁴ See Chapter Three, “‘O ko Georegia poe, oia ka enemi’ - *The people of Georgia, they are the enemy.*” Hiram Bingham commented on the U.S. Supreme Court cases involving Georgia in his letters from Hawai‘i in 1832. In a letter to Rufus Anderson of the ABCFM, he wrote that in monthly prayer meetings with Hawaiians “I addressed them from the words of Isaiah, ‘Learn to do well, seek judgement, relieve the oppressed’. I blushed to tell them that magistrates in my own country had torn some of our brother missionaries from their work among the Indians, & shut them up in prison, & sentenced them to four years hard labor for no other cause than their perseverance in the good work among the Indians, which good men, and the General government, & the indians themsleves had approved for several years, & now it was the duty of Sandwich Islanders in seeking to relieve the oppressed, to pray that God would deliver our brethren from the confinement, and cause the gospel to have free course in every land as the best means of checking the power of the oppressor, and delivering men from the bondage of Satan & the slavery of Sin.” Hiram Bingham to Rufus Anderson, October 2, 1832. *Missionary Letters From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1819-1837*, 8 volumes. “Supplementary to the letters published in the *Missionary Herald* of the same dates.” Vol. 5., p. 1405-1406..

⁶⁵ See essay by Eliga H. Gould, “Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *American Historical Review* 112.3 (June 2007): 764-786. He explains that histories can be “entangled” versus “comparative,” revealing the ways in which distant events bring together formerly assumed disparate histories.

⁶⁶ Brumaghim, 43.

bring "civilization" and Christianity to "heathen tribes." His story was repeated in numerous publications, but the first honor came in the form of a grave marker, a monument described as "the largest and most impressive yet seen in Cornwall's cemetery" for the time. It included an "elaborately carved slate plaque, set on a bed of local fieldstones, told of his 'journey' in phrases that would soon become incantatory."⁶⁷ 'Ōpūkaha'ia's body remained far from his birthplace until 1993 when his remains were removed and repatriated to Hawai'i.⁶⁸ Contrastingly, Harriett Gold would never return to her New England home. Instead, she was buried in her adopted nation, in New Echota, the place where she both risked and devoted her life to her Cherokee husband and children. She made a choice to leave behind the stability and protection of her New England roots in order to defend her beliefs and claim a "husband of my choice." And while Elias Boudinot would have preferred to stay in New Echota, he, too, made a choice – under duress - for his nation. In signing the Treaty of New Echota to remove Cherokee people from traditional lands, he believed he was preventing further violence; he saw his compromise as a way to save the Cherokee Nation from the abuses of further American encroachment. But he could not save himself and he, like 'Ōpūkaha'ia and Harriett, was displaced in death. Buried in Worcester Mission Cemetery, Park Hill, Oklahoma, his death marked just one of many that would haunt "Indian country," and American legitimacy. Remarkably, all of the Boudinot children would end up back in New England after the death of Elias Boudinot. His second wife,

⁶⁷ Demos, 83.

⁶⁸ The movement to return the remains of 'Ōpūkaha'ia to Hawai'i coincided with U.S. recognition of the unlawful overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893. Congress passed a joint resolution in 1993, "to acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii." However, it did little to actually compensate the Hawaiians for that act. "United States Public Law 103-150, 103rd Congress Joint Resolution 19: To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii," November 23, 1993. Available from Library of Congress digitized archive, Congress.gov. at <https://www.congress.gov/bill/103rd-congress/senate-joint-resolution/19/text>; Internet. Accessed 2 October 2018.

Delight Sargent, returned to New England after the horrendous murder of her husband. She sought refuge and support at the home of Harriett's uncle. Daniel Brinsmade, the very same brother-in-law who had castigated Harriett's marriage, ultimately took care of Delight and the Boudinot children, making sure that all received education and the tools which might allow them to both serve the Cherokee Nation and assimilate into an American future.⁶⁹ Thus, the lives that were buried far from their homelands, left legacies which complicated the sovereignty of multiple nations, connected geographical and generational distances, and challenged the "soul" of America.

⁶⁹ Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family*, Forward by James W. Parins (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939, 1995).

CHAPTER TWO

Forging Sovereignty across Fluid Worlds

The global consciousness that pervaded the world of Harriett and Elias Boudinot did not begin at Cornwall. In fact, even their intercultural marriage was not entirely unique for its time. Rather, it starkly revealed the intersections of Native American, Atlantic and Pacific worlds unfolding, the power relationships which had developed, and the unions which crossed both class and still murky "racial" designations. Elias Boudinot, John Ridge, and even John Ross, the "traditionalist" Cherokee leader who vigorously opposed Boudinot and Ridge, were all products of intercultural marriages. Though they clearly identified as Cherokees, some considered them "mixed-bloods" - sons of Indian and white parents - assimilating to Euro-American ways. But adopting Euro-American methods of literacy, diplomacy, governance, and even religious expression did not mean that they abandoned their Cherokee identity and traditions. Actually, their movement through and consciousness of multi-cultural worlds may have amplified a need to both identify and *strengthen* Cherokee presence and sovereignty.¹ What is more, the moment which gave birth to the Boudinot marriage actually had been building over sixty years of history defining the contours of British America, French America, Revolutionary America and Native America.

Historical narratives in the last generation of scholars have attempted to create world histories which link the events of exploration, commerce, political movements, intellectual history and nation-building, across conventional boundaries of territory and culture in the

¹ Dawn Peterson, *Indians in the Family: Adoption and the Politics of Antebellum Expansion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017) pp. 292- 302. In this new monograph, Peterson discusses at length the politics of adopting Indian children and the means by which "mixed-blood" leaders served as mediators and conduits between cultural worlds.

Atlantic and Pacific. However, much of it is still a “siloe” construct. We write of an “Atlantic” world without emphasizing the indigenous nations which bound that world. Or we speak of a “Pacific” world which is sometimes defined as “Oceania” or Pacific Islands history that does not and cannot fit into the models that Atlantic historians have used.² Though scholars have generally examined these “worlds” as separate and distinct, they were inextricably connected. The policies which shaped the Americas in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, (part of an “Atlantic” world), motivated further investigation in the Pacific, leading ultimately to engagement with Hawai‘i. In particular, the early 1800s was a world with shifting and unclear boundaries: borderless rather than borderlands. Negotiation with indigenous nations was required, not requested, and because indigenous people did not share Western principles of land ownership or commercial exchange, it was difficult, if not impossible, for Euro-Americans to discern and implement an effective means of asserting their own trade and political autonomy; in many cases, they struggled to be granted recognition among indigenous people in the Atlantic and Pacific. As legal historian Robert Clinton explains, in the Americas “the existence of the Indian tribes was an unavoidable diplomatic and military fact.”³ Indigenous power in the Atlantic and Pacific worlds was a reality that neither colonists nor metropolises could escape.

For that reason, we must step back to the mid-eighteenth century to view how the events that unfolded after the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) defined the outcomes of American colonials, Indian nations, and the surge into the Pacific. These policies which focused on the divisions of North America motivated further penetration into the Pacific, leading ultimately to engagement with Hawai‘i. These in turn stimulated the creation of the American Board of

² An example of this definition can be found in David Armitage’s “Three Concepts of Atlantic History,” in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, David Armitage and Michael Braddick, eds. (London: Palgrave, 2002):11-27.

³ Robert N. Clinton, “Isolated in Their Own Country: A Defense of Federal Protection of Indian Autonomy and Self Government,” *Stanford Law Review* 13.6 (July, 1981), 986.

Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), founded in New England in 1810, which had a profound influence on the development of both Hawaiian and Native American policy throughout the nineteenth century. The ABCFM, funded in part by the federally legislated Civilization Fund of 1819, initiated missionary efforts among the so-called Five Civilized Tribes (particularly, the Cherokee, Choctaw, and Creek) and the Native Hawaiians concurrently in the 1820s. However, the Removal Act of 1830, which dispossessed the Cherokee of their traditional lands despite a federal guarantee of sovereignty, changed the direction and trajectory of lives, including those of the Boudinots and many, many others. Still, it must be acknowledged that the ABCFM vigorously criticized removal policies while at the same time strengthening its commitment to missionary efforts in the Sandwich Islands. Moreover, the ABCFM later utilized its knowledge of U.S. policies as well as its belief in the "civilizing process" to inform the ruling ali'i formulating Hawaiian governmental policy throughout the nineteenth century.

In the early American republic, relations with indigenous people were shaped by European precedents and conventions that would ultimately serve domestic expansion. But, as Robert Clinton points out, both Europeans and Americans could acquire the lands of indigenous people only through negotiation or conquest. More frequently, Euro-Americans chose to use negotiation and diplomacy to serve their interests. According to Clinton, there were "two reasons they treated land cession as a negotiation between sovereign powers rather than a private exchange. First, the Indians viewed land as a collective resource of the tribe." Because indigenous people did not share Western principles of land ownership, it was difficult, if not impossible, for Euro-Americans to discern and implement an effective means of transferring land from tribal and communal ownership to individual title. Secondly, as stated above, Indian nations were a formidable barrier to colonial ambitions. This statement is evident in early maps

of what would become American territory, indicating that land far EAST of the Mississippi was “Land Reserved for the Indians.”⁴



Figure 2. "Cantonment of the forces in North America 11th. Octr. 1765."

It was precisely so because Euro-Americans had limited military or diplomatic sway in these native nations and entanglements. This fact was never more evident than in the events surrounding the Seven Years' War. In the British battle for North America against the French, Indian coalitions were *tantamount* to settlers' futures. Indian coalitions were a complex, but absolute necessary alliance if colonists and their metropole were to hang on to *any* territory in

⁴ An example of this designation is found in "Cantonment of the forces in North America 11th. Octr. 1765." Available from Library of Congress, Maps of North America, 1750-1789, 114. Digital Id <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3301r.ar011400> ; Accessed 12 February 2019. There are multiple maps from the period of 1763 – 1767 which seem to designate the same area as “Land Reserved For the Indians” or “Reserved Country,” which speaks to the limits of both British colonial reach and later, American boundaries.

their "new" world. Daniel Richter, one of the foremost scholars of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) history, explains,

Historians frequently treat the province of New York and the Five Nations of the Iroquois confederacy as monoliths. In fact, however, each was a bundle of localized communities held together by intricate networks of personal and familial political connections...the Iroquois Great League of Peace-- composed of the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas -- was a far from unified entity. Instead it encompassed a cluster of autonomous villages, in which politics rested on ties of economic reciprocity among kin groups; clan headmen retained their status largely through ritualized generosity toward their kin and fellow villagers.⁵

Thus, the Iroquois confederacy was just one example of the complicated national terrain that Europeans had wandered into. Indian nations in the mid to late eighteenth century also commanded an economy which determined the fate of European success in the Atlantic. For indigenous people, trade relationships served not only to obtain European goods, but more importantly functioned as an entree to political and strategic diplomacy. As the British sought to monopolize their power in North America, the Iroquois used their economic influence to shape their British partnerships and negotiate their autonomy in the increasingly competitive Atlantic.

Moreover, between the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 and 1768, there occurred literally a "sea change" in the balance of power between the metropole (England) and the separate colonies that were now delineating their boundaries in America. At the close of the war, England had dictated that only the Crown had the right to negotiate with Indian nations. However, by 1767 trade regulations were changing, which gave control of Indian commerce to the individual American colonies. Native American nations, however, such as the Six Nations of the Iroquois, did not follow boundary lines determined by colonial officials. These relationships

⁵ Daniel K. Richter, "Cultural Brokers and Intercultural Politics: New York-Iroquois Relations, 1664 -1701," *Journal of American History* 75.1 (Jun., 1988): 42.

superseded the arbitrary desires of colonials and extended in all directions. Moreover, territory claimed by a particular indigenous nation could be contested by traditional negotiations. In addition, some nations also considered other tribes or nations their "dependents," as the Iroquois considered the Shawnee and Delaware. The Treaty of Ft. Stanwix in 1768, negotiated with the Crown through Indian commissioners, illustrated that Native American nations could and did use political strategy to maintain their sovereignty in the face of British and early American attempts to limit their reach. Rather than negotiate with separate colonial entities, the confederacy chose to cement their relationship with the single authority of the British Crown. If the confederacy had to continually negotiate with each separate colony over the vast territories they covered, they would have lost their connections to the Atlantic world, as well as undermined their own economic strength and security.⁶

Indian power both on the North American continent and within the Atlantic world was a force that could not be controlled. Furthermore, it was precisely this power and presence which sent both the English and French to more thoroughly explore other "worlds," beyond the Atlantic. The impulse for Europeans to seek out the Pacific in the first place was created by the

⁶ This assessment of the Iroquois Confederacy and the Treaty of Ft. Stanwix is drawn from numerous sources including my own work, "The Iroquois Connection: Atlantic Dimensions of Iroquois Trade," *Retrospect Graduate History Journal*, Volume 3 (Spring, 2012): 71-95. Research is drawn from the following works: Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Francis Jennings, *The Ambiguous Iroquois Empire* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984); Anthony F.C. Wallace, *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969, 1972); Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) and primary sources from *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Prepared for publication by Milton W. Hamilton, Ph.D. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1957), Volumes V, XI, XII, and XIII. Available from New York State Library / Archives / Museum Catalog; Digital Collections (NYSL Digital Collections); E.B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, Volume 8*, "Ratified treaty #7: Treaty of Fort Stanwix, or The Grant from the Six Nations to the King and Agreement of Boundary -- Six Nations, Shawnee, Delaware, Mingoes of Ohio, 1768," 116-117.

need of metropole countries to find new sources of income and wealth that were being denied them by Native Americans in their negotiations in North America. Native America supplied that yearning first with the extremely profitable fur trade. By the mid-eighteenth century, the fur trade in the Atlantic world had made the British, in particular, a wealthy nation. Though England had defeated the French in the Seven Years' War, (expanding the territory the British wished to control), new regulations in trade shifted their abilities to access that wealth.⁷

From the end of the war, the Crown had been the sole negotiator with North American Indian tribes who controlled the trade, but when in 1767 trade negotiations returned to individual American colonies, the metropole struggled to maintain those relationships. In an attempt to both promote and legislate the expanding economy in North America, the British Board of Trade enacted the Regulations for Indian Trade in 1767, which returned to the individual colonies jurisdiction over permits for trade, emphasizing "It is absolutely necessary that the Trade with the Indians should be free to all." Moreover, the regulations forbade "any unfair Practices to draw in the Indians to trade with him or them or force away their Peltry under Pretence of their being in Debt," a provision which, at least on paper, attempted to address the abuses of the rum business.⁸ However, the Crown reserved the right to the greatest prize, and maintained the power of the Superintendent of Indian Affairs to negotiate all treaties and land cessions; with the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, land would be the richest commodity of the Iroquois trade. Still, it meant that Crown would no longer have sole access to the furs and all of the extended items of trade including the primary items desired by indigenous people, which included clothing,

⁷ The numerous collection of *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, describe the multiple means and machinations that colonials endured to access indigenous trading partners and keep them as both sellers and buyers. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*. Prepared for publication by Milton W. Hamilton, Ph.D. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1957), Volumes V, XI, XII, and XIII. Available from New York State Library / Archives / Museum Catalog; Digital Collections (NYSL Digital Collections).

⁸ "Regulations For the Indian Trade," Montreal, Jan. 15, 1768. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson*, Volume XII, 411-412.

firearms, and liquor.⁹ It also meant that Captain James Cook's first voyage into the Pacific in 1768 was timed to find new avenues, resources, and markets as the British colonies in North America became even more contested ground. In short, connections to Hawai'i were forged out of the boundaries, both economic and territorial, that Native Americans defined to contain European ambitions.

Furthermore, after the American Revolution, the newly independent American nation had little ability to develop and support a military that could both defend against European imperial ambitions and aggressively subdue native people for the purpose of acquiring and occupying new trade relationships and new land. For these reasons, the earliest American foundational law and subsequent legislation recognized Indian tribes as distinct and separate entities from either federal or state government. To begin, the Constitution specifically reserved the right of negotiation with indigenous people to the federal government. Though Article I, Section I of the Constitution excluded Indians as citizens, Section 8 provided that only Congress had the power "to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes." Furthermore, Section 10 reaffirmed the power of Congress and implied Indian sovereignty by denying the States the ability to "enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or

⁹ Arthur J. Ray and Donald Freeman, *'Give Us Good Measure': An Economic Analysis of Relations Between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company Before 1763* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978); "Gottfried Achenwall: Some Observations on North America from Oral Information by Dr. Franklin." Translated from "Einige Anmerkungen uber Nordamerika, und uber dasige Grosbritannische Colonien. (Aus mundlichen Nachrichten des Hrn. Dr. Franklins.)," *Hannoversches Magazin*, 17tes, 18tes, 19tes, 31tes, 32tes, Stucke (Feb. 27, Mar. 2, 6, Apr. 17, 20, 1767), cols. 257-96, 482 -508 (Princeton University Library), *Benjamin Franklin Papers*; Dean L. Anderson, "The Flow of European Trade Goods into the Western Great Lakes Region, 1715-1760," in *The Fur Trade Revisited: Selected Papers of the Sixth North American Fur Trade Conference, Mackinac Island, Michigan, 1991*, eds. Jennifer S.H. Brown, W.J. Eccles and Donald P. Heldman (East Lansing / Mackinac Island: Michigan State University Press, 1994), 96; John J. McCusker. *Rum and the American Revolution: The Rum Trade and the Balance of Payments of the Thirteen Continental Colonies, Volume I & II* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1989): 14-15; Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

Confederation."¹⁰ By 1790, "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse with the Indian Tribes," noted more explicitly:

SEC. 4. *And be it further enacted*, That no sale of lands made by any Indians, or any nation or tribe of Indians the United States, shall be valid to any person or persons, or to any state, whether having the right of pre-emption to such lands or not, unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States.¹¹

Thus, indicating the "nation or tribe of Indians," early U.S. legislation firmly established the sovereign status of indigenous people. Based on both international convention and legislative foundation, formal relationships with indigenous people in the U.S. would be constructed and shaped by federal policy.

Moreover, the newly formed American government enlisted the help of private charitable associations to work among Indian tribes in order to mold and influence their social, religious, cultural, and economic lives in order to further facilitate land negotiations. In his book, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian*, Bernard Sheehan observes,

Government necessarily served as the primary agent of contact, and in the Jeffersonian era philanthropy fell within its responsibilities. The federal authorities either directed benevolent activities or they made the rules under which private agencies engaged in them. The transformation of the Indian became a public function of the white man's society. Hence from the first acquisition of sovereignty during the Revolution to the removal policy of the 1820s, through all the complexities of war, commercial competition, frontier advance, and native decline, cutting across deep political differences, the incorporation of the Indian occupied the attentions of the new government.¹²

¹⁰ "The Constitution of the United States," September 17, 1787. Available from *The U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_transcript.html; Internet. Accessed 20 November 2010.

¹¹ "An Act to Regulate Trade and Intercourse With the Indian Tribes," July 22, 1790. Available from *The Avalon Project: Statutes of the United States Concerning Native Americans* at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_cnetury/na024.asp; Internet. Accessed 20 November 2010.

¹² Bernard W. Sheehan, *Seeds of Extinction: Jeffersonian Philanthropy and the American Indian* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1973), 120.

In efforts to manage and "civilize" indigenous people, the U.S. government adopted policies in which the state and church worked hand in hand, belying the principles set forth in the First Amendment to the Constitution. Instead of separating the influence of church and state, the federal government, in fact, embraced their unified efforts. The earliest treaties the U.S. made with Indian tribes often included stipulations to educate and socialize indigenous people to Western ideologies, providing teachers, blacksmiths, and agricultural instructors to help native people become "yeoman farmers" who would live according to Christian principles.¹³

Furthermore, the Civilization Fund of 1819 established a legislative precedent by formally funding missionary efforts among indigenous people. Allocated an annual budget of \$10,000, the Civilization Fund specifically stated,

Be it enacted..., That for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization, the President of the United States shall be, and he is hereby authorized, in every case where he shall judge improvement in the habits and condition of such Indians practicable, and that the means of instruction can be introduced with their own consent, to employ capable persons of good moral character, to instruct them in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing, and arithmetic, and performing such other duties as may be enjoined, according to such instructions and rules as the President may give and prescribe for the regulation of their conduct, in the discharge of their duties.

[U.S. Statutes at Large, 3:516-17.]¹⁴

Though the act did not explicitly identify which group or denominations might serve to assimilate and educate indigenous people, it did grant the President the power to choose and fund those entities. Overwhelmingly, the organizations chosen to implement the goals of the fund

¹³ Rockwell, *Indian Affairs and the Administrative State in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 59.

¹⁴ Quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy, Third Edition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 1990, 2000), 33; Laurence Frederick Schmeckebier, *The Office Of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities and Organization* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1927), 39. See also R.S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 226-227.

were Christian missionary societies. Significantly, the ABCFM became a primary recipient of the funds which were used to educate "Indian youths" at the Cornwall School in Connecticut as well as to support education and missionary efforts among the Cherokee.¹⁵ Although at \$10,000 a year, the Civilization Fund represented only a small part of the federal budget, the cumulative effects of this government aid over its more than fifty year history proved to be a significant and well placed investment for the future of the United States. By 1844, more than \$235,000 had been disbursed through the Civilization Fund, an amount equal to more than 6.2 million 2017 dollars.¹⁶ The ABCFM was a principal beneficiary not only of funds to carry out "civilization" efforts but also in "compensation made to societies, for improvements abandoned on the removal of the Indians."¹⁷ More importantly, "as in other aspects of expansion policy," Stephen Rockwell notes, "monetary amounts rarely tell the entire story. While grants such as these were relatively small early on, sometimes on the order of only a few hundred dollars, they established close links between religious groups and federal agents and set precedents for government aid."¹⁸ Federal aid through the Civilization Fund enabled the ABCFM missionaries to expand their efforts, both domestically and internationally. Of the "Civilization Policy," scholar Kathleen M. Sands summarizes that "the aim of the government's Indian policy was civilization leading to assimilation, and civilization was a package deal. It entailed conversion to Christianity, the private ownership and cultivation of land, and a host of other adaptations to Euro-American

¹⁵ "Indian school fund. Letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting reports of the Second Auditor and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, relative to the school fund belonging to each Indian tribe, &c. May 4, 1844. Read, and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs." U.S. Congressional Serial Set Vol. No. 443, Session Vol. No. 5, 28th Congress, 1st Session, H.Doc. 247.

¹⁶ Calculations for inflation are assessed in 2009 U.S. dollars and are taken from *The Inflation Calculator* available from www.westegg.com/inflation/; Internet. Accessed 8 August 2018.

¹⁷ "Indian school fund. Letter from the Secretary of War."

¹⁸ Rockwell, 59.

culture, such as English-only communication, Euro-American sex-gender roles, and the wearing of 'citizen's dress.'"¹⁹

The ABCFM approached the issue of "civilizing" indigenous people on two levels: first, by establishing educational programs such as the Cornwall School in Connecticut, and second, by influencing indigenous people within their own territory. It would be through the Cornwall School that the destinies of Native Hawaiians and Native Americans in the United States would become irretrievably entwined as described in Chapter One. Furthermore, the ABCFM reached out to the public to aid in its work. Small funds from the government's Civilization Fund only provided a part of the monetary support needed for the grand vision of the ABCFM. Historian Gary Okihiro notes that the ABCFM utilized the stories of indigenous students to publicize and garner additional support for the school. As noted in Chapter One, the story about Kaumuali'i, a son of the Hawaiian ali'i, "Tamoree," promoted the ABCFM mission in the November 12, 1816 edition of the *Boston Recorder* by recounting how an American ship in Hawai'i had been saved by the efforts of "King Tamoree," ending with the justification, "How can we better manifest our gratitude to the father, than by restoring to him under such circumstances his long lost son."²⁰ Encouraged by faith and funding, by October 1819, the ABCFM had organized its first missionary party to the Sandwich Islands. Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester and Jeremiah Evarts,

¹⁹ Kathleen M. Sands, "Territory, Wilderness, Property, and Reservation: Land and Religion in Native American Supreme Court Cases." *American Indian Law Review* 36.2 (2011-2012), 275.

²⁰ *Boston Recorder*, November 12, 1816. Okihiro, 80-81. "King Tamoree" referred to in the article above is actually Kaumuali'i, known as the king of Kauai prior to the unification of the islands by King Kamehameha I. In his account, Bingham clarifies the reason for the early nineteenth century confusion and varied spellings of Hawaiian names: "In the oft recurring names of the principal island, the largest village, and of the king of the leeward islands, 'Owhyhee,' 'Hanaroora,' and 'Tamoree,' scarcely the sound of a single syllable was correctly expressed, either in writing or speaking, by voyagers or foreign residents....Shipmasters and learned men agreed in calling the king of Kauai and his son in America, Tam'oree." In his further description of the development of the Hawaiian language, Bingham explains that the more accurate spelling of the name is "thus, Ka-u-mu-a-li-i," Bingham, 153-154. To maintain the integrity of primary resources, I have quoted all sources as they originally appeared. However, where multiple spellings for an individual, place, or thing are evident, I have provided footnotes to assist the reader in identification.

among other officers of the Board, provided the instructions and preparation for the endeavor.²¹

The Prudential Committee of the ABCFM offered these final directives as the first missionaries set sail for Hawai‘i:

Your views are not to be limited to a low, narrow scale; but you are to open your hearts wide and set your marks high. You are to aim at nothing short of covering these islands with fruitful fields, and pleasant dwellings and schools and churches, and of raising up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian civilization. You are to obtain an adequate knowledge of the language of the people; to make them acquainted with letters; to give them the Bible, with skill to read it;...to introduce and get into extended operation and influence among them, the arts and institutions and usages of civilized life and society; and you are to abstain from all interference with local and political interests of the people and to inculcate the duties of justice, moderation, forbearance, truth and universal kindness.²²

As the ABCFM group departed with four Hawaiians, Thomas Hopu, William Kanui (Tenooe), and John Honuri (Hoonooe) or Honoli‘i, as well as George Kaumuali‘i, the son of King Kaumuali‘i of Kauai, they could not have known the profound impact they would have on the islands.²³ Nor would Worcester and Evarts, as administrators for the ABCFM and the concurrent Cherokee mission initiated in 1817, anticipate how their role in both missions would shape indigenous policies from Georgia to Hawai‘i.

The Sandwich Island missionaries could not have arrived at a more critical moment in the history of the Hawaiian people. For a full decade before their arrival, King Kamehameha I had been unifying the islands under his rule, and since the first visit of Captain James Cook in 1778, the Hawaiians had been appropriating the commercial trading power of the Pacific. Positioned

²¹ Bingham, 60.

²² *Missionary Album: Portraits and Sketches of the American Protestant Missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands*, compiled by the Hawaiian Mission Children's Society (Honolulu: Hawaiian Mission Children's Society, 1937, 1969), 17; Samuel Williston, *William Richards* (Cambridge, MA: Privately Printed, 1938), 10-11.

²³ Rufus Anderson, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition Under Missionary Labors* (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1864, 1865), 47. *Missionary Album*, 7. The spelling of Hawaiian names is often inconsistent from source to source and even within sources, as Bingham alludes to in the second spellings of both Kanui and Honuri. In the *Missionary Album*, John Honuri is listed as John Honolii. Likewise, Kaumuali‘i is listed as Tamoree in the *Boston Recorder* article quoted above.

in the center of a trade route that linked East with West, China with the Americas and Europe, Hawai‘i became a critical stop for European and American merchants. With a sophisticated government and experience trading with ships from several nations, Hawaiians were discerning customers and full partners in the global trade between East and West. Indeed, Hawaiians were so savvy and discriminating in their trade relationships, one scholar has noted, "visitors bemoaned the natives' knowledge of Spanish dollar values" and "Ship captains soon called Hawaiians the 'Jews of the South Seas.'"²⁴ Euro-Americans like Alexander Ross, a member of the expedition to establish the Pacific Fur Company, likewise commented on the Hawaiian proficiency in trade, noting that "the natives...paid several visits on board, and sounded our bargain-making chiefs (for they are shrewd dealers)."²⁵ On his visit in February 1811, Ross observed that the Hawaiian monarchy had already adopted some styles of Western dress and weapons.²⁶ Samuel Kamakau, in his mid-nineteenth century accounts written in Hawaiian, indicated that "Kamehameha was anxious to secure foreigners to teach him to handle the muskets which it had been his first object to obtain...It was through the aid of muskets and of foreigners to instruct in their use that Kamehameha was able in so short a time to bring all the islands under his rule."²⁷ As Kamehameha secured control over the last of the islands, Kaua‘i, the significance and purpose of this accord demonstrated his prescient sense of preparation. As Ross observed,

All of the islands of this group, excepting one, have acknowledged Tammeatameah as their king, and the jarring interests and feuds of the different islands have at last sunk into a system of union which, if we may judge from

²⁴ Chappell, 10.

²⁵ Alexander Ross, *Adventures of the First Settlers on the Oregon or Columbia River, 1810-1813*, edited with notes, introduction, index, etc., by Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904; from the original London edition 1849), 59. Kamehameha I, (Kamehameha the Great), is referred to here as Tammeatameah.

²⁶ Ross, 59-73.

²⁷ Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 146.

appearance, renders this country, under its present government, an earthly paradise, and the inhabitants thereof as free from care, and perhaps as happy, as any in the globe; – but mark! civilized man has now begun to trade on its innocent and peaceful soil: there is an end, therefore, to all primeval simplicity and happiness.²⁸

Clearly, Kamehameha I and the ali‘i nui (high rulers) had a cogent understanding of the strategic position of Hawai‘i in the emerging global order of the nineteenth century.

Accordingly, they formulated their approach to both international and domestic issues based on an accumulating knowledge from visiting foreigners as well as from emissaries sent out on Hawai‘i's behalf. Rather than a passive recipient or way station for the increasing number of foreign ships that came to island ports, Hawai‘i played an active role – and frequently was a formidable force – in the economic development of the Pacific and its subsequent reverberations around the world. In the early nineteenth century, Kamehameha I had begun to amass a shipping fleet of his own, often to the chagrin and surprise of the European naval captains who sought to take advantage of the islands.

That Hawai‘i moved the world in the late 1700s and early 1800s was a known fact to powerful corporate entrepreneurs, their mariners and envoys, and of course, the many nations who traversed the waters of the Pacific. Hawai‘i and its leaders were distinguished throughout the world as is evidenced in newspapers and journals of the period. What is more, early twentieth century scholars elaborated on the importance of the islands to commerce and nation-building in both the Atlantic and Pacific. Historian S.E. Morrison wrote in 1921 that “Practically every vessel that visited the North Pacific in the closing years of the 18th century stopped at Hawaii for refreshment and recreation,” referring to just a few of the numerous journals and

²⁸ Ross, 73.

narratives published in the nineteenth century describing voyages in the Pacific.²⁹ More recently, Noelani Arista's book *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* and David A. Chang's book, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, document the way in which Native Hawaiians engaged both the Pacific and Atlantic worlds, describing, shaping, and recording their experience from a uniquely Hawaiian viewpoint in both written and oral histories.³⁰ It is also clear that ali'i leaders such as Kamehameha I and Ka'ahumanu understood that foreign stopovers in the island were the hinge of global commerce, bringing worlds together. As historian Kariann Akemi Yokota notes in a 2017 compilation, *Pacific America: Histories of Transoceanic Crossings*, transatlantic and transpacific connections defined the rise of the early American nation and these connections were determined by indigenous nations, both in Native America and Native Hawai'i:

The early American economy rested primarily on the exploitation of the natural bounty of the land until well into the nineteenth century. Americans exchanged the "raw" materials of their surroundings for the "cooked" products from Europe and China. European American settlers depended on African slaves and Native Americans to produce and procure crops and natural products that were valued on the global market...In a similar manner, merchants depended on Native Americans and Pacific Islanders to provide them with natural products that were the only North American commodities that could turn a profit in Canton...Among these were ginseng from the backwoods of North America, pelts from the Pacific Northwest, sandalwood from Hawai'i, sea slugs from Fiji, and birds' nests from Borneo. Procuring these natural-products-turned-China-trade-commodities required the exploitation of the native peoples who harvested them and prepared the items for sale.³¹

²⁹ S.E. Morison, "Boston Traders in Hawaiian Islands, 1789-1823," *Washington Historical Quarterly*, 12.3 (July 1921), 166-201. Note: the author's name is also listed as S.E. Morrison in JSTOR archives.

³⁰ Noelani Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2016).

³¹ Kariann Akemi Yokota, "Transatlantic and Transpacific Connections in Early American History," in *Pacific America: Histories of Transoceanic Crossings*, edited by Lon Kurashige (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 31-32.

Still, to simply describe the “exploitation of the native peoples” as the interaction of transpacific and transatlantic worlds is to miss the power that indigenous leaders and people commanded, and moreover, the ways they maneuvered global developments, including the destiny of the U.S. This can be seen in just a few examples from Hawai‘i by looking at documents in Hawaiian, English and European languages. Because Hawaiian names are spelled in multiple ways in primary documents, the historical players are often lost in English narratives, or only one or two variations of a name are represented in research. But, in fact, with knowledge of Hawaiian language and the way a name even sounds, new information can be gleaned. For example, in the September 12, 1838 edition of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, the authors feature a story on Kamehameha I, noting “Oia ka inoa o ke Lii nui o Hawaii nei”; "this is the name of the King of all Hawai‘i."

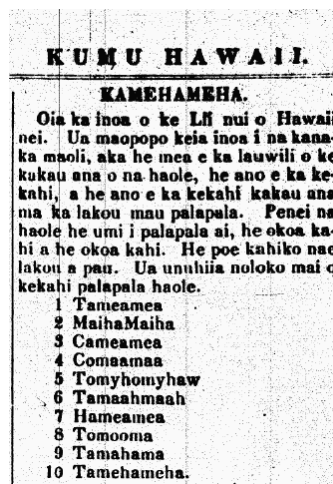


Figure 3. *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, “Kamehameha,” September 12, 1838, p. 31

The short article goes on to explain, “This name is known to the native people, but it is quite strange that the letters of the foreigners are written, one by another, and some of which are written by their authors. This is how ten foreigners wrote, one and another. They are all old

people. It is translated from a foreign letter.”³² These ten spellings give important clues as to where additional information about the period might be found in journals, newspapers, letters, and narration. What is more, these are not the only spellings that have been found in documents, which suggests there is a plethora of information still to be discovered in global documents. However, the spelling of “Tamaahmaah” is particularly important as will be seen in the following examples.

In 1810, the name *Tamaahmaah* became widely known both in America and Europe. One of the reasons is that a ship by that name was captured by the French in the Napoleonic Wars. Still, the presence of the ship itself garners numerous questions. The ship is described in *The Columbian* of New York on February 2, 1810 as “the fast sailing brig Tamaahmaah,” with a Captain Story traveling from Liverpool, carrying “Geo. W. Erving, es. Late American Charge des Affaires in Spain” with dispatches from England. It goes on to report that “it had been rumoured that the emperor Napoleon, has issued a decree for the capture and condemnation of all American Property he can get hold of.”³³ It appears again in the *Baltimore Weekly Price Current Marine Register* in the Port of Baltimore, Maryland of May 12, 1810 as having docked in Lisbon.³⁴ In August of 1810, it is mentioned again in both the London papers and the New York papers as containing pertinent war news and decrees. One article states, “To show what we are to expect from the Justice of Bonaparte, we state the following, which we have from the best authority. Two American vessels were seized and carried into France, they were ransomed from the captors by the masters, as the price of 100 000 Francs and the money was paid.”³⁵ In less

³² *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, “Kamehameha,” September 12, 1838, p. 31. Translation from www.nupepa.org indicated “He poe kahiko nae lakou a pau” as “they are all old men,” but I have changed poe back to the original meaning of “people” so as not to assume that all of the uses were derived from men or male observations.; Internet. Accessed 28 December 2018.

³³ *The Columbian*, New York, New York, February 2, 1810, p. 2.

³⁴ *Baltimore Weekly Price Current*, May 12, 1810.

³⁵ *The Evening Post*, New York, New York, August 2, 1810, p. 2

than a year, the brig *Tamaahmaah* would once again be featured in global news in an article entitled “Capture of the Tamaahmaah.” Appearing in *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* out of Philadelphia, the article explains that the brig had left Sandy Hook with 40 passengers and “was captured within five miles of the Hook...By the writers on the laws of nations, a distance of a marine league (or three miles) from the shore is...within the jurisdictional limits of a state or territory, but not beyond. But the U.S. say the distance ought to be three marine leagues.”³⁶ Though there was no ship registry in Hawai‘i at the time the brig *Tamaahmaah* was sailing in the Atlantic, it does beg the question if this ship was once purchased by Kamehameha I and then resold for use to American captains. If so, it would be one of the earliest recorded ships bartered by Kamehameha I; it would also be a symbol of Kamehameha’s control of the Hawaiian Islands, a statement of his name in both Pacific and Atlantic waters. Its journey in the Atlantic world also attests to the uncertain boundaries that Europeans and aspiring Americans tried to create for themselves in the early nineteenth century. For those regions born of colonial exploits, vague futures still awaited those in North America, Central America, and South America; borders and borderlands moved fluidly while Hawaiian ali‘i consolidated control across the island chain.

Kamehameha shrewdly negotiated with foreign powers and their merchants, with a sense of the flux pervading the Atlantic world. What is more, he included the presence of his closest counsel: his wives. Once again, numerous reports from the period note the presence of the female ali‘i like Ka‘ahumanu. In February 1817, *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser* again published news of Tamaahmaah, drawn from Archibald Campbell’s *Voyage Round the World*. The news article recalls visitors to the islands were

immediately visited by the king Tamaahmaah, “dressed as a European,”
accompanied by his queen, whose compassion was excited by our author’s

³⁶ *Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, June 25, 1811.

appearance, whom she invited to take up his residence in her house: he complied, and remained on the island upwards of a year.

Tamaahmaah possessed a fleet of thirty sail, schooners and sloops, built by native carpenters and his flagship, "The Lilly Bird," measures 200 tons! He has established a packet between some of the islands and introduced manufactures-- the importance of which he seems to be as well aware of as many of our own legislators!

Of the aptitude of these islanders for acquiring mechanic arts, he furnishes many instances, they are also extremely anxious to learn to read and write; but such is the jealousy of the whites who reside among them, that our author was prevented from teaching the queen's brother -- Isaac Davis observing, "'they would soon know as much as ourselves.'"³⁷

Though these narratives are known in traditional histories, less attention has been paid to the way in which the female ali'i were always present beside the king. The female ali'i served not only as counsel, but additional eyes and ears, listening to conversations, perhaps learning European languages and advising alongside those foreigners who found favor among the Hawaiian ali'i.

An even earlier example of the presence of the female ali'i in foreign diplomacy can be found in the story of a ship Kamehameha contracted to China in 1812. Historian Donald Johnson recalls the manuscript of William Dane Phelps of Boston, which recounts the "Solid Men of Boston" and their encounters with Kamehameha.³⁸ Numerous historians have written about what was believed to be Kamehameha's first foray into global trade in 1812 because foreigners left journals about the venture. However, Johnson succinctly notes that the narrative provided by Phelps "based much of his manuscript on journals kept by members of Boston's Winship family, whose contract with Kamehameha in 1812 purported to establish a joint

³⁷ Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, Feb. 13, 1817, p. 2. Quoting excerpts from Archibald Campbell, *Voyage Round the World, From 1806 to 1812; In Which Japan, Kamschatka, The Aleutian Islands, and The Sandwich Islands Were Visited; Including A Narrative of the Author's Shipwreck on the Island of Sannack, and his Subsequent Wreck in the Ship's Long-Boat; With an Account of the Present State of the Sandwich Islands and A Vocabulary of Their Language* (1817)

³⁸ Donald D. Johnson, "The 'Wily Savage': A Tale of Kamehameha's Time," *Hawaiian Journal of History*, Volume 13 (1979): 17-18.

monopoly of the sandalwood trade from those islands to China.”³⁹ Johnson goes on to explain that while “the first cargo of sandalwood had been sent to China...the War of 1812 broke out. British sea power was so strong on the Pacific that American traders were effectually bottled up in various ports, including Honolulu.”⁴⁰ The story echoes the problems of the brig *Tamaahmaah*, sailing in the Atlantic during the same period. Still, Johnson’s description illuminates not only Hawaiian participation in the trade, but the way in which ali‘i women may have influenced the fate of merchant ships. Because of war, the returning ships from China with goods and specie – “about \$80,000 to the credit of the King” – were waiting for a safe time to make it back to Honolulu. They were delayed and as Phelps describes,

On the arrival of the Portuguese ship the captain was instructed by the company to deliver the China goods to the King, being one-half of the amount due him, but to keep the dollars on board, intending to retain the money in their hands as security for the King’s good faith.

But, the hesitation of the foreigners to make good on payment was discovered. Phelps goes on to say that

One of the King’s daughters was an inmate of the residence occupied by the captain; she overheard the conversation with the Portuguese captain and the instructions he received from the company, and of course informed her royal father of the whole matter, and he soon brought the proverbial deceit and cunning of the ‘Islands of the Pacific’ in to play against Yankee caution.⁴¹

Pertinent to the details is the description of Kamehameha’s daughter who *heard* the conversation with the Portuguese captain. It implies that ali‘i women were the mediators who understood multiple languages, possibly Portuguese and English in this case.

³⁹ Johnson, 17.

⁴⁰ Johnson, 17.

⁴¹ Johnson, quoting Phelps, 18.

Historian S.E. Morison also recounts the story, quoting both the “Solid Men of Boston” text as well as other documents from 1820 and 1816. In Morison’s narrative, he notes,

A royal princess of Hawaii, overhearing the conversation at which this disposal of the specie was arranged, played a regular Yankee trick on the Yankee traders. The Islanders kept a lookout on Diamond Head, whence the character, size and nationality of the approaching vessels are signaled by human semaphores. The Princess arranged for a false alarm of a big British man-of-war. By the time this rumor was disproved, King Kamehameha had the silver in his possession, and snapped his fingers at the Winships.⁴²

Though, as Johnson notes, “the identity of the ‘daughter of the king,’ her choice of residence, language skills, etc., remain clouded in mystery,” the evidence suggests that the female rulers and their female children served as mediators and “listeners,” learning the intent of foreigners and using this knowledge. It would have been part of the upbringing of Kekāuluohi, who was the daughter of mother Kaheiheimalie and father Kalaimamalu. When Kaheiheimalie later became one of Kamehameha’s wives, Kekāuluohi, would have been “daughter of the king,” but also considered a consort when she was taken as a wife by Kamehameha in 1809: she was both daughter and wife to the king.

Bouchard and Foreign In-dependence

Another interaction which displays the complexity of foreign relations in this period is the story of South Amerian visitor Hipolito Bouchard. Once again, as in the descriptions above, the the ways in which Native Hawaiians delimited the ambitions of

⁴² Morison, 173. Donald Johnson’s work is corroborated here by Morison’s footnote 16 which indicates “This account of the Winship episode is largely from an anonymous MS. In the Bancroft Collection, Berkeley, California entitled ‘Solid men of Boston in the Northwest,’ a copy of which was kindly furnished by the Bancroft Library. This MS. Was apparently prepared about the time of the Civil War by someone who knew the Winships well, and who had access to their records. It makes extensive quotations from the journal of the Albatross’s voyage, kept by Captain Nathan Winship’s clerk, John A. Gale of Boston, who subsequently became the pioneer in the trade in hides between Boston and California.” On the same subject see *Niles’ Register* XVIII, 418 (August 12, 1820); *Papers of Hawaiian Historical Society*, No. 8, 20; C. Davis in *North American Review*, III, 515 (1816).

foreign powers can be found in the details and descriptive documents prior to the arrival of ABCFM missionaries in the islands. Frequently foreigners who were compelled to follow the direction of Hawaiian ali'i reveal their bias against those they saw as "savage," but they nonetheless treated the rulers with commanding respect, and this included acknowledging women ali'i as well. When Hipolito Bouchard left Buenos Aires in command of *La Argentina* on June 27, 1817, he had not anticipated an encounter in Hawai'i which would radically change the destiny of his voyage. Bouchard, born in France in 1780, had distinguished himself in Napoleon's navy prior to arriving in Buenos Aires in 1810.⁴³ Once in South America, Bouchard embraced the Argentine cause for liberation from Spain and became a privateer. In Peter Uhrowczik's work, *The Burning of Monterey*, he recounts an English translation of the manuscript of Hipolito Bouchard, "a French seaman at the service of the Provincias Unidas del Rio de la Plata, (also called Argentina)," who initiated and organized the attack on Monterey.⁴⁴ Uhrowczik notes that, "Unlike many other privateers at the service of Buenos Aires, who were in it just for the money, Bouchard adopted Argentina as his second home, married a local lady, fought in the Spanish-American wars of independence, and became an officer in the Argentine army and navy." According to historians, Bouchard also possessed the ideal character for privateering as he was "'fearless to the point of recklessness, arrogant and excitable, rough in manners, without culture and hard in his feelings.'"⁴⁵ When given command of *La Argentina*, Bouchard's instructions were to attack the Spanish fleet, particularly in the areas around Lima, Cadiz, or the Caribbean. But Bouchard believed that the Spanish

⁴³ Peter Uhrowczik, *The Burning of Monterey: The 1818 Attack on California by the Privateer Bouchard* (Los Gatos, CA: Cyril Books, 2001), 39.

⁴⁴ Uhrowczik, 11.

⁴⁵ Uhrowczik, 39

Manila fleet presented the greatest opportunity for capture and riches and for this reason, "Bouchard ignored all three options and set sail for the Philippines, California and Central America."⁴⁶ Heading east towards the Pacific, Bouchard's voyage would eventually take two years and circumnavigate the globe.

Bouchard's path into the Pacific was not unique for its time, though Bouchard's interaction with Kamehameha and the Hawaiian ali'i might have been distinct. However, this period in maritime history seems to be underdeveloped; certainly interactions between Euro-American privateers and Pacific Island leaders is lacking. Historian Matthew McCarthy's monograph, *Privateering, Piracy and British Policy in Spanish America, 1810-1830* begins to ferret out some of the data and details from this period asserting, "It has been said that this simultaneous arising of privateering and piracy during the Spanish American Wars of Independence constituted 'maritime mayhem'. However, it has received little attention from historians."⁴⁷ Still, McCarthy traces the history and documentation for what was described as a "state-authorized form of private prize-taking." He confirms that "privateers were required to carry commissions (or letters of marque)...in accordance with specific instructions and transmit all prizes to ports to be legally adjudicated in courts of maritime jurisdiction."⁴⁸ He also notes during this period that a "hive of predatory activity was located in the Rio de la Plata, where the government of Buenos Aires authorised privateering between 1815 and 1821."⁴⁹ In fact, McCarthy finds that the government of Buenos Aires had the highest number of privateering ships on the seas in this period.⁵⁰ This was an active time for Euro-American and Latin

⁴⁶ Uhrowczik, 47.

⁴⁷ Matthew McCarthy, *Privateering, Piracy and British Policy in Spanish America, 1810-1830* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 3; quoting from Peter Earle, *The Pirate Wars* (London: Methuen, 2004), 211.

⁴⁸ McCarthy, 2-3.

⁴⁹ McCarthy, 24.

⁵⁰ McCarthy, 25.

American ships sailing the Pacific, and yet we still know so little of the Latin American interactions with Hawai‘i. Certainly, Hawaiian names and records of negotiation and diplomacy are evident in Spanish language records, but these have yet to be explored. McCarthy explains that “eager to swell the numbers of privateers operating under their flags, Spanish American governments permitted foreigners (non-Hispanic Americans) to participate in the prize war.”⁵¹ As will be seen in the following microhistory of the Bouchard incident, not only were the Spanish American Independents moving through and between indigenous worlds, their interactions with Hawaiian ali‘i serves as an example of how Hawaiian leaders used their knowledge of global diplomacy, letters of marque, and literacy in general to exact terms likened to treaties in the Pacific.

At the end of his voyage in 1819, Bouchard authored a report of his trip for Juan Martin de Pueyrredon, the Supreme Director of the Provincias Unidas de Sud America; it is in this report that we can discern some of the earliest impressions of Native Hawaiians and their interaction with Latin America.⁵² However, Bouchard's report commenced not in Hawai‘i but with a stop in Africa and his telling of this event conveys how Bouchard envisioned himself and his duties. Having anchored in Madagascar to take on food and water for his voyage, Bouchard documented that four slaving ships were also in port, wherein his services were requested. From the beginning of his narrative, Bouchard portrayed himself as a patriotic, enlightened liberator:

At this port, an officer of his Majesty of Great Britain was trying to prevent such a trade. He requested, through my second Don Nathan Somers, that I help him

⁵¹ McCarthy, 25. McCarthy also notes that “a spate of mutinies...took place when insurgent privateering was at its peak,” but mentions only three from 1819 including what appears to be the story of the *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco*: “news spread from Guayaquil that the crew of the *Chacabuco* privateer had ‘rebelled and killed their Captain on an island’ – news that was later confirmed by the commander of the US Corvette *Ontario*.” He also notes that in the waters of the Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico, Spanish American privateers were “accused of using...remote bases to smuggle goods and slaves into the United States.” McCarthy 31-32. This is an issue that Bouchard addresses in his own account, distancing himself from the horrors of the slave trade and thus justifying his more “civilized” state of being and authority.

⁵² Uhrowicz, 150.

should these ships attempt to embark some Negroes...I offered him all the forces under my command and said that I would do all I could to prevent such a vile commerce, by virtue of the treaties with the European Nations and the high aims of Your Excellency which are to abolish, within your reach, all forms of slavery.⁵³

While his statements purported liberation for African slaves, Bouchard's later observations reveal a more conflicted view towards non-westerners.

As Bouchard proceeded towards Manila, his crew became increasingly sick and his chances of capturing a prize Spanish vessel were diminishing. Although Bouchard was able to sink sixteen ships carrying sugar and rice, Uhrowczik indicates that, "because of the upheaval caused by the Mexican revolution, the ships from Acapulco and San Blas no longer came to Manila."⁵⁴ Therefore, Bouchard changed his itinerary and continued on to Hawai'i where he hoped to replenish his supplies and strengthen his crew. However, on his arrival in August 1818, Bouchard was surprised to discover what he thought was a Spanish ship, as noted in his manuscript:

This ship, which had 18 cannons, had been a Spanish ship but now she was owned by the King [Kamehameha I] of that island. I did not know what to do, an armed Spanish vessel in the hands of these barbarians.⁵⁵

As Bouchard was soon to find out, the ship was in fact the *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco*, another privateering vessel from Buenos Aires which had sailed just two months before *La Argentina*. The crew, which had mutinied off the coast of Chile, had enriched itself looting ports in Peru and Ecuador and then proceeded to Hawai'i to escape reprisal. The crew then sold the ship to King Kamehameha I, further evidence of the ali'i's brisk trade in ships.⁵⁶ As Bouchard notes in his manuscript, he soon found himself in the position of bargaining with "these barbarians."

⁵³ Uhrowczik, 106-107.

⁵⁴ Uhrowczik, 56.

⁵⁵ Uhrowczik, 114.

⁵⁶ There is significant evidence that Kamehameha I amassed a substantial shipping fleet in the early nineteenth century. See also Gabriel Franchere, *Journal of a Voyage on the North West Coast of North America During the*

Although, Bouchard explains, he "begged [Kamehameha I] to hand over all the sailors who belonged to the *Santa Rosa* crew," he was forced instead to buy back the ship. He continues that Kamehameha I "would hand her over only if I reimbursed all that he had spent including the cost of maintaining all these men there in his Domains."⁵⁷ These negotiations suggest that even as Bouchard looked upon the Hawaiians as "barbarians," he was, in fact, at the mercy of their strength and will. Furthermore, Kamehameha I forbade the replenishing of food and water for Bouchard's crew until an agreement was reached and "these orders were executed to the letter."⁵⁸ Even as Bouchard attempted to retrieve and punish the remaining mutineers and provision the *Santa Rosa*, he was dependent on the cooperation of the Hawaiian leaders to facilitate his expedition. Bouchard grumbled that "The king gave me one of his chiefs to give the order to sell me food and supplies...I got some provisions and they handed me nineteen men of the *Santa Rosa's* crew which cost me more than had I bought them as slaves."⁵⁹ His testimony suggests he viewed the Hawaiians as little more than "slavers," who forced him to "buy back" the crew of the *Santa Rosa*. However, despite this "denigration," as he recounts, Bouchard was beholden to the Hawaiians; without them, he would not have been able to proceed to the coast of California.

But the story is much more complex than the scenario that Bouchard described in his own recollection. From the moment of contact with Europeans, the Hawaiian ali'i were exercising and displaying their autonomy thorough knowledge of the global trade passing through the islands. For this reason, King Kamehameha I encouraged "Hawaiians to work on the foreign ships going between America and China."⁶⁰ As historian David Chappell explains, Native

Years 1811, 1812, 1813, and 1814 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1969), 64. Franchere observed "Tameameah has nearly 40 schooners, of 20 to 30 tons burthen, which he uses to transport goods paid him in tribute by the inhabitants of the other islands who are also subject to him."

⁵⁷ Uhrowczik, 116.

⁵⁸ Uhrowczik, 116.

⁵⁹ Uhrowczik, 117.

⁶⁰ Chappell, 11.

Hawaiian recruits were known as "*kanakas* – a term meaning 'person' in Hawaiian" and by the mid-nineteenth century up to 1000 Hawaiians were shipping out each year.⁶¹ Even in the first decades of the 1800s, however, Native Hawaiians represented a substantial faction of the crew on European and American ships, and despite the disparaging remarks of commanders like Bouchard, they were a reliable source of labor for Euro-Americans as well as a source of information for the Hawaiian rulers. While these "*kanakas*" brought news of the world on their return from their travels, other Hawaiians were engaged by the monarchy on an individual basis. For example, in his research of Hawaiian pioneers in the Pacific Northwest, Tom Koppel found that "a royal observer of high rank named Naukane," also known as John Cox, had been sent by Kamehameha I to accompany the Pacific Fur Company expedition. Between 1811 and 1813, Naukane traveled to the Pacific Northwest as well as the interior of North America to the Great Lakes and eventually to Britain.⁶² Returning to the islands in 1814, Naukane and emissaries like him brought valuable information to the leaders of Hawai'i, giving them insight into the Western world and how indigenous people were perceived by Euro-Americans who considered themselves the "emergent" ruling class of "civilized" status. Using this knowledge, the ali'i engaged and integrated the Western world, asserting terms and simultaneously insisting on Hawaiian unity in an increasingly competitive global environment. Rufus Anderson, in his history of the ABCFM mission in Hawai'i, later noted that, "Kamehameha was a remarkable man, with perhaps as good a claim to the title of 'great' as an Alexander or a Napoleon," a notable comparison given the time of Kamehameha's exploits in "Atlantic" territories.⁶³

⁶¹ Chappell, 11, 56.

⁶² Tom Koppel, *The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest* (Vancouver: Whitecap Books, 1995), 15-16; Ross, 125-126. See also Jean Barman, "New Land, New Lives: Hawaiian Settlement in British Columbia," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 29 (1995); Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson, *Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest 1787-1898* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006).

⁶³ Anderson, 36.

Which brings us back around to the story of Bouchard and what he claimed was his highjacked ship, *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco*. Though some historians have claimed that the period prior to 1820 in Hawai‘i was a period before literacy, the reality is that Hawaiian rulers utilized the talents of foreigners to engage in written contracts long before missionaries arrived in the islands. One example of this is found in the Hawai‘i State Archives where the actual documents of Bouchard’s negotiations are located. On August 30, 1818, Bouchard penned a letter in Spanish describing,

Under this date, I have just received the Superior Order of His Majesty [Kamehameha] in which he places before me the following that His Majesty has been pleased to command the Pilot...to deliver to all that belonged to the Corvette Sta. Rosa, and at the same time to the bearer to deliver me six barrels of vegetables for my use which the said person has handed to me for my use, and for which I return my most grateful thanks to his Majesty for his Kindness and to your Excellency for the assistance rendered to the ships of the Provinces of the Waters of the River Plate.⁶⁴

This first letter in the archives is straight-forward enough. Written with deference, it is Bouchard’s recognition that he has received word that the goods on the *Santa Rosa* will be returned to him, along with much needed food for his crew. In reality, the goods never really belonged to Bouchard, but he now claimed them as his “national” property. Bouchard hoped to place himself in the position of delegate to the newly formed, independent states of Rio de la Plata. Within days, Kamehameha’s secretary, John Elliott de Castro, (also noted as Sr. D. Juan de Elliott of Castro), had helped negotiate a formal acknowledgement of the exchange in “The Declaration of His Majesty Tamaahmaah King of the Sandwich Islands.”

The declaration, written in English language, tells the story of the theft of the *Santa Rosa* by her crew as the Hawaiian ali‘i understood the story:

⁶⁴ Hipolito Bouchard to Sr. D. Juan de Elliott of Castro, Secretary to his Majesty, 30 August, 1818. Hawai‘i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-9 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1818.

His Majesty Tamaahmaah hereby declares that on or about the first of March 1818 arrived at this Island of Owyhee the Buenos Ayres Patriot Ship Santa Rosa with her Commander calling himself Josiah Turner. That the said Commander sold what goods he had on board for and in consideration of six hundred piculs of Sandal Wood...on the twenty sixth day of March 1818. The said Commander sold the said Ship Santa Rosa with all her appurtenances for one thousand piculs of Sandal Wood to His Majesty Tamaahmaah. And His Majesty further declares that on the 17th May 1818 arrived at the Islands the Ship Bengal Ozias Ansley Master who with his officers sign'd the annexed Deposition.

And His Majesty understanding from Captain Ozias Ansely that this Ship Santa Rosa had been taken from her former Officers His Majesty immediately detain'd all the Sandal Wood as well as the Ship Santa Rosa and her appurtenances until proper Owners or Authority be sent here to demand her.

And on the arrival of the Buenos Ayers Frigate Argentina Commandant L. Hipaulito Bouchar His Majesty Tamaahmaah deliver'd it to the said Commandant the aforesaid Ship Santa Rosa with all her appurtenances as detailed in the annexed inventory and His Majesty having distributed to the Natives the goods brought in the Santa Rosa His Majesty has paid to the said Commandant the quantity of six hundred piculs of Sandal Wood on account in full of all Demands for the said Goods – In Virutes of the above we have set our Hands to Seal at this Island of Owyhee this 4th day September 1818

Tamaahmaah his mark

John Elliott d'Castro⁶⁵

This declaration points out that Kamehameha recognized back in March that the crew from the Santa Rosa was illegitimate. What is more, it indicates that he paid Bouchard money *back* for the goods, despite the fact that he had “held” them as being sold on the black market.

But Bouchard wanted more. On September 6, 1818 he seems he sent another letter to the king and his envoys, asking for specific recognition of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata. Claiming he aimed to avoid future mishaps, he announced,

I commission in the name of the Nation of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata, King Kamehameha to take the following measures in the case of any ship which may take refuge in his domain; that he detain the ship with all its cargo and crew without communication, call a notary (get out a warrant), and take the declarations of all the deputation, looking over their papers which should include

⁶⁵ “The Declaration of His Majesty Tamaahmaah King of the Sandwich Islands,” 4 September, 1818. Hawaii State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-9 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1818.

the number of patente, noting the number of men the ship contains, its sailing orders and secret instructions, from which it will be known whether or not the ship was despatched [sic] in order.⁶⁶

The letter reads as a formal declaration, meant to legitimize ships arriving or sailing on behalf of the states of Rio de la Plata and the government in Buenos Aires. It may have been a plan that Bouchard had set in motion from the moment he saw the wayward *Santa Rosa*. Historian Lewis W. Bealer explains that

Immediately upon hearing the story of the “Santa Rosa,” Bouchard asked and obtained an audience with the king (Kamehameha). Claiming the ship as the property of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata he demanded that both ship and mutineers be surrendered to him. To avoid any questions as to his own authority to act in the matter, Bouchard very blandly presented to King Kamehameha a forged document which purported to be a formal order from the government at Buenos Aires, dated 27 April, 1818 instructing Bouchard to hunt down the “Santa Rosa” “wherever it might be found!”⁶⁷

According to Bealer, Bouchard could not have brought the document from Buenos Aires dated in April because he was still sailing in Philippine waters at that time.⁶⁸ What is more, Bealer indicates that the *Santa Rosa* may have been sold to Kamehameha for as much as six thousand piculs of Sandal Wood, but clearly no exchange of wood took place. Instead, it appears that the crew had taken each their share of the spoils from the ship, which they spent exorbitantly in port on high-priced liquor, “favors,” and “debaucheries.”⁶⁹ In short, Kamehameha made a lot of money from the sailors on this ship and held in his possession a valuable prize in the *Santa Rosa*.

⁶⁶ Letter from Hipolito Bouchard to Kamehameha I, 6 September 1818. Hawaii State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-9 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1818.

⁶⁷ Lewis W. Bealer, “Bouchard in the Islands of the Pacific,” *Pacific Historical Review* 4.4 (Dec., 1935), 339.

⁶⁸ Bealer further notes that “the document itself is published in Spanish original and English translation in the ‘Appendix of confirmatory letters’” to Peter Corney’s journal, another captain whose story unfolds with Bouchard. Bealer, 339.

⁶⁹ Bealer, 337. Bealer refers to a story here by William De Witt Alexander, “Captain Bouchard and the Spanish Pirates,” in *The Friend* (Honolulu), March 1891 and also found in H.L. Sheldon, “Bits of Unwritten History,” in *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1882* (Honolulu, 1881), 28-30. His retrieval of the Bouchard story from the 1880s also indicates that the story had a long life throughout the nineteenth century.

That was leverage which required Bouchard to create what amounted to a treaty with Kamehameha to protect future ships and authorities like Bouchard.

Still, the most curious document in the Hawaiian Archives surrounding the Bouchard incident is “The Recognition of Don Edwardo Butler as Agent of the Government of the United Provinces.” Dated September 11, 1818 and written in Spanish, the document assigns “Senor Eduardo Butler, resident of the Sandwich Islands, the offices of agent of my nation with full authority in national matters, political affairs national commerce and in matters of the Cabinets; and when ships from the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata arrive in that dominion that this gentleman have authority, in company with Your Majesty Kamehameha, over matters pertaining to the government of the United Provinces of the Rio de la Plata.”⁷⁰ The agreement purports to be signed by Kamehameha I with his mark, from the “bay of Rehina [Lahaina], Island of Mowee [Maui]. However, on both the English and Spanish versions of the agreement, the signature reads “King Tamaahmaah the 2nd, His Mark.” The two signatures along with the mark do not appear to match, as if scribbled in as an afterthought. Moreover, they do not include the trusted second signature of a trusted Secretary to the King, such as John Elliott de Castro.

⁷⁰ “The Recognition of Don Edwardo Butler as Agent of the Government of the United Provinces.” 11 September 1818. Hawai‘i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-9 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1818.

the final resolution of the Government whether
they recognize him as their Agent, -
and the Power vested in him in virtue of his
function, it is ordered that every dependant on the
Government, of the United Provinces, - will
recognize and respect the Prerogative which is
conceded to him in this function

Given under my hand and Seal
on board of the Ship Argentina
with the Power of the Government
made & Provided these Cases
And sealed with the Seal of the
United Provinces of the Rio de la
Plata

Signed Seala and del. this 11th day of Sept^r
in the year 1818 in the Bay of Pehine-
Island of Mowee-

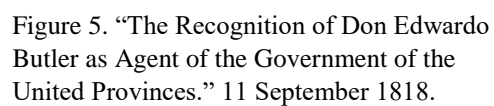
Ripaulito Bouchard

Seal-

Seal-

King Tamaaham ah the 2nd
His + Maest

Figure 4. "The Recognition of Don Edwardo Butler as Agent of the Government of the United Provinces."
11 September 1818.



The discrepancies in the story along with the furtive negotiations of Bouchard suggest that newly independent states in the “Atlantic” world were in fact seeking the legitimation of their national sovereignty from those in power in the Pacific: the high chiefs of Hawai‘i. What is more, these same “independents” continued to assign and communicate authority through Sr. Don Francisco de Paula y Marin, known as Manini, who served as close counsel to King Kamehameha in these early years of converging worlds.

The story of this exchange had a long life in Hawaiian language documents as well. Samuel Kamakau included a paragraph of the story in an article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from August 31, 1867, under the title “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I.” Recounted in English in *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, Kamakau details

[In 1818] Kamehameha bought a large ship [Santa Rosa, under Captain Turner] which was named Kalaholile after a kind of shiny blue cloth with white figures which was brought in on this ship. The ship had however been stolen by those who sold it and a Spanish man-of-war took it away to return to its owners. Some of those who had stolen it were caught, made prisoners, and returned to Spain, and some were hidden at Kailua and became settlers (*kama‘aina*) on the land. A black man of this island, named Manuel and called Nopa, is one of their descendeants. From a ship wrecked on Kahoolawe about 1809 while Kamehameha was still living on Oahu came Mikapala and W. Harper, called Lu‘au-eater (*‘Ailu‘au*), who became ancestors of some of our people.⁷¹

The description by Kamakau adds yet another dimension to the story because while Bouchard seemed particularly interested in establishing his authority with the king, the memory that Kamakau records details the more personal nature of the people and sailors who eluded capture and created lives in the islands. Bouchard would later write to Manini in Spanish on October 8, 1818, that he was unable to find all of the sailors he was looking for, but found “among them the chief of the mutiny on board the “Santa Rosa,” who for his crime has gone to give an account to

⁷¹ Kamakau, 207; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 31, 1867, p. 1.

the Almighty.” Bouchard had additionally found a sailor “from Maooh,” who he kept on board.⁷² Bouchard wisely protected the Native Hawaiian sailor, although he, too, was implicated in the “mutiny” on the *Santa Rosa*. Contrarily, Kamakau’s description explains that “some were hidden at Kailua and became *kama’aina*” [local, common people] and others had descendants “who became ancestors of some of our people.”⁷³

And yet, the story did not end in Hawai‘i either. As Peter Corney, an Englishman hired to command the repurchased *Santa Rosa de Chacabuco*, documented, Bouchard himself hired a number of Hawaiians to man the recouped *Santa Rosa*, which had “a compliment of 100 men, thirty of whom were Sandwich Islanders.”⁷⁴ In his account, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific*, Corney describes his association with Bouchard and their subsequent expedition to Monterey. However, Corney’s account of Native Hawaiians is very different from Bouchard’s depiction. Corney notes that Bouchard hired “a number of natives to pursue the fugitives” and that when both *La Argentina* and the *Santa Rosa* set to sail, they “took on board a supply of hogs and vegetables and number of natives.”⁷⁵ Corney himself was hired to command the *Santa Rosa*, and in contrast to Bouchard’s remarks, he refers to the Sandwich Islanders as “friendly natives.”⁷⁶ More importantly, Corney reveals how critical those “friendly natives” were to Bouchard’s ambitions:

The ship *Santa Rosa* was American built, about 300 tons burthen; mounting eighteen guns...with a compliment of 100 men, thirty of whom were Sandwich Islanders, the remainder where [sic] composed of Americans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Creoles, Negroes, Manila men, Malays, and a few Englishmen. The

⁷² Letter from Hipaulito Bouchard to Sr. don Francisco de Paula y Marin, 8 October 1818. Hawai‘i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-9 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1818.

⁷³ Kamakau, 207; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 31, 1867, p. 1.

⁷⁴ Peter Corney, *Voyages in the Northern Pacific* (Honolulu: Thos. G. Thrum, 1896. Reprinted from *The London Literary Gazette* of 1821), 121.

⁷⁵ Corney, 120.

⁷⁶ Corney, 121.

Argentina had 260 men, fifty of whom were Islanders, the remainder a mixed crew, nearly similar to that of the *Santa Rosa*.⁷⁷

From Corney's estimates, fully one third of the crew of the *Santa Rosa* and one fifth of the crew of *La Argentina* was Hawaiian. Whereas Bouchard never mentions the composition of his crew, (noting only the names of the officers who led the attack on Monterey), Corney's account provides a more vivid picture of the multicultural and multiracial crew which accompanied and facilitated Bouchard's endeavors. Furthermore, Corney reveals that the Hawaiians distinguished themselves as the attack on Monterey ensued.

Bouchard had intended for the attack to take place under cover of darkness on November 22, 1818. While *La Argentina* was forced to stay further out to sea, Bouchard sent the *Santa Rosa* as close as possible to the fort, deceptively flying the American flag. Despite Bouchard's plans, Corney did not execute the attack on the fort until daylight of November 23rd, and he documents that it was the Hawaiians who led the charge: "We halted at the foot of the hill...beat a charge and rushed up, the Sandwich Islanders in front with pikes. The Spaniards mounted their horses and fled; a Sandwich Islander was the first to haul down their colours."⁷⁸ In contrast to the heroics of the Hawaiians, both Corney and Bouchard describe the Spaniards and Spanish Americans as cowardly, repeating that they "fled" as the privateers advanced. Bouchard even notes that he was able to rescue wounded seamen from the *Santa Rosa* by night because the "Spaniards were dancing at the fort" even as they were threatened and Bouchard had demanded negotiations.⁷⁹ While acknowledging the courage of the Hawaiians, Corney reiterated his

⁷⁷ Corney, 121.

⁷⁸ Corney, 122.

⁷⁹ Uhrowczik, 121.

contempt for both Spaniards and Spanish Americans, noting "I was heartily sick of the service of the Independents."⁸⁰

Engaging the Western world, however, also precipitated a biological, social, and religious crisis among Native Hawaiians, and the death of Kamehameha in May 1819, less than a year before the arrival of the missionaries, accelerated the transformation of Hawai'i. Like the indigenous people of the Americas, Native Hawaiians had little or no immunity to the diseases that Euro-Americans brought with them to the islands. As Jon M. Van Dyke notes, "Chronic, insidious diseases swept through the Native Hawaiian population from their first contact with Western visitors, and epidemics overwhelmed them throughout the 1800s in unrelenting waves."⁸¹ An estimated 50 to 80 percent of the Native Hawaiian population may have perished in less than fifty years after contact.⁸² Though any society would reel from a population loss of that magnitude, it took a particularly hard toll on the Hawaiian way of life. Traditionally, ancient Hawaiian society had centered on extended family groups, governed by the ali'i, the high chief and the royal family. From the level of commoner to royal, society was stratified. The largest group of people made up "the *maka'āinana* (literally 'people living on the land')."⁸³ The *maka'āinana* had access to the land collectively, paying tribute to the ali'i, who in turn managed the economy, maintained political power, and upheld the cultural and spiritual structure of the

⁸⁰ Corney, 127.

⁸¹ Van Dyke, 19.

⁸² Van Dyke, 21. In footnote 28 Van Dyke explains, "The rate of depopulation was swift as well as massive. Historians debate the number of Hawaiians who populated the Islands at the time of Captain Cook's landing in 1778. Although the traditional figure used has been 300,000 (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, *Native Hawaiian Data Book*, 4, tbl. 1.1. [Mark Eshima, ed. 1998]) or 400,000 (King David Kalakaua, *The Legends and Myths of Hawaii*, 23, 64 [1990]), David Stannard has argued that the number was 800,000 or more (David Stannard, *Before the Horror*, 30-58 [1989]) and estimated a decline of 80 percent in the first fifty years of Western contact...King Kalakaua wrote in 1887 that 'Within a century [the natives] have dwindled from four hundred thousand healthy and happy children of nature, without care and without want, to a little more than a tenth of that number of landless, hopeless victims to the greed and vices of civilization.' Kalakaua, *supra*, at 64. According to Professor Kame'eleihiwa, 'Hawaiians suffered a depopulation rate of at least 83 percent in the first forty-five years of contact.' Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea La E Pono Ai?* 141 (1992)."

⁸³ Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1985), 6.

society. Although Kamehameha I had consolidated his authority over all of the islands, the traditional religion and taboos of Hawaiian society would be irreversibly challenged within a decade of that political triumph. Severe population loss in the early nineteenth century disrupted the process of food cultivation, and this coupled with Euro-American trade and merchants began to erode the agrarian structure of Hawaiian society. A similar depopulation and transformation of culture also impacted Native Americans, as pointed out by A.W. Crosby's seminal work, *The Columbian Exchange*.⁸⁴ But the Native American experience cannot necessarily be considered a parallel construction to the events among Native Hawaiians. As Crosby notes in his article, "Hawaiian Depopulation as a Model for the Amerindian Experience," "the enormous extent of the Americas, the number and variety of their aboriginal peoples and the length of time since the first contacts between the Old World invaders and the New World aborigines brings into question even the most obvious interpretations of what accounts we do have of the impact of exotic diseases on Amerindians."⁸⁵ Native American groups perhaps had complex experiences with disease, which led to longer periods of adjustment, with elements of both warfare and peaceful merging of groups in contact zones. In his article, Crosby compares depopulation in the Hawaiian Islands, which were relatively isolated from the long onslaught of disease, disruption, and warfare that took place in waves across North America. Crosby equally considers how Europeans with almost 300 years of contact experience with indigenous people may have perceived or interacted with Native Hawaiians. These factors change concepts, estimates, and historical interpretation of the results of population loss.

⁸⁴ Alfred (A.W.) Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492*. 30th Anniversary Edition. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003).

⁸⁵ A.W. Crosby, "Hawaiian Depopulation as a Model for the Amerindian Experience," in *Epidemics and Ideas: Essays on the Historical Perception of Pestilence*, eds. Terence Ranger and Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992) 175.

Still, increased contact in Hawai‘i, while creating some opportunities, left a path of destruction: disease, famine, and population loss which transformed strategies of governance among the ali‘i, drawn irreversibly into a global market economy. Ultimately, historian John Rosa has concluded, western influence "radically altered Native Hawaiian society by privileging capitalism as an economic order in the islands. The introduction of capitalism shifted the focus of the lives of Native Hawaiian *ali'i* (chiefs) and *maka'āinana* (commoners) to the acquisition of land, labor, capital, and the production of goods to be sold in a world market."⁸⁶ Moreover, the death of Kamehameha I occasioned the ascendance of Ka‘ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife. In October of 1819, Ka‘ahumanu, along with Liholiho, the heir to Kamehameha I and son of Keōpūolani, Kamehameha's "sacred wife," abolished the old religious system – the first of many decisions that illustrated the adoption of Western practices.⁸⁷ The abandonment of taboo, Beechert maintains, removed "the basis of respect upon which the system and the power of the *ali'i*, both male and female, were based. Following this break with tradition, the order to destroy the *heiaus* (places of worship) and the religious idols of the *ali'i* met with surprisingly little resistance."⁸⁸ In this interim of instability, as old beliefs were broken down and the new Christian traditions had yet to take hold, the first group of ABCFM missionaries arrived in April 1820. As the ABCFM prepared to raise "up the whole people to an elevated state of Christian

⁸⁶ John P. Rosa, "Beyond the Plantation: Teaching about Hawai'i before 1900," *Journal of Asian American Studies* 7.3 (October 2004), 226.

⁸⁷ Jane L. Silverman, *Kaahumanu: Molder of Change* (Honolulu: Friends of the Judiciary History Center of Hawaii, 1987), 8-9. Silverman indicates that after Kamehameha conquered the island of Maui, "he won the young girl Keopuolani, of the purest bloodlines and most powerful mana in all the islands. She became Kamehameha's sacred wife, the mother of the heirs to his kingdom." Although Ka'ahumanu had no children, Silverman notes that this did not work against her in the order of the Hawaiian ruling class: "A woman chief did not become much involved in child rearing. The child of a high chief was brought up by a chosen guardian. The child's self-contained household, formed at birth, was added to as her or his years and influence grew. While the natural mother might have some advisory role, the family or political destiny of the child was decided by its most powerful relatives. What it meant for Kaahumanu to be childless was most important in the sense that she had none of her own to whom she was committed in the succession of power. All the possibilities of alliances remained open to her."

⁸⁸ Beechert, 15.

civilization,"⁸⁹ the Hawaiian monarchy, led by Queen Ka'ahumanu, prepared to transform itself as well. The ali'i understood that Hawai'i would increasingly become a testing ground for sovereignty where European and American nations, among others, were seeking out the power and approbation of the Hawaiian ali'i nui – the ruling class of powerful men *and* women in the global world of the early nineteenth century.

⁸⁹ *Missionary Album*, 10-11.

CHAPTER THREE

“O ko Georegia poe, oia ka enemi” - *The people of Georgia, they are the enemy*

When the ABCFM missionaries arrived in Hawai‘i in the spring of 1820, language proved their first and most efficient tool of influence. As in their concurrent mission among the Cherokee, the ABCFM missionaries set about mastering and documenting the indigenous language, giving it a written and recordable form. The Native Hawaiians who had been educated at the Cornwall School for "Indian youth" served as mediators between the Americans and the Hawaiian rulers; using native speakers as their guides, the ABCFM missionaries implemented an effective approach to their "civilization" efforts in the Sandwich Islands. In the pages of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Samuel Kamakau recorded, "The Hawaiian boys who came back with the missionaries, that is George Humehume, Thomas Hopu, William Kanui, Honoli‘i, and Pa‘ula-li‘ili‘i, were able to reassure the Hawaiian people as to the friendliness of the relations between America and Hawaii and to serve as guides to the missionaries upon their arrival."¹ Within two years both Thomas Hopu and John Honoli‘i were recruited to deliver sermons in Hawaiian and translate sermons from English to Hawaiian as the missionaries went among the people to proselytize.²

The ABCFM’s approach in the Sandwich Islands may have developed in some part as a response to disappointments it had experienced in its missions among the Cherokee and Choctaw. As Meyer Weinberg has observed in his study, *A Chance to Learn*, "when Congress set up the Civilization Fund in 1819, missionaries responded with alacrity...But missionary teachers put many a young Cherokee to flight by inept efforts to teach in a foreign tongue." Quoting from Cotterill's, *The Southern Indians*, he notes, "The teachers, being without

¹ Kamakau, 246. In Kamakau's history, George Kaumual‘i is referred to as George Humehume.

² Bingham, 157-158.

knowledge of the Indian languages and, with rare exception, devoid of any wish to learn them, taught only in English pupils who rarely knew any English at all."³ The Sandwich Island missionaries, however, clearly corrected the problem by learning the Hawaiian language, creating a workable alphabet, and avoiding, as Bingham saw it, "an ambiguous, erroneous, and inconvenient orthography." Indeed, Bingham later reflected on the efficacy of this strategy and the link between Native Hawaiian and Native American missionizing efforts:

Have not American philanthropists sufficiently demonstrated, in the course of two centuries, the difficulty of inducing the aboriginal tribes of this continent to use our literature? and is not our anomalous, intricate, and ever dubious orthography a prominent cause of failure? But the philosophical, syllabic alphabet of the sagacious Choctaw Guess enables the men, women and children of his tribe to read their own language with facility.⁴

In referring to the "Choctaw Guess," Bingham clearly was aware and learning from the challenges and successes of the ABCFM missionaries among the Cherokee; those missionaries eventually adopted and help refine the syllabary of Sequoyah – also known as George Guess.⁵

The Sandwich Island and Cherokee missions were always in contact with each other through their New England headquarters. These two missions, half a world apart, were influencing each other, learning from each other, and shaping American, Native American, and Native Hawaiian futures in the nineteenth century. While the missionaries in Hawai‘i worked steadily to translate and teach Western works in Hawaiian, those of the Cherokee mission were simultaneously utilizing Sequoyah's syllabary to educate and proselytize among the southern Indians. In his research on the Cherokee language, Wm. Joseph Thomas concludes that "within fourteen years of its introduction, and seven years of the first printing, more than half of all

³ Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 183-184; Cotterill, 228-229.

⁴ Bingham, 153.

⁵ Wm. Joseph Thomas, "Creating Cherokee Print: Samuel Austin Worcester's Impact on the Syllabary," *Media History Monographs* 10.2 (2007-2008), 2.

households in the Cherokee Nation had a reader of Cherokee."⁶ Significantly, Thomas maintains that the "rapid adoption of the written language" was due in large part to the efforts of Samuel Austin Worcester, the nephew of Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester, the Board member who had helped organize the Sandwich Island mission. Samuel Austin Worcester had joined the ABCFM in 1823 and was appointed to the Cherokee mission in 1825. His work, along with that of Elias Boudinot, had resulted in the development of one of the first Native American newspapers, the bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix*.⁷ Like Bingham, it is clear that Worcester was aware of the progress and approach of other ABCFM missionary groups, including the Sandwich Island missionaries. In an 1835 letter to the board, he wrote:

So much do I regard the syllabic method of writing, where it is practicable...that I have often thought very seriously of writing to some of the missionaries at the Sandwich Islands, recommending the adoption of the syllabic method for that and kindred languages; and the only hesitancy I should have about it now, would arise from the difficulty of persuading those concerned to undertake so much of a revolution, after the progress which has been made in printing and learning on the present system.⁸

In both cases, the same organization in the ABCFM facilitated the adaptation of native, oral cultures to a literate and literary population – a process that would profoundly impact the political trajectory of both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans. Indeed, by the end of Kamehameha III's reign in 1854, Hawai'i had achieved nearly universal literacy. What is more, historian Noenoe Silva has noted, Native Hawaiians,

took the tools of the colonizers and made use of them to secure their own national sovereignty and well-being...[the ali'i] and the maka'āinana learned writing and eventually took control of the print media; and they adopted constitutionalism, codifying laws in English and American ways in order to make treaties and to be recognized as an independent nation unavailable for colonization.⁹

⁶ Thomas, 1.

⁷ Thomas, 9, 11.

⁸ Althea Bass, *Cherokee Messenger* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), 188-189.

⁹ Silva, 44, 15-16.

Likewise, Thomas maintains that Worcester's translations of Christian documents, including the Bible, served a purpose far beyond "civilizing" the Indian tribes. The development of a written Cherokee language provided a means of expression whereby the native voice could be heard in an expanding America. Moreover, Pamela Jean Owens has argued, "the various translation projects and the translations they produced became highly political and politicized acts which would help to ensure the survival of the Cherokee language and, ultimately, the continued sovereignty of the Cherokee people."¹⁰ For both Native Hawaiians and the Cherokee, use of the written form of their native language allowed them to develop a constitution and government that demanded the acknowledgement of the growing ambitions of the United States.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, the ABCFM reported on the progress of its endeavors in its news journal, the *Missionary Herald*; through this medium, the missionaries working abroad and within the United States learned about and from each other. Invariably, news about the Cherokee mission appeared side-by-side with news about the Sandwich Islands mission.¹¹ Though the *Missionary Herald* focused on the Christian objectives of its editors, it nevertheless reveals unique details of both the challenges and successes of the missionaries in their "civilization" efforts. It documented the strategies of the various mission enterprises as well as the development of foreign mission schools. In the January 1824 edition, the Sandwich Islands mission, in keeping with its linguistic and evangelizing ambitions, listed "Thomas Hopoo" (Hopu), "John Honooree" (Honoli'i), and "George Sandwich" as "*Native Assistants*." Moreover,

¹⁰ Pamela Jean Owens, "Bible Translation and Language Preservation: The Politics of the Nineteenth Century Cherokee Bible Translation Projects," *Technical Papers for the Bible Translator* 57 (2006), 8-9; quoted in Thomas, 14.

¹¹ *Missionary Herald, For the Year 1824, Vol. XX* (Boston: Published for the Board by Samuel T. Armstrong, Crocker & Brewster, 1824), January 1824, 1-3.

the journal reported, "This mission, the third anniversary of which was in April last, has been attended, probably, with more remarkable interpositions of Providence, for the time of its existence, than any other mission on record. Its prospects of ultimate if not of speedy, success, are most cheering."¹² While the Hawaiian mission would continue to steadily gain strength under and among the monarchy and common people throughout the 1820s, the mission among the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, Cherokee and Choctaw, would encounter decidedly more problematic issues. As the U.S. grew and expanded, the Cherokee found themselves at the center of a pitched battle between state and federal rights that would intimately involve members of the ABCFM and reinterpret the meaning of indigenous sovereignty in the United States.

Judicial and legislative maneuvers during the 1820s and 1830s proved disastrous for the Cherokee and reflected a failure of American government principles and policies. Members of the ABCFM became embroiled in these issues as they witnessed their missionary efforts undermined and their Christian and moral ideals compromised by the directives of state and federal leaders. Decisions made by the Supreme Court, state legislatures, and ultimately the U.S. Congress, reshaped and redefined the federal relationship to indigenous people and called into question the legitimacy of American agreements both domestically and internationally. In the 1823 case of *Johnson v. McIntosh*, the Supreme Court ruled on a dispute involving land claimed by the Illinois and Piankeshaw nations. In its decision, the Court defined the parameters under which the U.S. would have the right to terminate the original tribal right of possession. The Court stated,

The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of

¹² *Missionary Herald*, January 1824, 1.

occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest; and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise.¹³

The decision rendered by Chief Justice Marshall outlined what has become known as the "discovery doctrine," and confirmed that only the federal government had the right to negotiate the sale or title for Indian land. Though the case only reaffirmed what had been established in the Constitution as well as the Trade and Intercourse Acts of 1790, it assumed that the logical final status for the "conquered" was to be "incorporated with the victorious nation." It provided, however, "Where this incorporation is practicable, humanity demands, and a wise policy requires, that the rights of the conquered to property should remain unimpaired."¹⁴ The landmark *Johnson v. McIntosh* decision would serve as a precedent in federal Indian law and litigation for years to come.

The *Johnson v. McIntosh* decision was especially important because it articulated a view of native people as "conquered" despite their status as sovereign nations. As the U.S. expanded in the early nineteenth century, the contradiction in these terms was challenged and disputed as states sought to usurp Indian lands. In the mid-1820s, Georgia became the first of many aggressors to try to force unlawful land cessions. An article in the *Cherokee Phoenix* outlined the crux of the issue:

For several years past, it has been evident, that the affairs of the Southern Indians were approaching to a crisis. The increase of white population in the vicinity of the Indian territories would of itself lead to efforts to acquire more Indian lands. But the rapid improvement of the Cherokees in civilization, and their taking measures to render their civil government more stable, caused the people of Georgia to apprehend that the Indians would so thoroughly understand their

¹³ *Johnson v. McIntosh*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1823, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543, 5 L.Ed. 681. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, David H. Getches, Daniel M. Rosenfelt, and Charles F. Wilkinson, eds. (St Paul: West Publishing Co., 1979), 146.

¹⁴ *Johnson v. McIntosh*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1823, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543, 5 L.Ed. 681. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 147. See also Joseph William Singer, "Sovereignty and Property," *Northwestern Law Review* 86 Nw.U.L.Rev.1 (Fall 1991), 38, footnotes 167- 168.

rights and their interests, as that it would soon be impossible to purchase their country.¹⁵

With the help of the ABCFM, and the development of the Cherokee language and press by Samuel Austin Worcester, the Cherokee had indeed so fully accommodated the terms of "civilization" that they had "adopted a written constitution modeled closely upon that of the United States."¹⁶ Formulated in July 1827, the constitution was meant to provide a basis upon which to unify and manage the Cherokee nation, and furthermore display its level of assimilation in order to guarantee federal acknowledgement of the nation's sovereign status. In response, the Georgia legislature stepped up its efforts to acquire the remaining Cherokee lands in the state, proposing forced land cessions and Cherokee removal. Since Georgia could not implement the plan without violating federal treaties, the issue of removal soon moved into Congress and eventually to the Supreme Court.

Jeremiah Evarts and the ABCFM also brought the issue into the public domain in attempts to defend the rights of the Cherokee and resist removal plans. Evarts, the same ABCFM member who had helped to establish the Sandwich Islands mission, continued to serve as Treasurer and Corresponding Secretary, as well as editor of the *Missionary Herald*. Throughout his career with the ABCFM, Evarts worked closely with Rev. Dr. Samuel Worcester, Samuel Austin Worcester's uncle, until the senior Worcester died in 1821. Evarts, along with U.S. Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, formed a vocal alliance against removal policy because, they argued, it betrayed the principles, promises, and responsibilities of the federal government.¹⁷ As Stephen J. Rockwell notes,

¹⁵ *Cherokee Phoenix*, July 31, 1830, Volume 3, No. 15, Page 1 Col 1b-4b.

¹⁶ Cotterill, 235.

¹⁷ It is significant to note here that while Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen had opposed the Cherokee removal policy, his political legacy would be carried on through his nephew, Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, who became Secretary of State under President Chester A. Arthur. In another of the myriad connections between American

Opponents of removal relied on two principal arguments, both of which centered on the federal government's role and responsibilities. Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen's famous argument against removal emphasized the sanctity of federal treaty agreements, arguing that the national government had an obligation to uphold those agreements and protect Indian civilizations against encroachments by states or by white intruders.¹⁸

Evarts felt so strongly about the dangers of the removal policy that he traveled to Washington D.C. in March of 1828 to monitor the debates on the issue in Congress. As an officer of the ABCFM, Evarts lucidly discerned that the outcome of the removal debate would have a reverberating effect on the efforts of the ABCFM. Although the removal issue may have been at the forefront of Evarts' concerns in March 1828, he was already looking ahead to the progress of developing missions. While in Washington, Evarts appealed to the government to assist in support and protection for the Sandwich Islands mission.¹⁹

Moreover, Evarts recognized the larger ramifications of the removal policy and its long-term impact on both domestic and international relationships. Because of this, he launched a public media campaign throughout 1829 and 1830 to garner support for the Cherokee and to resist this direction in federal policy.²⁰ Among those who Evarts had recruited to issue memorials to Congress were Nathaniel Terry, Jonathan W. Edwards, Seth Terry, and Samuel H. Huntington of Hartford, Connecticut. Nathaniel Terry had served in the Connecticut state legislature and at the time of the memorial was mayor of Hartford. In a meeting with the citizens of Hartford in January 1830, this committee presented its resolutions and arguments against the removal policy. In its breadth and scope, the memorial revealed the complex and profound

Indian policy and Native Hawaiian policy, Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen became one of the foremost proponents of Hawaiian annexation in the late nineteenth century, as discussed in Chapter Six.

¹⁸ Rockwell, 242.

¹⁹ "Guide to the Evarts Family Papers - Overview." Available from *Yale University Library* at <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4423> Internet. Accessed 26 March 2019.

²⁰ Rockwell, 142.

issues surrounding the removal question. Cherokee removal, it emphasized, was not just an "Indian" problem: it was a national and international concern that affected not only the rights and sovereignty of native people, but challenged the very founding principles of the U.S. and questioned the efficacy and legitimacy of the federal government.

In powerful language, the citizens of Hartford eloquently presented their case against removal. It is precisely because these editorials were so commanding that they *bear repeating*. In the January 12, 1830 issue of the *American Mercury*, citizens, represented by the memorial committee, came forward because they doubted,

measures proposed to this whole nation as represented by Congress, which if tolerated will expose them in common with the whole country, to disgrace in the eyes of all nations; to the shame of violating solemn engagements to our fellow man, and to the judgments of Heaven, which are threatened against those who join in robbing the defenceless [sic] of their rights, and oppressing those who can appeal to none but a righteous God.²¹

What is more, the committee agreed on five resolutions that acknowledged the right of all American Indians to remain on their ancestral lands that had not been sold or surrendered, and confirmed that these rights included the privilege to have their own sovereign government as guaranteed by treaties made with the U.S. The committee further acknowledged that the state of Georgia had "acquiesced in the treaties made between the United States and the Indian nations living within the limits of that State." Finally, the committee resolved, "that if the United States cannot maintain their treaties with the Southern tribes of Indians, to protect them from the

²¹ *American Mercury*, Hartford, Ct., January 12, 1830. The date on the first page of the paper is incorrectly listed as January 12, 1829. As is evidenced from the content and reference to meeting dates, etc. throughout the issue, the correct date should be January 12, 1830. This is confirmed by comparing this issue to those of other newspapers in the same time period. The *Connecticut Mirror* of January 9, 1830 also had an article on the Hartford, Ct. memorial, although it did not publish it in its entirety. The same information found in the *American Mercury* was also republished in the *Cherokee Phoenix* in both English and Cherokee in the editions for February 3, 1830 and February 10, 1830. The online cataloguing of this issue of the *American Mercury* is also incorrectly listed on www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu. It is listed under the newspapers for 1829 and does not show any listings for the year 1830. This one small error, however, can be problematic for historians trying to locate information which must be cross-referenced with other documents of the time.

usurpation of Georgia and Alabama, they have not the power, if they have the disposition, to protect them in any other situation to which they may be removed." Furthermore, in the memorial sent to Congress, the committee maintained that the measures proposed were "*morally wrong*" because,

they are a violation of the *spirit of Christianity*, which by our eminent jurists is declared to be the foundation, both of the common law of the land as well as of international policy. The fundamental principle of Christianity is that we should "do unto other men as we in similar circumstances should wish they would do unto us." Let us then suppose ourselves in similar circumstances on lands inherited by our fathers and held by them from immemorial ages; that we were surrounded by a people of different tastes, habits, feelings and prejudices, that all our brethren who had mingled with these strangers had perished by this communion; that we had sold to these strangers our best lands and received their solemn promises that the remainder should be ours forever; that trusting to these promises we had formed a government and adopted laws of our own under which we were advancing in prosperity & happiness. Should these strangers then demand that we should give up our home and country, relinquish all our improvements, forsake the land of our nativity and go into a wilderness with our children, our aged and infirm and sick, we should exclaim against these requisitions as severe, unchristian, and unjust. Should they offer the other alternative, and require us to come under their laws and amalgamate with them, when they assure us we shall neither retain our lands, nor be protected in our rights by their Courts of Justice, but that like many others among our kindred nations we shall dwindle away and perish; should we not call this equally cruel and unjust? If then we claim to be Christians, and boast that the spirit of Christianity is the common law of the land, the measures proposed are a violation of the laws both of our country, and of our religion...

Recognizing that the removal policy contested core American principles, the memorialists concluded that its implementation presaged a dark future for the American nation:

If population advances, at the rate it has heretofore done, all the causes which are now urged as making it necessary for [the Cherokee] to remove will in twenty years, surround them in that distant land of their banishment. No benefit will be gained except that in that far country, their miseries will not be exposed to our eyes, nor their cries reach our ears.²²

²² *American Mercury*, Hartford, Ct., January 12, 1830.

Throughout this period, as Evarts rallied supporters to the cause, he argued forcefully against removal in various speeches and in news articles. Writing under the pseudonym of William Penn, Evarts recognized that the decision regarding removal would shape not only American Indian policy, but all of American domestic policy and international diplomacy to come.²³ In his assessment of the situation, he noted that removal legislation assaulted the terms of sovereignty and diminished the American values of liberty and justice. In an article printed in the *Salem Gazette* on December 15, 1829, he pointed out that Georgia now planned to break solemn agreements with *nations*, that "the Colony of Georgia always spoke of the Creek and Cherokee *nations*; and the compacts, which she made with them, she called *treaties*." Evarts contended that the fact that Georgia now wanted to define the Indian nations as something less, did not bode well for American diplomacy. In a scathing critique of the Georgia legislature, Evarts observed,

It would seem, according to the present doctrine of Georgia politicians, that civilized people may be called nations and may make treaties; but uncivilized people are to be called Savages, and public engagements with them are to be denominated ---*what* such engagements are to be denominated we are not as yet informed. There must be a new code of national law, and a new set of writers upon it, in order to help Georgia out of her present imagined difficulties:--I say *imagined* because there is no real difficulty, not the slightest. What are the distinctive marks of a civilized people, and who is to decide whether these marks are found in the given case, are matters unexplained. Nor are we told in what respect treaties between civilized nations are to be interpreted differently from public engagements with an uncivilized people... This is the morality to be incorporated into the new code of national law, with another section, declaring that all parties to an agreement, even though it be called a treaty, have the perfect right to decide whether they are themselves civilized, or not and whether other parties are uncivilized or not.²⁴

²³ Guide to the Evarts Family Papers - Overview." Available from *Yale University Library* at <https://archives.yale.edu/repositories/12/resources/4423> Internet. Accessed 26 March 2019.

²⁴ *Salem Gazette*, December 15, 1829. Available from www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu; Internet. Accessed 10 December 2010. Emphasized words in italics are quoted here as it appeared in the *Salem Gazette*.

Echoing the Hartford memorial committee, Evarts cautioned the federal government to proceed carefully in its consideration of the removal policy, warning,

Proud nations have often been mortified by being obliged to cede some part of their territory. It is not probable that our mortification will come from that quarter. We have, however, some permanent causes of severe mortification. If it should be said, five hundred years hence, that in the middle of the nineteenth century the United States were compelled, by an overwhelming force, to cede Staten Island to a foreign Power, the fact would not be a thousandth part so disgraceful, as to have it truly said, that the United States adopted from Georgia the maxim that *might is right*,* and, in pursuance of that maxim, despoiled an unoffending and suffering people of those very possessions which we had SOLEMNLY GUARANTIED TO THEM FOREVER.²⁵

Through Jeremiah Evarts and the ABCFM, the admonitions and lessons of Cherokee removal, along with the uncertainties it presented, were heard and understood by the aliʻi in Hawaiʻi.

Subsequent legislation and litigation in the 1830s ultimately affected the ABCFM missionaries in both Hawaiʻi and in Georgia. The Removal Bill passed and was signed into law in May 1830, largely with the help of President Andrew Jackson. Although the government had approved the bill, Evarts and his supporters had convinced the Cherokee to bring their dispute to the Supreme Court.²⁶ In the 1831 case *Cherokee v. Georgia*, the Cherokee nation sought an "injunction to restrain the state of Georgia from the execution of certain laws of that state, which, as is alleged, go directly to annihilate the Cherokees as a political society."²⁷ Once again, Chief Justice Marshall rendered the decision in the case. He denied the injunction on the basis that "the framers of our constitution had not the Indian tribes in view, when they opened the courts of the union to controversies between a state or the citizens thereof, and foreign states." In trying to

²⁵ *Salem Gazette*, December 15, 1829. Quoted as it appeared in the *Salem Gazette*. Evarts specifically italicized and asterisked the phrase, "*might is right*," with the following note: "The Legislature of Georgia adopted this maxim in nearly these words, as I shall show in a quotation from a report, approved by that body, in Dec. 1827."

²⁶ Francis Paul Prucha, "Protest by Petition: Jeremiah Evarts and the Cherokee Indians," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, 97 (1985), 49-52, 56-57.

²⁷ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1831, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L.Ed. 25. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 161.

determine the exact nature of Indian status within the United States, however, Marshall created another landmark precedent:

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and heretofore, unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government; yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.²⁸

In identifying Indian nations as "domestic dependent nations," Marshall had reinterpreted the status of aboriginal people with the U.S. Whereas the Constitution and prior legislation had recognized Indian nations as sovereign entities, equal to other nations, with the right to treat with the federal government, Marshall now qualified that position. The Court's decision suggested that the federal government would not accord to indigenous nations the same status and rights as European nations. Moreover, because the decision was a 2-2-2 split, with no majority opinion, it seemed to create more questions about the future status of native people than it resolved. The missionaries and the monarchy in Hawai'i had received this news through the ABCFM, and were made acutely aware of American imperial policies towards indigenous people.

By 1832, the dispute against the federal government that began with Evarts and the ABCFM had taken a decidedly personal turn. Evarts had been a mentor to Samuel Austin Worcester throughout his tenure with the Cherokee. When Evarts, exhausted from his campaign, died in 1831, Worcester prevailed by challenging the exercise of Georgia's powers in federal court. The state of Georgia had accused Worcester of violating state law with an indictment that

²⁸ *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1831, 30 U.S. (5 Pet.) 1, 8 L.Ed. 25. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 163.

charged him with, "'residing within the limits of the Cherokee nation without a license,'" and failing to take the "'oath to support and defend the constitution and the laws of the state of Georgia.'" ²⁹ *Worcester v. Georgia* brought the issue of states' rights to the forefront; by charging and jailing Samuel Austin Worcester, the state of Georgia had overstepped the limitations of its jurisdiction on Indian land. Like Evarts' campaign against removal, the Worcester case was well publicized by friends of the ABCFM, among them Elias Boudinot. As editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix*, Boudinot, "passionately docu-mented [sic] these imprisonments to inform not only the Cherokee, but also a wider American audience."³⁰ Once again, Chief Justice Marshall was called upon to weigh the history and precedents of Cherokee relations with the government and determine the boundaries between state and tribal power. In his decision, Marshall ultimately sided with Worcester and in stronger language, determined Indian nations to be "distinct, political communities:"

The constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, has adopted and sanctioned the previous treaties with the Indian nations, and consequently admits their rank among those powers who are capable of making treaties.³¹

²⁹ *Worcester v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1832, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 483. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 167.

³⁰ Thomas, 13. Though Elias Boudinot and John Ridge had initially resisted removal and the encroachments of the State of Georgia, both changed their outlook as the political battle progressed. Walter H. Conser, Jr. explains that by the mid-1830s, "two distinct political factions evolved within the Cherokee Nation over the removal question...the so-called Treaty party or those favoring removal, was composed of Cherokees of mixed-ancestry and proportionately higher wealth. The leaders of this party were Major Ridge, his son John, and John's cousin Elias Boudinot. Though they had previously been staunch advocates of tribal integrity and adamantly opposed to capitulation to the federal government, by 1833 they favored removal. This reversal reflected the Ridges' belief in the futility of further resistance, a belief reinforced by political circumstances outside the Nation." [Walter H. Conser, Jr. "John Ross and the Cherokee Resistance Campaign, 1833-1838," *The Journal of Southern History* 44 (1978), 193.] What is more, their attempt to accommodate and negotiate with the federal and state government cost them their lives, as explained in Chapter 1. Ridge and Boudinot had signed the *Treaty of New Echota* (1835) which sealed the terms of Cherokee removal. After the horrors of the Trail of Tears in the late 1830s, the betrayal that many Cherokee felt was not soon forgotten. See also Russell Thornton, C. Matthew Snipp, and Nancy Breen. *The Cherokees: A Population History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992), 77-78.

³¹ *Worcester v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1832, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 483. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 171-172.

Moreover, Marshall declared, "The whole intercourse between the United States and this [the Cherokee] nation, is, by our constitution and laws, vested in the government of the United States." In denying Georgia the right of jurisdiction within Cherokee borders, the Court, in essence, reasserted the power of the federal government as the supreme authority. Still, the Court's opinion also came with a caveat that warranted caution. Though concurring, Justice McLean, nonetheless noted that "If a tribe of Indians shall become so degraded or reduced in numbers, as to lose the power of self-government, the protection of the local law, of necessity, must be extended over them."³² Though McLean's opinion did not change the ruling of the Court, it once again considered the role of "civilization" as a stipulation for sovereignty. It would be an admonition the American missionaries considered as they urged the Hawaiian rulers to develop a constitutional monarchy the West would recognize.

In the midst of the Cherokee Removal crisis, there can be no doubt that the Hawaiian monarchy understood its increasingly vulnerable predicament amid European and American expansion in the Pacific. In 1835, Reverend Jonathan S. Green, an ABCFM missionary who had traveled to Hawai'i in 1831, wrote the first history of the organization in Hawaiian. The publication, *Ka Mooolelo no Ka Ekalesia o Jesu Kristo. Ko Kakou Haku e ola'i; mai ka wa o ko Iesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou, i ka makahiki o ka Haku 1835*, was produced at Lahainaluna on Maui and explained the history of missionary efforts among various groups, including "ka poe Inikini" in the United States: "Ma Amerika Huipuia."³³

³² *Worcester v. Georgia*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1832, 31 U.S. (6 Pet.) 515, 8 L.Ed. 483. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 173.

³³ Jonathan S. Green, *Ka Mooolelo no Ka Ekalesia o Jesu Kristo. Ko Kakou Haku e ola'i; mai ka wa o ko Iesu hanau ana mai a hiki loa mai i keia wa e noho nei kakou, i ka makahiki o ka Haku 1835* (Lahainaluna, 1835), 69-70.

What is more, Queen Ka‘ahumanu had developed a correspondence with Jeremiah Evarts herself, and by the 1830s and 1840s, the Hawaiian rulers had begun to incorporate former ABCFM missionaries into government positions. Further, the second edition of Green’s history spoke more to the point of the danger of Cherokee Removal and those who had perpetrated the crime, establishing the rights of both the Cherokee and the missionaries among them:

Ma ka nahelehele o Amerika Huipuia, aia na misionari he lehulehu. Ma ka hema o ia aina, ma ka mokuna o Georegia, ua komo pono na misionari, A.D. 1817. Nui ka hana i hanaia malaila. Ua lulu na misionari i ka hua o ka ke Akua olelo. Ua hoopulu lakou ia mea me ko lakou waimaka, a noi aku lakou i ka Haku nona ke kihapai, e hookupu mai. Ae mai ke Akua.³⁴

In the weeds / wilderness of the the United States, there are a multitude of missionaries. In the South, from the state of Georgia, missionaries judiciously arrived in 1817. Much work was done there since. The missionaries scattered the work of God’s story (they sowed the seeds of God’s word). They saturated the ground with their tears and asked the Lord for his garden to sprout. Yes, came the answer from God.³⁵

Clearly, Green is justifying ABCFM presence among the Cherokee as a righteous and diligent endeavor; Green positions the ABCFM missionaries further as a protector stating, “A makaukau ka poe lawehana e ohi, hele mai ka enemi, hoole aku la oia i ka poe lawehana, kipaku ae la ia lako, a hoohelele i ka hua.” In English, his words translate to “And as the laborers were ready to harvest, the enemy came; he denied the laborers and sent them away, scattering the seeds.” The Hawaiian word hua can mean both “seed,” “fruit,” and “word,” so Green is alluding to multiple meanings in this statement.

³⁴ Jonathan S. Green, *Ka Moolelo No Ka Ekalesia o Jesu Kristo, Ko Kakou Haku E Ola'i: Mai Ka Wa Mai O Ka Haku*, 1860, Elua Paiana: *History of the Church of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior: from the time of his birth, till the year of the Lord, 1860, Second edition*. (New York, 1863), 263. Here I have provided the text as printed which does not include the Hawaiian diacritical marks as commonly used today.

³⁵ Translation by Shirley Buchanan along with the gracious help of my colleagues J. Uluwehi Hopkins, J. Susan Corley and Iasona Ellinwood.

Furthermore, he goes on declare the state of contention in Cherokee Removal that would haunt the U.S. into the Civil War:

O ko Georegia poe, oia ka enemī. I ko lakou ike ana i na Inikini e ao ana i ka palapala, a me ka hana e pono ai ko lakou noho ana, manao lakou e noho paa ua poe Inikini nei ma ko lakou aina ponoī, aole kuai lilo aku i ko lakou aina i ko Georegia poe. Nolaila, ku e lakou i na misionari a me na Inikini...a mahope iho, kipaku ae ko Georegia i na Inikini, i ka poe Keroke ka inoa, mai ko lakou aina ae i ka nahelehele ma ke komohana o ka muliwai o Misisipi.³⁶

The people of Georgia, they are the enemy. When they knew of the Indians learning the palapala (reading / writing) and the good work (improving lives) of those that stayed there, their knowledge, the Indians believed, placed the Indian people at their own land, which they did not exchange, sell or lose their land to the people of Georgia. Rather, they (Georgia) resisted the missionaries and the Indians...but after sent away the Indians of Georgia, the Cherokee people by name, from their land to the wilderness to the west of the Mississippi river.³⁷

Thus, relationships with the ABCFM informed the Hawaiian leaders not only about Western religion and political ideas, but equally, how indigenous people were perceived and "managed" by a steadily strengthening America.

Historian J. Susan Corley concurs in her recent doctoral dissertation, noting "Copies of *Missionary Herald* issues in 1831 and 1832 covering the U. S. Supreme Court case in *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31. U. S. (6 Pet.) 515 (1832) which upheld Cherokee sovereignty were broadly circulated throughout ABCFM's mission stations, including the Hawaiian stations."³⁸ Rev. Hiram Bingham commented on the U.S. Supreme Court cases involving Georgia in his letters from Hawai'i in 1832. In a letter to Rufus Anderson of the ABCFM, he lamented the "sins" of

³⁶ Green, 263-264.

³⁷ Translation by Shirley Buchanan. Emphasis italicized is my own. The depiction of Georgia as the enemy seems to indicate enemy to the Cherokee, to the missionaries, and to America in the struggles which pervaded the antebellum period between North and South. The use of kaona (multiple meanings) in Hawaiian language is present in order to speak to a larger moral and political crisis in nineteenth-century America.

³⁸ J. Susan Corley, *Literacy, Statecraft and Sovereignty: Kamehameha III's Defense of the Hawaiian Kingdom in the 1840s*, Doctoral dissertation, (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, May 2019), 22.

Georgia and the crisis among the Cherokee. In his monthly prayer meetings with Hawaiians he recounted,

I addressed them from the words of Isaiah, “Learn to do well, seek judgement, relieve the oppressed”. I blushed to tell them that magistrates in my own country had torn some of our brother missionaries from their work among the Indians, & shut them up in prison, & sentenced them to four years hard labor for no other cause than their perseverance in the good work among the Indians, which good men, and the General government, & the indians themselves had approved for several years, & now it was the duty of Sandwich Islanders in seeking to relieve the oppressed, to pray that God would deliver our brethren from the confinement, and cause the gospel to have free course in every land as the best means of checking the power of the oppressor, and delivering men from the bondage of Satan & the slavery of Sin.³⁹

Bingham’s words take on even more importance as he describes “the duty of Sandwich Islanders in seeking to relieve the oppressed.” For the ABCFM missionaries in Hawai‘i, it was important to proactively defend against the injustices imposed by the U.S. upon the Cherokee.

Thus, just as one era was closing in Cherokee history, another was beginning in the Hawaiian Islands. In 1825, Kauikeaouli, the son of Keōpūolani and Kamehameha I, became King Kamehameha III upon the death of Liholiho, Kamehameha II.⁴⁰ While Kauikeaouli became the male head of state at a very young age (eleven years old), like Kamehameha I, he was surrounded by ali‘i women. Guided first by Ka‘ahumanu, he, too recruited the services of both Hawaiian and non-native advisors, starting first and foremost with female kuhina nui, considered as the rank of “premier” in the Euro-American world. This designation of kuhina nui which has been likened to the term “regent” or “premier” in English actually has no equivalent meaning from Hawaiian to English because the position did not exist in a Western context. One historian has written that the “role of the Hawaiian Prime Minister (Kalaimoku) under

³⁹ Hiram Bingham to Rufus Anderson, October 2, 1832. *Missionary Letters From the Sandwich Islands Mission to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions 1819-1837*, 8 volumes. “Supplementary to the letters published in the *Missionary Herald* of the same dates.” Vol. 5., p. 1405-1406.

⁴⁰ Van Dyke, 23.

Kamehameha I, was primarily as an agent at the will of the Crown on matters of national governance."⁴¹ But this explanation, too, is simplistic and limited because the role of kuhina nui changed as interactions and intersections with the Western world continued from the late eighteenth into the nineteenth century. What is more, for the most important years of transition from 1819 until 1845, the role of kuhina nui was carried out by women ali'i, who also served to guide both male and female ali'i in concert with an established group of high chiefs and chiefesses. These women were many things: regents, premiers, mentors, teachers, political strategists, and social mediators. They served in capacities beyond what an English word could describe. They paid close attention to the nature of relations with the U.S., and the ali'i also understood, as legal historian Stuart Banner asserts, "that land possessed by American Indians, land that had never been formally granted to the Indians by the United States or any of its European colonial predecessors, received a far lesser degree of protection when the United States took over a new territory."⁴² The Cherokee experience had proven that the U.S. could not be trusted to honor its agreements, especially with native people. Taking proactive measures, the ali'i used the missionaries' knowledge to prepare for Western ambitions in the Pacific and to define "ka enemi."

The concurrent trials of the Cherokee nation and the introduction of the ABCFM missionaries in Hawai'i also illustrate the ways in which land and diplomacy were being reconfigured in the early nineteenth century. Examining the experiences of the ABCFM and their interactions with indigenous nations, along with U.S. Supreme Court decisions and

⁴¹ David Keanu Sai, *The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State*, PhD. Dissertation, (University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2008), 68-69. I find it also telling and ironic that even now (2019) our English language Word document programs cannot seem to recognize the word "chiefesses" as a legitimate word in the dictionary or the thesaurus. It just reiterates the bias against even *speaking* these positions into being or recovering them from the past.

⁴² Stuart Banner, "Preparing to Be Colonized: Land Tenure and Legal Strategy in Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i," *Law & Society Review* 39.2 (Jun., 2005), 299.

American legislation provides illumination of the comparative evolution of diplomatic relations that occurred both in the Pacific and across the American continent, extending even into the Atlantic and European notions of nationhood. The rapid change in Hawai‘i coincided not only with merchant and ABCFM missionary arrivals but progressed almost simultaneously with the restructuring of Native American rights in the United States, as expressed through the Cherokee challenges. The year 1823 proved a pivotal time for the ABCFM, the Hawaiian rulers, and American legislators as both Hawai‘i and the United States prepared to assert their independent status in the changing global balance of power. Even as Monroe's doctrine declared "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers," the U.S. continued its own imperial quest westward, and a litigious campaign to redefine Native American rights and nation status ensued.⁴³ In February 1823, the Supreme Court established the "doctrine of discovery" precedent in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, and while the government continued to redefine the rights of Indian nations amidst the expansion of America, the second company of ABCFM missionaries was already on its way to Hawai‘i, accompanied by Reverend William Richards.⁴⁴ Arriving in April, 1823, this second attachment of Sandwich Island missionaries amplified their objective of "civilizing" the Hawaiian rulers. Richards, in particular, became extremely influential as he learned the Hawaiian language and set about translating Western texts.⁴⁵ What is more, only days before U.S. President James Monroe had

⁴³ "Monroe Doctrine (1823)." Available from www.ourdocuments.gov; Internet. Accessed 19 February 2019.

⁴⁴ *Dates of Supreme Court Decisions, United States Reports, Volumes 2 -107, 1797 -1882*, 22. Available from <http://www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/datesofdecisions.pdf>; Internet. Accessed 28 February 2011; *Johnson v. McIntosh*, Supreme Court of the United States, 1823, 21 U.S. (8 Wheat.) 543, 5 L.Ed. 681. Quoted in *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law*, 143 -148.

⁴⁵ *Missionary Album*, 7, 162 – 163; See also Noelani Arista's expansive descriptions about William Richards and his use of language, text, and literacy in *The Kingdom and the Republic*.

warned European powers against "any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere," Liholiho, Kamehameha II, had already embarked on a mission of his own to Britain in November 1823 to protect island domains.⁴⁶

Increasingly wary of the empire-building ambitions of the West, the Hawaiian monarchy had already exhibited a prescient understanding of how "recognition" was displayed and even paraded by Europeans and Americans. Even though the Sandwich Island missionaries had just introduced the written Hawaiian language and Western translated texts, the missionaries reported that the Hawaiian government had initiated the process of asserting its sovereignty. The *Missionary Herald* indicated that in December 1821 the Russian governor of Kamchatka had sent a letter to Liholiho, "proposing to acknowledge the flag of the Sandwich Islands." Hawaiian leaders hoped that once reported to the Emperor of Russia, this "[might] be one step towards the general acknowledgement of the flag of this nation."⁴⁷ Moreover, when the schooner *Prince Regent* arrived in the fall of 1822 as a gift to Liholiho from King George IV of England, it provided an occasion for the Hawaiian king to strengthen his relationship with Britain.⁴⁸ "The present," historian J. Susan Corley notes, "arriving...at a time when Liholiho was casting about searching for pathways on which to lead his islands into a modern world, gave Liholiho the opportunity to introduce himself to George IV by way of a letter of thanks." Liholiho indicated he,

"wished to place his Sandwich Islands under the protection of the British crown," and that he wanted to be "thought worthy [of] the confidence I place in your Majesty's wisdom and judgment." Signing with his regal name, Tamehameha II closed with the hope that George IV "may deem it fit to answer this as soon as

⁴⁶ Monroe Doctrine (1823)."

⁴⁷ *Missionary Herald, For the Year 1823, Vol. XIX* (Boston: Published for the Board by Samuel T. Armstrong, Crocker & Brewster, 1823), February 1823, 40.

⁴⁸ *Missionary Herald*, April 1823, 102.

convenient; and your Majesty's counsel and advice will be most thankfully received by your Majesty's most obedient and devoted servant."⁴⁹

When no response had arrived by the following fall of 1823, however, Liholiho determined to speak with the king of Britain himself. On November 27th, King Kamehameha II embarked with a royal entourage that included his favorite wife, Kamamalu, governors Boki and Kekuanaoa, as well as Naukane, also known as John Cox, who had formerly served as emissary for King Kamehameha I.⁵⁰ Though a member of the London Missionary Society, Mr. Ellis, had attempted to make the journey with the Hawaiian monarchs, a missionary contingent was not included in this diplomatic endeavor.⁵¹ Liholiho left the Hawaiian Kingdom in the care of Ka'ahumanu as kuhuna nui, and high chief, Kalanimoku. Moreover, Liholiho named his younger brother, Kauikeaouli, his successor, should he not return from his trip. Since Kauikeaouli was only nine years old at the time, Ka'ahumanu served as de facto ruler upon Liholiho's departure.⁵² By late April of 1824, both the English and American press was reporting news of Liholiho's impending arrival in the West, though not without inaccuracies. The *Essex Register* for April 29, 1824 relayed "It was reported at Pernambuco, that Riroriho, king of the Sandwich Islands, with his two wives, had arrived at Rio Janeiro on his way to England."⁵³ Later editions made corrections, indicating that the king was in fact traveling "with his wife and sister," but added that he planned to visit the United States as well as England.⁵⁴ More importantly, once the Hawaiian contingent arrived in England on May 17, 1824, London

⁴⁹ J. Susan Corley, "The British Press Greets the King of the Sandwich Islands: Kamehameha II in London, 1824," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008), 70-71.

⁵⁰ Bingham, 202-203; Janice K. Duncan, "Kanaka World Travelers and Fur Company Employees, 1785-1860," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973), 99.

⁵¹ Bingham, 202-203.

⁵² Kamakau, 265; Van Dyke, 23.

⁵³ *Essex Register*, Salem, Massachusetts, April 29, 1824. In virtually every news article of the period, Liholiho is referred to as "Rihoriho," or a variation of that spelling.

⁵⁴ *Salem Gazette*, May 4, 1824; *The Times and Hartford Advertiser*, June 1, 1824.

newspapers began to speculate about the reason for the visit. *The Times* and *Morning Herald* reported,

Liholiho had traveled to England to study the English constitution and to seek the protection of Great Britain "in consequence of an attempt by the Russians to form a settlement there, to which the natives were extremely averse, but were not strong enough to resist openly."⁵⁵

This story was repeated in American newspapers, and at least one paper reported, "The object of their visit to England is said to be 'to surrender the eleven islands to the protection of the King of Great Britain, it being apprehended that the emperor of Russia intended to possess himself of them.'"⁵⁶ In light of the U.S. President's recent pronouncement of the Monroe Doctrine, the Hawaiian ruler's diplomatic measures caught the interest of American politicians. With more than three times the merchant shipping trade of Britain in the islands, Americans kept a close eye on the outcome of Liholiho's diplomatic mission to England.⁵⁷

Liholiho, too, understood the critical nature of his negotiations, assuring the ali'i rulers of Hawai'i that no one would speak on his behalf to King George IV.⁵⁸ Although Bingham notes that Ka'ahumanu thought Liholiho "'forsook his father's policy, and went to Britain to seek a *hakuaina*, a landlord," it seems clear that Liholiho neither intended to cede the islands nor allow Hawai'i to become a British colony.⁵⁹ He did, however, understand the strategic role Hawai'i played in the growing economic dominance of Euro-American trade and attempted to approach the British ruler on an equal footing, as the monarch of a newly "enlightened" nation. The Hawaiian royals bedecked themselves in Western attire, and London newspapers noted the

⁵⁵ Corley, 73. Quoted from *Morning Herald*, May 18, 1824.

⁵⁶ *Boston Commercial Gazette*, July 1, 1824.

⁵⁷ "Commercial, Meteorological and Missionary Statistics, Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. From '*The Friend*' for May 1, 1844." Available from *American Broadside and Ephemera*, Series I, no. 14255 at <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun>; Internet. Accessed 1 March 2011.

⁵⁸ Corley, 71.

⁵⁹ Bingham, 204.

"civilized" appearance of the "Sandwich Majesties." "His Majesty is of very gentlemanly appearance," one reporter observed, "and but for the darkness of his complexion, which is of very deep copper colour, might pass for an Englishman."⁶⁰

Though the arrival of the Hawaiian rulers was made known to the English king, seemingly no direct meeting could be satisfactorily arranged. As Corley points out, the delay may have been prolonged because the English government, like its American offspring, did not consider indigenous rulers to be of equal diplomatic stature. Indeed, one London paper advised, "let [these savages] be well-treated...but do not take them out of their proper sphere, and place [them] upon a footing with the enlightened sovereigns of Europe."⁶¹ Another, *The Times*, defended the diplomatic consultation as comparable to an historical meeting with one of the Five Civilized tribes, (Cherokee, Choctaw, Seminole, Creek, and Chickasaw), noting, "'there is precedent for Liholiho's presentation to be found in the presentation of the king of the Creek Indians to George II.'"⁶² Comparisons were made in America as well, as the press belatedly reported the news from London. One paper recounted,

The King and Queen of the Sandwich Islands arrest much attention.--They are said to have undertaken their long voyage to supplicate the protection of England, against apprehended danger from the Russians. They have not yet been made sufficiently available to appear at Court; but the sufferers are at work upon them. The King is a tall, Indian-built gentleman.⁶³

Thus, despite the ways that the Atlantic world depended on the unity, diplomacy, and commerce of the islands, their "enlightened" counterparts in the West nonetheless perceived and portrayed the ali'i of the Sandwich Islands as something less. Unfortunately, King George IV never had an

⁶⁰ *The British Guardian and Protestant Chronicle*, May 26, 1824, as exhibited in Corley, 79. Allusion to "copper colour" was also a means to equate Liholiho and the Hawaiian diplomats with those considered "Indians," Native Americans, (like Pocahontas), who had visited England since the 17th century.

⁶¹ Corley, 88 quoting *John Bull*, June 13, 1824.

⁶² Corley, 89 quoting *The Times*, June 21, 1824.

⁶³ *Columbian Centinel American Federalist*, July 3, 1824.

opportunity to correct this view, for while the English government delayed a formal diplomatic engagement with the Hawaiian contingent, both Kamamalu and Liholiho contracted measles and perished within days of each other in early July of 1824. Only after their death, did George IV finally meet with the remaining company. "I shall not interfere in your internal troubles," he told them, "but I shall guard you from outside invasion just as I did in the time of Kamehameha I."⁶⁴ The English would find this promise challenging to keep as other powers emerged to contend for influence. On the other hand, the disappointments of the trip to England hardly marked an end to Hawaiian global diplomacy nor would it be the last time the Hawaiian rulers were made all too aware of Western prejudices. As the bodies of Kamamalu and Liholiho were returned to their homeland in 1825 by Lord George Anson Byron, back on the islands Ka'ahumanu had been forging the kingdom into a "modern" age.⁶⁵ She quickly adopted the written language as developed by the ABCFM missionaries, and ultimately embraced Christian beliefs. She considered the missionaries' political advice in concert with the traditions of Native Hawaiian governance. Though, as historian Jane Silverman points out, we know of Ka'ahumanu's thoughts, words, and intentions primarily through the translations of foreigners, it seems clear that she intended to lead the Hawaiian people into a future where they could engage the West, rather than fear its power. She served as a mediator between the past and the future, the spiritual and the temporal, native and non-native, and expertly incorporated formidable ideas that would help her navigate a changing political climate. According to Silverman, she transcended traditional roles as well, which also suggested the type of future into which she was leading her people. As Silverman concludes,

⁶⁴ Kamakau, 257. Bingham notes that the Kekuanaoa, governor of Oahu, reported, "'This is what we heard of the charge of King George--' Return to Kauikeaouli and tell him that *I will protect his country*. To any evil from abroad I will attend; but the evils within the country are not my concern, but the evils from without,'" 260.

⁶⁵ Bingham notes Lord George Anson Byron was "the cousin and successor of the poet," 260.

Ka'ahumanu led, bringing her people with her to follow the new word. In an undefined space on the boundary between two cultures, Ka'ahumanu created a role for herself that she would not have been permitted within either culture. As a woman, nonsacred, in her traditional world she had not been allowed involvement in religious matters. Yet her political position as the most influential chief in Hawaiian society induced the missionaries to give her the central role in encouraging Christianity, a role they would never have allowed a woman in their own country.⁶⁶

But Silverman's biography does not give us the full measure of how Ka'ahumanu moved in Hawaiian society because it does not rely on the vast Hawaiian language archive or the ways in which oral culture passed down the unwritten complexities of Native Hawaiian governance. However, it is indisputable, as she says, that the ABCFM missionaries recognized her in "the central role in encouraging Christianity, a role they would never have allowed a woman in their own country." It was a role that the ABCFM patriarchs would not even allow their own New England women, like Harriett Gold, to possess in their missionary efforts.

Ka'ahumanu, ruling with high chief Kalanimoku, as regent for Kamehameha III, grappled with both domestic and international issues which would have a bearing on Hawaiian government policy throughout the reign of Kamehameha III.⁶⁷ To begin, the death of both Liholiho and Kaumuali'i along with increasing foreign pressures for land interposed a challenge to traditional land redistribution when a succeeding king was named. Van Dyke notes, "the Council of Ali'i that met on June 6, 1825, to confirm the young Kamehameha III as Mo'i also accepted the proposal...that [land] should not revert to the new king according to the tradition...but should continue to be held by the chiefs as before and could be passed on to their heirs under the principle of hereditary succession."⁶⁸ It was a critical decision meant to protect

⁶⁶ Silverman, 87.

⁶⁷ Van Dyke, 23; Silverman, 4. Both Kalanimoku and Boki were cousins of Ka'ahumanu, sons of Kekumanoha and his wife, Kamahukilani.

⁶⁸ Van Dyke, 25.

the land from foreign incursion and would play a role as the legislation for the Māhele evolved. What is more, both Ka‘ahumanu and Kalanimoku merged their accumulating knowledge of the Euro-American world with the information the ABCFM missionaries were providing to encourage Hawaiian education and integration of Western ideas. When the remaining diplomatic contingent returned from Britain in 1825, Kamakau recounts,

Boki assured the chiefs that of all the information he had gained in England as to how affairs were operated in that famous nation, the things that impressed him most were the great importance given to the word of God as expressed in the cathedrals and churches of London...and the fact that those who were educated and learned in letters were the important people of the country, compared to whom the common people were like dust under their feet...These remarks of Boki delivered to Ka-‘ahu-manu and Kalanimoku in the presence of the chiefs made an immense impression. They redoubled their efforts in the study of letters and of the word of God.⁶⁹

As the messengers with the written word, the ABCFM continued to work with Hawaiian rulers, and with ali‘i support and approval, the ABCFM generated educational materials on a mass scale which quickly molded new facets in Hawaiian culture.⁷⁰

But while the Hawaiians integrated the new knowledge, religion, and, sometimes, morals of the West, not all Euro-Americans visiting their shores supported this "progress" towards the "enlightened" realm of modern nations. In particular, trouble started when the Hawaiian ali‘i, and Ka‘ahumanu in particular, critically examined the drawbacks of allowing native girls to have sexual liaisons with visiting whalers and merchant seamen.⁷¹ At a time when almost 150 ships a year from several different nations were arriving in the port of Honolulu alone, with more arriving each day and still more at the ports of Lahaina (Maui) and Hilo (Island of Hawai‘i), the

⁶⁹ Kamakau, 273.

⁷⁰ "To the Friends of Civilization and Christianity," Publication of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Island Mission, at Kailua; signed by all the members present from the five stations, October 3, 1826 (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1826).

⁷¹ Kamakau, 273, 280.

removal of these women became a serious issue.⁷² Kamakau notes that although sailors had become accustomed to "pay for women with a piece of cloth, a small mirror, or a pair of shears, beads, a small piece of steel, a plug of tobacco, or a small coin...When [William Richards] taught them that it was wrong and against the will of God to thus prostitute themselves they listened to him and made laws against these practices for the protection of the island."⁷³ Whether seen as traditional "sexual generosity," as historian A.W. Crosby notes, or prostitution, or sexual abuse, the issue was more than a moral one. Many of the Hawaiian commoners were suffering and dying from venereal disease, and even those women who survived were often left infertile.⁷⁴ William Richards and other members of the ABCFM saw the problem as contributing to the demise of the people and, indeed, Ka'ahumanu ultimately resolved it with restrictive legislation.

We have lacked a cogent history of how these events surrounding the movement of women and women's bodies, and their decisions to engage in commerce and / or rejection of foreign pursuers, played out in local, national and international arenas. Historian Noelani Arista, however, has provided the first full-bodied account of how Native Hawaiian governance interpreted the trade and commerce and thus regulated and sought to prevent abuses. In her book, *The Kingdom and the Republic: Sovereign Hawai'i and the Early United States* (2019), she utilizes Hawaiian language documents and illuminates forms of Hawaiian governance that created the k^ān^āwai, or printed laws carried out by the ali'i. Arista explains that "Different languages let us see different historiographies," and with this, historians

need to attempt an integration of the methodological and intellectual practices of both Hawaiian and American histories. And the foundation of this necessary correction to imbalanced power and priorities in our distinct and converging

⁷² "Commercial, Meteorological and Missionary Statistics, Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. From '*The Friend*' for May 1, 1844."

⁷³ Kamakau, 280.

⁷⁴ A.W. Crosby, "Hawaiian Depopulation as a Model for the Amerindian Experience," 535-536.

historiographies is an unwavering insistence upon including disparate worlds of words that met in early nineteenth-century Hawai‘i.⁷⁵

One of the primary ways these “disparate worlds” met was through women, as Arista summarizes, “As increasing numbers of whalers arrived in the islands, sexual encounters between Hawaiian women and foreign men brought the ali‘i, foreign sailors, ship captains, merchants, and American missionaries into serious conflict beginning in 1825, resulting in the pronouncement of legal restrictions (kapu) by the ali‘i that sought to regulate foreigners’ access to Hawaiian women.”⁷⁶ The conflict was not driven by a single occasion, but by many “outrages” as described previously. Just one example was seen with the crew of the *Dolphin*. When the crew of the *Dolphin*, which had been denied access to Hawaiian women, physically threatened William Richards and other missionaries in February 1825, the riot and “Outrage At the Sandwich Islands” was heard from Indian Country to New England. The presence of the ABCFM and their close proximity to the ruling chiefs and chiefesses made it more difficult for Euro-American men to insist upon their “right” to Hawaiian women, and presumably, their claim for the “right” to the gifts of the Kingdom. Euro-American merchants contended that the ABCFM was manipulating the government, and exercising its undue influence. The ABCFM published pamphlets in the United States, denying its exaggerated role, declaring, “When we have been requested by the chiefs or people to give instruction or advice, we have uniformly and perseveringly withheld it on all points where we could not refer the decision of the question either to scriptures, or to the uniform practice of christian nations.” Furthermore, the officials defended their missions among both Native Americans and the Native Hawaiians, explaining,

If these doctrines and duties, when faithfully taught, by precept and example, have no good influence...we may challenge the wisdom of the world to devise a

⁷⁵ Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic*, 8.

⁷⁶ Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic*, 9.

system of morals, and to propose any practicable measures, which will raise a savage tribe or a heathen nation from their native depravity, to a state of civilization and virtuous life.⁷⁷

In supporting its purpose, the ABCFM reiterated those dictates outlined in the 1819 Civilization Fund. William Richards, in the manner of Jeremiah Evarts, sent letters describing the events to New England newspapers to illustrate that the ABCFM was in fact defending “American” values and the right of “enlightened” native governments to rule autonomously. He included Ka‘ahumanu's response to the captain deemed responsible for the riot, noting Ka‘ahumanu said to him, “We have turned to the Lord, and we wish all our people to do the same--for this reason, we have laid the law.--We make no law for you, nor for your men, nor for your women--it is for our own females we have made the law.”⁷⁸ As leader, Ka'ahumanu intended to shield her nation, while putting to her own use the tactics and tools of her aggressors.⁷⁹

Noelani Arista provides even richer context for the actions of Ka‘ahumanu, which were made not by her dictate alone, but in the context of Native Hawaiian traditions of governance. In particular, Arista explores the relationships between the ali‘i nui and the ways that Ka‘ahumanu and Kālaimoku (or Kalanimoku) led as co-regents, making decisions in concert with the high

⁷⁷ “To the Friends of Civilization and Christianity,” Publication of the General Meeting of the Sandwich Island Mission, at Kailua; signed by all the members present from the five stations, October 3, 1826 (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1826).

⁷⁸ *New-Bedford Mercury*, January 5, 1827. Available from www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu; Internet. Accessed 2 March 2011. Note: The date on the first page of the paper is incorrectly listed as January 5, 1826. As is evidenced from the content and reference to “Abstract Of A Meteorological Journal Kept In This Town For The Year 1826,” on the front page, the correct date should be January 5, 1827. This is confirmed by comparison to journals describing the event (Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands; or the Civil, Religious, and Political History of Those Islands: Comprising A Particular View of the Missionary Operations Connected with the Introduction and Progress of Christianity and Civilization Among the Hawaiian People*), and other newspapers which carried the article such as the *Salem Gazette*, December 26, 1826, and the *Norwich Courier*, January 3, 1827. Note also, the online cataloging of this issue of the *New-Bedford Mercury* is incorrectly listed on www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu. It is listed under the newspapers for 1826; there is an additional hand-corrected edition listed under the year 1827.

⁷⁹ About this time, Ka'ahumanu was also baptized by William Richards. She adopted a Christian name, choosing “Elisabeta,” perhaps in emulation of “Elizabeth of England, the strongest and most illustrious of queens,” Silverman, 97.

chief brothers of Ka‘ahumanu, Kuakini and Kahekili Ke‘eaumoku.⁸⁰ Perhaps even more crucially, Arista’s work allows us to see how communications between the ali‘i, the ABCFM missionaries in Hawai‘i and in the U.S. and Indian territory all intersected. Of the “outrages” she explains,

The observations of Rev. Richards provide important insight into the furor over the 1825 kapu: “I frequently saw and conversed with Kalaimoku and Kaahumanu who were the acknowledged and I believe regularly appointed Regents of the island during the minority of the King [Kamehameha III]. During the first few weeks after my arrival [on O‘ahu] I often heard them speak of a tabu or prohibition on females visiting ships for the purpose of prostitution. They usually spoke of it as ke tabu, or the tabu. I frequently heard them speak of the anger of the foreign residents and visitants on account of this tabu.” Richards’ comment shows that the two highest chiefs in the islands, Ka‘ahumanu and Kālainmoku, deliberated frequently about the kapu on women.⁸¹

Richards’ comments and written documentation also reveal how he himself was “ear witness,” as she describes, to the events and negotiations between the ali‘i, their people and their foreign visitors. Most importantly, her review of the documents from the period show that Richards was communicating these impositions by foreign men to Jeremiah Evarts at the very same time Evarts himself was vociferously fighting Cherokee Removal along with Elias Boudinot. To all parties involved, the expectant taking and possessing of women’s bodies seemed an assault on autonomy that extended from the private to public to political realms.

Throughout this period, while missionary labors expanded to include schools and an enhanced effort to produce books in Hawaiian, the rulers continued to contour governance, integrating the ways of “enlightened” nations. Even as Jeremiah Evarts was campaigning to

⁸⁰ Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic*, 42-43.

⁸¹ Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic*, 169 quoting a letter from William Richards to Jeremiah Evarts, August 14, 1829, ABCFM – Hawai‘i Papers.

protect the Cherokee in the States, Ka‘ahumanu wrote to him reaffirming that Hawai‘i, had arisen "to an elevated state of Christian civilization."⁸² She wrote,

My affectionate regards to you, Mr. Evarts, and to all our kindred in that country, on account of the great blessing you have sent us--the light--the Word of God. We have given our hearts to God. We rejoice in the great salvation. Have ye good will towards us, and pray ye to God for us, that we may all stand firm together, as one in the following of Jesus Christ; that you and we may all be saved by the Messiah, the Redeemer.⁸³

In reply, Evarts sent another company of missionaries, teachers, maps of America, and encouraged the strengthening of the Hawaiian nation through knowledge. But, Ka‘ahumanu corresponded with others and received news of the world not only from foreigners, but from Native Hawaiian representatives possibly sent out at her direction.

One particular letter in the Hawai‘i State Archives shows the reach and linguistic skills of those agents in its use of both written Hawaiian and French languages. The letter has been attributed to the year 1826, described as "a letter from a native Hawaiian educated and baptised in France to Elizabeth [Elizabeta] Ka‘ahumanu, letting her know French missionaries were going to the Islands...and advising the expulsion of the English or American missionaries." The letter, partially translated in the archives, begins, in Hawaiian,

To Elisabeth Kaahumanu,

Salutation to you: Here is what I have to say to you; I declare to you my advice that you thank god of salvation, god made us and no other; god had led me to this land afar off; I am learning a foreign language and know the meaning of the word of god...⁸⁴

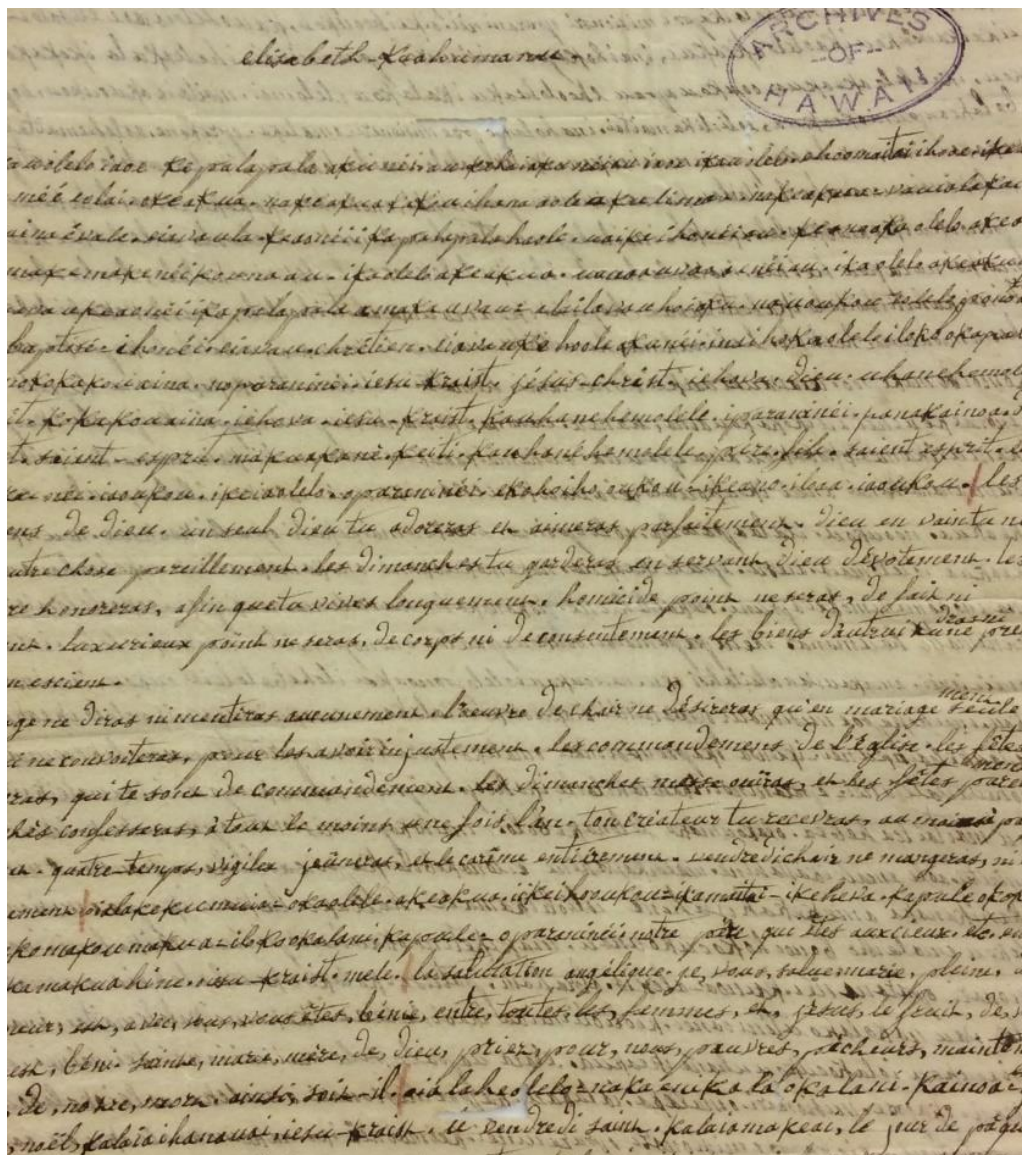
But immediately after the salutation in Hawaiian, the letter switches to French language and the author goes on to describe the tenets of French Catholic faith. The author is making an important

⁸² *Missionary Album*, 10-11.

⁸³ Quoted in Bingham, 324.

⁸⁴ "Letter to Elisabeth Kaahumanu from Marie-Joseph Kenui /Kanui," 1826. Hawai‘i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-19 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1826: n.m.

comparison between the ABCFM missionaries (who had a deeper connection and relationship to the Hawaiian ali'i) and the alternatives in Catholicism. Switching back to Hawaiian language, the author explains "This is the foundation, the word of God that you may see the good of it; the wrong of the religion of our country." The letter continues for more than two pages, alternating between Hawaiian language and French language. The letter ends very specifically in Hawaiian, saying "nau e kaahumanu ketii palapala" which can translate as "to you" or even "to you alone Ka'ahumanu, the ali'i of the palapala" – the ali'i of the written word.



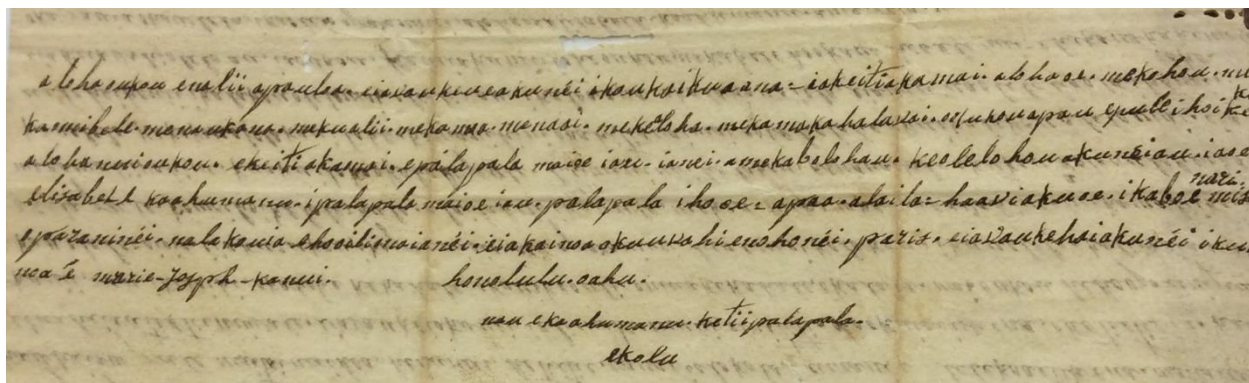


Figure 6. "Letter to Elisabeth Kaahumanu from Marie-Joseph Kenui /Kanui," 1826. Hawai'i State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-2-19 Chronological File, 1790-1849, 1826: n.m.

The letter appears to originate from Paris as written by Marie-Joseph-Kanui but it is not clear if this is the same William Kanui who had traveled back to Hawai'i from New England with the first Sandwich Islands mission in 1819. Historian David Chang notes in his book that Kenui / Kanui was once a laborer and "from what we can tell from the little there is written about them in English or Hawaiian, seem not to have had any particular religious training."⁸⁵ But if this letter is in fact from William Kanui, it tells multiple stories for Kanui was known to have had a falling out with the ABCFM missionaries after his return to Hawai'i. He may have traveled abroad and learned an additional language and perhaps additional tenets of Catholic religion to inform Ka'ahumanu. This single letter can only suggest some kind of training and reporting, and even more importantly that the written Hawaiian language was firmly in place by 1826. But it is also important because the letter was written in both languages which means that either Ka'ahumanu could read in both languages or she could "hear" in both languages when read to her. There is no other reason to write in both unless the author was trying to display or convey information in both languages.

⁸⁵ Chang, 91.

It further suggests that there are perhaps many letters and communications to and from Europe, the U.S. and Latin America that historians have yet to discover written from or on behalf of the Hawaiian ali'i of the early nineteenth century. By 1829, at the age of just sixteen, Kamehameha III was also communicating with the world and specifically he was communicating directly with authorities in America. Upon receiving gifts of a map and globe from the President of the United States, and an "official letter which [stated] that the character and object of the missionaries are acknowledged," Kauikeaouli expressed his desire that any conflicts regarding the Sandwich Islands, especially those involving the affairs of merchant crews, be resolved.⁸⁶ In language mirroring that of earlier appeals by American Indian leaders, he attested,

I now believe that your thoughts and ours are alike, both those countries and these countries, and all large countries. We are the children--the little islands far off in this tropical climate...I do now hope there will be a perfect agreement between you and us--as to the rights and duties of both of our governments, that the peace now subsisting between us may be perpetual, that the seat of our prosperity may be broad, and our union of heart in things that are right such, that the highways of the ocean may not diverge, because there is a oneness of sentiment in our hearts, with those distant countries, these islands, and all lands...Look ye on us with charity; we have formerly been extremely dark-minded, and ignorant of the usages of enlightened countries. You are the source of intelligence and light. This is the origin of our minds being a little enlightened--the arrival here of the word of God. This is the foundation of a little mental improvement which we have recently made, that we come to know a little of what is right, and of the customs of civilized nations.⁸⁷

The young king's appeal arrived in the spring of 1830, coincidentally just as President Andrew Jackson was signing the Removal Act of 1830, the Cherokee legislation that forever dispossessed and displaced that nation.

⁸⁶ *Pittsfield Sun*, February 5, 1829.

⁸⁷ Quoted in C.S. Stewart. *A Visit to the South Seas, in the U.S. Ship Vincennes, During the Years 1829 and 1830* (New York: John P. Haven, Sleigh & Robinson, printers, 1831), 264-266; Bingham, 359 -360.

As ABCFM members like Jeremiah Evarts and Samuel Austin Worcester continued to crusade for Cherokee rights in the States, Sandwich Island missionary William Richards continued his campaign to educate both ali'i and maka'āinana in Christian ideals. In the first fifteen years of his stay in the islands, he translated fourteen books of the Bible, and collaborated with another ABCFM missionary, Lorrin Andrews on six others.⁸⁸ What is more, he authored the *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands*, in English, which was published in 1825 and distributed in the United States and England. The book was meant to help support the efforts of the ABCFM and demonstrate how "Keopuolani [was] a favorable specimen of what may be made of the native character, under the influence of the Gospel."⁸⁹ From his post at one of the busiest whaling ports, Lahaina, Maui, Richards also began translating secular works including a geography textbook in 1832, John Lee Comstock's *Natural History of Quadrupeds* (1834), and Francis Wayland's *The Elements of Political Economy* in 1837.⁹⁰ He had developed a mastery of the Hawaiian language and was known to consult with the highest chiefs to clarify his understanding of Hawaiian history, customs, and culture.⁹¹ Samuel Kamakau notes that he was referred to as a "father" and was trusted and chosen by the Hawaiian leaders "to teach the chiefs to understand the ways in which other races of men lived."⁹²

⁸⁸ Williston, 63.

⁸⁹ William Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands*. (Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1825), 52.

⁹⁰ A list of both William Richards' works is available from the University of Hawai'i Library online database, *Hawai'i Voyager*, at <http://uhmanoa.lib.hawaii.edu>. The geography textbook he co-authored with Samuel Whitney, (*He Hoikehonua: He Mea Ia A Hoakaka'i I Ke Ano O Ka Honua Nei, A Me Na Mea Maiuna Iho*), is listed in the library database as having been derived from the "English language geographies of Woodbridge, Worcester, Morse, Malte-Brun, Morse's Gazetteer, Encyclopedia Americana, Edinburgh encyclopedia, Lampiere's Classical dictionary, History of the United States, History of England, Naval chronicle, American almanac, History of Boston, and Missionary Herald."

⁹¹ Marshall Sahlins and Dorothy Barrere, eds. "William Richards on Hawaiian Culture and Political Conditions of the Islands in 1841." *Hawaiian Journal of History* 7 (1973), 18; Kamakau, 354.

⁹² Kamakau, 273, 280, 345.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, until his death in 1847, William Richards served as a religious authority, educational mentor, and finally, political advisor to the rulers of Hawai'i. Though he was a product of the Second Great Awakening, guided by his religious convictions and reformist visions, he had a prescient understanding of the battle that was coming to the Hawaiian nation as European and American imperialists besieged indigenous people. What is more, he was acutely aware that the work of the ABCFM in the Sandwich Islands was being monitored around the world. In an 1832 letter to Rufus Anderson, the succeeding Secretary of the ABCFM after Evarts death, he acknowledged,

It certainly is a fact, at which we are now alarmed, that the good people of America & England have an idea that the people of the Sandwich Islands are much farther advanced in civilization and christianity than they really are. We fear the reaction, which must be felt, when the christian community know the truth, especially if they learn it through our enemies. We must therefore strive to correct the error ourselves. There is in reality so much accomplished that I do not fear to risk the reputation of missions, on a candid statement of facts as they really exist at the Sandwich islands...You are, from your own personal observations doubtless well aware of the great difficulty of giving the public a correct view of heathen people...The grand difficulty seems to be, that the difference between a Barbarous heathen, and a civilized christian is far greater than any person can conceive who has not actual knowledge on the subject.⁹³

Nevertheless, both Richards and Bingham were quick to defend the Hawaiians in the press.

When travelers' accounts in the early 1830s purported that "civilization was retrograding in these Islands," the ABCFM responded noting that "The Sabbath is better observed than in the United States," and "As to Temperance...the Sandwich Islands may well put to the blush the people of the United States."⁹⁴ Similarly, the missionaries understood that reports which denigrated native people and vilified the motives of the ABCFM "seemed to warrant a great nation to abolish the

⁹³ William Richards to Rufus Anderson, December 7, 1832. Bishop Museum Archives, MS Group 23, Box 4.2, Aug. 30, 1823 - July 3, 1837.

⁹⁴ *New York Mercury*, October 24, 1832.

native government, and dispossess, enslave, or drive into the sea, the aborigines. It is well for all parties that the influence of American missionaries, ever friendly to the continued independence of that nation, stood in the way of such aggression, though they had neither sword, nor spear, nor cannon, to resist it."⁹⁵

The one weapon the missionaries did have, and which Richards wielded with particular proficiency, was information. He was especially devoted to the cause of education as a tool to "civilize" native people. His exertions had enduring effects, as noted in an early biography by his grandson, Samuel Williston, Dane Professor in Law at Harvard University. Williston recounts, "In 1831 an industrial school was started near Lahaina and called Lahainaluna Seminary. No such school then existed in the United States. General Samuel C. Armstrong, the son of the Rev. Richard Armstrong who succeeded to the post of Minister of Instruction in the Islands on the death of Mr. Richards, has acknowledged that the system introduced at Lahainaluna was the model upon which he formed Hampton Institute in Virginia for the education of negroes and Indians."⁹⁶ Richards wished for his own offspring to be educated in New England however. When he made a trip to the States in December 1837 with six of his eight children, "in order to establish them there with relatives or friends," he was asked by the Hawaiian government "to induce...a lawyer of experience and standing to return with him and act as legal adviser."⁹⁷ When no suitable candidate could be secured, Richards himself became a de facto adviser to the young king, Kamehameha III, who had begun to rule in his own right after the death of Kamehameha II in June 1824. Richards wrote home in August, 1838,

After considering the subject for several weeks and discussing the subject thoroughly with the King and chiefs, I at length accepted the appointment and act as 'Chaplain, Teacher, and Translator' for the King. They also expect from me

⁹⁵ Bingham, 446.

⁹⁶ Williston, 25-26.

⁹⁷ Williston, 46-48.

free suggestions on every subject connected with the government and on their duties as rulers of the nation, and in all important cases I am to be not only translator, but must act as interpreter for the King.⁹⁸

Although Richards was required to leave the service of the ABCFM upon taking a position in the government, he continued his educational efforts among the ali'i. Kamakau notes,

Upon his appointment as instructor to the king Mr. Richards at once started a school of political economy among the chiefs and favorites of the king. He translated the writings on political economy of the ministers of the interior and the experts of France, Great Britain, and America, those of Washington, Newton, and a number of persons expert in increasing the wealth of a country, in determining in what the wealth of each country consists, the principles of wealth, and how the animate things like fire, wind, water, and lightning, may become the servants of man through the application of skill and knowledge...Whatever else he undertook he never ceased teaching the principles of government to the king. By means of these lessons in political economy with the chiefs he was educating them to confer together as leaders of other governments did...Thus the minds of the chiefs became enlightened.⁹⁹

If Richards had expressed private reservations about the progress of the Hawaiians in 1832, by 1838 as advisor to the crown, he had found a way to impress upon the rulers that "Christian civilization" was more than a spiritual and moral transformation; he now conveyed the urgency of integrating the political and economic constructions of the West.

But the West also paid critical attention to the power structures unfolding in Hawai'i because their own economic and political structures depended upon it. Interestingly enough, the life and death of Ka'ahumanu was known on a global scale, with descriptions appearing not only in American newspapers, but those throughout Europe. In one Vienna paper, dated August 13, 1833, it is noted in German, "on the 27 June 1831, the widow of Tamehamehas, the King and legislature of the Sandwich Islands, was reported the death of Ka'ahumanu...known because of

⁹⁸ As quoted in Williston, 49.

⁹⁹ Kamakau, 343-344.

her zeal for the Christian teaching and the dissemination throughout the Islands of the Sandwich archipelago.”¹⁰⁰ Her name was as famous as that of Tamaahmaah (Kamehameha) because of her co-leadership and as one earlier documentor noted prior to the death of Liholiho (Kamehameha II), “The King has but little command, Pitt and Carimano [Ka‘ahumanu] do most of the business.”¹⁰¹ Noelani Arista reiterates this correspondance from John C. Jones, a trading agent, indicating in another letter of October 5, 1821, “Carhamano [Ka‘ahumanu] is at the leeward part of the island. She and Pit are the only persons we put any dependence on they have some sense of propriety and integrity.”¹⁰² Thus, Ka‘ahumanu’s presence was a pervasive guiding force, not only in her capacity as the wife of Kamehameha I. Boarding ships, listening to negotiations and managing decisions among the ali‘i, she was perhaps the most influential woman in the Pacific in the decade from 1819 to her death in 1831. She was connected to a powerful genealogy that reached across the islands and served as an example to the kuhina nui who would follow her: Kina‘u and Kekāuluohi.

Still, for the Euro-American world, power lay in the possession of land; social systems that maintained a communal form of land tenure and power structure were considered antithetical to the emerging dominance of capitalist ideology and "progress." Though native people in the U.S., such as the Cherokee, had adopted the political structures and religious convictions which should have deemed them "civilized" by Western standards, they had not wholly abandoned concepts of common property, even as they were dispossessed of their traditional homelands and moved into Indian territory. The ABCFM missionaries perceived that

¹⁰⁰ *Wiener Theater-Zeitung*, 1833. Vienna, August 13 1833, p.3 Available from [http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/newspapers/issue/Wiener Theater-Zeitung / 1833/8/13](http://www.theeuropeanlibrary.org/tel4/newspapers/issue/Wiener%20Theater-Zeitung%201833/8/13); Internet. Accessed 20 February 2019

¹⁰¹ S.E. Morrison, p, 186 quoting a letter from John Coffin Jones, Jr. to Marshall & Wildes, July 6th, 1821.

¹⁰² Arista, *The Kingdom and the Republic*, 42 quoting from letter from John C. Jones to Josiah Marshall and Dixey Wildes, October 5, 1821, MS AmW 63. Also noted in S.E. Morrison, 190.

the Hawaiians, too, would need to adopt the political and economic constructions of the West if they were to be distinguished in the "difference between a Barbarous heathen, and a civilized christian."¹⁰³ Even before his government appointment, Richards grappled with this issue when Hawaiian rulers were compared to feudal lords and ABCFM missionaries were attacked as having native "slaves" tend their land. In an 1835 letter to Rufus Anderson he commented, "The system of government, as you are already aware, is a most defective, and at the same time, a very oppressive one. How it can be altered is a great question. It would be unsafe to offer the lands for sale, & yet it is very desirable that those who cultivate the soil should own it."¹⁰⁴ By the end of 1836, the ABCFM had begun to discuss publicly their concern, issuing a "memorial on the importance of increased efforts to cultivate the useful arts among the Hawaiian people."¹⁰⁵ Though they denied their involvement in the "party politics and commercial interests of the people," the ABCFM invoked the principles set forth by the 1819 Civilization Fund, appealing for additional support to instruct the Hawaiians how to "employ their powers economically, and exercise an intelligent regard to their own private rights."¹⁰⁶ While a report on Hawai'i in the *Missionary Herald* of September 1836 urged Christian readers, "we must not be much grieved if we see his professed people indifferent on the subject of amassing wealth," it also described the progress the mission was making on the "Protection of Property and Personal Rights" in the islands, expressing full confidence in its continued success.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³ William Richards to Rufus Anderson, December 7, 1832. Bishop Museum Archives, MS Group 23, Box 4.2, Aug. 30, 1823 - July 3, 1837.

¹⁰⁴ William Richards to Rufus Anderson, August 7, 1835. Bishop Museum Archives, MS Group 23, Box 4.2, Aug. 30, 1823 - July 3, 1837.

¹⁰⁵ Bingham, 490.

¹⁰⁶ Bingham, 491-495.

¹⁰⁷ *Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: With a General View of Other Benevolent Operations. For the Year 1837, Vol. XXXIII.* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1837), 353-360.

Still, indigenous lands and the opportunities “on the subject of amassing wealth,” were the focal point of imperialist nations in the nineteenth century, including most especially the United States. Just as European nations had vied for land in North America in the 17th to 18th centuries, the Pacific now became an intensified venue of competition. This is why, also, European newspapers made sure to report on any changes of leadership so that ambitious merchants and diplomats might know exactly who they were dealing with and perhaps which ali‘i women, (or those who might be barriers), were now absent. In 1839 and again in 1843, the Hawaiian rulers were challenged first by French, and then by British subjects, who attempted to manipulate Hawaiian legislation to their own terms. Though Kamehameha III had already proclaimed in the 1835 "Laws of the Sandwich Islands" prohibitions against murder, theft, "illicit connec-tions," prostitution, deception, and drunkenness, not all Europeans and Americans in the Sandwich Islands felt obligated to adhere to the rules of the Kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Moreover, because foreigners could not own land and, as Stuart Banner points out, "the greatest concession the government would make was to permit leases for periods as long as 50 years," both Europeans and Americans in the islands promoted their interests and pushed for legislation which would secure their investments.¹⁰⁹ To address those issues, the Hawaiian ali‘i with the help of adviser William Richards drafted *The Declaration of Rights* in June 1839. This document became known as Hawai‘i's first Bill of Rights, or Hawai'i's Magna Carta.¹¹⁰ In his compilation, "Roster

¹⁰⁸ "Laws of the Sandwich Islands, by Kauikeaouli, the King. Legislature 1835." Available from *Ka Huli Ao* Digital Archives, Punawaiola.org, *Ka Huli Ao* Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i, Manoa at <http://punawaiola.org/>; Internet. Accessed 9 March 2011.

¹⁰⁹ Banner, 285; See also Neil M. Levy, "Native Hawaiian Land Rights," *California Law Review* 63.4 (July, 1975), 852.

¹¹⁰ Silverman, 53; Robert C. Lydecker, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii: 1841-1918: Constitutions of Monarchy and Republic Speeches of Sovereigns and President*. Compiled from the official records by Robert C. Lydecker, Librarian, Public Archives (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd. 1918), 4.

Legislatures of Hawaii, 1841-1918," Robert C. Lydecker points out that *The Declaration of Rights* "was the forerunner of the First Constitution, though it might be so designated itself, promulgated October 6, 1840, portions of which were incorporated into that document."¹¹¹ It seemed to follow the strategy of the Cherokee Nation, which formulated its first constitution in 1827 in response to the aggressions of Georgia, and ultimately, the United States' federal government. But the Hawaiian ali'i went beyond what any Western nation had conceived in the nineteenth century when creating their Constitution.

¹¹¹ Lydecker, 4.

CHAPTER FOUR

Kuhina Nui - Contemplating Kekāuluohi

Despite the written traditions of Euro-American histories which have provided us with narrative upon narrative of the great achievements of male explorers, male leaders and warriors, despicable male scoundrels and redeeming male clergy, the Indigenous, Atlantic, and Pacific worlds converged through actions, mediations, and hierarchies of women. This is especially true when looking at the ways that indigenous women changed their worlds, negotiated peace rather than war, and literally gave birth to new nations and their constructs. We have yet to fully explore and emphasize the role of women, and even when we do, we often concentrate on one heroic woman to the exclusion of many others. For example, we tell the story of the enslaved and redeemed Doña Marina, also known as “La Malinche,” emphasizing her role as translator to Hernán Cortés in *his* conquest of Mexico in 1519. Cortés simply referred to her as “la lengua...que es una India desta tierra...the tongue, the translator...who is an Indian woman of this land.”¹ We reduce her adroit use of Mayan, Nahuatl, and perhaps other Indian languages in addition to her learning of Spanish. What is more we overlook the other nineteen women who were offered as gifts to Cortés – women who were more valuable than gold because they were the face of mediation in the long walk to Tenochtitlán.² In a similar manner, our histories have painted the famed Shoshone woman, Sacajawea as a *part* of the Lewis and Clark Expedition --

¹ Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors*, "To The Valley of Mexico: Dona Marina, 'La Malinche,'" (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994):1-23.

² Hernán Cortés, *Letters from Mexico*. Translated, Edited and with a New Introduction by Anthony Pagden, with an Introductory Essay by J.H. Elliott (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986); *Women in World History*, "Doña Marina, Cortés' Translator," Primary Sources: Letter, Hernán Cortés. Available from <http://chnm.gmu.edu/wh/modules/lesson6/lesson6.php?s=1>; Internet. Accessed 19 March 2019; Bernal Díaz del Castillo, Bernal. *True History of the Conquest of New Spain*. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by Janet Burke and Ted Humphrey (Indianapolis/Cambridge: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2012); Anna Layton, *Malinche's Conquest* (Crows Nest NSW, Australia: Allen & Unwin, 1999).

an extraordinary woman in an extraordinary time. In fact, like the indigenous Malinche, Sacajawea was also sold as a slave, married off to a French fur trader and in the process learned multiple languages. Her ability to communicate across cultures and her utter determination saved not only her own life and the life of her child, but moreover, saved the lives of the entire expedition, leading them through indigenous territories where Euro-Americans did not belong and were not welcome. Her image was later used as a symbol in the first wave of American feminism, but she is ironically portrayed today on an American coin with the word “Liberty” scrawled above her head. Yet, she herself was never fully free in her lifetime; instead she was, as historian David Chappell might describe, a “double ghost,” moving in the limen between worlds and bringing others together.³ Her decision to persevere is what changed outcomes. These women, like the humble Harriett Gold who proclaimed to live “with the husband of my choice,” mark the moments of change, the turn in the journey, the upending or reconfiguration of power relations, though they often get overlooked as the deciders of fates. Still, history, nations, and futures are created in the decisions of women.⁴

In the case of Hawai‘i, it is impossible to overlook or underestimate the power of women ali‘i, the chiefesses and kuhina nui, who steered the direction of the Kingdom in the mid-nineteenth century. Between 1820 and 1848, the Hawaiian Kingdom underwent perhaps the most massive political, economic, and social changes of any independent nation of its time.

³ David A. Chappell, *Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

⁴ Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors*, ““Over the Continental Divide: Sacajawea (ca. 1790-1812 or 1884)” (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994):23-44; Wanda Pillow, “Searching for Sacajawea: Whitened Reproductions and Endarkened Representations,” *Hypatia* 22.2 (Spring, 2007): 1-19. There are numerous articles about Sacajawea in American newspapers in the early twentieth century on the eve of the women’s right to vote. A few samples are “An Indian Heroine: Shoshone Woman Receives Recognition,” *Perth Amboy Evening News*, Perth Amboy, N.J., June 23, 1905, p. 11; Emerson Hough, “The Magnificent Adventure: A Romance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” *Courier-Democrat*, Langdon, North Dakota, July 5, 1917, p. 7.

Starting in 1820, when the ancestral religions were tempered and the ABCFM first arrived, the Hawaiian monarchy changed the national religion and transformed an oral culture to a literate one across 90 percent of the population. Moreover, the rulers continued to integrate Western capitalist ideology into their economy and incorporated the talents of Native Hawaiian, European, and American “statesmen” and women to restructure and reinforce a political system that would stand out among the Euro-American global reach of the mid-nineteenth century. Taking proactive measures, the Hawaiian monarchy cleverly and carefully utilized the information at its disposal to protect the sovereignty of Hawai‘i in the face of stronger and more aggressive nations. From the first diplomatic travels of Liholiho, King Kamehameha II, in 1823, to the extraordinary leadership of Queen Ka‘ahumanu amid a Eurocentric, male-dominated world, to the political cultivation and maturity of Kūikeyouli, Kamehameha III along with the female kuhina nui Kekāuluohi, the Hawaiian rulers revolutionized their world, all in the span of one generation. They not only recognized Hawai‘i’s power in the new global economy, they engaged converging worlds to ultimately determine the destinies of other nations. Moreover, through their connection with the ABCFM, they clearly understood how Europeans and Americans perceived native people, and the ali‘i calculated that to be seen as "civilized" and "enlightened" among these *outside* nations would enhance their political capital. Although they faced severe population loss, military intimidation, and annexation threats, before the government implemented the greatest redistribution of lands in the 1848 Māhele, the Hawaiian rulers additionally heeded the lessons of Native American nations, and sought both to appropriate and accommodate the diplomatic tools of the West in concert with Native Hawaiian governance to remain autonomous.

In 1840 the Hawaiian government had committed what might be considered a revolutionary act in the Western world: they included women among the "founding fathers" of their Constitution. In particular, the Hawaiian Constitution of 1840 listed under the section designated as "No ke Kuhina nui o ke Aupuni," ("Respecting the Premier of the Kingdom"), the position of premier and pointed to the historical office held by women such as Ka'ahumanu I and Ka'ahumanu II (Kina'u) as a model for successive generations. Miriam Kekāuluohi would be the first kuhina nui to serve under the precepts of the new Constitution, and though her reach was extensive throughout the Hawaiian Kingdom, she is scarcely written about in the annals of mainstream history. Yet, even prior to the drafting of the Constitution, Kekāuluohi's presence was palpable, *equal* to that of King Kamehameha III. In June of 1839, Kamehameha III (or Kaiuikēaouli) affirmed the power of the kuhina nui with the following decree:

Eia kekahi, o na palapala, a me na aie a pau, i kapaia no ke aupuni, ma keia hope aku, a i kau ole kuu inoa, a me ko Miriama Kekauluohi malalo o ia palapala, aole ia mau palapala no ke aupuni.

Furthermore, no documents nor notes, referable to government, after this date, which not my own signature, and also that of Miriam Kekauluohi at the bottom of said writing will be acknowledged as government papers.⁵

That decree announced a much more public life for the forty-five year old Kekāuluohi, who would soon be known as Ka'ahumanu III, a female premier with unparalleled authority amid the Western patriarchal diplomats arriving on her shores.

⁵ "Proclamation re: Kekauluohi signed by Kamehameha III," June 8, 1839. Hawaii State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-5-101 Chronological File 1790-1845, 1839: June. I have cited the translation included on the printed document, however I have included the translation for "*na aie*" in my own translation: " Moreover / Furthermore, of the documents and all of *the debts* for the government, (and) of the extensions of the government, after this that have not my name with Miriam Kekauluohi beneath on the document, are not the documents of the government (ie: are not valid)."

As previously noted, we have limited historical analysis about the mid-nineteenth century women aliʻi of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Scarcer still is the history of Miriam Kekāuluohi, a premier who held the same power as King Kamehameha III when a Western presence was rapidly changing the shape of Hawaiian governance. In the last thirty years, while scholarship emanating from Hawaiʻi has begun to address the paucity and often misrepresented history of the islands, traditional American histories have continued to neglect the role that women and indigenous people played in the development of the United States. But, as we expand our historical analysis of evidence and turn our gaze to women as historical agents, we increasingly find that the experiences and strategies of indigenous women in particular brought together political and social networks, created new discourse networks, and spoke from places of both power and oppression. Kekāuluohi played such a part, performing a critical role in the governance of the islands. She mediated between traditional Hawaiian hierarchies and newly adopted Western styles of government, and simultaneously helped to navigate a future for Hawaiian sovereignty amidst challenges made by mid-nineteenth century global contenders.

However, before we can begin to contemplate Kekāuluohi, we need to *kiʻi* the resources which speak about Kekāuluohi. The Hawaiian word *kiʻi* is exemplary of many Hawaiian words in that it operates in multiple capacities in written and spoken language. *Kiʻi* can be a transitive verb meaning "to fetch, get, procure, send for, go after, summon, attack; to seek for sexual ends," or as in *hoʻokʻi*: "to send, have sent for; to take away." It can also act as a noun describing an "image, statue, picture, photograph, drawing, illustration, likeness."⁶ In the Andrews Hawaiian-

⁶ Examples of definitions from *Nā Puke Wehewehe ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi*; Hawaiian Dictionary. Available from www.ulukau.org

English dictionary of 1865, it can also mean "to mourn, to suffer."⁷ A cursory examination of just *one* word in Hawaiian language illuminates the complexities inherent in Hawaiian historical research and the richness promised in the discoveries. To retrieve Kekāuluohi's presence from the archives requires looking at both Hawaiian language documents and English language documents and taking into account that as historians retrieve, they also create a picture, an image through a lens of evidence and understanding of what that evidence suggests. Studying Hawaiian history of the early and mid-nineteenth century is a study of intersections writ large; it demands a reassessment of historical assumptions and expectations and a turn away from methodology which is limited to what Puakea Nogelmeier has called a "discourse of sufficiency."⁸ Rather than rely on materials solely written in English or those translated more than a hundred years ago from Hawaiian into English, Nogelmeier calls on "the need to expand the written canon to include the much broader range of Hawaiian materials."⁹ Nogelmeier further points out that,

Surveys of national repositories in the United States indicate that the archive of Hawaiian writings is greater than the sum of written material produced by all Native American societies during the 19th and early 20th centuries...The discourse of sufficiency masks both the magnitude of the repository and the importance of the resources therein.¹⁰

Thus, in searching for Kekāuluohi, multiple pictures begin to develop, tracing how gender and indigeneity operated within Hawaiian and Euro-American interactions of the mid-nineteenth century.

⁷ Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language, to which is appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary and a chronological table of remarkable events* (Honolulu: Henry M. Whitney, 1865). Available from *Nā Puke Wehewehe 'Ōlelo Hawai'i*; Hawaiian Dictionary at www.ulukau.org.

⁸ Puakea M. Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa 'a I Ka Leo: Historical Voice in Hawaiian Primary Materials, Looking Forward and Listening Back* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 2010), 1.

⁹ Nogelmeier, 21.

¹⁰ Nogelmeier, 59.

What is more, it is simply not enough to read archival documents; we must also *listen* to both historical voices and historical silences. In Noelani Arista's article, "Listening to Leoiki: Engaging Sources in Hawaiian History," she tells the story of Leoiki, "one of many Hawaiian women sold or traded to foreign sailors and ship captains," in the early nineteenth century. Arista explains, even Leoiki's name tells a story, meaning "little voice." She notes, "We are not going to find Leoiki's *little voice* if we look in all the usual places. And yet, though she declined to provide sworn statement, Leoiki 'recorded' her testimony in the fine Hawaiian tradition of naming her child," for in Hawaiian, "names can also acts mnemonic devices for the remembrance of stories and particular events." The long tradition of Hawaiian oral narrative, history, song, and culture was not diminished or confined when New England missionaries helped to create the written language; it was, in fact, amplified. Just as Arista indicates that "each time [Leoiki's] son's name was spoken, each time he was praised, reprimanded, or called to, the community was reminded of Leoiki's story," so too, were the stories, the mele (songs, chants), decrees, and intents of the Hawaiian kingdom recorded to reverberate long after their commitment to a printed document.¹¹ What is more, Arista explains in "Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method," that "songs and chants had a kaona, or 'inner meaning.'" Quoting Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, Arista describes, "The inner meaning was sometimes so veiled that only the people to whom the chant belonged understood it, and sometimes so obvious that anyone who knew the figurative speech of old Hawaii could see it very plainly."¹² Thus, contemplating Kekāuluohi requires an active

¹¹ Noelani Arista, "Listening to Leoiki: Engaging Sources in Hawaiian History." *Biography* 32.1 (Winter 2009), 69-70.

¹² Noelani Arista, "Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method," *PMLA* (May 2011), 665; Pukui, Mary Kawena, "Songs (Meles) of Old Ka'u, Hawaii," *Journal of American Folklore* (Jul.-Sept., 1949), 247.

listening and a sounding, a recitation, of the Hawaiian words written and repeated about her to bring her presence into focus. Even Kekāuluohi's other name, Auhea, describes her role and gives direction, for it is an idiom that can also mean "Listen!" as in a command.

Furthermore, using feminist methodologies can shift the focus from a traditional historical lens and allow us to search for details about Kekāuluohi's life that may have been missed by prior narrators. In Kekāuluohi's case, observations of her early life and her political and social network can be constrained by the historical context of mid-nineteenth century male narrators. This may explain in part why no biographical monograph on her has been produced despite her pivotal position in the government immediately prior to the Māhele (or land division) of 1848, which irreversibly changed the distribution of land and power in the islands. Using feminist methodology encourages us, as sociologist Joey Sprague explains, to recognize "the centrality of gender as an organizing principle in all social systems, including work, politics, everyday interaction, families, economic development, law, education, and a host of other social domains."¹³ In Kekāuluohi's case, exploring her position in the Hawaiian hierarchy and the ways in which she was connected to power both as a woman and ali'i challenges traditional assumptions and expectations, helping us to discover new historical dimensions. As researcher Shulamit Reinharz explains, "Biographical work has always been an important part of the women's movement because it draws women out of obscurity, repairs the historical record, and provides an opportunity for the woman reader and writer to identify with the subject."¹⁴ It further removes us from what Andrea Smith calls a "heteropatriarchy," and a mainstream,

¹³ Joey Sprague, *Feminist Methodologies for Critical Researchers: Bridging Differences* (Walnut Creek: Alta Mira Press, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2005), vii.

¹⁴ Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 126.

normalizing Western framework of historical analysis.¹⁵ Further, Kekāuluohi's story offers an insightful microhistory which reflects a more comprehensive understanding of not only mid-nineteenth century Hawai'i, but a window into American and French sensibilities and vulnerabilities in the Pacific, and how fluid global power dynamics played out in the islands. Kekāuluohi's story also elucidates links between the power dynamics of the women ali'i of the early nineteenth century and those of the late nineteenth century who are far more well-known, such as Queen Lili'uokalani, as will be discussed in Chapter Six.

With these tools in hand, it soon becomes clear that while there are no biographies specifically devoted to Kekāuluohi, information about her life is *literally* scattered everywhere. Two secondary sources from the mid-nineteenth century provide a starting point. Samuel M. Kamakau in his *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* and Hiram Bingham in his chronicle, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, provide descriptions of Kekāuluohi's position in the royal family and her role in government. Though these narratives came from diverging viewpoints with differing agendas in mind, they both sought to provide a written account of the rapid transformation of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Kamakau introduces Kekāuluohi as a newly acquired consort of the aging Kamehameha I, writing that the king, "took two young chiefesses to warm his old age. Ke-ka-ulu-ohi was the first-born child of her mother Kaheihei-malie and her father was Ka-lei mamahu."¹⁶ Bingham provides a diagram of Kekāuluohi's lineage, illustrating that she was a descendent of the powerful Maui family of Kekaulike.¹⁷ What is more, her mother Kaheiheimalie, taken by Kamehameha as one of his wives after Kekāuluohi's birth, would soon become a "fellow" wife as well through Kekāuluohi's own marriage to

¹⁵ Andrea Smith, "American Studies without America: Native Feminisms and the Nation-State," *American Quarterly*, 60.2 (Jun., 2008), 312.

¹⁶ Kamakau, 208.

¹⁷ Bingham, 80.

Kamehameha. Kaheiheimalie would also provide a half-sister to Kekāuluohi named Kina‘u who would precede her as premier of the kingdom from 1832 to 1839. Thus, from her early adolescence, Kekāuluohi was surrounded and infused with a sense of her position in the world, her destiny to leadership, and the responsibilities of statesmanship.¹⁸

However, her "statesmanship" has never fully been recognized, perhaps in the same way that this common English term seems to imply a gendered role for leaders. Still, it seems that Kekāuluohi was strategically selected as one of Kamehameha's consorts. In her collection of short biographical sketches, *Notable Women of Hawaii*, Barbara Bennett Peterson writes,

In 1809 at the age of fifteen, Kekauluohi became another of Kamehameha's many wives at Apuakehau, Waikiki. She was kept under strict taboo in a guarded house, where she studied the ancient arts and customs under teachers selected by the king. She was considered to have a keen mind, rapid wit, and a retentive memory, and Kamehameha selected her as a repository for the ancient lore of Hawaii, which was stored in the minds of select individuals as oral history. Genealogies of the chiefs, proverbs, wise sayings, historical legends, eulogies and songs, all became part of the young woman's curriculum of oral study. She was confined in the closest manner, sequestered for long hours each day, and diligently applied herself to this fine art of recall.¹⁹

Thus, not only was Kekāuluohi connected through her female relatives to a powerful line of ali‘i, she was also specifically singled out to be a "vessel of knowledge."²⁰ Kamakau further notes that Kekāuluohi "was taught to read and write during the first days of teaching the alphabet."²¹ Bingham notes that by 1824, there were several "high chiefs besides Kaahumanu, viz., Namahana, Kinau, and Kekauluohi, who exhibited good specimens of hand-writing, ability to

¹⁸ Silverman, 4.

¹⁹ Barbara Bennett Peterson, *Notable Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Univ. of Hawaii Press, 1984): 212.

²⁰ As explained by Dr. Noelani Arista, in contrast to Western traditions which relied on the written source as an authority of knowledge, ancient Hawaiian culture had always relied on people to be the holders of traditional knowledge, specifically trained for this purpose. Prior to the introduction of a written language in the islands, those "vessels of knowledge" carried the history of the past in their person and transmitted same to the selected in the next generation. Lecture at UH Mānoa, 28 August, 2014.

²¹ Kamakau, 236.

read, and some acquaintance with Christianity."²² By the age of thirty, Kekāuluohi had already spent more than half of her life being cultivated to an educated life, grounded in Hawaiian tradition and transfigured by Western innovations. A contemporary of David Malo, she was expertly groomed to lead, along with the male ali'i of her time.²³

A more extensive picture of Kekāuluohi and her relation to power comes from the Hawaiian newspapers of the mid-nineteenth century. In 1868, a koihonua, or genealogy chant for Kekāuluohi was printed. It was so massive that it took up more than eight issues, or two full months of front-page columns and in the end, it was in fact, not complete – "'a'ole pau."²⁴ From the beginning of this chant, Kekāuluohi is already situated at the center of Hawaiian history and cosmos with a lineage which links her to the beginning of all time. What is more, the chant was composed by her father, Keaweaheulu Kalanimamahū with other ali'i and passed down, memorized, and repeated until written down and printed in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, in 1868, more than twenty years after her death.

He Mele Koihonua no Kekauluohi.

Na Keaweheulu Kalanimamahu [sic] a me kekahi poe ali'i e ae i haku.

Ua hanau ia o Kekauluohi o Mano, o Kekahaikaoakapu o Ku, o Kekaha o Ku
ma laua o Lono, i ka makahiki 1794, ma Kona, Hawaii. O Kaheihemalie
Hoapiliwahine ka makuahine, a o Kalanimamahu a
Kalanikupuapaikalaninui ka makuakane.

Ua noho Kuhina Nui oia i ka A.D. 1839, a make iho la i ka AD 1845, ma Poku-
kuina, Honolulu, Oahu.

MOKUNA I.

1. O hookumu ka lani kumu ka honua—
Kapaa kapaa, ka naki ka mau –

²² Bingham, 214.

²³ Denise Noelani Manuela Arista, *David Malo, ke kanaka o ka huliau = David Malo, a Hawaiian of the time of change*. Theses for the degree of Master of Arts (University of Hawaii at Manoa, 1998): 5-6.

²⁴ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Honolulu, Aug. 15, 1868 to September 26, 1868.

Kahili kapalili kanaki
Pipili kaua a oakalele
Lele hoaka ka paku
Lele hoaka i ka lani

2. Hoaka ka lani – hoonakaka –
Kukui ka lani – hoonakaka –
Naue ka lani – hoonakaka –
Naue ka lani hoene
Hoene ka lani hoonakaka --

TRANSLATION:

A genealogical chant for Kekauluohi
By Keaweheulu Kalanimamahu and the several chiefs that composed.

Kekauluohi was born of / descended of Mano, of Kekahaikaoaokapu, of Ku, of
Kekaha of Ku, from them of Lono in the year 1794, in Kona, Hawaii.
Kaheiheimalie Hoapiliwahine was her mother and Kalanimamahu
Kalanikupuapaikalaninui her father.

She was placed as kuhina nui in 1839 and died in 1845 at Pohukuina, Honolulu,
Oahu.

CHAPTER I.

1. In the beginning the foundation of the world
Held firm, the tie [naki'i] always (the constant)
put together [the] quivering
Sticking together the sound to lean on / supported [ho'okalele]
Flies the shadow of sending away, expelling
Flies the shadow of the highest

2. The highest arch -- quivering, opening up
The highest light -- quivering, opening up, cracking open
The highest shake, move -- quivering, opening up
The highest shake a sweet sound (wind)
The highest sing, quivering²⁵

²⁵ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Honolulu, Aug. 15, 1868. Translation by Shirley E. Buchanan.

Just the opening lines of the koihonua (genealogical chant) suggest that Kekāuluohi was descended from a line of akua (supernatural beings) and ali‘i (chiefs / rulers) connected to the genesis of Hawai‘i. Her position was honored through birthright with an expectation of leadership. What is more, unlike the European and American women of the mid-nineteenth century, she was not relegated to a subordinate or ancillary position in the social and political hierarchy based solely on her sex. In fact, the Hawaiian ali‘i women held equal or superior power to their male counterparts, depending on their lineage. In the case of Keōpūolani, considered the "sacred" wife of Kamehameha I, Samuel Kamakau indicates that Keōpūolani "was of so high a tabu that he [Kamehameha] had to take off his malo before he came into her presence."²⁶ Western missionaries and diplomats soon learned that deference to these women was required and William Richards would write of Keōpūolani that "her person was counted so sacred that her presence did much to awe an enemy."²⁷

Thus, Kekāuluohi's early life was spent in the strong leadership of the women ali'i before her. Simply put, the catalyst for transformation and leadership in Hawai‘i from 1820 – 1845 came more directly in the form of women – the Hawaiian matriarchs and widowed wives of Kamehameha I. When Kamehameha I died in 1819, the league of fellow wives and aunts of Kekāuluohi – Ka‘ahumanu, (Kamehameha's "favorite" wife), and Keōpūolani, (Kamehameha's "sacred" wife) -- utilized their relationship as a coalition for the conversion of the islands to Christianity. Ka‘ahumanu, serving as kuhina nui and defacto ruler during the short reign of Liholiho, (Kamehameha II), consolidated her power with the help of Keōpūolani and together they guided the recently unified islands through a period of intense instability.

²⁶ Kamakau, 208; Esther T. Mookini, "Keōpūolani, Sacred Wife, Queen Mother, 1778-1823," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 32 (1998): 1- 24.

²⁷ Richards, *Memoir of Keopuolani, Late Queen of the Sandwich Islands*, 13.

Both Ka‘ahumanu and Keōpūolani were venerated by the ABCFM patriarchs, and Kekāuluhi would have been familiar with Richards’ *Memoir of Keopuolani* and his admiration of her. It can be argued that these women were the “face” of power for the ABCFM’s agenda in their evangelizing efforts, but as noted previously, the same women were acknowledged around the world, a position of power not often afforded to women – native or non-native – in America. At the age of twenty-five, Kekāuluhi would have witnessed Ka‘ahumanu’s methods of diplomacy; Ka‘ahumanu may have even served as a role model to Kekāuluhi as she expertly both controlled and balanced traditional forms of Hawaiian governance with new ideas that helped steer Hawai‘i’s future, navigate a changing global political climate.²⁸ It was a precedent that Kekāuluhi would soon follow and she appears to have also emulated Ka‘ahumanu in other ways.

Like Ka‘ahumanu, Kekāuluhi had no children by Kamehameha I, despite the fact that she was secured to "to warm his old age." This seems even more significant given the fact that Kekāuluhi was his wife from the age of 15 to 25, her prime child-bearing years. Though neither had children, Silverman notes this did not work against them in the order of the Hawaiian ruling class. To the contrary, Silverman explains,

A woman chief did not become much involved in child rearing. The child of a high chief was brought up by a chosen guardian. The child's self-contained household, formed at birth, was added to as her or his years and influence grew. While the natural mother might have some advisory role, the family or political destiny of the child was decided by its most powerful relatives. What it meant for Kaahumanu to be childless was most important in the sense that she had none of her own to whom she was committed in the succession of power. All the possibilities of alliances remained open to her.²⁹

²⁸ Silverman, 87.

²⁹ Silverman, 8-9.

The same remained true for Kekāuluohi; her childlessness in these early years enabled her to more fully cultivate her skills and her connections. Though, as Kamakau narrates, Kekāuluohi "was kept under strict tabu in a guarded house where she and her mother studied the old customs and genealogical lines of the chiefs," she was not entirely sequestered. He continues, "the tabu, however, was not strictly kept; it was up only to deceive Kamehameha. Her family had become rich and powerful, and if any man who pleased Ka-'ahu-manu was attracted by her adopted daughter she allowed their association in secret."³⁰ Kekāuluohi's alliance, then, with Ka'ahumanu, served her well and helped her to move somewhat seamlessly into a diplomatic world of global proportions. By virtue of her genealogy and her marriages, Kekāuluohi was already entrenched in a network of political elites. As Kamakau recounts, when Liholiho became king in 1819, he "established his household, which included his five wives Ka-mamalu, Ke-ka-ulu-ohi, Ka-lani-pauahi, Ke-kau-'onohi, and Kina'u."³¹ But Kekāuluohi had no children by Liholiho either which may have also facilitated her maneuverability within the ranks of the elite. Kamakau writes that Liholiho soon "gave his fifth wife, Ke-ka-ulu-ohi, to his friend Kana'ina in order that none of his guardians and chiefs might question his action, since when a ruler gives away anything it must please his chiefs."³² Kekāuluohi remained married to Charles Kana'ina the rest of her life, wedded in the monogamous style of the new Christian values she soon adopted. She did not have a child however, until much later in her life, but that child, Lunalilo, would inherit a kingdom.

Undoubtedly, the confidence, power, and guidance of these royal women presented a strategic advantage for the arriving ABCFM missionaries. Cornwall School scholars like

³⁰ Kamakau, 394.

³¹ Kamakau, 250.

³² Kamakau, 253.

Thomas Hopu and John Honoli‘i, who accompanied the first missionary group from Boston to Hawai‘i, certainly instructed the ABCFM missionaries about the power structures in Hawai‘i and how to approach alliances. Whereas in America these men might have declined or disparaged working with women as leaders, in the case of Hawai‘i, the missionaries sought out, or were sought out by, the ali‘i women. In his narrative, Bingham noted that it was only through the grace of Ka‘ahumanu that the mission had any success at all. Bingham elaborates,

But the high rank and magisterial authority of Kaahumanu supported by several chief women of noble blood, furnished the opportunity which had not occurred before, and which could hardly be expected to occur again, for a queen of such rank and power – such extensive influence over the whole group, to assert the rights of woman, unrestrained by a lordly husband, and to protest against the unreasonable disabilities under which they had been placed.³³

While there is no little irony here that Bingham seems to spot the "lordly" restraints of the male chiefs while seemingly oblivious to the patriarchal structure of the Christian doctrine he proselytized, his testimony confirms the strength of the women ali‘i. Furthermore, because leaders like Ka‘ahumanu corresponded with ABCFM leaders like Jeremiah Evarts, she must have certainly known of Evarts’ vociferous support of Cherokee rights and his attempts to urge the U.S. government to uphold its agreements with sovereign native nations.³⁴ These were the political entrees inherited by both Kina‘u and Kekāuluohi.

What is more, in 1824 when insurgents from Kaua‘i attacked the Waimea Fort threatening lives, Bingham indicates that it was "Kalanimoku, Kekauluohi, and her husband Kanaina, Kupule and others," who marched into the fort, armed." Bingham and his party were "struck with the martial appearance of the females, Kekauluohi, Premier, carrying a heavy pistol,

³³ Bingham, 78.

³⁴ Bingham, 78; See also John A. Andrew, *From Revivals to Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992).

and the ex-queen, Kapule walking with a drawn sword in her hand." But Bingham never strayed too far from his own patriarchal bias and perhaps, in his reminiscence, he felt inclined to justify why he was being protected by women. In this circumstance, he equally notes, "Here the value of a trustworthy chieftain could be appreciated and here I saw, for once, the reason which had not before been so fully obvious, why the women of rank bore arms in war, in such a country, where neither the intelligence, nor the virtue, nor the established customs of the nation would shield them from violence, if unarmed and separate from their husbands or warrior friends."³⁵ It is a revealing statement, for at once it allows Bingham to demonstrate the "fierce" disposition of the ali'i women, while simultaneously presciently calling for a "reform" of the male leadership into a Christian patriarchal model in which women would have diminished political roles to their male "protectors."

Hiram Bingham's concern that the women ali'i needed a "shield...from violence, if unarmed and separate from their husbands or warrior friends," seems misplaced given the extent of their reach and control. Again, by virtue of genealogy and connections across the islands, Kekāuluohi and her sister ali'i controlled wealth and land (‘āina) that would have been inconceivable to most European and American women and certainly to the missionary wives of the ABCFM. What is more, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa in her book, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* notes that "until 1848, the *Ali'i Nui* bequeathed the control of ‘Āina to their descendants in the traditional manner, by *kauoha* (verbal will), almost as if they were each *Mo'i* [king]."³⁶ Kame‘eleihiwa describes,

Land inheritance implies designation of heirs and it is at this point that Hawaiian Land succession can become most confusing. The heirs of the *Ali'i Nui* often did not correspond with Western ideas of heirs. Sometimes *waiwai* [property, goods]

³⁵ Bingham, 235.

³⁶ Kame‘eleihiwa, 95.

was passed from father to son, or from mother to daughter, and sometimes not. In traditional times the parent-to-child succession was just as often replaced by a brother-to-sister or sister-to-brother bequest. Male *Ali'i Nui* gave *'Āina* to female relatives instead of to their own male children: Ke'eumoku to his sister Kekuapi'ia Nāmāhana, Kalanimōkū to his niece Kekau'ōnohi, and Kalaimamahū to his daughter Kekāuluohi. It is clear that the female *Ali'i Nui* were equal to their male counterparts in the control of *'Āina* as well as in its inheritance.³⁷

Thus, women *ali'i* like Ka'ahumanu controlled massive land holdings distributed on virtually every island as they were handed down both from Kamehameha and other relatives. When Ka'ahumanu passed these on to Kina'u, succeeding regent after her death in 1832, these holdings were amplified over time, especially as disease introduced by foreigners and death began to take a toll on the Hawaiian population. When Kekāuluohi became kuhina nui in 1839 after the death of Kina'u, Kame'eiehiwa explains "she was the trustee and principal *konohiki* of all the *'Āina* of various *Ali'i Nui* who had died and left their property to the *Ali'i Nui* children." When Kekāuluohi's own mother, Kaheiheimālie died, Kame'eiehiwa explains "all her children by Kamehameha had predeceased her. Her only surviving issue was Kekāuluohi, and it was no surprise that in her written *kauoha*, dated January 25, 1842, Kaheiheimālie left all her *'Āina*, *waiwai*, *kahu*, and *konohiki* [land, property/goods, attendants and land managers] to this only surviving daughter."³⁸ Consequently, while Kekāuluohi was in office, the number of lands she personally controlled was second only to those of the king, Kamehameha III. Thus, her reach was formidable and understanding this helps to frame the significance of events which unfolded prior to and during her tenure as premiere.

Kamakau remarks that Kekāuluohi was noted "during Ka-'ahu-manu's lifetime for her firm stand for righteousness, and after Ka-'ahu-manu's death cooperated with Kina'u to use her

³⁷ Kame'eiehiwa, 99.

³⁸ Kame'eiehiwa, 125.

power and influence in furthering the work for which their aunt had striven, whether rightly or wrongly. At least the kingdom became wiser and more learned."³⁹ While the authority of these women ali'i was neither unusual nor questioned in the Hawaiian Kingdom, it was considerably unique to the Euro-Americans who arrived on their shores. Even for missionary wives, some of whom had worked formerly as missionaries to Native American nations with matrilineal and matriarchal power structures like the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) confederacy, the women of the Hawaiian elite presented interesting challenges and new opportunities in governance.⁴⁰ Historian Jennifer Thigpen writes that "missionary wives acted as diplomats, alternately recognizing the official limitations placed upon them by the mission board and seizing opportunities when and where they presented themselves."⁴¹ But, as much of Thigpen's evidence suggests, the missionary wives worked in service to the ali'i women, offering their skills as seamstresses and teachers to the young ali'i in learning the written language. In fact, the progress in literacy only augmented communications from the ali'i. The kuhina nui utilized the Hawaiian newspapers effectively to announce laws, petitions, and memorials publicly, reaffirming their political and diplomatic status both within the Hawaiian Kingdom and globally.

Even prior to Kekāuluohi's ascent to kuhina nui, she was actively engaged in the governance of the Kingdom. There is a fair amount of correspondence which records both her

³⁹ Kamakau, 395.

⁴⁰ Patricia Grimshaw notes in her volume, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* that Maria and Lucia Smith had worked in the Tuscarora Indian mission. Others like Elizabeth Hitchcock had worked among the Mohican in Connecticut. Patricia Grimshaw, *Paths of Duty: American Missionary Wives in Nineteenth-Century Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1989), 16; Robert W. Venables, "The Clearings and The Woods: The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Landscape – Gendered and Balanced," in *Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes*, S. Baugher, S.M. Spencer Woods, eds. Springer Science + Business Media, LLC, 2010.

⁴¹ Jennifer Thigpen, *Island Queens and Mission Wives: How Gender and Empire Remade Hawai'i's Pacific World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014), 105.

personal and public concerns and there are numerous articles in the Hawaiian newspapers, announcing new laws, international agreements, or other affairs of the government to which her name is attached. Contrary to Western models of governance which were limited to elite, propertied males of Euro-American descent, Hawaiian government documents were supported and signed by a contingent of ali'i. Kekāuluohi never stood alone, but rather with the support of her familial and royal connections which stretched across the breadth of the islands. She remained close to her predecessor, Kina'u and her husband, Kekūanāo'a. What is more, she worked in concert with high ranking ali'i to control the reach of European and American merchants. Bingham narrates in his account that in November 1835, a petition to the king to stop the alcohol trade was "at once signed by three female chiefs of the highest rank, Kinau, Kekāuluohi, and Kekauonohi, and three highest male chiefs on Oahu, Kekuanāoa, Aikanaka, and Paki."⁴² In the April 27, 1836 issue of the Hawaiian newspaper, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, Kekāuluohi stood with Kina'u in a direct address to the king asking for a restriction on the alcohol trade. As historian J. Susan Corley writes, Kina'u had formerly

published an undated article entitled "No Ka Rama" in the March 18, 1835 issue which berated the makers and sellers of rum and scolded the drinkers of rum. "Ua huhu mai ke Akua ia oukou," she wrote. "Aole e loa I ka poe o na ke aupuni o ke Akua." Kina'u concludes by exhorting those people who use their efforts to suppress the sale and use of rum to do so vigorously: "*E ka poe kinai rama, e kinai oukou me ka ikaika.*"⁴³

Saying, "you are not cherished by God," [Ua huhu mai ke Akua ia oukou] when drinking, she asserted "the people / ali'i must extinguish rum, they must extinguish it with strength" [*E ka poe kinai rama, e kinai oukou me ka ikaika*].⁴⁴ In the April 1836 issue of *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, Kina'u's

⁴² Bingham, 479.

⁴³ J. Susan Corley, quoting an article by Kina'u, "No Ka Rama," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, March 18, 1835 in "New Rulers, New Times, New Politics: Ka Noho 'ana o Ka'ahumanu II malalo o Kamehameha III;" unpublished research, University of Hawai'i, 2014.

⁴⁴ Kina'u, "No Ka Rama," *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, March 18, 1835. Translation by Shirley E. Buchanan.

voice was combined with Kekāuluohi's and fifteen other ali'i in the government, echoing the November 1835 petition. It begins, "Eia ko makou manao maopopo maoli e ike pono oe e Ke lii Kauikeaouli," – "Here is our true understanding / knowledge of the right virtue to you, the king, Kauikeaouli."⁴⁵ It is a simple, direct, and powerful statement made to the king, asserting the power and position of the kuhina nui and her coalition. The petition called on the king to shut down the liquor trade with foreigners and protect the nation. This clarion call reached well beyond the shores of O'ahu. The November 11, 1836 issue of the *Boston Recorder* repeated the translated story, including the names of Kina'u, Kekāuluohi, and the rest of the high-ranking ali'i. It was, in essence, a notice that the Hawaiian Kingdom would not be deterred by the proliferation of "deadly medicine" that had been deployed against Native American nations in the U.S.⁴⁶

Concerns about alcohol came back to haunt Kekāuluohi in her later dealings with the French of the *Artemise*, but her predecessors had provided calculated guidance for her to follow. In 1827, Ka'ahumanu made her voice heard when the crew of the *Dolphin*, which had been denied access to Hawaiian women.⁴⁷ Kina'u, also confronted the ambitions and desires of Europeans in 1837 when she insisted on banishing Catholic priests who had defied the orders of the government. Kamakau recalls,

Kina'u was a brave woman. She had not feared the threats of the French and British captains even when their fists were shaken in her face, but remained true to what she thought right. The captains and the British consul did their best to frighten her into giving way to them, even brandishing their swords in her face, but she would not give in. She had the courage of a man. Had she been one, she

⁴⁵ *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, April 27, 1835.

⁴⁶ For further discussion of the use of alcohol in American colonial ambitions, see Peter Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1995).

⁴⁷ *New-Bedford Mercury*, January 5, 1827. Note: The date on the first page of the paper is incorrectly listed as January 5, 1826.

would have been a second Kamehameha, to who she bore a remarkable resemblance.⁴⁸

Kekāuluohi would inherit some of the same unresolved issues of Kina‘u's tenure, but when Kekāuluohi had to face the French, she would be absent of the alliance she had formed with her sister. When Kina‘u became ill in March 1839, Kekūanāoa wrote urgently to Kekāuluohi to advise her of Kina‘u's impending death. Kekāuluohi, also called Miliama (Miriam) or Auhea, must have received the news with double heaviness, aware that not only might she lose a family member and ally, but that she might soon be asked to take on the premiership. In an undated later, Kekūanāoa writes,

Aloha oe e Miliama,

Auhea mai lohi aku oe a me kelii no ka mea he uku paha ko olua ike iaia nei ia Kinau ina ihi mai ke akua ike olua aka ina nae aku aole olua e iki. Na Mataio Kekuanaoa.

Auhea, don't you and the king delay because the two of you may have scant news of her, Kinau if the lord should not remove her the two of you will see her but if not the two of you will not see her. Mataio Kekuanaoa.⁴⁹

Kamakau notes that "Kina‘u died on April 4, 1839, in the stone house of Ke-ka-ulu-ohi."⁵⁰

When Kekāuluohi was made premier, the domain that she was tasked to govern was one of the busiest ports in the Pacific. In comparison to the 250 to 300 ships that historian David Igler estimates stopped yearly along the entire coast of Alta California, statistics from the "Commercial, Meteorological and Missionary Statistics, Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands in *The Friend* for May 1, 1844," document 168 ships arriving in the port of Honolulu

⁴⁸ Kamakau, 330.

⁴⁹ Letter from Mataio Kekuanaoa to Kekāuluohi, (also known as Miliama, or Auhea), undated, handwritten, ink. Hawaii State Archives Manuscript Collection Letters written by Mataio Kekuanaoa, M-59 No. 31 (3). Translation by J. Susan Corley, 9 October 2014.

⁵⁰ Kamakau, 348.

alone in 1843.⁵¹ In a word, the world was arriving on Kekāuluohi's doorstep and she was expected, along with the still young Kamehameha III, to manage its arrival in all its manifestations. What is more, throughout the 1830s French Catholic priests had been trying to establish their own proselytizing efforts in the Sandwich Islands, but they were spurned and advised to cease and desist. Catholics were seen as idol-worshippers and slaves to the Pope, and the ABCFM actively discouraged their presence. Moreover, Catholics who violated the directives of the rulers had been punished according to the laws of the Kingdom. However, by July 1839, the French Catholics had reconstituted their forces and, as historian Noenoe Silva recounts, the *Artemise*, "a French warship commanded by Captain Cyrille Laplace, arrived in Honolulu to make several demands, including that French priests be allowed to establish a mission, that a land grant be made for such a mission, and that the government pay \$20,000 as guaranty for the other demands."⁵² Hiram Bingham compared the French demands to a siege, following the French triumphs in Tahiti.⁵³ Still, it was Kekāuluohi who was compelled to deal with the reality of French aggression. Kamakau recounts,

The governor Ke-ku-anao'a and the chief counselor Miriam Ke-ka-ulu-ohi, together with the chiefs, commoners, and the foreign residents, were very much disturbed by these demands. A council was held, and *it was decided to accept the terms at once without waiting to hear from the king*; and Miriam Ke-ka-ulu-ohi and Mr. Richards delivered the money on board the French ship. Captain Laplace was delighted to find that all his demands had been complied with except the signing of the treaty, and came to shake hands with the king's representative, who assured him that the king, when he realized that it was the only way to save his throne, would not hesitate to sign the order to secure peace for their weak

⁵¹ David Igler, "Global Exchanges in the Eastern Pacific Basin, 1770-1850," *American Historical Review* 109.3 (June, 2004), 706. See also statistics from *The Polynesian*, Nov. 7, 1840; "Commercial, Meteorological and Missionary Statistics, Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands. From 'The Friend' for May 1, 1844." In another account by Richard Greer, he noted that 1,672 vessels of all types visiting island ports between October 1, 1823 and January 1, 1838 to winter, refresh, and provision; Richard A. Greer, "Grog Shops and Hotels: Bending the Elbow in Old Honolulu," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 28 (1994): 35-67.

⁵² Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 35.

⁵³ Bingham, 540.

government. He did in fact sign on his return from Maui, but some say that had Kina'u been the king's counselor at the time, the bullets of France and the bullets from Punchbowl would have echoed through the air.⁵⁴

Tasked to negotiate a tense agreement which demanded that the Hawaiian Kingdom allow the French to market brandy and the Catholic religion, it must have been an almost surreal moment for Kekāuluohi, in light of the laws and issues she and her predecessors had already fought for. With guns trained on the islands, the government agreed to pay \$20,000 in "surety" to appease the French, and though Kekāuluohi was also criticized as being "weak" in comparison to Kina'u, Kamakau remarks that "Ke-ka-ulu-ohi was wiser than the king's cabinet and ministers and the chief justice in agreeing to the demands and not attempting to resist by force and thus waste the resources of the kingdom in powder and balls."⁵⁵ Further, Noenoe Silva notes, "this incident impressed on Kamehameha III and his advisers that Hawai'i was vulnerable to the 'Great Powers,' as they were known."⁵⁶

But was this incident perceived as a "message" to the king and his advisors? Certainly, members of the ABCFM felt as though the primacy of their position and their "experiment" with Christianity was threatened by the presence of Catholic missionaries, but it is difficult to discern if the ali'i as a governing body felt threatened in the same way. What is more, the Constitution which had been promulgated only a few months before did not symbolize the absolute adoption of Western forms of government as has been previously interpreted. Within the first few lines of reading the Hawaiian Constitution against the English translation, the distinction in language, meaning, and word associations is glaring.⁵⁷ Though scholars like Robert Warrior have asserted

⁵⁴ Kamakau, 332; I have added italicized emphasis here to show that the decision was made without the initial counsel or consent of the King Kamehameha III.

⁵⁵ Kamakau, 332, 358.

⁵⁶ Silva, 36.

⁵⁷ "Ke Kumukānāwai o Ko Hawai'i Pae 'Āina (MH 1840), Constitution of Hawai'i (1840)," in *Constitutional Documents of the United States of America, 1776-1860, Supplement: Hawai'i and Liberia*, edited by Robert Stauffer

that indigenous nations, like the Osage and the Cherokee, created legal documents that mirrored the U.S. Constitution, reading those documents in the native language seems to indicate that indigenous leaders did not attempt just to recreate Euro-American governance in their own language.⁵⁸ It would be an impossible task at its best attempt for the language held more than just the syntax of a two-dimensional document. Language, is and was, the life of the nation and its culture; it holds within its structure the laws and expectations of a society. While it can be transformed and molded by forces from within and without the community as well as by time and usage, it still holds ancient connections and associations to its past that are not erased by simple reconfiguration.

In the case of the Hawaiian Constitution, even a cursory look illustrates the differences that English translation attempts to impose. The Hawaiian Constitution opens with, "Ua hana mai ke Akua i na lahuikanaka a pau i ke koko hookahi, e noho like lakou ma ka honua nei me ke kuikahi, a me ka pomaikai." The use of the term "Akua" placed against the Western Christian understanding of "God" cannot portray a parallel construction of the meaning of that divine entity. It carries with it instead a culturally specific understanding that reverberates with relationships to both written and oral histories. What is more, the English translation, which reads "'God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the earth,'" in unity and blessedness," presumably pulls this first declaration from a King James version of the Christian Bible (Acts 17:26), a document which itself was translated from Hebrew, Greek, and Latin before it was translated into an English document in the Middle Ages. The weight of even one word, like "God," stands out against the meaning of "Akua" in a language thousands of years

and D. Elwood Dunn (K.G. Saur, 2008), 29-41; Robert C. Lydecker, *Roster Legislatures of Hawaii: 1841-1918: Constitutions of Monarchy and Republic Speeches of Sovereigns and President*. Compiled from the official records by Robert C. Lydecker, Librarian, Public Archives (Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co., Ltd. 1918), 4.

⁵⁸ Robert Warrior, *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 52.

removed from the Christian tradition. What is more, this same passage, as repeated by Elias Boudinot just over a decade prior, could also be used as an indictment against the prejudice of Western ideologies and religious doctrine. Recall that in 1826 Boudinot reminded Americans in his "Address to the Whites":

What is an Indian? Is he not formed of the same materials with yourself? For "of one blood God created all the nations that dwell on the face of the earth."⁵⁹

Likewise, the Hawaiian "lahuikanaka" suggests both an inclusiveness and exclusiveness that is lost in the English translation. The "lahuikanaka" can mean the "nations of men" but it can also mean specifically the "lahui," the nation of Hawaiian persons, as conveyed by "kanaka." Perhaps most notable is that the Hawaiian designation for "person" does not inherently contain a gendered distinction, such as "men." The Hawaiian Constitution does not carry the weighted tradition of patriarchal rule found in the English translation which asserts from a Christian standpoint the male embodiment of a supreme divinity. Even "God" – that which could not be named in the Hebrew language – has an assumed gender in the English mandate that is not automatically communicated in the Hawaiian word "Akua." Another example can be drawn from the first item in the decrees. In the English translation, the first decree reads "That no law shall be enacted which is at variance with the word of the Lord Jehovah, or at variance with the general spirit of His word." The Hawaiian language decree declares, "Aole loa e hanaia kekahi kanawai ku e i ka olelo a ka Haku, a Jehova, aole hoi i ku e i ke ano nui o ia olelo." The use of "i ke ano nui o ia olelo" seems to suggest a "great reverence" for the (gender neutral) word versus the English translation of "general spirit" of "His" word. The Hawaiian seems to express a deeper sense of gravity of the law as connected to the divine.

⁵⁹ Elias Boudinot, "An Address to the Whites: Delivered in the First Presbyterian Church on the 26th of May, 1826," (Philadelphia: Printed by William F. Geddes, 1826), 3.

What is more, Kamehameha III is positioned as ruler along with "No ke Kuhina nui o ke Aupuni," ("Respecting the Premier of the Kingdom"), Kekāuluohi. Her position carried equal power to that of the king and in this particular time period, it may be argued that her decisions carried even greater weight since Kauikeaouli was still quite young. In 1839, he was only twenty-six years old and had been ruling with three strong kuhina nui for the entire tenure of his reign. The fact that in June of 1839, Kamehameha III (or Kauikeaouli) needed to reaffirm the power of the kuhina nui with the decree, "Eia kekahi, o na palapala, a me na aie a pau, i kapaia no ke aupuni, ma keia hope aku, a i kau ole kuu inoa, a me ko Miriama Kekauluohi malalo o ia palapala, aole ia mau palapala no ke aupuni," reiterates that Kekāuluohi's co-rule was critical. All those who inhabited or visited the kingdom were required to respect her authority. In addition, unlike any other Constitution of the "modern" period, the Hawaiian Constitution included within its list of the "House of Nobles," ("No Na'li'i malalo o ke Alii nui," or the "ali'i subordinate to the ali'i nui"), a number of other female authorities including Hoapiliwahine or Kaheihimalie, Kekāuluohi's mother. This inclusion was unique in comparison to governance in the rest of the Western world and even in comparison to burgeoning indigenous constitutions, like the Cherokee Constitution of the same year, 1839.⁶⁰

Thus, in reports of the Laplace incident in the Hawaiian and American newspapers of the period, Kekāuluohi's signature to documents is the voice of the ruler, equal to that of Kamehameha III. Still, the documents signed by Kekāuluohi and the king have some interesting discrepancies. For example, in the December 4, 1842 issue of *Ka Nonanona*, the agreement with LaPlace is reprinted, showing Kekāuluohi's signature first, then Kekūanā'oa's, followed by

⁶⁰ "The 1839 Cherokee Constitution." Available from *Cherokee Observer* at <http://www.cherokeeobserver.org/Issues/1839constitution.html>; Internet. Accessed 17 Dec. 2014, 26 March 2019.

Kamehameha III and finally Laplace.⁶¹ Nonetheless, a second agreement with LaPlace follows, which provides for, among other things, the sale of French liquor and the promise that any French citizen who violates the Hawaiian laws will not be prosecuted by Hawaiians, but rather by a "jury composed of foreign residents."⁶² This agreement, however, is not signed by Kekāuluohi; it is signed simply by Kamehameha III and LaPlace. If the decree of the king already stipulated that "no documents nor notes, referable to government, after this date, which not my own signature, and also that of Miriam Kekauluohi at the bottom of said writing will be acknowledged as government papers," i.e.: are not valid documents, then was this document intended to be viable?⁶³ Was there a change in procedure or was this an attempt to manage Western perceptions?

The question remains inconclusive without further evidence, but in subsequent negotiations with Lord George Paulet over his attempt to annex the islands in 1843, in virtually every negotiation and correspondence, Kekāuluohi's signature is present below that of Kamehameha III. What is more, it does not seem that the ali'i had excluded Kekāuluohi's signature from any government document in order to appease a Western notion that only the approbation of men and male rulers counted. An article from the *Boston Recorder* entitled "Education in the Sandwich Islands," details the state of negotiations in Hawai'i and the capabilities of the participants:

The Polynesian further says: "Of all the business documents in the possession of the Hawaiian Government accumulated in the whole course of their intercourse with foreigners, one half the number bear the *marks* of foreigners, who were not able to read, while of the whole, there is but one instance of an Hawaiian being so deplorably ignorant, and that was the old Governor of Kauai, Kaikioewa, who age

⁶¹ *Ka Nonanona*, December 4, 1842.

⁶² *Ka Nonanona*, December 4, 1842; Bingham, 347.

⁶³ "Proclamation re: Kekauluohi signed by Kamehameha III," June 8, 1839. Hawaii State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-5-101 Chronological File 1790-1845, 1839: June.

and infirmities were certainly some apology for his not acquiring the art after the arrival of the missionaries."⁶⁴

From this account, the Hawaiian government did not need to appease Western reviewers because fully half of them could not even read the documents they were signing. While the Hawaiian ali'i may have not worried about the literacy of foreigners, Hawaiian language speakers seized upon the written word as a tool to communicate their own concerns to the ali'i.

What is more, in the very same article from the *Boston Recorder*, Kekāuluohi is described in her position as premier:

His majesty the King, and her Highness Kekauluohi, and suites, with Captain Aulick of the Yorktown, the American Consul, and other guests dined by the invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Cooke, with the young chiefs in a house prepared for that purpose. The young chiefs are making rapid progress in their English studies, and under the judicious management of their teachers, bid fair to become well educated and intelligent men and women.⁶⁵

From this description, it can be presumed that she conversed in both Hawaiian and English, and possibly understood other languages as well. As mentioned in Chapter Two, she might very well have been the “royal Princess” who “overheard the conversation with the Portuguese captain and the instructions he received from the company, and of course informed her royal father of the whole matter.”⁶⁶ She may also have understood French, as might be required by her diplomatic duties. Kekāuluohi belonged to an international world, groomed as a woman of ali'i status and equally trained in oral narration and memory. While Hawaiian chiefs and chiefesses may have utilized the talents of foreigners to serve as interpreters, it would be difficult to believe that by 1839 the leaders were not multi-lingual themselves or would they have relied on the translations of outsiders alone to engage in critical agreements and documents of trade and sovereignty.

⁶⁴ *Boston Recorder*, April 29, 1842.

⁶⁵ *Boston Recorder*, April 29, 1842.

⁶⁶ Johnson, quoting Phelps, 18.

What is more, the article makes clear that the education agenda of the Hawaiian government included equal access to education for both young men and women. Kekāuluohi was also connected to those in American circles of power, as reported by American naval officer Charles Wilkes in his *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, published in 1845:

The person who attracted our attention most, was Kekauluohi. This lady is upwards of six feet in height; her frame is exceedingly large and well covered with fat. She was dressed in yellow silk, with enormously large gigot sleeves, and wore on her head a tiara of beautiful yellow feathers intersperse with a few of a scarlet colour. Above the feathers appeared a large tortoise-shell comb that confined her straight black hair. Her shoulders were covered with a richly-embroidered shawl of scarlet crape. She sat in a large arm-chair, over which was thrown a robe made of the same kind of yellow feathers as decked her tiara. Her feet were encased in white cotton stockings and men's shoes. She was altogether one of the most remarkable-looking personages I have ever seen.⁶⁷

While Wilkes' description certainly includes his Western bias regarding her size, it seems he also spent some time "contemplating" Kekāuluohi, with precise detail about her dress, her hair, her shoulders, even her feet! In contrast, he follows this description with a quite brief and factual description of Kekūānāo'a, saying simply, "The governor was handsomely dressed in a uniform of blue and gold." Suffice it to say that Kekāuluohi had a stunning presence, in addition to her many skills as a "statesman." Through Wilkes and the reports of others, she was a recognized "head of state" on both a regional and global level. Even the folks in Wisconsin heard news of her in 1841, when the *Wisconsin Enquirer* reported, "Gov. Kekuanoa has placed the large stone house, belonging to Kekauluohi, at the disposition of Captain Wilkes, who has taken up his quarters there, and fitted it up as an observatory."⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Wilkes, Charles. *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842*, VOL 4. (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), 4.

⁶⁸ *Wisconsin Enquirer*, Mar. 6, 1841.

Wilkes' five-volume report widely distributed throughout America and Europe in the mid-1840s, focused mainly on the purpose of his journey: to investigate scientific and commercial opportunities in the Pacific.⁶⁹ But from his description above, it seems he may have specifically relied on Kekāuluohi, among others, to inform him on the state of the Sandwich Islands. Clearly, his report shaped the perceptions of American legislators. Historians Marshall Sahlins and Dorothy Barrere indicate that William Richards' March 1841 letter to Wilkes "is capital for is description of economic and political conditions leading up to the attribution of ministerial posts to foreigners in the 1840s and to the Great Mahele of 1846-1854."⁷⁰ Even more importantly, the letter shows how Richards, as a former ABCFM official familiar with the missions among indigenous people in the U.S., served as a mediator between the Hawaiian rulers and the American government. Richards' descriptions of the Hawaiian people reveal his religious and cultural biases, and a consciousness of his audience, but he spends an equal portion of his account acknowledging the ways in which the Hawaiians had transformed their society. He notes that the land tenure had changed from a "feodal character," to one in which "the lands...now held may be considered that of perpetual lease," qualifying, "These evils however are fast diminishing."

"Indian gift"

The attempted annexation of the islands by Lord George Paulette in 1843 also found envoys William Richards and Timoteo [Timothy] Ha'alilio traveling half way around the world to secure international recognition - or more accurately reaffirmation - of the sovereignty of Hawai'i, the event created a tension that reverberated through the Hawaiian government, the

⁶⁹ Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842* (London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845).

⁷⁰ William Richards to Charles Wilkes, March 15, 1841, quoted in Sahlins and Barrere, 24.

maka‘āinana, and foreigners who made Hawai‘i their home. The incident, reported in both Hawaiian and American newspapers in the U.S. expressed the seriousness of the issue in light of American assets in the islands. As one tract entitled "Seizure of the Sandwich Islands," emphasized, the disorder would "create much confusion, among American residents in particular, against whom it is aimed--as all the lands upon which the missionary property, and most of the improvements belonging to merchants, are located, are held by the old law of the country, '*Indian gift*.'"⁷¹ If the temporary takeover of the islands was not cause enough to motivate both Richards and Ha‘alilio to succeed in their diplomatic mission, the idea that Hawaiian lands were being referred to as *Indian gifts*, further emphasized the necessity to negotiate guarantees and change those perceptions.

Still, when Richards and Ha‘alilio arrived in Washington D.C. prior, in December 1842, they met with President John Tyler who gave them verbal assurances that the United States would acknowledge Hawai‘i as an independent nation. President Tyler relayed his communications with the Hawaiian diplomats to the House and Senate, noting "The condition of those islands has excited a good deal of interest, which is increasing by every successive proof that their inhabitants are making progress in civilization." Tyler justified his support for the islands, observing that although "just emerging from a state of barbarism, the Government...seems anxious to improve the condition of its people, by the introduction of knowledge, of religious and moral institutions, means of education and the arts of civilized life." Moreover, Tyler maintained, the "usefulness" of the islands could not be denied America:

⁷¹ "Seizure of the Sandwich Islands, From the *Boston Daily Atlas* of June 6, 1843." Italicized words included in original manuscript. The use of the term "Indian gift" here seems to imply the American expression "Indian giver." In this context the author implies that lands in the islands that were occupied or given "improvements" by Euro-Americans were at risk of being "retrieved" by the Hawaiian ali‘i.

It cannot but be in conformity with the interest and the wishes of the Government and the people of the United States, that this community, thus existing in the midst of a vast expanse of ocean, should be respected, and all its rights strictly and conscientiously regarded. And this must also be the true interest of all other commercial States. Far remote from the dominions of European Powers, its growth and prosperity as an independent State may yet be in a high degree useful to all whose trade is extended to those regions; while its nearer approach to this continent, and the intercourse which American vessels have with it--such vessels constituting five-sixths of all which annually visit it--could not but create dissatisfaction on the part of the United States at any attempt by another Power, should such an attempt be threatened or feared, to take possession of the islands, colonize them, and subvert the native Government. Considering, therefore, that the United States possesses so very large a share of the intercourse with those islands, it is deemed not unfit to make the declaration, that their Government seeks nevertheless no peculiar advantages, no exclusive control over the Hawaiian Government, but is content with its independent existence, and anxiously wishes for its security and prosperity.⁷²

Though Tyler's appeal seemed to confirm that the Hawaiian government was now perceived as an "enlightened" nation, the Hawaiian rulers had also learned that guarantees of indigenous sovereignty from the U.S. would not be enough to protect their independence.⁷³ While they waited for written sanction from the U.S., Ha'alilio and Richards proceeded to Europe to strengthen their alliances. The two envoys could not have made their way at a more propitious moment, for as they entered discussions with the leaders of Britain, Belgium, and France, annexation threats at home in Hawai'i had become realities. In late 1842 and early 1843, Richard Charlton, the British consul in the islands, had become embroiled in a land dispute with

⁷² *Journal of the Senate of the United States*, Volume 34, 27th Congress, 1841-1843, 70-71; *Journal of the House of Representatives of the United States*, Volume 38, 27th Congress, 1841-1843, 122-123. Available from *A Century of Lawmaking For a New Nation, U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875* at <https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html><http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/lawhome.html>; Internet. Accessed 26 March 2019.

⁷³ If Richards and Ha'alilio needed any reminder of American attitudes about non-white, non-Euro-American people, they were sharply reminded during their travels. A Charleston, South Carolina paper reported on January 25, 1843, that "Haalilio, on his way from New York to New Haven, in the steamboat *Globe*, was not allowed to sit at the table with the other passengers, but was obliged to sup with the black servants. His companion, the Rev. Mr. Richards, after vainly remonstrating with the captain and clerk, took his seat at the same table. This is singular treatment to an accredited Ambassador [sic]." *Southern Patriot*, January 25, 1843.

the Hawaiian monarchy. As Kamakau describes it, Ka-lani-moku had been "generous enough to give, without any payment, his houselot *mauka*," to Charlton, but a quarrel arose over additional land that Charlton felt was due him.⁷⁴ The situation became so heated that Charlton begged the help of Lord George Paulet, a naval commander. When Paulet arrived in Honolulu in February 1843, he claimed to be on a mission to protect the lives, property, and interests of British subjects and threatened to use military force against the islands if Charlton's claim was not honored. Although Kamehameha III had offered to have one of his advisors, another ABCFM recruit to government service, Dr. G.P. Judd, meet and negotiate with Paulet, the commander refused and instead sent a list of demands. Paulet insisted on compliance, "otherwise I shall be obliged to take immediate coercive steps to obtain these measures for my countrymen."⁷⁵ Since Kamehameha III had already sent Richards, Ha'alilio, and special envoy, Sir George Simpson, to communicate with British leaders, the king trusted in their diplomacy to resolve the issue. Rather than risk attack, Kamehameha III conceded to Paulet, explaining that "we shall comply with your demands...under protest, and shall embrace the earliest opportunity of representing our case more fully to Her Britannic Majesty's government through our minister, trusting in the magnanimity of the sovereign of a great nation which we have been taught to respect and love, -- that we shall then be justified."⁷⁶ Within days of Paulet's arrival, Kamehameha III provisionally and temporarily ceded the Kingdom of Hawai'i into British hands.

The news of Paulet's actions and Britain's aggression was even bigger than the "Outrage At the Sandwich Islands" which had made headlines eighteen years before. The ABCFM, of course, published news on the matter, albeit a few months after the initial Hawaiian concession.

⁷⁴ Kamakau, 359.

⁷⁵ Lord George Paulet to Kamehameha III, February 17, 1843 as quoted in Kamakau, 361.

⁷⁶ King Kamehameha III to Lord George Paulet, February 18, 1843 as quoted in Kamakau, 362.

The *Missionary Herald* of July 1843 compared the event to the recent French belligerence, reporting, "It could hardly have been anticipated by the most sagacious, or the most distrustful, that the naval force of any other christian power would soon lend itself to similar aggressions."⁷⁷ European nations were now accused of displaying the unchristian and barbaric nature that the Hawaiians were seen as having so recently shed. One American merchant living in Honolulu described in a letter home that King Kamehameha III "took the only steps that could be expected from a Mighty and Piratical Empire, when it has the advantage over a weak government."⁷⁸ In follow up letters, he accused Paulet of "trying all in his power to injure the Americans and the American interest in the place," and he hoped to see Paulet "meet with the punishment he so justly deserves, but we can hardly hope for it, as this is only a criterion of all the rest of the barbarious [sic] acts that so disgrace the annals of England."⁷⁹

As noted, the seriousness of the issue was blasted in the press and, with the help of envoys, Richards and Ha'alilio, the annexation attempt had been broadcast throughout America and Europe, testing Western convictions and international conventions.⁸⁰ As written above, most accounts highlight the role of Kauikeaouli, Kamehameha III – as the prime strategist and

⁷⁷ *Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: With a General View of Other Benevolent Operations. For the Year 1843, Vol. XXXIX.* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1843), 291.

⁷⁸ James Henry Gleason to Francis Gleason, February 25, 1843. Henry James Gleason, *Beloved Sister: The Letters of James Henry Gleason, 1841-1859 from Alta California and the Sandwich Islands with a brief account of his voyage in 1841 via Cape Horn to Oahu and California*, compiled with notes by Duncan and Dorothy Gleason (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1978), 53.

⁷⁹ James Henry Gleason to Francis Gleason, June 16, 1843. Gleason, 57.

⁸⁰ The diplomatic endeavors and appeals of Richards and Ha'alilio on Hawai'i's behalf were printed in several U.S. and European newspapers. The *Madisonian for the Country*, published in Washington, D.C., for example, reported a letter written from Richards and Ha'alilio which had appeared in the Paris journals. On learning of the British aggression in the islands, the envoys declared, "we solemnly protest against this occupation, as contrary to the rights of nations and the sanctity of the bonds which unite nations between themselves, whatever may be their relative power." *Madisonian for the Country*, published as *The Daily Madisonian*, July 22, 1843. Moreover, there is evidence that King Kamehameha III sent separate dispatches through General J.F.B. Marshall "to the United States Government and Commissioner to the Courts of England and France," to make sure that the events in the islands were reported swiftly and accurately and included Kauikeaouli's conditional protest against the annexation of Hawai'i. *The Polynesian*, November, 2000, 3.

negotiator during this tense time in Hawai‘i. But it must be remembered that nothing was negotiated by Kamehameha III alone but through and with the aprobation of a group of ali‘i. Moreover, though her name is not mentioned in the multiple histories of this period, nothing would be deemed a legitimate agreement without the express acknowledgement and signature of Kekāuluohi. Clearly, both Kauikeaouli *and* the kuhina nui understood, as one newspaper put it, that England would yield so "as to save her reputation."⁸¹ More importantly, embracing an insight similar to that which Native Americans had gleaned a century earlier, they understood that no one Western power could effectively take over the islands and defend them against the aggressions of any other. By forcing Britain's hand, they had also, in essence, compelled France, Belgium, and the U.S. to commit themselves to Hawai‘i’s independence so that they might also safeguard her benefits. Moreover, by trusting in diplomacy and refusing to engage in a destructive military resistance, they had garnered not only promises of recognition, but they also *bestowed* recognition as well to "enlightened" nations who abided by accepted conventions. When the British restored the Kingdom of Hawai‘i back to its rightful rulers on July 31, 1843, the king *and* the kuhina nui had sent challengers a message that Hawai‘i’s native sovereignty would not be easily undermined. The day was celebrated with Kamehameha III's announcement "Ua mau ke ea o ka ‘āina i ka pono" -- the sovereignty of the land has been continued because it is *pono* [just].⁸²

The 1843 attempted annexation is well-known in the history of Hawai‘i, but the moment is more than a “triumph” over European aggressions. It marks a change of consciousness among elites, foreigners, and maka‘āinana in Hawai‘i. Hawaiians were now more acutely aware of the

⁸¹ *Daily Atlas*, published as *The Boston Daily Atlas*, December 20, 1844.

⁸² Silva, 37. Silva notes that this became the king’s motto. “It later became the motto of the kingdom, and then (strangely or perversely) was appropriated as the motto of the State of Hawai‘i where it is usually translated as “The life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness.”

aggressive aspirations of foreigners. Hawaiians understood the abysmal treatment of indigenous people in the U.S. and elsewhere. Hawaiians also understood the economic and political power that would be required to keep foreign ambitions at bay. If Native Hawai'i was to be free from the vicissitudes of European and American imperialism, the ali'i would simultaneously have to appropriate and accommodate the commercial power of the West to maintain a balance of power in which Native Hawaiians had a stake.

What is more, the maka'āinana appealed directly to the government over land issues in the years following this event. In her ruling position, Kekāuluohi was clearly respected by the people of Hawai'i who voiced their concerns over the increasing influence of foreigners wishing to own Hawaiian lands. A petition from Kailua, dated June 12, 1845 is addressed directly to her (Ka'ahumanu III), as opposed to Kamehameha III and opens with

Aloha maikai oe e Kaahumanu III, a me ka aha-olelo apua loa

1. Eia ka makou manao hoopii aku ia oukou i ka aha-olelo o ke aupuni Hawaii. Ua lohe ae nei makou i na manao o Kauka a ke koi ai o ka aina i ka haole, a me ka uku o ka aina... Eia ko makou manao maikai ia oukou, ke ae mai oukou na alii ia mskou. E mai [kuni] aku oukou na alii i ka aina i na haole, a'ole hoi ko na aina e apau.

Aloha / Greetings to you Ka'ahumanu III, and all of the legislature.

1. Here are our thoughts asking a favor of you all in the Legislature of the government of Hawai'i. We heard about the thoughts /plan of the Doctor, [Dr. G.P. Judd], and the sale of the land to the foreigner and the purchase of the land... Here are our good thoughts to you, your chiefs agreeing with us. Don't all of your chiefs sell the land to the foreigners, neither all internationally.⁸³

The petition was one of a group of petitions, organized, coordinated, and signed from various islands, including the big island of Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i, and O'ahu. Sadly, Kekāuluohi would

⁸³ "Petition to Ka'ahumanu III from the people of Kailua," June 12, 1845. Hawaii State Archives, Foreign Office and Executive Records, 1790-1900, Box 402-13-316 Chronological File 1790-1845, 1845: Jun. 12, 13, 14. Translation by Shirley E. Buchanan.

never receive this petition. Like many of her predecessors, she was struck by yet another deadly virus brought from beyond Hawai'i's shores. On June 7, 1845, mere days before the drafting of this petition, Kekāuluohi died at the age of fifty-one.

Still, her presence was felt as these petitions made their way to Kamehameha III. A few weeks before her death, Kauikeaouli proposed "a careful revisal of the Laws" in the May 20, 1845 address to the legislature. Acknowledging the recent recognition by foreign powers, he declared, "We are well aware that the Word of God is the corner-stone of our kingdom. Through its influence we have been introduced into the family of the independent nations of the earth." As an "enlightened" nation, he emphasized, "it is our wish to cultivate the relation of peace and friendship with all nations, and to treat the subjects of all with equal justice."⁸⁴ In order to implement new legislation that would address the issues of foreigners as well as strengthen the economic position of Hawai'i, Kamehameha also announced the appointment of Dr. Gerrit Parmele Judd as Minister for the Interior Affairs of the Kingdom, R.C. Wyllie as Minister of Foreign Relations, and John Ricord as legal advisor. The adoption of these new positions began to change the balance of power. Perhaps the people of Kona-Kailua on the Big Island appealed to Kekāuluohi in response to these changes, which may have delimited her power as kuhina nui. When it was discovered that she had passed and never received the petition, another was drafted dated June 25, 1845. This petition was directed towards King Kamehameha III and presented much more urgent language. The language in the second article is direct: "Do not sell the land to new foreigners from foreign countries." The petition goes on to state, "We have heard that you have all agreed to sell land to the foreigners and that the Premier was the only one who did not agree to your thoughts. Therefore our thought is to appeal to you, the chiefs." If this was the

⁸⁴ "The King's Speech to the Legislature," May 20, 1845, Lydecker, 17.

case, it seems Kekāuluohi was standing in the way of the "careful revisal of the Laws." What is more, the petition voices the people's concern that the government could not protect them from the discrimination and racism Euro-Americans brought with them to the islands in their pursuit of wealth. Article eleven notes, "the foreigners despise us and we hear them revile us to our faces "Common Indians" (He kami Initini.) Who indeed would acknowledge the white skinned people over ourselves as alii? That would be the nature of their work hereafter."⁸⁵ As noted previously, the use and interpretation of the term "he kami Initini" is additionally amplified in this context. According to Pukui and Elbert's *Hawaiian Dictionary*, "kami" could also mean "damn" as in the term kami pulu meaning "damn fool."⁸⁶ Thus "he kami Initini" suggests not only a diminished status as "common Indians" but also a more derogatory meaning as "damn Indians," a term more likely to be associated with American epithets toward indigeneous people.

From the language in the petitions and newspapers, the assessments in journals, letters, and memoirs, it appears that the period of Kekāuluohi's reign as kuhina nui was especially crucial in the trajectory of Hawai'i. Her passing seems to have brought on another crisis of leadership as well, for after the death of Kekāuluohi, only one more woman would serve as kuhina nui in the Hawaiian government. The woman who would ascend to that position – Victoria Kamāmalu, the daughter of Kina'u and Kekūanā'ō – would not be ready to step into her role until 1855. In the interim, tremendous changes took place in the implementation of the 1848 Māhele. Perhaps more than any other legislation, the Māhele, along with subsequent amendments to the act, irreversibly challenged and changed power relations in the islands. Along with the physical landscape, the political, economic, and social dynamics of the kingdom

⁸⁵ "Petition from the people of Kona, Hawaii. To Kamehameha III and the Legislature," Kailua, June 25, 1845. Hawai'i State Archives, General Records of the Legislature, 222-2-3: Leg. 1845 Petitions. Archival translation.

⁸⁶ Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 126.

were forever altered, and the fears of petitioners such as those of Kailua in 1845, were realized in a "dispossession by degrees."⁸⁷ The absence of the kuhina nui matriarchs at this vital moment in Hawaiian history creates a loud silence that begs the question: if Kekāuluohi had lived longer, would the 1848 Māhele have been implemented? The absence of the female kuhina nui after Kekāuluohi's death may also reveal the influence that Western Christianity and patriarchal forms of government imposed on traditional Hawaiian government. Christian morals, which demanded monogamous marriages and required patrilineal inheritance laws seemingly attempted to diminish the power of networks created through the female ali'i. But as will be seen in Chapter Six, outside influences to change the role of kuhina nui were ultimately unsuccessful as women ali'i utilized new tools to assert their traditional power.

Managing the Māhele

By the end of 1845, Kamehameha III created the administrative structure which would redefine and redistribute land titles in the islands. He established the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, which was also called the Land Commission. William Richards and John Ricord were among the first five members along with James Young Kanehoa, Ioane Papa ʻĪʻĪ, and Kaʻauwai, all members and descendants of the ruling ali'i.⁸⁸ Richards was elected President of the Commission, and in the king's address to the legislature on July 31, 1846, Kauikeaouli explicitly stated, "I trust that the labors of the Land Commissioners will result in rendering the titles to land clear and fixed, and thus lay a foundation for agricultural enterprise. It is my

⁸⁷ Jean O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650-1790* (Univ. of Nebraska Press, 2003).

⁸⁸ Van Dyke, 33-35.

special wish that the laws be such as to offer the most efficient encouragement to profitable industry."⁸⁹ He reiterated this wish in his April 28, 1847 speech to the legislature:

I recommend you to consider the best means of inducing foreigners to furnish capital for carrying on agricultural operations, that thus the exports of the country may be increased; and also for you to consider whether it be not expedient that the income derived from the sale of lands, should be loaned on good security to such naturalized foreigners and natives as will use it in developing the resources of the Islands.⁹⁰

Although the first division and allocation of lands in what would become the "Great Mahele" was not completed until 1848, it was these first initiatives in concert with the development of the Land Commission, which changed Hawaiian land tenure in the latter half of the nineteenth century and permitted the incursion of foreign land owners.

Hawaiian leaders were not blindly directed into the process of redistributing the land, opening it up for foreign purchase, and requiring the maka'āinana to relinquish their traditional access in lieu of formal private property claims. Theirs was a strategic and calculated move, intended to position Hawai'i in a favorable economic position amidst the increasing pressures of Euro-American imperialism. At first, the Hawaiian rulers had resisted the idea of allowing foreigners to own land in fee simple title. When R.C. Wyllie reported that the British, in particular, questioned whether the "King's Foreign Ministers" had undue influence in this respect, "The King and Chiefs laughed very heartily, remarking, --so they think we are fools -- that we know not the value of our own lands, and that all the trouble that foreigners have given us about lands, raising all manner of claims and difficulties, has had no effect upon us."⁹¹

Indeed, it was precisely the influence of the outside world, combined with knowledge gleaned

⁸⁹ "The King's Speech to the Legislature," July 31, 1846, Lydecker, 19.

⁹⁰ "The King's Speech to the Legislature," April 28, 1847, Lydecker, 21.

⁹¹ Minutes of the Privy Council, 1845-1846, 211-212. Available from *Ka Huli Ao* Digital Archives, Punawaiola.org, *Ka Huli Ao* Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i, Manoa at <http://punawaiola.org/>; Internet. Accessed 14 March 2011.

from the ABCFM that convinced the aliʻi to take a proactive and revolutionary approach to land legislation in Hawaiʻi. Rather than wait for the Europeans or Americans to gain the military strength and political will to lay siege to the islands, the Hawaiian rulers learned from the difficulties of Native American nations, as well as an increasing number of indigenous Pacific nations, and appropriated the Western tools needed to assert their sovereignty. In creating the “Great Mahele of 1848,” a process which actually spanned almost a decade from 1845 to 1855, the Hawaiian government redistributed the land in such a way as to attempt to retain the largest portion in the hands of the ancestral rulers and their heirs.

The Hawaiian government continued to implement the process in a methodical manner, incorporating the talents and knowledge of Western statesmen in balance with the traditional aliʻi rulers. William Little Lee, another American lawyer, was recruited by Kamehameha III to assist in the judicial matters of the islands. Educated at Harvard, Lee had not intended to settle in Hawaiʻi, but rather had initially traveled west to find a more suitable climate for his ill health. As Rev. S.C. Damon noted, "at this time public attention was strongly directed towards the new Territory of Oregon, which was supposed to offer unusual advantages to settlers, as well in the salubrity of its climate as the fertility of its soil, and its prospect of speedy growth."⁹² Perhaps, as historian Lilikala Kameʻeleihiwa more pointedly observes, Lee and his friend Charles R. Bishop had traveled from New England "to seek their fortune in the world together. As enterprising young capitalists, they had planned to join the Western invasion of the rich Indian lands in the Oregon region."⁹³ In either case, the changing landscape of indigenous sovereignty from the mainland to the islands provided an opportunity to Lee, who was given an appointment

⁹² Rev. S. C. Damon, *Tribute To The Memory of Hon. William L. Lee, Late Chief Justice of the Hawaiian Kingdom*, (Honolulu: H.M. Whitney's Press, 1857), 15.

⁹³ Kameʻeleihiwa, 298.

as a judge in late 1846. By 1847, Lee was elected Chief Justice of the Hawai'i Supreme Court, and served as president of the Land Commission upon the death of William Richards in 1847.⁹⁴ Working with Judd as well as other members of the Hawaiian government, Lee ultimately drew on considerable resources in adjudicating and legislating the complex transition of land tenure in the islands. In a November 1847 letter to his old professor at Harvard, Hon. Simon Greenleaf, he described the task before him, explaining, "my judicial duties are arduous, but they are small compared with my labor as President of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles. The Board have about one thousand cases pending before them...and probably will have about two thousand more." Lee sent to Greenleaf, as "requested by His Majesty," a "copy of the old Statute Laws of the Hawaiian Islands," as well as "the first volume of the new Statue Laws" for the Harvard Library and appealed to Greenleaf to "make any suggestions for my guidance."⁹⁵ Thus, in recruiting Lee, it is clear that Kauikeaouli intended to utilize his specialized knowledge while simultaneously exploiting his connections to reiterate the "enlightened" transformation of Hawai'i to the educated American elite, especially those in New England.

In the end, the Māhele distributed the lands of Hawai'i into four divisions: the Mō'ī lands, or Crown lands, the Government lands, the ali'i lands, and finally, lands for the maka'āinana. In order for the process to work, however, as Judd testified, "Every land that was given by the king to the chiefs was first given by the chiefs to the king."⁹⁶ In essence, though all of the lands belonged initially to the king, and could traditionally revert to his possession, those lands which had been handed down to and through the rulers were now apportioned according to

⁹⁴ Barbara E. Dunn, "William Little Lee and Catherine Lee, Letters from Hawai'i 1848-1855," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004), 61.

⁹⁵ William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, November 2, 1847, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, BANC MSS 78/106p.

⁹⁶ Testimony of Dr. G.P. Judd in court case of February 6, 1862, quoted in Kame'eleihiwa, 223 and cited as Equity 200: Judd's testimony. February 6, 1862.

the new statutes. Just as the king would be giving up his own land, the ali'i were expected to contribute a portion of their traditional lands towards the creation of the Government lands. In short, this required a unified cooperation on the part of the Hawaiian rulers that was beyond the reach of ABCFM missionaries or Euro-American political advisors. Historian Kame'eleihiwa explains, "*Ali'i Nui* acquiescence to the *Māhele* was crucial if it was to go forward at all and not end in either rebellion or further recriminations."⁹⁷ Still, some historians assert, as Stuart Banner explains, though the "Hawaiian governing elite would have had little interest in this sort of egalitarian political reform, they had an interest in economic reform."⁹⁸ In some cases, the ali'i ended up relinquishing from 40 to 70 percent of their land; however, through the *Māhele*, their lands could no longer revert entirely to the king.⁹⁹ Likewise, the Hawaiian elite could benefit from either increased agricultural production on their land or by selling their land which "would allow them to capitalize on an asset that had previously been unmonetizable."¹⁰⁰ What is more, although Kamehameha III ultimately retained more personal land than any other individual ruler, Van Dyke explains that "he nonetheless turned over 82 percent of his holdings...in order to provide sufficient 'Aina [land] for the other *Ali'i*, the Government, and the *maka'ainana*. These

⁹⁷ Kame'eleihiwa, 223.

⁹⁸ Banner, 296.

⁹⁹ Kame'eleihiwa, 229.

¹⁰⁰ Banner, 296. Sahlins and Barrere expand on the ramifications of the *Mahele*, observing "In stipulating but one landlord over each land section (*ahupua'a* or '*ili'aina*), and giving *kuleanas* [property] to such cultivators as made their claim, the *Mahele* at one stroke eliminated the large class of intermediate 'landlords' and their claim on the people's labor. The former then disappear, as did their levy on the economy, yielding to the dominance of commercial (mainly American) interests. At the same time, the people, such as were left, were freed by the abrogation of labor-taxes to enter more readily into the market sector, often as wage-laborers...Although the *Mahele* is usually understood as the preparation of a land-grab by foreigners, it seems to respond more fundamentally to this general transformation of the economy and redefinition of the economic classes. For the monarchy it meant a severing of dependence on the landlord system, adapted from traditional custom, but costly in proportion to the proliferation of *konohikis* and their agents. As for the people, the security of tenure and freedom from labor obligations afforded by the *Mahele*, rather than tightening their relation to the land gave them greater opportunity to leave it--and, of course, to lose it." Sahlins and Barrere, 39, footnote 16.

distributions were consistent with his goal of protecting the lands of the Native Hawaiians from foreigners."¹⁰¹

Though traditional interpretations of the Māhele have focused on the opportunities it ultimately provided to foreign investors to dominate the island, the evolution of the legislation seems to tell another story. The impetus behind the Māhele developed over the course of a quarter century of Western influence and was not entered into lightly. It was a massive undertaking which affected all of the islands and took at least ten years of structural regulation and many more years to accurately allocate, allot, and acknowledge the precise boundaries for land claims. The legislation was an innovative construction of land redistribution which incorporated both Native Hawaiian and foreign elements, retaining some traditional forms of land tenure, while introducing new Western democratic forms, including rights to alienable private property. Even more telling, before agreeing to the final resolution in the "adoption in the division of the lands,"¹⁰² Kamehameha III made a point to clarify exactly how the divisions would be recorded and how Crown and Government lands would be distinguished:

The King remarked before this Rule was passed, if his lands were merely entered in a Book, the Government lands also in a Book, and all private allodial titles in a Book, if a Foreign Power should take the Islands what lands would they respect. Would they take possession of his lands?

Mr. Wyllie replied that after the recognition of His Majesty's Independence by the United States, Great Britain and France, and the engagement of the two latter powers never to take possession of any part of the Islands, he thought the danger adverted to by the King, was exceedingly remote. Those Great Powers held the World in check, and they were not likely to permit that any other Power should take a possession of the Islands which they bound themselves not to take. So long as the King, as hitherto, governed his Kingdom justly and with due regard to the

¹⁰¹ Van Dyke, 43.

¹⁰² See Appendix for the complete list of resolutions proposed in the Minutes of the Privy Council, December 14, 1847. Minutes of the Privy Council, 1847-1848, 283-291. Available from *Ka Huli Ao* Digital Archives, Punawaiola.org, *Ka Huli Ao* Center for Excellence in Native Hawaiian Law, William S. Richardson School of Law, University of Hawai'i, Manoa at <http://punawaiola.org/>; Internet. Accessed 24 March 2011.

rights of all Foreigners & to the laws of Nations, no Nation could have a plea to seize the Islands.

Mr. Lee gave it as his opinion, that except in the case of resistance to, & conquest by, any foreign power the King's right to his private lands would be respected...

Still, Kamehameha III did not rely on the assurances of Wyllie or Lee to fulfill the intent of the Māhele. He wanted to be sure that if the Hawaiian rulers were converting their land into fee simple title, they could not be usurped by an imperialist foreign power, and to that point,

The King observed that he would prefer that his private lands should be registered not in a separate Book, but in the same Book as all other Allodial Titles, and that the only separate Book should be that of the Government Lands.¹⁰³

Though subsequent legislation after 1848 eroded the initial structure of the Māhele, the original intent of the division was to maintain the largest land holdings in the hands of the Hawaiian rulers while incorporating the principles of private property acknowledged by "enlightened" Western nations. When the *Mahele Book* was signed between January and March of 1848 by Kamehameha III and "more than two hundred and forty of the highest ranking chiefs and *konohikis* in the kingdom," the majority of the land was controlled by the king and the ali'i.¹⁰⁴ As king, Kamehameha III also reserved the right to sell and pass down to his heirs both the Crown lands and the Government lands. In separating out his personal property from that of the Government, he had also prepared for any inevitability, for even if the Hawaiian Kingdom was taken over by a foreign power, the *largest portion of redistributed land still resided in the hands of the Crown and ali'i as private property*. With the Māhele, then, Kamehameha III proactively attempted to avoid the dispossession that had befallen the Cherokee by converting the traditional native land tenure into a property structure which not only seemingly "conformed"

¹⁰³ Minutes of the Privy Council, 1847-1848, 307-309.

¹⁰⁴ Jon J. Chinen, *The Great Mahele: Hawaii's Land Division of 1848* ([Honolulu]: University of Hawaii Press, 1958), 16.

to Western standards, but in fact used these preconceptions of ownership as “weapons” to protect against the vicissitudes of land accumulation and broken treaties practiced by the United States. The Hawaiian rulers and their advisors understood "that when the United States assumed sovereignty over new areas, the U.S. government recognized pre-existing property rights derived from earlier sovereigns."¹⁰⁵ However, though the ABCFM warned against foreign ownership and Dr. Judd, as Van Dyke points out, "strenuously opposed allowing foreigners to have the unrestricted right to obtain land," later legislation abraded the original purpose of the Māhele. The Alien Land Ownership Act of July 10, 1850 finally granted foreigners who had not declared allegiance to the Hawaiian Kingdom the right to own land in fee simple title. Although the act was meant to accommodate Euro-American demands and stimulate economic development in the islands, Van Dyke notes that new settlers "directly competed with the *maka'ainana* for the 'Aina [land], and their greater familiarity with allodial title and their access to capital gave them a significant advantage."¹⁰⁶ Though the Hawaiian rulers had intended to protect their country using the tools of their adversaries, the "success" of their "enlightened" land policy soon became a model for legislators of American Indian policy in the United States as the century wore on.

¹⁰⁵ Banner, 299.

¹⁰⁶ Van Dyke, 50-51.

CHAPTER 5

"Our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence"

Between 1848 and 1887, the United States was reborn as a nation. In virtually the same months that the Hawaiian rulers were signing the *Buke Māhele*, the United States was signing the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which expanded the country by another third to the shores of the Pacific. The idea of "manifest destiny," which had helped legitimize the Mexican-American War, came to apply more generally to an increasingly righteous American imperialism as the country expanded west. The discovery of gold in California gave further impetus to that viewpoint, and throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, American political leaders and social reformers embraced the ideology that those people who exhibited an "elevated state of Christian civilization," deserved to control and accumulate the wealth of the land. Indigenous societies that stood in the way of national growth were often forcibly removed from their ancient homelands and relocated to reservation lands where, it was reasoned, they might learn to assimilate and adopt the ways of "enlightened" America. Though the Civil War would bring the country to the brink, it illuminated the schism between the declared "rights" and foundational principles of the United States and its simultaneous heretofore support of a slave underclass. While the outcome of the war reasserted the supremacy of federal power, subsequent legislation promised to guarantee the rights of those "born or naturalized in the United States," excepting Indians.¹ With Native American people now identified as a "ward to his guardian," the federal

¹ "Constitution of the United States, Amendments 11-27," Available from *The U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* at http://www.archives.gov/exhibits/charters/constitution_amendments_11-27.html; Internet. Accessed 31 March 2011. The fourteenth amendment, ratified on July 9, 1868 provides in Section 1 that "All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." However, Section 2 was interpreted to qualify that statement. It stated that "Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed." Until the Citizenship Act of 1924, Indians were not automatically considered citizens of the United States. For Native Americans, U.S. citizenship was often conditional, requiring that Indians adopt and exhibit the "habits of civilized life." Legal historians note the court

government used its now strengthened position to pursue policies towards indigenous people that it had initially legitimized in the Removal Era. Though Hawai‘i seemed far removed from the clamor, it had become by the mid-nineteenth century an economic engine for the U.S. More importantly, the success of Native Hawaiians in assimilating and integrating the ways of "enlightened" nations soon became a model for those looking for a resolution to the Indian "problem." As the implementation of the Māhele increasingly allowed American incursion into and foreign influence upon the islands, mainland officials discovered that the way to assimilate indigenous people "to an elevated state of Christian civilization"² was not through a religious conversion, but rather an economic one. With the passage of the Dawes Allotment Act in 1887, the United States federal government employed the strategies introduced in the Māhele to divide, distribute, and privatize; it was a strategy that not only divided the remaining indigenous estate, but also the people of the U.S.

When John O'Sullivan famously championed "the fulfilment [sic] of our manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence," he was not alone in expressing the dominant American expansionist ideology of the mid-nineteenth century.³ The notion that America was predestined to inhabit territory from the Atlantic to the Pacific had been gradually cultivated

"held that Indians could not come within the sweep of the [fourteenth] amendment because 'the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States have always been held to be distinct and independent political communities, retaining the right of self-government, though subject to the protecting power of the United States.' [McKay v. Campbell, 16 Fed.Cas. 161 (D.Or.1871) (No. 8840)]." However, as treaty agreements were abrogated and federal policy sought to remove and disperse native people, many Indian individuals were alienated and denied either protection from their tribe or American rights. Moreover, in *Elk v. Wilkins* [112 U.S. 94, 5 S.Ct.41, 28 L.Ed.643 91884)], "the Court pointed out that section 2 of the fourteenth amendment retained an exclusion of 'Indians not taxed' in referring to apportionment of the House of Representatives ...The inference was drawn, not unreasonably, that Congress would have removed the exclusion, just as it removed the 3/5 formula for counting slaves, had it intended that Indians be made citizens." David H. Getches, Daniel M. Rosenfelt, and Charles F. Wilkinson, eds., *Cases and Materials on Federal Indian Law* (St Paul: West Publishing Co., 1979), 495-497.

² *Missionary Album*, 10-11.

³ John O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *The United States Democratic Review*, 17.85 (July-August, 1845), 5. Available from <http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu>; Internet. Accessed 25 March 2011.

since the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. Success in the War of 1812, ongoing treaties with Native American nations, and the establishment of the United States' northern border with Britain in the Treaty of Oregon in 1846 only enhanced its influence.⁴ However, the march west posed unique problems for the U.S. government when it came to dealing with native people. As Stephen Rockwell points out, "Moving west by exterminating Indians was at first impractical and always costly, as well as a violation of American founding ideals. From its earliest days, the United States set out to negotiate and sign treaties -- however flawed that process was -- and to civilize Indians for eventual assimilation -- however misguided *that* objective was."⁵ Nonetheless, the federal government continued to rely on programs such as The Civilization Fund -- carried out by religious reformers -- to facilitate its ambitions, reasoning that those who were "civilized," were the same who were *deserving* of the land. What is more, the religious revivalism of the first half of the nineteenth century amplified these ideologies with a democratic emphasis. As one historian notes, "the fundamental impetus of these movements was to make Christianity a liberating force," which when coupled with the political principles of the new American democracy legitimized the nearly "divine right" of this "enlightened" nation to subsume weaker entities.⁶ Thus, with a unified state and church effort, the rhetoric of civilization was wielded as a weapon against those perceived and distinguished as "heathens" or "barbaric" in order to facilitate the rise and expansion of the United States. This coordinated effort infiltrated every aspect of Indian policy in the nineteenth century, and as Rockwell notes, "Indian affairs were

⁴ "The Oregon Treaty, 1846. Treaty With Great Britain, In Regards To Limits Westward of the Rocky Mountains." Available from <http://www.ccrh.org/comm/river/docs/ortreaty.htm>; Internet. Accessed 25 March 2011.

⁵ Rockwell, 7.

⁶ Nathan O. Hatch, "Religious Revivalism as a Form of Democratization," in *Major Problems in American History, Volume 1: to 1877*, eds. Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman and Jon Gjerde (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007), 301.

absolutely critical to virtually all calculations of interest, of politics, of economy, of social situation, and of national survival and future development."⁷

Both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans were familiar with the pressing stipulations of "Christian civilization," but as the nineteenth century wore on, acceptable assimilation and integration of Euro-American standards was measured in degrees. For example, although the Cherokee of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes had practiced Christianity, adopted a Constitution, and even owned slaves like their Southern neighbors, this type of "civilized" behavior did not save them from the federally organized Removal Act. The Native Hawaiians, on the other hand, encouraged by the same organization in the ABCFM, seemed to apply more rapidly the principles of "civilization" from their national religion to their government structures to their international relations. Though the islands seemed remote from the fervor of "manifest destiny," they were also the western extension of American ambition and Native Hawaiian ali'i responded by displaying their assertion as an "enlightened" nation.

Even before the Māhele changed the possession of island lands, Native Hawaiians were influencing how civilization efforts were perceived in the United States. While the ABCFM had expanded its efforts to a multitude of missions internationally, the *Missionary Herald* continued to report on the superior example of the Hawaiians, noting "it is wonderful what progress has been made with a people that, a little more than twenty years ago, was sunk in unlettered barbarism."⁸ What is more, as noted in Chapter Three, because Native Hawaiians were valued for their navigational skills and seafaring knowledge, they were especially recruited in American merchant and military ventures and their presence was noted in a number of travel accounts of

⁷ Rockwell, 2.

⁸ *Missionary Herald: Containing the Proceedings at Large of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions: With a General View of Other Benevolent Operations. For the Year 1843, Vol. XXXIX.* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1843), 12.

the period. They were abundant among merchant crews, and as Gary Okihiro points out, demographic studies suggest that so many Hawaiians were recruited, that by 1850 they "represented almost 5 percent of the total Hawaiian population and 12 percent of all Hawaiian males of working age eighteen and older."⁹ Similarly, David Chappell indicates that by "the mid-nineteenth century, perhaps as many as one-fifth of the sailors in the American whaling fleet were so-called kanakas."¹⁰ Native Hawaiians were indispensable as guides throughout the Pacific and were known as "excellent sailors and swimmers, skilled builders, and reliable soldiers and guards, attributes that rendered them valuable to their employers."¹¹ But even these statistics seem vastly underestimated. If we look at Hipolito Bouchard's ability to recruit Hawaiians in 1818, it seems that many, many more kanaka sailors were engaged in the global trade from the late 1700s onward. Maybe as our digital records increase and archival evidence is made further accessible and explored, we will start to see the many Hawaiian names and subsumed stories hidden in ships' manifests.

What is more, by 1840 Hawaiians already had their first maps of the world and burgeoning American territories printed in texts. *He Mau Palapala Aina, a me Na Niele E Pili Ana* [Maps and Questions Regarding Them] was a text book created to teach young Hawaiian students geography. Translator and editor of a 2011 edition of the text M. Puakea Nogelmeier explains "After 1820, American Protestant Missionaries in tandem with the Hawaiian king and the chiefs, launched the spread of western education and literacy. Education was in the Hawaiian language and the reading of maps and the creation of new maps was soon an important

⁹ Okihiro, 143.

¹⁰ Chappell, xiii.

¹¹ Okihiro 144.

part of the Hawaiian educational curriculum.”¹² Historian David Chang also comments on the significance of these early maps, asserting “Perhaps the most important thing to know about the *He Mau Palapala Aina* atlas is that it was Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians), not missionaries or other foreigners, who engraved the maps that illustrated it. The first atlas in Hawaiian representing the world in the Western cartographic code of image and word to Kānaka was made by Kānaka themselves.”¹³ Both Nogelmeier and Chang illuminate the ways in which Native Hawaiians created a ki‘i – both a search and an image – of their world, but one of the most important elements of the U.S. map was the way Native Americans were also portrayed in that illustration. Scholar J. Uluwehi Hopkins has asserted that both stories and histories, known as mo‘olelo, were memorized: “mo‘olelo is a ‘succession of talk,’ and as such can refer to any (his)story, both fiction and nonfiction. Because Hawaiians kept their entire archival record in oral forms, mo‘olelo can also refer to tradition.”¹⁴ Thus, the information in these maps would also have been memorized, a ki‘i committed to memory. With that said, it is important to note that the 1840 map of the “United States” – Amerika Huipuia – is a picture of the U.S. prior to the Mexican-American War, but after the Removal Act. Indian nations figure prominently on the map, including Native American nations located in the former Louisiana Purchase territory up to “Ka Aina o Missouri” [Dakota Territory] and to the west and “Ka Aina o Oregone,” [Oregon]. The map includes a large swath for “Na Inikini Siou,” (Sioux Indians), “Na inikini Sosone o Senake,” (Snake Shoshone), as well “Ko Manadana,” “Ko Rikare,” and “Ko Pawane,” (Mandan,

¹² *He Mau Palapala Aina, a me Na Niele E Pili Ana* [Maps and Questions Regarding Them], Hawaiian Language Reprint Series; buke 4. (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2011), xv.

¹³ Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, 114.

¹⁴ J. Uluwehi Hopkins, “Mo‘olelo as Resistance: The Kaona of Kahalaopuna in a Colonized Environment,” Paper Presentation at the 34th Annual Hawai‘i Regional Meeting of Phi Alpha Theta, University of Hawai‘i, Mānoa (17 March 2018), 1.

Arikira, Pawnee), among many others.¹⁵ The presence of these indigenous nations on the maps also seems to be inspired by George Catlin's map produced in 1833 where the locations of Indian nations can almost be matched side by side with the Hawaiian map.¹⁶ Further, the map as produced in *He Mau Palapala Aina* shows an outline of "Indian Territory," now Oklahoma, but there is some ambiguity as to where tribal groups / nations are located and much of the area is left undescribed, most likely because the territory itself was in flux after the long Trail of Tears.

Even more intriguing are the questions placed to students at the back of this primer. Chang has asserted that the "purpose of teaching hō'ikehonua (geography) was, from the missionary perspective, to teach Kānaka their position in the world. The text made clear what the missionary educators thought was the appropriate position of Hawai'i vis-à-vis the United States and Europe."¹⁷ But it is difficult to make this case when nearly a third of American territory presented in the map is controlled by "Na Inikini." Perhaps Hawaiians were also paying close attention to those locales and the places where kanakas had traveled, settled and integrated with other North Americans. The questions for study at the back of the primer ask things like "Pehea na aoao o Missouri?" (How / What is the boundary of Missouri or "Ka Aina o Missouri"?) and "Owai ka muliwai nui?" (Who/What is the great river/water?). These kinds of close inspections of the map would not have ignored Native American nations, but in fact emphasized their presence in Hawaiian knowledge.

¹⁵ *He Mau Palapala Aina, a me Na Niele E Pili Ana*, Map of Amerika Huipuia.

¹⁶ George Catlin, "Outline Map of Indian Localities in 1833," in *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians. Written during Eight Years' Travel (1832-1839) amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in North America*. With an Introduction by Marjorie Halpin and over 250 Photographic Reproductions of Paintings in the Catlin Collection of the United States National Museum, Volume I (New York: Dover Publications, 1973). The published map also includes a disclaimer about later locations of Indian people: "in Vol. 2 see Map of Localities in 1840 since all the tribes have been removed from the States, W. of the Mississippi."

¹⁷ Chang, *The World and All the Things Upon It*, 121.

As non-white, native people, Hawaiians in mid-nineteenth century accounts were characterized, compared, and contrasted with Indian people as Euro-Americans perceived them. In *Two Years Before the Mast*, published in 1840, Richard Henry Dana specifically remarked on the unique character of the "Sandwich Islanders," comparing their "evolution" with what he perceived as the degraded condition of Indian people in Alta California during his travels from 1834-1836.¹⁸ On arrival in California, he noted that "Among the Spaniards there is no working class; (the Indians being slaves and doing all the hard work;) and every rich man looks like a grandee, and every poor scamp like a broken down gentlemen." He associated the ruined state of the Indians with the tarnished legacy of the Spanish and Spanish Americans in Latin America, observing, "The Californians are an idle, thriftless people, and can make nothing for themselves."¹⁹ He further opined that even with "the independence of Mexico...the conditions of the Indians was, as may be supposed, only nominal: they are virtually slaves, as much as they ever were...Of the poor Indians, very little care is taken...[they] show the entire want of any sense of morality or domestic duty."²⁰ In Dana's view, the California Indians were little more than wretches, objects of oppression and devoid of distinction. But of the Hawaiians, Dana made special note. When he spent four months on shore near San Diego as a "beach-comber" in the hide business, Dana developed a rich relationship with Sandwich Islanders and devoted fully two chapters of his account describing his interaction with the Hawaiians.

Where Dana referred to Native Americans simply as "Indians" in a derogatory and dismissive manner, he effusively praised the Native Hawaiians he befriended. He emphasized

¹⁸ Richard Henry Dana, Jr. *Two Years Before the Mast and Other Voyages* [Thomas L. Philbrick selected the texts and wrote the notes for this volume which includes *Two Years Before the Mast* (1840), *To Cuba and Back: A Vacation Voyage* (1859), and *Journal of a Voyage Round the World, 1859-1860* (1968)] (New York: The Library of America, Literary Classics of the United States, Inc., 2005).

¹⁹ Dana, 73 - 74.

²⁰ Dana, 162 -165.

the ways in which the Sandwich Islanders seemed "civilized," and noted that many "had been taught to read and write by the missionaries at home." Dana clearly admired them, remarking,

They were the most interesting, intelligent, and kind-hearted people that I ever fell in with. I felt a positive attachment for almost all of them; and many of them I have, to this time, a feeling for, which would lead me to go a great way for the mere pleasure of seeing them, and which will always make me feel a strong interest in the mere name of a Sandwich Islander.²¹

Moreover, he remarked that the Islanders were offended when sailors taunted them, saying they "ate Captain Cook." He defended them, asserting that the Hawaiians "never would allow that human beings had been eaten there; and, indeed, it always seemed like an insult to tell so affectionate, intelligent and civilized a class of men, that such barbarities had been practised [sic] in their own country within the recollection of many of them."²² Dana held the Hawaiians in high esteem, even in comparison to his own countrymen:

I would have trusted my life and my fortune in the hands of any one of these people; and certainly, had I wished for a favor or act of sacrifice, I would have gone to them all, in turn, before I should have applied to one of my own countrymen on the coast, and should have expected to have seen it done, before my own countrymen had got half through counting the cost. Their customs, and manner of treating one another, show a simple, primitive generosity, which is truly delightful; and which is often a reproach to our own people. Whatever one has, they all have. Money, food, clothes, they share with one another; even to the last piece of tobacco to put in their pipes.²³

His sentiments and comparisons can be seen in other mid-nineteenth century narratives as well.²⁴

²¹ Dana, 135 -139.

²² Dana, 140.

²³ Dana, 140-141.

²⁴ In addition to the accounts detailed here, and in the bibliography, see also J.C. Mullett, *A Five Years' Whaling Voyage, 1848-1853* (Fairfield, WA: Ye Galleon Press, 1977). Mullett describes the unique relationship he developed with two Hawaiians who traveled with him in the Pacific. Like Dana, he learned the Hawaiian language and admired these Islanders for their bravery and generosity. Although one of the Hawaiians died at sea, Mullett arranged for the remaining Hawaiian to be returned home and negotiated his protection with the king of Hawai'i. In his departure from Hawai'i he noted, "I shall never forget the feelings manifested towards me by this native and his relatives as I took the parting hand." Mullett, 46, 54.

The fidelity and reliability of Native Hawaiians, and the ease with which they moved between native and Western cultures was well known to Euro-American merchants and entrepreneurs in the mid-nineteenth century. Most notably, John Sutter echoed Richard Henry Dana, Jr.'s observations in a later account documenting his venture to establish a settlement in California in 1838. Before Sutter found gold and forever changed American history, he traveled to Hawai'i to initiate interest in his endeavors and recruit workers. In a description rarely included in California history books, Sutter recounted in his journal:

The crew of my vessels consisted of the two German carpenters I had brought with me from the Islands, and number of sailors and mechanics I had picked up at Yerba Buena [San Francisco]. I also had eight Kanakas, all experienced seamen, whom King Kamehameha had given me when I left the Sandwich Islands. I had undertaken to pay them ten dollars a month and to send them back to the Islands after three years at my own expense if they wished to leave me. These men were very glad to go with me and at the expiration of their time, they showed no inclination to return to their people. Two of them were married and brought their wives with them. These women made themselves very useful by teaching the Indian girls to wash, sew and do other practical things. As it will appear further on, I could not have settled the country without the aid of these Kanakas. They were always faithful and loyal to me.²⁵

Significantly, Sutter viewed the Native Hawaiians as a "civilized" indigenous people in contrast to the California Indians he described. Though he acknowledged, "The Indians were sometimes troublesome, but on the whole I got along very nicely with them," he in fact often required the help of the Sandwich Islanders to defend him from the aggressions of threatened tribes.²⁶ Moreover, like Dana, he distinguished the acculturated characteristics of Hawaiians from what he saw as the debased state of the California Indians, subjected to Spanish American and Mexican oppression. He noted in his journal that he had to convince the Indians he "had not come to them to make war or to carry them off to the [Spanish] missions, but that I had come to

²⁵ Sutter, 34.

²⁶ Sutter, 54.

live among them as a friend."²⁷ However, he was not above purchasing "orphan boys from other tribes," whom he tried to "educate" and "civilize" in the manner of the Hawaiians. He noted,

The Spaniards were very much surprised when they saw my Indian soldiers, especially because one of them could read and write, which was more than could be said of many Californians.²⁸

At times Sutter had more than a thousand Indian workers, and biographer Richard Dillon confirms Sutter's own testimony, stating that "the success of the infant colony of New Switzerland (also known as New Helvetia), was due largely to the loyalty of Sutter's islanders."²⁹

Clearly Sutter moved in a world of mixed relations and alliances and his story from an indigenous woman's point of view reveals the complications of this space which included Native Americans, Native Hawaiians and white foreigners. The story of Isidora Filomena which was collected at the end of her life and retold in the book *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*, reveals the complicated way that indigenous people viewed each other and tried to define new identities. The narrative starts, "My name is Isidora. I am ninety years old. The Indians who knew me when I was the wife of Chief Solano called me "Princess" and they still treat me like a princess." She goes on to tell the story of her life, her marriages, and how California was transformed and overrun in the nineteenth century. She also includes a few sentences about Sutter, revealing,

When the white man arrived, I did not know what liquor was. But Sutter, who was a *gente de razón*, would send *Joaquinero* Indians to trade liquor for hides, pelts, and dried fish. Sutter had an Indian wife. She was not from California. She was a Kanaka Indian who arrived with him on a ship. I do not like the white man very much because he is very tricky and a thief. My *compadre* Peralta and friend Bernal had many cattle. Sutter tricked them and took everything but paid for nothing.³⁰

²⁷ Sutter, 43.

²⁸ Sutter, 56.

²⁹ Richard Dillon, *Fool's Gold: A Biography of John Sutter* (New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1967), 94.

³⁰ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, translators. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848* (Berkeley: Heyday Books, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, 2006), 9-12.

Isidora's passing observation reveals that once again Native Hawaiians in the new California territory were being referred to as "Indian," but distinguished as "Kanaka Indian." Still, in this case, the Hawaiians who helped Sutter were viewed ambiguously by other indigenous people. Yet another description by a Californio woman who endured the Mexican-American war recalls the capture of prisoners. Rosalía Vallejo recounts "a good number of the men mounted their horses and rode off with the prisoners ...[who] were taken to Sacramento and were left to the tender mercies of that demon John A. Sutter. Although he had married in Europe and had several children, he had left his wife and children behind and was living openly with two black mistresses. These women were from the Sandwich Islands. Sutter had brought them to California on his ship."³¹ For the women watching the behavior of foreign men, their judgements were also tied to how those same men engaged in illicit sexual liaisons, while the women themselves mediated between cultures.

Accounts that compared Hawaiians with Native Americans continued to appear more frequently by the mid-nineteenth century, and even the papers of Honolulu made note of the distinction. In an 1844 article for *The Friend*, Robert Chrichton Wyllie reported on the "progressive" habitations of the Native Hawaiians, noting, "In point of neatness, cleanliness and workmanship, the huts of the natives exceed those of the lower order of the Mexicans, in many parts of the republic that are reputed the most civilized."³² These reports, reprinted in American

³¹ Rose Marie Beebe and Robert M. Senkewicz, translators. *Testimonios: Early California through the Eyes of Women, 1815-1848*, 27.

³² Robert Crichton Wyllie, "Notes on the Shipping, Trade, Agriculture, Climate, Diseases, Religious Institutions, Civil and Social Condition, Mercantile and Financial Policy of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands, viewed in relation to other groups of islands and to the natural and acquired advantages of the Sandwich or Hawaiian Islands." *The Friend*, November 1, 1844. Available from <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun>; Internet. Accessed 28 October 2010.

newspapers, legitimized the successful missionary work of the ABCFM, and in turn justified the imperial ambitions of the United States as settlers encroached in particular on Texas territory. They also supported the sentiments of journalists like John O'Sullivan, who not only popularized the idea of "manifest destiny," but who clearly envisioned a white, non-native America. In his fervor to annex Texas, he opined on the eventual decrease of slavery and the "probability of the ultimate disappearance of the negro race from our borders. The Spanish-Indian-American populations of Mexico, Central America and South America, afford the only receptacle capable of absorbing that race whenever we shall be prepared to slough it off."³³

The U.S. success in the Mexican-American War and the subsequent discovery of gold in California made the ambitious visions of O'Sullivan and his compatriots seem all the more viable and caused justifiable concern for native nations, from the "mainland" to the islands. While the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848 seemed to realize America's "manifest destiny," it did little to secure promising indigenous destinies. As legal historians Bruce Flushman and Joe Barbieri point out, in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, "the United States expressly recognized the land grants made by the prior sovereigns and agreed to legitimate title to such lands," but the

Treaty distinguished between "Mexicans" and "Indians." For instance, the sacredness of the obligation to the Mexicans would "not be lost sight of" by the United States "when providing the removal of the Indians" from the territories...Therefore the Treaty arguably did not guarantee the Indians the same broad protections received by the Mexican citizens."³⁴

The addition of vast western lands exacerbated the complexities of federal Indian policy in the United States and ignited an urgency, especially in California, to find an expedient resolution. As Rockwell explains,

³³ Sullivan, 7.

³⁴ Bruce S. Flushman and Joe Barbieri, "Aboriginal Title: The Special Case of California," *Pacific Law Journal* 17 (1986), 399. See also footnote 53. Flushman and Barbieri quote from 9 Stat. 932, H. Miller, *Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States* (Dept. of State Pub., No. 1017, 1937).

The belief that Indians who had earlier moved to the West could be protected and allowed time to acclimate and "civilize"-- a cornerstone of the removal policy -- suddenly came under fire, as whites looked to cross Indian territory for the far West and as hundreds of thousands of American Indians were suddenly in the middle of -- rather than outside of -- the United States' expansion.³⁵

Nonetheless, the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to support a policy which focused on the act of "civilizing" native people. In his 1848 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William Medill articulated,

The policy already begun and relied on to accomplish objects so momentous and so desirable to every Christian and philanthropist, is, as rapidly as it can safely and judiciously be done, to colonize our Indian tribes beyond the reach, for some years, of our white population -- confining each within a small district of country, so that, as the game decreases and becomes scarce, the adults will gradually be compelled to resort to agriculture and other kinds of labor to obtain a subsistence, in which aid may be afforded and facilities furnished them out of the means obtained by the sale of their former possessions; to establish, at the same time, a judicious and well-devised system of manual-labor schools for the education of the youth of both sexes in letters...like those already in successful operation, to be in charge of the excellent and active missionary societies of the different Christian denominations of the country, and to be conducted, and the children taught by efficient, exemplary, and devoted men and women, selected with the approbation of the department, by those societies, so that a physical, intellectual, moral, and religious education will all be imparted together.³⁶

Medill additionally requested a number of Indian agents to manage the territories acquired in the Mexican-American War, but in the case of California, the implementation of a federal Indian policy became further complicated by the gold rush and the massive emigration of "fevered" Americans. Moreover, as the occupation of territory continued, federal debate raged on regarding whether new states created from the western territory would enter the Union as free or slave states. The Compromise of 1850 determined that California would be designated a free

³⁵ Rockwell, 220.

³⁶ William Medill, "Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," November 30, 1848. Appendix to the *Congressional Globe*, 30th Congress, 2nd Session, 1847-1849, 31-32. Available from *A Century of Lawmaking For a New Nation, U.S. Congressional Documents and Debates, 1774-1875* at <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query>; Internet. Accessed 27 March 2011; George Harwood Phillips, *Indians and Indian Agents: The Origins of the Reservation System in California, 1849-1852* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997), 4.

state, but the battle over slavery was far from over.³⁷ Federal Indian agents eventually proceeded to California and employed the skills and knowledge of settlers like Sutter in their attempts to fulfill the directives of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.³⁸ But, in truth, as historian George Harwood Phillips observes, the agents "knew nothing about the culture and history of the Indians with whom they would negotiate, they were ignorant of the problems developing between Indians and whites, and they were unsure of their authority and even the real purpose of their mission."³⁹

The Office of Indian Affairs supported removing California Indians to reservations within the state, but it was an option, Rockwell explains, "that failed to satisfy white settlers' and speculators' dreams of occupying the entire state and which placed government agents at odds with citizens and, often, their elected representatives."⁴⁰ In the end, although Indian agents had tried to negotiate eighteen treaties in California from 1851 to 1852, the federal government never ratified them, leaving a legacy of violence, dispossession, and litigation concerning the lands of indigenous people in California. What is more, the newly formed state government took on the battle for Indian lands, which at times included literally supporting militias, and at other times creating laws and legislation that excluded native people from their rights of occupancy.⁴¹

When the U.S. Congress did finally step in with "An Act to Ascertain and Settle the Land Claims in the State of California," on March 3, 1851, it followed a model which had already been used in Hawai'i with the implementation of the Māhele, allowing each person claiming lands in California to present his petition to a Board of Land Commissioners. As Flushman and

³⁷ "Compromise of 1850." January 29, 1850, Approved September 1850. Available from www.ourdocuments.gov; Internet. Accessed 27 March 2011.

³⁸ Phillips, 8.

³⁹ Phillips, xvii.

⁴⁰ Rockwell, 220.

⁴¹ Phillips, 183; Flushman and Barbieri, 401.

Barbieri explain, the "Land Commissioners were to decide on the validity of the claims presented, and [the] United States would issue patents to those whose valid title was confirmed. All lands, the claim to which was invalid or not presented within two years of the date of the Land Claims Act, would pass into the public domain."⁴²

As in the Māhele, land legislation that required native people to present a viable claim for a possession they had never conceived of buying or selling proved a challenge. Though the Māhele initially allocated the greatest portion of the Hawaiian land to the Crown, government, and aliʻi and their heirs, the makaʻāinana had trouble asserting their claims. They were only encouraged to claim the land they were actually cultivating, plus a small addition for a house.⁴³ Van Dyke notes, "the factors frequently mentioned for the low number of land awards include the unfamiliarity of the makaʻāinana with the concept of private property, the failure to educate them about the changes and the steps they needed to take to claim property, the difficulty in filing and proving claims (which required a survey for a fee that many did not have), [and] the short period of time allowed to file and prove claims."⁴⁴ In virtually the same time period, the California Indians experienced the same troubles even though the Land Claims Act Commissioners were "ordered to 'ascertain and report...the tenure by which the mission lands are held, and those held by civilized Indians, and those who are engaged in agriculture or labor of any kind.'"⁴⁵ Ultimately, many California Indians were not even aware a claim had to be made. Though the Hawaiian Māhele and California land acts were designed for decidedly different purposes - the former to retain indigenous ownership of the land and the latter to diminish the native property boundaries - the implementation of the policies created virtually the same result.

⁴² Flushman and Barbieri, 407.

⁴³ Lawrence Miike, *Water and the Law in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2004), 51.

⁴⁴ Van Dyke, 46-47.

⁴⁵ Flushman and Barbieri, 407.

The more that native people adopted the "civilized" attributes of Western economy through privatized land, the more ground -- literally and figuratively -- they lost.

The pattern of dispossession which emerged simultaneously in both Hawai‘i and California affected people on both shores of the Pacific. While Native Hawai‘i continued to experience population loss due to epidemics of Western diseases, even more Hawaiians were leaving the islands to pursue opportunities abroad when they lost access to their traditional lands. Even though the "demand for food and goods in the gold fields of California...touched off a minor boom in Hawaii," Beechert notes, so many Hawaiians were leaving the islands that "a law was proposed to deal with the recalcitrant native. An act forbidding Hawaiian subjects to leave Hawaii without permission was passed in 1850."⁴⁶ Although the law was later repealed, the Masters and Servants Act of 1850 in Hawai‘i was enacted to regulate the growing demand for contract labor as American investors poured capital into developing sugar plantations. Passed just a few months before the U.S. Compromise of 1850, it once again showed the prescience of the Hawaiian government in that it confirmed slavery would never be an option in Hawai‘i.⁴⁷ It was a stark contrast to the policies of states like Georgia – “oia ka enemi.”

Nonetheless, in the same way that indigenous people in the states were being excluded from America's "manifest destiny," Native Hawaiians were feeling alienated in their own lands. In March 1849, William Little Lee remarked on the changes in the islands in his ongoing correspondence with Hon. Simon Greenleaf, a recent professor at Harvard:

The prejudices of white men against the natives, on account of their color is very strong; and most of the foreigners, unconnected with the Mission, seem to have very little charity or sympathy for any one who wears a copper-colored skin. This

⁴⁶ Beechert, 37.

⁴⁷ "He Kanawai No Ka Hoomalu Ana I Na Haku A Me Na Kauwa" / "An Act For the Government of Masters and Servants," *He Kanawai Hoopai Karaima No Ko Hawaii Pae Aina, I hoohololia Ena'Lii a me ka Poe I Kohia*, 1850. Available from <http://clear.uhwo.hawaii.edu/NaHakuamekaKauwa.html>; Internet. Accessed 22 February 2011.

prejudice checks in a great degree, what I deem the hope of the nation, namely, the amalgamation of the Saxon & Hawaiian races. What this nation most needs at the present time is quiet, -- A breathing spell; -- time to develop the germs of civilization and christianity that have been so recently planted. But whether this moving world of ours will give us rest is very uncertain. The mighty wave of emigration that is now rolling over the Rocky Mountains will soon reach us; and Heaven grant it may not sweep the Hawaiian into the ocean.⁴⁸

While Lee related that the "United States stands pre-eminent among the Benefactors of this nation, and they are truly grateful for all her favors," he conceded, "To the labors of the American Missionaries, this People owe all they have and are, and all they hope to have and be."⁴⁹

Still, by August of 1849, Lee reported in his next letter, "Every thing faces towards California. Hundreds of our best men have gone there to dig gold and die."⁵⁰ The acquisition of the American West, and with it, the ongoing dispossession and dispersion of native people, was a cause of concern for Hawai'i. It is clear from a September 1849 letter of Lee's wife, Catherine, that the idea of American annexation of Hawai'i was publicly discussed. To her friend, Catherine wrote,

You mention the possibility of these islands resting under the folds of the stripes and stars. It is a vain possibility, for Great Britain and France would resist such an accession. As an American I should most heartily deprecate that acquisition. I think we have yet to learn whether California will not prove a deadly curse to its new owner.⁵¹

Nevertheless, Kamehameha III sought to guarantee that "vain possibility," by sending a contingent of envoys to Europe and the United States. This time, however, he sent Hawai'i's princes: "15-year old Alexander Liholiho, who later became King Kamehameha IV (1854-1863)

⁴⁸ William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, March 3, 1849, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, BANC MSS 78/106p.

⁴⁹ William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, March 3, 1849.

⁵⁰ William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, August 16, 1849, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, BANC MSS 78/106p.

⁵¹ Catherine N. Lee to Caroline Scott, from Honolulu, September, 28, 1849, Dunn, 74.

... and his 18-year-old brother, Lot Kamehameha, who became Kamehameha V (1863-1872)." Kauikeaouli relied on the medical, mentoring, and consular skills of his longtime ABCFM association, appointing Dr. Gerrit P. Judd to accompany the princes and to act as "special commissioner to France, Great Britain, and the United States. He was to seek an indemnity of \$100,000 from France, and treaties and guaranties of independence from all three powers."⁵²

That Kamehameha III sent these future young Hawaiian leaders to Europe and the United States with Dr. Judd at this precise moment reveals not only Kauikeaouli's shrewd perceptions of international affairs, but also the monumental trust the king placed in Judd's hands, along with his ABCFM connections. Judd's job was not only to retain further assurances that Hawai'i's independence would be acknowledged, but also to educate the princes, and help them navigate and understand the challenges American imperialism posed to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Judd required the young men to keep a journal of their travels and it can only be noted with some irony that Alexander Liholiho's first entry of September 18, 1849 recounts, "This is the seventh day that we have been out...The days on board are spent pretty much in reading. Last night was up pretty late reading the 'Last of the Mohicans.'"⁵³

If James Fenimore Cooper's novel gave Alexander Liholiho one vision of Native America, his travels gave him very distinct views into how "any one who wears a copper-colored skin" was perceived in Europe and America.⁵⁴ The envoys stopped first in San Francisco, making that port by early October 1849. There, Alexander and Lot experienced first-hand the bustle of gold rush California. Alexander was particularly conscious of the inflated costs of San

⁵² Jacob Adler, "Introduction" to Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*, edited by Jacob Adler (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press for The Hawaiian Historical Society, 1967), ix.

⁵³ Liholiho, 3. To maintain the integrity of the primary source material in the journal, I have quoted all sources as they appear in the text and have made no alterations or corrections for spelling, syntax or grammar.

⁵⁴ William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, March 3, 1849.

Francisco, commenting, "Our stay there, though short was expensive; for three days lodging & board we had to pay 45 dollars. And in fact every thing in this place is very dear, that is the living part."⁵⁵ The trip continued on, down the coast of California, with stops in Mexico, which Alexander found unimpressive; like others, he commented on the "lazy Mexicans."⁵⁶ After leaving Mexico, their ship sailed to Panama for the "tedious" journey across the isthmus.⁵⁷ Alexander notes, "Mr. Judd requested me to give a discription [sic] of Panama, but I do not think that I can better discribe [sic] it than by saying it was an uncomfortable and dirty hole."⁵⁸

Clearly Alexander's perceptions were colored by his royal position and the missionary education he had received in the islands, for throughout the trip he expected to be greeted with the respect due an ali'i and foreign ambassador. But as the trip wore on, incidences especially in America would transform his future ideas about that country. After Panama, the envoys sailed on to New York for a brief number of days where they reconnected with former missionaries of the ABCFM before proceeding on to Europe. Spending the first part of 1850 in England and France, the young princes were feted around London and Paris, introduced to political dignitaries, entertained at the theatre and opera, and familiarized with the great museums, gardens, and exhibitions of Europe. They were also required to take French and fencing lessons, in addition to their normal studies and continuing their journals in English. Like the earlier "Sandwich Majesties," they were a phenomenon, and in mixed gatherings of European dignitaries, Alexander took pride in the fact that their multilingual abilities allowed the young princes to converse with virtually everyone.⁵⁹ While Judd attended to the details of meetings and

⁵⁵ Liholiho, 6.

⁵⁶ Liholiho, 22.

⁵⁷ Liholiho, 23.

⁵⁸ Liholiho, 26.

⁵⁹ Liholiho, 54.

arrangements, the young princes were required to assist in the copying of political agreements and made cognizant of their substance. Though they were introduced to Prince Albert of England, they also toured lesser sights, such as the Greenwich Hospital, the London docks, and even the "Lunatic Asylum at Bedlam."⁶⁰ When they sailed back to the United States in May of 1850, Alexander had very concrete ideas about his views of Europe in comparison to America. In June, the envoys went to meet the President of the United States. In his journal, Alexander recounted,

In the Evening after tea dressed for the Presidents Levee, as they call it here, although properly it was a Soiree or Reception. We went in our court dress. All belted & cocked, got into our carriage and drove for the Presidents. We arrived there in about half an hour and went into the room where we saw him the other day, and saw a few persons there. At the entrance of the next room we noticed a considerable of a crowd, and on looking, found that it was the President of the U.S. receiving his guests. He was dressed in a plain citizens dress. And as we entered the room, he came forward & shook hands with us. But it amused me to see him situated at the door receiving his guests...It may be all right enough for a Republic, but it looked to me like aping at fallen greatness, and I thought it was altogether too condescending.

Alexander met up again with members and officials associated with the ABCFM among the company. He noted, however,

The Company was not so gay [as?] in English Society, nor was it any thing like an English Soiree. There were very many rude fellows among the Company. There was one who had a white overcoat on, and I believe no cravat on, with a shirt that been on his back for a week, and he considered himself the greatest man in Creation.⁶¹

Certainly in Alexander's mind the "elevated state of Christian civilization," in America left something to be desired.

More poignantly, Alexander and Lot ran into the prejudice that was part of the "peculiar institution" in the United States. While boarding a train in Washington, he relates,

⁶⁰ Liholiho, 97.

⁶¹ Liholiho, 105.

a man came to me & told me to get out of the carriage rather uncerimoniously, [sic] saying that I was in the wrong carriage. I immediately asked him what he meant. He continued his request, finally he came around by the door and I went out to meet him. Just as he was coming in, somebody whispered a word into his ears -- by this time I came up to him, and asked him his reasons for telling me to get out of that carriage. He then told me to keep my seat.

I took hold of his arm, and asked him his reasons, and what right he had in turning me out and talking to me in the way that he did. He replied that he had some reasons, but requested me to keep my seat. And I followed him out, but he took care to be out of my way after that. I found he was the conductor, and probably [had] taken me for somebodys servant, just because I had a darker skin than he had. Confounded fool.

The first time that I ever received such treatment, not in England or France, or anywhere else. But in this country I must be treated like a dog to go & come at an Americans bidding.

Here I must state that I am di[s]sappointed at the Americans....In England an African can pay his fare for the Cars, and he can sit alongside of Queen Victoria. The Americans talk and they think a great deal of their liberty, and strangers often find that too many liberties are taken of their comfort, just because his hosts are a free people.⁶²

It was an illuminating lesson that Kamehameha IV would not forget when it came time to lead his kingdom. He would be especially wary to “come at an Americans bidding.”

Though Alexander was exposed to the overt racism in the United States, his understanding of the plight of American Indian people might not have been as fully developed as either Kamehameha III or Judd. Like other tourists of the day, he noted in his journal that he visited Niagara Falls where "they had some Indian Curiositys to sell, some Niag[a]ra canes, made from sticks cut from the woods about there," and that he "Got some of these, and also bought some Indian bead work on slippers, some smoking caps, bags &c."⁶³ Because of his station in life and the education he received, his understanding of Native American culture and the threat to their nations may have seemed more like the fictional history portrayed in Cooper's novel.

⁶² Liholiho, 108.

⁶³ Liholiho, 113.

However, clearly Hawaiian aliʻi and other government advisors, understood that it was critical to get an agreement with the United States which might continue to uphold Native Hawaiian sovereignty. Though the envoys headed for home in July of 1850, their visit and the favorable impression the princes made influenced the federal government to ratify the "Hawaiian-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation" in December 1849. Reading more like a business contract than a treaty, it did state "there shall be perpetual peace and amity between the United States and the King of the Hawaiian Islands, His heirs and His successors."⁶⁴ Moreover, just as the Hawaiian princes had made an impression upon the officials in Europe and America, Alexander and Lot attained a valuable education in their travels. Editor Jacob Adler observes, "it is clear that the year of foreign travel, contact with cultures other than their own, meetings with heads of state and many other distinguished persons, contributed to their education. Possibly the way they were lionized in various quarters spoiled them to some extent and reinforced their aristocratic leanings." Nevertheless, Adler contends, the journey also contributed to their anti-annexationist, anti-American, and growing anti-missionary sentiment, for in 1854, "when he came to the throne, Alex shelved negotiations for annexation to the United States which had been set in motion by Kamehameha III under the influence of Judd and others."⁶⁵

Kanaka / Indian Crossroads

While the diplomatic efforts of the Hawaiian monarchy were making an impact on American legislation at the state level, the missionized and acculturated Hawaiians in California

⁶⁴ "Hawaiian-American Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, 1849," *Hawaiian Journal of Law & Politics* 1 (Summer 2004), 115. Available from [http://www2.hawaii.edu/~hslp/journal/vol1/1849_Treaty_\(HJLP\).pdf](http://www2.hawaii.edu/~hslp/journal/vol1/1849_Treaty_(HJLP).pdf); Internet. Accessed 28 March 2011.

⁶⁵ Jacob Adler, "Introduction" to Alexander Liholiho, *The Journal of Prince Alexander Liholiho: The Voyages Made to the United States, England and France in 1849-1850*, xiv.

were crossing paths with Native Americans on a personal level. Hawaiians were often seen as intermediaries as indicated by Reverend Samuel C. Damon, a traveler to California in 1849 and 1850, who noted "the alliances and marriages between Hawaiians and American Indians, and perhaps surprisingly, that Hawaiians even worked to convert the Indians to Christianity."⁶⁶ What is more, the long reach and lasting impact of the ABCFM reverberated in subsequent reports throughout the 1860s. A report from *The Friend* in Honolulu posted that "Strange as it may seem, there is now living in San Francisco William Tennesse (Kanui), a Sandwich Islander...who left these islands fifty years ago, went to America, was educated at the Mission school in Cornwall, Comm., and came back to the Islands with the first company of Missionaries in 1820."⁶⁷ Though "in various parts of the state are thronged the lowest class of American Indians," another California correspondent confirmed,

Certain pious Kanakas, who came over here from the Sandwich Islands in 1849-50, have settled near them, intermarried with them, and taught some of them the way of life. Several most interesting conversions have taken place among them; and now these foreigners, themselves converted heathen, have organized a missionary society, with very limited means, to evangelize the heathen in this Christian land. It tells well for them, but ill for us that the first effort for the salvation of our heathen, has been made by these foreign converted heathen.⁶⁸

Even more incredibly, the story of John Makani, also known as John Wind, made national news in the U.S. One article from the *New York Observer and Chronicle*, dated August 29, 1867 detailed the story of Makani as "A Converted Digger Indian," recounting

Rev. L. H. Gulick, of Honolulu, Secretary of the Hawaiian Board of Missions, writes to the San Francisco Pacific, an account of the Digger Indian who was carried to the islands when a child, and has there been educated and christianized under the influence of the institutions planted by the American missionaries. He is now about to return to California with a view to preach the gospel to his native countrymen.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Kauanui, 142.

⁶⁷ *The Friend*, February 2, 1863, 10.

⁶⁸ *The Friend*, February 2, 1863, 10.

⁶⁹ *New York Observer and Chronicle*, August 29, 1867; 45, 35; *American Periodicals* pg. 275.

The story goes on to retell Gulick's news: "His name is John Wind, or in Hawaiian Joane Makani. He was brought to these islands by a white man, if I remember rightly, in 1850, when but seven or eight years old...he was sent to the boarding school at Hilo, on Hawaii where he received a Hawaiian education." He is described derisively as "not a bright scholar, but seems to understand the Gospel plan of salvation." Despite this disparagement, Gulick goes on to say "He speaks Hawaiian very well, and he also understands something of English...His desire has for many years been to fit himself to return to tell his brethren in the flesh the Way of Life." Clearly, the story emphasizes the missionary agenda to "civilize" indigenous people, but it also illustrates the unique ways that Native American and Native Hawaiian learning remolded and engaged Western ideology, transferring knowledge in uniquely indigenous ways. Referring to *The Friend* of August 1, 1868, Richard Dillon notes,

In 1868, a Congregational missionary from Hawaii, Rev. J.F. Pogue, was touring California...he heard of the existence of a school for Indians nearby and upon further inquiry, discovered that John Makani was the teacher. Makani was an Indian educated in the Sandwich Islands and sent to California by the Hawaiian Missionary Board to teach Christianity to his countrymen...Makani told him that he had several schools at different places and that he was accustomed to hold prayer meetings with the Indians, but regretfully added that they were *paakiki loa* [very difficult].⁷⁰

According to this report, Makani along with Native Hawaiian families living in the area were working to teach California Indians the doctrines of the Bible. But they were not using English language nor were they using local indigenous language; rather they were using the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian Bible to bridge the language gap.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Richard H. Dillon, "Kanaka Colonies in California," *Pacific Historical Review*, 24.1 (February 1955), 21; *The Friend*, August 1, 1868. Available from www.infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu; Internet. Accessed 8 February 2011.

⁷¹ Dillon, quoting *The Friend*, July 1, 1862, 20.

Though Native Hawaiians seemed to integrate easily with Native American societies in California, their adoption and adaptation of American "civilization" did not garner them commensurate rights. Political changes in the latter half of the nineteenth century increasingly racialized both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans. Responding to the gold rush and rights to claims, the California state legislature passed laws in 1850 to prevent foreigners from securing both their claims and property rights.⁷² This included both Native Hawaiians and Native Americans who were not yet citizens of the U.S.⁷³ These laws, combined with the recent land legislation in both Hawai'i and California, increasingly left the first people of both lands homeless. As the U.S. federal government continued to pursue removal and reservation policies, native people who had established settlements and communities were frequently disregarded and had few avenues for redress. In one case, as historian Margaret Ramsland notes, a Hawaiian of noble birth and his Indian family were summarily removed from their home in northeastern California. Iona Ke'a'ala Kiana (Ka'iana), a Native Hawaiian man descended from ali'i and purported to have traveled with Sutter to California, later married Su-my-neh, the daughter of a Maidu leader in northeastern California. In the mid-1860s when American forces attempted to round up and relocate various Indian tribes in California, "Iona a-Ke'a'ala and Su-my-neh, his Indian wife were forced to go to Round Valley, together with their two oldest children, Hiram and Serrah." To protect his family, Iona or Iaona followed the instructions of the government soldiers however "he contended that since he was a subject of the Kingdom of Hawaii, his wife was also a subject of that Kingdom." Moreover, "Iona ...a literate man, (having been schooled in

⁷² Dillon, "Kanaka Colonies in California," 18.

⁷³ Once again, Carrie Hyde's work, *Civic Longing: The Speculative Origins of U.S. Citizenship* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018) presents the undefined and ambiguous nature of the meaning of "citizen" in mid-nineteenth-century America. While her work does not include a discussion of the variables of Native American and Native Hawaiian concepts of "citizenship," her study shows that the discourse surrounding the term was problematic, creating exclusions which ultimately denied and deferred indigenous rights.

the Island Mission schools), sent a letter to his King, requesting that the King of Hawaii demand the release of himself and his family."⁷⁴ Apparently this letter was received and acknowledged by the U.S. government and Iona and his family were allowed to return to their village, avoiding the Round Valley reservation. But theirs was a unique story among the indigenous communities of California.

Historian Drew Gonrowski has recently provided the first detailed description of the ways Native Hawaiians and Native Americans created integrated communities in her dissertation *Ka 'Āina Paiālewa i ke Kai: Kanaka Hawai'i Gold-Mining Communities in Oregon and California*. Analyzing Hawaiian language documents, newspapers and kanikau (laments or memorials) to those who passed, she teases out the ways that "Kānaka Hawai'i (Native Hawaiians) living in California and Oregon in the nineteenth century incorporated western North America into Kanaka conceptions of 'āina (land) by looking at gold-mining communities, families, and the ways Kānaka maintained connections with the Hawaiian Islands."⁷⁵ Following several families, she also documents the story of Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh, noting that indeed, they were allowed to leave the Round Valley Reservation to return to their own land.⁷⁶ She also follows the story of the family through the end of the nineteenth century, where the daughter of the couple, Mele Kainuha remained in this area and continued to live in a world of both Native American and Native Hawaiian culture and practices. Mele would later play an important role in Hawaiian history, leaving "Chico for Sacramento in 1881 at the request of her uncle Mahuka to greet King Kalākaua."⁷⁷ Perhaps most importantly, Gonrowski notes that though "[Mele] Keaala was born in California, she had learned hula, either from her relatives in California or when she

⁷⁴ Margaret A. Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians* (Chico? CA: Jensen Graphic, 1974), 14.

⁷⁵ Gonrowski, iii.

⁷⁶ Gonrowski, 123.

⁷⁷ Gonrowski, 125.

lived in the Hawaiian Islands, and passed on her knowledge to her daughter, Lealani.” Like many indigenous women, Mele Keaala was a “vessel of knowledge,” passing on and integrating traditional ways of knowing. Gonrowski includes in her descriptions that Keaala was also fully versed in the Native American traditions of the Konkow people of California. Gonrowski expertly makes the case that “Keaala was able to connect to both her ancestral roots that grew from the Hawaiian Islands and those from California.” She must have also been a fountain of knowledge for both Kalākaua and Lili‘uokalani, who she later served.⁷⁸ Her understanding of the political, social and economic strains on indigenous people in America would have especially been valuable knowledge for the ali‘i.

But these documented family relations and missionary projects are not the only ways that Native Hawaiian and Native Americans crossed paths. There are so many connections that are often obscured in our historical analysis, they are too numerous to count and certainly too numerous to recount here. However, what is more important is that these connections served as catalysts for new kinds of understanding and perhaps new ways to navigate an American world which was increasingly hostile towards indigenous power. Indigenous women were always important in this world because they created families and new legacies of cultural exchange. In an 1848 publication entitled *Answers to Questions, Proposed by His Excellency, R.C. Wyllie, His Hawaiian Majesty’s Minister of Foreign Relations, and addressed to all the Missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, May, 1846*, an attempt was made to derive a report of various areas familiar to the ABCFM missionaries across the islands.⁷⁹ One of the many questions asked about the “Number of foreigners residing within the district, distinguishing the married from the

⁷⁸ Gonrowski, 131.

⁷⁹ *Answers to Questions, Proposed by His Excellency, R.C. Wyllie, His Hawaiian Majesty’s Minister of Foreign Relations, and addressed to all the Missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, May, 1846* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1848).

unmarried, the nations to which they belong, specifying their occupations and the number of children of those who are married.”⁸⁰ Invariably, European and American men are noted with most of these having “native wives.” These intermarriages created families that have legacies today in Hawai‘i, but they also created some contention about access to and acquisition of land by foreigners versus maka‘āinana. One missionary wrote, “I am sorry to be obliged to say that the people in this region have little confidence in what their rulers say about the security of lands,” a sentiment that was previously shared in the 1845 petition to Kekāuluohi.⁸¹ What is more, the biased reporting of missionary men lent itself to a need to assert the importance of controlling women, and perhaps, by extension, their land rights and potential inherited wealth. Reverend Jonathan S. Green, who pointed to Georgia as “ka enemi,” also feared unrestrained sexuality. He lamented,

2. Licentiousness is the prevailing vice in this district...Idleness is a fruitful source of sin in this respect, especially the idleness of the female portion of the community. They are not “keepers at home,” but, wandering about, fall into the society of the profligate, and as is often the case, become tempters of others. 3. Smoking tobacco leads, in multitudes of cases, to the commission of this sin...”⁸²

But sexual exchanges were everywhere between indigenous women and sailors of the nineteenth century, something that has been well-documented in eighteenth and nineteenth-century journals, but only recently explored and given the historical import it deserves. In a new analysis by historian Catherine ‘Imaikalani Ulep, she writes, “Vessels were liminal spaces, a place where both women and Euro-American men transgressed their own religious observances...These shipboard encounters allowed women and men to take pleasure in

⁸⁰ *Answers to Questions*, 18-19.

⁸¹ *Answers to Questions*, 13.

⁸² *Answers to Questions*, 31.

experiences that were forbidden on land."⁸³ Ulep continues to make the case that these exchanges also drove economies, cultural exchanges, and created social networks. But, the exchanges frequently took place between Native American and / or Native Hawaiian sailors and indigenous women as well, as indicated in Nancy Shoemaker's book, *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race*.⁸⁴ In one journal she finds that Native American sailors, like their Euro-American counterparts, also eroticized Polynesian women and in some cases created lifelong bonds. One Native American sailor's journal is fraught with *daily* entries of meeting "girles" for more than a month of his adventures in the Pacific.⁸⁵ Indigenous women were a powerful force and incentive to recruit labor and ultimately drove the economic engine of the Pacific and the world.

But scholars have often missed just where and when these women were mentioned in historical documents. One especially interesting example comes from a renowned article by historian Rayna Green entitled "The Pocahontas Perplex: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture." She illustrates how indigenous women were eroticized and seen as both saviors and savages by Euro-American men. She asserts, "the Indian woman began her symbolic many-faceted life as a Mother figure --exotic, powerful, dangerous, and beautiful -- and as a representative of American liberty and European classical virtue translated into New World terms."⁸⁶ But, once again, the term "Indian" can be misleading in this context because in one of Green's examples it is clear that the speaker is using Hawaiian language to describe "Indian"

⁸³ Catherine 'Imaikalani Ulep, *Women's Exchanges: The Sex Trade and Cloth In Early Nineteenth-Century Hawai'i* (M.A. Thesis, University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, 2017), 27-28.

⁸⁴ Nancy Shoemaker, *Native American Whalemen and the World: Indigenous Encounters and the Contingency of Race* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015).

⁸⁵ Shoemaker, 114-115.

⁸⁶ Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Indian Women in American Culture," *Massachusetts Review* 16.4 (Autumn, 1975), 703.

women. It is just one more way that the history becomes conflated and obscured. Green recalls a song from the nineteenth century called "The Little Mohee," which describes

My Mohea was gentle my Mohea was kind.
She took me when a stranger and clothed me when cold.
She learned me the language of the lass of Mohea.

"I'm going to leave you, so farewell my dear.
The ship's sails are spreading and home I must steer."
The last time I saw her she was standing on the strand,
And as my boat passed her she waved me her hand.

Saying "when you have landed and with the one you love,
Think of pretty Mohea in the coconut grove."

Green adds that "Such songs add to the exotic and sexual, yet maternal and contradictorily virginal image of the Indian Princess."⁸⁷ Yet, in this example, the name of the woman is Mohea, which is more likely the *Hawaiian* word *Nohea*, meaning pretty, lovely or even beloved. In this case, the "Indian" woman is kanaka.

Weaving the stories of women, families, the "beloved" into this historical narrative is crucial because it illuminates the varied methods and points of exchange that occurred outside of the elite power structures, but were nonetheless powerful mechanisms in how societies created new constructions. These personal stories, like that of Harriett Gold and Elias Boudinot, carried a weight far beyond a marriage of choice, a moment of "licentiousness," or a memory of Nohea. These connections were the source of all that birthed nations. It is even more important to remember as American settlers and pioneers flocked to the "West" between 1850 and 1880, our histories frequently highlight the assault of unprecedented proportions that unfolded against native people without truly acknowledging the very personal suffering. The various federal campaigns to remove, relocate, and contain indigenous people on reservations looked more like a

⁸⁷ Green, 709-710.

highly organized military conquest than a policy of "Christian civilization." Ironically, the Office of Indian Affairs had just been transferred from the Department of War to the Department of Interior in 1849.⁸⁸ From Jose Antonio Garra's uprising in California in 1851, to the Flight of the Nez Perce in 1877, conflict over federal removal and reservation policies led to the Paiute War in 1860, the Santee Sioux Uprising in 1862, the failed Navajo Removal from 1861 to 1864, the Sand Creek Massacre in 1864, the Powder River Wars from 1866 to 1868, the Southern Plains War from 1868 to 1869, the Modoc War in 1873, and finally, the most famous campaign, the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876 among many, many other conflicts.⁸⁹ As Indian policy was implemented and executed across the west, the goals of "civilization" as described by William Medill, and succeeding Indian Commissioner, Luke Lea, seemed remote, lost in episodes of escalating violence. More accurately, Rockwell contends,

Indian agents and other federal personnel engaged across the continent in what would today be called nation-building. Many of the government's activities had antecedents in earlier eras of Indian policy, but the reservations located the efforts in clearly defined, administratively manageable areas away from migrations and settlements...Indian agents existed to carry out first a policy of containment and control, in service of expansion and the exploitation of land, labor, and natural resources; after that came attention to "civilization" and social measures, and even then almost always in support of the mission of containment and control.⁹⁰

These conflicts were not lost on Hawaiian people, but rather regularly reported in Hawaiian language and English language papers in Hawai'i. In Hawaiian newspapers, a general

⁸⁸ Schmeckebier, 43; "Record Group 75, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs," Available from *The U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* at <http://www.archives.gov/great-lakes/holdings/rg-050-099.html>; Internet. Accessed 29 March 2011.

⁸⁹ James J. Rawls, *Indians of California: The Changing Image* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1984); Robert M. Utley, *The Indian Frontier of the American West, 1846 - 1890*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984); Alvin M. Josephy, *500 Nations: An Illustrated History of North American Indians*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994, 2002); Peter Iverson, *The Navajo Nation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1981); Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970); Dee Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre: Formerly Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1962). See also "Pyramid Lake War," *Online Nevada Encyclopedia*. Available from http://www.onlinenevada.org/pyramid_lake_war; Internet. Accessed 29 March 2011; *Alta California*, June 1, 1850, January 16, 1852.

⁹⁰ Rockwell, 269.

term for “Indian” was ka Inikini or ka Ilikini. It was a known term from the earliest documents in Hawaiian language and probably within the oral culture after the first arrivals of Europeans at the islands. If one were to look up the references to “inikini” or “ilikini” in the digital archives of Hawaiian language newspapers today, they would find no less than 1000 search hits, and these will only grow as more newspapers and documents are digitized and translated. This means that the use of the term in the nineteenth century was common, but could apply not only to Native Americans of North America, but also those of “na Ilikini o Sana Salvadoa” or “poe Ilikini i ko Guatemala poe.”⁹¹ Looking more specifically in the newspapers by utilizing the Hawaiian names for nations such as “Siou” or “Keroke” can provide perhaps more insight on the types of news that was reported. From the 1850s to the 1870s there seems to be rich documentation of news from America including, as David Chang points out, “the notion that American Indian warfare was a bloody but futile prelude to the disappearance of Indian people and might even hasten their demise.”⁹² He further documents,

In 1856, *Ka Hae Hawaii* reported that thought wars raged between Indians and whites In California, Oregon, and Florida, the ultimate outcome of the wars was certain: “ka hoopau ana o ka lahui Inikini” (the elimination of the Indian people).⁹³

But another newspaper seems to tell the story of the first Mormons, explaining that a group traveled and “Hookipa maikai lakou ia maua, o na Inikini me kekahi mau haole kuai ili e noho ana ilaila” (Were treated well by the Indians of that area along with foreign merchants that stayed there).⁹⁴ However, since the story of the mid-nineteenth century Indian territory so frequently included an onslaught of violence, this too, was replicated in Hawaiian newspapers with stories

⁹¹ *Ka Makaainana*, September 2, 1895, 6.

⁹² Chang, 236.

⁹³ Chang, 236 quoting “Kaua o na Inkinikini,” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, April 2, 1856, 18.

⁹⁴ *Ka Hae Hawaii*, Septemeber 15, 1858, 93.

of the Dakota War of 1862 in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* describing how Indian fighters were being punished by the American government but equally stories including how the American government was at fault in these conflicts. One story from *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, August 24, 1876, explains that the continuing war between the Americans and the “Ilikini Sioux” has at its root “o ke kumu o keia pilikia ma ka aoao o na koa Amerika,” - *The source of this problem comes from the side of the American military*.⁹⁵

Historians have barely touched the vast resources available in the Hawaiian language newspapers that could give us insight into how the mechanisms of dispossession and violence were viewed by the “outside,” non-Euro-American world. Native Hawaiians wrote about this world just as they wrote about the rest of the world; as both observers and participants within it, with family stakes in the outcomes of indigenous nations and others abroad. The stories of Custer and the Little Bighorn were reported in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* almost immediately after the event in the August 5 and August 12, 1876 editions.⁹⁶ Stories of Sitting Bull can be found in editions of *Ka Lahui Hawaii* of August 31 and September 28, 1876 as well as in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 2 and September 30, 1876.⁹⁷ All were written in Hawaiian language for a Hawaiian speaking *and* hearing audience. Perhaps most poignantly, Hawaiian language newspapers did not forget the plight of the Cherokee – or Keroke – as time passed. In an 1868 article, the paper reports, “He umi makahiki i hala aku nei, o ka nui o na Ilikini Keroke (Cherokee) he 25 000. I keia manawa he 14.000 wale iho no lakou. O ke kaua, ka inu rama a me ka mai, na kumu nana i lawe i ka hapalua o ia Lahui i ka make”: *Ten years ago, there were 25,000 Cherokee Indians. Today, there are only 14,000 of them. War, drinking, and*

⁹⁵ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 8, 1862; *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, August 24, 1876.

⁹⁶ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 5, 1876; August 12, 1876.

⁹⁷ *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, August 31, 1876; September 28, 1876; *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 2, 1876; September 30, 1876.

*sickness are the reasons why death was brought to half of that Nation.*⁹⁸ The way the short item is written emphasizes that it was *only* these three things – war, drinking, and sickness – which contributed to the demise of that nation. In other words, it was not an “inevitable” outcome, but rather something created and perhaps created by that same “enemi” which had sequestered Indian people in “Indian country,” on reservations meant to dispossess them of their traditional homes.

However, as American policy makers saw it, reservations were meant to be a temporary station for Native Americans, a stop on the path "to an elevated state of Christian civilization."⁹⁹ As Rockwell observes, "most officials at the time believed that reservations were a stage on the way to full assimilation of Indians into American society, and therefore another piece of the social policy experiments of the federal government."¹⁰⁰ However, no American Indian tribe had fully realized that "evolution" in the mid-nineteenth century. Only the so-called Five Civilized Tribes seemed to come close, and their insistence on a communal land structure had categorized them as existing outside of the accepted economic structure in the United States. In fact, as the Indian Wars of the period exploded and the Civil War ensued, the Five Civilized Tribes persisted in their unity and many supported the confederacy.¹⁰¹ But while the U.S. federal government could cite few examples of the success of their "social policy experiments" among native people, officials held up the Hawaiians as the fully matured, “native” manifestation of the success of "civilization."

⁹⁸ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 1, 1868; my special thanks to Brock Kahakawai Huddleston for his help with this translation and the meaning within.

⁹⁹ *Missionary Album*, 10-11.

¹⁰⁰ Rockwell, 259.

¹⁰¹ Schmeckebier, 49.

In 1865, *The Hawaiian Islands: Their Progress and Condition Under Missionary Labors*, by the ABCFM's Rufus Anderson was published. Beginning his career with the ABCFM in 1822, Anderson had first served as Assistant Secretary to Jeremiah Evarts in the early days of the organization. When Evarts died, Anderson succeeded him as Foreign Secretary of the ABCFM, a post he held for more than thirty years. In his service to the ABCFM, he had watched the organization grow in size and scope to include missions throughout the world. Thus, when he finally traveled to the Hawaiian Islands in the early 1860s, he considered himself especially qualified to assess and evaluate the progress of the Sandwich Island mission. His work, which was widely distributed and influential among New England reformers, heralded the "progress" of the Hawaiians at a time when more American whaling ships took port in the islands than in San Francisco, and the inclusion of the Western territory of the U.S. presaged the rising fortunes of the U.S.¹⁰²

Following up on Hiram Bingham's *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands*, Anderson's work commenced with a "Preface," touting the fruitful endeavors and successful "experiment" of the Sandwich Island missionaries. He advised his readers,

It will be seen that the Hawaiian mission is treated as an *experiment*; and should it be thought to have been on a small scale, it will be remembered, that experiments are usually made thus, and that they are not the less satisfactory and decisive on that account. Nor are the results on the Hawaiian Islands wanting in real magnitude...Its labors have effected a signal triumph, through the grace of God.¹⁰³

¹⁰² Mark Twain, *Letters From Hawaii*. Edited and with an Introduction by A. Grove Day (University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu, 1966), 84. See also David Igler, "Global Exchanges in the Eastern Pacific Basin, 1770-1850," *American Historical Review* 109.3 (June, 2004), 706. In comparison to the 250 to 300 ships Igler estimates stopped yearly along the entire coast of Alta California, statistics from the "Commercial, Meteorological and Missionary Statistics, Relating to the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands in '*The Friend*' for May 1, 1844," document 168 ships arriving in the port of Honolulu alone in 1843. These numbers vastly increased with commerce generated from the California gold rush and the American Civil War in the mid-nineteenth century.

¹⁰³ Anderson, ix. Quoted as it appears in the text, italics included.

Moreover, he noted, "In no other nation could the Board so well make the experiment of the possibility of an early completion of its work."¹⁰⁴ What is more, the fourth chapter of the account entitled "The Islands Regarded as Christianized," cites 1848 -- the year of the "Great" Māhele -- as the moment which finally marked the nation "on the chart of...progress from downright heathenism to its present civilization."¹⁰⁵ Anderson emphatically contended, "One of the obvious facts in this history is, that on the Hawaiian Islands the *gospel preceded civilization*," and reiterated that the accomplishments of the Sandwich Islands mission rested first upon that fact.¹⁰⁶ In contrast to American "social policy experiments" which sought to "contain," and then "civilize" native people, the Sandwich Island experiment "demonstrated what missions, by the blessing of God, might be expected to accomplish." Anderson concluded that the "value of the experiment...raised the nation so on the scale of social life as to have gained for it an acknowledged place among the Christian nations of the earth; what more wonderful illustration can there be of its remedial power? Such is the Hawaiian nation."¹⁰⁷

Furthermore, Anderson lauded the success of the Hawaiian "civilization" efforts as the model for indigenous conversion. "My own conviction," he declared,

is the same as that which keeps the missionary so contentedly in his field, namely, that there is no safer, no better investment of time, labor, and money, than in the foreign missionary enterprise. Think of the investment made on the Hawaiian Islands. The outlay has been less than the cost of the Exploring Expedition or the Pacific Ocean under Commodore Wilkes, less than that of a first-class ship of war, or a moderate section of a railroad. Yet how vastly greater, how vastly more precious are the results!¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴ Anderson, 86

¹⁰⁵ Anderson, 98.

¹⁰⁶ Anderson, 384.

¹⁰⁷ Anderson, 397-398.

¹⁰⁸ Anderson, 404.

Nor was Anderson alone in his sentiments, for he included in his assessment the "Testimony of Richard H. Dana," which was a "significant confirmation of that given by the missionaries." Dana's account of his trip to the Hawaiian Islands, first published in the *New York Tribune* in 1860, specifically compared the achievements of the Hawaiians to those lacking in Native Americans. Because of the ABCFM missionary approach, Dana explained, "the natives generally yielded to the superiority of our civilization, and copied its ways; for unlike the Asiatics, they had no civilization of their own, and unlike the North American Indians, they were capable of civilization."¹⁰⁹ Moreover, Dana concluded,

Had not the missionaries and their friends among the foreign merchants and professional men been in the ascendant, these Islands would have presented only the usual history of a handful of foreigners exacting everything from a people who denied their right to anything.¹¹⁰

Even Mark Twain, in his *Letters From Hawaii*, printed in the *Sacramento Union* in 1866, acknowledged the success of the Hawaiians. Though he criticized the missionaries for being "bigoted; puritanical; slow; ignorant of all white human nature and natural ways of men,"¹¹¹ he had to admit that "the force, the confidence, the determination of that Puritan spirit which subdued America and underlies her whole religious fabric today -- which has subdued these islanders...can never be unseated."¹¹² Indeed, in Twain's reports from the islands, he made the critical connection between the influence of the missionaries and the commercial success of the "civilized" islands. Where Native Americans had failed to adopt the economy of the West, Twain observed,

The moneyed strength of these islands -- their agriculture, their commerce, their mercantile affairs -- is in the hands of Americans -- republicans; the religious power of the country is wielded by Americans -- republicans; the whole people

¹⁰⁹ Anderson, quoting Richard Henry Dana, 100.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, quoting Richard Henry Dana, 105.

¹¹¹ Twain, 129.

¹¹² Twain, 172.

are saturated with the spirit of democratic Puritanism, and they are -- republicans.¹¹³

The idea that "civilizing" efforts among indigenous people included religious, political, and economic components was not new to American Indian policy in the mid-nineteenth century, however the treaty system of the mid-nineteenth century and the depredations of reservation life did little to advance the cause. Where the Hawaiian government had succeeded in adopting the Māhele and an economy based on private property, federal Indian policies isolated communal tribes in hopes of assimilating them or precipitating their ultimate demise. By the mid-1850s, it was abundantly clear, as Rockwell notes,

The treaties of the reservation era needed to be more cognizant of lands in the West and of the humanitarian goals of the reservation policy. The executive exercised authority not only to exchange Western lands between and among Indians and territories, but also to allot land parcels to individual Indians in the hopes that this would speed Indians on their way to becoming successful and independent citizen farmers.¹¹⁴

George Manypenny, Indian Commissioner from 1853 to 1857, was the first to incorporate allotment style provisions in treaties with American Indian nations, but these could only be implemented in territorial areas of the West which had not been yet admitted as states.¹¹⁵

Though it would be thirty more years before the government would develop a federal policy of allotment in severalty among Indian nations, Manypenny's work became a manifest of its own for those who felt the roots of "civilization" were born in private property.

¹¹³ Twain, 172-173.

¹¹⁴ Rockwell, 231.

¹¹⁵ Robert N. Clinton, "Isolated in Their Own Country: A Defense of Federal Protection of Indian Autonomy and Self-Government," *Stanford Law Review* 13.6 (Jul., 1981), 1020, footnote 240. Clinton cites three examples: "Treaty, May 17, 1854, United States-Ioways, art. VI, 10 Stat. 1069; Treaty, Mar. 16, 1854, United States-Omahas, art. VI, 10 Stat. 1043; Treaty, Mar. 15, 1854, United States-Otatoes and Missourias, art. VI, 10 Stat. 1038. " See also "Treaty with the Omaha: March 16, 1854." Available from <http://www.firstpeople.us/FP-Html-Treaties/TreatyWithTheOmaha1854.html>; Internet. Accessed 28 April 2010.

In 1880, Manypenny published *Our Indian Wards*, a work one biographer described in 1916 as "a plea for more fairness in the management of Indian affairs, and a recital of many of their wrongs."¹¹⁶ Manypenny made the case for allotment of Indian lands in severalty, arguing that it was the only humane and progressive federal policy. Manypenny built his argument based on his own experience as well as reports from the previous two decades which communicated a disturbing pattern of abuse, violence, and hypocrisy where Indian and American relations were concerned. He referred to the 1868 "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs," a 396-page tome detailing and accounting for the often tumultuous conditions in the western states and territories. It clearly acknowledged the source of frontier tensions:

If the lands of the white man are taken, civilization justifies him in resisting the invader. Civilization does more than this: it brands him as a coward and a slave if he submits to the wrong. Here civilization made its contract and guaranteed the rights of the weaker party. It did not stand by the guarantee. The treaty was broken, but not by the savage. If the savage resists, civilization, with the ten commandments in one hand and the sword in the other, demands his immediate extermination.

We do not contest the ever-ready argument that civilization must not be arrested in its progress by a handful of savages. We earnestly desire the speedy settlement of all our territories. None are more anxious than we to see their agricultural and mineral wealth developed by an industrious, thrifty and enlightened population. And we fully recognize the fact that the Indian must not stand in the way of this result. We would only be understood as doubting the purity and genuineness of that civilization which reaches its ends by falsehood and violence, and dispenses blessings that spring from violated rights.¹¹⁷

What is more, the report explained that American administrators and society had failed to exhibit and impart the benefits of "Christian civilization" to the Indians:

Among civilized men war usually springs from a sense of injustice. The best possible way then to avoid war is to do no act of injustice...We are aware that the masses of our people have felt kindly toward them, and the legislation of

¹¹⁶ E.S. Gaylord, "The Career of Colonel G. W. Manypenny," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 1.3 (March, 1918), 324-325.

¹¹⁷ "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1868." (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 32. Available from *The U.S. National Archives & Records Administration* at <http://www.archive.org/details/usindianaffairs68usdorich>; Internet. Accessed 30 March 2011.

Congress has always been conceived in the best intentions, but it has been erroneous in fact or perverted in execution. Nobody pays any attention to Indian matters. This is a deplorable fact. Members of Congress understand the negro question, and talk learnedly of finance and other problems of political economy, but when the progress of settlement reaches the Indian's home, the only question considered is, "how best to get his lands." When they are obtained, the Indian is lost sight of. While our missionary societies and benevolent associations have annually collected thousands of dollars from the charitable, to be sent to Asia and Africa for the purposes of civilization, scarcely a dollar is expended or a thought bestowed on the civilization of Indians at our very doors.¹¹⁸

In his book, Manypenny specifically pointed to this argument, referencing the work of the ABCFM, and its celebrated work in the Pacific.¹¹⁹ If U.S. policy adopted those principles which had succeeded in raising up a native population to an "elevated state of Christian civilization," then certainly Native Americans could benefit from the same program. What Manypenny sought to prove in his own work and with these examples was that acculturation to a Western economy began with private property.

Manypenny proposed a federal policy that would support some form of individual ownership along with the commensurate educational and missionary support to facilitate "the willingness of the Indian to accept our civilization."¹²⁰ Like Jeremiah Evarts had predicted, he argued that the treaty process which had been implemented up until 1871, consigning "permanent" homes to many tribes, had been undermined: "Such covenants, though solemnly entered into by the government, were not regarded."¹²¹ Moreover, he noted in a report from 1877, "it is shown that many tribes have not a single missionary among them. Those thus situate number, in the aggregate from 60,000 to 70,000 souls!"¹²² He further invoked the recommendations of Francis A. Walker, who serving as Commissioner of Indian Affairs from

¹¹⁸ "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, for the Year 1868," 42.

¹¹⁹ George W. Manypenny, *Our Indian Wards* (Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1880), xi.

¹²⁰ Manypenny, xii.

¹²¹ Manypenny, x.

¹²² Manypenny, xvi.

1871 to 1873, envisioned "a general recasting of the scheme of Indian reservations." Manypenny added,

To each head of family there should, within the reservation, be assigned a homestead. The number of acres in it should be sufficiently large, but not excessive. He should be taught that he is the proprietor, with the right to exercise jurisdiction over his farm, and be secured in the enjoyment of all he produces upon it. The title to the land should remain in the tribe, since the Indians are generally not prepared for fee-simple titles. In years to come, these may be granted.¹²³

In a similar construction to the Māhele, the allotment program that Manypenny advocated would begin by dividing the existing land among the tribal leaders and heads of family. Also, just as the Māhele required additional legislation before the makaʻāinana and foreigners were allowed to buy and sell land, the program that Manypenny proposed called for a period of adjustment before fee-simple titles could be procured for Indian owners. The allotment provisions envisioned by Manypenny were indeed set forward with the help of missionaries, reformers such as the Friends of the Indian, and legislators like Senator Henry L. Dawes.

The legislation which would come to be known as the General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act of 1887 was born from the rhetoric of civilization and the imperatives of an expanding American nation.¹²⁴ Although the act was spearheaded by Senator Henry L. Dawes, the development of the allotment-in-severalty plan for Native Americans developed over decades of struggling with an indigenous policy which could not reconcile the founding principles of the government with the actions it often legitimized in service to a justified American imperialism. Nevertheless, historian D.S. Otis, evaluating the Dawes Act on the eve of federal reorganization in the 1930s, surmised "That the leading proponents of allotment were inspired by the highest

¹²³ Manypenny, xiii-xiv.

¹²⁴ "An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes," transcript of Dawes Act (1887). Available from www.ourdocuments.gov; Internet. Accessed 28 April 2010.

motives seems conclusively true."¹²⁵ Otis referred to Dawes' speech at the Mohonk Conference of the "friends of Indian civilization" in 1885, quoting that Dawes felt,

that every dollar of money, and every hour of effort that can be applied to each individual Indian, day and night, in season and out of season, with patience and perseverance, with kindness and with charity is not only due him in atonement for what we have inflicted upon him in the past, but is our own obligation towards him in order that we may not have him a vagabond and a pauper, without home or occupation among us in this land.¹²⁶

Moreover, Dawes outlined the new allotment policy, explaining,

The purpose of the bill is to clothe the Secretary of the Interior with all the power he needs to do everything in respect to the Indian that every one of you said to-day he wanted to have done. It is, first to put the Indian in severalty on a farm; next, after having done that, to sell all the rest of his reservation; next, to give him all the rights and privileges of any white man in the courts.¹²⁷

Though the issue of Indian citizenship would continue to be debated, clearly Dawes and his fellow reformers saw the legislation as fulfilling the goals originally set out in the Civilization Fund of 1819.

What is more, Dawes referred directly to the benefits of the Civilization Fund and education as the initial impulse for the development of the allotment legislation. In 1882 and 1883 as a member of the Committee on Indian Affairs he reviewed and approved the detailed statement of accounts serviced by the "Civilization Fund" as it existed in its renewed form. The original fund from 1819 was repealed in 1873, but "re-established under the title of 'civilization fund' by the first article of the treaty with the Great and Little Osages," of 1867. In the renewed

¹²⁵ D.S. Otis, *The Dawes Act and the Allotment of Indian Lands*, edited and with an introduction by Francis Paul Prucha. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1973), 8. [Originally published in 1934 in *Readjustment of Indian affairs* (hearings on H.R. 7902 before the House of Representatives' Committee on Indian Affairs), pt. 9, 428-489, under title: History of the allotment policy. The 1973 ed. includes corrections and minor changes.]

¹²⁶ *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, Held October 7 to 9, 1885* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1886), 37; Otis, 8.

¹²⁷ *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, 39.

version of the fund, the proceeds from Indian land sales subsidized the fund.¹²⁸ But whereas the original Civilization Fund provided only \$10,000 annually "for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes...and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization,"¹²⁹ Dawes noted at the Mohonk Conference that the renewed fund now "appropriated \$1,100,000 for the purpose, and more than 15,000 Indian children were attending school."¹³⁰ Among the largest beneficiaries of the fund were the Hampton and Carlisle Schools, which Gary Okihiro notes, were models "for a nation-wide system of boarding schools intended to assimilate American Indians into mainstream culture."¹³¹ Moreover, Dawes emphatically stated that the success of "General Armstrong's school at Hampton," and all of its derivatives, like Carlisle, had inspired the development of the new allotment legislation which would be the "Indian's Door to Civilization."¹³² What Dawes did not explain is that the model school of Hampton, developed by General Samuel C. Armstrong was in fact a derivative of the schools Rev. Richard Armstrong, his father, had inherited from William Richards, a founding member of the ABCFM in Hawai'i.¹³³ The philosophy of the schools, as Okihiro points out, [marked] a trail "that began with Hawaiian landings in New England, white New England's domestic mission to American Indians and foreign mission to Hawai'i, and Hawaiian education's

¹²⁸ "Letter From The Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, In response to Senate Resolution of July 3, 1882, a detailed statement of account showing the amounts received as Indian civilization fund, the source from whence derived, and the disbursements, &c." December 7, 1882 -- Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs; January 9, 1883 -- Mr. Dawes reports back to print and be recommitted. Serial Set Vol. No. 2076, Session Vol. No. 3, 47th Congress, 2d Session, S.Exec. Doc. 35.

¹²⁹ Quoted in Francis Paul Prucha, ed. *Documents of United States Indian Policy, Third Edition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, 1990, 2000), 33; Schmeckebier, 39. See also Cotterill, 226-227.

¹³⁰ *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, 35-36.

¹³¹ Okihiro, 133.

¹³² *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, 35; William T. Hagan, "Private Property, the Indian's Door to Civilization," *Ethnohistory* 3.2 (Spring, 1956), 126.

¹³³ Williston, 25-26; *Missionary Album*, 30-33.

refashioning for African Americans in the South," and finally, "its adaptation for American Indians in the East and West."¹³⁴

Because the results of the Allotment act, as historian Michael R. McLaughlin points out, "weakened, rather than strengthened native people's ability to adapt to mainstream American culture," the true genesis of its purpose has been lost in an examination of its consequences.¹³⁵ Although the Act may have been well intended by reformers and some government leaders, it was also created to respond to the demands of a growing American populace and economy. Subsequently, native people who did not understand the requirements of ownership or the value of the land, or who simply did not wish to participate in the economic imperatives of a growing capitalist society often lost their land to unprincipled speculators and subsequent legislative manipulations by local authorities.¹³⁶ But, traditional historical interpretations overlook how the rhetoric of civilization was wielded in the formative years of America, and how indigenous people both within and beyond the parameters of the United States influenced its development. The story of the Allotment Act, and its predecessor, the "Great" Māhele in Hawai'i, also tells a "story of agency on the part of indigenous people" as Stuart Banner asserts,

We can at least compare Hawaii with the western United States, where the federal government reorganized Indian land tenure in a parallel way a half-century after the Mahele. The Allotment Act of 1887 is usually depicted as a "reform" intended to rob the Indians of their land, and many Indians did indeed lose their land as a result of allotment. This outcome makes all the more striking a fact that tends to be omitted in histories of allotment: In the years leading up to 1887, field reports from the Interior Department's Indian Agents were consistently filled with expressions of support for allotment from the Indians under their supervision...There was doubtless some wishful thinking going on here, an eagerness to find more support among the Indians for allotment than actually existed, but there were too many such reports to dismiss them all as fanciful.

¹³⁴ Okihiro, 130.

¹³⁵ Michael R. McLaughlin, "The Dawes Act, or Indian General Allotment Act of 1887: The Continuing Burden of Allotment. A Selective Annotated Bibliography," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 20.2 (1996), 65.

¹³⁶ Linda S. Parker, *Native America Estate: The Struggle Over Indian and Hawaiian Lands* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), 52-53.

Even if allotment did not command as much support among Indians as among whites, there must have been many Indians who favored it.¹³⁷

It can only be concluded that many native people did anticipate the changes that "Christian civilization" represented and many tried to adapt to the land tenure ideologies of America in the hopes of maintaining their autonomy. Significantly, the only tribes that were excluded from the original Allotment Act of 1887 were the so-called Five Civilized Tribes, who, by the 1880s, had acquired enough political capital and experience with American administrators to negotiate separate terms for their native possessions.

In reviewing the historical record, it is clear that Native Hawaiian and Native American legislation and policy were connected from early in the nineteenth century. As the reunified and reinforced U.S. federal government supported the expansion of the country in the latter half of the nineteenth century, its "manifest destiny" was inseparably linked to the history and precedents established by its negotiations with indigenous people. Early American legislation like The Civilization Fund provided the political impetus and legitimation for missionary efforts by organizations like the ABCFM on both a domestic and international scale. But, the ability of indigenous people to respond to the mandates of "Christian civilization" was increasingly measured as reformers and government leaders grappled with how to reconcile the demands of an expanding nation without violating the very principles it was founded upon. The rhetoric of civilization was used as the gauge by which to calculate whether indigenous nations were worthy to maintain their soil and sovereignty, and increasingly the mandates of "civilization" required much more than a religious conversion. That Native Hawaiians were perceived as more successfully adapting these requirements was due in part to the ways that the aliʻi rulers responded to the presence of the ABCFM, utilized their commercial power, and appeased, on a

¹³⁷ Banner, 308.

limited scale, foreign desires. Even as the Dawes Act resembled and imitated the provisions of the Māhele, subsequent Hawaiian legislation and protections were influenced by Native American concerns and U.S. federal mandates.

CHAPTER 6

The Power of Trust

How do we discern the multi-dimensional hues of history? In the latter half of the nineteenth century, the histories of America, Native America and Hawai‘i converged through individual lives connected by women, the generations they linked, and the cultural and political convictions that transformed how individuals and families impacted societies and nations. In 1844, Ralph Waldo Emerson mused, "Life is a train of moods like a string of beads, and as we pass through them they prove to be many-colored lenses which paint the world their own hue, and each shows only what lies in its focus;" in many ways, as historians, we are limited by what lies in our focus.¹ History can be connected by a strand which is colored by each individual bead, but is nonetheless part of singular whole. Life stories can both uncover and obscure the details and nuances which not only "paint the world their own hue," but allow both historical contemporaries and contemporary historians to view the inner and outer, the private and public, the singular aspect and the multi-faceted lenses of lives that both reflected and refracted a time past. The stories of Native American women, ali‘i women and their social networks which included the descendents of the ABCFM in the post Civil-War era through 1887 bring together individual stories and the larger political concerns which shaped the future of nations. Women in California like Mele Kainuha Keaala and Helen Hunt Jackson certainly influenced how Kalākaua and later, how Queen Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani perceived the plight of “Na Ilikini” in America. The travels of Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani in 1887 also reflected their interest in the education of young women at home and abroad. But, they also held connections to powerful American legislators through relationships that were at least sixty years in the making: political

¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson. "Experience, 1844" in *Selected Essays* (New York: Penguin Books, 1982), 288-289.

connections to the elder generation of the ABCFM from the 1820s and now, their male children who moved in Washington power circles. Men like William M. Evarts, son of Jeremiah Evarts were not forgotten, but esteemed and followed, even in the Hawaiian newspapers. What is more, the aliʻi women, in particular, used these networks strategically as they made their voyage to the U.S. and England immediately after the passage of the Dawes Act in America. While their trip was feted as a journey to Queen Victoria's Jubilee, it proved to be much more, providing a diplomatic presence abroad while businessmen in Hawaiʻi calculated their own moves against the Hawaiian Crown at home.

But the story has many moving parts and it requires looking at all of the beads in the strand virtually at once to appreciate the connections. One of those connections begins with the Evarts family. As mentioned in prior chapters, Jeremiah Evarts fronted the charge to defend the principles of "Christian civilization" within the changing landscape of federal Indian policy. While the Hawaiian mission strengthened, the Cherokees faced the problematic issues presented by the state of Georgia – "O ko Georegia poe, oia ka enemi." When American court decisions and legislation proved a disastrous precedent for indigenous people, Jeremiah Evarts was unable to follow the ABCFM creed to "abstain from all interference with local and political interests of the people."² To the contrary, as historian Francis Paul Prucha points out in his edited compilation of Jeremiah Evarts' writings,

Opposition to the removal policy of President Andrew Jackson and his administration, which supported the demands of the Georgians, was to a large extent the work of Jeremiah Evarts, secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For the last two years of his life he devoted his considerable energies and abilities to a campaign to prevent the involuntary removal of the Cherokees and other southern Indians. He based his stand on a remarkable analysis of the aboriginal and legal rights of the Indians to remain on

² Missionary Album, 17.

their ancestral lands, which became the source of arguments on behalf of the Indians in the press and on the floor of Congress.³

In attempts to defend the rights of the Cherokee and resist removal plans, as noted prior, Evarts formed a vocal alliance against removal policy with not only Elias Boudinot, but others like U.S. Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen, arguing that it betrayed the principles, promises, and responsibilities of the federal government. Still, it is significant to note here that while Senator Theodore Frelinghuysen had opposed the Cherokee removal policy, his political legacy would be carried on through his nephew, Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, who became Secretary of State under President Chester A. Arthur (1881 -1885). He would immediately follow the tenure of William Maxwell Evarts, who served in that powerful position from 1877 to 1881. In another of the myriad connections between American Indian policy and Native Hawaiian policy, Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen became one of the foremost proponents of Hawaiian annexation in the late nineteenth century.

But Jeremiah Evart's son had a much more complex relationship with his views of "Christian civilization," the rights of native people, and a fair and just government as his adult life unfolded without his father. Jeremiah Evarts had died in 1831, some noted from the sheer exhaustion of his efforts to turn back the imperialistic notions of the young U.S. government. Still, the social network he created in his religious and political life resounded in both public and private ways. Most notably, William M. Evarts, carried the legacy of his father's integrity and values into a public career and government service that spanned most of the latter half of the nineteenth century. William M. Evarts was born in 1818 while Jeremiah was away from home, traveling on behalf of the ABCFM. Nevertheless, John Andrew's biography, *From Revivals to*

³ Jeremiah Evarts, *Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings*. Edited, with an Introduction, by Francis Paul Prucha (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1981), v.

Removal: Jeremiah Evarts, The Cherokee Nation, and the Search for the Soul of America, indicates that Jeremiah wrote that he perceived the birth as "'a signal favor of divine providence.'" Moreover, Andrew notes that Jeremiah's letter home "reflected on the whims of humanity: 'I could not think how differently the destinies of men are disposed of in this world. My children might be taken and sold with as much justice and propriety as the immense multitude of native Africans.'"⁴ Intriguingly, as if speaking it into being, Jeremiah's observation foreshadowed one of the poignant issues in which William Evarts would become famously embroiled as his legal career matured. What is more, Jeremiah believed, as biographer Andrew points out,

The Indian removal controversy and the rising debate over slavery seemed to him to represent two such evils. "The former of these evils is a gangrene of monstrous growth," he wrote, "entering into the muscle, bone, and very marrow of our Republic. The latter is fast becoming so – though not with the same chance of dangerous increase."⁵

Ironically, it would fall to Jeremiah's son to act as metaphorical surgeon and mediator on a national and international level, negotiating as U.S. district attorney, U.S. Secretary of State, U.S. Attorney General, and finally as a U.S. Senator and member of Congress.

Not unsurprisingly, William M. Evarts moved within and created around him a social, political, and economic network that drew on his inherited relationships from the ABCFM, his New England roots, and his collegiate connections. Brainerd Dyer explains in his biography, *The Public Career of William M. Evarts*, that William attended both Yale and Harvard, studying law at the latter "for a year under the friendly and inspirational guidance of Judge Story and the careful and thorough instruction of Professor Greenleaf."⁶ Like many legislative and judicial

⁴ Jeremiah Evarts letter to his wife, February 28, March 13, 1818, as quoted in Andrew, 90; Brainerd Dyer, *The Public Career of William M. Evarts* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1933) 1.

⁵ Andrew, 265.

⁶ Dyer, 9.

leaders of his day, William acquired an education infused with a careful cultivation that introduced him to individuals within the highest circles of power. Judge Joseph Story would go on to become the youngest Supreme Court Justice in U.S. history and Professor Simon Greenleaf created a body of legal discourse that was often called upon in both state and federal litigation.⁷ To that end, Greenleaf was also intimately connected in legislation that impacted both Native Americans and Native Hawaiians. As noted prior, between 1846 and 1849, another Harvard graduate, William Little Lee, recruited by Kamehameha III to assist in the judicial matters of the islands, frequently wrote to Professor Greenleaf as he grappled with the legal tenets and precedents he established in his position as Chief Justice of the Hawai'i Supreme Court and president of the Land Commission.⁸ It seems likely that William Evarts continued to have contact with extended members of the ABCFM and it is evident that both men relied on their connection with Harvard Law in the long years of their professions and American diplomacy.

Moreover, several biographical sources indicate that William Evarts had a rich and enduring relationship with some of the greatest lawyers and influential literati of his day. Dyer notes that Richard Henry Dana, Jr. was also a student at Harvard with William Evarts, "and with him Evarts formed a friendship that lasted through life, undisturbed by frequent difference of opinion in matters political."⁹ Henry Adams, in his autobiography, *The Education of Henry Adams*, refers frequently to the close association he shared with William Evarts, noting that from

⁷ Professor Simon Greenleaf also wrote his a biography of Judge Story, *A Discourse Commemorative of The Life and Character of the Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D., An Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law in Harvard University* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1845). Joseph Story stands as the youngest Associate Justice in Supreme Court history, appointed at the age of 32; "Supreme Court of the United States." Available from www.supremecourt.gov; Internet. Accessed 17 April 2012.

⁸ Barbara E. Dunn, "William Little Lee and Catherine Lee, Letters from Hawai'i 1848-1855," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 38 (2004), 61; William Little Lee to Honorable Simon Greenleaf, November 2, 1847, March 3, 1849, August 16, 1849, Bancroft Library, UC Berkeley, BANC MSS 78/106p.

⁹ Dyer, 9.

an early age his home was a "social centre" for the likes of Evarts, Dana, and Charles Sumner, among others.¹⁰ Adams elaborates, that by 1862, while in London, he "began an acquaintance with Mr. Evarts that soon became intimate." Evarts illuminated lessons about politics that surely he reaped from his own experience as well as the legacy of his father. Of Evarts and politics, Adams observed,

he cared little for the game, or how it was played...but he played in a large and liberal way, like Daniel Webster, "a great advocate employed in politics." Evarts was also an economist of morals, but with him the question was rather how much morality one could afford. "The world can absorb only doses of the truth," he said; "too much would kill it." One sought education in order to adjust the dose.¹¹

Adams own autobiographical reflections go a long way in explaining Evarts' legalistic stand on the many cases he argued as well as his diplomatic influence as advisor to three presidents from the 1860s to the end of his career in the 1890s. For example, his position on the Fugitive Slave Law, which upheld the rights of the southern states prior to the Civil War, seemed at odds with the legacy of his antislavery father, Jeremiah. But, as biographer Chester L. Barrows notes in his work, "He was sincerely for compromise; but it seemed outrageous to some that the son of Jeremiah Evarts could 'equivocate' with slavery."¹² However, a careful reading of William Evarts' arguments in the 1860 Lemmon Slave Case reveals that he had, in fact, carefully incorporated the principles of both his father and his New England network. The Lemmon Slave dispute began in November 1852, when "Jonathan Lemmon and Juliet, his wife,...citizens and residents of the State of Virginia, brought eight colored persons, who had been held as slaves of Juliet Lemmon, pursuant to the laws of that State, into the port of New York, for the purpose of

¹⁰ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams: An Autobiography*. With a New Introduction by Donald Hall. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918, 1946, 2000), 29.

¹¹ Adams, 148.

¹² Chester L. Barrows, *William M. Evarts: Lawyer, Diplomat, Statesman* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 38.

taking them to Texas, to be there retained as slaves."¹³ The party was only planning to be in New York for a short time while they waited for a steamer which could transport them to their final destination. The slaves, who were taken to a local New York boarding house, were soon discovered by a "colored man named Louis Napoleon, who thereupon presented a petition to the Hon. Elijah Paine, then one of the Justices of the Superior Court of the city of New York, for a writ of Habeas Corpus...to inquire into the cause of their detention."¹⁴ Because slavery was illegal in New York, the law demanded that these eight persons be released. However, Juliet Lemmon brought a case against the state of New York, asserting that she had never intended for her party to remain there, and that since she was "*in transitu*," to Texas, both the constitutions of Virginia and Texas should protect her rights to maintain the property of her slaves. While the case worked its way through the New York court system, the Dred Scott case, heard in the Missouri Supreme Court, was decided. That inauspicious decision determined that a slave's status "was governed by the law of the state where he was purchased," which upheld the rights and notions of slaveholders and slave states. The Lemmon Slave Case soon became New York's response to Dred Scott, and while New York upheld its principle that no form of slavery would be tolerated in the state, soon the litigation moved beyond the appeal of a slaveholding individual. On January 4, 1858, the state of Virginia, in support of Mrs. Lemmon, filed suit contesting the actions of the state of New York.¹⁵ It was in this charged atmosphere that William M. Evarts became eminently distinguished, much as his father had in the Removal era thirty years earlier.

¹³ *N.Y. Court of Appeals, Report of the Lemmon Slave Case, Containing Points and Arguments of Counsel on Both Sides, and Opinions of All the Judges* (New York: Horace Greeley & Co., 1861), 3.

¹⁴ *N.Y. Court of Appeals*, 4.

¹⁵ Fagan-Solis, Elijah. "The Courts and Human Rights in New York: The Legacy of the Lemmon Slave Case," *The Historical Society of the Courts of the State of New York* (2008) at <https://www.nycourts.gov/history/pdf/2008Winner.pdf>; Internet. Accessed 26 April 2012.

While the legalities of the Lemmon Slave Case seem far removed from the issues which determined Native American and Native Hawaiian sovereignty in the mid-nineteenth century, they might more accurately be interpreted as emblematic of the larger political complexities that shaped and transformed U.S. federal policies in the mid to late nineteenth century. It was, more directly, a reckoning between states' rights and federal rights, a consideration of the rights of citizens and who, exactly would hold that status. It is a debate that is not so far from our own political discussions today. And, it was also a debate that Alexander Liholiho (Kamehameha IV) understood from his own experiences in America from 1849-1850, as noted in the last chapter. Evarts, in his capacity as attorney and rising statesman, represented the pivotal link between the principles and ideals of the founding New Englanders and the rhetoric of civilization which increasingly transformed and dominated the aggressive philosophies of western expansionists. In language replicating the arguments of his father's "William Penn" essays, William Evarts illuminated the predicament that the divided tolerance of slavery imposed on American principles:

In some future stage of my argument I shall have, more completely and distinctly perhaps, to direct the attention of the court to some of the many positions and illustrations which are embodied in this forensic plea for slavery. But let me say now that, if this court and our people cannot be brought to look kindly upon its fragmentary and temporary existence in our midst, but by trampling down, step by step, all the great barriers against oppression that have been raised by the reason, the justice, and the wisdom of age after age, --but by undermining the principles that have built up a great, free, and powerful nation to be the habitation of liberty and justice for the great population of to-day, and for generation after generation yet to come; if the rights, poor, feeble, casual, of the black man, cannot be overborne or overthrown without tearing in pieces the law of nations, confounding all distinctions between civilization and barbarism, subduing right by might, and thinking that force and power can, any day it chooses, call evil good, and good evil, and that a few soft phrases and intricate sentences can obscure, even for an hour, the difference between right and wrong, and the fundamental distinction between a rule of force and a rule of right, -- then this class of community, while here in the state of New York is abundantly safe; for an adoption of the maxims and the principles that are necessarily claimed in this

deliberate argument – that force is right, and power is law – can only be expected by reversing the whole tide of civilization.¹⁶

In his defense of the laws of New York, Evarts challenged the states' rights argument, addressing all of the convolutions of that issue and noting that no federal law had been determined, nor could be sustained in a nation divided on the issue of people as "property." What is more, Evarts called on the legal decisions and discussions of Justice McLean and Judge Story to thoroughly explore the conflicts inherent in slave statutes which could not transcend state borders nor find direction in federal legislation or constitutional provision. Brilliantly, he cautioned the court to resist the elusive arguments put forth by his opponents. The "learned counsel who supports the pretensions of the state of Virginia," he remarked, "would bring you to think that, if this were an open question...there are many reasons of conscience, of justice, of benevolence, and of duty which require the maintenance and continuance of the institution of slavery, and require every man, whose hands are untied, to give it a helping and supporting hand."¹⁷ To that point, he aimed his critique at Virginia's own laws and constitution, which determined that "no Indian could be held in bondage." The state justified this position because in 1691, Virginia passed a law "permitting free trade with the Indians." Evarts explained, "This statute was immediately seized upon by the courts of justice of Virginia as involving the necessary legal intendment that the enslavement of these people,...thus recognized as lawful parties to commercial intercourse, was unlawful, such recognition being inconsistent with the absolute denial of personal rights which lay at the foundation of slavery."¹⁸ Invoking this

¹⁶ William M. Evarts, "Brief and Argument in the Lemmon Slave Case in the Court of Appeals of New York, 1860," in *Legal Masterpieces: Specimens of Augmentation and Exposition by Eminent Lawyers*, edited by Van Vechten Veeder (Chicago: Callaghan & Company, 1963), 1038. Available from Heinonline, <http://heinonline.org>; Internet. Accessed 15 February 2012.

¹⁷ William M. Evarts, "Brief and Argument in the Lemmon Slave Case in the Court of Appeals of New York, 1860," 1037.

¹⁸ Evarts, 1063.

precedent and the recent court cases associated with it, Evarts' reasoning acted as a judicial scythe, cutting to the core of the debate. To what extent could the sovereign power of the state impose its will on the sovereign right of the individual? To what extent was the federal government responsible to yield or assume that power? And, if Virginia had "the power of a sovereign state over the status of slavery within it," didn't New York have that same sovereign right? That William Evarts pointed to the example of American Indian sovereignty to make his point only amplified his connection to his father's legacy. Moreover, it suggests that these issues of sovereignty would define Evarts' legislative career, growing ever more complex as he negotiated America's policies from the Plains to the Pacific.

William Evarts' lifelong friend, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., would fuel those complexities with his own observations and connections between Native Americans and Native Hawaiians, and profoundly influence how sovereignty and the rhetoric of civilization were wielded as political tools. As noted in the previous chapter, Dana had much to say on this matter and William Evarts would have been intimately connected to the issues and sentiments that friends like Dana and ABCFM successors like Rufus Anderson expressed in their own autobiographical and observational publications of the mid-nineteenth century. What is more, Evarts was fully cognizant of the missionary and mercantile connections that had developed in Hawai'i -- what Mark Twain called the "moneyed strength of these islands," -- and their deep-rooted connections to New England social, political, and financial networks.¹⁹ With the close of the Civil War and the victory of the North, those connections were amplified and employed with particular vengeance. The injustices of the Removal Era were not forgotten as Richard Henry Dana, Jr., author *and* U.S. district attorney, joined with William M. Evarts in the prosecution of Jefferson

¹⁹ Twain, *Letters From Hawaii*, 172-173.

Davis, the former President of the Confederate States.²⁰ Pacific connections were only strengthened when Dana's daughter, Ruth Charlotte Dana, married Francis Ogden Lyman, son of a prominent ABCFM Hilo missionary family.²¹ What is more, Dana's own biography would be written by Charles Francis Adams, brother to Henry Adams, who associated with both Dana and Evarts in personal as well as professional circles.²²

Furthermore, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, both Charles Francis Adams and William Evarts were involved with litigation and legislation of the transcontinental railroads. Barrow's biography documents that Evarts, in particular, was called upon to represent the Union Pacific in a number of cases including a suit initiated by Congress to "sue the stockholders of the Union Pacific for recovery of alleged fraudulent profits" derived from the Credit Mobilier scandal.²³ The scandal, which embroiled public figures such as congressional members Henry L. Dawes, and James G. Blaine, and even presidential hopeful James Garfield, directly linked the political, economic, and social networks of legislators tasked to guide both domestic and foreign policy. What is more, it exposed the conflicts inherent in federal policies that promised financial incentives.²⁴ Reports described the scandal as "Congressional Corruption," and the *Columbia Sentinel* explained,

²⁰ *The Federal Cases Comprising Cases Argued and Determined in the Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, Book 7, Dart - Dunbar, Case No. 3583 - Case No. 4130 (St. Paul: West Publishing Co, 1894), 89; David K. Watson, "The Trial of Jefferson Davis: An Interesting Constitutional Question," *Yale Law Journal* 24.8 (Jun., 1915): 669-676; Barrows, 171-175.

²¹ *A Guide to the Richard Henry Dana Sr., and Jr. Collection*. Available from <http://ead.lib.virginia.edu/vivaead/published/uva-sc/viu00227.component>; Internet. Accessed 28 March 2019.

²² Charles Francis Adams, *Richard Henry Dana: A Biography*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1890.

²³ Barrows, 255-256.

²⁴ *Reports of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Forty-Second Congress, 1872-73* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), i-xix. Government documents indicate that Samuel T. Dana, a relative of Richard Henry Dana, Jr. and Samuel Hooper & Company, who may be related to the sugar interests of William Hooper in Hawai'i were also invested. The evidence also suggests that a fairly tight network of politicians and businessmen from New England to Washington to Honolulu capitalized their connections to manipulate U.S. political and economic legislation at home and abroad.

The Union Pacific Railway being thus magnificently subsidized by the United States, the Credit Mobilier was organized as a wheel within the wheel, a ring within the ring, for the purpose of building the road and bagging the subsidies...²⁵

Congressional representative Oakes Ames, the article continued, was given

250 shares and many more shares also, of the Credit Mobilier stock in bribing certain members of Congress to co-operate with him (Oakes Ames) in securing the legislation which was necessary to enhance the value of the Credit Mobilier stock to the enormous point which it finally attained of some 700 or 800 per cent.²⁶

Historian Dee Brown also wrote about these connections in his narratives of the American West and revisiting his work for a moment may give further context to the import of the social, political, and economic ties which laid tracks in the nineteenth century America. Brown, most famously known for his early 1970s book *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, sought to use his vast knowledge of archival records to narrate the injustices of mid nineteenth- century America. For Brown, the history of government compliance with the greed of American capitalists was not a static condition of a bygone era and he sought to illustrate the significance of that legacy in *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow: Railroads in the West*.²⁷ Published in 1977, on the heels of the success of *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, the work is both a history and an indictment of the reckless disregard and strong arm tactics used by railroad robber barons in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Throughout the work, Brown asserts that the railroad companies of the nineteenth century were facilitated by U.S. government policies which dispossessed *all* Americans of the right to public land, decimated the Native American people and culture, and frittered away and destroyed public resources. He brings to light that "the railroads had been constructed with loans from the public, and that their fortunes were based

²⁵ *Columbia Sentinel*, September 19, 1872.

²⁶ *Columbia Sentinel*, September 19, 1872.

²⁷ This work was republished with a slightly varied title in 2001 as *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroads* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, Introduction copyright, 2001).

upon millions of acres of public lands and forests given to them by prodigal representatives of the people."²⁸ Reminiscent of his past works, Brown sought to dissect the American romantic myth of the "progress" of the railroads and place the stark truths within a comprehensive historical context.

As in past works, Brown provided a panoramic view of the history, relying on a chronological narration to illustrate how the actions of government policy makers and the competitive manipulations of railroad executives created the cause and effect of conflict on the western frontier and led to dire and poignant results for Native Americans, pioneer settlers, and immigrant laborers. While he includes the first-hand accounts of the builders and passengers of the railroads to voice the history of the era, Brown relies more frequently in this work on geographical and economic statistics to convey the immense compass of change that was occurring across the American landscape. Brown led his readers to a new consciousness of American history, engaging his readers with sardonic wit. In one passage, he spends two pages describing the work songs of the railroad laborers, as they developed rhythms to lay rails and drive spikes during their long days from sunup to sundown. He then interjects,

As for Dr. Durant [a Union Pacific railroad executive] and his cronies, there is no record of what they sang as they collected the \$16,000 per mile from the government for the track laid by the workmen, the \$25,000 per mile of excess profits from Credit Mobilier [their financial holding company], the 12,800 acres of land per mile, and whatever else they were able to divert from the sales of stocks and bonds. Instead of singing, they were always spending money to generate money, and there never seemed to be enough.²⁹

In 2001, the book was republished with an updated name, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroads* and a new introduction by the author. At 93,

²⁸ Dee Brown, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow: The Epic Story of the Transcontinental Railroads* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, LLC, Introduction copyright, 2001), 275.

²⁹ Dee Brown, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow*, 66.

Dee Brown had not retreated from his original interpretation one iota; in fact, the introduction manifested his purpose in writing the history at all:

Since this book first appeared during the 1970s, the history of American railroads has not changed, but attitudes toward the building of the transcontinental railroad have. Incidents and actions once considered as knavery, or plain dishonesty, are now acceptable, provided an important objective has been accomplished. The robber barons are now viewed by some as heroic figures because they got the railroads built. Not that it matters how many millions of dollars and acres of land were stolen from the ordinary people of the United States.³⁰

Just as Jeremiah Evarts and William Evarts before him, Brown's words are haunting. They reiterate not only the past mechanisms of dispossession in America, but those very much at the forefront of America today. The "corporate colonialism" in America today, and indeed, around the world, festered first in the new manifestations of corporate America in the mid to late nineteenth century. The future leadership of the railroad, its corporate power, and its political persuasion was fostered by a close network of colleagues: "In June of 1884," Richard White notes, "Charles Francis Adams became president of the Union Pacific Railroad."³¹

But the story becomes even more complex. This was not just a story of New England ties and American legislator-businessmen, it was a larger story about railroad ties across nations. In his book, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*, Richard White uncovers that Elias Cornelius Boudinot, the son of Harriett and Elias Boudinot, also had a vested interest in the railroads and how those entities would cross Indian Country. Elias C. Boudinot also had a complex life, as "nephew of Stand Watie, the Cherokee who was the last Confederate general to surrender during the Civil War...he was himself, despite his New England mother and

³⁰ Dee Brown, *Hear That Lonesome Whistle Blow*, viii.

³¹ White, 186.

New England education, a delegate to the Confederate Congress.”³² What is more, Boudinot was a lawyer who, as White describes

had once trusted in treaties, he claimed. He had relied on the exemption from U.S. tax laws in Indian Territory provided by the Cherokee Treaty of 1866, but Congress had passed laws in violation of the treaty, and the courts had upheld them. Boudinot had lost his property for back taxes. This had taught him, so he maintained, that treaties were a charade; sovereignty could not stand against either the U.S. government or corporations; and the Indians’ only hope was the end of Indian governance in Indian Territory, the end of common land holdings, and the acquisition of citizenship.³³

Thus, in later years, Elias C. Boudinot would become a proponent of allotment policies because he perceived that communal land ownership was a hindrance to the Cherokee when policies actually played out in government and corrupt corporate influence. Like his father, he also used the press to make his case claiming in an article from 1872:

"Thus, you see," continued Mr. Boudinot, "large towns are assembling right on our line, composed of people who have come to stay. Nothing can be more certain than that these populations, obeying the instincts of a moving people like the Americans, are bound to go over that line some way; and under the present system, they will accomplish in a mean way what we might as well admit and prepare for with some statesmanship. They may either mix with our people, and debauch them, and build up a population which is neither one thing nor the other or they may move in with the Indian's consent, and be restricted to homesteads, which shall be sold for the benefit of our people, and give us a large school-fund, and thoroughly imbue us with the civilization of the time."³⁴

The ties that bound railroads, families, and government legislation were not neatly woven but twisted and intertwined so tightly as to be almost invisible. But the development of the railroads and the land required for it were absolutely essential to American commerce and by extension, commerce to and from Hawai‘i.

³² White, 134.

³³ White, 134-135

³⁴ *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 19, 1872, 2.

The Pacific extension of railroads, which utterly depended on obtaining Indian land by public and private partnerships, ended by ship in Hawai'i. Though that story is too extensive to delve into within this study, it is important to note that Hawaiian ali'i also understood that the foreign investors in the islands had direct impact on legislation in America. Both paid close attention to American legislation and how it might enhance or exclude their own futures. In 1881, when King Kalākaua made his famous world tour, he met with world leaders including the President of the United States. But more importantly, he made a critical stop in California in which he was welcomed by none other than Mele Kainuha Keaala.

As noted in the last chapter, Mele's story continued as she was also later known as Mary Azbill. She was most noted for her service to Hawaiian royals who came to visit the U.S. in the late nineteenth century. Ramsland describes,

when Mary was 18, King Kalakaua of the Hawaiian Islands made a state visit around the world...Mrs. John Bidwell, wife of General Bidwell was in Washington at the time and attended the welcome given King Kalakaua by the State Department. At the Ball after the State dinner, Kalakaua chose Mrs. Bidwell as his partner to lead the Grand March, for he had made the world trip without his Queen.

On the return trip, the king's train was scheduled for a stop of several hours in Sacramento, and the Hawaiian Representative in California, Ed Mahuka of Chico was notified. Mahuka wanted as many of the Hawaiians then living in the State to be there to greet the King. He sent a demand to Mary to be in Sacramento and when the Indians of Chico heard about this, they all wished to go also. So nearly all the Indians living in Chico accompanied Mary for the visit. The King noticed the Indian people who were standing in the crowd, when Mahuka went aboard the King's private car, and made especial reference to Mary, remarking that she looked "so much like my people." Mahuka told him that these people were the Indians, the native people of the land, and that Mary was part Hawaiian. Whereupon, the King told Mahuka to bring them into the car for he wished to meet them. The Indians followed Mary, and as she reached the steps of the private car, Mahuka and his group from Vernon, chanted the family "imōa" or genealogy. Upon hearing this, the King seemed delighted. Aliu-ula Keawe the father of Ka'iana (Mary's Great grandfather) was a half brother to the Aliu twins (Kameeiamoku and Kamanawa) and Kalakaua's ancestors came from both of

these brothers. Mahuka concluded and the King responded with his own genealogy and in it referred to the relationship, at the same time commanding Mary to approach him. The King asked Mary if she would like to go to Hawaii and when she assented, he appointed her as Kahu-na-alii-Kahili or Guardian of the King's Kahili.³⁵

While this is a lengthy description of the event, it cannot be ignored that once more, the presence of Native American and Native Hawaiian families stood firmly in front of the king, illuminating the way indigenous people were both integrated *and* excluded from power in America. Still, the connections are critical because they point to another axis of power in late nineteenth-century America. A simple mention of the same event in a Sacramento newspaper revealed the circle of power surrounding Kalākaua's arrival:

Distinguished Visitor -- King Kalakaua and party, consisting of Colonel Armstrong, Colonel C.H. Judd and Major G.W. McFarland and attendants, accompanied by Claus Spreckles and -- Schiessler, of San Francisco, arrived in this city at about half-past 4 yesterday afternoon, and are occupying rooms at the Arcade Hotel. Upon arrival, King Kalakaua and suit were driven to the Capitol and called upon the Governor after which the latter dined with them at the Arcade.³⁶

Though this announcement seems innocuous enough, it places Kalākaua at the center of power politics in California in 1881. He is accompanied, no less, by Colonel Armstrong who would later have an influential role in the development of the Dawes Act. What is more, he is also accompanied by Claus Spreckels who had investments in both Hawai'i and American railroads. The stakeholders in these associations have still to be unraveled in our histories and require a deeper revelation of both English and Hawaiian documents. Most recently, Julia Flynn Siler has produced a volume that attempts to detangle this history, noting of Spreckels in particular that "He would eventually own or control nearly every aspect of the islands' sugar trade – from vast plantations of swaying cane, to sugar mills, and even to the steamships that carried the

³⁵ Ramsland, 17.

³⁶ *Sacramento Daily Record-Union*, February 3, 1881.

crystallized sweetener to San Francisco and the railroads that would carry it up and down the coast, in what would now be called vertical integration.”³⁷

These developments had always been watched in Hawaiian newspapers and the stench of the Credit Mobilier scandal in America lingered for decades after its initial discovery. In April 1873, the *Hawaiian Gazette* reported in its Foreign Miscellany that “In the Credit Mobilier Investigation before Mr. Wilson, in Boston on Friday, Mr. Ham testified that the actual cost of building the Union Pacific Railroad was \$71,208,399.18, meaning the amount of money expended in building and losses on securities. On the Company’s books the cost appeared to be \$114,033,728.52.”³⁸ The sheer numbers posted in this colossal corruption would have been mind-boggling for the time, and urged investors to hang on tight to their bank notes and promises. But the story did not end there and these are certainly only a few examples of how the “moneyed strength of these islands,” looking to a trans-Pacific commercial partnership, tallied up the news from the U.S. By March 1887, the *Daily Herald* in Honolulu would report in its Foreign News, “By joint resolution Congress has provided for an investigation of the books of the Pacific railroads. Senator McPherson predicted that the investigation would disclose a bigger Credit Mobilier than had existed in the original enterprise.”³⁹ This news item appeared just weeks after the Dawes Act had passed through Congress.

Consequently, the decisions of the Hawaiian ali‘i to travel to the U.S. in 1887 was surely charged with diplomatic and economic imperatives. It is important, once again to reiterate the

³⁷ Julia Flynn Siler, *Lost Kingdom: Hawaii’s Last Queen, the Sugar Kings, and America’s First Imperial Adventure* (New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2012), 72. Siler’s work attempts to “follow the money” of investment between the U.S. and Hawai‘i in this critical moment. While her work reveals the complex business relationships in the latter half of the nineteenth century, her research relies almost entirely on English language documents, ignoring the vast Hawaiian language archives and newspapers. These documents still need to be more thoroughly examined for they would certainly give further insight and different conclusions about local views, politics and decisions of the Hawaiian rulers. Note also that Spreckels’ name was sometimes spelled as Spreckles in the newspapers of the time.

³⁸ *Hawaiian Gazette*, Honolulu, April 16, 1873.

³⁹ *Daily Herald*, Honolulu, March 3, 1887.

names of the powerful men who inhabited Washington D.C. in this era, because these were precisely the people that Queen Kapi‘iolani and Princess Lili‘uokalani spent time with on their journey through the U.S. and on to England. As noted, William M. Evarts served as Attorney General for the U.S. as well as chief counsel on behalf of three presidents, finally serving as Secretary of State under President Hayes from 1877 to 1881. He served in Congress as well from 1885 to 1891, spanning the period of the Dawes legislation and the 1887 "Bayonet Constitution" in Hawai‘i. He was succeeded by James G. Blaine, who served as Secretary of State under President James Garfield and Blaine was in turn succeeded by Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen from 1881 to 1885, who served as Secretary of State leading up to the Dawes Act. Blaine would return to the position of Secretary of State from 1889 to 1892 under President Benjamin Harrison.⁴⁰ Blaine also had strong ties to New England and Maine in particular when, early in his career he worked with John L. Stevens as editor of the Whig-inspired *Kennebec Journal*.⁴¹ While Blaine would enhance his political career first in the House of Representatives in the late 1860s, Stevens would later serve as a U.S. minister to posts in South America. Historian Paul Burlin notes that Blaine had tried to get Stevens posted to a position in the Hawaiian Islands as early as 1869, but it was not until 1889 that John L. Stevens would arrive in Hawai‘i, just after the signing of the "Bayonet Constitution."⁴² Throughout their careers, both Blaine and Stevens were supporters of the American shipbuilding and shipping industries and not unlike Maine predecessor, Elisha Hunt Allen, who also served in Congress in the early 1840s and later served in Hawai‘i as U.S. consul at Honolulu, their interests went beyond public

⁴⁰ *Congressional Biographical Directory: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774-Present*. Available from <http://bioguide.congress.gov>; Internet. Accessed 13 December 2011; 28 March 2019.

⁴¹ Paul T. Burlin, *Imperial Maine and Hawai‘i* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, a division of Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2006), 162.

⁴² Burlin, 168-175.

service.⁴³ Like many of the diplomats and religious and political leaders of their day, they had private interests and investments which shaped their public policymaking. The ties that irrevocably transformed indigenous destinies *and* the American landscape were, as historian Richard White points out, "as strong and as gossamer as anything a spider wove. The strands had to be nearly invisible, and they could not reveal the spider."⁴⁴

1887 – Dawes Act, 1887 Huaka‘i [Journey], and the Bayonet Constitution

Thus, 1887 was a pivotal year for the history of Native American, Native Hawaiian, and American futures. It began with the passage of the General Allotment Act or the Dawes Act which went into effect in February 1887 and fulfilled the “promises” of the rhetoric of civilization and the imperatives of an expanding American nation.⁴⁵ But this was preceded in Hawai‘i by careful calculations by the women ali‘i in particular. The actions of the women ali‘i in this period speak more loudly than words. Just prior to the landmark legislation of Native American lands in the U.S. in 1887, the matriarchs of the Hawaiian ali‘i had begun to consolidate their land holdings into trusts. None of the most influential Hawaiian matriarchs -- Bernice Pauahi Bishop, Queen Emma (the widowed queen of Kamehameha IV - Alexander Liholiho), Queen Kapi‘olani, or Queen Lili‘uokalani -- had surviving children through which their property would have been inherited. While they had hānai (translated as “fostered” or “adopted”) children, nieces and nephews who might have naturally received their landholdings, the claims to the abundant resources of the ali‘i women were at risk of challenge in succeeding generations. It seems clear these women understood the vulnerability of that position and

⁴³ Burlin, 139.

⁴⁴ White, 96.

⁴⁵ "An Act to provide for the allotment of lands in severalty to Indians on the various reservations, and to extend the protection of the laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for other purposes," transcript of Dawes Act (1887).

gauged the increasing antagonism of American businessmen who sought to gain control over indigenous lands. The discourse leading up to the passage of the Dawes Act only amplified the American government's determination to diminish native-owned property through reassignment, and later fee simple sale and transfer. In 1884, Queen Emma had created a trust through her will and throughout 1884 and 1885, Bernice Pauahi Bishop had begun to incorporate large tracts of land to secure in trust perpetuity.⁴⁶ With American interests intensifying their demands in Hawai'i, this increasing consolidation and amalgamation of lands into trust status throughout the 1880s suggests that these women understood what was at stake and took strategic measures. Their proactive measures changed the course of events in both the islands and America.

The details of the trusts created by the women ali'i are dense and addressed in a number of studies including Jon M. Van Dyke's *Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawai'i?* and Lilikalā Kame'eiehiwa's, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: How Shall We Live in Harmony? Ko Hawai'i 'Āina a me Nā Koi Pu'umake a ka Po'e Haole: Pehea la e Pono ai?*, among others which are still in progress today, as the limits and protections of the trusts are challenged more than a century later. But one example drawn from the story of the kuhina nui Kekāuluohi demonstrates exactly what was at stake in the post-Māhele construction of society. As noted in Chapter Four, prior to her death in 1845, Kekāuluohi held the most lands of any ruler beside the king himself, Kamehameha III. Hawaiian scholar Kame'eiehiwa documents that

before the Māhele, Lunalilo was the Ali'i Nui with the largest amount of 'Āina after Kekauikeaouli [Kamehameha III]. A youth of fourteen in 1848, he controlled 239 'Āina, principally on Hawai'i, Maui, and O'ahu. His large holdings reflected the amount of 'Āina given to his grandmother Kaheiheimālie, a wife of Kamehameha I, and those collected by his mother Kekāuluohi, when she was Kuhina Nui (1839-1845).⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Van Dyke, 309, 332.

⁴⁷ Kame'eiehiwa, 243.

These lands were seriously reduced after Kekāuluohi's death and the creation of the Māhele. Kame'eleviwa goes on to explain that in the "Māhele, Lunalilo had to relinquish 174 'Āina (or 73 percent) to the Mō'i, which left him only 65 parcels. These 'Āina were 31 on Hawai'i, 15 on Māui, 1 on Lāna'i, 2 on Moloka'i, 9 on O'ahu (including 4 'ili in Waikīkī and the entire ahupua'a of Lā'ie in Ko'olaupā), and 7 on Kaua'i. In 1850 he had to pay further commutation to the government of 22 'Āina, which meant that in the end he had only 43 'Āina, or 18 percent of what he had held in 1847."⁴⁸ Still, as Van Dyke explains, Lunalilo as the only surviving child of Kekāuluohi had,

In 1871, (before he had any assurance that he would later become Mō'i [King])...wrote a will to bequeath his personal 'Āina to establish the first 'Ali'i trust for the benefit of the Native Hawaiian People. His goal was to create a home benefiting the "poor, destitute and infirm people of Hawaiian (aboriginal) blood or extraction, giving preference to old people." Lunalilo's vast landholdings, if they had not been sold off, would have provided ample revenues to preserve the Lunalilo Home's financial security in perpetuity. But those entrusted with carrying out Lunalilo's intentions decided to sell off the 'Āina he bequeathed to the trust, resulting in a tragedy not only to the memory of the Mō'i but also to the intended Native Hawaiian beneficiaries.⁴⁹

It is evident that the remaining ali'i women intended to protect against any tragic losses by using the trust laws to protect their massive landholdings in *perpetuity*.

Moreover, both Queen Kapi'olani and Lili'uokalani had long engaged in establishing what they called "Benevolent Societies" which were directed at improving the social services for the people of Hawai'i on a long-term basis. Action groups, such as "The Liliuokalani Educational Society" established in 1886, seemed to reflect the reform impetus prevailing in America as well. These organizations call to mind the same groups which were influenced by Helen Hunt Jackson and her colleagues, such as the Women's National Indian Association

⁴⁸ Kame'eleviwa, 243.

⁴⁹ Van Dyke, quoting the *Will of William Charles Lunalilo*, June 7, 1871, p. 325.

(WNIA) and the "friends of the Indian," who Jackson repeatedly referred to in her letters to Congress.⁵⁰ In 1881, precisely when King Kalākaua had arrived in California, Helen Hunt Jackson published a book that would interrupt a gendered and racialized discourse network while at the same time supplanting it with a potentially more invidious structure. Her work, *A Century of Dishonor* broke a muffled silence over the unjust treatment of American Indians, denouncing the U.S. and its legacy of broken treaties.⁵¹ However, it also simultaneously reasserted the rhetoric of civilization, based on reformist ideals of the late nineteenth century. Jackson's work both changed and solidified a discourse that worked in what feminist scholar Wendy Brown might call a counterpoint to direct American thought and legislation.⁵²

Historian Siobhan Senior makes some interesting observations that reposition Jackson's role and influence in the 1880s. She notes, "Far from being utterly marginalized and subversive, Jackson, the women reformers, and their activities and publications bore directly on legislation; indeed, lawmakers made a show of welcoming reformers' input on the grounds that the reformers were better informed than government officials."⁵³ Jackson used that power effectively, writing to legislators throughout the country, further advertising her crusade. She also sweetened the pot with her political romance, *Ramona*, published in 1884, which depicted the particularly egregious plight of California Indians. Among those she would write to was the aforementioned Senator Henry L. Dawes and General Samuel C. Armstrong, opening one letter to Dawes with

⁵⁰ Siobhan Senior, *Voices of American Indian Assimilation and Resistance: Helen Hunt Jackson, Sarah Winnemucca, and Victoria Howard* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 41-45. Senior notes that "anthropologist and self-proclaimed 'friend of the Indians' Alice Cunningham Fletcher...once rhapsodized that 'the Mission Indians are the bequest of Helen Hunt Jackson.' adding, 'if we love her and honor her let us be faithful, and complete what she has left us to do.'"

⁵¹ Helen Hunt Jackson, *A Century of Dishonor*, (New York: Indian Head Books, 1881, 1993).

⁵² Brown, 83.

⁵³ Senior, 60.

the words, "Many thanks for your kindness in seeing the Pres. for me."⁵⁴ Her shortened reference to the President (i.e.: "the Pres.") in this letter reveals both her intimate connections and the reach of her influence. Her reach also extended to the Pacific, as she was featured in Honolulu newspapers of the period. One entry described her work on behalf of native people:

The *New York Times*, noticing the appointment by Secretary Teller of Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson, special agent to investigate California Indian land titles, says, "It is an unprecedented thing, but there is propriety in it. In the philanthropic work of ascertaining the equitable rights of those poor people, dispossessed of their ancient holdings, Mrs. Jackson will have the good will of all honest people."⁵⁵

Another entry from the *Saturday Press* of September 15, 1883 remarks, "Mrs. Helen Hunt Jackson (H. H.) contributes an article about the Bard of Ayr entitled, A Burns' Pilgrimage. It is to be hoped that, sometime, H.H. will visit us, and write as charmingly about these islands as she has about so many other places."⁵⁶ Looking at the reform work of the Hawaiian ali'i in the same period, it seems not only likely, but probable, that they knew of "H.H." and participated in creating the discourse which would shape indigenous lives in the last part of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, the benevolent societies envisioned by the women ali'i would have required, again, land trusts and funds in perpetuity for future generations of Native Hawaiians. In her book, Lili'uokalani indicated,

In the year 1886 I organized an educational society, the intention of which was to interest the Hawaiian ladies in the proper training of young girls of their own race whose parents would be unable to give them advantages by which they would be prepared for the duties of life. As no such association had ever existed, although

⁵⁴ Helen Hunt Jackson to Henry Laurens Dawes, May 15, 1881; Helen Hunt Jackson to Samuel C. Armstrong, May 14, 1885. Valerie Sherer Mathes, editor. *The Indian Reform Letters of Helen Hunt Jackson, 1879-1885* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 196, 347.

⁵⁵ *Saturday Press*, Honolulu, April 14, 1883.

⁵⁶ *Saturday Press*, Honolulu, September 15, 1883.

there had been frequent cases of private benevolence, it seemed a good time to interest those who had the means in this important work.⁵⁷

Lili‘uokalani's statement shows she was thoroughly engaged and vested in education as a means to empowerment, not only for Native Hawaiians, but also for women in particular. Her concerns seem linked to the "civilization" movement in the U.S., ultimately spearheaded by Dawes, but for decidedly different reasons. At the Mohonk Conference of the "friends of Indian civilization" in 1885, Dawes referred directly to the benefits of the American government's "Civilization Fund" and education as the initial impulse for the development of general allotment.⁵⁸ But, the women ali‘i had a much longer history of integrating and using the tools and discourse of the West as the kuhina nui before them. Those tools were applied in the forms of Native Hawaiian governance for the benefit of Native Hawaiian futures.

Though traditionally historians have relied on the words of Lili‘uokalani herself in her well-known history and autobiography, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (1898), the account was written in direct response to the overthrow of the Hawaiian government in 1893, and thus had a specific political agenda. But there is much evidence to be uncovered in both the Hawaiian archives as well as other accounts of the ali‘i womens' trip in 1887 that historians could digest and analyze. One account, *He mo'olelo pokole no ka huakai a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani, ame ke Kamaliwahine Liliuokalani i ka lubile o ka Moiwahine Victoria o Beretania Nui*, [A Short Description of Queen Kapiolani's voyage to England to Attend the Jubilee Celebration of Queen

⁵⁷ Liliuokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898).

⁵⁸ *Proceedings of the Third Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference*, 35-36; "Letter From The Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, In response to Senate Resolution of July 3, 1882, a detailed statement of account showing the amounts received as Indian civilization fund, the source from whence derived, and the disbursements, &c." December 7, 1882 -- Referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs; January 9, 1883 -- Mr. Dawes reports back to print and be recommitted. Serial Set Vol. No. 2076, Session Vol. No. 3, 47th Congress, 2d Session, S.Exec. Doc. 35. Available from U.S. Congressional Serial Set at <http://infoweb.newsbank.com.libproxy.csun.edu>; Internet. Accessed 30 March 2011; See also Meyer Weinberg, *A Chance to Learn: The History of Race and Education in the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).

Victoria of England in the Year 1887] by James W.L. McGuire has yet to be published in an English translation, but it is a singular Hawaiian language document of these travels, still to be fully utilized to fetter out clues about the trip. Letters in archives around the world, as well as letters and journals of the common people and diplomats the women met could provide even further clues as to the substance of the trip, which went far beyond a visit to Queen Victoria.

Still, in the same manner of Helen Hunt Jackson, Lili‘uokalani wrote *Hawaii's Story* as a tool of discourse. In her book, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets*, scholar Kathy Ferguson explains, "Discourse networks are best understood as layered sites of struggle, where hegemonic understandings are produced, contested, and reproduced."⁵⁹ Such was the case with Lili‘uokalani’s later account which provides important clues about the impetus and purpose of her journey abroad with Queen Kapi‘olani and may provide further insight into how discourse and discourse networks continued to influence her leadership in the late nineteenth century. What is more, there are details included in her account that directly link the events of 1887 as a response to those networks. For example, she notes that her trip to America and Europe in 1887 was a complete surprise and she had little more than a week to prepare for the voyage:

It was, therefore, with satisfaction that I received from my brother, the king, a most unexpected proposition. This was that I should accompany the queen to the grand jubilee at London, in honor of the fiftieth year of the reign of the great and good Queen of Great Britain. It was on a Saturday night early in April that I received this invitation, which I at once accepted...Only a few days of necessary preparation were left to us; and by the 12th of April we were ready to embark on the steamship *Australia*, by which we had taken passage for San Francisco.⁶⁰

What is not said is almost as cogent as Lili‘uokalani’s recounting of the moment: she provides no real explanation for the rush to prepare. Still, it seems odd that she was given so little time,

⁵⁹ Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 23.

⁶⁰ *Liliuokalani, Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898), 117.

especially as an ambassador of a nation, traveling with the Mōʻīwahine [the Queen] with the intention of meeting heads of state. With the passage of the Dawes Act only months before, it appears as if the Hawaiian monarchy was preparing for some sort of fallout, maybe even preparing for American aggression. The journey and absence of the women aliʻi from Hawaiʻi during the summer of 1887 most definitely left an opening for American businessmen to enforce their will upon Kalākaua in the "Bayonet Constitution." But it also created an opportunity for these women to engage power in Washington, D.C. and Europe.

Notably, in 1887 when Queen Kapiʻolani and Princess Liliʻuokalani visited San Francisco, Mele Kainuha Keaala or Mary Azbill was called upon to serve as "Lady-In-Waiting" to the Royal Princess. Though Mary later asked to be excused from these duties, she continued to work on behalf of indigenous women, serving from 1887 until 1891 in Chico, "working with Annie K. Bidwell, helping in the Indian school."⁶¹ However, it is emblematic of the ways in which connections between women remained strong, exhibiting their personal trust. On their trip, the aliʻi women also challenged American notions of gender, race, class, and indigeneity and they were subjected to a discourse they would have been unaccustomed to in their own nation. But Kapiʻolani and Liliʻuokalani had both private and public agendas to realize, and their trip abroad served several purposes. Stopping first in California, some of the places the women visited included St. Matthew's Hall in San Mateo, Mills Seminary, the "Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Asylum," the state university at Berkeley and Our Lady of Sacred Hearts Convent.⁶² They focused on visiting schools with Native Hawaiian children as well as institutions designed for the education of young women. Most certainly, they would have also seen the education and

⁶¹ Ramsland, 18.

⁶² Kawehi Lucas, "Queen Kapiʻolani and Princess Liliʻuokalani's Voyage and Reception Across America to Queen Victoria's 1887 Jubilee." Presentation at the 6th *Annual Distinctive Women in Hawaiian History Program*, 15 September 2012.

treatment of Native Americans in California and elsewhere in their travels. They also had a heightened awareness of how their presence was received and / or compared with Native Americans.

A cursory sample of public announcements in newspapers illustrates a vastly diverging opinion of the ali'i in the U.S.⁶³ Whereas the *Alexandria Gazette* (Washington, D.C.) of April 21, 1887 announced the arrival of the royals, commenting on Kapi'olani's dress, that her "complexion is dark olive" and "her face is of distinct Hawaiian type," *The Gazette* of Fort Worth, Texas provided an entirely different take of the visit. The Fort Worth paper announced the royal visit as "A Great Opportunity: An Income of \$1,500,000 and a Kingdom," proclaiming it was the paper's duty

to point out the obvious advantages of marrying a queen...The blood of the Kamehamehas, Lunalilos and Kalakanas [sic], old Sandwich families, courses in her veins. She speaks English with a slight tongue Sandwich impediment and is about fifty-two years old...The Queen is accompanied by a lynx-eyed old duenna, the Princess Lilinokalaui, but Lill, as the Queen calls her for short, is not above a little humbugging herself...⁶⁴

The American press coverage of the Mō'iwahine revealed more about local sentiments and regional socializations than it did about the women themselves. In the *Saint Paul Daily Globe* for May 29, 1887, the paper advertised the "Latest Fashion in Bustles and Dress Extenders," proclaiming that

Queen Kapiolani wears a bustle, and the queen Indian of Buffalo Bill's Wild West has taken gracefully to dress extenders and wears them in her best blanket. The feminine world, backed by such royal recommendation, wears its bustle and its reeds with more satisfaction than ever, and cares not if the Kaiser William scorns these products of civilization, or whether the beautiful Sappho nightly haunts the Isles of Greece to bewail the degeneracy of her sex for wearing such atrocities.⁶⁵

⁶³ See *Alexandria Gazette*, April 21, 1887; *The Gazette*, Fort Worth, Texas, April 27, 1887; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 29, 1887

⁶⁴ *The Gazette*, Fort Worth, Texas, April 27, 1887.

⁶⁵ *Saint Paul Daily Globe*, May 29, 1887.

Looking through a feminist lens, it is evident that even a tiny sample of the voluminous articles that were written during the visit sought to diminish the authority and dignity of the Hawaiian women rulers. More tellingly, they convey an attempt to equate the women as questionably "civilized," perceived as the "queen Indian of Buffalo Bill's" show, or even the ancient Sappho, referring more explicitly to a "savage" sexuality. This type of discourse suggests what Wendy Brown, reflecting on the words of Toni Morrison, points to as a "language that cannot form or tolerate new ideas, language that cannot tell another story or fill baffling silences, language that functions as a suit of armor."⁶⁶ These discourses attempted to "silence" the power presented by Hawaiian indigeneity and nearly succeeded.

Nevertheless, press in America and England could not obscure the power circles that surrounded the ali'i women at this moment. There are literally hundreds of articles in American newspapers detailing the daily movements of the women, who they met, what they wore, and even what political foes snubbed them. One of the earliest comes from the *San Francisco Bulletin* of April 21, 1887 announcing, "The Queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom and her retinue went to San Mateo to-day to visit her nephews at St. Matthew's Hall, and see the college buildings and grounds."⁶⁷ The ali'i women are described as making determinations as to where the royal students will continue their education after completion. Remarkably, the travels of the women were also noted in Spanish language newspapers, as the *Tiempo*, from Las Cruces, New Mexico illustrates. The paper recounted their arrival in San Francisco, also noting, "El Cónsul hawaiano M. McKinley fué el primero que presentó sus respetos a la reina, lo secundó Mr. J.D. Spreckels, presidente de la "Oceanic Steamship Company" : *The Hawaiian Consul M. McKinley*

⁶⁶ Brown, 89.

⁶⁷ *San Francisco Bulletin*, published as *Evening Bulletin*, April 21, 1887, 3.

was the first to pay his respects to the queen, seconded by Mr. J.D. Spreckels, president of the "Oceanic Steamship Company."⁶⁸ It seems the McKinley referred to in this article was David Allison McKinley, brother to the yet-elected President William McKinley. This was only one article that placed both McKinley and Spreckels at the arrival of the ali'i, but it illustrates the commercial power that greeted the women immediately.

On May 6, 1887, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported "Queen Kapiolani Treated to a Military Review," noting additional honors bestowed on the women ali'i recognizing their status. The article goes on to describe "After the diplomatic reception, a body of Scottish Rights Masons of the thirty-third degree (of which order King Kalakaua is a member), called at the hotel, and paid their respects to the Queen...The Scottish Rite Masons to-day conferred upon the Queen and Mrs. Dominis [Lili'uokalani] diplomas of degree of the Order."⁶⁹ Lili'uokalani would later write of this honor that "These were certificates, of which mine is always carried with me, giving us the privilege of an appeal to the brethren of the fraternity in any part of the world wherever or whenever they could be of use to us."⁷⁰ As with any heads of state, the ali'i were invited to numerous dinners and displays of American monuments and achievements, but not all reports felled the power circles of the monarchs and many were ugly and offensive. In *The Clarion* from Jackson, Mississippi it was reported that "The Washington correspondent of the Chicago News telegraphed that paper that Secretary Lamar had refused to attend a dinner given to Queen Kapiolani by the President, saying that 'neither himself nor his wife were in the habit of dining with niggers, whether they were kings, queens, or knaves.'"⁷¹ Once again, the regional reporting here speaks to the hostile and divided environment of the U.S. that lingered on after the Civil

⁶⁸ *Tiempo*, Las Cruces, New Mexico, April 28, 1887.

⁶⁹ *Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 6, 1887, 1.

⁷⁰ Lili'uokalani, *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1898, 123.

⁷¹ *The Clarion*, Jackson, Mississippi, May 11, 1887, 2.

War and Reconstruction. It also speaks to how both Queen Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani represented a power that was difficult for white, Euro-American, patriarchal leaders of America to contend with, but which they could not ignore or dismiss without grave peril to their own interests.

Notwithstanding, one of the most striking descriptions of the visit brings us back around to the Evarts family. In the *Dallas Morning News* of May 7, 1887, an article on "The Royal Hawaiian Party," describes that

Queen Kapiolani, the Hawaiian princess, and the other members of the royal party visited the tomb of Washington to-day. About 10:30 a.m. the royal party arrived at the navy yard and immediately boarded the United States Dispatch...As the Dispatch steamed slowly by the navy yard quays the yards of the United States sloop of war Galena were manned from lower to royal yards, and the silent salute was offered. Crowds of children on the adjoining wharves cheered and beckoned, and the queen acknowledged each salute by waving her handkerchief. Mount Vernon was reached at noon. A number of steam launches were in waiting to convey the guests and visitors. Arriving at the grounds of the tomb and mansion, a critical survey was made by the queen and princess under escort of Senators Sherman and Evarts.⁷²

While this is just one mention of William M. Evarts with the Hawaiian royals, one can only presume that their conversations were a mix of family and political issues. We do not know exactly how in-depth these conversations might have been, but in this case, both had inherited connections and similar concerns about the future of their nations. The women ali‘i had already visited with President Cleveland and his wife as well and these meetings, too, would have been both social and political. Lili‘uokalani’s narrative of Mt. Vernon is also instructive here as she observed the history of First Lady, Martha Washington: "Why is it, by the way, that she is now ‘Martha Washington,’ when even in that day she was always mentioned as "Lady Washington"? Is it a part of the etiquette of the new woman’s era, or of the advancing democratic idea?"⁷³

⁷² *Dallas Morning News*, May 7, 1887, 2.

⁷³ Lili‘uokalani, 126.

She sums up the day remarking, "After spending many interesting moments in the examination of the house and its contents, we went out upon the lawn, and had our photographs taken in a group, Mr. Sherman being the Queen's escort, and Mr. Evarts performing a like gallant duty for me."⁷⁴ Today we might call that a "photo-op" and it certainly was meant to once again place all parties in the vibrant effervescence of power.

Queen Kapi'olani and Princess Lili'uokalani would soon continue their trip by traveling to Boston, the center of New England ties. *The Daily Inter Ocean* out of Chicago noted that "Queen Kapiolani passed through Chicago without causing an earthquake, but Boston is preparing for one when she gets there."⁷⁵ The city remembered how King Kalākaua had been received some years before and Boston eagerly awaited the royal entourage. What is more, Lili'uokalani herself mentions that arriving in Boston and meeting the relatives of General Dominis (her husband) including the Emersons, "made me feel that I was at home with my own family rather than strangers in a foreign land."⁷⁶ What is more, McGuire's account from 1938 indicates the women ali'i continued to meet with reformers and discuss methods of education, including the education of Native American children. In one case, an elaborate assembly was organized at the request of Queen Kapi'olani. The story which is recounted in McGuire's 1938 book was also followed closely in Hawaiian newspapers of the time. The *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* in Honolulu spent almost an entire page describing this event noting from its "Boston Exchange" of May 12, 1887, that "Queen's weather favored Queen Kapiolani and the Royal party on Wednesday and gave unclouded pleasure to the excursions, which consisted principally

⁷⁴ Lili'uokalani, 127. It is interesting to note here as well that Senator Sherman traveling with the entourage was John Sherman of Ohio who had a long political career including becoming Secretary of State himself under the McKinley cabinet from 1897-1898. See *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress* at <http://bioguide.congress.gov/scripts/biodisplay.pl?index=S000346>; Internet. Accessed 28 March 2019.

⁷⁵ *The Daily Inter Ocean*, Chicago, May 7, 1887, 2.

⁷⁶ Lili'uokalani, 130.

of a visit to Wellesley College. When the Queen had expressed a desire to visit Wellesley, its officers and students responded with cordial preparations, the more hearty because the Christian spirit of the college has always been in close sympathy with the missionary efforts on the Islands."⁷⁷ The paper remarkably includes,

To add to the welcome, Miss Freeman called upon one who had lived in Hawaii and could greet the Queen in her native language, and Miss L.C. Andrews, a professor in the college, then repeated the following poem:

"Maemae ikakai ka pua
O ka hala ua maewa
Wale ika pali o kahiwa
O Kapiolani na mokou

(As the spray of the ocean refreshes and purifies the hala tree, so does your presence, O Kapiolani, refresh us).

The Queen was visibly affected by this sentiment in her native tongue, and replied that she extended her love with all her heart to the students of the college, and would carry back to her island home the memory of the faces before her. After the students sung the national hymn, the Princess made a short address in English...There are small institutions for girls in Hawaii, only small ones, and the Queen and herself never dreamed when they left their island home that they should see such a great scene. As the Queen said, knowledge is power. We hope that our institutions may grow in power as this one has, and we will go to our island home with hearts full of love to all, ever remembering the great opportunity of to-day.⁷⁸

The article also lists some of those present at this gathering including Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, several ex-governors, the Ames family, Mr. and Mrs. J. Montgomery Sears and a bevy of other notables from New England. In this case, the Queen and Princess intended to see them, and more importantly, those in American power intended to *be seen* with the Hawaiian ali'i. There can be no doubt that the women ali'i understood that everywhere they went, the media would follow, documenting their huaka'i and the powerful circles they connected.

⁷⁷ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 17, 1887.

⁷⁸ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, June 17, 1887.

But McGuire's narrative also gives hints to another huaka'i that was not mentioned as notably in the American newspapers. McGuire indicates that the women ali'i may have toured a Kula Ilikini – Indian School – and the May 13, 1887 entry recounts that this evening the women and entourage returned to dinner and then, “a hoomakaukau iho la no ka hele ana i kekahi aha mele, no ke kokua ana i na keiki Ilikini, ma ko lakou hale kula: *prepared to go to a concert (kekahi aha mele) for helping Indian children at their school.* It sounds as if they were invited to assist with the fundraiser, perhaps merely by their presence, which would attract an even larger crowd. What is more, McGuire remembers that “Ua hoolaunaia aku la nohoi i na kumu ame ka Peresidena o ke Kula Ilikini...He 1000 ka nui o na kaikamahine iloko o keia halekula: *We were acquainted / introduced to the teachers there and the President of the Indian School. There are 1000 girls at this school.*⁷⁹ In this atmosphere, it is impossible to believe that the Hawaiian ali'i did not discuss the recently passed Dawes Act and the plans for future legislation and assimilation of Native American children. They would have unique insight into exactly what it presaged for the future of indigeneous people in the U.S. What is more, they were acutely aware of how it might change American political climates, economic advancements and presage American aggression in the Pacific. An almost full-page follow up in the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* of June 21, 1887 spells this out more explicitly in the “Editorial Comments on the Queen's Visit”:

Queen Kapiolani's visit to Boston has been notable for the practical exhibition it afforded to our citizens of the success of the nineteenth century idea of civilizing instead of slaying barbarians. It has been an object lesson of real value. The impression the Queen made was uniformly favorable, and it cannot be but she will carry to her island home, when she returns thither, a more vivid consciousness

⁷⁹ James W.L. McGuire, *He mo'olelo pokole no ka huakai a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani, ame ke Kamaliwahine Liliuokalani i ka lubile o ka Moiwahine Victoria o Beretania Nui.* [A Short Description of Queen Kapiolani's voyage to England to Attend the Jubilee Celebration of Queen Victoria of England in the Year 1887] (Honolulu: Printed by Collegiate Press, 1938) 50-51. My thanks to J. Susan Corley, J. Uluwehi Hopkins and Iasona Ellinwood for assisting with this translation.

than she had before entertained of the blessings derived from a state of society based, nominally at least, on self-restraint and the ascendancy of moral principle. In her own person she represented the great progress the Sandwich Islands have made within a comparatively few years in the life of a people. Her visit here was one of satisfaction to many who are deeply interested in the work of completely civilizing and Christianizing not only the Sandwich Islands but all wild and darkened peoples, beginning again now at home with our own Indians --[Boston Transcript, May 13th]⁸⁰

But the sudden visit abroad that started in April of 1887 left an absence at home in Hawai‘i and within mere days of this article in the local Honolulu newspapers, King Kalākaua was forced to change the Hawaiian Constitution. Historians have mixed conclusions about why the women ali‘i took their trip in April 1887, but it does not seem a mistake that it followed on the heels of the pivotal land legislation in the United States. Within just months after Kapi‘iolani and Lili‘uokalani set on their huaka‘i (journey) to the U.S. and to meet with Queen Victoria, an American contingent of capitalists – many who were the sons of former missionaries -- asserted their designs to control Hawaiian lands and government. Eschewing the intentions of King David Kalākaua, who supported, as Van Dyke notes, a "growing Hawaiian nationalism led by native political leadership in the Legislature," the group "required the *Mo‘i* at gunpoint to support the 'Bayonet Constitution,' which reduced the power of the Monarchy significantly."⁸¹ American investors clearly feared the direction of Kalākaua's administration and the incorporation of large tracts of land into trusts in the early 1880s by the ali‘i women. The considerable trusts further kept land out of foreign reach – *forever*.

The "Bayonet Constitution," sought to limit the power of the monarchs in succeeding generations. It also seems that it might not have happened at all if the women ali‘i were present in Hawai‘i in June and July of 1887. But the news of their triumphs and political connections in

⁸⁰ *Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, Honolulu, June 21, 1887.

⁸¹ Van Dyke, 120.

the summer of 1887 only made already wary American businessmen just that much more nervous. Who, exactly, were the women speaking to and what were they saying? Did the women relay to the many heads of state they suspected Americans were trying to manipulate, by force, the Hawaiian government? And if so, what did that mean for those in both political and business positions in the United States? Would they be suddenly negotiating with friends or foes? Perhaps this trip by the Queen and Princess created an urgency. Foreign business interests certainly felt they must act before the women returned to the islands. The King himself was more vulnerable in this historical moment with the powerful ali'i women absent.

The provisions of the “Bayonet Constitution” or the “New Hawaiian Constitution of 1887” were reported by the *Hawaiian Gazette* immediately. Scholar Noenoe Silva succinctly describes the import of the Constitution, clarifying that the “Bayonet Constitution created an oligarchy of the haole planters and businessmen. This was accomplished by destroying the executive powers of the sovereign, and giving those powers to the cabinet.” Furthermore, the constitution embedded mechanisms of dispossession by

Providing that white foreigners no longer had to become naturalized citizens in order to vote; and finally by creating a “special electorate” comprised of men of Hawaiian or European descent who could read Hawaiian, English, or any European language, and who also possessed property worth at least three thousand dollars or who had an annual income of at least six hundred dollars.⁸²

She also quotes historian and legal expert Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, who noted “that this ‘was the very first time that democratic rights were determined by race in any Hawaiian constitution.’ Indeed, it meant that wealthy white foreigners could vote and working-class maka‘āinana and Asian immigrants could not. Furthermore, the previous constitution had

⁸² Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 126-127. See also *Hawai‘i Digital Newspaper Project*; Available from <https://sites.google.com/a/hawaii.edu/ndnp-hawaii/Home/historical-feature-articles/bayonet-constitution> ; Internet. Accessed 28 March 2019.

guaranteed that ‘The King’s private lands and other property are inviolable,’ but the Bayonet had no such article.”⁸³ As Silva agrees, this meant that the Crown lands were vulnerable. It is an important distinction, because the lands of the women ali‘i were already locked in trusts; they were most explicitly *not* vulnerable and *not* available because of their trust status and recognition as private property. For foreigners wishing to make even more money in Hawai‘i, their only choice was to go after the Crown lands and diminish the power of the monarchy, despite the illegal and immoral maneuvers it portended.

The “Bayonet Constitution” would be a direct action leading to the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 with the intention of stripping the Hawaiian rulers and heirs of the private ownership of Crown lands, though they should have been protected. Because the Dawes Act proposed to secure and finalize native land title, it also complicated the ambitions of American entrepreneurs in Hawai‘i. Repeatedly, John L. Stevens wrote to his connections in Washington, among them John G. Blaine, William M. Evarts, and Frederick Theodore Frelinghuysen, indicating the importance of the Crown lands. In the wake of the "Bayonet Constitution," historian Paul Burlin documents that Stevens urged annexation because property holders believed

they would be enriched by it, and a more diversified economy was necessary and this could best be accomplished by taking the 'crown lands' and making them available for the purpose [of] private small and large plots alike. The royalty who had claim to the lands could be then 'pensioned off.'⁸⁴

If the American contingent had not forced the "Bayonet Constitution" and waited instead for the U.S. to progress to federal annexation of the islands, it would have required that native title to the Crown lands be legally acknowledged as private property. Thus, the passage of the Dawes Act

⁸³ Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 126-127. See footnote 14. She is also quoting Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, *Dismembering Lahui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).

⁸⁴ Burlin, 183.

presented a double-edged blade. In the states, it took massive land tracts from indigenous people which had been promised to them *forever* in numerous negotiations and treaties with the United States, all of which were abrogated. That bears repeating – every treaty agreement was abrogated just as Jeremiah Evarts had feared and warned about in the late 1820s and early 1830s. Estimates vary, but land decrease was rapid, now reapportioned, purchased, and later also seized for non-payment of taxes. Land still owned by Native Americans decreased from about 150 million acres to less than 48 million acres in 1934. Stephen J. Rockwell notes that in a conservative estimate “Allotment would cost Native Americans two-thirds of the lands they’d managed to keep until allotment began in earnest, before this latest tragically effective administrative endeavor was brought to a close during the New Deal. Effective dispossession through allotment is a signal example of just how effective the reservations were at containing, isolating, and weakening American Indian communities, setting them up for the next step in the careful, planned administration of federal policy toward American Indians.”⁸⁵ But, that was not the case in Hawai‘i because of the careful planning of the Native Hawaiian leaders. Much of the land was already protected by trusts so if foreigners could not secure some hold on the remaining Crown lands, then those lands might be protected, too, should the Dawes Act, as precedent, take effect upon U.S. annexation. American businessmen and diplomats in both the United States and Hawai‘i had to carefully calculate how American Indian policy might change their fortunes in the global American imperialism of the 1890s.

Clearly, there remains much to be uncovered and analyzed in understanding the history and connections of indigenous people and how they changed the trajectory of Native America, Hawai‘i, and the United States. The social networks alone which dominated the religious,

⁸⁵ Rockwell, 302.

political, and economic development of the United States in the nineteenth century and included native leaders, ABCFM missionaries and their descendants still needs to be thoroughly investigated and untangled in order to gain a more comprehensive picture of how these associations and influences further transformed government policies. However, it seems there are manifold ways in which these ideologies intersect and reflect as Roy Harvey Pearce describes, "the American obsession with the problem of the civilized vs. the savage." Pearce surmised,

The lesson we may learn, I suggest, is that we have learned the lesson too well. The apologetics entailed is still too much with us. We are confronted by "savages"; we still are the bearers of "civilization"; we still seek ever to develop a theory of the relation of the one to the other, a theory whereby the violence that has inevitably ensued will be at once rationalised, understood, and excused – above all, made bearable. I have said that we are not in a position to instruct the past. But I continue to think that, in a history such as this one, we may well be instructed by it.⁸⁶

Tropes of who is “civilized” and who is “savage” continue to play out in the American historical memory and present consciousness. The histories of the nineteenth century are not so far removed from our own experiences in the twenty-first century. The discourse and rhetoric of civilization which shaped Native American, Native Hawaiian, and American developments in the past continue to play out in modern times. American consciousness contains within its precepts the mechanisms of dispossession which subsume both indigenous and women’s history. We can change this consciousness by refusing to marginalize these histories, but rather illuminate the intricate ways in which they connect our past, our present and our future.

⁸⁶ Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953, 1988), xxii.

EPILOGUE

Historians hear voices and suffer from broken hearts. Researching and writing history becomes a deeply personal endeavor, one in which historians try to find others and in the process discover themselves. With each new research find, with each new document, or description of words, I continued to “hear” multiple voices: not only the voices of historical persons, but the voices of the kumu who had opened new worlds and new perceptions to me, challenging me to consider how these voices communicated, not only in the past, but to scholars today. I found myself frequently hearing the voice of an author I read back in the first days of my undergraduate education. In the early 1950s, author Tillie Olsen wrote a story entitled “I Stand Here Ironing.” Her story has echoed over almost forty years of my life because she so eloquently described the struggle of women -- mothers and daughters -- and how they remember the past. She comments on the profound impact of that contemplation, writing, “And when is there time to remember, to sift, to weigh, to estimate, to total? I will start and there will be an interruption and I will have to gather it all together again. Or I will become engulfed with all I did or not did not do, with what should have been and what cannot be helped.”¹ As I complete my dissertation, I am “engulfed with all I did or did not do,” with all the voices that I cannot incorporate here but which I still hear as I write. I contemplate the many women from both humble and noble backgrounds, native and non-native, who struggled in an emerging America: of women who had six children in ten years, like Harriett Gold Boudinot, but did not live to see them flourish. I wonder about the untold numbers of women who gave birth to nations for which they did not receive notice. I am haunted by Indian women who ran across the Plains, clutching

¹ Tillie Olsen, “I Stand Here Ironing,” found in *Literature: An Introduction to Fiction, Poetry, and Drama*, edited by X.J. Kennedy (New York: Little, Brown, and Co., 1983), 334.

to their children as they fled the sickening violence of American soldiers. I consider women who moved in powerful circles and saw the need to educate and empower young girls, but were still disparaged for their work. Their voices linger around me, and more so now as I have experienced an adult lifetime of thinking about history and the mechanisms of dispossession which continue to diminish us all. Our personal journey as historians is not unimportant; it is perhaps the most important aspect of our work. Historians hear voices and suffer from broken hearts because they begin to see that the past is not so far removed; we inherit sorrow from our many questions and often cannot find, with any certainty, the answers we seek. As Olsen sums up in her story, “because I have been dredging up the past, and all that compounds a human being is so heavy and meaningful in me, I cannot endure it tonight.”²

Even as I write this I realize that my job as a historian is not done. I am trained not to dally too long in personal reflection and how it cuts to the core of why we do what we do. But, still it remains and if I have done my job well, perhaps my reader will “hear voices” along with me. With that said, it is important to acknowledge that this work is not at an end. We must revisit the meaning of all that has been placed before you, the reader, remembering that there is much more to be discovered.

It is undeniable that the expansion of the U.S. relied upon what Stephen Rockwell has described as a "conquest by administration."³ Policy makers used the rhetoric of civilization as a tool, sharpened by its application among indigenous people both domestically and abroad. The presence of the ABCFM missionaries among both American Indian nations and the Hawaiian Kingdom served as an introduction to and a conduit of American religious, political, social and economic ideologies. The principles and philosophies which shaped "Christian civilization" in

² Olsen, 338.

³ Rockwell, 326.

the United States were asserted and championed among native people by federal policies as a means to gain access to and control indigenous resources and wealth.

But this weapon possessed a blade which cut both ways. Through the ABCFM and their vociferous denunciation of Cherokee removal, the Hawaiian leaders understood the susceptibility of their own position and developed multiple proactive approaches to thwart the incursions of the West. Their efforts may have ultimately deferred American annexation of the islands until the end of the nineteenth century. Some historians have claimed that Native Hawaiians were able to "adapt" to the requirements of "Christian civilization" more easily because they had a unified government based on the prescience of the Hawaiian ali'i and as Noelani Arista explains a uniquely Hawaiian structure of governance which has still to be thoroughly explained and comprehended by the history academy. Nevertheless, as Stuart Banner surmises, "Many, perhaps all, indigenous societies would have benefited from the same strategy, but it required a sufficient level of political organization to implement, and Hawaii was one of very few places in the non-European world where political authority was not fragmented among several small tribes."⁴ In contrast, the abundance and breadth of the North American continent engendered diversity among American Indian nations, which separated indigenous groups by culture, customs, and language. American policy makers and field agents used these divisions to manipulate negotiations on the frontier as they sought to remove and isolate native people for the purposes of "assimilation."

Where dispersions hindered the development of an effective pan-Indian movement on the continent, the relative distance of the islands may have helped Native Hawaiian leaders to build and project a different vision of the Hawaiian Kingdom, though historical documents clearly

⁴ Banner, 286.

show that those in the “West” continued to perpetrate a vision of “he kami initini,” comparing all indigenous people to a Euro-American trope of “Indian.” Nevertheless, throughout the nineteenth century, Hawaiian leaders were able to play-off the European and American powers against one another, employing the earlier strategies of Native Americans in North America. Moreover, the Hawaiian government effectively wielded the tools of “civilization” to assert the tenets of international diplomacy. Contrarily, Native Americans lost the ability to play-off contending powers once Americans had defeated their English, French, Spanish, and Mexican competition in the mid-nineteenth century. Increasingly surrounded, Native Americans who chose to resist the ideologies of American political economy and “Christian civilization,” had few alternatives but to fight and defend their native lands and way of life or find means of compromise within which they could maneuver. Well into the late nineteenth century, American Indian nations, especially on the Northern and Southern Plains, still had a formidable military presence which they exercised against American aggressors. But, their campaigns, as evidenced in the Fetterman Massacre, the Battle of the Little Bighorn, and the resistance of the Apache, only further galvanized American notions that Native American people required a forcible “conversion.”⁵

That American legislators looked to the “experiment” of the Hawaiian mission and the perceived success of the Native Hawaiians for a solution to the “Indian” problem is not surprising. The implementation of the Māhele in Hawai’i and the establishment of a private property system opened the door to subsequent legislation in the latter half of the nineteenth century which was increasingly shaped by American capitalists and diplomats incorporated into

⁵ Dee Brown, *The Fetterman Massacre: Formerly Fort Phil Kearny: An American Saga*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1962); *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Bantam Books, 1970).

both American and Hawaiian government. As foreigners with vested interests came to own more Hawaiian land, successive legislation eroded the original intent of the Māhele and undermined the power and possessions of the Hawaiian rulers. As noted in Chapter Six, the passage of the Dawes Act in the U.S. only fueled their anxious desires to claim the wealth that belonged to indigenous nations and individuals. But, contrarily, the very legislation of the nineteenth century created a legal quagmire of treaties and Supreme Court decisions that serve as precedents today and can be used to also reaffirm the relationship of indigenous people to the state and indeed hold the government to account. Those decisions are crucial, not only for native nations, but for us all. Because when indigenous people stand to protect land, to protect their rights, to stand in resistance to government and corporate abuse, their voices are heard across oceans. Just as the mechanisms of dispossession can affect us all, so, too can the struggle for rights empower us all. In fact, it can be argued that the discourse surrounding the rights and land of Native Americans, Native Alaskans, and Native Hawaiians in America is a resounding discourse, for it explicates and illuminates the very meanings of words like “sovereignty,” both personal and national. It will not allow us to forget that autonomy is a right – it is not “bestowed” but rather pervades the personal, public and political, and must be reasserted again and again.

And yet, there remains so much to be uncovered and analyzed in understanding how indigenous trajectories shaped America and the American narrative. There are no simple answers because the history lies in the gray areas between polarities, and for this reason we must dwell – in fact, settle into -- the complexities. We must also look for the history and historical actors in unexpected places. For example, in the process of this research, I went to the Nevada State Archives with a small hope I might find a clue to bolster my study. I found instead a minor

avalanche of material I could not fully address but which gave me another glimpse into the ways that Native American and Native Hawaiian lives intersected on the American frontier. I found first a claim for a mine from 1863: the Kanaka Gold & Silver Mining Co. It operated in the midst of the Civil War and the violence which pervaded the West.⁶ So many questions arose. Who owned the claim? Who worked there? Where was it located? It certainly had to be near Indian territory and perhaps even near what is now called Winnemucca, Paiute territory and home of Sarah Winnemucca, a Paiute activist in the mid to late 1800s.⁷

What is more, I next found an intriguing article from a local newspaper from the same period. The *Elko Independent*, dated January 5, 1870, brought together a discussion of the rights of Hawaiians, Native Americans, and women living in Nevada to the fore - all in the breadth or breath of a paragraph. In the discussion of "Female Suffrage and Negro Suffrage in the State of Nevada, legislators were addressed on how the Constitution of the state might be amended for voters. Importantly, the legislature considered "striking therfrom the word *male* wheresoever it occurs therein." But the proposition also proposed a quest to "strike out the words *white* and *male* -- in other words, to make suffrage a free thing for everybody over twenty-one years of age." This is precisely the kind of legislation that American businessmen tried to restrict or turn back in their 1887 "Bayonet Constitution" in Hawai'i. But what looked like progressive voting rights in Nevada was not so straight-forward. One commentator in the article protested

If the word "white" is to go out, the word "male" ought to go with it. If suffrage is to be thrown open indiscriminately to negroes, Chinamen, Kanakas and Indians, the intelligent white women of this State should be entitled to as much consideration, at least.⁸

⁶ "Kanaka Gold & Silver Mining Co. Claim," June 5, 1863, Nevada State Archives, Box TERR-0080, File # 52

⁷ See Frances Karttunen, *Between Worlds: Interpreters, Guides, and Survivors*, "From the Great Basin to the Halls of Congress: Sarah Winnemucca, (1844-1891)," (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994): 45- 83.

⁸ *Elko Independent*, January 5, 1870.

Just these two pieces of evidence are fraught with complications because they suggest there was a rich mixture of multi-indigenous, multi-ethnic communities, navigating the demands of mining, the politics of territories, perhaps the greed of railroad builders, and new and contentious ideas about who, exactly, would be granted rights on the American frontier. Once again, it was a display of historical intersectionality writ large.

That discussion will have to wait for another time and perhaps many more researchers to unravel. It will also require historians who can assist in translating the voluminous Native Hawaiian language archives which will give further insight into this period. I also discovered housed at the Bancroft Library at the University of California, Berkeley an unusual item I would have expected to be available at the Hawai‘i State Archives. Bancroft holds among its archives the “Hawaiian Kingdom, Royal family account books : mss., 1850-1899.” The contributor is listed as Kapiolani but it is not clear if she sent these records to be specifically housed at Bancroft or if they were otherwise donated by friends of the Hawaiian Kingdom who held on to them or protected them. Once again, the very fact that the original documents are housed in Berkeley begs many questions. Were they put there for safe-keeping? Why not include them in the Hawai‘i archives? What did these records contain? The books cannot be viewed in person at Berkeley; instead they must be viewed via microfilm. What is more, the records are almost entirely in Hawaiian, which means they have yet to be translated. Even more intriguing is that the books do not just contain “royal family accounts.” The documents start off as lists of expenditures dating back to 1850 but in the early 1850s (just after the initial Māhele and the following Kuleana Act), the account books tell another story. For the next 150 pages, the books include narrative which appears to be recounting of mele and mo‘olelo describing the history of the monarchy. Written almost as a journal, these narratives have never been translated from this

source. What is more, the many pages may include other information about the context of the times. What other social, political, or economic networks or stories are mentioned here? Why were these narratives seemingly sequestered in the middle of the account books? The books continue with account records in 1881 listed as "He Buke Helu Waiwai," (again, translated as accounts but also using the word "waiwai" meaning wealth). They begin with a listing of bonds and finally the book ends not in Hawaiian, but in English with a list of "Claims Against Kapiolani," dated February 10, 1898, just as the annexation of Hawai'i unfolded. There is also an inventory of household goods and royal treasures, listed, it appears, hastily and entirely in English, from 1899. The resource is rich and yet it will require both historians trained in Hawaiian language and history, as well as Americanists to place the information in context of the multiple concurrent histories of the period.⁹

When I started this research, the Native Hawaiian Reorganization Act was at the forefront of indigenous news in the U.S. It seemed to present an opportunity to explore indigenous policy and the ways it has tenaciously contoured America's journey. The legislation has come to be known as the "Akaka Bill" after its chief sponsor, U.S. Senator Daniel Akaka from Hawai'i. As the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) explains, the bill reaffirmed "the political and legal relationship between Native Hawaiians and the U.S." and "accords a process of reorganization and U.S. federal recognition of a Native Hawaiian governing entity."¹⁰ Moreover, as reporter B.J. Reyes described, the legislation would have provided "a process for Hawaiians to form their own governing entity and negotiate with federal and state governments on land use and cultural issues. The federal recognition would be similar to that of American Indians and Alaska

⁹ "Hawaiian Kingdom, Royal family account books: mss., 1850-1899," BANC MSS P-N 112 FILM v.1-3; BANC MSS P-N 112 v.1; BANC MSS P-N 112 v.2; BANC MSS P-N 112 v.3, Bancroft Library, UH Berkeley, California.

¹⁰ "Federal Recognition for Native Hawaiians," *Office of Hawaiian Affairs*. Available from <http://www.oha.org/nhgra/index.php>; Internet. Accessed 18 April 2011.

natives."¹¹ Although the bill had been reintroduced into Congress several times over more than a decade with amendments and revisions, it was never successfully passed out of both the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate before the expiration of a congressional session.¹² Yet, in one of its last revisions, a stipulation was created which included an interesting echo from the nineteenth century. The last part of the bill goes into great length to define ways in which Native Hawaiians do not fall into the category of "Indian." For example, the bill stipulated that Native Hawaiians would not fall under the purview of the Indian Gaming Act and that no new "Indian Country" would be created in Hawai'i for this or any other legal purposes.¹³

Now, new legislation is being introduced and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs has created a means for people of Hawaiian descent to register through the Hawaiian Registry Program "which handles Native Hawaiian ancestry verification. Once an individual's ancestry is verified, HRP will issue a Hawaiian Registry card as proof of being verified as Native Hawaiian in accordance to our verification procedures. HRP strives to verify Hawaiian ancestry through biological parentage. No blood quantum is required."¹⁴ As federal legislation continues to move through Congress and divided government administrations, the question remains if Native

¹¹ B.J. Reyes, "Akaka Bill passes out of Senate Committee," *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, 7 April 2011, [online journal]. Available from <http://www.staradvertiser.com/news/breaking/119421024.html>; Internet. Accessed 18 April 2011.

¹² "Federal Recognition for Native Hawaiians," *Office of Hawaiian Affairs*. Available from <http://www.oha.org/nhgra/index.php>; Internet. Accessed 18 April 2011; "An Act to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with the Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity." 111th Congress, 2nd Session, H.R. 2314 in the Senate of the United States: Received February 24, 2010. Available from www.govtrack.us; Internet. Accessed 2 August 2010, 18 April 2011; "A Bill to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity." 112th Congress, 1st Session, S.675 in the Senate of the United States, March 30, 2011. Available from www.govtrack.us; Internet. Accessed 18 April 2011.

¹³ "A Bill to express the policy of the United States regarding the United States relationship with Native Hawaiians and to provide a process for the recognition by the United States of the Native Hawaiian governing entity." 112th Congress, 1st Session, S.675 in the Senate of the United States, March 30, 2011, 50.

¹⁴ "Hawaiian Registry Program," Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Available from <https://www.oha.org/registry>; Internet. Accessed 28 March 2019.

Hawaiians should be identified with the same federal recognition as Native Americans and Native Alaskans. Will that designation provide protection or in fact, diminish it? If that designation is made, will Native Hawaiians be held to the body of Native American precedent in federal Indian policy and how will that change the nature of the relationship of Hawaiians to the state? These are not easy questions to answer, but perhaps looking at the connections in nineteenth century may be informative.

Though the issues of indigenous rights have come to the forefront of American politics in recent years, federal legislation has been slow to resolve the concerns of native people in America. For example, although Congress passed a joint resolution in 1993, "to acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii," it did little to actually compensate the Hawaiians for that act.¹⁵ Legal historian Lisa Cami Oshiro explains that "Congress drafted the joint resolution with great care because it is an enforceable statute. Congress included many acknowledgements and recognitions and avoided creating any enforceable rights."¹⁶ Moreover, the resolution included a disclaimer indicating "Nothing in this Joint Resolution is intended to serve as a settlement of any claims against the United States."¹⁷ What is more, should Native Hawaiians be acknowledged with a federal designation likened to Native Americans and Native Alaskans, it poses ramifications far beyond the boundaries of the Hawaiian Islands. In May 2009, the *Sacramento Bee* published a story entitled "Sacramento Indians Hope Bill Will Restore Sovereignty -- in Hawaii," which outlined

¹⁵ "United States Public Law 103-150, 103rd Congress Joint Resolution 19: To acknowledge the 100th anniversary of the January 17, 1893 overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii, and to offer an apology to Native Hawaiians on behalf of the United States for the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii," November 23, 1993.

¹⁶ Lisa Cami Oshiro, "Recognizing *Na Kanaka Maoli's* Right to Self-Determination," *New Mexico Law Review* 25 N.M.L. Rev. 65 (Winter, 1995), 85.

¹⁷ "United States Public Law 103-150, 103rd Congress Joint Resolution 19": November 23, 1993.

the support that some native people had invested in legislation like the Akaka Bill. For members of the Shingle Springs Band of Miwok Indians in California, new “identifiers” would have a special impact since almost 500 members of the tribe “trace their roots to Hawaiians and Indians who built Sacramento and married during the Gold Rush.”¹⁸ Since many of the Shingle Springs Band are descendants of Hawaiians who traveled and worked with John Sutter prior to and throughout the gold rush era, the passage of federal recognition for both their Indian and Hawaiian identity might assure the continued preservation of their cultural integrity, rights, and assets. It might also, however, complicate an already complex process in federal Indian legislation and further delay federal approval and action on Native Hawaiian provisions.

Moreover, changing policies meant to empower and acknowledge the distinct political relationship indigenous people have with the U.S. government also have the potential to manipulate and divide cultural identities. Though Native American tribes have the right to determine what blood quantum level will qualify tribal membership, the state of Hawai‘i has traditionally established that threshold for Native Hawaiians and in fact reconfigured designations. Even though federal statutes since the seventies have asserted that “Native Hawaiians” include any persons of Hawaiian ancestry, and though special legislation created for Native Americans and Native Alaskans have been applied to Native Hawaiians as well, the Hawaiian diaspora first prompted in the nineteenth century by the Māhele has separated and diffused the Hawaiian population.¹⁹ Historian J. Kehaulani Kauanui contends that “at least one-third of Hawaiians are geographically dispersed outside of Hawai‘i,” which complicates how Native Hawaiians will manage their federal trust relationship and determine who, exactly, is

¹⁸ Stephen Magagnini, “Sacramento Indians Hope Bill Will Restore Sovereignty -- In Hawaii,” *Sacramento Bee*, May 13, 2009.

¹⁹ Van Dyke, 1.

"Hawaiian."²⁰ Measuring blood quantum levels does not seem to be an effective means of measuring one's identity, as Kauanui explains:

Blood modes are exclusive while genealogical ones are usually inclusive. As a classificatory logic, calculating blood quantum serves to fragment by dividing parts of a whole, and severs unions by portioning out blood 'degree.' Genealogy--whether through *hanai* (traditional adoption) or birth--is what defines Hawaiianness.²¹

Still, if identity and special federal status for Native Hawaiians is based solely on tracing one's ancestry back to the time of Captain Cook's arrival in 1778, it presents serious complications for administering and distributing compensation for America's taking of Hawai'i. Van Dyke examines legal decisions in the recent past which have considered how American Indian nations have determined who may enroll as a tribal member. In some cases, eligibility is based on tracing a relationship to an enrolled member who appeared on late nineteenth or early twentieth-century records. These include, incidentally, the Dawes rolls, which tried to account for all members in a family in order to organize and determine allotments. For example, he notes "that one could appear on the Choctaw roll in 1906 even if one had only 1/32 Choctaw blood." Moreover, Van Dyke points to the research of Professor Gavin Clarkson, who observed "that the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma has members with as little as 1/4096th Indian blood."²² With successive generational intermarriages and integration, some people may be able to trace their ancestry either genealogically or by blood quantum to these original associations, but in fact share very little of the cultural or political distinctions and concerns of a federally recognized group. It calls into question precisely who may identify as a "native" person with the access to the rights, status, and dispensations due a federally recognized indigenous person. Because the

²⁰ Kauanui, 142.

²¹ Kauanui, 152-153.

²² Van Dyke, 283, footnote 57.

Māhele legislation of the nineteenth century sought to preserve the greatest portion of private property in the possession of the Crown and the ali‘i, this becomes a contentious matter for Native Hawaiians where the issue of the Crown lands was and is involved. An example of just what is at stake can be seen in the Bishop Estate, a charitable trust developed upon the inherited lands of Bernice Pauahi Paki Bishop, great-granddaughter of Kamehameha I. As noted in *Broken Trust: Greed, Mismanagement & Political Manipulation at America's Largest Charitable Trust*, the Bishop Estate is one of America's wealthiest charities.²³

In the end, just as Native Hawaiian and Native American histories were connected in the nineteenth century, so too will indigenous futures in America be intertwined in the future. The contested issues of indigenous America will need to look to history to determine how these concerns can be resolved and repaired. I find special encouragement in the historians who are creating new knowledge in this direction. Women historians – names found throughout this dissertation – are providing innovative insight into how these histories, and women in particular, are integrated between indigenous and American worlds. This dissertation is only possible because of the research and teaching of scholars such as Noelani Arista, Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, Kerri Inglis, Noenoe Silva, Kathy Ferguson, Hokulani Aikau, Suzanna Reiss, and many others. I am equally indebted to rising historians who will be the next generation in this journey, including J. Susan Corley, J. Uluwehi Hopkins, and Catherine ‘Imaikalani Ulep. Their work will continue to transform the historical landscape and give voice to an expanded genealogy of history. But for now, our research remains much like Kekāuluohi’s koihonua -- "‘a‘ole pau."²⁴

²³ Samuel P. King and Randall W. Roth. *Broken Trust: Greed, Mismanagement & Political Manipulation at America's Largest Charitable Trust* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006), 1; See also "About Pauahi," *Kamehameha Schools*. Available from https://www.ksbe.edu/about_us/about_pauahi/; Internet. Accessed 28 March 2019.

²⁴ *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Honolulu, Aug. 15, 1868 to September 26, 1868.

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