KA ‘ĀINA PAIĀLEWA I KE KAI:
KANAKA HAWAI‘I GOLD-MINING COMMUNITIES IN OREGON AND CALIFORNIA

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the ways Kānaka Hawai‘i (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. It shows that Kānaka included western North America within concepts of ‘āina by viewing the ocean as an extension of the ‘āina, defining physical spaces, working the land, establishing social and familial relationships, and linking experiences and stories to specific sites. It also shows that Kānaka maintained and formed new connections with the Hawaiian Islands through family relationships, travel, cultural practices, communication, and the reach of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

This study examines the writings of Kānaka living in gold-mining communities to begin to uncover their experiences in western North America as well as their views of the region. Their writings and compositions show that Kānaka developed knowledge of and formed intimate relationships with the ‘āina of the gold-mining regions. By studying these sources, this dissertation also shows that Kānaka viewed western North America as an ‘āina malihini (strange, unfamiliar land) lacking the genealogical connections of their ‘āina hānau (land of one’s birth, homeland) and emphasizing the importance of the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands.

Although there are numerous kanikau (grief chants) and other writings composed by Kānaka living in gold-mining communities and published in Hawaiian-language newspapers, these sources often only provide glimpses into the composers’ lives and experiences. This dissertation combines research from various archives and sources, especially Hawaiian-language newspapers, to begin to uncover these often neglected histories. This study provides a different
approach to studying western North American histories by reorienting the focus of the region to Kanaka Hawai‘i concepts of ‘āina and how Kānaka, an immigrant population that was neither European nor American, lived within this diverse, contested region by imposing their understandings of place on the land and by forming relationships and communities with American Indians while being challenged by the increasing White American population.
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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Throughout the 1860s, Juliana Kahoinea and her husband, Charles B. Kahoinea, resided in the Kanaka Hawai‘i (Hawaiian) gold-mining community Kanaka Flat on the outskirts of Jacksonville in southern Oregon.1 During the extent of their time in Kanaka Flat, Charles Kahoinea was constantly sick. In 1870, the two moved south across the Oregon-California border to Henley because, as Juliana Kahoinea explained, “kona makemake ole e waiho kona iwi poo malaila” ([Charles] did not want to leave his skull [in Kanaka Flat]).2

In Henley, the Kahoineas were able to find temporary employment working for a White resident on the shores of the nearby Klamath River earning two and a half dollars per day with the promise of work for sixty-one days.3 One day, Charles Kahoinea took his rifle and went to the Klamath River to hunt rabbits. Not too long after Kahoinea left, J. Alapai and J. Opiuma, friends of the Kahoineas, heard Charles call out for help at the sound of five gun shots. Alapai and others searched for Charles for hours as the sun set and the night set in, but to no avail. It was understood that Charles Kahoinea was dead and tragically, his body would not be found.

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1 This dissertation uses the terms Kanaka and Kanaka Hawai‘i (or the plural Kānaka and Kānaka Hawai‘i) to refer to Native Hawaiians because they were the terms used by Kānaka Hawai‘i living in gold-mining communities to refer to themselves. Any use of the terms Kanaka Maoli, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi, and Hawaiian also refer to Native Hawaiians. This dissertation defines Hawaiian-language words in parentheses for the first usage of each word. The Hawaiian-language glossary in the appendix can be referred to for definitions.
2 Unless otherwise noted, all translations throughout this dissertation are my own. Juliana Kahoinea, Isaaka Kalua, and Daniela Masona, “Ka Make Ana O C.B. Kahoinea A Me Kona Kanikau,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, May 14, 1870.
3 This dissertation capitalizes terms such as “Black,” “White,” and “Haole” (White person) when referring to distinct groups of people following the reasoning of Peggy Pascoe who explains that by capitalizing these terms, she hopes “to show ‘Black’ Americans as a group of men and women with a wide variety of skin colors and backgrounds rather than to let the word ‘black’ slide into physical description. And by capitalizing ‘White,’ [she] hope[s] to help mark the category that so often remains unmarked, and taken for the norm, when the fact is that, in American history, to be ‘White’ is often an aspiration as well as an entitlement.” Peggy Pascoe, What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 14.
Juliana Kahoinea, filled with grief for the loss of her husband, wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, a Hawaiian-language newspaper published in the Hawaiian Islands, to share the story of her husband’s death and send aloha (love) to his family members and friends living in the Hawaiian Islands. Juliana Kahoinea also compiled and included several kanikau (grief chant) composed by her and two others close to her husband. Although there would not be a grave site for Charles Kahoinea, his life would be memorialized through the words of these kanikau.4

The kanikau expressed the sorrow Juliana Kahoinea and the other composers felt due to the loss of Charles Kahoinea. It also described Charles Kahoinea’s life in Oregon and California, including mining for gold and traveling throughout the region. Gold mining was described by the composer Daniela Masona as luhi (strenuous), ʻeha (painful), kaumaha (dismal), and an ʻīnea (hardship) that he, Charles Kahoinea, and others experienced together while living in “ka hale lewa la i ka maina” (the tent by the mine).5 Juliana Kahoinea also mentioned gold mining in the Siskiyou mountains on the California-Oregon border in the lines:

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E huli lua ana ke alo ina pali,
Huli Oregon huli Kaleponi,
Huli hele loa ke alo o ke kane,
Haalele mai ai oe ia makou,
Nahoa luhi kino o ka Maine,
Hoa hana dala ina kula.6
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Turn towards the cliffs,
Search Oregon, search California,
The one in the presence of the husband searches near and far,
You left us,
The fellow workers of the mine,
Fellow money workers for the gold.

This passage mentions the gold-mining companions that Charles Kahoinea left when he passed away and the search for gold throughout the cliffs of Oregon and California. This also refers to the vast search done by the Henley Kanaka community for Charles Kahoinea’s body when he died.

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5 Various spellings of Daniela Masona’s name are used in different newspaper issues, including Daniela Mason and Daniel Mason. When multiple spellings of a name exist, this dissertation attempts, when possible, to use the spelling most often used when the person in question was the main author of the submission.
The kanikau composers include many place names recalling where Kahoinea traveled, lived, and mined for gold. The composer Isaaka Kalua describes traveling north from Sacramento, California, to southern Oregon while listing numerous places in between, including sites in the gold-mining region east of Sacramento such as Marysville and the Kanaka Hawaiʻi fishing community Vernon; places near the Oregon-California border such as Yreka and Cottonwood (also known as Henley) in northern California; the Klamath River and Siskiyou mountains which extend across the Oregon-California border; and Jacksonville and Kanaka Flat in southern Oregon. In addition to listing the place names, Kalua, Masona, and Kahoinea associate the sites with their physical features. Kalua describes and locates the Siskiyou mountains in the lines:

Ka mauna kiekie o Siskiyou,  
Ka palena keia o Kalaponi,  
E pili ai me Oregona.  
The majestic Siskiyou Mountains,  
This is the border of California,  
Adjoined with Oregon.

Place names were not simply listed, but described and linked with experiences, memories, and emotions. Masona describes the Siskiyou Mountains as a “piina ikiiki” (stifling climb) referring to the difficulties of traveling in the mountains and the pain and grief he felt due to the death of Kahoinea. Activities were also connected to particular places, such as in Masona’s line, “kuu hoa holo lio o Shasta River” (my horse-riding friend of the Shasta River). The kanikau also mentions other features of the region, such as pine and oak trees, crowded post offices, types of transportation traversing the land and water, and the bustling population of Haole (White people) in cities such as Sacramento and Yreka. Additionally, the kanikau connects California to Charles Kahoinea eternally in Kalua’s and Masona’s line, “a waiho ko kino i Kalaponi nei” (And your body is left in California).7

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The kanikau composed for Charles Kahoiinea and the story describing his death exemplify Kanaka Hawai‘i experiences in California and Oregon and the relationships they formed with the ‘āina (land) that are the focus of this dissertation. The Kahoiinea family lived in and moved between Kanaka communities in southern Oregon and northern California where they mined for gold and found other employment opportunities. Kānaka Hawai‘i living in these communities developed intimate relationships with the larger gold-mining region as they incorporated California and Oregon into Kanaka concepts of ‘āina. The intimate relationships formed with the ‘āina of California and Oregon are displayed in the kanikau for Kahoiinea through the listing of place names that stretched from southern Oregon down to the Sacramento area and the descriptions of physical features, shared experiences, and events connected to specific sites. Relationships to these various places listed in the kanikau were bound through community and family connections as well as travels and communication. Kānaka maintained communication with other Kānaka Hawai‘i living throughout the region as well as the Hawaiian Islands through letter-writing and Hawaiian-language newspapers such as Ka Nupepa Kuokoa which Juliana Kahoiinea wrote to and published the kanikau for her husband.

While living in Oregon and California, Kānaka faced disease, as Charles Kahoiinea did in Kanaka Flat, an influx in the White American population, and death in a foreign land. Although Charles Kahoiinea and others died away from their one hānau (birthplace, homeland), their friends and family members wrote and published their lamentations in the form of kanikau in newspapers published in the Hawaiian Islands where they could be read by family and friends. These kanikau expressing grief for the passing of loved ones in Oregon and California can also be seen as expressing knowledge and relationships with the gold-mining region. However, they also described the region as an unfamiliar place. This is demonstrated in Juliana Kahoiinea’s
line, “kuu makamaka o kahi makamaka ole” (my intimate friend in the place lacking intimate friends), as well as other Kanaka writings that refer to Oregon and California as ka ‘āina malihini (the strange, unfamiliar land). These terms contrast with terms meaning homeland, ‘āina hānau (land of one’s birth) and one hānau (sands of one’s birth), which refer to the Hawaiian Islands as the site of one’s birth, emphasizing genealogical connections to the ‘āina. The ‘āina malihini was a strange and unfamiliar place because it lacked these genealogical connections.

**Kanaka Hawai‘i Relationships with the ‘Āina of the Hawaiian Islands**

In definitions of the word ‘āina, the underlying understanding is that ‘āina refers specifically to the Hawaiian Islands, but this dissertation argues that conceptions of ‘āina were expanded to include new places. In *Hā’ena: Through the Eyes of the Ancestors*, Carlos Andrade defines ‘āina by explaining that, “the term ‘āina is derived from the root word ‘ai, broadly translated as ‘that which feeds.’ However, the feeding is not limited to just those nutrients necessary for sustaining the physical body, but also includes all that nourishes mind and spirit.” Andrade also translates ‘āina as inclusive of both “the land and the sea.”[8] Katrina-Ann R. Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoa Oliveira echoes this interpretation in *Ancestral Places: Understanding Kanaka Geographies* when she explains that the ocean is an extension of the ‘āina, “not a barrier between islands; rather, it was a pathway connecting islands to one another.”[9] Acting as a pathway, the ocean also connected the Hawaiian Islands to Kanaka gold-mining communities in western North America.

Definitions of ‘āina in the Hawaiian Islands are intertwined with relationships formed between Kānaka and the ‘āina through moʻokūʻauhau (genealogy), kūpuna (ancestors), akua

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(gods), and social relationships. Forming relationships to the ‘āina through moʻokūʻauhau is discussed in Ancestral Places where Oliveira examines various mele koʻihonua (cosmogonic genealogies) to show how the ‘āina, Kānaka, and akua are genealogically connected. One mele koʻihonua, that of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, reveals the relationship between Kānaka, ‘āina, and kalo (taro) through the genealogy of the descendants of Papa and Wākea.

In the mele koʻihonua, Papa, earth mother, gives birth to multiple islands as well as a human daughter, Hoʻohōkūkalani, who Wākea, sky father, then has a child with. Wākea and Hoʻohōkūkalani’s child, Hāloanaka, was born “as a premature fetus, and a kalo (taro) grows from the place where the fetus is planted. A second child, Hāloa, is born as the kaikaina (younger sibling) of the kalo; this child becomes the first ali‘i [ali‘i] and kupuna (ancestor) of the Kānaka.”

Kānaka Hawai‘i are connected to the ‘āina through this genealogy because Kānaka are both descendants of kalo and are nourished by kalo. As Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua states, “Hāloa (the kalo plant) is both elder sibling and, historically, the primary staple food of Kānaka Maoli.” This genealogy connecting Kānaka to both the Hawaiian Islands and kalo also represents the relationship and responsibilities between younger and older siblings, a relationship explained by Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa as, “the reciprocal duty of the elder siblings to hānai (feed) the younger ones, as well as to love and hoʻomalu (protect) them.” This reciprocal relationship applies to Kānaka, ‘āina, and kalo, as seen in the mele koʻihonua of Papa and Wākea, since “it is the ‘Āina, the kalo, and the Aliʻi Nui [high chiefs] who are to feed, clothe, and shelter their younger brothers and sisters, the Hawaiian people. So long as younger Hawaiians love, serve,

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and honor their elders, the elders will continue to do the same for them, as well as to provide for all their physical needs.”

Connections to kūpuna are also formed through the ‘āina because makaʻāinana (general population) tended to live on the same ‘āina generation after generation. On this same land, near their homes, makaʻāinana buried their dead. Edward Halealoha Ayau and Ty Kawika Tengan relate the act of burying the dead to the moʻolelo (histories, literature, narratives) of Hāloa since the word “kanu” means both “to bury” and “to plant” and the spot Hāloanaka was buried was the same spot kalo grew. In addition to lessons of familial reciprocal relationships and genealogical connections to the land, Ayau and Tengan add that this moʻolelo shows that “the burial of iwi [bones] results in the physical growth of plants and the spiritual growth of mana [spiritual power]. The living descendants feed off the foods of the land and are nourished spiritually by the knowledge that the iwi kūpuna [ancestral human skeletal remains] are well cared for, and in their rightful place.” Ayau and Tengan also explain that proper burials of kūpuna are important “because of the belief that ancestors became ‘aumākua (guardians) of living descendants and that these ‘aumākua must be cared for in order to maintain the pono (balance and unity) of the family.” In this sense, Kānaka maintain relationships with their kūpuna by living on the same land their kūpuna had lived, living on the land where their kūpuna had been buried, caring for the iwi kūpuna, and by kūpuna and ‘aumākua caring for their descendants.

Events and personal experiences also connect kūpuna to the ‘āina. In Hāʻena, Andrade connects sites of the ahupuaʻa Hāʻena on the island of Kauaʻi to various events and experiences shared with Andrade by several kūpuna. Makana, a cliff in Hāʻena, is identified as the site where

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12 Kameʻeleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 25.
13 Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 33, 42.
“the graduation ceremony of hula students completing rigorous training demanded of them took place from time immemorial well into historic times.” The ceremony consisted of “certain initiated men” who climbed Makana and hurled ‘ōahi (firebrands) into the sky and out over the ocean. Andrade also shares stories told by kūpuna about the 1946 and 1957 tsunamis that caused residents along coastal areas to move inland to take refuge in the Mānoa valley in Hāʻena.15 These stories, shared by kūpuna, about kūpuna, and associated with specific sites, further connect Kānaka Hawaiʻi to their kūpuna through relationships with the ‘āina.

The ‘āina also connects Kānaka to akua. In addition to various akua being associated with specific natural features, akua are also connected to the ‘āina through moʻolelo. For instance, Pele, the volcano akua, is, as kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanuui explains in Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hiʻiaka, associated with volcanic activity, land formation, and destroying land, as referred to in the names “Pele-ʻAilāʻau (forest-eating Pele), Pele-ʻAihonua (Earth-eating, land-ruling Pele), and Pelehonuamea (red-earth Pele).”16 Pele’s connection to the ‘āina is also seen in the translations of the word “pele” as lava flow, volcano, and eruption. Pele is also connected to ‘āina through wahi pana (legendary places), the different sites she visited and the moʻolelo connected to those places.

When Pele arrived with her entourage in the Hawaiian Islands from her homeland Kahiki, she traveled throughout the islands to find a place to make her home. During her search, hoʻomanawanuui explains, “members of the entourage are left (or choose to stay) at island locations along the way, such as Nihoa, Kaʻula, Niʻihau, Lehua, Kauaʻi, Oʻahu, Molokaʻi, Lānaʻi, Kahoʻolawe, Maui, and finally Hawaiʻi island, populating the islands with Pele’s people.” After making her home in Puna on the island of Hawaiʻi, one day while Pele was

16 kuʻualoha hoʻomanawanuui. Voices of Fire: Reweaving the Literary Lei of Pele and Hiʻiaka (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), xxiv.
sleeping at Kapa‘ahu, Puna, Hawai‘i, her spirit met the spirit of Lohi‘au, an ali‘i, in Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i. Pele returned to Hawai‘i after several days and, after her other sisters refused, asked her youngest sister, Hi‘iakaikapoliopele, to go to Kaua‘i to fetch Lohi‘au and bring him back to Pele on Hawai‘i. Hi‘iaka’s journey to Kaua‘i and return trip to Hawai‘i took her to many locations throughout the Hawaiian Islands. These wahi pana continue to be associated with Hi‘iaka, Pele, and their journeys.¹⁷

In Hā‘ena, Kaua‘i, Andrade explains that when Pele first reached the Hawaiian Islands and was looking for a suitable location for a home, she excavated three caves, Maniniholo, Waikapalae, and Waikanaloa, none of which served to be proper sites for Pele’s home. These caves are thus associated with Pele and her search for a home before she reached Puna, Hawai‘i.¹⁸ The names of certain sites can also evoke the mo‘olelo connected to them, ho‘omanawanui explains, as “Kapa‘ahu (kapa cloak) is the place Pele wrapped herself in kapa cloth and slept, and where her spirit heard the sound of Lohi‘au’s pahu drums” which provoked Pele to search for the source of the drum sound while she was sleeping.¹⁹ Some sites are connected to Pele and Hi‘iaka because they are relatives. On Hi‘iaka’s journey to fetch Lohi‘au, she encountered her relatives Makapu‘u and Kauhi‘imakaokalani on O‘ahu and interacted with them “through a series of oli [chant] performance.”²⁰ These few examples show how Pele and Hi‘iaka are connected to the ‘āina through the presence of family members and episodes of mo‘olelo. This is only a small sampling of the many connections Pele and Hi‘iaka are related to the ‘āina and serve as just a glimpse of how akua, ‘āina, and family are intertwined. The

¹⁷ In Voices of Fire, ho‘omanawanui includes a map of the Hawaiian Islands labeled with the places Pele and Hi‘iaka visited on these journeys illustrating connections between mo‘olelo and place. ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui explains that Pele’s homeland is Polapola (Bora Bora). ho‘omanawanui, Voices of Fire, 26-30, 156.
¹⁸ Andrade, Hā‘ena, 15.
¹⁹ ho‘omanawanui, Voices of Fire, 154.
²⁰ Kauhi‘imakaokalani traveled to the Hawaiian Islands as part of Pele’s entourage from Kahiki. Ibid., 155.
the interconnectedness of akua, ‘āina, kūpuna, and Kānaka, as seen in the moʻolelo of Pele and Hiʻiaka, is described by hoʻomanawanui who states, “the power of Pele and Hiʻiaka is ultimately linked to the ‘āina; they are simultaneously land and ancestor, and to recall their moʻolelo is to recount the moʻokū‘auhau of the Hawaiian people, which are inextricably linked.”

Another way Kānaka are connected with the ‘āina is through social relationships. Aliʻi and makaʻāinana had different relationships with the ‘āina since land held political importance for aliʻi. For instance, marriages between aliʻi were often strategized to link multiple regions or islands to allow for descendants to potentially “claim the genealogies of more than one island and potentially reign as aliʻi on all of the islands of their genealogies.” Aliʻi also sought to acquire ‘āina and were in charge of distributing ‘āina. Gaining land helped aliʻi to gain mana and waiwai (wealth). Upon ascending to power, aliʻi redistributed parcels of ‘āina to supporters (kālaiʻāina) which, according to Oliveira, “not only facilitated the construction of physical place on the landscape but, just as importantly, created corresponding places in society, niches from which people of varying ranks stood.” The divisions of ‘āina created and ruled by aliʻi were lived on and cared for by the makaʻāinana.

Makaʻāinana lived and worked within an ahupuaʻa, a “land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea, so called because the boundary was marked by a heap (ahu) of stones surmounted by an image of a pig (puaʻa), or because a pig or other tribute was laid on the altar as a tax to the chief.” Aliʻi and makaʻāinana maintained a reciprocal relationship based on the ‘āina, as “aliʻi had the kuleana [responsibility] to serve the ‘āina by making it productive.”

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21 Hoʻomanawanui, Voices of Fire, 202.
22 Oliveira elaborates that each sized land division corresponded with a different rank of aliʻi: a mokupuni (island) was ruled by an aliʻi nui, a moku (large land division) was ruled by an aliʻi ‘ai moku, and an ahupuaʻa (land division that usually extended from the mountains to the ocean) was ruled by a konohiki or aliʻi ‘ai ahupuaʻa. Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 25-26, 30, 32, 34, 38.
and the makaʻāinana “farmed the ʻāina and offered produce to the aliʻi.” Makaʻāinana also formed relationships to one another within the ahupuaʻa. Since families lived on the same ʻāina for generations, makaʻāinana married other makaʻāinana who lived close by so they could remain close to their one hānau, forming bonds between families and strengthening ties to the ʻāina. Makaʻāinana living together in an ahupuaʻa also formed bonds to one another through social interaction and exchange. Oliveira uses the example of trade between makaʻāinana living upland and makaʻāinana living near the ocean in Honuaʻula, Maui, where items such as “pili grass, herbs for medicinal purposes, kalo, poi (mashed, cooked kalo thinned with water), and ʻuala (sweet potato)” were exchanged for items like “limu (seaweed), ʻopihi (limpet), and iʻa (fish).” These exchange, social, and familial relationships rooted in the ʻāina combined with wahi pana and genealogical connections to kūpuna, akua, and the ʻāina, shape the connections and relationships Kānaka have with the ʻāina in the Hawaiian Islands.

Kānaka Hawaiʻi have mapped their relationships and knowledge of the ʻāina through performance cartographies. Oliveira argues that “ancestrally, Kānaka did not have maps in the form of written representations of the world; instead they utilized ‘performance cartographies,’” such as inoa ʻāina (place names), mele (songs), kanikau, hula, ʻōlelo noʻeau (proverbs), moʻolelo, and moʻokūʻauhau, “to reference their constructed places, legitimize their existence, and reinforce their legacies.” Mapping physical places in these formats simultaneously maps the moʻolelo and memories associated with the places, revealing an intimate knowledge of the

25 This term used by Oliveira, “performance cartographies,” is identified by David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis as a category of cartographic representations. Fulfilling the function of a map, performance cartographies “may take the form of a nonmaterial oral, visual, or kinesthetic social act, such as a gesture, ritual, chant, procession, dance, poem, story, or other means of expression or communication whose primary purpose is to define or explain spatial knowledge or practice.” Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 134-134; David Woodward and G. Malcolm Lewis, The History of Cartography: Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies, Vol. 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 4.
26 Oliveira also lists māhele ʻāina (land divisions), “kaulana mahina (moon calendars), hei (string figures), and hoʻokele (navigation)” as forms of performance cartographies. Ibid., 65.
‘āina. Oliveira explains that to know a place “is to be able to recite its stories” and “to be able to chant the landscape through poetry.” Performance cartographies like moʻolelo and mele express extensive knowledge as well as a deep relationship to the ‘āina.

Moʻolelo can “map” ‘āina by describing the formation of ‘āina, genealogically connecting ‘āina to akua and Känaka, connecting stories and events to specific sites, and including names and descriptions of places, winds, and rains. For instance, as discussed previously, episodes in the moʻolelo of Pele and Hiʻiaka are connected to specific sites throughout the Hawaiian Islands as well as Kahiki. Pele and Hiʻiaka also display their knowledge of the ‘āina by listing place and wind names at different points in the moʻolelo. When Pele’s spirit visits Lohiʻau in Hā́ena, Kauaʻi, she is invited by Lohiʻau to hula. Declining, Pele instead performs an oli makani (wind chant) of the winds of Nihoa, Lehua, and Kauaʻi, which includes “nearly three hundred winds and two hundred place names,” demonstrating Pele’s ‘ike ‘āina (knowledge about land) and mana while also recording hundreds of place and wind names of these islands in the moʻolelo. Place names are also listed throughout the moʻolelo of Hiʻiaka’s journey as she calls out to ‘āina through oli, which, hoʻomanawanui states, affirms Hiʻiaka’s “knowledge of poetry, of place, and when appropriate, her kinship connections to these places.”

In addition to moʻolelo, performance cartographies can also take the form of kanikau and inoa ‘āina. While expressing grief and honoring the life of the person who has passed away, kanikau often include inoa ‘āina when listing places traveled or, if an aliʻi, landholdings. Inoa ‘āina can also be a form of performance cartography since, as Oliveira states, “place names serve as historical genealogies, chronicling the changes that have occurred over time in a particular

28 hoʻomanawanui, Voices of Fire, 144-145, 155-156.
locale” as place names are passed on, forgotten, or renamed over time. Place names evoke memories and “often detail the physical features of the natural environment, enumerate significant historic events of the place, and catalog natural resources of the locale.” While not necessarily the primary purpose of mo’olelo, mele, kanikau, inoa ‘āina, and other forms of verbal and written arts and literature, they can be viewed as performance cartographies since Kānaka Hawai‘i mapped place, wind, and rain names and characteristics, boundaries, resources, genealogies, and relationships. Mapping the ‘āina through performance cartographies helps to illustrate the connections Kānaka have with the ‘āina since, Oliveira argues, “being able to mentally map a location was largely a product of enjoying an intimate relationship with a place.”29 This intimate relationship to the ‘āina also includes genealogical relationships and relationships with akua, kūpuna, and other Kānaka, and is rooted in multi-generational knowledge and experiences “mai ka pō mai (from the beginning of time to now), and mai nā kūpuna mai (from the ancestors to us).”30

Incorporating Oregon and California into Kanaka Concepts of ‘Āina

Since Kanaka relationships with the ‘āina are deeply rooted and intertwined with genealogical relationships to akua, kūpuna, and other Kānaka Hawai‘i, what happens when Kānaka leave the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands? This dissertation argues that Kānaka Hawai‘i living in Kanaka gold-mining communities incorporated Oregon and California into their concepts of ‘āina by viewing the ocean as an extension of the ‘āina, defining physical spaces,

29 Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 57, 75, 78.
30 These phrases are borrowed from ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui who uses them when referring to Pele as an ancestor of Kānaka and “the vast record of chants, songs, and narratives composed and passed down over centuries.” ho‘omanawanui states that “mai ka pō mai and mai nā kūpuna mai are two phrases that represent key concepts of the Hawaiian worldview that acknowledge the beginnings of time and the wisdom of the ancestors passed down through the generations.” ho‘omanawanui, Voices of Fire, xxiv, 231.
working the ‘āina, establishing social and familial relationships, and linking experiences and stories to specific sites. However, this expansive understanding of ‘āina inclusive of western North America viewed the gold-mining region as different from the Hawaiian Islands since it lacked genealogical connections to the ‘āina, and because of this, Kānaka Hawai‘i sought different ways to maintain a connection to their homeland while forming intimate relationships to these new lands.

Looking at kanikau composed in gold-mining regions can help reveal the relationships Kānaka formed with Oregon and California. The kanikau composed for Charles Kahoeina in Henley, California, described at the beginning of this chapter, can be seen as a form of performance cartography of the gold-mining regions inhabited by Kānaka in California and southern Oregon. The composers included numerous place names, descriptions of towns, the landscape, and experiences such as gold mining and horse-back riding connected to specific locations. These components help us recognize how the kanikau composers recognized, defined, were knowledgeable of, and interacted with the land. The introductory story told by Juliana Kahoeina about her husband’s death also reveals the importance of social interactions and relationships tied to the ‘āina as exemplified by the Kahoeinas living in Kanaka gold-mining communities in Oregon and California with neighbors and friends who came together to look for Charles Kahoeina on the night of his death. Community members lived together, worked together, and traveled together, and these relationships and experiences were included within kanikau such as those composed by Isaaka Kalua and Daniela Masona. Kānaka also constructed physical spaces by imposing human-made boundaries on the landscape, such as the communities of Kanaka Flat and Henley, and traveled within this region encompassing the Oregon-California border, the Klamath River, Kanaka Flat, Henley, and other gold-mining sites, towns, and
communities, creating a local network that Kānaka in the region lived within. Constructing tangible and intangible boundaries serves as a form of engagement in, what Oliveira describes as, the “production of place, inscribing it with meaning and effectively mapping the landscape.”

Despite the intimate relationships formed with the ‘āina seen in kanikau, there remained significant differences between the relationships Kānaka formed with the ‘āina of Oregon and California and their relationships with the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands. There were no wahi pana connecting Kānaka to akua in Oregon and California and there were no ancestral connections to the ‘āina that spanned mai ka pō mai and mai nā kūpuna mai. Kānaka left ahupua’a that their families had lived on for generations and left the iwi kūpuna that were buried on those ahupua’a for an ‘āina that lacked the intertwined relationships of ‘āina, akua, kūpuna, and Kānaka Hawai‘i. This lack of genealogical connections is seen in the terms used by Kānaka to refer to Oregon and California.

The phrase ‘āina malihini (strange and unfamiliar land) was often used by Kānaka Hawai‘i to refer to the region. In one instance, Hairam R. Nalau and Moses Nahola referred to themselves and other Kānaka living in Irish Creek, California, as “na keiki kupa o ka aina Hawaii e noho ana ma keia aina malihini” (the native children of the Hawaiian land living at this strange and unfamiliar land). In this way, Nalau and Nahola identified themselves as ancestrally tied to the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands and not to the new, foreign, unusual ‘āina of Oregon and California. Daniela Mason also referred to Oregon and California by using the term “keia aina malihini” while referring to Kānaka living in the region as “na keiki e hele auwana ana ma keia aina makua ole” (the children wandering this parentless land). Masona’s

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31 Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 52.
statement refers to the mobility of Kanaka gold miners who moved from gold-mining site to gold-mining site and community to community as well as the lack of an ancestral root in any one specific part of the ‘āina in Oregon and California. With each of their writings that established Kānaka as knowledgeable of the ‘āina of western North America and forming relationships connected to these lands, they were emphasizing the value and importance of the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands.

Kānaka living in gold-mining communities in Oregon and California did not live completely detached from the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands; instead, they made concerted efforts to maintain relationships with their homeland while forming new relationships with the ‘āina of Oregon and California. Kānaka remained connected with the Hawaiian Islands through communication in the form of newspapers, letters, and travels. While separated by distance from the ‘āina of their kūpuna, Kānaka living in gold-mining communities forged new relationships to the ‘āina in Oregon and California. Although they were not living on the ‘āina where their kūpuna were buried, they established cemeteries in their gold-mining communities. Additionally, they formed new genealogical connections to Oregon and California by forming families that connected Kānaka to sites throughout the region while also maintaining genealogical connections with the Hawaiian Islands, expanding Kanaka genealogical relationships to include the ‘āina in western North America.

**Traditions of Kanaka Hawai‘i Voyaging and Connections to Western North America**

Kānaka Hawai‘i living in gold-mining communities saw their residences as an extension of the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands. The ocean did not separate western North America from the Hawaiian Islands but instead served as an extension of the ‘āina and a pathway between the
two regions that could be traversed in either direction. This is illustrated in another phrase used by Kānaka Hawai‘i to describe Oregon and California, ka ‘āina paialewai ke kai (the land that people are carried back and forth to by the ocean). Kānaka have a long history and tradition of ocean voyaging; Kānaka traveling to western North America for gold mining is an extension of these journeys.

Migrations originating thousands of years ago out of Southeast Asia led to people sailing throughout the Pacific and arriving in the Hawaiian Islands in the thirteenth century. Moʻolelo recall the connections Kānaka Hawaiʻi and the Hawaiian Islands have to other islands, specifically those called kahiki, a place name translated as Tahiti but also sometimes referring to other southern islands. Pāʻao, a priest, left his homeland and traveled to the Hawaiian Islands after a fight with his brother, making the voyage with about forty others, all of whom, Samuel Kamakau explains, were from Sāmoa, Tonga, or perhaps Aotearoa/New Zealand. Pāʻao was responsible for bringing Pili to the Hawaiian Islands who served as an aliʻi and founded a new dynasty on Hawaiʻi Island with Pāʻao as his priest.

In a recent study, Kealani R. Cook looks to the moʻolelo of Laʻamaikahiki as an example of voyages, communication, and relationships that formed between the Hawaiian Islands and kahiki after settlements had been formed in the Hawaiian Islands as well as an example of

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34 Translation of this phrase was assisted by Kekeha Solis. Those that have referred to western North America as ka ‘āina paialewai ke kai include: Iulian Kahoinia, Charles B. Kahoinia, Kamakahiki Maintop, M. Kauwaeaina, and D.M. Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 28, 1863; George B. Kahinano, “He Palapala No Port Madison W.T.,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 23, 1864. Others have used a variation of the phrase such as “ka aina noho paialewa” and “ina na aina paia lewa nei” including: C. Aarona, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 21, 1862; “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma W.T.,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 2, 1862.


memorializing these voyages in moʻolelo. In the moʻolelo, brothers Moʻikeha and ‘Olopana, ‘Olopana’s wife Luʻukia, and Moʻikeha’s adopted son Laʻa, left the Hawaiian Islands for kahiki. Eventually, Moʻikeha returned to the Hawaiian Islands where he became the aliʻi ‘ai moku (district chief) of Ka‘u‘i through his marriage with Hoʻoipo. Years later, Moʻikeha asked his youngest son, Kila, to travel to kahiki to fetch his son Laʻa. Laʻa returned to the Hawaiian Islands where he was known as Laʻamaikahiki (Laʻa from kahiki) and impregnated three women on Oʻahu and visited his father on Ka‘u‘i before returning to kahiki. Although Laʻa returned to kahiki, Kamakau explains that “Laʻa-mai-Kahiki became an ancestral chief for chiefs and commoners of Oʻahu and also for Hawaiʻi and Ka‘u‘i.”

Akua also came to the Hawaiian Islands from kahiki. As discussed earlier, Pele left her home in Tahiti with other family members, including Hiʻiakaikapiliopele. Other akua also traveled from kahiki to the Hawaiian Islands, such as Kāne, Kanaloa, Kū, and Lono, the four major male akua in the Hawaiian Islands. The moʻolelo of these akua, aliʻi, and kūpuna not only show that migrations moved from kahiki to the Hawaiian Islands, but also that voyages were made back and forth between kahiki and the Hawaiian Islands. Although these voyages did not continue, they remain in the memory of Kānaka through moʻolelo, and map a space beyond the Hawaiian Islands.

When European and American ships arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in the eighteenth century, Kānaka took advantage of the new voyaging opportunities that were introduced. In Double Ghosts: Oceanian Voyagers on Euroamerican Ships, David Chappell describes this time period in Oceania from the mid-eighteenth century to the late-nineteenth century as a second

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38 Kealani R. Cook, “Kahiki: Native Hawaiian Relationships with Other Pacific Islanders, 1850-1915” (PhD diss., The University of Michigan, 2011), 1-3; S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, January 5, 1867, 1; Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, 105-110.
39 S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, January 12, 1867, 1; Kamakau, Tales and Traditions of the People of Old, 112.
diaspora when, “Oceanians used the new vessels to launch another era of voyaging” that took Pacific Islanders throughout the world as they “counter-explore[d] Euroamerican shipping.” Chappell estimates thirty thousand Pacific Islanders sailed on Euroamerican ships within the first century of these voyages, including thousands of Kānaka Hawai‘i who, by the 1840s, “sailed on whaling ships as far as New England. Others joined the Tahitian royal guard, trapped for furs in Northwest America, or preached Christianity in Micronesia.” Double Ghosts follows these Pacific Islanders on their voyages, and their stories, Chappell argues, “show that Pacific Islanders did not simply wait for the outside world to overwhelm them.”

Other studies, such as Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson’s Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898 and Tom Koppel’s Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest, have focused on Kānaka Hawai‘i voyages to the American Pacific Northwest and British Columbia in the first half of the nineteenth century. These books discuss the first Kanaka voyagers on Euroamerican ships that arrived in the Pacific Northwest in the eighteenth century as well as the first sustained presence of Kānaka Hawai‘i in the region as employees of fur-trading companies in the early-nineteenth century. The first known Kanaka Hawai‘i to reach the Pacific Northwest on a European ship was Winee, a Kanaka woman who left the Hawaiian Islands in 1787 on a ship engaged in the sea otter trade. Winee was a servant for Frances Barkley, the sixteen-year-old

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wife of the ship’s captain, and traveled to Nootka Sound in British Columbia and then sailed to China, but died at sea before she returned home to the Hawaiian Islands. The next year, Ka’iana sailed to Nootka Sound after first stopping in Canton, China, on the ship of British fur trader John Meares. The voyages of other early Kanaka explorers of the Pacific Northwest similarly took them elsewhere in the world as part of their trade routes, including China, New England, Mexico, and California. The first sustained presence of Kānaka Hawai‘i in the Pacific Northwest took place by the 1810s with the establishment of fur trading forts on the Columbia River.

German American John Jacob Astor recruited Kānaka to establish and work at the trading post for his Pacific Fur Company at what would become Fort Astoria on the mouth of the Columbia River. The first Kanaka workers arrived in 1811 and 1812, initiating a long period of Kanaka working for fur-trading companies in the region. However, Astor and his Pacific Fur Company did not maintain control over Fort Astoria; in 1813 the fort was taken over by the Montreal-based North West Company and renamed Fort George. Soon after, the North West Company moved east and, in 1821, was absorbed into the British fur-trading company, the Hudson’s Bay Company. After 1821, the Hudson’s Bay Company began recruiting Kanaka workers and by the 1840s, the fur-trading company employed hundreds of Kānaka. While working for the Hudson’s Bay Company, many Kānaka lived in a community outside of the company’s Fort Vancouver referred to as Kanaka Village. While most Kanaka residents worked as fur traders, some were employed as religious teachers or laborers for missionaries. William Kaulehelehe and his wife, Mary Kaai, moved to Fort Vancouver from the Hawaiian Islands to

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43 These early explorers were Jack Atu, Kalehua, John Mataturay, Teheeopea, and Tahomeeraoo, who sailed on European and American ships from 1789 to the 1790s. Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*, 22-28; Chappell, *Double Ghosts*, 101-102.
serve as religious teachers for the Kanaka population at the request of the Chief Factor of the Hudson’s Bay Company, John McLoughlin. Other Kānaka working for the Hudson’s Bay Company were subcontracted as laborers at the missions of American Protestants and Methodists that arrived in the region in the 1830s. The American missionaries also requested Kanaka laborers from the Hawaiian Islands to assist in establishing their new missions.44

In addition to voyaging to the Pacific Northwest to work for fur-trading companies and American missions, Kānaka sailed to and lived in California as a part of the trade in hide, tallow, furs, and goods between the Hawaiian Islands, California, and South America. William Heath Mahi Davis first traveled to California in 1831 on a ship that had sailed from Boston to the Hawaiian Islands before sailing to trade for fur in Sitka, Alaska, and then to California to trade in Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego before returning to Honolulu to trade horses on its way back to Boston. Davis returned to California in 1833 and again in 1838, after which he remained in California and continued to trade goods, such as sugar, tea, coffee, and clothing, for hides, tallow, sea and river otter skins, beaver skins, and money.45

Other Kānaka also participated in this trade and spent time living on the California coast. When Richard Henry Dana, Jr. arrived in California aboard a trading vessel from Boston in 1835, he encountered Kanaka crewmen on board ships engaged in trade between California, the

Hawaiian Islands, Peru, and Chile. Dana also briefly resided with a community of Kānaka living in San Diego where they cured hides, supplied American vessels, and worked on trading vessels. Kānaka continued to work on ships involved in the hide and tallow trade, as ship captains such as William A. Leidesdorff employed Kanaka crewmembers throughout the 1840s.46

Other Kānaka arrived in California to work for John Sutter. Sutter recruited a small group of Kānaka as workers during his stop in the Hawaiian Islands on his way to California in 1839.47 Kānaka worked on Sutter’s land throughout the region, including his fort in Sacramento, his lumber mill in Coloma, and his farm on the Feather River.48 More Kānaka Hawai‘i soon followed and joined this group working for Sutter in California.49 From the late-eighteenth century to mid-nineteenth century, many Kānaka sailed to western North America on various trade ships and on contracts to work on land for fur-trading companies, missionaries, and John Sutter. Perhaps because some of these voyagers returned to the Hawaiian Islands after sailing on these numerous trade routes, the ‘āina of western North America became known as ka ‘āina paiālewa i ke kai, the land that people are carried back and forth to by the ocean.

49 Kenn includes names of some Kānaka who worked for Sutter but were not a part of the original ten Kānaka. These include: Kukui, Edwin Mahuka, Robert Paaniani, Yankee Jim, Kanaka Jim, Jim Crow, Captain Ross (who could also be known as Captain Coxe), William Kanui, and Thomas Nahopuna (also referred to as Hopu). Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 93-99.
When Kanaka gold miners traveled to the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California in the mid-1800s, they were traveling to a region that many Kānaka had already traveled to and established a sense of familiarity with. Kānaka who traveled to the gold mines initiated another stage of Kanaka Hawai‘i travels to western North America that continued the decades-long tradition of sailing to the region for its resources and economic opportunities. This dissertation picks up on the study of Kanaka travelers and migrations to western North America where previous studies have left off. Since works such as Barman and Watson’s and Koppel’s have focused on Kanaka working for fur-trading companies, their studies of Kānaka in what would become the United States shift to Canada after the U.S.-Canada border was determined in 1846 and the Hudson’s Bay Company moved to Fort Victoria in British Columbia. This dissertation examines what happened to Kānaka who remained south of the U.S.-Canada border and those that traveled to the region to mine for gold. It studies individuals and the communities they lived in to help recover some of the stories that have been missing from histories, adding to Chappell’s work on Pacific Islander voyagers who he termed “double ghosts” due to the difficulties in recovering their stories since “oral traditions about their journeys are scattered across a vast sea of islands, and the written data are fragmentary and dispersed through hundreds of journals, logs, and memoirs.”

Contested Spaces of Western North America

From the late-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century as Kānaka increasingly became familiar with the Pacific coast of North America, they were doing so along with other international competitors while moving into the land of numerous diverse groups of indigenous

50 Chappell, Double Ghosts, xiv.
peoples. Albert Hurtado describes California as “a multicultural frontier long before Spaniards sailed over the horizon” due to the drastically varied cultures and languages of the “scores of tribes [that] occupied the land.” Many of the indigenous peoples in Oregon and California lived in villages or village-communities (groups of communities, sometimes referred to as “tribelets”) and traveled throughout their region on a seasonal round, residing at different sites during the different seasons to access the variety of food sources available through hunting, fishing, and gathering. Indigenous peoples throughout the region also engaged in various trade networks. For instance, coinciding with the arrival of salmon at Celilo Falls on the Columbia River, thousands of people gathered to trade food and goods from throughout the northwest region (including modern-day Washington, Idaho, and Montana). Once Europeans and Americans began traveling to western North America for the fur trade, they were incorporated into indigenous trade networks.

Not only were European goods traded within indigenous trade networks, but relationships were formed among European and indigenous populations to facilitate trade. In Empires, Nations, and Families: A New History of the North American West, 1800-1860, Anne F. Hyde argues that the fur trade depended on personal relationships. Those employed by and dependent on the Hudson’s Bay Company at Fort Vancouver “often married into Indian families who had essential local knowledge and trade networks,” playing a large role in the success of the

52 Albert L. Hurtado, Intimate Frontiers: Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), xxvii.
Throughout the early-nineteenth century, the Hudson’s Bay Company and the fur trade expanded throughout the region while other nations were also vying for space on the Pacific coast of North America.

Russia, Great Britain, the United States, and Spain expanded their own trading networks and competed for land in the region by the 1780s. Throughout the following decades, colonial boundaries were imposed on the land and defined through a series of treaties between these imperial nations, resulting, by the end of the 1840s, in the creation of Oregon Territory (present day Oregon, Idaho, Washington, and parts of Wyoming and Montana) and the acquisition of California as a territory of the United States.  

Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton describe this imperial “self-consciously spatializing project” as an attempt by colonizers to “impose their own topographies on conquered space and – to the extent they were aware of or interested in

55 In his discussion of Māori-British marriages in New Zealand, Damon Salesa points out that interracial marriages can also be a form of colonization. Hyde, Empires, Nations, and Families, 97; Damon Ieremia Salesa, Racial Crossings: Race, Intermarriage, and the Victorian British Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

local apprehensions of space on the ground – to unmake preexisting maps of native communities or refashion them to suit their own political, economic, and military ends.’’

In Oregon and California, the imperial acquisitions and boundary-making of the United States preceded the arrival of large numbers of American citizens. When Kanaka Hawai‘i gold-mining communities were established throughout California and Oregon, they were constructed in a region that was home to its indigenous populations and, for several decades, had been the site (to varying degrees depending on the specific location) of international trade and competition, rather than a region that was definitively American. The gold rush also brought a diverse international population to the region but, as Hurtado explains, beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, “Americans dominated the scene because they formed (in most places) a majority of the new population and because they controlled the new state and local governments that they established under American law.”

The diversity of encounters and relationships in western North America has been emphasized in recent histories of the region. The publication of Patricia Nelson Limerick’s *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* in 1987 emphasized the need to rethink Western American history as different from the frontier thesis put forth in 1893 by Frederick Jackson Turner, who Limerick calls “ethnocentric and nationalistic” due to his emphasis on White English-speaking men while ignoring women and people of diverse ethnicities in histories of the American West. Turner described the frontier as a “meeting point between savagery and civilization” as well as a line that advanced west across North America.

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that helped shape and define Americans as they transformed “the wilderness” so that the line could progress further west.⁵⁹ Presenting a new perspective to approaching Western American history, Limerick emphasizes viewing the American West as “an important meeting ground,” sees conquest as an important theme uniting the diverse region, and seeks to “deemphasize the frontier and its supposed end, [and] conceive of the West as a place and not a process.”⁶⁰ Since The Legacy of Conquest, historians of the American West have put forth new ways to approach histories of the region that account for the complexities of interactions and incorporate and emphasize the roles of indigenous and diverse populations in these encounters.

Some have redefined Turner’s “frontier” to refer to space rather than a process by introducing the term “borderlands” into Western American history to account for the diverse meeting places and competing colonial claims. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron define frontier as “a meeting place of peoples in which geographic and cultural borders were not clearly defined,” and borderland as “the contested boundaries between colonial domains.”⁶¹ Gregory Nobles’ definition of “frontier” as a region “in which no culture, group, or government can claim effective control or hegemony over others” that often includes a “multisided struggle with an undetermined outcome,” also emphasizes the diversity of the space, adding that there was not just one frontier experience, but many. In redefining “frontier” as a space of interaction rather

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than a process of American colonization that moved across North America, as put forth by Turner, Nobles argues that “frontier” is “defined in terms that are less loaded in favor of Euro-American culture.” Yet, some have argued that the use of the terms “frontier” and “borderland” maintains an emphasis on European and American empires and have challenged understandings of these terms and the spaces they represent to emphasize indigenous peoples and diverse experiences.

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 and reactions to those processes,” 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.” In The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, Richard White argues that there were more complex stories than those of conquest, assimilation, and cultural persistence, and in regions of diverse interaction, “something new could appear.” White calls this space a “middle ground,” where, around the Great Lakes region, “older worlds of the Algonquians and of various Europeans overlapped, and their mixture created new systems of meaning and of exchange.” DuVal argues that not all spaces were middle grounds; there were many types of interactions. The Arkansas Valley, for

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64 Richard White, The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), ix-x. The concept of “middle ground” has since been used and referred to in other histories of spaces of cross-cultural encounters and relationships, including several articles on sexual relationships and middle grounds in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, ed., Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).
example, was “each group’s claimed native ground” since “each people in the Arkansas Valley, no matter how long it had been in the region, portrayed itself as native and thus deserving of a place on the land.” DuVal uses the term “native ground” to emphasize the diversity among indigenous and European people and “the fact that Native Americans, not Europeans, controlled the Arkansas Valley.”

David Chang also emphasizes the role of indigenous perspectives and actors and the role of diversity in western American spaces while challenging the idea of borderlands. In one section of his article, “Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces,” Chang focuses on the homelands and boundaries of Konkow and other neighboring indigenous peoples in California. Chang states that Konkow were connected to their neighbors through trade but also separated by boundaries that defined homelands. He points out that, “we might fail to see those demarcations if we proceed from Western assumptions that boundaries are artifacts of centralized political power. They were, however, real because Indian people recognized them.” By looking at boundaries defined by Konkow, Chang challenges the idea that boundaries and borderlands are terms only to be used when a European or American actor is involved.

In his article, Chang further complicates understandings of borderlands by following the story of Lakaakaa (also named Hitokane and Waiuliuli) who moved from Konkow to Nisenan.

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territory when she moved to the Kanaka Hawai‘i gold-mining community, Irish Creek. As Chang points out, this differs from borderland stories that privilege “two state actors that are admittedly important but hardly the most crucial reference points” and obscure “the fact that border regions are also frequently the homeland of an indigenous people and the place of settlement of many other peoples, including indigenous people from elsewhere.” Chang also challenges the term “borderlands” because of its emphasis on land when, many people, including Kānaka Hawai‘i, went to California and moved throughout the region on various waterways, and to emphasize the land would “naturalize the presence of people of European descent in eastern North America.” In the gold-mining regions of California and Oregon, the spaces of interaction were extremely diverse with numerous understandings of land and boundaries being crossed, reconceptualized, and challenged. This dissertation looks at these gold-mining spaces described by Chang and challenges the ideas of frontiers and borderlands by reorienting the focus of the region to Kanaka Hawai‘i concepts of ʻāina and how Kānaka, an immigrant population that was neither European nor American, lived within this diverse, contested region by imposing their understandings of place on the land and forming relationships and communities with American Indians while being challenged by the increasing White American population.

**Changes in Laws, Labor, and Land in the Hawaiian Islands**

The time of increased trade in the Pacific and growing numbers of Kānaka Hawai‘i sailing to western North America coincided with transformations in the Hawaiian Islands. The arrival of British Captain James Cook in 1778 initiated a sustained presence of European and American ships in the Hawaiian Islands, introducing the Hawaiian Islands to international trade.

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67 Chang, “Borderlands in a World at Sea,” 390, 393.
and a capitalist economy. This, in turn, influenced many Kānaka to find new opportunities for employment, including joining trading ships throughout the Pacific, while also encouraging changes to the Hawaiian government.\textsuperscript{68}

The political structure of the Hawaiian Islands was transformed in 1795 when Kamehameha I unified nearly all of the islands and became mōʻī (king) of the island chain.\textsuperscript{69} Following his death in 1819, aliʻi chose “to reorganize political and religious institutions and social relations of power” through “the casting down of the ‘ai kapu” (eating taboos), a system of rules that “structured relations between Hawaiian men and women” as well as between Kānaka and akua. Ending the ‘ai kapu, Noelani Arista argues, “radically transformed the fabric of daily life for both aliʻi and makaʻāina.”\textsuperscript{70} In addition to ending eating restrictions, destroying heiau (temples), and rendering kāhuna (priests) ineffective and irrelevant, the casting down of ‘ai kapu prevented threat of rebellion against the rule of Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and Kaʻahumanu by removing “the religious and political path towards usurpation available to any rivals of Liholiho.”\textsuperscript{71}

Lilikalā Kameʻelehiwa argues that the mass depopulation of Kānaka due to foreign diseases helped influence Kaʻahumanu, Kamehameha’s favorite wife and the hānai (adoptive) mother and Kuhina Nui (officer that shares executive power with the mōʻī) of Kamehameha II to

\textsuperscript{68} Noenoe Silva discusses the arrival of Cook as described by Kamakau in 1866-1867 who wrote that there were other Haole visitors to the Hawaiian Islands prior to the arrival of Cook. Noenoe Silva, Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 16-23.
\textsuperscript{69} This unification did not include Kauaʻi until 1810.
\textsuperscript{70} Noenoe Silva describes ‘ai kapu as “a system of rules that specified that men do all the cooking, that men and women eat separately, and that certain foods, especially the kino lau (many physical forms) of certain male gods, be kapu to women.” It was a system that “was established by the ancient moʻolelo of Wākea, who wanted to sleep with his daughter, Hoʻohōkukalani, without his mate, Papahānaumoku, finding out.” Denise Noełani Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure: Euro-American Encounters with Hawaiian Governance and Law, 1793-1827” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2010), 163, 165-167; Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 27-28.
\textsuperscript{71} Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure,” 165-167.
end ‘ai kapu. From the time of increased contact with Europeans and Americans, Kanaka were devastated by disease and estimates have suggested that the Kanaka Hawai‘i population decreased from 400,000-1,000,000 in 1778 to 135,000-200,000 in 1823. Because Kanaka had been dying at such astonishing rates during the pono rule of Kamehameha I, Kame‘eleihiwa argues that Kanaka “no longer viewed the ‘Aikapu as pono” and poses the question, “if the old Akua did not ho‘omalu and preserve the Lāhui [nation], even when the Mō‘i was as faultless in his pono as had been Kamehameha, why should the Lāhui continue to mālama [take care of] the Akua?”

During this time, in 1820, Congregationalist missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) arrived in the Hawaiian Islands. The teachings of the ABCFM missionaries, although contested by many, helped shape new laws in the Hawaiian Islands. While on a circuit of the islands in 1830, Ka‘ahumanu announced new laws which included the prohibition of murder, robbery, adultery, prostitution, worshipping idols, hula, oli (chants), mele, planting ‘awa, and the manufacture of liquor. Those found guilty of adultery faced severe punishments such as fines, imprisonment, or hard labor, and in some cases,  

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72 Kerri A. Inglis explains that since 1778, deadly epidemics repeatedly spread to the Hawaiian Islands, killing thousands of Kānaka Hawai‘i. Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 72-82; Kerri A. Inglis, Ma‘i Lepera: Disease and Displacement in Nineteenth-Century Hawai‘i (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2013), 30-31.
74 Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 81.
75 Although Ka‘ahumanu and others supported ‘ai kapu and Christianity, many Kānaka were resistant to these changes, and some, such as Kekuaokalani, Boki, and Lilihua, challenged these changes in the Hawaiian Islands. Kamakau states that “many of the commoners and chiefs […] wanted tabu eating. Few of the chiefs were in favor of free eating.” Kame‘eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 78-79, 150-154; Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 33-35; Sally Engle Merry, Colonizing Hawai‘i: The Cultural Power of Law (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000), 41, 45; Samuel M. Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii (Honolulu: The Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), 225-228.
76 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 298-299; Merry, Colonizing Hawai‘i, 68-70, 247; Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887 (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 13, 22.
guilty parties were sent to live “ma ka aina e” (in another land). For example, in July 1848, two men who had been divorced from their wives due to adultery were sent to live in another land for four years.\(^77\) The names of these two men, Kaenaena and Keoni Holo, were listed as living in British Columbia and Jacksonville, Oregon, in the 1860s and 1870s in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, showing that perhaps the distant land they were sent away to was western North America where they remained after the four years they were punished. However, these two cases seem not to be the norm. Sally Engle Merry argues that people were often charged with adultery and sentenced to hard labor to help build the infrastructure of the islands, especially roads, since there was a lack of laborers available due to the decline in population.\(^78\)

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, aliʻi continued to establish new laws, forming a system of government that Kamanamaikalani Beamer describes as a combination of both Anglo-American and Kanaka structures. Aliʻi, Beamer explains, “were borrowing from European models to modify and codify existing political structures. But in another sense, the Hawaiian Kingdom ‘modernized’ to gain respect in the international community and, therefore, to have a better chance of directing its own destiny.”\(^79\) Arista argues that aliʻi adopted the method of written laws in both Hawaiian and English languages during this time “in order to

\(^77\) Merry, Colonizing Hawai‘i, 246-255; M. Kekuanaoa, July 22, 1848, Letter to G.M. Robertson, Translated by E.H. Hart, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; M. Kekuanaoa, July 25, 1848, Letter to G.M. Robertson, Translated by E.H. Hart, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.


\(^79\) Kamanamaikalani Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation (Honolulu, Hawai‘i: Kamehameha Publishing, 2014), 104, 123.
extend their jurisdiction in appreciable, clear, printed terms to foreigners,” a population that had steadily increased with the growing presence of traders and merchants.  

As new laws of the Hawaiian Kingdom continued to take shape in the first half of the nineteenth century, Haole increasingly held positions in the government. When government ministries were established in the 1845 Organic Acts and Haole made up the majority of the first ministers, makaʻāinana petitioned against the appointment of Haole in government positions. One of these petitions warned, “If the chiefs are to open this door of the government as an entrance way for the foreigners to come into Hawaii, then you will see the Hawaiian people going from place to place in this world like flies. They will desert Hawaii, their mother, and go to foreign countries.” Such petitions point to the frustrations and concerns some Kānaka had with the new directions the government was taking and their proposed answer, to seek out new opportunities in distant lands, emphasizes how drastic they believed these changes to be.

Some Kānaka were also upset with laws established in the 1840 constitution of the Hawaiian Kingdom. One section of the constitution defined tax laws, which included “auhau o ke kino” (poll tax), “auhau o ka aina” (land tax), and “na la koele” (the kōʻele days, or the labor tax, also referred to as government labor days). The poll tax specified a one dollar tax on men, a fifty cent tax on women, a twenty-five cent tax on boys, and a twelve and a half cent tax on girls. The land tax was a tax on ʻili ʻāina (a land division smaller than an ahupuaʻa; a subdivision

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82 Kameʻeleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 331.
83 Beamer points out that adapting the use of petitions also shows that “makaʻāinana had accepted some of the benefits of constitutional government.” Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 129.
84 For more on the 1840 constitution which created a constitutional monarchy in the Hawaiian Islands, see: Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 366-378; Ralph S. Kuykendall, The Hawaiian Kingdom. Vol. 1: 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1938), 159-161, 167-169; Osorio, Dismembering Lāhui, 25-26; Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 116-130.
85 Ke Kumu Kanawai, a me Na Kanawai o ko Hawaii Pae Aina, Ua Kauia i ke Kau ia Kamehameha III (Honolulu, Oahu, 1941), 18-23; Hawaii: Translation of the Constitution and Laws of the Hawaiian Islands, Established in the Reign of Kamehameha III (Lahainaluna, 1842), 24-32.
of an ahupua‘a) and ahupua‘a for different amounts of pig. The government labor days, or lā kōʻele, required makaʻāinana to work on specific days for the king and konohiki (“chief who managed an ahupua‘a”). The law specified that the first two weeks of each month would have six days devoted to lā kōʻele. In the first week, two days would be served working for the king and one day for the konohiki. In the second week, one day would be spent for the king and two days for the konohiki, making a total of seventy-two days per year devoted to government labor days.

In one instance, some Kānaka reportedly voiced their frustrations with these taxes and other changes in the Hawaiian Islands during a government labor day. James Young Kanehoa wrote to Keoni Ana, the Minister of the Interior of the Hawaiian Kingdom, to report about “kekahi mea au i lohe ai no ko kanaka manao e hookahuluiia ko keia aupuni i aupuni ano e ae” (some things [he] heard about the people wanting to overthrow this government for a different kind of government). Kanehoa further explained that Keaweluoele heard Kānaka Hawaiʻi at a government labor day saying, “Aia no ka hoi ka pono la! O ka hoohalike me Farani” (There is the right way! Act like France), referring to the unrest and revolution of the French working class in 1848.

Taxes and the capitalist economy introduced by international trade also required and encouraged Kānaka to have money to be financially secure. While some Kānaka worked on whaling and fur trading ships or were contracted to work in western North America, others found

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86 The word “kōʻele” means “small land unit farmed by a tenant for the chief” as well as “Friday, so called because commoners worked on the chief’s farm, called kōʻele, on this day,” and “any work for a chief.” Ke Kumu Kanawai, 18-19; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 158; Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 147, 150.
87 Ke Kumu Kanawai, 20; Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 378.
88 Translation assisted by Hawaiʻi State Archives translator (name of translator not provided, but likely to be E.H. Hart who translated other documents in the folder). J.Y. Kanehoa, July 15, 1848, Lahaina, Letter to Keoni Ana, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi.
89 Translation by Hawaiʻi State Archives translator (name of translator not provided, but likely to be E.H. Hart who translated other documents in the folder). J.Y. Kanehoa, July 15, 1848, Lahaina, Letter to Keoni Ana, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi.
employment on ships sailing between the Hawaiian Islands. Among Kānaka who stayed in the Hawaiian Islands for employment opportunities, some began working on the first sugar plantation in 1835 when Ladd and Company and William Hooper of Boston started the Koloa plantation on Kauaʻi. Ronald Takaki explains in *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii*, that Ladd and Company “had agreed to pay a tax for each man employed to Kauikeaouli, the king of the Hawaiian islands, and Kaikioewa, the governor of Kauai, and to pay the workers satisfactory wages. The king and governor, in return, would exempt the workers from any taxation.” The twenty-three Kānaka Hawaiʻi hired by Hooper stopped working just two days after they had started. According to Takaki, they did not believe the aliʻi were going to pay them so, in order to get his workers to work, Hooper agreed to pay them directly and provide them with food and shelter. But Hooper paid his Kanaka workers in scrip that could only be spent at the plantation store, and in 1841, Kanaka workers led a strike on the plantation protesting this form of payment. The Kanaka population at the plantation increased to around one hundred in the next couple years. Although Kānaka continued to work at sugar plantations throughout the following decades, Kanaka plantation workers were not always happy with these forms of employment and found ways to protest as seen with the 1841 strike at the Koloa plantation, refusal to work for low wages, and in reports by Hooper who said workers often disobeyed and attempted to escape work. Choosing to work on the sugar plantation, as

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91 Koloa Plantation was on 980 acres that had been leased by Ladd and Company from Kamehameha III for fifty years at $300 a year. Ronald Takaki, *Pau Hana: Plantation Life and Labor in Hawaii* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), 3, 4.
92 Workers were “assigned plots of land to cultivate crops for their own food and allowed time on weekends to work their gardens” and also “received from Hooper a barrel of fish every third week.” Takaki, *Pau Hana*, 7, 9; Edward D. Beechert, *Working in Hawaii: A Labor History* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985), 23.
contracted laborers in western North America, or on ships throughout the Pacific shows the willingness of Kānaka Hawai‘i to adapt to new economic opportunities on their own terms.

As part of the transformation of the Hawaiian Islands and government during this time period, the Māhele redefined land in the islands as private property. As defined in the 1840 constitution, the mō‘ī, ali‘i, and makaʻāinana jointly owned the land. The Māhele of 1848 separated these shared vested interests by establishing “distinct land bases for the mō‘ī, the government, and the chiefs.” After the Māhele, makaʻāinana “continued to possess, in perpetuity, an undivided right in the dominium until they divided their interest and acquired a freehold title, whenever they desired a division.” Beamer suggests an aid to help understand this process by imagining “all the Hawaiian ʻāina as a cake with three distinct layers. The Māhele was the instrument to remove the layers of the king and chiefs, leaving the makaʻāinana layer in perpetuity.”94 Beamer describes the Māhele as similar to a kālaiʻāina since lands that had been given to ali‘i by Kamehameha I reverted back to Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) to be redistributed.95

To receive fee-simple title to the land awarded to them through the Māhele, ali‘i were required to pay a commutation fee of one third of the value of their land, often paid through giving parcels of land to the government. Makaʻāinana were allowed “the opportunity to acquire fee-simple title to their lands free of commutation” through the Kuleana Act in 1850.96 The Kuleana Act also included a provision allowing makaʻāinana to purchase lots of Government

94 Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 129, 142-143.
95 Jon Van Dyke explains that through the Māhele, Kauikeaouli received nearly 2.5 million acres, equal to sixty percent of the land in the Hawaiian Islands. Kauikeaouli retained 984,000 acres and ceded the remaining 1,523,000 acres to the government. Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 144; Van Dyke, Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?, 42.
96 Van Dyke, Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaii?, 44, 54, 56; Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 151.
Lands, those lands ceded by Kauikeaouli. But for some, the Māhele served as motivation to travel to the gold mines in California and Oregon.

In a 1923 Honolulu Advertiser article, Mary Jane Fayerweather Montano writes that her grand uncle, Kekapala, met with her uncle, Kamakahonu Kane, and other aliʻi to discuss traveling to California after Kamakahonu had given Kamehameha III some of his land as part of the Māhele process. According to Montano, Kamehameha III requested from Kamakahonu “the lands of Kualoa where the sacred drums and heiau [sic] were located.” Montano explains that, “to Kamakahonu it was asking a great deal. He would have parted easily with any other land but that.” So Kamakahonu, Kekapala, and other aliʻi met at Kamakahonu’s house on Fort Street in Honolulu and decided, “as they had heard about the gold rush in California, they would go there to dig gold, because of the taking of their lands in Hawaii.” Montano describes the aliʻi as “cheerful because they felt they would bring home a great deal of wealth, not only for themselves, but to share again with their king.” Kamakahonu left his wife, Maria...

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97 Section four of the Kuleana Act stated that kamaʻāina could purchase lots ranging from one to fifty acres at a minimum price of fifty cents per acre. Beamer shows that through the Māhele (including lands awarded in the Kuleana Act as well as purchased through the Kuleana Act), “makaʻāina acquired as much as 195,948 acres of ‘āina” between 1850 and 1893. Lilikalā Kameʻeleihiwa points out that through the Kuleana awards, “less than 1 percent of the total acreage of Hawaiʻi” was awarded to 8,421 makaʻāina. Kameʻeleihiwa argues that the number of awards and the number of applicants do not reflect the population of Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands at the time since there were 14,195 applicants for Kuleana awards, but in 1848 there were “approximately 88,000 Hawaiians (29,220 who were males over the age of 18).” Beamer, No Mākou Ka Mana, 143, 150-151; Van Dyke, Who Owns the Crown Lands of Hawaiʻi?, 51; Kameʻeleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 295.

98 Pana Oʻahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land describes the ahupuaʻa of Kualoa on Oʻahu as being “so sacred that canoes could only pass after lowering their sails. Because of that status, the kahuna nui Kaʻōpulupulu advised his king Kahahana to refuse the demand of the Maui aliʻi nui Kahekili for Kualoa. This refusal began the chain of events that ended first in the death in Kaʻōpulupulu, then the conquest of the island by Kahekili, and finally in its conquest by Kamehameha.” Kamakau states that when Kaʻōpulupulu advised Kahahana, Kaʻōpulupulu listed important sites and attributes of Kualoa, including the sacred drum of Kapahuʻula. Kaʻōpulupulu said, “O chief! if you give away these things your authority will be lost, and you will cease to be a ruler. To Kualoa belong the water courses of your ancestors, Ka-lumalumaʻi and Ke-kai-heheʻe; the sacred drums of Ka-pahu-ʻulu, and the spring of Ka-ʻahu-ʻula; the sacred hill of Ka-ua-kahi son of Kahoʻowaha of Kualoa.” Jan Becket and Joseph Singer, eds., Pana Oʻahu: Sacred Stones, Sacred Land (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1999), 132; Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 129.

99 Montano’s father, Abraham Henry Fayerweather, also had to return land to the government. Fayerweather returned Muliwai, an ahupuaʻa that had been planted with ‘awa on Hawaiʻi island, and Kealahewa on Hawaiʻi island. Mary Jane Fayerweather Montano, “Personal Reminiscences of Old-Time Hawaii,” The Honolulu Advertiser, December 9, 1923.
Kaiponuikaipoliilii Beckley, and son, George Kekapalahaole II, in the Hawaiian Islands and sailed for the gold mines of California. Montano writes that the aliʻi “went to California and never returned. They all died over there.” Her aunt, Kaiponuikaipoliilii, called her home on Fort Street where the aliʻi met in Honolulu, Maunakula (Mountain of Gold), connecting her home to the aliʻi who met there and decided to leave for the gold mines.\(^{100}\)

The decades leading up to the gold rush in California were a time of change in the Hawaiian Islands. Kānaka Hawaiʻi restructured government, law, and land distribution in the Hawaiian Islands, while taking into account the new international population, economic opportunities, and the devastating impacts of disease. Kānaka had differing views on what was best for the nation, but for some, the ocean served as a route to new economic resources. Those that turned to the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California for new economic resources are the focus of this study.

**Ka ʻĀina Paiālewa I Ke Kai**

After decades of sailing back and forth to western North America, Kānaka had incorporated the distant land into their conception of ʻāina, and those who lived there in gold-mining communities began to form an intimate relationship with the land. But without wahi pana and multi-generational connections, it would remain an ʻāina malihini. This dissertation explores the ways Kānaka incorporated California and Oregon into Kanaka conceptions of ʻāina by looking at gold-mining communities, families, and the ways Kānaka maintained connections to their one hānau.

Chapter two, “Kanaka Communities in Ka ʻĀina Malihini,” looks at three communities, Kanaka Flat in Oregon, and Irish Creek and Vernon in California, as examples of how Kānaka

Hawai‘i created and defined their communities and local networks. Kanaka Flat, Irish Creek, and Vernon represent Kanaka communities that were established on the outskirts of towns and built around an economic resource, specifically gold mining or fishing. Unlike temporary mining camps, these communities consisted of houses, community structures, and families, serving as a permanent site for Kanaka Hawai‘i communities to grow. The boundaries of these communities were fluid and Kānaka that lived within them also moved throughout the nearby region forming a local network consisting of multiple communities, gold-mining locations, and other key sites. Consequently, this chapter looks at Kanaka Flat as an example of a Kanaka gold-mining community in the local network surrounding Yreka, California, and Jacksonville, Oregon, and Irish Creek and Vernon as examples of Kanaka communities in the local network of the Coloma and Sacramento region in California. Kānaka living in these local networks used their communities as a permanent base while frequently traveling throughout the region.

Kānaka Hawai‘i were not the only settlers during the gold rush to create interconnected communities. Robert Phelps argues that all gold rush settlements were connected through the “gold-rush urban system,” an “eclectic but interlocking system of ports, mining settlements, and agricultural centers.” Phelps classifies the “gold-rush urban system” as a rank-order system which “develops as an expanding population’s increasing distance from initial points of convergence generates the establishment of additional central places. Eventually, a dynamic urban network will develop, consisting of a principal regional metropolis that serves an ascending number of cities, towns, and hamlets, ranked according to a descending range of functions and population.” In the “gold-rush urban system,” San Francisco was the metropolis

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101 Kānaka also formed communities and local networks throughout British Columbia, Washington, Oregon, and California, including near Oroville in Butte County, California; around Downieville and Sierra City in Sierra County, California; and along the Tuolumne River in Stanislaus and Tuolumne Counties in California. Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawai‘i Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863; Lowell Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 30, 1866.
serving gold rush cities, towns, and hamlets. Gold rush cities served the smaller towns which in turn served the even smaller hamlets and mining camps. For example, the gold-rush city Sacramento served gold-rush towns like Coloma and Placerville which were connected to hamlets and mining camps through a system of dirt trails and river tributaries. Kanaka gold-mining communities and local networks also existed within this system and took advantage of the interconnectedness of the “gold-rush urban system” to travel and stay connected.

This dissertation looks to kanikau composed from gold-mining communities to help determine which sites were significant for Kānaka living in gold-mining regions and therefore, which sites were a part of different local networks. Like the kanikau composed for Charles Kahoeina, many kanikau included names and descriptions of those places and events associated with specific sites beyond the community from which the kanikau was composed. The sites included within kanikau reveal places in which Kānaka lived and traveled in the region outside of their gold-mining communities making up a local network. Chapter two discusses some of the significant sites of the Yreka-Jacksonville and Coloma-Sacramento local networks that are revealed by examining kanikau from the regions. Chapter two also discusses four characteristics of Kanaka Flat, Irish Creek, and Vernon: the formation, demographics, occupations and social life, and relationships and interactions with indigenous people of the region and others to better understand how Kānaka formed their communities and lived within the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California.

After mapping the communities and local networks, chapter three, “E Kolo Ana Nō Ke Ėwe I Ke Ėwe: Kanaka Families in California and Oregon,” examines how Kānaka formed connections to the ‘āina in western North America while reinforcing genealogical connections to

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the Hawaiian Islands through families. Genealogical connections to the ‘āina malihini of Oregon and California were the biggest difference between Kanaka relationships to the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands and the ‘āina of western North America. Families formed in gold-mining communities helped to establish new genealogical connections to the ‘āina in California and Oregon. Family networks connected Kānaka to different communities and different local networks, stretching their genealogical connections throughout the region. The ‘ōlelo noʻeau in the title of this chapter, “e kolo ana nō ke ēwe i ke ēwe” refers to Kānaka living in gold-mining regions who formed families and lived in communities with other Kānaka. The ‘ōlelo noʻeau is translated as “the rootlet will creep toward the rootlets” and means “of the same origin, kinfolk will seek and love each other,” or “kinfolk seek the society of other kinfolk and love them because of their common ancestors.”

Throughout the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California, the ēwe (rootlet, kin) sought out, formed families, and lived with one another and by doing so, their genealogies connected them to both the Hawaiian Islands and western North America. Some Kānaka also formed families with indigenous peoples of Oregon and California, forming a genealogical connection to the ‘āina of western North America through their spouse’s family.

Albert Hurtado explains that the family ties of indigenous peoples in California, “bound native people to each other, to their communities, and to the land. Family bonds defined social, political, and economic relationships in native cultures and were of paramount importance to Indian personal and corporate life.”

Kānaka who married and formed families with indigenous peoples in California may have recognized and valued these family connections to

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104 Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier, 14.
the land and used marriage and kinship ties to tap into these connections. Hurtado adds that marriage facilitated new family links for indigenous peoples since “men had to look for eligible wives outside their tribelet, and women had to leave their home communities when married.”

Based on these practices, indigenous peoples who married Kanaka Hawai‘i men and women would have seen these unions as beneficial by forming new kinship links. Although this dissertation focuses on the familial relationships formed between American Indians and Kānaka, it should not be misinterpreted as the only type of relationship and interaction that took place. Interactions varied based on the location, people involved, and situation, and at times, these interactions were violent, such as the participation of Kānaka in U.S. wars against American Indians or deathly confrontations stemming from individual conflicts. Unlike violent encounters however, marriages offer an arena to explore how these relationships helped to connect Kānaka to the ‘āina malihini through family and community networks.

Chapter four, “Linking Ka ‘Āina Malihini to the Hawaiian Islands,” examines how Kānaka living in gold-mining communities outside of their ancestral homeland maintained connections to the Hawaiian Islands. It looks at Kanaka cultural practices that served to extend relationships with akua, kūpuna, and the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands to western North America. These efforts, however, also served to remind Kānaka of the differences between the

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105 Momilani Naughton states that for Kānaka working for Hudson’s Bay Company and living in Kanaka Village outside of Fort Vancouver, “there was a significant number of marriages between Hawaiian men and Indian women. Most of the tribes these Hawaiians married into were close to the forts where they were employed.” Naughton adds that, “it appears that there was a certain amount of prestige involved in Indian women marrying Hawaiians” since “several Hawaiians even married chief or sub-chief’s daughters.” Naughton, “Hawaiians in the Fur Trade,” 30, 32.

106 Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier, 18.

107 A man named “Kanaka Frank” living in Cottonwood, California, was reported as fighting “with Captain Goodall in his fight with the Modocs in 1851-52.” One example of a deadly conflict was the shooting and killing of a Kanaka named W.B. Kalaua by an American Indian who thought Kalaua was sleeping with his wife in Yuba County, California. In another violent confrontation in Oregon, a Kanaka named W. Kauloa was stabbed by some American Indians. “Here and There,” The Democratic Times, January 9, 1890; Noenoe Silva, “Toward Hawaiian-American Indian Diplomacy and Solidarity: An Update on Jodi Byrd’s ‘Satisfied with Stones’ in The Transit of Empire” (paper presented at the annual conference of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, Austin, TX, May 31, 2014); Wm. E. K., “Kanaka Ki Ia I Ka Pu Ma Kalifonia,” Ka Hae Hawaii, July 3, 1861; G.B. Kahanano, “No Ka Huakai-hele Mai Wasinetona Teritoria A Oregona,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 15, 1865.
‘āina of western North America and the Hawaiian Islands. It also examines how communication and remaining under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom helped Kānaka maintain connections with their one hānau.

Chapter five, “Challenges from American Westward Encroachment,” looks at how Kānaka who were forming relationships with the ‘āina of Oregon and California were increasingly challenged by the United States through the Americanization of the West. Specifically, this chapter looks at how disease, laws, and U.S. census records worked to dismantle Kanaka networks and communities through depopulation, discrimination, and erasing the presence of Kānaka from the U.S. archival record. Based on these factors, it is clear that the United States’ vision of the land of the American West did not include Kānaka Hawai‘i. This concept came in direct conflict with Kanaka concepts of ‘āina that saw the gold-mining region as an extension of the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands that Kānaka could travel back and forth to on the ocean that connected their one hānau to western North America, to ka ‘āina piaʻalewa i ke kai.

This dissertation emphasizes Kanaka Hawai‘i writings and methods of recording history to counter histories that have ignored Hawaiian-language sources and Kanaka chroniclers of history. Noenoe Silva states that, “there has survived a persistent and damaging notion that Kānaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) did not establish an intellectual print-tradition in their native language.” In reality, Kānaka wrote and published “moʻolelo (narratives, including history and literature), geographies, biographies, and mele (poetic works)” as well as political debates in Hawaiian-language newspapers, “books, political pamphlets, government documents, legal treatises and decisions, sheet music, and so on.”¹⁰⁸ Noelani Arista writes that histories of the Hawaiian Islands “written by Euro-Americans have been valued, maintained, and recognized as

authoritative over two centuries,” while “histories told and penned by Hawaiians themselves have been marginalized by the main stream of academia.” Arista adds that although “a handful of historians and anthropologists have drawn on Hawaiian language sources in their work, they have largely relied upon a small pool of previously translated Hawaiian language materials that are available, leading to what Puakea Nogelmeier called ‘a discourse of sufficiency,’” and ignoring the vast amount of writings published by Kānaka in newspapers and elsewhere.109

Additionally, Silva argues that, “like other colonial myths, the notion of Hawaiians as unintellectual is directly connected to and made to seem credible by and through colonial policies and historiography. This historical lack of recognition can be understood as an extension of the project of erasing or diminishing Natives as actors in our own history and chroniclers of our own history.”110 Kānaka living in gold-mining communities were both actors in and chroniclers of their own histories by writing about their experiences of an expanding Kanaka world to Hawaiian-language newspapers. This dissertation highlights and interprets these sources to provide a better understanding of how Kānaka living in gold-mining communities conceptualized their spaces. Noelani Arista discusses the importance of cultural literacy when interpreting historical sources. Arista employs a technique that she explains “comes from the oral tradition itself” by researching and compiling multiple meanings of phrases and concepts in order to be able to “perceive a larger conversation in a way that Hawaiian intellectuals participating in an oral historical tradition would have heard it.”111 The lines of

110 Silva, “Nā Hulu Kupuna,” 43.
111 Arista employs what she terms “kaona consciousness,” a methodology which “emphasizes polysemy, a mode of comparative multiplicity indigenous to Hawaiian and many other Polynesian languages,” by “stacking and building” the various meanings of words, phrases, and concepts used over time to interpret historical sources. Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure,” 7, 25-30; Noelani Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as
kanikau discussed throughout this dissertation can be interpreted in numerous ways, including as examples of knowledge of and connections with land tied to relationships and experiences. Since they were composed outside of the Hawaiian Islands, interpretation of these kanikau also requires knowledge of the spaces and times they were written from.

Although there are numerous kanikau and other writings composed by Kānaka living in gold-mining communities and published in Hawaiian-language newspapers, these sources often only provide glimpses into the composers’ lives and experiences. Additionally, many of their meanings are hidden without knowledge of the places and time they were writing about. This project, then, required extensive research at various sites. My research journey began in Honolulu where I went through microfilm of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa and conducted word searches in online Hawaiian-language newspaper databases, compiling newspaper articles written from and about Kānaka in gold-mining communities. While at the Hawai‘i State Archives, I attempted to find records of any of these Kānaka whose names appeared in the newspapers, but more often than not was unable to uncover more information. I then traveled to Oregon and California where I could visit the sites Kānaka traveled and lived while also researching in various archives. These travels took me to archives in Portland, Eugene, and Medford in Oregon, and Yreka, Chico, Oroville, Sacramento, Placerville, Berkeley, and San Francisco in California, and at each of these repositories I met helpful, friendly, and knowledgeable archivists and volunteers. Each site had different information on my research topic, often specific to the town or county where they were located. I also conducted research of census records, studying the records of specific communities and counties, as well as conducting searches in online databases for specific people. While on this research journey, it was also important that I travel

to the sites where Kānaka lived, traveled, worked, and mined for gold such as Kanaka Flat, the Rogue River, the Klamath River, Vernon, Coloma, and Cherokee Flat. Visiting, walking around, and exploring these sites helped me develop a better understanding of the environment Kānaka lived in and traveled. Still, I found that the more research I conducted, the more I learned, and the more sources I found, there were only glimmers of information on any one person, place, or event, even though it was clear that their stories spanned a large region and numerous gold-mining sites. Additionally, these sources often contradicted one another, making it difficult to determine which information was accurate. Confronting these challenges required me to study and compare all of these various types of sources and research while also conceding that this is far from a complete or conclusive study, but rather one approach to and one part of the history of Kanaka gold-mining communities.

Although I am not Kanaka Hawai‘i, I am tangentially connected to this story since my ancestors also traveled to the California gold mines to work and mine for gold in the late-nineteenth century in the same regions Kānaka lived and mined for gold. My ancestors remained in western North America, living in California and Oregon, where I was born and raised. Silva states that, “the untruths and half-truths of history have harmed the descendants of the colonizer along with the colonized, although in different ways.”112 It is important that, as a descendent of White Americans who migrated to gold-mining regions and as someone from Oregon studying Hawaiian-U.S. History, I work to uncover these “untruths” and “half-truths” that have empowered Euro-Americans and relied on Euro-American sources, voices, and perspectives, while ignoring those of Kānaka Hawai‘i.

The title of this dissertation comes from the title of a kanikau, “Make i ka Aina Paia Lewa i ke Kai” (Death in the land that people are carried back and forth to by the ocean),

112 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 4.
composed for Ellen Akahiakalohelani in Jacksonville, Oregon, and published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Not only does this kanikau include information on Akahiakalohelani and other Kanaka living in Jacksonville, it also can be interpreted as a map of the region, describing the places important to the Kanaka living there and displaying the intimate relationship they had started to form with the ‘āina malihini. This kanikau helped shape the routes of my research and as I became more familiar with the land the composers described, I was able to improve my understandings of the lines in the kanikau. Still, there is more to uncover. The complexities of kanikau combined with the multitudes of unknown (to me) California and Oregon place names included by the composers, make kanikau a difficult source to use, as not all of the information, stories, references, and meanings are immediately apparent.

Hawaiian language scholar Rubellite Kawena Johnson describes kanikau as a “dirge, lamentation, chant of mourning” and explains that it is a mele, “with the express purpose of celebrating those who have gone ‘i ke alo i ho‘i ‘ole mai,’ or, ‘on the pathway of no return.’” Johnson explains that the kanikau is “a poem in praise of the life of a person” and is “deeply involved with a person’s having lived, with his or her connection to others who may remember him or her in circumstances where they were raised together, went to school together, and in walks of life where the person was truly known.” Because the memories of these circumstances described in kanikau were connected to specific locations, composers included

114 Rubellite Kawena Johnson worked extensively with kanikau as director of Nā Kanikau Aloha o Hawai‘i, a project for the Committee for the Preservation and Study of Hawaiian Language, Art, and Culture. Johnson adds that kanikau can also be composed for “anyone who is leaving for a long time, or having left is perhaps never to return or to be seen again.” Rubellite Kawena Johnson, “Mourning Chants: Kanikau,” Maui Historical Society, http://www.mauimuseum.org/chants.htm; Rubellite Kawena Johnson, “The Kanikau as Nineteenth-Century Hawaiian Biography,” *Center for Biographical Research: Brown Bag Biography* (November 5, 1998): 1.
115 Johnson, “Mourning Chants: Kanikau.”
names of places, wind, rain, ocean channels, and surf. Larry Kimura explains that the use of place names in Kanaka verbal arts are, “used as displays of wit to express a great deal in a few words, and they are extremely common in Hawaiian poetry and traditional sayings.” Kimura goes on to explain that, “place names are like esteemed grandparents linking people to their home, personal and past, and their history.”

Noelani Arista explains that the use of place names can sometimes evoke more meanings such as “the pain of loss and the joy of love.” This use of place names, words, and phrases containing multiple, layered meanings, or kaona, is often found in kanikau. Mary Kawena Pukui describes kaona as an “inner meaning” that “was sometimes so veiled that only the people to whom the chant belonged understood it, and sometimes so obvious that anyone who knew the figurative speech of old Hawaii could see it very plainly.” Pukui continues that kaona could refer to “the statement made, what is meant” or “to whom it refers, who is meant.” Arista describes kaona as, “metaphoric, allegorical, or symbolic meaning” or “double, multiple, or hidden meanings” employed as veiled messages in mele and kanikau “directed at a particular audience of listeners.” In addition to kaona, place names, and memories of the person or time spent with the person for whom the kanikau was composed, kanikau also include information on genealogy, relationships, accomplishments, work, hobbies, and events in both Hawaiian and world history.

118 Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning,” 666.
Kānaka Hawai‘i composed and recited kanikau beside the coffin as a part of the funeral and grief process. Beginning in the 1800s, these “poetic funeral odes” were also published in Hawaiian-language newspapers. Noenoe Silva explains that kanikau were a prominent feature in Hawaiian-language newspapers and were “the first work of literature to be published in a newspaper.” Kanikau were composed and published by Kānaka throughout the Hawaiian Islands as well as by those living in gold-mining communities in Oregon and California. Kanikau composed by Kānaka living in gold-mining communities shared many characteristics with those composed in the Hawaiian Islands, while also incorporating the environment, experiences, and people of Oregon and California.

These kanikau about loss, expressing grief, and imbued with sadness simultaneously reveal various ways their composers had constructed new relationships and new spaces in gold-mining regions. Composers interwove feelings of grief, suffering, and hardship with descriptions of experiences and places that demonstrated intimate relationships to the ‘āina in California and Oregon and the complexities of living away from the Hawaiian Islands. Although Kānaka were creating families, communities, and local networks in a land that had been incorporated into Kanaka concepts of ‘āina, western North America lacked the genealogical connections of the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands, and residents were reminded of that absence with each death removed from the ‘āina of their iwi kūpuna.

Kānaka Hawai‘i constructed physical spaces for themselves to live in the gold-mining regions of ka ‘āina malihini by establishing communities and local networks. These communities helped Kānaka incorporate Oregon and California into concepts of ‘āina through the formation of community-based relationships tied to the land and shared experiences. Kanaka communities were located near or on the edges of other, previously established towns and were tied to specific resources, most often gold. Within their communities, Kānaka constructed homes, community buildings, and gardens, and fostered numerous types of relationships and interactions with the diverse populations of the region including family, work, neighborly, social, economic, and religious relationships. The ways their communities were linked to these relationships, shared experiences, the landscape, and the region’s resources can be seen in kanikau. The place names included in these kanikau also reveal that Kanaka settlements were not isolated sites, as they appear on maps, but as communities that existed within an interconnected local network with other communities, towns, and gold-mining sites.

This chapter looks at how two local networks, the Yreka-Jacksonville local network and the Coloma-Sacramento local network, are described in kanikau as examples of how Kānaka living in the gold-mining regions experienced and defined their spaces and communities and expressed an intimate relationship with the ‘āina. This chapter also looks at three Kanaka communities, Kanaka Flat in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network and Irish Creek and Vernon in the Coloma-Sacramento local network, as case studies of how Kānaka constructed and lived within their communities. By studying the formation, demographics, occupations and social
lives, and the relationships and interactions with American Indians and others within each of these communities, this chapter uncovers what life was like for Kānaka Hawai‘i living in the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California as they formed an intimate relationship with the ‘āina.

The Yreka-Jacksonville Local Network

The sites and communities located in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network were in the territories of Shasta, Applegate River, and Takelma-speaking peoples, who traded, hunted, fished, and gathered various berries, plant roots, and acorns throughout the region.¹ Fur traders, gold miners, and immigrants moved into their land bringing diseases, causing destruction to land and food sources, and instigating violent encounters, including the Rogue River War (1855-1856) in southern Oregon, leading to the forced removal of Shasta, Applegate River, Takelma-speaking and other indigenous peoples to reservations.² At the time these conflicts between White immigrants and indigenous peoples were taking place, Kānaka Hawai‘i moved to this region to mine for gold and establish communities. Kānaka lived, traveled, and mined for gold throughout the territories of Shasta, Applegate River, and Takelma-speaking peoples along the Oregon-California border region. The Yreka-Jacksonville local network existed within these various borders and territories where Kānaka also established their own spaces.

² Douthit, Uncertain Encounters, 2, 18, 133, 147; Ruby, Brown, and Collins, A Guide to the Indian Tribes of the Pacific Northwest, 272, 338-342;
Sites within the Yreka-Jacksonville local network appear in the kanikau composed by Juliana Kahoinea for Ellen Akahiakalohelani (Akahi) in 1863. She describes the journey of nā hoa hele (traveling companions) beginning in the southern part of the region and traveling north along rivers and passing by towns and gold-mining sites.

He uwe helu mai na hoa luhi, A wailing call of grief and love from the companions who have labored together,

Aloha ino no ko’u hoa pili, What a pity my dear friend,
Na hoa hele o Shasta River, The traveling companions of Shasta River,
Na hoa huikau o Yreka, The companions in the crowded town of Yreka,

Ka piina ikiiki o Long Gulch, The stifling ascent of Long Gulch,
Pau ka ike ana la e ka hoa luhi Knowing and experiencing these things by the companions who have labored together is finished

Ua nalo oe, ua nalowale, You have vanished, gone from sight,
Ua pau ka pili ana me makou, Your relationship with us has ended,
O ka pau paha ia, a laa la, Perhaps it is finished, serves you right,
    Auwe! Auwe! Aloha ino.3 Alas! Alas! What a pity.

In this verse, Kahoinea, Akahi, and others are beginning their journey in northern California in the busy trading town of Yreka. Yreka had a population of one thousand a few months after the city was founded in 1851, and the population grew every time miners visited.4 Miners traveled to Yreka for different reasons, including banking, using the post office, and trading. Irish German American John M. Mickey, who traveled from Iowa to mine for gold in California, wrote in 1855 that he estimated over five thousand people were in Yreka when he was there one Sunday, “a day when the miners do all their trading.”5 Kahoinea then describes passing Long Gulch, a mining camp north of Yreka near Hawkinsville, as well as the climb to reach the mining

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3 Translation of this kanikau is my own with assistance from Noelani Arista and Holly Coleman. Kahoinea, Kahoinea, Maintop, Kaauwaeaina, and Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka Nuupea Kuokuoa, November 28, 1863.


5 John M. Mickey, Reminiscences, June 5 1855, MS175, Sothern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.
site. Kānaka Hawaiʻi traveled to Yreka, lived in the region, and mined in the nearby mines such as Long Gulch by 1852. To describe the climb to Long Gulch, Kahoinea uses the word *ikiiki*, meaning, “stifling heat and humidity; acute discomfort, pain, grief, suffering,” which illustrates the difficulty of the trip, the strenuous labor of gold mining, as well as the pain she felt for the loss of Akahi.⁶

Kahoinea and her hoa hele continue north on their journey along the Shasta River until it runs into the Klamath River.

He uhane he aloha no Akahi, A song of lament and love for Akahi,
O ka la hololio ua hiki mai, The day for riding horses has arrived,
Kiei o ka wai o Kalaneth, Peering at the Klamath River,
Na pua hoonani o ka nahele, The beautifying flowers of the forest,
Haiamu ana i na pali. Gathering in the cliffs,
O ka luna ae i Cottonwood, Above Cottonwood,
Ka palena aina o Kalaponi, The land boundary of California,
Ka iho’na hoolai o ka wai Hu, The gushing spring water peacefully descends,
Hoomaha na lio i ka wai Piipii, The horses rest in the bubbling water,
        Auwe!  Auwe!  Aloha ino.⁷

The hoa hele are getting closer to Oregon as they traverse the mountains by horseback.

Kahoinea refers to the flowers adorning the cliffs, but is also referring to the Kānaka Hawaiʻi living and working in the cliffs above Cottonwood looking down on the Klamath River since the word *pua* means both “flower, blossom” and “progeny, child, descendant, offspring.”

Cottonwood (also known as Henley), seventeen miles north of Yreka, had multiple stores and a

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saloon by 1854 to service the gold miners in the area. Kānaka often visited the town and by 1870, there was a population of sixteen Kānaka living in Cottonwood.8

Kānaka also mined for gold and lived along the Klamath River. One Kanaka Hawai‘i community on the Klamath River was named Honolulu, a name that was said to have been chosen by Kānaka before the town was renamed Gottville in 1887.9 Marjorie O’Harra’s 1967 interview with Klamath River resident Joe Freshour, stated that “Gottville was founded near the placer mines in 1857” and “there were 3,000 people there then.” In reference to the number of Kānaka living on the Klamath River, Freshour said, “there were maybe a hundred or so scattered along the creeks where they worked the placer mines. They operated the Kanaka Mine out there on Virginia Bar until about 1885.”10 Through listing these sites significant to the Kanaka Hawai‘i population and by connecting these sites to personal experiences, Kahoinea demonstrated her knowledge of the region. She also expressed great distress for the passing of her hoa hele, Akahi.

In her final verse, Kahoinea and the traveling companions reach southern Oregon and the Kanaka gold-mining community Kanaka Flat.

Ko kino Wailua e maalo nei, Your spirit passes through,
Kiei ka uhane i Genuine, The spirit peers at Genuine,
Hokai ka noho i Jacksonville, Living in Jacksonville is disorderly,
Na pali hee hau i kanaka o Flat, The snow-sliding cliffs in Kanaka Flat,
E haliu nei i ka Hikina, Turn to the east,

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8 Throughout the 1860s, Daniela Masona sent multiple letters to Hawaiian-language newspapers from Cottonwood. Some examples include: Daniela Mason, “Leta No Kaleponi Mai,” Ke Au Okoa, July 24, 1865; Daniel Mason, “Ke Kino Wailua O Ka Mea I Aloha Nui Ia. A Me Ke Kuini Ema Lani O Ke Aupuni Hawaii,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 4, 1865; Daniela Masona, “Ka Make Weliweliana O Hale Kalaluhi Ma Bill Hill County of Cottonwood, Kaleponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 10, 1866; History of Siskiyou County, California, 39; U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Cottonwood, Siskiyou County, California; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 344.

9 The post office was later named Klamath River in 1934 because “some very influential fishermen disliked the name Gottville on their outgoing mail.” Despite the name changes to the town and post office, the school kept the name, Honolulu School. Elsie Freeman DeAvilla and Sharon Ninteman Miller, “Honolulu School,” The Siskiyou Pioneer in Folklore, Fact and Fiction and Yearbook 6, no. 2 (1889): 2.

10 Today, the Kanaka Cemetery marks the location where Honolulu (Gottville) used to be on the Klamath River. Marjorie O’Harra, “The Kanakas And the Klamath,” Medford Mail Tribune, March 22, 1967.
In this verse, Kahoinea refers to the traveling spirit of Akahi leaving and the end of Akahi’s experiences in the region. Kahoinea describes Jacksonville similarly to Yreka, referring to the crowds of people that congregated in the town. Kanaka Flat was located about one mile outside of Jacksonville and was the site of Kahoinea’s and Akahi’s homes. Kahoinea associates Kanaka Flat with sliding on snow in the cliffs or steep hills near Kanaka Flat. Although the geographical landscape of Kanaka Flat is void of cliffs, this line may be referring to the region southwest of Jacksonville or the nearby canyon-like forks of Jackson Creek. It also may describe the difficulties and obstacles of the labor and life in the area in the cold snow since the word *pali* also means “obstacle, difficulty,” complementing the line in a previous verse describing Long Gulch and the stifling, strenuous labor of gold mining in the heat, and emphasizing that the pain and suffering of living and working in the gold-mining region were year-round difficulties. By stating at the end of this verse that the knowing and experiencing of cold snow is over for Akahi, Kahoinea is implying that the struggles and difficulties of living and working in the region are over for her friend. Kahoinea also mentions nearby gold-mining sites Rogue River, which flows west from the Cascade Range to the Pacific Ocean, and Gold Hill located about twelve miles north of Jacksonville, bordering the Rogue River, and a site where a “remarkable deposit of gold” was discovered. Within this verse, Kahoinea also refers to the temporary homes that

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12 The translation of the line “na pali hee hau i kanaka o Flat” was assisted by David Chappell, Chelsea Rose, and geologist Jad D’Allura.
13 Since Kahoinea’s lines suggest Gold Hill is to the east, not the north of Kanaka Flat, she may be referring to another site. *History of Southern Oregon, Comprising Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties, Compiled from the Most Authentic Sources* (Portland, Oregon: A.G. Walling, 1884), 378.
move from place to place, the homes of the wandering traveler that move throughout this region to the various gold-mining sites, emphasizing the mobility of Kānaka as well as the lack of a rooted home and genealogical connection to the land, despite their homes in communities like Kanaka Flat.

While primarily a lament for her friend, Kahoinea’s stanzas can be studied as a map of the Yreka-Jacksonville local network that describes the journey taken by many Kānaka who traveled between the trading hub of Yreka and its neighboring mines to the Kanaka community of Kanaka Flat while also mentioning locations of Kanaka communities and places frequented by Kānaka such as the Klamath River, Cottonwood, and the Rogue River. By listing place names, describing their characteristics, and connecting experiences to them, Kahoinea illustrates the intimate relationship she and her hoa hele had to the ʻāina in Oregon and California. The following section looks at Kanaka Flat, one of the more prominent Kanaka communities in the region, as a case study of Kanaka Hawaiʻi gold-mining communities in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network.

The Formation of Kanaka Flat

The region along the Rogue and Klamath Rivers in southern Oregon and northern California became a popular location for miners after gold was discovered in the 1850s. Jacksonville, in the southwestern corner of the state of Oregon, quickly became a town after the discovery of gold at Rich Gulch in December 1851. Several months later, the first log cabin was built and the gridlines of the town were laid out. For the next few decades, Jacksonville “was the most important community in Southern Oregon.” By the late 1850s, Kānaka Hawaiʻi were

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gold mining in the Jacksonville region and living in communities outside of the town. Kanaka Flat was one of the more prominent communities and was home to Kanaka families, Kanaka gold miners, and others. Kanaka Flat, described by archaeologist Chelsea Rose as a “multi-ethnic ‘suburb’ of Jacksonville,” was located at the forks of Jackson Creek about one mile southwest of Jacksonville.

Although it is not known who was first to give Kanaka Flat its name, it was the name used by both Kānaka and non-Kānaka as early as the 1860s. The exact date of the first Kanaka Hawai‘i settler and the establishment of Kanaka Flat as a community are also unknown.

However, Daniela Masona states that he and other Kānaka moved to Kanaka Flat in 1857 in a letter he wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and refers to the community as “Kanaka.” In his letter, Mason, “Ka Noho Ana O Na Kanaka Ma Eurika, Cal,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 28, 1863; Marriage Certificates, James Alapai and Bodi, May 1, 1858, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; Marriage Certificates, John Kehi and Julia, January 6, 1859, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; Marriage Certificates, George Maio and Susan, October 7, 1861, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; Kahointa, Kahoina, Maintop, Kauwaeaina, and Issaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 28, 1863; U.S. Census Bureau, 1860 and 1870, Jackson County, Oregon; “The Desire for Citizenship,” *Southern Oregon Heritage Today* 7, no. 3 (Summer 2005); 19; Chelsea E. Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night’: Archaeology, History, and the Myth of The Mining Camp Kanaka Flat, Oregon” (MA thesis, Sonoma State University, 2009), 68.

In addition to Kanaka Flat, another Kanaka community outside of Jacksonville was Sterlingville, approximately nine miles south of Jacksonville. Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 38.

Ibid., 48, 90.

Chelsea Rose states that the earliest document using the term “Kanaka Flat” is from 1860. A variety of other sources show the use of the name, “Kanaka Flat,” throughout the 1860s. These sources include Oregon newspapers, government documents, and letters. Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 111; Vertical File: Kanaka Flat, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; W.H.S. Hyde to Lindsay Applegate, January 6, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
Mason describes traveling from Yreka to Jacksonville where he and other Kānaka constructed homes at “Kanaka,” a “kula palalahaha” (wide open country). Another variation of the name, “Kanaka o Flat,” was used by Juliana Kahoinea in her kanikau for Akahiakalohelani. Over time, these variations conformed to the name Kanaka Flat, showing that the name had become normalized and accepted by Kānaka and other regional residents.

The name Kanaka Flat identifies the community as a Kanaka community in the United States through the use of both Hawaiian and English words while also distinguishing the community from the spaces surrounding it. The use of the word Kanaka in the name identifies the population as distinct from Jacksonville’s population, separating the two communities and suggesting that Kānaka established Kanaka Flat because they were outsiders to Jacksonville and pushed to the outskirts of the town. It also implies a unified form of identification, either by the Kanaka residents who identified themselves as a distinct group based on their shared homeland, culture, and language, or it was a form of identification imposed on the community by non-Kānaka in the region who defined the community only by the ethnic background of its residents.

The use of the word Flat in the name distinguishes the community based on its geographic characteristic, a flat landscape in the middle of a hilly region outside of Jacksonville. It may also refer to the Hawaiian word kula which means both “plain, field, open country” and “gold,” describing the landscape and resources of the community.

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19 Although Mason states that he and others were living at “Kanaka, Kaona County” in 1857, it is not clear if they used that name to refer to the place as early as 1857 since this letter was written in 1862. It is also unclear what “Kaona County” refers to. It is perhaps the same as Jackson County since Mason also says that Jacksonville is in Jackson County and, in one place, refers to Jacksonville as “Jacksonville, Kaona.” “Kaona” could also be defining the communities as towns (one of the definitions of the word). Mason, “Ka Noho Ana O Na Kanaka Ma Eurika, Cal,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, February 28, 1863.


21 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 178.
In the 1870 kanikau composed for Charles B. Kahoinea, Juliana Kahoinea and Daniela Masona reference and describe Kanaka Flat.22 Their descriptions both contrast and complement each other. Juliana Kahoinea mentions Kanaka Flat in the line, “Kuu kane mai ka la welawela o kanaka Flat” (My dear husband from the hot sun of Kanaka Flat), describing the heat of the region and referencing her love for her husband since wela means both “hot, burned; heat, temperature” and “lust, passion; to feel such.”23 Masona emphasized cold weather and the winter landscape in his line, “Na pali hee hau i Kanaka Flat” (The snow-sliding cliffs in Kanaka Flat). Kahoinea’s and Masona’s lines describing the heat and cold in Kanaka Flat illustrate the drastic changes in temperature at Kanaka Flat throughout the seasons that Kānaka experienced as long-term residents. It also shows how Juliana Kahoinea and Masona connected their relationships to Charles Kahoinea to place, inscribing those relationships, feelings, and experiences to Kanaka Flat.24

In addition to the flat landscape and nearby gold mines, Kanaka Flat consisted of houses and community buildings. The structures were built by Kanaka residents who worked together to construct large and small hale kua (log houses). In a letter to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, Daniela Masona implies that this type of building, unlike hale papa (wood board houses), required a communal work effort in order to complete the structure in the desired time frame. This cooperative construction project shows that Kānaka moved to the site and established Kanaka

23 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 383.
24 Masona’s line is similar to a line composed by Juliana Kahoinea in her 1863 kanikau for Akahi: “Na pali hee hau i kanaka o Flat” (The snow-sliding cliffs in Kanaka Flat). Often lines used by one composer in a kanikau are repeated or referenced by other composers. This repeated line shows a consistency in how the characteristics and experiences attributed to Kanaka Flat were described. It also suggests that there was a common knowledge of kanikau compositions and patterns throughout the gold-mining region. Kahoinea, Kalua, and Masona, “Ka Make Ana O C.B. Kahoinea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, May 14, 1870; Kahoinea, Kahoinea, Maintop, Kaawaeaina, and Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 28, 1863.
Flat as a collective group prepared to help one another for the betterment of the community.25 This style of buildings of Kanaka Flat, hale kua, were reflective of the style of the earliest recorded building in Jacksonville. However, the majority of the houses in Jacksonville were “box type” buildings, the hale papa style Masona referenced, made of “fir boards one foot wide by sixteen feet long and one inch thick” that were “placed together upright and edge to edge then covered on the outside with rough clapboards.”26 Kanaka Flat residents may have built log houses rather than wood board houses because they were limited in the resources available to them. The result would also visually distinguish the community from Jacksonville’s structures. However, the construction of log houses provided Kanaka Flat residents with stable, permanent homes that could last a long period of time. Compared to temporary gold-mining camps that moved throughout the region, Kanaka Flat was a permanent community for Kānaka and their families. It was also a community visited by non-residents.

In addition to houses, Kanaka Flat also had a saloon and dance hall that both residents and non-residents frequented. Chelsea Rose describes the dance hall, which was in use by 1862, as “a long building with a fireplace at each end. Benches were arranged around one of the fireplaces,” and patrons drank, danced, dealt Monte, and played poker.27 Although residents of Kanaka Flat may have relied on nearby Jacksonville for provisions, their community was a site for entertainment and social activity for residents and visitors. Kānaka had created homes for themselves within this gold-mining region while also constructing a space that encouraged interaction with indigenous, American, and foreign populations.

27 Although Kanaka Flat did not have a designated church, services were sometimes held in a log cabin or residents went to church in Jacksonville. Rose, “A Sound of Revelry By Night,” 99-103.
Kanaka Flat Demographics

By the 1860 census, thirty-four Kānaka (including two children born in California and Oregon) lived in the Jacksonville Precinct (which included Kanaka Flat). But there may have been more Kānaka that called Kanaka Flat home who were not counted in the census. As Rose points out, some houses were listed as unoccupied on the census, possibly, “due to the fact that Census data was gathered in July, a dry time of the year when many placer mines were not active, and seasonal miners were employed elsewhere.” Rose adds that “it is unclear how accurate early [census] records are, since women or minorities were commonly under-enumerated or altogether ignored.” Because of this and the likely possibility that the census did not count all Kanaka residents, the census information available should be viewed as a possible sample of the demographics of Kanaka Flat around 1860.

Similarly, the census report on the ages of Kānaka living in Kanaka Flat should be viewed as an approximation. Twenty-six of the Kānaka in the Jacksonville precinct were men, ranging in age from twenty to fifty-eight (excluding the one male child who was three years old), with an average age of thirty-four. Aside from the one female child (who was one year old), there were six adult Kanaka women living in the Jacksonville precinct, ranging from twenty-four to forty years old, with an average age of thirty-one years old. It was not rare for women to live in gold-mining communities or migrate to western North America as part of the gold rush, but men did make up the vast majority of the gold-mining and gold-rush population. In Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush, Susan Lee Johnson discusses how these

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28 Perhaps due to its close proximity to Jacksonville, Kanaka Flat was not included as a township in the 1860 Jackson County census. For this dissertation, the census numbers of Kānaka in Jacksonville will be viewed as an approximation of the population of Kanaka Flat in 1860. U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Jacksonville, Jackson County, Oregon.
29 Rose, “A Sound of Revelry By Night,” 56, 94.
imbalanced ratios made it impractical to maintain labor divisions that existed in the homelands of miners concerning “life-sustaining and life-enhancing tasks such as procuring provisions, preparing meals, and providing companionship,” so “Gold Rush participants devised new ways to provide for their needs and wants.” In Kanaka Flat, residents may have provided for their needs by forming families with other Kānaka, living in multi-adult households, forming families with indigenous peoples of the region, and finding employment outside of gold mining.

Unlike the other nearby Kanaka populations in Sterlingville and Applegate where, according to the census, the only Kanaka residents were men working as miners, Kanaka Flat was a space for Kānaka to build and support families. Out of the thirteen Kanaka households listed in the Jacksonville Precinct in the 1860 Jackson County Census (which does not include any Kanaka American Indian families), six of the households consisted of men and women, five consisted of two or more men and no women, and two were single male occupancies. Out of the six households with both men and women, each consisted of one woman, one to three men, and some also included children. These multi-member households also reflect the necessity for gold-miners to share housing to divide labor roles at home as well as share the cost of living. Kānaka living together and forming families together shared the burden of working and maintaining a home in a gold-mining community while also providing comfort and companionship in the ‘āina malihini.

The population of Kānaka in Kanaka Flat may have fluctuated throughout the 1860s, but based on three lists sent to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa from two visitors to the area and James A. Alapai,

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32 It is possible that some of these household numbers were American Indians that were incorrectly labeled by the census enumerator as Kanaka. U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Jacksonville, Jackson County, Oregon.
a resident of Kanaka Flat, the Kanaka population decreased by the end of the decade. In 1863, thirty-seven Kānaka were reported living in Jacksonville. This included thirty-one men, five women, and one boy. In 1866, twenty-five Kanaka men and four Kanaka women, making a total of twenty-nine Kānaka, were reported living in Jacksonville. In 1868, only thirteen Kānaka were reported in Jacksonville, including nine men, two women, and two children. Although the numbers grew smaller, the Kanaka community at Jacksonville continued to be a home for Kanaka families.

Kānaka living together in Kanaka Flat came to Oregon from different parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Some came from different islands, and some came from different land divisions on the same island. For instance, in 1868, of the eleven Kānaka living in Kanaka Flat with birthplaces in the Hawaiian Islands, seven were from Maui and four were from the island of Hawai‘i. Six of the Maui Kānaka were from the moku (district) Lahaina on the west side of Maui and one was from Kaumakani, Kipahulu, on the east side of Maui. One of the Kānaka from Lahaina was from Pu‘unoua and three were from Moali‘i. The Kānaka from Hawai‘i were from three different moku: Kohala, Kona, and Hilo. Two of these Kānaka’s one hānau were in Kona: Kailua in north Kona and Kahalu‘u in south Kona. One Kanaka was from north Kohala and another was from the other side of the island in Waipunalei, Hilo. Kānaka from different land divisions and from different islands came together to create a single community at Kanaka Flat. Their shared culture, language, identity, and search for gold-mining opportunities brought these diverse Kānaka together to establish and define a new space for Kānaka in Oregon.

33 The name used in each of these lists was “Jacksonville” rather than “Kanaka Flat.” Although a majority of the Kānaka included in the lists probably resided in Kanaka Flat, some may have lived in Jacksonville or elsewhere nearby.
35 This section relies on information provided by J.A. Alapai, a resident of Kanaka Flat, in his list of Kānaka and their birthplaces published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. “Mai Oregona Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 29, 1868.
Kānaka that moved to Kanaka Flat in the mid- to late-1800s for gold mining took various routes to get there. Some arrived at the Oregon-California border by heading south after working for the Hudson’s Bay Company, and some reached Kanaka Flat after heading north from the gold mines in California. One Kanaka who lived in Kanaka Flat in the 1860s, Ellen Akahiakalohelani, for whom the kanikau discussed at the beginning of this section was composed, was born in Helekamahine, Kula, Puna, Hawai‘i, in 1817, and moved to western North America when she sailed from the Hawaiian Islands to Vancouver on the Columbia River with her husband, Alapai, in 1848 or possibly earlier. In the introduction to her kanikau published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, D.M. Isaia wrote that Alapai left Akahi in Vancouver where she remained for one year before she remarried to M. Kaauwaeaina in August 1849. Isaia did not explain why Akahi and Alapai went to Oregon originally or where Alapai went after leaving Vancouver. Alapai may have left for the gold fields of California or to go on a fur-trapping expedition as an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company. While Alapai was gone, Akahi remained for at least one year in Vancouver, the site of Kanaka Village, where Kānaka had been living as employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company since the early 1800s.

By 1851, Akahi had left Vancouver and her divorce from Alapai was finalized. This divorce was legislated by Hawaiian laws, showing that Kānaka living in Oregon and California like Akahi and Alapai remained under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian government. In a May 22, 1851 letter to Keoni Ana, the Kuhina Nui and Minister of the Interior in the Hawaiian Islands, O‘ahu Governor Kekuanaoa wrote:

Eia mai na dala o ke Aupuni he 20 no na mea oki i keia la, Alapai kane ka mea hoopii mai a o Akahi ka mea i oki ia he wahine aia ma Kaliponia nau e hai ma Ka Polunesia [sic].

Here is the money for the Government, 20 dollars, for a divorce this day. Alapai, husband, is the complainant, and Akahi is the one divorced, she is in California. You give notice in The Polynesian. 38

It was not until almost two years after Akahi had remarried and was living in California that Alapai filed for divorce. This could be due to the lack of funds needed to pay for the divorce, or it could be that when Alapai left Akahi in Vancouver, their intention had not been to divorce, but after remaining in Vancouver without Alapai for a year, Akahi had made the decision to marry again. Their divorce, like others’ in the Hawaiian Islands, was published in the newspaper The Polynesian showing that their marriage and relationship, including the end to their marriage, was tied to the Hawaiian Islands. By 1863, Akahi, Kaauwaeaina, and Alapai were all living in Kanaka Flat. 39 The locations of Akahi’s marriages to Alapai in the Hawaiian Islands and to Kaauwaeaina in western North America tied Akahi to both regions. Living in Kanaka Flat with both men served as a constant reminder of her connections to her homeland and to Oregon and California. Akahi and Alapai’s journey to western North America first took them to Fort Vancouver then to the greater region including California before they both ended up in Kanaka Flat. Other Kānaka similarly settled in Kanaka Flat after first arriving in Vancouver, and others moved to Kanaka Flat after traveling around the region, working on trade ships, or mining for gold in California.

38 Translation by E.H. Hart. M. Kekuanaoa to Keoni Ana, May 22, 1851, Letter, Interior Department, Miscellaneous, Box 144, May 1851, Hawai‘i State Archive, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
39 Akahi, Alapai, and Kaauwaeaina were all included in Kulika Opio’s list of Kānaka Hawai‘i living in Jacksonville in 1863. Kahoinea, Kahoinea, Maintop, Kaauwaeaina, and Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 28, 1863; T.W. Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863.
Occupations and Social Life in Kanaka Flat

Most Kānaka living in Kanaka Flat were gold miners. Out of the thirty-two Kānaka adults listed as residents in the Jacksonville precinct on the 1860 census, twenty-four were miners. Six of the eight Kānaka not listed as miners were women who did not have an occupation listed, either because they did work at home or because the census enumerator did not find it important or necessary to write down their occupation. The other two Kānaka, F. Roman and Daniela Masona, were listed as clothes washers. Although gold mining was the most common occupation for Kānaka living in Kanaka Flat, some, like Roman and Masona, found other employment opportunities, especially towards the end of the nineteenth century as gold mining became less productive in the area.

Some Kānaka found employment working for White residents. Emil Britt, son of renowned photographer Peter Britt, hired “Kanaka George” to dig holes and a ditch for his vineyard on his ranch near Jacksonville in 1889. This was temporary or seasonal work, meaning that George had to piece together multiple jobs, possibly leading him to travel throughout the region to find other forms of employment throughout the year as other Kānaka did. Kānaka Hawai‘i like Roman, Masona, and George may have looked for these alternative forms of employment because they found gold mining was not a sustainable form of income or because they sought new ways to participate and become successful in the gold-rush economy. Susan Lee Johnson explains that “washing and mending clothes was an endless preoccupation for miners.” Although miners did their own laundry in mining camps, an activity enjoyed by most,
“many jumped at the chance to turn over the care of personal belongings to someone else.” Kanaka clothes washers Roman and Masona took advantage of this promising form of employment.

In addition to gold mining and finding employment, Kānaka also sought out various forms of entertainment and leisure activities in Kanaka Flat, including gambling and visits to breweries, saloons, and dance halls. Masona explains that as soon as some Kānaka acquired money, “o ke kuupau akula no ia i ka lealea, lilo i o a ia nei, e hoolei wale ana i ka makou mau wahi dala i ka makani, a ohia mai la i ka puahiohio” (they would go all out on entertainments, lost here and there, simply tossing our little money to the wind, to be taken away in the whirlwind). Masona credits spending money on amusements as “ke kumu o ko makou hoi ole ana aku e ike i na nalu hailua o ka aina hanau” (the reason of our not returning to see the double-breaking wave of the homeland). Instead, Kānaka spent time and money playing cards. Masona specified that, “aole nae makou i lilo nui wale i na hale hookamakama, hookahi nalu hee nui wale ia e makou i ka po a me ke ao, oia hoi na hale pepa” (we were not, however, all lost to the brothels, there is just one wave surfed by us in the night and day, namely, the gambling houses).

Masona himself had experience losing his belongings from gambling. He explained, “Ma keia wahi, ke waiho hou nei au no ko’u waiwai ponoi i lilo i keia mea he pepa” (At this place, I again lay down my own personal wealth which was lost to this thing, a card.). Masona lost two of his horses in this card game. Since horses served as the main form of transportation

43 Johnson, Roaring Camp, 122, 123.
45 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva. Ibid.
46 Ibid.
47 It was common for Kānaka to own horses in Kanaka Flat. Juliana Kahoinea described riding horses with her traveling companions in her kanikau for Ellen Akahiakalohelani and there are records of Kānaka purchasing horses in a Jackson County livery stable record. The livery record shows that “Kanake Davis,” “Sam (kanaka),” “Kanaka Boot Black,” “Kanaka John,” and “Charles Williams Kanaka” all purchased horses. Mason, “Ka Noho Ana O Na
throughout the region, losing two horses would have been quite a blow for Masona who
depended on them to get to gold mines and other towns and communities. Masona’s recent grief
due to losing his horses may have prompted him to generalize his opinion that Kānaka lost so
much money gambling and therefore could not return to the Hawaiian Islands. Or, his story
could be an example of a common occurrence among Kānaka gambling and losing their money
in the gold-mining region.

Kanaka gold miners also frequented breweries, saloons, and dance halls. One patron of
Jacksonville connected the popularity of breweries and saloons in the town to the increased
population of Kānaka when he wrote, “The Breweries and Saloons of Jacksonville all prospered
most of course during the mining period, when many ‘Kanakas’ and ‘mixed breeds’, and others
of a ‘drifting population’ were attracted to the community.”

In addition to the breweries and saloons in Jacksonville, there was also a saloon and dance hall on Kanaka Flat visited by Kanaka residents as well as residents of Jacksonville and the surrounding area who danced, played card
games, and drank.

Social activities such as these were a common occurrence among miners and residents of
the area. One miner, John Mickey, described a Christmas in Jacksonville that included card
games and a ball:

On Christmas day we boys played cards all day, then at night there were thirty miners.
We all belted on our revolvers and went down to Jacksonville to a big ball – over 70
couples. Some of the women and girls wore very low necked dresses. We miners stood
and looked on till midnight. Some of the ladies turned up their noses at our miner
clothes.

Kanaka Ma Eurika, Cal,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, February 28, 1863; “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka
Nupepa Kuokoa, November 28, 1863; MS 503; Livery Stable Ledger 1860-1864, Vertical File: Kanakas in the US,
Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.

Fletcher Linn, Reminiscences of Fletcher Linn, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.

Rose, “A Sound of Revelry By Night,” 89, 99-100

John M. Mickey, Reminiscences, December 25, 1855, MS175, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford,
Oregon.
He added that the week between Christmas and New Year’s Day he and other miners played cards. Mickey lost five dollars during this week and proclaimed, “That was the last time I ever played for money.” Two years later, Mickey and other miners spent another Christmas dancing and drinking. He described the night as a “jolly time” for the eighteen men and two fiddlers, however, they “had no women to dance with. Half the boys got tight. Next day they were heaving up all over the house and sick, oh – they felt bad! I knew from experience.” Kanaka and other miners and residents valued these entertainment opportunities at dance halls, saloons, breweries, and card games, venues that also served as sites for social interaction between the diverse populations of the region.

**Relationships and Interactions with American Indians and Others in Kanaka Flat**

While social venues helped facilitate interactions between Kānaka and people from different backgrounds, nationalities, and ethnicities, Kānaka also formed relationships and families with other people living in the region. Some Kanaka men at Kanaka Flat married and formed families with American Indian women according to Christian practices recognized by the United States government. Daniela Masona explains that, in both Yreka and Kanaka Flat, “mare ae la kekahi poe o makou i na wahine imua o na Kumu, me ka kooohikiia ana ma ka inoa o ka Makua, ke Keiki, a me ka Uhane Hemolele me ka oiaio loa” (some of us married [American Indian] women in the presence of ministers, making vows in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost with great sincerity). Marriages that followed this practice, such as the marriages of Kanaka Flat residents James Alapai and George Maio to American Indian women, were granted U.S. marriage certificates. James Alapai, who had previously been married to

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51 Mickey, Reminiscences, December 25, 1855, MS175, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.
Ellen Akahiakalohelani, married Body, and George Maio (likely the same person Emil Britt referred to as George Myer and Kanaka George) married Susan, described as an Indian of the Rogue River tribe.\(^5\)

When discussing Kānaka who moved to Kanaka Flat from Yreka in the 1850s, Masona explains that, “ua mare hou ae la kekahi poe o makou i na wahine Ilikini, a ua like no ka mare ana me kela mamua ma Wailika” (some of us again married American Indian women, and the marriage was similar to that before in Yreka). Masona’s comments imply that for some Kanaka men, marriages to American Indian women were connected to specific locations and multiple marriages were formed as Kānaka moved to different regions such as those who married in Yreka and then married again in Kanaka Flat. Kānaka women also formed new relationships in Kanaka Flat. Masona shares that when some Kanaka women who had gotten married in Yreka arrived in Kanaka Flat, “ua kuu pau kau lakou i ka lakou mau kihikihi, a ua haalele ae lakou i na rula o ka mare ana” (they released their inhibitions due to their gold coins, and they abandoned the rules of marriage).\(^5\) Masona reflected that for these women, “he mea ole ka mare ana, he mea kalakalai wale no ia, alaila, o ka pili aku la no ia me ka haole, pau ae la ka hoomanao ana i na olelo a ke kumu i ka wa mareia’i, a pela nohoi na wahine i mareia ma Jacksonville” (marriage was insignificant, it was just a casual love affair, then, they immediately joined together with White people, no longer remembering the words of the minister from when they were married, and in that way, were the married women in Jacksonville).\(^5\)

\(^{53}\) Marriage Certificates, James Alapai and Body, May 1, 1858, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; Marriage Certificates, George Maio and Susan, October 7, 1861, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.

\(^{54}\) Kālā kihikihi were “gold coins of California gold-rush times brought to Hawai‘i, so called because they were crescent shaped.” Pukui and Elbert, \textit{Hawaiian Dictionary}, 147.

to the community after living in Yreka, Kanaka women also formed new relationships in Kanaka Flat, specifically to White residents.

Masona’s descriptions of married Kanaka men and women in Kanaka Flat rely on Christian ceremonies to define the relationships. The men Masona describes took part in Christian marriage ceremonies in both Yreka and Kanaka Flat while the women only had Christian ceremonies in Yreka and then, according to Masona, promptly forgot about them once arriving in Kanaka Flat. The relationships Kanaka women formed with White Jacksonville-region residents may have been non-governmentally recognized marriages or sexual relationships. Discriminatory laws and racist attitudes stopped many White gold-miners from marrying women of color through U.S. government-approved marriages, but they did not prevent sexual relationships.56

Kanaka women also created families with American Indians. For example, Mary Lumahai, a Kanaka woman living in Jacksonville in the 1860s, had a daughter, Uluhani, who was described as part American Indian, and another child, Ioane Amiuna, who was part Chinese.57 It is not explained if Lumahai lived with either of the fathers of the children, if she had formed relationships while living in different gold-mining communities, or if she had experienced sexual violence. Lumahai’s children represent the diverse relationships and multi-ethnic families formed in Kanaka Flat. Unfortunately, the census did not properly record Kanaka

56 These racist attitudes and laws are further discussed in chapter five. Susan Lee Johnson provides several examples of sexual relationships between White men and women of color in the southern California gold mines in Roaring Camp, and Albert Hurtado discusses sexual relationships between White men and American Indian women in Indian Survival. Johnson, Roaring Camp, 156-163; Hurtado, Indian Survival on the California Frontier, 170-178.
57 J.A. Alapai sent a list of names of Kānaka living in Jacksonville to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa that was published August 29, 1868. Included in that list was Lumahai’s name and the names of her children: “Mary Lumahai w. no Kaumakani Kipahulu, Maui Hikina, a o keia wahine Hawaii ua hanau nana elua keiki, hookahi, hookahi keiki hapa pake, o Ioane Amiuna ka inoa, a hookahi hoi kaikamahine hapa ilikini o Uluhani ka inoa” (Mary Lumahai, female, from Kaumakani Kipahulu, East Maui, and this Kanaka woman, it was her who had two children, one, one child was part Chinese, Ioane Amiuna is his name, and the other is a part American Indian girl, her name is Uluhani). “Mai Oregona Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 29, 1868.
American Indian, Kanaka Chinese, or Kanaka Haole households, which may mean there were more Kanaka women and families living in the Kanaka Flat-Jacksonville area than represented in census records. These families, marriages, and relationships not only connected Kānaka to the specific sites in which they were established, but they also show that marriages and other types of sexual relationships were strategic and perhaps necessary for life in gold-mining communities since Kānaka formed these bonds in multiple gold-mining communities with different people from various backgrounds.

In addition to the various examples of married Kānaka, the existence of a term used to describe unmarried Kanaka men shows there was an emphasis on marriage and relationship bonds in Kanaka Flat. Daniela Masona told the readers of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* that the word for unmarried men in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network was *wiliwili*, a double entendre meaning, “to wind, twist, writhe, crank, turn, screw, drill,” and referring to the term *pā wiliwili* (“blowing of wind in all directions”). The word also refers to the ‘ōlelo noʻeau, “Pua ka wiliwili nanahu ka manō; pua ka wahine uʻi nanahu ke kānāwai” (“When the wiliwili tree blooms, the sharks bite; when a pretty woman blossoms, the law bites”). This ‘ōlelo noʻeau means, “a beautiful woman attracts young men – sharks – who become fierce rivals over her. The law prevents the rivalry from getting out of hand – it can ‘bite.’ It is said that when the wiliwili trees are in bloom the sharks bite, because it is their mating season.” This ‘ōlelo noʻeau references the blossoming wiliwili tree to describe a beautiful woman attracting men.\(^{58}\) Masona is alluding to this connection in his use of wiliwili to refer to unmarried Kanaka men. Marriages and creating families helped Kānaka form or maintain relationships to the ‘āina where they were married, by

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incorporating the place into family history and genealogy, whether it was Kanaka Flat, Yreka, or the Hawaiian Islands, while also expanding social networks that included diverse populations.

Kanaka Flat was home to Kānaka, American Indians, and other residents, and hosted diverse visitors drawn to the community’s saloon and dance hall. At times, this diverse population of residents and visitors were involved in violent encounters. One fight that took place in 1874 resulted in the death of a woodchopper of African descent named Jackson. The Democratic Times described the participants in the fight as the “denizens of Kanaka Flat, assisted by the colored population of Jacksonville,” referring to the Kānaka residents or the people who habitually frequented the saloon and dance hall. This phrasing used by the newspaper implies numerous people were involved in this fight but no other details are known other than the death of Jackson, who was shot by Geo. Ephraim, and that Ephraim subsequently left Jackson County for California.

Another report of a fight on Kanaka Flat was said to have taken place, “among the squaws on Kanaka Flat: in which one named Peggy was killed, and one named Lilly wounded.” The report of the fight stated that:

Peggy and a friend, named Molly, went to the house of a Kanaka named Bottles, to get a shawl which was claimed by Lilly. Peggy got hold of the shawl and started for the door. Lilly seized one end of it and started the other way, at which Peggy drew a knife from her stocking leg and stabbed Lilly in the back. Lilly turned quickly, snatched the knife from Peggy and inflicted a stab under the left shoulder blade, which pierced the heart and killed her almost instantly.

In Kanaka Flat, both the social venues and the residences served as sites of, sometimes violent, interactions, as the house of Bottles served as the site for this fatal encounter between two American Indian women. Bottles, whose name suggests a connection to the saloon, either as an

60 “War on Kanaka Flat,” Democratic Times, September 18, 1874.
61 “Killed,” Oregon Sentinel, April 6, 1867.
owner, worker, or frequent visitor, was not directly involved in the physical fight between Peggy and Lilly, but since the dispute over the shawl escalated so quickly, there may have been other underlying tensions between those involved, including Bottles.

The relationships and interactions, those that turned violent as well as those that were amicable or were formed through marriage, helped to define and characterize the Kanaka community. Kanaka Flat was not just associated with gold mining, but also Kanaka and multi-ethnic families, diverse visitors, and the relationships that were created there, helping to incorporate the community into Kanaka understandings of "āina. In addition to Kanaka Flat and the Yreka-Jacksonville local network, Kanaka communities were formed in other gold-mining regions, such as the area surrounding Coloma and Sacramento in California.

The Coloma-Sacramento Local Network

The places Kānaka lived, mined for gold, and traveled in the Coloma-Sacramento local network were located within Nisenan and Konkow territory. Gold miners and immigrants moved into these territories where Nisenan and Konkow peoples hunted, fished, and gathered berries, seeds, acorns, and other foods. Some important fishing sites were taken over as gold-mining sites, such as Salmon Falls, a gold-mining site frequented by Kānaka that was a traditional eel-fishing site for Nisenan peoples. Gold miners and other immigrants caused damage to Nisenan and Konkow land and food sources, introduced diseases into their territories, provoked violent encounters, and not long after gold were discovered, White Americans forced

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Nisenan and Konkow populations onto reservations. Kānaka lived in this region prior to the gold rush, and many more moved to the region after the discovery of gold. As gold miners, Kānaka lived and traveled throughout Nisenan and Konkow territories searching for gold. The sites and communities they lived and worked formed the Coloma-Sacramento local network.

Communities and other important places in the Coloma-Sacramento local network were included in kanikau composed by Hariata Kulailua and Hariata Waiaholo for William H. Mai and Hairam R. Nalau. In lamenting the death of Mai and Nalau, both kanikau composers list and describe place names of significant sites in the region, linking the sites with emotions, hardships, relationships, and experiences, while memorializing the passing of their loved ones. In her kanikau composed from Irish Creek, California, for William H. Mai, Hariata Kulailua describes the landscape, the grief she felt at the passing of Mai, and the experiences they shared in California, while also including specific place names significant to her, Mai, and other Irish Creek Kānaka, such as Sutter Buttes, Vernon, Fremont, and Coloma.

In one passage, Kulailua repeatedly refers to the cold weather, distinguishing the region from the Hawaiian Islands, referring to the difficulties and discomfort of living in such weather and how, at times, it could be debilitating, and also expressing her loss. Kulailua’s passage also describes the Sutter Buttes, Vernon (a Kanaka community located between Sacramento and the Sutter Buttes on the Feather River), mining, the forest, and her feelings for Mai, tying him and their relationship to these sites.

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66 Hariata Kulailua also lists other place names which I have not been able to translate, including: Belewa, Saluke, and Bikolewa. Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 25, 1863.
Kuu hoa pupuu anu, My friend curled up due to the cold, I ka uka o Maina, In the uplands region of the mine, Nani wale hoi ka ikena, The view is also just beautiful, Na pali o Butle, The Butte cliffs, Ku kilakila i ke anu, Majestic in the cold, Kahiko mai i ke anu, Adorned by the cold, Hookio mai kanahele, The forest is spread out, Hele hookahi ka uhane, The spirit goes alone, Aohe ukali o ka hope, And is not followed after, Ei aku nei paha oe, Here you are perhaps, I ke kula la o Uanana, In the open country of Vernon, Ka huina wai o Belewa, The intersection of two streams at Belewa, Eia la he haupu, Here is a recollection, He aloha pau ole nou, The love for you is undying, O kuu hoa alo anu.  

Kulailua’s description of the Sutter Buttes as beautiful and majestic reveals a sense of awe she felt for the natural landscape in the region at the same time she was experiencing pain, sorrow, and hardship.

Later in the kanikau, Kulailua mentions and describes the town Fremont, located across the Sacramento River from Vernon just south of where the Sacramento and Feather Rivers meet. These neighboring towns, both locations of Kanaka communities, were described similarly. Like the line describing Vernon, Kulailua refers to Fremont in the line, “Ke kula e [sic] Filemona” (the open country of Fremont). The open country was the defining feature of both Vernon and Fremont, complementing the cliffs, mountains, and the Sutter Buttes with these sites in the flat Sacramento Valley.

Kulailua’s kanikau mentions sites reached by heading east from Vernon and Fremont along the American River to Coloma, where Kānaka had lived since 1839 as workers for John Sutter, and Irish Creek, where Kānaka Hawai‘i formed a gold-mining community located three

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68 I believe “Butle” is a typo and the actual spelling is “Butte” since the Sutter Buttes, near Irish Creek, were often traveled to by Kānaka living in Irish Creek. Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 25, 1863.

69 Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 25, 1863.
miles outside of Coloma. Kulailua discusses having heard, but not experiencing the storm of Irish Creek, referring to a specific event or the characteristics of the mining community. She was, however, familiar with Coloma.

He lohe olelo wale, Have only heard of,
I ka ino o Aliki, The storm of Irish Creek,
Akahi a ike maka, Personally seen for the first time,
I ka wai o na pali, The water of the cliffs,
Piha opala aku nei, Full of rubbish,
Ka huina wai e [sic] Coloma, The intersection of two streams at Coloma,
Eia la he aloha, Here is love,
Pauole nou e Mai. Undying for you, Mai.

The ‘ōpala refers to the impact of mining on the water and soil as it drained through the river, stirring up the soil and clouding the river, and it may refer to the miners themselves scattered along the rivers and streams while they were mining for gold. Sediment from gold mining clouded waterways far from the mines, reaching the American and Sacramento rivers and the San Francisco Bay. In addition to discoloring the water, by the 1870s, sediment from gold mining ruined salmon habitats and caused the water to be undrinkable for humans.71

Sites in the Coloma-Sacramento local network are also included in Hariata Waiaholo’s kanikau composed from Salmon Falls, California, for Hairam Nalau. Nalau was the church treasurer of the Ahahui Missionari Hawaii o Califonia nei (Hawai‘i Mission Society of California) and was described as “he makua wehe pilikia no hoi no na kanaka Hawaii e noho ana ma California nei” (a representative for the Kānaka living in California). Waiaholo emphasizes the grief she and other Kānaka felt due to the death of Nalau as well as the difficulties they all faced while living in the cold, wet, mountainous environment of the mines.

Noho iho nei makou, We remain,
Me ka u me ka minamina, With grief and sorrow,

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70 Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 25, 1863.
71 Andrew C. Isenberg, Mining California: An Ecological History (New York: Hill and Wang, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 46-47.
In this passage describing her feelings of sadness and love for Nalau, Waiaholo also lists Coloma, simultaneously describing the site and connecting it to Nalau, gold mining, and the hardships experienced there.

Waiaholo also lists other place names in the Sacramento-Coloma local network, including Vernon, Sacramento, and Irish Creek. Similar to Kulailua’s description, Waiaholo describes Vernon as a wide open country connected to gold-mining characterized by the word *kula* in the line, “I ke kula laula e [sic] Wanana” (the wide open country of Vernon). She also refers to the waterways and commerce that united the region when describing Sacramento. Irish Creek is associated with the mountains and a peaceful residence, suggesting that although these sites were connected and often traveled to, one could feel far away when living in the mountains of the gold mines.

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Lulana i ka lai o ia uka. Calm in the quiet of this upland region.

Kulailua and Waiaholo’s kanikau can be seen as maps of the Coloma-Sacramento local network since they named towns and communities significant to the Kānaka living from the valleys to the mountains. As maps, these kanikau composed by Kulailua and Waiaholo demonstrate that Kānaka Hawai‘i became familiar with these sites while mining for gold and living in gold-mining communities.

A massive migration to California was sparked when gold was discovered in January 1848 at John Sutter’s lumber mill on the American River in Coloma. The news of the gold strike was advertised throughout California months after the discovery and by the end of the year, the news had reached the eastern coast of North America, prompting tens of thousands of gold miners to flock to the region. The gold-mining population increased dramatically after news spread throughout the United States from 4,000-5,000 gold miners in June 1848 to 40,000 gold miners in December 1849. Kānaka first settled in the area a decade earlier as a part of Sutter’s workforce.

In 1839, Sutter recruited eight Kanaka men and two Kanaka women as contracted workers to accompany him from the Hawaiian Islands to California and work in modern-day Sacramento. In Charles W. Kenn’s extensive research on Kānaka in California, he discovered the names or identities of eight of these Kānaka: Harry, Manuiki (Harry’s wife), Harry’s brother (no name is provided), Manuiki (Manuiki’s brother and Harry’s brother-in-law is identified as having the same name as Harry’s wife, Manuiki), Sam Kapu, Elena (Sam Kapu’s wife), Ioane

76 Contracts provided the Kānaka with ten dollars a month for three years, after which Sutter would pay their return passage to the Hawaiian Islands. Barman and Watson, Leaving Paradise, 152; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” The Saturday Star-Bulletin, February 17, 1956.
Keaala o Kaiana, and Maintop. W.D. Paniani is also identified as one of the original Kānaka that went to California with Sutter in 1839 in his nephew’s 1956 obituary. However, Kenn states that Paniani, “went to Sacramento during Sutter’s time, but not with him.”\(^{77}\) In the following years, other Kānaka joined these ten to work for Sutter at his fort, lumber mill, and farm.\(^{78}\) Once gold was discovered, some of these Kānaka began gold mining while employed by Sutter. At the end of the summer in 1848, Sutter set off for the gold mines with approximately one hundred American Indians and fifty Kānaka to a site about ten miles north of Mormon Island on the south fork of the American River. He then traveled further south to Sutter Creek in Amador County before disbanding his gold-mining operations and returning to his fort.\(^{79}\) Other Kānaka left their employment with Sutter to mine for gold on their own, such as A.E. Mahuka who worked for Sutter in the early 1850s before heading to the gold mines and moving to the Kanaka gold-mining community Irish Creek.\(^{80}\)

Other Kānaka that were in California as traders or working on ships also traveled to the gold mines in the inland regions of California after learning of the discovery. These Kānaka were soon joined by Kānaka and other residents of the Hawaiian Islands who left the Hawaiian Islands for the gold mines. On July 29, 1848, James Young Kanehoa reported, “Eia ka mea nui ma Lahaina nei, ua pau na haole i ka mai gula o Kaleponia ke holo nei lakou ma anei e imi ana i wahi e hiki ai i Kaliponia” (“This is the great news here in Lahaina, all of the foreigners are

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\(^{77}\) Kenn uses the spelling “Manaiki” with an “a.” However, spelling “Manuiki” with the letter “u” was used in other writings such as Lowell Smith’s letter in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa and the same newspaper’s announcement of the death of Manuiki. Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 88-91; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” 4; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 7, 1866; “Waiho Na Iwi I Ka Aina E,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 7, 1873; Murphey, “Covelo News,” Ukiah Daily Journal, December 3, 1956; Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas,” 3-6.

\(^{78}\) Charles Kenn includes names of some Kānaka who worked for Sutter but were not a part of the original ten Kānaka. These include: Kukui, Edwin Mahuka, Robert Paniani, Yankee Jim, Kanaka Jim, Jim Crow, Captain Ross (who could also be known as Captain Coxe), William Kanui, and Thomas Nahopuna (also referred to as Hopu). Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 93-99.


\(^{80}\) Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94; T.W. Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862.
afflicted with the California Gold Fever, they are running here and there, seeking the means of getting to California”). Many Kānaka also wanted to sail to California. On September 21, 1849, Kanehoa wrote from Lahaina, Maui, to the Minister of the Interior, Keoni Ana, asking, “No ka nui o na kanaka e manao ana e holo i Kariponia no laila, ke ninau aku nei au ia oe. Ua pono anei ko lakou holo ana? Aole paha? E hai mai oe i lohe au” (“Because of the great number of natives who are desirous of going to California, therefore, I inquire of you: Is it alright for them to go, or not? You let me know”). Two days later, Keoni Ana responded, “Eia ko’u poe holo nui i Kalifornia, mai ae nui aku ia lakou e holo wale a haalele i ko lakou ohana, a me ka aina paha. E ahaele oe o neoneo auanei kou Mokupuni” (“In regard to men wishing to go to California, do not permit many to go, and leave their families and country. You had better take care, otherwise your Island will be deserted”). This correspondence shows that numerous Kānaka in Maui wanted to sail for California’s gold mines, making the government officials weary of what it might do to the population, their families who remained in the Hawaiian Islands, and the ‘āina. Just over two months later, Kanehoa wrote to Keoni Ana to report that four Kānaka, two Kānaka Haole, three Chinese people, and twenty-five Haole were leaving for California.

Kānaka who traveled throughout California and the Coloma-Sacramento local network mining for gold established numerous communities, two of which were Irish Creek and Vernon. Irish Creek was a gold-mining community located near the junction of Irish Creek and Slate...
Creek northeast of Coloma. Vernon was a fishing community located “on the east bank of the Sacramento River opposite the junction with the Feather River,” roughly eighteen miles north of Sacramento. The following sections look at both Irish Creek and Vernon and the Kānaka that established and lived within these communities in the Coloma-Sacramento local network.

The Formation of Irish Creek

Soon after gold was discovered in Coloma, gold seekers traveled up the tributaries of the American River, including Dutch Creek, to find new spots to mine for gold. From Dutch Creek, they expanded their search for gold to its tributaries of Irish Creek and Slate Creek. On a low ridge between Irish and Slate Creeks, Kānaka formed what Phyllis Gernes describes as “one of the largest settlements the Kanakas had in the gold country.” This Kanaka community was located approximately three miles northeast from Coloma, “about two and one-half miles southwest of Garden Valley, below the falls on Irish Creek and not far above the junction of Irish and Slate Creeks.” Since Kānaka had been working for John Sutter and living in the area, they were able to search for and find gold before the mass migrations. Kānaka found gold at Irish Creek Falls in 1848 and established a community referred to by some as Kanaka Diggings.

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86 Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, 359.


88 Ibid., 59.


90 Gudde states that Irish Creek “was also known as Kanaka Town, but is shown as Kanaka Diggings on Derby’s Sacramento map, 1849.” Belli states that Kanaka Town was a town founded by Kānaka less than a mile northwest of Kanaka Diggings. This is the only resource mentioning a separate site for Kanaka Diggings and Kanaka Town.
Although Kanaka Diggings was the name used on maps and other documents, it was not the name used in writings from or about the community in Hawaiian-language newspapers. Instead, the name of the creek, Irish Creek, was used to designate the location of this Kanaka gold-mining community.91

Using the name of the creek to refer to the Kanaka community defines the community through its connection to the creek, a site for gold-mining, as well as the Irish population in the region.92 The name Irish Creek is most prominently found at the end of letters and kanikau written and composed in Irish Creek and published in Hawaiian-language newspapers where it was customary to include the location of the author, whether it was the Hawaiian Islands or abroad, at the bottom of columns. Although Irish Creek was used to locate newspaper contributors writing from this community, it was not as often used by Kānaka within the text. One example of a Kanaka using the name Irish Creek comes from C. Aarona who referenced the name when listing those that had died in the region.93 Another example of a Kanaka using Irish Creek as the name for the community is found in Reverend Lowell Smith’s account of his visit to the area in 1858. When Smith arrived at Coloma on September 20, 1858, he met a Kanaka named Hawai‘i. Smith explained that after he asked Hawai‘i where the Kānaka in the area lived, “I mai la ia, aia no iuka, ma ‘Irish Creek;’ ekolu mile aku” (He replied that they were inland at

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91 This dissertation uses the name “Irish Creek” since it is the name most often used in Hawaiian-language newspapers.
“Irish Creek,” three miles away.94 According to Aarona Smith’s accounts, Irish Creek was the term used by some Kanaka living in the region.

A Hawaiian-language variation on the name Irish Creek was also used. Hariata Kulailua and Hariata Waiaholo use the name “Aliki” in the kanikau they composed from the region. Aliki is similar to the Hawaiian word ‘Ailiki, which means Irish. The kanikau associate Aliki with the mountains and locate it near Coloma, correlating with the location of Irish Creek three miles inland from Coloma.95

The most prominent appearance of the name Irish Creek in Hawaiian-language newspapers came from Theodore Weld Gulick, a son of missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, who visited the Kanaka gold-mining community in 1862.96 During his ten-week stay from April 25 to July 10, Gulick wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa in a series of articles describing the region, the people living in and around the community, and the buildings that made up Irish Creek.97 According to Gulick, most of the houses had dry, rocky floors, as well as fireplaces and chimneys made out of a mixture of rocks and dirt, but were lacking provisions. However, there was one house that stood out from the rest. The house of Kenao was, as Gulick described, similar to “na hale maikai o na haole” (the good houses of the White people), with doors, windows, and painted pili kepa (diagonal shingles) on the exterior. The interior was painted, wallpapered, and had pili pokopoko (small shingles). The house had four rooms and was well-
supplied with a table and chairs, bed, iron stove, and other things. Kenao’s home stood out from the others in Irish Creek, suggesting that he had been successful in the gold mines or other economic pursuits in California.\footnote{Other sources have described Kenao’s house differently. In a letter published in the Alta California by “a gentleman who has resided long in the Hawaiian Islands,” who Richard H. Dillon states is Reverend Samuel C. Damon using information from T.W. Gulick’s account, Kenao’s house is described as a clapboard house. Damon states, “Most of their dwelling houses are quite rough, but Kenao, perhaps the most substantial Hawaiian Christian in California, I found living in a neat little clapboard house put up by himself, painted outside and in, and two of the rooms neatly papered.” Gulick implies that all four of the rooms were wallpapered when he stated, “eha ona Keena ua maikai i na pepa” (it has four rooms, good looking due to the paper). Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Na peeled Kuokoa, July 26, 1862; “Kanaka Community in California,” Alta California, May 24, 1862; Richard H. Dillon, “Kanaka Colonies in California,” Pacific Historical Review 24, no. 1 (Feb. 1955): 20. Kanaka Diggings is described in California Gold Camps as having “a church and stores and a population of probably several hundred.” Gernes states that there was one building which was “thought to have been used as a church,” while Belli states that Kānaka at Irish Creek “erected the first two Hawaiian churches (also used as community centers) in California.” “Kanaka Town,” Oakland Tribune, March 17, 1946; Gudde, California Gold Camps, 181-182; Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Na peeled Kuokoa, July 26, 1862; Gernes, Hidden in the Chaparral, 59-60; Belli, “The Lost Kanaka Colony of El Dorado County”; Gulick, “He Palapala Na Ko Makou Elele I Holo Aku Nei I Kapalakiko,” Ka Na peeled Kuokoa, October 25, 1862.}

In addition to houses at Irish Creek, there were also stores, at least one church, gardens, and a cemetery approximately forty-two feet long by forty-two feet wide constructed by Kānaka. Kānaka grew a variety of fruits and vegetables in their gardens including grapes, squash, and watermelon. Phyllis Gernes states that the Kānaka living at Irish Creek, “raised a special type of plum that was considered unique, and the grapes were the old mission type.”\footnote{Kānaka that constructed both homes and garden plots were creating a sustainable space that could provide for them and their families for a long period of time. One Irish Creek family, Mahuka, his wife Waiuliuli, and their daughter Rebeka, grew fruits and vegetables in their garden. Gulick described their house and land as “he hale kupono iki no, a he mala maikai, ua ulu no na laau hua ono o Kaliponia, a me na ipu, kapiki, ia mea aku, a ia mea aku” (a small decent house, and a good garden, where delicious fruit trees of California grew, as well as gourds, cabbage, and other}
Kānaka shaped their community by constructing houses, community structures, and gardens that could sustain them while working in the gold mines.

**Irish Creek Demographics**

Irish Creek was a gathering place and central hub for Kānaka mining in the region and served as the home for Kanaka miners, Kanaka families, and others. The Kanaka population of Irish Creek is not adequately reflected in the U.S. census records which, as previously discussed and as will be discussed further in chapter five, often inaccurately reported Kanaka populations. Census records of the Irish Creek region represent the population as predominately male. Anne F. Hyde argues that the intentional removal of women from historical records was a common occurrence throughout western North America and explains that “the erasure of intimate relationships happens everywhere: in accounts of founding families in Alta California, New Mexico, Oregon, and Missouri we find unmarried men and childless women. What a sad and barren past, if it were true.”

Although census records provide some evidence of the Kanaka households and populations in and around Irish Creek, they do not provide the whole story, especially since other accounts show Irish Creek as a community with men, women, and children.

According to the 1850 U.S. census, approximately 122 Kānaka lived in the larger Irish Creek region along the middle and south forks of the American River. All of those listed were

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100 Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nepea Kuokoa, July 12, 1862, 1.
101 Irish Creek is not listed in the 1850 and 1860 censuses but nearby sites, Coloma, Kelsey, the South Fork of the American River, and others, are listed and looked at in this section to provide an approximation of Irish Creek demographics. U.S. Census Bureau, 1850 and 1860, El Dorado County, California; Chang, “Borderlands in a World at Sea,” 387; Hyde, Empires, Nations, and Families, 19.
102 The census does not clearly specify who is from the Hawaiian Islands but not Kanaka, making it difficult to know the exact population of Kānaka listed on the census. 122 Kānaka include those living in Kelsey and vicinity, the South Fork of the American River, Smiths Bar, Horse Shoe Bar, Lacy Bar and Manhattan Bar, and Auburn and vicinity. Nineteen more people from the Sandwich Islands were listed in Placerville and vicinity, Mathinias Creek,
men. In 1860, twenty-five Kānaka were reported in the Coloma Township and four were listed in the census for Kelsey and vicinity, living in households of two to seven. All but one of these Kānaka were men. Like the census reports for Kanaka Flat, Oregon, these reports provide an approximation of the Irish Creek regional population numbers and should be viewed in conjunction with other sources to get a better sampling of possible population numbers for Irish Creek.

When Reverend Samuel Damon visited Irish Creek in 1849, he reported that seventy-five Kānaka assembled to hear him speak. This most likely means that seventy-five Kānaka from throughout the region came to Irish Creek, but it could also mean that there was a population of seventy-five Kānaka living at Irish Creek in July 1849. Nine years after Damon’s visit, Reverend Lowell Smith visited Irish Creek. As discussed earlier, when Smith arrived in Coloma, he was informed by a Kanaka named Hawai‘i that Kānaka were living at Irish Creek. However, due to the lack of water, only eight Kānaka were living at Irish Creek at that time while seventeen were looking for work elsewhere. According to this report, there were twenty-five Kānaka viewed as residents of Irish Creek in 1858, although the need to find work may have taken them temporarily away from their community, as gold-mining activities often did.¹⁰³

When Gulick arrived at Irish Creek on April 25, 1862, he reported that thirty-three people lived in the town. He specified that twenty-two were Kanaka men, two were Kanaka women, three were American Indian women, three were Kanaka American Indian children, and two were from Mangaia in the Cook Islands.¹⁰⁴ In addition to Irish Creek serving as a home and gathering

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¹⁰⁴ Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 26, 1862.
site for Kanaka gold miners, it was also a community for families and Kānaka living at Irish Creek intended to create a space that would comfortably support them and their growing families for a long period of time.

Like Kānaka in Kanaka Flat, Oregon, Kānaka living together in Irish Creek came from different parts of the Hawaiian Islands. Three Irish Creek Kānaka were from Maui: J.D. Kenao, who lived in the exceptional house, was from Hāli‘imaile, Hāmākua Loa in upcountry Maui; L.H. Kapuaa was from Kāʻanapali in West Maui; and J. Hawaii was from Kalepolepo, Kīhei. Two other Kānaka listed as living in Irish Creek, A.E. Mahuka and Kamakaehukai, were from Kohala, Hawaiʻi. Kamakaehukai also lived in Waikīkī, O‘ahu, before moving to Irish Creek. Hāriata Kulailua, who composed a kanikau for William Mai mapping the Coloma-Sacramento local network, was from Kaumakapili, Honolulu, O‘ahu. Charles Aarona, who wrote about Irish Creek and was listed in the 1860 Coloma Township census, was from Molokai. Although a small sampling, these six Kānaka from Maui, Hawaiʻi, O‘ahu, and Molokai, exemplify the diverse homelands of the Kānaka living together as one community in Irish Creek.¹⁰⁵

**Occupations and Social Life in Irish Creek**

The main occupation of Kānaka in Irish Creek was gold mining. Gulick observed that despite the promising abundance of the garden plots, Kānaka focused on gold mining to earn

¹⁰⁵Lowell Smith listed fourteen Kānaka that he saw in Coloma in 1848 as well as their homeland and the year they left for California: Kawahaulula (Honolulu, 1849), Opunui (Kukanu, 1850), Kahue (Lahaina, 1850), Kake (Lahaina, 1850), Kaikihana (Lahaina, 1850), Ehukualawa (Molokai, 1850), Kalaaau (Kailua, 1850), Keawe (Kohala, 1851), Kamae (Hilo, 1852), Hikiau (Lahaina, 1852), Hawaii (Kalepolepo, 1852), Nahua (Kailua, 1852), Kailikole (Waialua, 1854), Panioi (Olowalu, 1857). Aarona, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 21, 1862; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaiʻi Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863; Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babbling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862; Gulick, “No Ka Mai Puupuu Liili, Ma Irish Creek, Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 5, 1862; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 30, 1866; Smith, “Ka Holo Ana O L. Kamika Mai Sacramenato I Coloma,” Ka Hae Hawaiʻi, January 12, 1859.
their income rather than selling the food they grew, as some other miners in the region did.\textsuperscript{106} 

Gulick stated:

\begin{quote}
O ka lakou hana nui i kela mahina keia mahina, kela hebedoma keia hebedoma, o ka eli gula no ia. He hana luhi, a he hana kaumaha no; aka, aole nui o ka loaa, mahuahua no i kekahhi hebedoma, a nele loa no i kekahhi manawa. A nui no ka lilo no na kamaa buki, no ke kapa, no ka ai, a no na mea hana dala, ka Pika, Kopala, a me na Kolopa.\textsuperscript{107}
\end{quote}

Their work every month, every week, is gold mining. A tiresome job and an oppressive job; but, not much is obtained, accrued in a week, and they greatly lack some time. And it is definitely costly for the boots, for the clothes, for the food, and for the money tools, the pick, shovel, and the crowbars.

According to Gulick, gold mining was too time consuming and too difficult for the amount of gold that could be obtained; there was not enough time in a week for Kānaka to make enough money to pay for the costly endeavor.

The strenuous labor and hardships of gold mining and the prominent role it played in the lives of Kānaka at Irish Creek is a prevalent theme in kanikau. As discussed previously, Hariata Kulailua associates the mining regions with a debilitating cold in the lines:

\begin{quote}
Kuu hoa pupuu anu, 
I ka uka o Maina.\textsuperscript{108}
My friend curled up due to the cold, 
In the uplands region of the mine.
\end{quote}

Hariata Waiaholo similarly describes living in the gold-mining region with the word 'īnea, meaning hardship, suffering, distress, and to suffer discomfort:

\begin{quote}
O ka nohona inea, 
O ka uka e ka Maina.\textsuperscript{109}
Of the suffering residence, 
Of the uplands, the mine.
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{106} Other miners in the region planted orchards and sold their fruit to settlers. Phyllis Gernes explains that peaches were often grown because the fruit grew relatively quickly. She cites examples of prices as three peaches sold for one dollar as well as fifty cents for all the peaches you can eat at the location. Belli states that “Kanaka Town evolved from a mining town into an agricultural community” but, according to Gulick, this was not yet the case when Gulick visited in 1862. All adult males living in El Dorado County with the birthplace of Sandwich Islands were listed as gold miners on the 1850 and 1860 censuses. U.S. Census Bureau, 1850, El Dorado County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, El Dorado County, California; Gernes, Hidden in the Chaparral, 57; Belli, “The Lost Kanaka Colony of El Dorado County.”

\textsuperscript{107} Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawai‘i Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 26, 1862.

\textsuperscript{108} Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 25, 1863.

Waiaholo balanced her description of the Irish Creek mining region as a place of discomfort and sadness with descriptions of the gentle breezes and cool mists and dew.

He uhane he aloha no Nalau, A song of lament and love for Nalau,
Kuu hoa lulana e [sic] ka Maina, My peaceful companion of the mine,
I ka ua noe anu o ka nahele, In the cool misty rain of the forest,
O ka ohu paa mai i ke kuahiwi, The mist surrounds the mountain,
Ilihia maua-u-i ke aloha, We are overcome with love,
I ke kaha ana aku nei nalowale, When you turn and go away, vanished,
Huli aku e ke alo i ka Maina, Turn towards the mine,
Nana i ke ahe a ka makani, Look to the breeze and the wind,
I ka noe a ka ua lihau anu, The mist and the gentle, cool rain,
I ka pa kolonahe a ke kehau, The gentle, pleasant breeze and the dew,
Pa mai ka makani ma ka Piuka.110 The wind blows at the roof.

Kānaka who faced the hardships and labor of gold mining were relieved by the cool, gentle, refreshing breezes and mists. These lines reflect the ‘ōlelo noʻeau, “Ola i ke ahe lau makani” (“There is life in a gentle breath of wind”), which is “said when a warm day is relieved by a breeze.”111 This kanikau passage also speaks to the relief felt by Nalau who would no longer face the hardships and discomfort of the gold-mining region.

Adamu K. Waiaholo also shows that gold mining was a prominent part of Irish Creek Kānaka’s lives in the kanikau he composed for Nalau. Adamu Waiaholo depicts the mines as congested with people who traveled to the region on kaʻa māhu (steam-propelled vehicles). Waiaholo’s line, “O ka piha kanaka nui o ka Maina” (The mine is greatly filled with people), refers to the multitudes that went to the gold mines and helped to shape the landscape and

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111 Pukui, ‘Ōlelo No‘eau, 271.
experiences of Nalau, Waiaholo, and other Kānaka in Irish Creek. The laborious task of mining for gold, the hardships of living in the region, and the large population of miners that traveled to the region helped to define and describe Irish Creek as Hariata Kulailua, Hariata Waiaholo, and Adamu Waiaholo mapped the community, as well as their relationships to William Mai and Hairam Nalau, in kanikau. In addition to gold mining, the experiences of Kānaka in Irish Creek were shaped by their religious activities.

Many Kānaka at Irish Creek were Christians and some started the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia. According to Samuel Damon, a missionary to the Hawaiian Islands, Kānaka living in Irish Creek “regularly assembled upon the Sabbath for Divine Service, which was conducted by two of their number, well established in the faith.” While visiting the Kanaka community, Damon “was glad to learn that a majority of the Hawaiians were true to their teetotal principles, while those who were seduced had been long upon the coast and away from missionary influences!” Damon’s words imply that Kānaka who were abstaining from alcohol had not been in California long at the time of Damon’s visit in 1849. Additionally, Damon shared that when he arrived in Irish Creek, he was welcomed by Kānaka, “many of whom [he] had known at the Islands, and some of whom were from Honolulu.” Damon’s comments about Kānaka living in Irish Creek suggest that they had been influenced by the teachings of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands. Kānaka were living in the region not just as gold miners, but to help spread Christianity.

113 Damon, “A Trip from the Sandwich Islands,” The Friend, December 1, 1849.
114 Teetotalism or temperance had become an official stance of the ABCFM in Honolulu in 1830 after several years of bans on alcohol in various Hawaiian Islands and the growing movement of temperance in New England. Jennifer Fish Kashay, “‘We Will Banish the Polluted Thing From Our Houses’: Missionaries, Drinking, and Temperance in the Sandwich Islands,” in The Role of the American Board in the World: Bicentennial Reflections on the
Christianity remained a central focus of Irish Creek Kānaka over the years. When Lowell Smith visited Irish Creek in 1868, he brought religious texts such as Bibles, New Testaments, and hymns, as well as other texts like geographies and arithmetic readers which, Smith stated, were gladly accepted by Kanaka residents who asked Smith to stay for a week. During that time, he held sermons twice a day, one in the morning and one in the evening.\(^\text{115}\) Nearly twenty years after Damon’s visit in 1849, Kānaka at Irish Creek were still practicing Christians who valued religious texts and sermons from visiting reverends. For Kānaka in Irish Creek, Christianity also served as a way to maintain a connection to the Hawaiian Islands where they had first been introduced to the religion. This connection was solidified through the creation of a Kanaka missionary society.

Kānaka at Irish Creek were members and officers of the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o California established in May 1862.\(^\text{116}\) In its first meetings, the name of the society was chosen, laws of the society were established, officers were elected, and the goal of the society was discussed. The first law stated that the leaders of the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o California were the chairman, secretary, and treasurer. The assembly chose T.W. Gulick, son of ABCFM missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, as the first chairman and Moses Nahola as the secretary. Hairam R. Nalau became the church treasurer in spring of 1863.\(^\text{117}\) The laws also established


\(^{116}\) Although the newspaper column describing the first minutes of the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o California does not state that it took place in Irish Creek, its location can be inferred based on the names of the officers elected. T.W. Gulick stayed in Irish Creek for ten weeks in 1862 and Moses Nahola, L.H. Kapuaa, H.R. Nalau, and J.M. Kake are listed elsewhere as living in Irish Creek. Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 6, 1862; “Poina,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 13, 1862.

that meetings, consisting of donations to charity and prayer, would convene in the evening of the first Monday of every month.

The main goal of the ‘ahahui (society) was converting indigenous peoples in the region. The elected committee in charge of determining approaches to accomplish this goal, L.H. Kapuua, H.R. Nalau, and J.M. Kake, connected their mission in California to the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii ma Honolulu (Hawai‘i Mission Society at Honolulu). They recommended collecting money each month to send to the Hawai‘i Mission Society of Honolulu along with requests for teachers for American Indians. Nalau also compared the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii ma Califonia to the original ABCFM missionaries that arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1820. Nalau stated that he believed the love that Hiram Bingham and the other missionaries had for him and Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands led him towards enlightenment and the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii ma Califonia could do the same for indigenous peoples in California. Nalau explained:

E pono ia kakou e haawi i ko kakou aloha no kekahi mau lahui Pegana hou aku, e noho ana i ka pouli o ka naaupo, a me ka poelele o ka make; e haawi io i ko kakou aloha, me ka minamina loa i ko lakou mau uhane.  

It is right for us to give our love for some new pagan nations living in the darkness of ignorance and the darkness of death; truly give our love, greatly valuing their souls.

Nalau compared the mission of the Kānaka in Irish Creek to that of the New England missionaries in the Hawaiian Islands, recommended sending money to the missionary society in Honolulu, requested teachers from the Hawaiian Islands, and the ‘ahahui elected T.W. Gulick as their first chairman. In these ways, Kanaka members of the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii ma Califonia viewed themselves as an extension of the American mission in the Hawaiian Islands.

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118 “Halawai Mua o Ka Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 8, 1862.
As the ABCFM missionaries left New England for the Hawaiian Islands, these Kanaka missionaries left the Hawaiian Islands for California.

**Relationships and Interactions with American Indians and Others in Irish Creek**

Irish Creek and the surrounding gold-mining region served as a site of interaction for Kānaka Hawai‘i, indigenous peoples, and the American and international populations of the mines. In addition to the desire to convert American Indians to Christianity, Kanaka residents of Irish Creek lived with and formed families with American Indians. Upon Theodore Gulick’s arrival to Irish Creek in 1862, he noted that Kānaka in Irish Creek were living with three American Indian women who had married three of the Kanaka men and had three children.\(^{119}\)

One Konkow woman, Lakaakaa (also named Hitokane), was adopted by Kānaka after they met in the Sierra Mountains in 1854. Because her parents lacked food, she frequently socialized with the Kānaka who fed her, helped raise her, took care of her as one of their own, and gave her a Hawaiian name, Waiuliuli (also written as Waiulili). Waiuliuli’s adoption brought her into the Kanaka community of Irish Creek where Gulick observed, once she left her parents and was given the name, Waiuliuli, “ua lilo maoli no ia he wahi kaikamahine Hawaii” (she truly became a Kanaka Hawai‘i daughter).\(^{120}\)

Waiuliuli married and had two sons with G.H. Kamakea, a Kanaka from Waiakea, Hilo, Hawai‘i, who arrived in California in 1852. Their first son, born in 1857, was named Samuela, and their second son, born in 1859 around the time that Kamakea died, was named after his

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\(^{119}\) Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawai Ma Kaliponia,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 26, 1862.

\(^{120}\) Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 12, 1862.
father. Waiulili then married A.E. Mahuka in 1860, had a daughter named Rebeka, and lived with her husband and daughter in Irish Creek.

As a member of her Kanaka family living in a Kanaka community, Waiulili learned the Hawaiian language. Charles Aaron described her as “he wahine makaakau no ma ke olelo Hawaii, me he mea la ua hanau kupa ia oia ma Hawaii” (a woman proficient in the Hawaiian language, as if she was a native born in Hawai‘i). Gulick also complimented Waiulili’s Hawaiian-language skills when he said she was, “ua Akamai ma ke heluhelu palapala ma ka olelo Hawaii” (skilled at reading Hawaiian language). Some Kānaka Hawai‘i also learned what Gulick called “olelo Ilikini” (American Indian language), most likely referring to Konkow language. This language exchange exemplifies the relationships formed between Kānaka Hawai‘i and American Indians in the Irish Creek region who lived together, formed families together, and regularly interacted with one another. Waiulili’s proficiency in speaking and reading in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i (Hawaiian language) shows that she, and perhaps other American Indians living with Kānaka, became immersed in Hawaiian language and culture as Kānaka welcomed them into their community, incorporated indigenous peoples into the spaces they established for themselves, and became incorporated into American Indian spaces.

In addition to living and forming families with American Indians, Kānaka Hawai‘i lived and worked with other Pacific Islanders, White Americans, Chileans, and others from throughout the world. At one point, there were several people from Mangaia, Cook Islands, living with Kānaka at Irish Creek, including Tipou and H.J. Ua, described by Theodore Gulick as “he

121 G.H. Kamakea died in Fremont. It is not clear if he and his family lived there or if he was just visiting at the time of his death. Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862.
122 Waiulili and her family are discussed further in chapter three. Ibid; Gulick, “No Ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek, Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 5, 1862.
123 Aaron, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 21, 1862.
124 T.W. Gulick, “No Lemaine Ka Makuahine o Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 13, 1862.
kanaka haipule” (a religious person) who was possibly attracted to Irish Creek by the Kanaka Hawai‘i Christian population and the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia. Christianity began to spread in Mangaia after 1839 through the teachings by Tahitians and a Rarotongan named Maretu who were trained by London Missionary Society (LMS) missionaries. Tahitian and other Pacific Islander missionaries traveled throughout the Pacific with LMS missionaries, including to the Hawaiian Islands, and the Mangaians in Irish Creek may have traveled to California to continue their missionary work after living in the Hawaiian Islands. Irish Creek was an inclusive space that welcomed others such as the Mangaians with whom they shared cultural and linguistic similarities and who may have been attracted to the community for missionary purposes.

Kānaka Hawai‘i also interacted with White Americans in the gold mines and in Irish Creek. As discussed earlier, Reverend Lowell Smith visited Irish Creek in 1858 and held services for Kānaka and White miners in the region. When visiting the gold mines where Kanaka, Chinese, and White miners worked, Smith was asked by some White miners to preach to them. So Smith, accompanied by several Kānaka Hawai‘i, went to the encampment of the White miners on a Sunday morning where he observed:

Nui mai lakou, no ka mea, ua lohe lakou; e hai aku ke kahuna pule, ma ka olelo Beritania kekahi; a ma ka olelo Hawaii kekahi. A pau ka olelo Beritania, unuhi au, a hai aku ma ka olelo Hawaii.

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125 Aaron, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 21, 1862; Gulick, “No Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 26, 1862; Gulick, “No Ka Mai Puupuu Lilii, Ma Irish Creek, Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 5, 1862; Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862.

There were many of them [Haole] present for they had heard that the preacher was going to speak and that he spoke English as well as Hawaiian. After speaking in English, I translated into Hawaiian.\textsuperscript{127}

This bilingual sermon exposed both the Kanaka and White populations to each other’s languages while bringing them together in a venue other than the mines. That evening, Smith preached in the Kanaka community, Irish Creek, and approximately twenty White miners joined to hear Smith’s sermon.\textsuperscript{128} For the purpose of attending Christian sermons, Kanaka and White miners traveled to each other’s communities. Smith’s presence was cause for Kanaka and White miners from the region to gather in Irish Creek, exemplifying how the community served as both a central gathering site in the region and a site of diverse interaction.

Nations from all around the world were represented in the gold mines surrounding Coloma and Irish Creek. Kānaka Hawai‘i were sure to encounter people with diverse backgrounds while mining and living in the area, but the community at Irish Creek facilitated more intimate interactions such as familial relationships, living together as neighbors, or attending sermons together. In addition to the indigenous and White miners that Kānaka formed relationships with in Irish Creek, Kānaka also lived with Chileans. Chileans had arrived in the area to mine for gold as early as 1849 and by the early 1880s, they were living with Kānaka in Irish Creek.\textsuperscript{129} Irish Creek was located among American Indian, American, Chinese, Chilean, and other diverse mining populations, and welcomed these populations as guests, residents, and family members while serving as a community for Kanaka gold miners and families.

\textsuperscript{128} Translation by Charles Kenn. Ibid.
The Formation of Vernon

Many Kānaka that worked for John Sutter or were attracted to the region to mine for gold, eventually moved to Vernon on the east bank of the Sacramento River. Vernon was established just south of the junction of the Feather and Sacramento Rivers, across the river from Fremont, and roughly eighteen miles to the north of Sacramento. Vernon was centrally located and connected to the various towns and mining communities in the gold-mining region by a network of rivers. Kānaka living in Vernon utilized this river network to sell food.

Vernon was established as a trading center in 1849 for miners of the Feather and Yuba Rivers, but was soon superseded by Marysville in the north, a town that became “the important metropolis of the Feather and Yuba river mines.” The Kanaka community of Vernon either took over the community after the original settlers and the focus of trade and supply moved to Marysville, or Kānaka settled on the outskirts or in a specific part of the previously established Vernon. It is not clear when Kānaka first moved to Vernon and established a Kanaka community, but at least one Kanaka Hawai‘i, Jim Crow, settled down in Vernon by 1852. Jim Crow’s name refers to the derogatory term which stems from early-nineteenth century blackface minstrel performances. The Kanaka Jim Crow was likely given this name by White Americans for his ability to entertain, as a Maori, E Ware, was also given the name Jim Crow by his shipmates due to, as described by his shipmate Edward Wakefield, “his activity and mirth, together with his rich humour which he displayed in executing some of the native dances, as well as in mimicking almost every one on board.” David Chappell suggests that nicknames like “Jim Crow” were “tolerated by cross-cultural voyagers who had their own agendas. The

130 Gudde, California Gold Camps, 209-210, 359.
experienced Maori sailor E Ware joked, took the wheel, and showed off his skill to win jobs on ships.\textsuperscript{133} Likewise, the Kanaka Hawai‘i Jim Crow may have used his entertaining qualities to gain favor on ships or when he was working in the gold mines prior to moving to Vernon.

By 1864, Vernon had become a significant enough site for Kānaka Hawai‘i to include in kanikau.\textsuperscript{134} Some believe that Kānaka first lived in Fremont before settling across the Sacramento River in Vernon. The probability that they lived in, visited, and were familiar with Fremont, and possibly moved to Vernon after living in Fremont, is evident in kanikau composed from Irish Creek, Salmon Falls, and Vernon where Fremont and Vernon were mentioned in adjacent lines, showing that the two were connected and Kānaka may have moved between the two neighboring communities regularly. Other evidence suggesting that Kānaka moved from Fremont to Vernon is the relocation of T.B. Kamipele, who resided in Fremont in 1863 and, the following year, composed a kanikau from Vernon. A move from Fremont to Vernon is also suggested in Reverend John Pogue’s account of his visit to California in 1868 when Pogue was advised to go to Fremont on the west bank of the Sacramento River in order to find a Kanaka community. However, when he arrived, he learned that the Kānaka were instead living across the river in Vernon.\textsuperscript{135} By the 1860s, a Kanaka community was firmly established in Vernon and the community grew as a part of the gold-rush economy, not through gold mining, but through supplying fish and other produce to markets.

\textsuperscript{133} Chappell, \textit{Double Ghosts}, 37, 61, 63, 165.
\textsuperscript{134} Thomas B. Kamipele, “Make Ma Califonia,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, May 4, 1865.
Kānaka used variations of the name Vernon to refer to their community and described it by its landscape, its close association with Fremont, the rains and winds, and the movement of people.\textsuperscript{136} In Hariata Kulailua’s kanikau for William Mai, she referred to the fishing community as “Uanana” and described it in the lines,

\begin{align*}
\text{Ei aku nei paha oe,} & \quad \text{Here you are perhaps,} \\
\text{I ke kula la o Uanana.} & \quad \text{In the open country of Vernon.}
\end{align*}

Hariata Waiaholo similarly referred to “Wanana” in her kanikau for Hairam R. Nalau in the line, “I ke kula laula e [sic] Wanana” (the wide open country of Vernon), and, as has been discussed previously, the word \textit{kula} refers to both the landscape and gold. Even though Vernon was not a gold-mining town, it was still closely associated with the resource as residents still mined for gold elsewhere and served the gold-mining community through selling fish.\textsuperscript{138}

Adamu K. Waiaholo and Ioane A. Kapahukula, whose name means “gold chest,” describe Vernon, or “Wanana,” as associated with the neighboring town of Fremont. In his kanikau for Hairam R. Nalau, Adamu Waiaholo describes Vernon and Fremont in the lines,

\begin{align*}
\text{Luu aku i ka wai o Pilimona,} & \quad \text{Dive into the water of Fremont,} \\
\text{He lua noho ana e [sic] Wanana.} & \quad \text{Leisurely living in Vernon.}
\end{align*}

Kapahukula also describes Vernon and Fremont in his kanikau for Hana Kapu in the lines,

\begin{align*}
\text{Kuu hoa i ka wai o Pilimona,} & \quad \text{My friend in the water of Fremont,} \\
\text{I ka la welawela o Wanana.} & \quad \text{In the hot sun of Vernon.}
\end{align*}

Describing Vernon and Fremont in two lines together reveals a connection between the two communities. Their geographic proximity to one another is recognized as well as their complementary attributes. In Adamu Waiaholo’s lines, diving into the water of Fremont is

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{136} Some Kānaka Hawai‘i used multiple variations of the name within one piece of writing. W.D. Paniani, “Mai Na Aina E Mai,” \textit{Ko Hawaii Pae Aina}, July 19, 1879.
\item\textsuperscript{137} Kulailua, “He Kanikau No Wm. H. Mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, April 25, 1863.
\item\textsuperscript{138} Kaiahu, Paniani, Mahuka, Kapahu, Waiaholo, and Waiaholo, “Kanikau Aloha No Hairam R. Nalau,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, February 20, 1864.
\item\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.; Pukui and Elbert, \textit{Hawaiian Dictionary}, 213.
\item\textsuperscript{140} Makanui, Mahuka, Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia Mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, October 9, 1869.
\end{itemize}
complemented by the peaceful, leisurely living in Vernon. In Kapahukula’s composition, the cool water of Fremont is juxtaposed with the heat of the sun associated with Vernon. These complementary and balancing characteristics reveal that Kānaka Hawai‘i viewed Vernon and Fremont in close relation to one another and felt it important to describe one when describing the other.

Thomas B. Kamipele defines Vernon by describing the rain, wind, and river in the area in his kanikau for his American Indian wife Sinamae:

Kuu wahine mai ka ua hulilua o Vernon,
E lawe ia mai ana e ka makani he Kauliki,
Ku ka e-a a ka ua i ka muliwai,
Ka makani ua ia o ka Hooilo,
Aloha ke Paina e au nei i ka wai,

I awiliia ka wai kea me ka wai ula,

Ka wai ula ia o Palalewa,
O ka lepo ia no na kuahiwi mai,
Ku ka ma-ku a ka lepo i Sacramento,

Auwe kuu wahine, kuu hoa luhi hoi.  

My wife from the shifting rains of Vernon,
Brought by the southeasterly wind,
The spray of the rain rises in the river,
It is a rainy wind of the winter,
Beloved is the pine tree floating in the water,
The white water is mixed with the rain run-off, red with soil,
The red water is tossed here and there,
It is the dirt from the mountains,
The sediment of the dirt arrives in Sacramento,
Alas my wife, my companion who labored with me.

Kamipele’s stanza describes the turbulent river and stormy weather during the winter in Vernon. The season is characterized by the abundance of rain blowing all over and muddying the river. The stanza also shows that the region was connected by the river as the dirt from the mountains traveled to Sacramento. The storm also refers to the increasing population in the region and the destruction it caused to the land. The winds from the southeast point to this influx of people by referring to the direction from which immigrants arrived. The word to describe the rain, hulilua, also means “to turn in two directions or twice” and the word used to describe the dirtied water, paiālewa, also means “carry back and forth,” as a boat. These words refer to the movement of

\[^{141}\text{In this translation, the word “Palalewa” is viewed as a typo for the word paiālewa. Kamipele, “Make Ma Califonia,” Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa, May 4, 1865.}\]
people traveling in and out of the region, from mining site to mining site, town to town, or between the gold-mining region and their homelands. The kanikau composed by Hariata Kulailua, Hariata Waiaholo, Adamu Waiaholo, Ione Kapahukula, and Thomas Kamipele mapped Vernon by connecting the community to their relationships with William Mai, Hairam Nalau, Hana Kapu, and Sinamae, while describing the landscape, weather, and its association with Fremont and the gold rush. Although these composers referred to the community as Vernon, or a variation of the name, some have suggested another name was used by Kānaka.

Henry Azbill, grandson of Ioane Keaala o Kaiana, one of the Kānaka that traveled to California with John Sutter in 1839, stated in a 1971 interview that Kānaka Hawai‘i called Vernon, “Pu‘u Hawai‘i.”142 Charles Kenn also states that Kānaka called the community Pu‘u Hawai‘i and translates this name as “Hawaiian Haven.” Kenn explains that this name was used by Kānaka “in honor of their home land as a place for Hawaiians where they might seek and find refuge.”143 The name can also be translated as “Group of Kānaka Hawai‘i.” However, this name was not used by Kānaka writing to the newspapers in the 1860s and 1870s. It is possible that Pu‘u Hawai‘i and variations of Vernon were used simultaneously, the name of the town changed over time, or Pu‘u Hawai‘i was only used among Kānaka living in the region while Vernon was used primarily in the newspapers. The name Pu‘u Hawai‘i emphasizes that the Kanaka Hawai‘i community of Vernon was separated from other communities in Vernon, distinguishing the Kanaka population as different from the other nearby populations while also serving as a space for Kānaka to gather and live together in a familiar community while living in the ʻāina malihini.

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142 Henry Azbill, Recorded by Dorothy Hill, March 4, 1971, Recorded Interview, Dorothy Hill Native American Collection, MSS 160, DHAC-0020, Track 1, California State University Chico, Chico, California.
143 In a 1968 Sacramento Bee article, Grace N. Pearson states Vernon was “often referred to locally as Hawaiian Heaven.” This may be a mistranslation of “Hawaiian Haven” or an alternate name of the town. Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” 5; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 88; Grace N. Pearson, “History Reveals Role of Eight Hawaiians in Founding John Sutter’s Vast Empire,” The Sacramento Bee, July 28, 1968; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 358.
There are few descriptions of the layout and buildings of Vernon when it was first established. Those that exist describe the town as it was in the late 1800s and early 1900s. It is difficult to know when these buildings were first erected in Vernon and if any existed when Kānaka first lived in the area in the mid-1800s. However, they do help illustrate what the town grew into. By the late 1800s, Vernon had a livery stable, a saloon, a one room school, and cheese factories. Stephen Magagnini describes Vernon in the nineteenth century as having “boarding houses, gambling halls, saloons, shops, a bowling alley and a post office.”144 It was also a site for fishing and farming. John Willson worked as both a farmer and fisherman when he moved to the town in the early 1880s after he left the Hawaiian Islands and worked on a whaling ship.145 Bernice B. Gibson, who interviewed Willson’s daughter Mabel Willson Armstrong, stated that when Willson first arrived in Vernon, he “made his home with Mohonka and family, one of the earlier settlers of Vernon. Mohonka owned a livery stable and a saloon. Willson worked for Mohonka whenever he was not employed doing farm work or fishing.”146 Gibson also stated that Armstrong and her eight siblings attended the “former one room Vernon School” and that Vernon had four cheese factories that supplied markets in Sacramento.147

In 1911, Genevieve Y. Parkhurst visited Vernon and shared her observations in The San Francisco Call.148 Parkhurst describes Kānaka living in “picturesque huts on the east bank of the Feather river, near the thriving little town of Vernon.” There is a picture included in the article titled, “Sketch of the Hawaiian Village by Moonlight,” that shows several small houses on the shore of the river with docks and boats. The wording used by Parkhurst to describe the

146 It is possible that “Mohonka” is Edwin Mahuka who lived in Vernon around this time period. Ibid., 3-4.
147 Ibid., 4-5.
“Hawaiian colony” she visited suggests that, at least by 1911, Kānaka lived in their own community outside of, or on the edges of, a separate town named Vernon, either because their community had always been located on the outskirts of the town, the town expanded south over the years, or the Kanaka community had moved further north. Parkhurst stated that many of the Kānaka in Vernon owned “model farms of 5 to 10 acres all along the bank of the river in this vicinity,” with a focus on alfalfa, hogs, and dairy. These sources do not explicitly illustrate Vernon as it was when Kānaka were first living there in the mid-1800s during the gold rush, but they do provide an idea of what Vernon grew to be as Kānaka continued to live there in the following decades.

Vernon Demographics

Vernon was home to Kanaka fishermen, families, and families formed with American Indians. The census records, although only providing an approximate sample and not accounting for residents away in gold mines, portray Vernon as a community that was home to Kanaka families for multiple decades. In 1860, the census recorded three households with Kānaka members. Two of these households each had one Kanaka man and one Kanaka woman. The third household contained two families, one consisting of a Kanaka man and an American Indian woman from California, and the other a Kanaka man with a young boy and girl who were both born in California. The 1870 census focused on the population of Kanaka men, listing seventeen single men and just one Kanaka woman and three children, making a total population

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149 Parkhurst, “Hawaii in California.”
150 U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
of twenty-one. As Anne Hyde suggests, records of unmarried men were often inaccurate, and Vernon in 1870 most likely had more women and families than were recorded on the census.\textsuperscript{151}

Reverend John Pogue’s 1868 account of his visit to Vernon reported a smaller population of Vernon than the 1870 census, listing eight Kanaka men, one Kanaka woman, an American Indian woman, and three children, two of which were Kanaka American Indian girls. Manuiki, the Kanaka woman listed by Pogue and included on the 1870 census, was the mother of the three children, Hana, Harieka, and Rebeka, one of whom was listed on the 1870 census.\textsuperscript{152} The discrepancies between Pogue’s 1868 report and the 1870 census could show the changes in the population over the two years or they could reveal how populations were not accurately reported. Despite these uncertainties, the population records report an increase in population consisting of Kānaka Hawai‘i, American Indians, and their families. The 1880 census also reports a population of Kanaka families in Vernon. Four Kanaka households were reported, three of which included men, women, and children, with a total population of sixteen. Kanaka families continued to populate the community into the next century. On the 1900 census, Kānaka and their families totaling a population of twenty-two were reported living in Vernon.\textsuperscript{153}

Similar to the other Kanaka communities in Oregon and California, Kānaka living in Vernon came from different parts of the Hawaiian Islands. The Kanaka population in Vernon in the 1860s and 1870s, for example, were from Hawai‘i, Maui, O‘ahu, and Kaua‘i. The one hānau of those from Hawai‘i were Kohala and Wai‘ōhinu, Ka‘ū. Kānaka from Maui were from Hāmākua, Waihe‘e, and Ke‘anae. The one hānau of Kānaka from O‘ahu were Keawanui, Mānoa, and Kaumakapili. And Waimea, Kaua‘i, was the homeland of another Kanaka living in

\textsuperscript{151} Hyde, Empires, Nations, and Families, 19.
\textsuperscript{152} Manuiki and her family are discussed further in chapter three. Pogue, J.F. “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868.
\textsuperscript{153} U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
Kānaka from different ahupua‘a and islands found each other in California and formed a community together in Vernon.

Kānaka moved to Vernon after working for John Sutter, gold mining, or working on ships in California. Manuiki, who moved to California as Sutter’s employee in 1839, was a resident of Vernon with her husband, John Kapu, by 1868. Robert Paniani, who worked for Sutter in the 1850s, settled in Vernon after mining for gold in the region. Jim Crow moved to Vernon after successfully mining for gold northeast of Vernon along the Yuba River. In 1849, Crow joined Major William Downie’s prospecting company which consisted of Downie, seven African Americans, an American Indian, and a White boy. Crow left Downie’s company and started his own prospecting company of Kānaka. Their gold mining camp, Crow City, and the canyon in which it was located, Jim Crow Canyon, were named after Crow. By 1852, Crow was living in Vernon where he resided for the next several decades. Another Kānaka, Jon Willson, settled in Vernon in the 1880s after working on a whaling vessel. Kānaka such as Manuiki, Paniani, Crow, and Willson, took various routes from the Hawaiian Islands before reaching Vernon on the Sacramento River.

**Occupations and Social Life in Vernon**

Although Vernon grew out of the gold rush period, the primary occupation of Kānaka living in Vernon was not gold mining. Instead, Kānaka participated in the gold-rush economy as

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156 Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 95.
158 Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 97-98.
fishermen. Thomas B. Kamipele shows that fishing played a prominent role in the lives of Vernon Kānaka in the kanikau he composed for his American Indian wife, Sinamae. In the kanikau, Kamipele describes the process in which he and others in Vernon caught fish.

Kuu wahine mai na waa pea hulilua
Fremonts,
Na waa lawaia ia no Kakalameto mai,
Keia poe lea e hoopuni nei i ka ia he kamano,
Kani ka pio, o ka huki ia o ka upena,

My wife from the Fremont ferries,
The fishing boats are for Sacramento,
These happy people surround the fish,
salmon,
The whistle sounds, the fishing net is pulled up,
L.H. Kapuua calls next,
Our fishing net is lowered,
The spray of the water rises above, this is a dozen,
The prickly-skinned fish of California,
The toothless shark of this river,
Alas my wife, my companion who labored with me.160

Kamipele describes fishing in the river as a group activity and an established routine that required fishermen to work together to surround the fish with their boats and lower the net in unison. Fishing together, Kānaka caught numerous salmon and sturgeon, which Kamipele described as a toothless shark with prickly skin. The technique of fishing in a group using a net was a method used by Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands that Kānaka were able to utilize in Vernon where they continued to be fishermen throughout the nineteenth century.162

Fishing and economic interests helped connect Vernon to other communities in the Coloma-Sacramento local network. Kanaka Hawai‘i fishermen made money by selling their fish in markets in Sacramento. Mabel Willson Armstrong, who grew up in Vernon in the late 1800s and early 1900s, described this process to her interviewer Bernice Gibson. Gibson states that,

161 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
“Most of the Hawaiian people made their living fishing on the river. Different seasons produced different kinds of fish. Stripped [sic] bass, black bass, catfish and salmon were the principle kinds of fish sold.” Kanaka fishermen sold these fish to fish markets in Sacramento. The fish were taken to the markets on the riverfront “in a type of crate fastened to the side of the boat like a barge.” In addition to fish, the boat transported other produce to Sacramento markets “such as cream and cheese from the four cheese factories located in Vernon” as well as passengers. The boat usually left Vernon on Saturday and returned from Sacramento on Sunday by around four o’clock, a six-hour trip between the two sites. Passengers heading to Vernon were warmly welcomed. As Gibson describes:

The trip upstream was slow and tedious but a welcome awaited it in Vernon about four in the afternoon. People came from all around the country dressed in their best and driving their most spirited horses hitched to fancy wheeled buggies and surreys. The boat would dock loaded with merchandise from the big city. It was a time for the older folk to visit and the younger men to court the lovely young girls of the country around.

Kānaka in Vernon were able to use fishing knowledge and skills acquired in the Hawaiian Islands to financially support themselves and stay connected with Kānaka and others in Sacramento as they sold fish in the markets and brought visitors to Vernon on the returning fishing boats.

**Relationships and Interactions with American Indians and Others in Vernon**

Like in Kanaka Flat and Irish Creek, Kānaka in Vernon lived and formed families with indigenous peoples of the region. Censuses show Kanaka American Indian households populated Vernon throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The Kanaka

163 Kānaka fishing at Vernon also caught pike and sturgeon. Pogue, “Hawaiian Settlements in California.”
164 Gibson, “The Hawaiian Colony of Vernon,” 4-5.
165 U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, 1880, and 1900, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
American Indian population was also acknowledged in the 1881 report of Luka Kualawa who wrote:

Eia no makou, na kanaka Hawai‘i e ola maikai ana i keia la me na wahine Kaleponi 2 me na mea liilii 3. O ko makou nui e akoakoa nei maanei, 8 kanaka Hawaii maoli, 5 hapa Kaleponi.

Here we are, the Kānaka Hawai‘i living well today with two Californian women and three little ones. Our number that is assembled here is eight Kānaka Hawai‘i, five Kanaka Californians.\(^{166}\)

Kualawa made a distinction between Kānaka and Kanaka American Indians, implying that, although Kānaka and American Indians were living together and forming families together, a distinction was made between the two and the ancestral sides of both parents were acknowledged when referring to Kanaka American Indian offspring.

Numerous marriages and families were formed between Kānaka and American Indians in Vernon. Edwin Mahuka, who had been married to Waiuliuli in Irish Creek, married Kini, a Wintu woman, after Waiuliuli’s death. Mahuka had moved to Vernon with his and Waiuliuli’s daughter Rebeka, and there, he and Kini expanded their family to include another daughter, Ellen, and a son named Albert.\(^{167}\) Another Kanaka, William David Paniani from Līhu‘e, Kaua‘i, mined for gold throughout the region before moving to Vernon where he lived with his Maidu wife Julia and his nephew.\(^{168}\) Jon Willson also formed a Kanaka American Indian family in Vernon with his Irish American Indian wife. Before they moved to Vernon, Willson and his wife met near Wheatland, California working in the hop fields, likely at the Durst Ranch, a large

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\(^{166}\) Luka Kualawa, “Leta Na Kekahi Hawaii,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, May 7, 1881.

\(^{167}\) Mahuka’s family will be discussed further in chapter three. Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94; Pogue, “No Na Mea i Ike Maka ai ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868.

\(^{168}\) William David Paniani’s family will be discussed further in chapter three. Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas.”
hop grower and employer of migrant laborers.\textsuperscript{169} The Willsons had nine children who all grew up in Vernon.\textsuperscript{170}

Pamela Clenso, a Maidu woman, married three Kanaka men. She first married John Kapu, son of Sam and Elena Kapu, two of the first Kānaka to move to California with John Sutter. After John Kapu died, Clenso married Richard Hakauila Adams, a fisherman who moved to Vernon in the 1880s. After his death, Clenso married Aihi Eel who also worked as a fisherman in Vernon.\textsuperscript{171} Vernon was home to many Kanaka American Indian families and also facilitated relationships and interactions with other diverse populations. Kānaka sold fish in Sacramento to multiple markets, including Chinese markets, establishing economic relationships with different groups. There were also diverse populations from throughout the country and world traveling and working in the nearby region, including the fields surrounding Vernon.\textsuperscript{172} The fishing markets and its central access to the gold mines and other seasonal employment made it a successful site for Kānaka looking to form a community that could sustain themselves and their families over time.

\textbf{Conclusion}

Kanaka gold-mining communities and local networks are revealed through studying kanikau that include descriptions of the physical characteristics of the land, shared experiences, the labor required to fish and mine for gold, the difficulties and suffering experienced while


\textsuperscript{170} Gibson, “The Hawaiian Colony of Vernon,” 3-4.


\textsuperscript{172} Gibson, “The Hawaiian Colony of Vernon,” 4-5; U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, 1870, 1880, and 1900, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
living abroad, and the deep sadness felt for the passing of their friends who died while living in ka ʻāina malihini. Knowledge of the land, experiences, and relationships were inscribed to specific sites in these kanikau, portraying Kānaka in Oregon and California as having an intimate relationship with the ʻāina of the gold-mining region. Kānaka Hawaiʻi deepened their relationship with the ʻāina by forming and living in communities that allowed them to have permanent homes and form families while also traveling throughout the region to pursue economic opportunities. These communities fostered Kānaka relationships with one another as well as with American Indians and the diverse populations of the region, helping to form relationships that reinforced the communities themselves and incorporated the place into family history while also connecting communities to the larger region.
According to Katrina-Ann R. Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Nākoan Oliveira, “a rootless Kanaka – one whose connection to the ‘āina had been severed – suffered great psychological, emotional, and physical losses.” A “rooted” Kanaka, one who remained on their family’s ahupua‘a, surrounded by family, flourished. “People were considered an offshoot of the kalo – the ‘ohā, a sign of health and growth. The ‘ohana (family), a term derived from the offspring of the kalo, was the cornerstone of maka‘āinana life.”

However, Kānaka in Oregon and California removed from the ‘āina of their ‘ohana did not allow themselves to be severed from the genealogical connections to their ‘āina. Through the formations of families in Oregon and California, Kānaka reinforced connections to the Hawaiian Islands and their families living there while also forming new connections to the ‘āina in Oregon and California.

Like the ‘ōlelo noʻeau, “e kolo ana nō ke ēwe i ke ēwe” (“the rootlet will creep towards the rootlets”), meaning, “of the same origin, kinfolk will seek and love each other,” Kānaka living abroad sought out other Kānaka to form families and live within communities, expanding roots that originated in the Hawaiian Islands to span the Pacific Ocean and include sites in California and Oregon.

Connections to family members and the ‘āina were quite expansive since, as E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui explain, the ‘ohana refers to “relatives by blood, marriage and adoption,” and was inclusive of extended family members, believing that

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1 Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 40.
“to be nominally related is almost equivalent to ‘blood’ relationship.”³ Family relationships became linked to the ‘āina in western North America as they were intertwined with events, experiences, and travels associated with specific sites. Although these relationships allowed Kānaka to form new genealogical connections to the ‘āina in Oregon and California, Kānaka living abroad lacked the multi-generational connections to the ‘āina of Oregon and California and the region remained an ‘āina malihini.

Marriages to American Indians, on the other hand, helped Kānaka form relationships with others who had deeply rooted connections to the land. Through the formation of families, ancestral roots originating in the Hawaiian Islands spread throughout western North America, intertwining with those that originated in the ‘āina of Oregon and California as well as those from other distant lands. These familial relationships connected Kānaka to sites throughout the gold-mining region and linked those sites and the histories and experiences of their family members, helping Kānaka expand connections to the ‘āina malihini while remaining genealogically connected to their one hānau.

This chapter looks at three families to explore how Kanaka families linked Kānaka Hawaiʻi to the ‘āina through both relationships and the experiences and histories of relatives linked to the region. This chapter first follows the family of Mele Kainuha Keaala (Keaala), a Kanaka woman born in California in the mid-1800s to a Konkow mother and a Kanaka father who had traveled to California with John Sutter in 1839.⁴ Keaala and her children exemplify the experiences of Kānaka born abroad that were tied to both their Kanaka Hawaiʻi and American

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⁴ This dissertation refers to Mele Kainuha Keaala as Keaala since her son, Henry Azbill, states, “Kea'a'la [sic] was the name she went by.” Kainuha was Keaala’s “given Hawaiian name,” she was baptized Maria Guadalupe, referred to as Mary in English, and “her father called her Mele, after the English Mary.” *Mele* also means “song” or “to sing” in Hawaiian. *Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.*
Indian ancestral roots through events such as living with Konkow family members, being forced onto a reservation, and serving the mōʻī (king) in the Hawaiian Islands. Although Keaala and her family did not focus their lives or economic pursuits on gold mining, they lived in California before, during, and after the gold rush within the gold-mining region and maintained relationships with Kānaka that did mine for gold.

Next, this chapter follows the Butler-Paniiani family. The Butler family lived within the Yreka-Jacksonville local network and the Paniani family was part of the Coloma-Sacramento local network. Through their familial ties to one another, the Butler-Paniani family united multiple local networks and connected their family members to sites throughout the larger region encompassing Kānaka gold-mining and fishing communities from Oregon to California. Like Keaala’s family, the Butler-Paniani family also shows how Kānaka maintained connections with the Hawaiian Islands while forming new connections with the ʻāina of Oregon and California through marriages between Kānaka and American Indians as well as moving from California to the Hawaiian Islands.

Lastly, this chapter focuses on the family of Hanagula Kapu, a young Kanaka girl born in California in the Coloma-Sacramento local network. Hanagula’s family further shows how family ties linked people (including both Kānaka and American Indians) and places to one another within local networks and to the Hawaiian Islands. Like the relatives of Mele Keaala and the Butler-Panianis, Hanagula’s relatives tie her to multiple Kānaka and American Indian families in the area who are linked to the establishment of John Sutter’s fort and other landholdings, Konkow homelands, gold mining, and travels to the Hawaiian Islands. The families of Mele Kainuha Keaala, the Butler-Panianis, and Hanagula Kapu were also tied to one another, weaving together their genealogies as they grew throughout western North America.
These three families each show how Kanaka familial relationships formed between Kānaka, American Indians, and others, helped form connections with the ‘āina of Oregon and California while also reinforcing ties with the Hawaiian Islands. Although living in an ‘āina malihini, genealogical roots from the Hawaiian Islands spread to the places where Kānaka Hawai‘i lived and formed families abroad, incorporating California and Oregon into genealogical connections to the ‘āina.

Mele Kainuha Keaala

Mele Kainuha Keaala was born in the Tá‘yimk‘oyo‘-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat area of Butte County, California, in 1864. Keaala lived in California throughout her life with the exception of two trips in 1881 and 1891 accompanying King Kalākaua to the Hawaiian Islands where she lived for a total of nine years. On her first trip, Keaala joined Kalākaua on the last leg of his voyage around the world, serving as his pa‘a kāhili (kāhili bearer) and staying in the Hawaiian Islands for six years. She returned to California in 1887 after accompanying Queen Kapi‘olani and Princess Lili‘uokalani on the first leg of their journey to Queen Victoria’s Golden

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5 There is some contradictory information on whether Keaala’s birthplace was Tá‘yimk‘oyo‘, Yankee Hill or Cherokee Flat. Yankee Hill and Cherokee Flat are just several miles away from each other along the Feather River and close to the Konkow village, Tá‘yimk‘oyo‘, located between the North Fork and Middle Forks of the Feather River. Margaret Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians (Chico, California: Jensen Graphic, 1974), 16; Photograph of Mele Kainuha Keaala and John Azbill’s Gravestone, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Gudde, California Gold Camps, 68, 377; “Henry Azbill, Charlies Johnson and Myself (Craig Bates) on the way to the Hesi and up Iron Canyon, Chico November 8, 1969,” Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 4, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Francis A. Riddell, “Maidu and Konkow,” in Handbook of North American Indians, vol. 8, California, ed. Robert F. Heizer (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 370-371.

6 A kāhili is a “feather standard, symbolic of royalty” made out of a long staff with feathers at the top. The staffs were often made out of wood, but some were made “by stringing disks of tortoise shell, bone, or ivory on a slender core of kauila wood or whalebone.” Sometimes, human bones were used in the kāhili staff, such as the handle of one kāhili which “contains the right shin bone of Kaneoneo, as well as bones of Kaiana, Kalanikupule, and other lesser chiefs who were killed in the battle of Nuuanu in 1795 and were thus honored by Kamehameha.” Ka‘iana, whose bones are in Kamehameha’s kāhili handle, was the great-grandfather of Mele Kainuha Keaala. This kāhili is currently in the Bishop Museum collection. Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 112; Te Rangi Hiroa (Sir Peter Buck), Arts and Crafts of Hawaii (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1957), 578-580.
Jubilee in England. Keaala was serving as Liliʻuokalani’s lede ukali (lady-in-waiting) but left the huakaʻi aliʻi (royal journey) when they arrived in California so she could return to her home in northern California. Keaala traveled to the Hawaiian Islands once more several years later after Kalākaua passed away in San Francisco and Keaala accompanied the king’s body back to the Hawaiian Islands. She remained there for three more years until she returned to California to work at the Midwinter International Exposition in San Francisco. Although she was born in California, Keaala was called on to serve Kalākaua and accompany him to the Hawaiian Islands due to her lineage.

According to the story told by Margaret Ramsland and Keaala’s son, Henry Azbill, in The Forgotten Californians, Edwin Mahuka, described as the Kanaka Hawaiʻi Representative in California and Keaala’s uncle, wanted all the Kānaka living in the area, including Keaala, to greet the mōʻi when he arrived in Sacramento in 1881. Mahuka introduced Keaala to Kalākaua and chanted Keaala’s genealogy which included Keaala’s great-great grandfather, ‘Ahuʻula Keawe (‘Ahu‘ula), brother of Kame‘eiamoku and Kamanawa, who were known as the “Sacred Twins of Keawepoepoe” or the “Twins of Kekaulike,” and ancestors of Kalākaua. Ramsland and Azbill state that because Keaala and Kalākaua had common ancestry, Keaala was asked to accompany Kalākaua to the Hawaiian Islands as his pa‘a kāhili.

Keaala met Kalākaua at the end of his voyage around the world, which Kealani Cook describes as a pivotal moment that helped encourage Kalākaua “to greatly accelerate and enlarge

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7 For more on this huakaʻi aliʻi written by those on the journey, Liliʻuokalani and the royal attendant, James Washington Lonoikauali‘i McGuire, see: Liliʻuokalani, Hawaii’s Story by Hawaii’s Queen (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1990) and James W. L. McGuire, He Moolelo Pokole o ka Huakai Hele a ka Moiwahine Kapiolani i Enelani i ka Makahiki 1887 i ka Iubile o ka Moiwahine Vitoria o Beretania Nui (Honolulu: ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i, 1995).
9 Ibid., 17; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Transcript of Interview with State University, Chico.
his domestic and foreign agenda, focusing on increasing the strength and prosperity of the Kingdom and the lāhui [nation] while combating the menace of formal and informal empire.”

After this voyage, Kalākaua “placed a renewed energy behind his efforts to develop a pro-Native national culture” and began seeking allies throughout the Pacific Ocean to form an anti-colonial Polynesian Confederacy that united Pacific Island nations based on genealogical and historical connections, starting with a treaty with Sāmoa in 1887. When Kalākaua invited Keaala to join him on his return to the Hawaiian Islands in 1881, he recognized her genealogical past and ties to the Hawaiian Islands as well as her genealogical connections to the United States, strengthening Kalākaua’s status as king as well as the status of the Hawaiian Kingdom as he navigated, embraced, and, as Cook argues, embodied, both Kanaka Hawai‘i and European/American political and cultural traditions. Like his later Polynesian Confederation with Sāmoa, Kalākaua was seeking to strengthen the independence and international status of the Hawaiian Kingdom through genealogical connections linking the Hawaiian Islands to distant lands as well as to the history of the Hawaiian Islands.11

Keaala’s genealogy tied her to Kalākaua, the island of Hawai‘i, Kamehameha I, and kūpuna that, like Keaala, traveled across the Pacific. Keaala’s great-great-grandfather ‘Ahu‘ula was the son of Keaweikekahiali‘iokamoku (Keawe), who was ruler of Kohala, Kona, and Ka‘ū on the island of Hawai‘i.12 Samuel M. Kamakau describes Keawe as “he ali‘i puni makaikai” (an ali‘i fond of travel) who visited Maui, Molokai, and O‘ahu.13 Keawe’s grandson, Ka‘iana ‘Ahu‘ula (Ka‘iana), also traveled but his journeys took him across the Pacific to China and the Nootka Sound.

11 Cook, “Kahiki,” 141, 173, 189, 201.
12 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 64.
13 S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo Hawaii,” Ke Au Okoa, February 2, 1871, 1; Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs, 64.
Kaʻiana, son of ʻAhuʻula and Kaupekamoku, was the great-grandfather of Mele Kainuha Keaala. According to Kamakau, Kaʻiana was “he aliʻi naauao” (an intelligent aliʻi), profoundly adept in numerous skills, including kaʻa kaua (war strategy), and as a kuhikuhipuʻuone (seer, priest who advised concerning building and locating of temples, homes, and fish ponds), papa huli honua (expert who determined land boundaries), kahuna, kākāʻōlelo (orator), kūʻauhau kūpuna (genealogist), and other practices. Like his descendants, Kaʻiana traveled beyond the shores of the Hawaiian Islands. In 1787, Kaʻiana left the Hawaiian Islands on the ship Nootka captained by John Meares and sailed for China and the Nootka Sound in the American Northwest.

When Kaʻiana returned in 1788, he brought with him “four swivel cannons, six muskets, three barrels of gunpowder, and five double canoes loaded with metal tools and iron bars,” which he gave to Kamehameha I. In return, Kamehameha I made Kaʻiana a favorite, valuing the weapons and skills he had acquired while abroad, and urged him to remain on the island of Hawaiʻi rather than sail for Oʻahu or Kauaʻi where Kaʻiana’s brothers lived. Kaʻiana fought on the side of Kamehameha I during his campaign to take control over all the Hawaiian Islands. However, Kaʻiana switched sides at the Battle of Nuʻuanu on Oʻahu and fought against Kamehameha I. Kamakau states that Kaʻiana changed sides because he knew the counselors of Kamehameha I were plotting against him since he was well skilled and “trained in the use of [foreign] weapons” by Captain Meares. In The Legends and Myths of Hawaii: The Fables and Folk-lore of a Strange People, Kalākaua suggests that the main cause for Kaʻiana’s defection was Kamehameha’s jealousy of Kaʻiana’s military skill as well as the interest Kaʻahumanu,

14 S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo o Kamehameha I,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 27, 1867, 1; Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs, 153.
15 Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians; Henry Azbill’s Family Tree, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Chappell, Double Ghosts, 100, 101.
Kamehameha’s wife, showed for Ka‘iana. Ka‘iana died at the Battle of Nu‘uanu in 1795 fighting Kamehameha’s army. Ka‘iana’s wife, Keekupuhi, remained on the side of Kamehameha I and was later part of Liholiho’s (Kamehameha II) household. The son of Keekupuhi and Ka‘iana, Keaala, was Mele Kainuha Keaala’s grandfather.

Keaala and Keuapo‘i‘ula’s son, Ioane Keaala o Ka‘iana (Ioane Keaala) was the father of Mele Kainuha Keaala. Ioane Keaala moved to California in 1839 with nine other Kānaka as part of John Sutter’s workforce. Ioane Keaala worked at Hock Farm, established by Sutter in 1841 on the west bank of the Feather River approximately thirty-five miles north of present-day Sacramento, the site of Sutter’s fort. In 1850, there were fifty to seventy-five laborers that took care of Sutter’s livestock and agriculture at Hock Farm. In the spring of 1856, Sutter had twelve acres of vineyards with over seventeen thousand vines planted by his workers. However, during this time, Sutter accrued an increasing amount of debt and by 1860, he struggled to hire and pay his workers. In an interview, Ioane Keaala’s grandson, Henry Azbill, states that Ioane Keaala “was the last Hawaiian left at Hok [sic] farm. Sutter told him he had no money to pay him with so he would have to go.”

After working for Sutter, Ioane Keaala decided to remain in California where he worked as a deckhand on river boats on the Sacramento River. On one trip up the river to Chico, an incident occurred that would later impact his family’s lives. As Henry Azbill explains, at the site

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17 Although others use variations of the name, this dissertation uses the spelling “Ioane” because it is the spelling used in a letter written by Ioane Keaala’s grandson, Henry Azbill, to Charles Kenn in “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas.” Ioane Keaala was also called John Kelly. Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*; Koppel, *Kanaka*, 31; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 92; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Henry Azbill’s Family Tree, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, California State University, Chico.

18 Hurtado, *John Sutter*, 92, 288, 310, 316; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, March 3, 1971, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, Tape 4, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
where the boat was docking at Chico Landing, “there’s a limb that caught on the superstructure of the boat and when it released, fell back and hit old [John] Bidwell in the head. It knocked him unconscious and he fell into the water and my grandfather jumped in and pulled him out.” To thank the man that saved his life, Bidwell told Ioane Keaala, “that anytime he desired a place to live, why he was just entirely welcome to come to the Bidwell Ranch whenever he so desires.” This was an offer that was later accepted by Ioane Keaala’s daughter, Mele Kainuha Keaala.  

While in California, Ioane Keaala married Sumyneh, the daughter of Kulmeh, a Konkow chief, and lived with Sumyneh’s Konkow family. The Konkow are part of the Maidu language group in northeastern California and lived in “a portion of the Sacramento Valley floor and a section of the sierra foothill east of Chico and Oroville.” Beginning in the mid-1800s, Konkow and other indigenous peoples in the region were brutally forced onto reservations. One such reservation, the Nome Lackee Reservation was established in 1854 northwest of Chico, twenty miles west of the town Tehama, as part of an act passed by the U.S. Congress to supposedly provide protection and subsistence for American Indians. However, even though the residence of American Indians at Nome Lackee Reservation was supposed to be optional, U.S. soldiers brutally gathered and forced indigenous peoples in the Sacramento Valley to move to the reservation. In 1856, the Nome Cult Farm was established in Round Valley approximately forty miles west of Nome Lackee Reservation in Mendocino County to provide food for the reservation. American Indians from the Nome Lackee Reservation were enlisted to help establish the farm and they “carried farm tools, seeds, and food to Nome Cult under deplorable

19 Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, March 3, 1971, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, Tape 4, California State University, Chico; Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
20 Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 5; Riddell, “Maidu and Konkow,” 372.
conditions,” walking over snow covered mountain passes, “carrying fifty-pound packs and wearing little or no clothing.” In *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation*, William J. Bauer, Jr. calls the use of American Indian laborers at Nome Cult Farm “a system of unfree labor” created by government officials. Nome Cult Farm became Round Valley Reservation and when other reservations in the region, such as Nome Lackee Reservation, were shut down in the early 1860s, American Indians, including some Konkow, were transferred to Round Valley Reservation.\(^22\)

In 1862, Konkow at Round Valley Reservation feared they would starve or be killed by White Americans in the region if they remained, so roughly five hundred Konkow left the reservation to return to the Sacramento Valley.\(^23\) But the following year, Konkow in Sacramento Valley again faced danger. In 1863, White residents of Butte County demanded all of the American Indians in the region be rounded up at John Bidwell’s property in Chico after three White children were attacked by American Indians who killed at least two of the children.\(^24\)

From Chico, 461 Konkow were forced to march approximately one hundred miles to Round Valley Reservation.\(^25\) Only 277 Konkow arrived at the reservation two weeks later. There was

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\(^{22}\) Nome Cult Farm was ordered to be a reservation in 1858 but Round Valley Reservation was not formally established as a reservation until an executive order in 1870. Rogers, “Early Military Posts of Mendocino County, California,” 215; William J. Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California’s Round Valley Reservation, 1850-1941* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 38-39, 52-53.


\(^{24}\) In *The Forgotten Californians*, Margaret Ramsland states that “In 1863 three white children were attacked and two of them, both boys, killed by Indians while on their way home from school. The other, a girl, although badly mis-treated, escaped and made her way to safety.” In “Bidwell Rancheria,” Anne Currie states, “Indians in the hills murdered three children, out gathering berries, and Butte County rose up in arms.” Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*, 8-13; Currie, “Bidwell Rancheria,” 318; “Trip to Round Valley Along the Same Route Taken by the Army’s Drive of the Maidu Indians to the Mendocino Reservation in 1863, As Told by Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill in the Late 1960’s,” Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 7, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.

\(^{25}\) One hundred miles is the distance listed by Margaret Ramsland in *The Forgotten Californians*. In the 1960s, Henry Azbill served as a guide to Anne Currie and her students as they retraced the approximate route Konkow took from Chico to Round Valley Reservation. This 168 mile route along present roads took them from “Chico to Sacramento River north, crossing highway 32 approximately one mile south of the former Colby Ferry, Stony
not an adequate supply of food or water on this forced march and the pace of seven miles per day in rough terrain caused many Konkow to struggle. Thirty-two Konkow died or were killed along the march and 152 Konkow stopped along the route in Mountain House where they could walk no further due to lack of food and exhaustion.  

Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh were among those forced to the Round Valley Reservation.  

Their children, Hiram, who was two years old at the time of the forced migration, and Serrah, who was eighteen months old and had to be carried, also made the journey to Round Valley Reservation. From the reservation, it is said that Ioane Keaala wrote a letter to the mōʻi in the Hawaiian Islands, believing that both he and his wife were subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom and should not be forced to live on the reservation.  

Ioane Keaala, his wife, and their two children, Hiram and Serrah, were then allowed to leave the reservation and return to the Tá·yimk’òyo’-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat region. Once they had returned from the reservation,
Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh had three other children, Hoku, Pua, and Mele Kainuha.\textsuperscript{30} When Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh died, Serrah and Mele Kainuha remained in the area while their brothers moved to live with their uncle, Mahuka, in Vernon, the Kanaka fishing community on the Sacramento River approximately eighteen miles north of Sacramento.\textsuperscript{31} The siblings were not, however, cut off from one another, as Kānaka in the Chico region remained in contact with Kānaka in Vernon and traveled between the two places. By 1887, both Serrah and Hiram were living in Chico together on the Bidwells’ property, Rancho Chico, where Hiram worked as a “ranch hand and cowboy” on the Bidwell Ranch.\textsuperscript{32}

Hiram and his siblings moved to various places throughout California as well as outside of the state, forming diverse connections to the sites they traveled and lived. Hiram eventually left Chico and settled down in the state of Washington. Henry Azbill explained to Charles Kenn that after his uncle Hiram worked on Bidwell’s ranch in Chico, he “drifted east and married a

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reservation, and because “she was told by her mother and others of the Indians what had occurred, she could tell the stories to her younger sister, Mary Azbill [Mele Kainuha Keaala]. In turn Mary told the stories to her sons, so the boys [Henry and John Azbill] were able to piece together much of the truth.” Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 14.
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\textsuperscript{30} The names of the children of Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh come from Mele Kainuha Keaala’s genealogy in Margaret Ramsland’s The Forgotten Californians and in the Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection at California State University, Chico. In another source, Keaukuilani is listed as a sister of Mele Kainuha, and in another, Wonoma is listed as a sibling. Henry Azbill’s Family Tree, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, California State University, Chico; Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Paul D. Bowman, “Aloha Oie: Polynesian Pioneers of Butte County,” Dogtown Territorial Quarterly 20 (Winter 1994): 39.
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\textsuperscript{31} In one interview, Henry Azbill described the death of his grandparents. This story was recorded in Dorothy Hill’s interview notes: “Whenever Kea‘a‘ala [sic] tried to establish himself, and worked some land, a white man would file on it (till the early 70’s). Drove him crazy and killed his wife and committed suicide. The children were left as orphans.” Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 16; Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Audio Recording of Interview with Henry Azbill, March 4, 1971, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, DHAC-0020, Track 1, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
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\textsuperscript{32} Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 92; Letter from Hiram Keaala to Annie K. Bidwell, March 7, 1887, Annie K. Bidwell Collection, California History Room, California State Library, Sacramento, Sacramento, California.
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white woman.” Hiram and his wife returned to California and lived in the Bay Area before moving to Yakima, Washington, where they grew apples.33

Hiram’s sister, Mele Kainuha Keaala, also traveled far from Chico. As discussed earlier, Keaala left Chico for Sacramento in 1881 at the request of her uncle Mahuka to greet King Kalākaua. After two trips to the Hawaiian Islands, she returned to San Francisco in 1894 where Kānaka and the Hawaiian Islands were on display at the California Midwinter International Exposition. The exposition was open from January 1894 to July 1894 and included buildings and exhibits representing “thirty-six California counties, five American states, the Arizona Territory, and thirty-eight nations.”34

The Hawaiian Islands were represented by a cyclorama portraying Kīlauea and an exhibit called the “Hawaiian Village” which included Kanaka dancers and entertainers, as well as objects such as Queen Lili‘uokalani’s bed, the royal throne, kāhili, and royal cutlery and glassware.35 A year before the Midwinter Exposition was scheduled to open, on January 17, 1893, a small group of Haole, supported by the U.S. Minister John Stevens and backed by soldiers from the USS Boston, overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom and replaced it with a provisional government. Queen Lili‘uokalani and thousands of Kānaka Hawai‘i protested the overthrow and the provisional government’s proposal for U.S. annexation. The Midwinter Exposition took place during this period of turmoil and protest and the exhibit representing the Hawaiian Islands was administered by Lorrin Thurston, a Hawaiian Islands-born missionary

33 Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 92; U.S. Census Bureau, 1930, Round Valley Reservation, California.
descendent who helped plot and conduct the overthrow. As the San Francisco newspaper, The Morning Call, noted, if Queen Liliʻuokalani should be restored to her former regal position as ruler of the Hawaiian nation, her return to power will be devoid of the imperial attributes she formerly enjoyed. She cannot occupy the throne of Hawaii while the Midwinter Exposition lasts, for the very good reason that she will have no throne to sit upon. That royal piece of furniture and other appurtenances of the exmonarchial [sic] trappings of the island kingdom have been brought to Sunset City, and are on exhibition in the Hawaiian village.

Thurston’s choices for the exposition were political maneuvers to physically remove the throne from Queen Liliʻuokalani and the Hawaiian Islands. Unbeknownst to even Kānaka Hawaiʻi who worked in the exhibit, Thurston removed the objects from the Hawaiian Islands in secret to be displayed as curios in California as Kānaka Hawaiʻi were protesting the overthrow and the provisional government in the Hawaiian Islands.

In addition to these objects, as at the Chicago World’s Columbian Exposition the year before, Kānaka Hawaiʻi, objectified and eroticized, were a part of the Hawaiian Village exhibit. Mele Keaala was among the Kānaka on display, either as a dancer, saleswoman, to make fans, hats, and lei, or to assist on the exhibit grounds. As someone who had served Kalākaua and Liliʻuokalani, Keaala may have lost her position and place in society after the overthrow and saw the exposition as an opportunity to return to the land of her birth. While working at the

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37 “The Throne of the Hawaiian Islands,” The Morning Call, January 22, 1894.
38 Ibid.
exposition, Keaala met John Azbill, whom she soon married. The family of John Azbill would further link Keaala to a dreadful, appalling history of the region and the racist, violent acts of White Americans toward American Indians.

John Azbill was the son of an American father of British descent, Frank Azbill, and a Wailaki mother, Henokmei. Frank Azbill and Henokmei’s marriage was, as their grandson Henry Azbill explains, “performed in the Indian manner” and “the Azbill family never recognized that as a marriage.” Frank Azbill moved to California from Kentucky with his parents, his brother Pierce, and his adopted brother Jim Naphus in the 1840s. The family spent time mining for gold in the Sierra Nevada mountains before moving to Bodega in Sonoma County on the California coast north of San Francisco. From there, Frank and Pierce Azbill, along with Naphus, traveled north in 1854 where they hunted deer and tanned the hides to sell to miners. During this trip, they ventured to the location of Round Valley between the Middle Fork and North Fork of the Eel River in Mendocino County and continued north to Hettenshaw Valley. The following year, while traveling in the region, Pierce Azbill made an agreement with a Mexican to trade American Indian girls in exchange for the Mexican’s horses. Azbill planned to find these girls in Round Valley.

American Indians were used as workers throughout California due to the Act for the Government and Protection of the Indians passed by the California state legislature in 1850.

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40 Keaala had been previously married to George Clements, but the marriage did not last long. Margaret Ramsland states that this marriage took place when Keaala was about fifteen years old in 1879. In interview notes with Henry Azbill, it is stated that Keaala’s marriage to Clements probably took place in 1887 after Keaala returned from the Hawaiian Islands. Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 16, 18; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico.

41 The Azbills were originally from Kentucky but had moved to Missouri before migrating to California. The Azbills immigrated to North America from England in 1648. The name “Azbill” has also been spelled “Asbill.” Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians; Frank Asbill and Argle Shawley, The Last of the West (New York: Carlton Press, Inc., 1975), 11; Bauer Jr., We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here, 33-34; Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 4, California State University, Chico.

42 Frank Azbill is credited for naming the valley “Round Valley.” Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, May 15, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Bauer Jr., We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here, 33-34.
According to William J. Bauer, this act allowed justices of the peace or judges to “hire out loitering Indians to ranchers and farmers,” it allowed “whites to post bail for Indians accused of misdemeanor crimes then put these Indians to work to pay off the bond,” and the act allowed “whites to indenture Indian children with parental consent. Indian boys could be indentured until the age of eighteen and girls until the age of fifteen. Employers had to provide food, clothing, and humane treatment, but the state rarely investigated abuses.” Instead, Bauer explains, “at its worst, this law created a system of Indian slavery in California.”

After Pierce Azbill’s meeting with the Mexican horse trader in 1855, he, Frank Azbill, and Jim Naphus began participating in this system of slavery in California.

The brothers returned to Round Valley where they began capturing and luring Yuki children. In some instances, they used their attack dog and the hunting technique of “treeing,” a practice that normally featured hunting dogs chasing animals up into trees so hunters could easily shoot the animals. After using their attack dog to successfully trap children, the Azbills and Naphus locked the children in chains. They lured other Yuki children to their camp by feeding them beans and syrup. The Azbills and Naphus left Round Valley, took the Yuki children out of Yuki territory, and traded thirty-five Yuki girls for 105 horses. As Bauer states, “the Asbills had enticed girls to their camp with sweets, abducted them, and callously exchanged them for livestock. In their search for personal wealth, the Asbills sent Yuki girls into a life of illness, servitude, and sexual violence in white and Californio households.”

These horrific acts promulgated by Frank Azbill and his brothers make it difficult to believe that his marriage to a

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43 Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 32-33.
44 The Azbills and Naphus also captured two Yuki boys who they trained to shoot rifles and hunt. They used the two boys to convince the Yuki girls to leave Yuki territory. The Azbills and Naphus then kept the two boys with them for years after. Bauer Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here*, 35-36.
Wailaki woman was anything but another act of bringing an American Indian woman into a life of servitude and sexual violence.

Frank Azbill’s wife, Henokmei, died when their son, John, was young. Frank Azbill remarried to a White woman, Mary Frost, who, according to John Azbill’s son, Henry, did not want John Azbill around and sent him to a Catholic school in Santa Clara. The Azbill family’s treatment of Henokmei, John Azbill, and other American Indians shaped how the descendants of John Azbill felt and identified with this side of their genealogical past. In 1968, John Azbill’s son Henry wrote a letter to his friend, anthropologist Dorothy Hill, describing his feelings towards his father’s Azbill family:

> While I do know nearly all of the Azbill family that came here in 1844, because of their strong prejudices toward the Indian people or any other group whom they do not consider American; have never held any amicable relationship with them. I honor my father and carry his name because he was an Azbill, but as far as I am concerned, I am a Ke’a’a’ala [sic] out of the house of Ka’iana and a Ko-yong-kau-wi. The Azbill’s are “kuaaina poe haole, a hanau opala” [white people from the country, and give birth to trash]. Holy mackerel I should not have said that.

The genealogical ties to the ‘āina through relationships to the Azbill side of the family were violent, prejudiced, and abusive toward American Indians, and were remembered by Henry Azbill with grief and disgust. Rather than connecting with the Azbill side of his family, Henry Azbill more closely related to the Kanaka Hawai‘i and Konkow family of his mother, whom John Azbill met in San Francisco at the Midwinter International Exposition.

Mele Keaala and John Azbill married in July 1894 and moved north to Chico to live on John Bidwell’s property. Bidwell had previously promised Keaala’s father a place to live in appreciation for saving his life. Although Ioane Keaala never took Bidwell up on this offer, it was extended to his daughter. Bidwell constructed a house for Mele Keaala and her family on a

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45 Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico.
46 Azbill to Hill, May 15, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
corner of the Rancho Arroyo Chico land, the area populated by American Indians near Bidwell’s ranch. Keaala and Azbill had six children, Pierce, Ruby, Cora, Marie, Henry, and John, however, all but Henry and John died as young children. Keaala also adopted a daughter, Lealani, a Polish German girl. Keaala taught Lealani hula and Lealani starred in many shows, including the play *The Bird of Paradise* that traveled throughout the U.S. in the 1910s and 1920s.47

Although Keaala was born in California, she had learned hula, either from her relatives in California or when she lived in the Hawaiian Islands, and passed on her knowledge to her daughter, Lealani. Keaala was also knowledgeable of Konkow cultural traditions such as basket weaving, a common tradition throughout many indigenous cultures in California. As Ralph Shanks explains, each California indigenous culture uses unique basket weaving construction features, designs, and materials. Shanks also states that “individual women had their own artistic tastes and some baskets could be identified by a weaver’s personal design choices.”48 Keaala used briar roots, mallard duck feathers, woodpecker feathers, shells, and other materials in her baskets and was known for her “ants on a log” design on her coiled baskets, a design consisting of a diagonal checkered pattern of two rows of squares that crisscross with other diagonal rows of squares throughout the basket.49 As Henry Azbill explains, “it’s my mother’s trademark cause this was the first design that she used in the first basket she ever made. So from then every

47 Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, March 3, 1971, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, Tape 4, California State University, Chico; Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*, 19; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico.
basket that she made usually carried this design in some form or other through it." Keaala was able to connect to both her ancestral roots that grew from the Hawaiian Islands and those from California. Travels to the Hawaiian Islands, serving Kalākaua and Liliʻuokalani, learning and passing on Hawaiian cultural traditions such as hula, language, and food, and remaining in contact with Kānaka Hawaiʻi throughout the gold-mining region helped Keaala maintain and expand her connections to the Hawaiian Islands and pass on those connections to her children. Keaala remained in Chico until her death in 1932, the year both she and her husband John Azbill passed away.

Like Keaala, her son Henry Azbill grew up immersed in the different cultures of his parents; his mother was Kanaka Hawaiʻi Konkow and his father was Wailaki American of British descent. At home, Henry spoke Hawaiian or Konkow language until his father tried to prevent him from speaking any language other than English. However, this did not stop Henry. When his father was home, he would speak English, but when his father was away, he would speak either Hawaiian or Konkow language.

Henry grew up with his younger brother, John, and their adopted sister, Lealani. In the early 1900s, Lealani left Chico and traveled around the United States as a performer in the play *The Bird of Paradise* and Henry traveled with her as a costume manager for the play. Music for *The Bird of Paradise* was supplied by the sons of W.K. and Ellen Halemanu of Iosepa, Utah.

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50 Keaala was also known for her cooking. She was skilled in cooking Konkow, Hawaiian, German, Jewish, Italian, Mexican, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, French, and Spanish dishes and was often requested to cater Annie Bidwell’s events at the Bidwell residence in Chico. Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Ramsland, *The Forgotten Californians*, 20.

51 In an interview, Henry says he spoke “Indian” and Hawaiian languages at home. He does not specify if he spoke Konkow or Wailaki language but it is most likely that he spoke Konkow because he grew up among Konkow in Chico. Audio Recording of Interview with Henry Azbill, c. 1971, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, DHAC-0202, Track 2, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.

52 “From the Mikchopdo [sic] Legachi Part 2 by Craig Bates Presented at Oakland Museum 2/29/92,” Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 7, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
a Kanaka Hawai‘i Mormon settlement located in Skull Valley about seventy-five miles southwest of Salt Lake City. The Bird of Paradise opened in Los Angeles in 1911, opened on Broadway the following year, and toured throughout the United States as well as to London into the 1920s. The tour featured Kanaka Hawai‘i musicians and dancers whose performances and song recordings are credited with popularizing Hawaiian music throughout the United States.

The play, set in the Hawaiian Islands in the 1890s, follows the fictional relationship of the two main characters, Paul Wilson and Luana. Christopher B. Balme summarizes the plot: “Paul Wilson, a young man fresh from college, comes to Hawaii to work among the lepers of Molokai. The steamer stops at the Puna Coast of the Big Island. There he meets and falls in love with a beautiful Hawaiian girl, Luana, who is a descendant of the Hawaiian king Kamehameha and has been brought up by a Hawaiian priest.” After Wilson and Luana marry, they live on the island of Hawai‘i where several different characters interfere with their relationship. Eventually, Luana is convinced to move to Honolulu to become the queen of the Hawaiian Islands. After Luana and Wilson’s relationship deteriorates, and “on learning that her people are endangered by volcanic rumblings, she leaves [Wilson], returns to the Big Island and, in order to appease the wrath of the goddess Pele, casts herself into the molten maw of a nearby

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53 Iosepa, Utah, was established in 1889. Many songs were composed in Iosepa by well-known Kanaka musicians, such as the Halemanu family. Edna Hope Gregory, “Iosepa, Kanaka Ranch,” *Utah Humanities Review* 2, no. 1 (January 1948): 3, 6; Pukui, Mary Kawena, Hannah Kame‘amea, Eleanor Horswill Williamson, and J. Purdy, Tape Recording, Honolulu, Hawai‘i, November 7, 1963, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

volcano,” a widely advertised dramatic scene ending the play.\textsuperscript{55} *The Bird of Paradise*, in addition to popularizing Hawaiian music, misrepresented, romanticized, and eroticized Kānaka Hawaiʻi and the Hawaiian Islands while portraying Hawaiian culture through the eyes of the play’s non-Kanaka American creator, Richard Walton Tully.

Despite their talent and popularity, Kānaka Hawaiʻi were used only to serve as support and background to the White Americans acting in the play.\textsuperscript{56} Because Lealani was White, she may have been allowed an acting role where her complexion and background in hula were valued since other actors attempted to learn hula from the Kanaka Hawaiʻi musicians who performed in the play.\textsuperscript{57} The roles of Kānaka Hawaiʻi from Iosepa, Chico, and the Hawaiian Islands as singers, musicians, dancers, and crew in *The Bird of Paradise* fostered relationships between the Kānaka performers and workers, allowing Henry Azbill and others to find a Kanaka community and connection to the Hawaiian Islands as they lived and traveled throughout the United States.\textsuperscript{58}

Henry Azbill then worked to educate others about Konkow and Kānaka Hawaiʻi as a member of the American Indian Historical Society, a lecturer on American Indian history and

\textsuperscript{55} The play was turned into a movie in 1932. Like the play, the main characters in the movie were not played by Kānaka, but the role of “The King” was played by Napoleon Pukui, the husband of Mary Kawena Pukui. Balme, “Selling the Bird,” 6-8, 12-14; “Hawaiian Singers in ‘The Bird of Paradise’ Started a Musical Fad,” *Harrisburg Telegraph*, October 15, 1917, 9; “Bird of Paradise Brought Hawaiian Music Fad East,” *The Washington Herald*, April 14, 1918; “The Bird of Paradise,” *Daily East Oregonian*, April 4, 1919; *The Bird of Paradise*, directed by King Vidor, RKO Radio Pictures, Inc., 1932.

\textsuperscript{56} Margaret Jolly has discussed a similar occurrence in the 1958 movie *South Pacific* where Pacific Islanders only appeared as the backdrop for the White main characters. Jolly states that in the movie, “indigenous Pacific women are a chorus, a beautiful backdrop, part of the lush scenery of Bali Ha’i, but not the subjects of interracial romance, which is enacted elsewhere.” *The Bird of Paradise* differs slightly from *South Pacific* because one of the main characters in the play was a Kanaka woman, Luana, but she was only ever played by White actors. Margaret Jolly, “From Point Venus to Bali Ha’i: Eroticism and Exoticism in Representations of the Pacific,” in *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. Lenore Manderson and Margaret Jolly (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 113.

\textsuperscript{57} Balme, “Selling the Bird,” 15.

\textsuperscript{58} After Henry Azbill traveled across the U.S. as a costume manager for *The Bird of Paradise*, he moved to China where he worked for several years before returning to California to live in San Francisco. “From the Mikhopdo [sic] Legachi Part 2,” MS 160, Box 2, Folder 7, California State University, Chico; Record of Funeral for Henry Azbill, October 17, 1973, *California, San Francisco Area Funeral Home Records, 1895-1985*, Ancestry.com.
culture in California, and by sharing his family’s stories, history, and culture with researchers, such as anthropologist Dorothy Hill. In his letters with Hill, Azbill was particularly reflective of his family, culture, and identity as a Kanaka Hawai‘i Konkow American due to the nature of their friendship. Azbill was viewed by Hill as an expert on Konkow and Kanaka culture and was expected to be a representative of both while he struggled to grasp where he belonged. Azbill frequently traveled between his home in San Francisco and Chico, but when considering what Chico meant to him, Azbill stated it was “only a place of fond memories. It is the home of my mother’s Indian ancestors long before there was ever any Chico. It is the place of my birth. It is where the bones of my parents rest. It is where I hope mine will rest, but I do not know where my home is. All I know that it is somewhere here in this great big land and it is mine.” Azbill is connected to the ‘āina of Chico through his mother’s ancestors and the burial sites of his parents, yet he did not consider Chico his home, and instead expressed uncertainty to where exactly his home was. Azbill was hinting at his internal struggle to identify with just one place as his home since he was connected to ancestral roots in both the Hawaiian Islands and California, and this reflection in his letter to Hill also served as a reminder to his friend that he was more than just the stories and information he shared in interviews and presentations.

While Hill’s research interviews with Azbill focused on his American Indian ancestry, Azbill’s letters to Hill focused on his Kanaka background. Azbill was demonstrating to Hill his knowledge and connections with both of his ancestral backgrounds while also using his letters to reflect and express how he personally found ways to connect and identify with his Kanaka Hawai‘i ancestral roots to a friend who most of the time asked him to only provide information

60 Azbill to Hill, January 26, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
without reflection to classes and in interviews. In his letters, Azbill expressed the ways he found himself connecting with Kanaka culture through his knowledge in Hawaiian language and his social relationships with other Kānaka Hawai‘i. Azbill explained that, since living in San Francisco, he had “been with the Hawaiians so long I quite often speak the language unconsciously at times,” and told Hill that, “I do most of my thinking in Hawaiian.”

Azbill also expressed his love for Kanaka history and culture, saying to Hill, “sometime I am unable to pull myself away from the work of Kamakau.” In another letter, Azbill professed his skill and knowledge in creating lei palaoa (whale-tooth necklaces). In Hill’s interviews with Azbill, he shared Maidu objects he made, such as headdresses. Through his letters, he attempted to share Kanaka Hawai‘i objects he made in an effort to find balance in presenting both Konkow and Kanaka sides of his family background through sharing the ways he connected to both.

Into the 1960s, Azbill remained in contact with Kanaka family members in California where gatherings included hula performances. At one family gathering in January 1968, Henry’s niece, who was in her mid-forties and had been “in her youth one of the outstanding hula dancers in the Bay area,” brought her hula students to Azbill’s home along with his other family members, music, and food for this celebration. Azbill explained, “It fitted so well with the Maka Hiki, [sic] and the girls and my grandnephew who know how I dislike these modern hulas did themselves well, especially with the Hula Inoa which is the chant of our family, the chant to

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61 Azbill to Hill, January 26, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, March 21, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
62 Azbill to Hill, January 26, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, February 3, 1969, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
Pele, and especially to chant to Lono for whom the Maka Hiki honors.”\textsuperscript{63} Azbill relayed his taste in hula and his experiences with his Kanaka family members to Hill as a way to put these experiences in Hill’s record of Azbill’s culture and family history. Through Hill’s interviews and Azbill’s letters to Hill, Azbill was actively shaping how Hill viewed him and his culture as not just stories of the past but histories intertwined with the present that at times could cause personal, internal conflict for Azbill.

Mele Kainuha Keaala’s genealogical connections to the ‘āina spread throughout California and to the Hawaiian Islands. Relationships and experiences were interwoven with place, fostering a relationship between Keaala, her family members, and the ‘āina. Keaala’s father formed relationships with the ‘āina through his marriage to Sumyneh, connected with the Tá’yimk’öyo’-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat region and the forced march to Round Valley Reservation where Ioane Keaala successfully petitioned that he and his wife were subjects of the Hawaiian Kingdom, a story passed down to his descendants.

Relationships with the ‘āina established by one family member were passed on to others. The relationships Ioane Keaala formed when he first moved to California while working for John Sutter connected him as well as his descendants to the Coloma-Sacramento local network, ties that were strengthened when Mele Kainuha Keaala’s siblings were sent to live with their uncle Mahuka in Vernon and when Mele Keaala was called upon by Mahuka to greet King Kalākaua in Sacramento. The story of Ioane Keaala saving John Bidwell allowed his descendants to live

\textsuperscript{63} Henry Azbill does not explain who the family members at the celebration are or how they are related to him. His sister, Lealani, married a Dutch person and moved to Java and his brother John had one son, Kenneth. The Makahiki a “time of rejoicing, leisure, hula dancing, and sports” that begins in October or November and lasts for three to four months, during which “Lono ruled the ‘Āina as supreme Akua over all, replacing Kū, the war Akua who ruled the ‘Āina for the other eight months of the year.” Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, January 6, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians; Henry Azbill’s Family Tree, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, California State University, Chico; Kame’eleihiwa, Native Land and Foreign Desires, 29.
in Chico, connecting this story to the home of Mele Keaala and John Azbill. Keaala’s family was also connected with the Hawaiian Islands through Ioane Keaala’s ancestral roots and Mele Keaala’s voyages to the Hawaiian Islands and service for Kalākaua and Liliʻuokalani. The ancestral roots of Mele Keaala spread from the Hawaiian Islands throughout California, connecting to Sacramento, Vernon, Chico, the Tá‘yimk’óyo‘-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat region, and Round Valley Reservation, while connecting back to the Hawaiian Islands and intertwining with others established in California and elsewhere as she and her family members formed families with Konkow, Wailaki, and Americans of British descent. Other Kanaka families, such as the Butler-Paniani family, also formed connections to the ʻāina throughout California and Oregon as well as the Hawaiian Islands through their relationships and experiences connected to place.

**The Butler-Paniani Family**

In the 1970s, Stephen Remers traveled from his home in San Diego to southern Oregon and northern California to trace his genealogy. Remers’ great-grandfather, William “Bill” Makakoa Butler, left his one hānau, Moaliʻi, Lahaina, Maui, and lived throughout the Yreka-Jacksonville local network mining for gold near the Kanaka Hawaiʻi community Kanaka Flat in the mid-nineteenth century. Makakoa married and had children, including Remers’ grandmother Isabel Butler who eventually moved to the Hawaiian Islands where Stephen Remers was born. Isabel Butler’s sister, Emily, remained in western North America and married John William Paniani, who grew up in the Kanaka fishing community Vernon before moving to northern California to mine for gold. The families formed by Makakoa and his descendants connected them to sites in the Hawaiian Islands and throughout Oregon and California through the
relationships formed in different locations and the experiences tied to specific sites, helping the Butler-Paniani family form a relationship with the ‘āina of Oregon and California while at the same time finding ways to connect to ‘āina Hawai‘i.\(^{64}\)

By the mid-1800s, Stephen Remers’ great-grandfather, William Makakoa Butler, was gold mining in southern Oregon near Kanaka Flat and living with other Kānaka in the gold-mining settlement Sterlingville, located approximately nine miles south of Jacksonville.\(^{65}\) During this time, Butler established a home in Kanaka Flat and by the early 1860s, married a Shasta woman, Mary Decker.\(^{66}\) While living in Kanaka Flat, Makakoa and Mary (Decker) Butler interacted with the diverse population that had come to the area for gold mining. One of these interactions resulted in a gun fight between Makakoa and a Spaniard named Parlan Escalona. The Oregon Sentinel reported that Escalona “stole” Mary, who was approximately twenty years old at the time, from Kanaka Flat, “or got her away, and brought her down to the town [Jacksonville]. [William] Butler went to Eskalone’s house and got her back.” Chelsea Rose explains that “Indian women could be purchased or traded for ‘housekeeping, prostitution, or marriage,’” and it seems Escalona felt it was within his right to kidnap Mary Butler for one of these purposes. Fortunately, Makakoa was able to bring Mary back to Kanaka Flat from

\(^{64}\) Various records provide conflicting dates of when Stephen Remers’ grandparents moved to the Hawaiian Islands. Because the family is listed in the 1900 Honolulu census, it is believed that they moved prior to 1900. Mike Chapman, “Man Traces ‘Roots’ Back to Kanaka’s Community,” Siskiyou Daily News, August 29, 1978; U.S. City Directories, 1954 and 1959, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; U.S. City Directories, 1959, San Diego, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; Photograph of Butler Family, Klamath River, 1921, Butler Folder, Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.

\(^{65}\) This dissertation uses the spelling “Makakoa” found in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa used by Kanaka Flat resident J.A. Alapai as well as T.W. Gulick and Lowell Smith. William Makakoa Butler was the son of William Butler from England and a Kanaka Hawai‘i woman. Family Tree and Photograph of Butler Family, Butler Folder, Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Sterlingville, Jackson County, Oregon; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawai‘i Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 7, 1866; “Mai Oregona Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 29, 1868; Family Tree of Butler Family, Butler Folder, Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.

\(^{66}\) Mary Decker was the daughter of John and Annie Decker. Family Tree of Butler Family, Butler Folder, Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society; “Spaniard Shot,” Oregon Sentinel, July 12, 1862.
Escalona’s home, but the conflict did not end there. The Oregon Sentinel continues, “The Spaniard, on the morning of the 4<sup>th</sup> [of July], went to Butler’s house, and after some harsh words had passed between them Eskalone went towards Butler, when the latter seized his gun and shot [Escalona]… near the region of the heart.” Escalona died two hours later. 67

Butler was tried in the Jackson County Circuit Court in the State of Oregon vs. William Butler in October 1862. It was ruled that “William Butler on the fourth day of July AD 1862 in the County of Jackson and State of Oregon did purpose by feloniously and of deliberate and premeditated malice and without the authority of Law kill Parlan Escalona by shooting him with a gun.” However, the court then discharged Makakoa Butler from his recognizance, allowing him to be released from custody without bail. 68 This episode exemplifies the treatment of some American Indian women and Kanaka by the populations in gold-mining communities and the need for Kanaka and American Indians to live within a community like Kanaka Flat where they could feel some level of security and control of their space.

In 1865, Makakoa officially claimed a piece of land on Kanaka Flat where his home was built, held by Makakoa “by right of possession,” and amounting to about four acres. 69 Makakoa and Mary Butler lived in Kanaka Flat throughout the 1860s and by 1880, they moved south to Humbug, California, northwest of Yreka. The Butlers had several children, including Stephen

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67 “Spaniard Shot,” Oregon Sentinel, July 12, 1862; Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 92.
69 William Butler then sold all or some amount of this land a few months later in a group sale with several others who sold land to Loui and Company on September 13, 1865. “Notice to hold a piece of land on Kanaka Flat on Jackson Creek,” June 19, 1865, Mineral Records, Jackson County Records, Series I, Subseries C, Volume 8a, 73, University of Oregon Special Collections, Eugene, Oregon; “Bill of sale, Henry Parker & others To Loui & Co. (Chinaman),” September 13, 1865, Mineral Records, Jackson County Records, Series I, Subseries C, Volume 8a, 109, University of Oregon Special Collections, Eugene, Oregon.
Remers’ grandmother Isabel, her brothers Frank and William, and her sister Emily. 70

Eventually, the Butlers moved to the Kanaka community Honolulu (Gottville) located northwest of Yreka on the Klamath River. 71

While in northern California, Makakoa and Mary Butler’s daughter, Isabel Butler, married Walter Jarrett, a Kanaka born in the Hawaiian Islands who had traveled to California to mine for gold. 72 Walter and Isabel (Butler) Jarrett married in 1887 in Yreka, California, before moving south to Vernon in the Coloma-Sacramento local network, where Walter worked as a carpenter. According to Charles Kenn, Walter Jarrett “was the first to ship salt salmon to Hawaii in barrels from Sacramento.” 73 Jarrett’s business established an economic relationship between Vernon and the Hawaiian Islands, and connected his homeland to the Kanaka fishing community in California. After living in different Kanaka communities in California, Walter, Isabel, and their two children, Walter and Emma, moved to the Hawaiian Islands. Isabel (Butler) Jarrett, who was born in Oregon and lived in California, was able to connect to the ‘āina of her father’s homeland by marrying Walter and relocating to the Hawaiian Islands where her grandson, Stephen Remers, would later be born and grow up before moving to California in the 1950s.

70 The names of the children of Makakoa and Mary Butler come from a family tree in the Butler Biography folder at Southern Oregon Historical Society. Census records provide different information. Family Tree of Butler Family, Butler Folder in the Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaiʻi Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 7, 1866; “Mai Oregona Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 29, 1868; Gudde, California Gold Camps, 163; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Humbug, Siskiyou County, California.


72 Isabel Butler was born in Oregon around 1871. Walter Jarrett’s father was from the United Kingdom and his mother was from the Hawaiian Islands. U.S. Census Bureau, 1900 and 1910, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; W.L. Eastlick, ed., Siskiyou County Marriages 1852 thru 1910 Compiled by Caraway and Louise George (Yreka, California: Genealogical Society of Siskiyou County, 1994); Chapman, “Man Traces ‘Roots.’”

73 Eastlick, ed., Siskiyou County Marriages; California Voter Registers, 1894, Sutter County; California Voter Registers, 1896, Sutter County; California Voter Registers, 1890, Sacramento County; Charles W. Kenn, “Sutter’s Canacas.”
Isabel (Butler) Jarrett’s family who remained in California were then also able to form new connections to the Hawaiian Islands through Isabel’s marriage and move. Isabel (Butler) Jarrett’s sister, Emily, remained in California and formed ties to sites in the Yreka-Jacksonville and Sacramento-Coloma local networks.\

Emily Butler married Charles Blockwell, a White barber, in Jackson County, Oregon, in 1870 before moving south to Scott Valley in Siskiyou County, California. Charles and Emily (Butler) Blockwell lived in the town southwest of Yreka with their four children, but eventually the two divorced and Emily married John William Paniani. John Paniani was born in the 1860s in California. His mother was Konkow and his father was Robert Paniani from Kaua‘i who moved to California in the early 1850s. Robert Paniani mined for gold in California before moving to Vernon where John Paniani grew up with his uncle, William David Paniani. Although he was raised in California, John Paniani made at least one trip to the Hawaiian Islands in 1885. By the mid-1890s, John Paniani moved back to California, but not to Vernon or

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74 Despite discrepancies on U.S. censuses on the location of Emma Jarrett’s birthplace, it is most likely that Emma was born in California, not Oregon, since she was born around 1893 at the time her father (Walter Jarrett) was living in Vernon, California. While living in the Hawaiian Islands, Emma Jarrett met her husband, William Remers, who was born in 1890 in Kentucky, and moved to the Hawaiian Islands by the 1920s. U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, 1910, and 1940, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; California Voter Registers, 1894, Sutter County; California Voter Registers, 1896, Sutter County; California Voter Registers, 1900, Sacramento County; Chapman, “Man Traces ‘Roots’ Back to Kanaka’s Community,” *Siskiyou Daily News*, August 29, 1978.

75 Charles Blockwell moved to Oregon from Washington, D.C. His father was from South Carolina and his mother was from Virginia. *Jackson County, Oregon Marriages 1853-1877*, compiled by Ruby Lacy (Medford, Oregon: Southern Oregon Historical Society, 1974); U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Scott Valley, Siskiyou County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California; Eastlick, ed., *Siskiyou County Marriages 1852 thru 1910*.


77 Some sources state that John Paniani was taken to the Hawaiian Islands by his father when he was six years old and attended school in Honolulu and at Lahainaluna School on Maui. Charles Kenn states that Paniani remained in the Hawaiian Islands for twenty years and “became a member of Queen Liliuokalani’s Household Guards, and after annexation, participated in Republican politics,” before he returned to California. However, the dates provided for Paniani’s supposed twenty-year stay in the Hawaiian Islands conflict with other sources such as a letter from his uncle, census data, marriage records, and voter registries. It is also possible that John Paniani did attend school for a time in the Hawaiian Islands but returned to California by 1879 where he attended school in 1880. Paniani, “Mai Na
another Kanaka community in the Coloma-Sacramento local network. Instead, John Paniani moved to Cottonwood in northern California in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network where he worked as a miner in the surrounding gold mines.  

While living in northern California, John Paniani met and married Emily (Butler) Blockwell in 1895. John and Emily Paniani lived in communities throughout the Yreka-Jacksonville local network such as Yreka and Mountain Township, located at the junction of the Klamath and Scott Rivers west of Yreka and Honolulu (Gottville). John mined for gold throughout the region while they remained close to Emily’s family and lived in the same town as Emily’s ex-husband, Emily and Charles Blockwell’s children, and their families. By 1920, John Paniani was living alone at the Round Valley Reservation, the reservation that Mele Kainuha Keaala’s grandparents, parents, and siblings were forced to live in the 1800s.

John Paniani’s time in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network was centered on gold-mining opportunities, but prior to his move to northern California, he lived in the fishing community Vernon in the Coloma-Sacramento local network with his uncle, William David Paniani. W.D. Paniani, whose family was from Līhuʻe, Kauaʻi, moved to California from the Hawaiian Islands.

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78 California Voter Registers, 1894 and 1898, Cottonwood, Siskiyou County.
80 History of Siskiyou County, 67; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1910, Yreka, Siskiyou County, California.
81 It is a possibility that Emily and John divorced and Emily remarried Frank Davenport. A note written on a photograph of the Butler family at the Southern Oregon Historical Society writes Emily’s name as “Emma Davenport” and the 1930 Mountain Township census lists Frank Davenport’s wife as “Emily,” who was born in California and whose father was born in Hawai‘i and mother was born in California. In a 1956 Ukiah Daily Journal article, John Paniani was described as being “very active in church work. He loved to sing hymns in Hawaiian as well as in English, accompanied by his guitar. He also spoke Spanish fluently.” U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, Round Valley Reservation, California; Photograph of Butler Family, Butler Folder, Biographies Vertical File, Southern Oregon Historical Society; U.S. Census Bureau, 1930, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California; Murphey, “Covelo News,” Ukiah Daily Journal, December 3, 1956.
in 1849. W.D. Paniani mined for gold and lived in different Kanaka communities throughout California. In the early 1860s, W.D. Paniani lived with several other Kānaka in Cherokee Flat, located along the West Branch of the Feather River, east of Chico.\textsuperscript{82} Cherokee Flat was established after “a band of young Cherokee Argonauts” that were “led from Indian Territory by their New England schoolmaster” discovered gold at the site in 1850. Soon after, the town was established in 1853 when the “first stores [were] erected by Welsh miners.”\textsuperscript{83} Like other gold-mining sites, this town was named for those who first mined for gold there, connecting the town to its gold-mining history and to the story of the young Cherokee students who traveled to California from Indian Territory, a place where, just over ten years earlier, Cherokee had been forced to march after being removed from their homelands in southeastern United States.

W.D. Paniani mined for gold in Cherokee Flat before he moved south to Salmon Falls, located west of Coloma “on the South Fork of the American River, a few miles from the junction with Middle Fork; now partly under Folsom Lake.” Salmon Falls was “one of the earliest successful gold camps, probably discovered by Mormons from Sutter’s grist mill before July, 1848,” and home to multiple Kanaka gold-miners.\textsuperscript{84} From Salmon Falls, W.D. Paniani composed a kanikau for Hairam R. Nalau, a Kanaka who had lived in Cherokee Flat with Paniani and was a member of the Aha Hui Misionari Hawai i o Califonia centered in Irish Creek outside

\textsuperscript{82} Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” \textit{The Saturday Star-Bulletin}, February 17, 1956; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Vernon, Sutter County, California; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, September 12, 1863; Gudde, \textit{California Gold Camps}, 68.

\textsuperscript{83} The town reached its “heyday” following W.D. Paniani’s residence. In 1875, Cherokee Flat had “its own theatre, race track, and brewery, 2 churches, 3 lodges, 8 hotels, 17 saloons, and a population over 1,000.” In addition to gold, the first diamonds found in the United States were found at Cherokee Flat in 1853. Stone Plaque, Cherokee, Butte County, California.

\textsuperscript{84} Gudde, \textit{California Gold Camps}, 302.
Paniani’s kanikau describes the surroundings and experiences he and his
companion Nalau witnessed together in the region.

Kanikau la he aloha,
No Hairam R. Nalau,
Auwe kuu hoa pili,
Kuu hoa pupuu anu,
O ke kualiwi kualono,
Kuahiwi noho a ka manu,
Mai na pali kiekie,
Na kahawai hohonu,
Na awaawa li-o li-o,
Haiki pilikia hoi,
Noho aku ai kaua,
O ke kula ano mehameha,
Hookahi no lehulehu,
Ka manao a loko---e;
He uhane hele kaapuni,
No Hairam R. Nalau,
Auwe kuu aikane,
Ka mea aloha ua nalo.  

A lament, a sentiment of love,
For Hairam R. Nalau,
Alas my close friend,
My friend curled up due to the cold,
Of the mountain ridge,
Mountain where the birds reside,
From the tall cliffs,
The deep rivers,
The bright valleys,
Suffering for want of food,
We reside,
In the lonely, silent, open country,
The multitude is united,
The idea within,
A spirit travels a circuit,
For Hairam R. Nalau,
Alas my intimate friend,
The beloved person is lost.

W.D. Paniani expresses his grief for the loss of his friend while describing the pain and
difficulties they had experienced living throughout the region, from the valleys to the mountain
ridges. Paniani’s relationship with Nalau was intertwined with the places they lived and
experienced together. The two lived together in Cherokee Flat and in the region surrounding
Coloma as Nalau lived in Irish Creek and Paniani composed this kanikau from Salmon Falls.

W.D. Paniani left Salmon Falls and by 1870, he was living in Vernon. While Vernon
became Paniani’s permanent residence, he continued to travel throughout the region, mining for
gold or looking for seasonal employment. When he wasn’t traveling, he worked as a fisherman

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87 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
88 Paniani was also recorded as living in Amador County in Copper Hill, south of Salmon Falls between the Cosumnes River and Little Indian Creek in 1873. U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California;
in Vernon where he lived for the next few decades with his Maidu wife Julia and his nephew John until John moved north and married Emily Butler Blockwell.  

W.D. Paniani’s travels and family relationships helped him form a connection to the ‘āina throughout California and Oregon. W.D. Paniani is related to the Butler family through his nephew, John Paniani, who married Emily Butler, the daughter of William Makakoa Butler and sister of Stephen Remers’ grandmother, Isabel Butler, connecting him to the Yreka-Jacksonville local network. W.D. Paniani is also related to Mele Kainuha Keaala since Keaala’s great-grandfather, Ka‘iana, was related to W.D. Paniani, connecting Paniani to Chico and the Tā’yimk’ōyo’-Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat region.  

Through marriage and family relationships, the Butler-Paniani family spread their connections to the land across a vast region of California and Oregon. Forming relationships linked to specific locations, experiences, and histories helped strengthen their connections to the ‘āina malihini. Marriages also connected Makakoa and his family to American Indians and Kānaka living in the Hawaiian Islands, providing them with multi-generational genealogical ties to the ‘āina in Oregon and California through the ancestral backgrounds of their American Indian family members and new genealogical connections to the Hawaiian Islands through the ancestral backgrounds of their Kanaka family members. Their various relationships, experiences, and travels linked the Butler-Paniani family to Kanaka Flat, Honolulu (Gottville), Mountain


89 W.D. Paniani was admitted to United States citizenship in 1876 and was a registered voter throughout the 1880s and 1890s. W.D. Paniani also had a son named Frank. It is not clear who Frank Paniani’s mother is since the census states that his mother was born in Washington. W.D. Paniani’s wife Julia was from California and is not listed on the 1900 Vernon census with W.D. and Frank Paniani. Paniani, “Mai Na Aina E Mai,” *Ko Hawaii Pae Aina*, July 19, 1879; California Voter Registers, 1882, 1886, 1890, and 1896, Vernon, Sutter County; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” *The Saturday Star-Bulletin*, February 17, 1956; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Vernon, Sutter County, California.

90 The spelling of William David Paniani’s name in the notes from an interview with Henry Azbill is “Bill Spanani.” Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, September 28, 1969, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 5, California State University, Chico.
Township, and other sites in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network, Vernon, Salmon Falls, and other places in the Coloma-Sacramento local network, Chico, the Tá‘yimk’oyo-‘Yankee Hill-Cherokee Flat region, other gold-mining sites in California, and the Hawaiian Islands. By linking relationships, experiences, and specific locations, Kānaka in the Butler-Paniani family were beginning to form relationships with the ‘āina in Oregon and California similar to relationships with ‘āina Hawai‘i. Stephen Remers, a descendant of Makakoa and the Butler-Paniani family, also viewed these sites as significant to him and his family and, over a century after his great-grandfather had moved to western North America, Remers traveled to the places his kūpuna lived in California, Oregon, and the Hawaiian Islands.

**Hanagula Kapu**

Hanagula (Hana) Kapu’s family was grief-stricken when she died at a young age. A kanikau was composed for her and sent to the Hawaiian Islands to be published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, helping to connect the young California-born girl to the ‘āina of her kūpuna. Like Mele Kainuha’s family, Hana’s family began forming a relationship with the ‘āina of California when Hana’s grandparents and mother moved to present-day Sacramento with John Sutter in 1839. Their experiences working for Sutter helped to shape their connection to the region. After working for Sutter, Hana’s parents looked to form a new, more independent relationship to the ‘āina of California away from Sutter by moving to the Kanaka community Vernon. From there, Hana’s brothers and hānai sisters then expanded and broadened the family’s connections to the Hawaiian Islands and Konkow homelands. The close bond of the family helped to link Hana’s relatives to these sites, a bond that can be seen through the family’s love for Hana.
Hana passed away in California on July 17, 1869, just days away from her eleventh birthday. Her father, John Kapu, explained in a letter published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* that Hana had been sick for four months with “he piva wela iloko o ka puuwai” (a hot fever inside of the heart) and three doctors attended to her while she was ill, but to no avail. A kanikau for Hana was composed by three different Kānaka who each expressed their relationships with Hana through terms of endearment, describing and introducing the young girl to newspaper readers in the Hawaiian Islands and connecting Hana to the homeland of her mother and grandparents. J. Makanui described Hana as “kuu kamalei” (my beloved child) and “kuu luhi kuu moolei” (my beloved child raised with devoted care, my beloved grandchild). Hana’s sister Rebeka Mahuka referred to Hana as “kuu kuaana” (my beloved older sister) and “kuu kama i ka ai kau i ke kua” (my beloved child fed “by dropping poi directly from the fingers into the mouth” while carried on the back). Ioane A. Kapahukula called Hana “kuu keiki” (my beloved child), “kuu hoa” (my beloved companion), and “kuu luhi kuu moolei.” These affectionate terms describing Hana Kapu through her relationship with the composers illustrate the feelings the composers felt for Hanagula Kapu and the close relationships formed between them, and in a broader sense, among Kānaka in gold-mining communities.

Hana was born in California among gold miners and lived with her family in the Kanaka community Vernon. Her name, Hanagula, refers to gold mining, the employment for many Kānaka in the region, even those living in the fishing-centered town of Vernon. Her name is a testament to how significant gold mining was in the region and how gold mining shaped her parents’ lives although their roots in California began with John Sutter.

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92 The word *hana* refers to “work, labor, job, employment, occupation,” and other labor-related words. The word *kula* or *gula* means “gold.” Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 55, 178.
Hanagula’s parents were John Kapu and Manuiki, two ʻKānaka who married in Sacramento in 1850.\textsuperscript{93} John Kapu was born in Makawao, Hāmākua, Maui, and was the son of Sam and Elena Kapu who were among the ten ʻKānaka who accompanied John Sutter to California in 1839.\textsuperscript{94} These ʻKānaka were later joined by hundreds of other laborers working for Sutter. ʻKānaka who worked for Sutter and subsequently mined for gold were a part of larger colonial projects and, as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui states, “contributed to the genocide of American Indians that was hastened by the gold seekers.”\textsuperscript{95} At the same time, ʻKānaka Hawaiʻi in California and Oregon faced discriminatory practices that privileged whiteness to the detriment of anyone deemed “non-white.”

John Sutter’s mistreatment of American Indians and ʻKānaka in California exemplify what Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds describe as the violence and abuse that was part of “the emergence of the transnational community of white men in the globalized world of the late nineteenth century.” This community emerged through the conception and reinforcement of binary concepts of “white” and “non-white” that spread globally and crossed national borders through “strategies of exclusion, deportation and segregation, the deployment of those state-based instruments of surveillance, the census, the passport, and the literacy test.”\textsuperscript{96} Sutter, a

\textsuperscript{93} “Married,” \textit{Sacramento Transcript}, December 12, 1850.
\textsuperscript{94} Charles Kenn explains that there were ten ʻKānaka that went with Sutter, eight men and two women, but he was only able to identify eight of the total ten, and not all names are known. Sam and Elena Kapu were two of these ʻKānaka. Kenn does not include John Kapu in this list of ʻKānaka that arrived in California in 1839. John Kapu could have left the Hawaiian Islands in the 1840s to meet up with his parents in California, or he could have been a part of the crew that arrived with Sutter in 1839. If the census data is accurate, John Kapu would have been about nineteen years old in 1839. Pogue, “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” \textit{Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa}, September 19, 1868; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaiʻi Ma Kaliponia,” \textit{Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa}, September 12, 1863; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” \textit{Ka Nūpepa Kuokoa}, July 7, 1866; U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California; Mary Kawena Pukui, Samuel H. Elbert, and Esther T. Mookini, \textit{Place Names of Hawaiʻi}, revised and expanded edition (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaiʻi, 1974), 39; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” \textit{The Saturday Star-Bulletin}, February 17, 1956; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 90; Barman and Watson, \textit{Leaving Paradise}, 152.
\textsuperscript{95} Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” 142.
Swiss immigrant to America, reinforced his ideas of the superiority of whiteness while living in California through his treatment of American Indians and Kānaka Hawaiʻi, showing how this concept was transnational. Throughout the century, numerous acts such as slavery, sexual violence, romanticized misrepresentations, and discriminatory laws and practices continued to reinforce this racist concept of whiteness in California and Oregon.

Sutter had traveled to the Hawaiian Islands after leaving his family in Switzerland for North America. Sutter, determined to reach California as his final destination, traveled overland across North America to Fort Vancouver and then sailed to the Hawaiian Islands before sailing to California. Along his overland journey, Sutter was accompanied by various travelers, including American Indian slaves he purchased or was gifted to use as guides. In present-day Wyoming at the Popo Agie River, the site of the 1838 “fur traders’ Rocky Mountain rendezvous, an annual gathering of white traders, trappers, and Native peoples involved in the fur trade,” Sutter purchased an American Indian boy for one hundred dollars. Further west in present-day Idaho, according to Sutter, “the commander at Fort Hall, a Swiss by the name of Franz Ermatinger, gave [him] an Indian guide,” and in Fort Boise, Sutter “got another” indigenous guide. As Albert Hurtado states, “the purchase of the anonymous Indian boy [at the rendezvous] was Sutter’s first foray into the Indian slave-trading game. It would not be his last,” and once he arrived in California, Sutter expanded his American Indian slave labor operation.

When Sutter arrived in Fort Vancouver, he was advised to travel to California by boat by way of the Hawaiian Islands as a faster alternative to the overland route south to California.

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99 Hurtado, John Sutter, 39.
Sutter left the Hawaiian Islands in April 1839 with ten contracted Kanaka laborers; a German who had accompanied Sutter from Westport, Missouri; a German that joined Sutter in Honolulu; and the American Indian guide whom Sutter purchased at the rendezvous along the Popo Agie River. When Sutter and his crew arrived in California, Kanaka workers served as the paddlers of his pinnace as Sutter attempted to locate his desired site for his settlement on the American River. Once this site was selected, Sutter explains, “the Kanakas first erected two grass houses after the manner of the houses on the Sandwich Islands; the frames were made by white men and covered with grass by the Kanakas,” constructing the first buildings at what would become Sutter’s fort.100

Sutter next looked to supplement his laborer population so he could further expand his property and turned to the nearby indigenous populations. Sutter had settled in Nisenan territory on what Albert Hurtado calls “a borderland between the Miwok and the Nisenan.”101 Perhaps due in part to Sutter’s location on Nisenan territory, many Nisenan became laborers for Sutter while the Miwok “remained largely antagonistic to Sutter,” although, as Hurtado also points out, some Nisenan refused to work for Sutter, and some Miwok did indeed choose to work for Sutter. American Indian laborers carried out numerous tasks, such as catching, salting, packaging, and shipping fish; trapping beavers and otters and curing their pelts; hunting deer and elk, tanning hides, and making leathered goods; and weaving blankets. Sutter also created an army out of hundreds of indigenous men. As Sutter describes, in addition to the voluntary American Indian laborers, he also “bought orphan boys from other tribes, instructed them in the Spanish language, and taught them how to work. The best looking Indians [he] organized as a military company,

one hundred men infantry and fifty horsemen.”

This army was sometimes used to capture more American Indians to serve as forced laborers. According to Swiss employee Heinrich Lienhard, Sutter “lock[ed] the Indian men and women together in a large room to prevent them from returning to their homes in the mountains at night, and as the room had neither beds nor straw, the inmates were forced to sleep on the bare floor.”

Sutter used American Indian slave labor to establish his territory and leased American Indians to serve as laborers against their will. Sutter’s large demand for American Indian labor also impacted families and their homelands whether they were forced or voluntary employees. As Hurtado discusses, although wage laborers found access to material goods by working for Sutter, because most of the laborers were men, women and children were left unprotected from invasions and food was left unharvested. It was within this atmosphere of deplorable working conditions with devastating effects that Kānaka like Sam and Elena Kapu worked as contractual laborers for Sutter.

Sam and Elena Kapu’s son John also lived and worked in California and by the 1860s, he was living in Vernon. J.F. Pogue described John Kapu as the luna (leader) of the Kanaka community and a member of the church. John Kapu was also described by Theodore Weld Gulick as “ke kaikaina o Kenao” (the younger brother or cousin of J.D. Kenao), who was from Hāliʻimaile, Hāmakua Loa, Maui, and lived in the Kanaka community Irish Creek outside of

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102 Sutter paid American Indian workers with currency he had made by his blacksmith. This currency was then used at his store. Hurtado, “John A. Sutter and the Indian Business,” 60, 62; Sutter, “Reminiscences,” quoted in Gudde, Sutter’s Own Story, 41, 45; Hurtado, John Sutter, 56.
105 T.W. Gulick also describes John Kapu as the luna of a Kanaka community but does not state the name. Since Gulick was referring to a trip he took that included a stop at Frechtown in Butte County that Gulick described in a previous article, he may have been referring to Frenchtown. Gulick, “He Palapala Na Ko Makou Elele I Holo Aku Nei I Kapalakiko,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 25, 1862; Pogue, “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 215; Gulick, “No Lemaine Ka Makuahine o Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 13, 1862.
Coloma. These family members from Maui remained within close proximity to one another by living in the same local network, Kapu in Vernon, and Kenao in Irish Creek.\textsuperscript{106}

Although Vernon was known as a fishing community, Kānaka living there also mined for gold and John Kapu occasionally left his community to travel to other gold-mining sites with his wife Manuiki and other Kānaka, including to Cherokee Flat, a gold-mining site east of Chico. Kapu and Manuiki were at Cherokee Flat with other Kānaka including fellow Vernon resident W.D. Paniani, but their permanent home was Vernon. Kānaka who established permanent homes in one community still moved throughout the region to temporarily mine for gold at various times throughout the year, connecting the fishing community Vernon to gold-mining. John Kapu remained married to Manuiki until her death in March 1873, after which he married a Maidu woman, Pamela Clenso.\textsuperscript{107}

Manuiki and John Kapu were the parents of Hanagula Kapu as well as their hānai Kanaka American Indian daughters, Harieka and Rebeka. Originally from Kohala on the island of Hawai‘i, Manuiki moved to California as one of two Kanaka women that accompanied Sutter in 1839, the other being John Kapu’s mother, Elena.\textsuperscript{108} As an employee of Sutter, Manuiki “laid out and planted beds of melons, potatoes, and other crops with the aid of other Kanakas.”\textsuperscript{109} Additionally, according to Sutter, Manuiki and Elena Kapu “made themselves very useful by teaching the Indian girls to wash, sew, and do other practical things.”\textsuperscript{110} In this sense, Sutter

\textsuperscript{109} Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 88, 90.
\textsuperscript{110} Sutter, “Reminiscences,” quoted in Gudde, \textit{Sutter’s Own Story}, 41, 45; Hurtado, \textit{John Sutter}, 34.
used Manuiki and Elena Kapu to educate American Indian women in skills he believed to be women’s responsibilities, fitting Kanaka and American Indian women into his perceptions of gendered roles while attempting to assimilate American Indian women since, as Jane E. Simonsen states when discussing imperial domesticity in the American West, “Americanization involved training native boys to work in skilled trades and girls to work in homes.”

Although Kānaka were hired as contracted laborers, it did not stop Sutter from treating them, especially Manuiki, as his property. Heinrich Lienhard explained that Sutter was “reported to have had several children” with Manuiki who “appear[ed] to have lived many years with him as his wife,” but as Sutter grew older, he “seemed to prefer young Indian girls and finally gave Manawitte [sic] to Harry who was employed by Sutter as majordomo at Hock farm. Later he received from the captain a fine property in the vicinity of the sheep pasturage on the American River in appreciation of his own services and those of Manawitte [sic].”

According to Leinhard, Sutter treated Manuiki as his property that he had the right to give to another man, in this case to Harry who Leinhard described as “Kanaka Harry,” one of Sutter’s “favorites from the Sandwich Islands.” Instead of “giving” Manuiki to Harry, Sutter was more likely allowing the couple to reunite after he had disregarded and broken up Manuiki and Harry’s marriage and taken Manuiki to live with him and service his sexual and domestic desires. It was not always Sutter’s intent to reunite Manuiki and Harry; at one point Sutter offered Manuiki to Pierson B.

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Reading in case Sutter was to die, as if Manuiki was an object or property he could bequeath in a will.\textsuperscript{113}

Sutter also devalued and mistreated American Indian women. Heinrich Lienhard suggests that “in the anteroom adjoining [Sutter’s] office, a group of Indian women were invariably waiting. According to rumor, they belonged to Sutter’s harem.” Some of these women that Lienhard saw in the anteroom and were a part of Sutter’s “harem” were, according to Lienhard, eleven- or twelve-year-old girls. Lienhard described Sutter’s treatment of these women as one of the things that greatly disappointed him about Sutter. Lienhard had discovered Sutter’s frequent drinking habits and “ugly temper” and remarked that “at the time it appeared to be his worst trait, but I soon discovered by coming into contact with him every day that he had other equally unfortunate characteristics, which were just as bad, if not worse, than his immoderate drinking,” referring to Sutter’s treatment of American Indian women and girls.\textsuperscript{114}

Lienhard tells a story of a young girl, either eleven or twelve years old, whom he had seen in Sutter’s anteroom. He learned that she had grown ill and then “the poor girl died suddenly and no one ever knew the real cause of her death.” Some light was shed on the incident after Lienhard talked to American saddle maker Charley Burch who was at Sutter’s fort.\textsuperscript{115} Burch had heard about the incident from his friend, a Tahitian named John whose wife’s sister may have had some knowledge and experience in the matter since she lived in Sutter’s anteroom and, as Lienhard describes using a derogatory word referring to American Indian women, was “an influential squaw.” Lienhard explains that “the child had been criminally attacked, and the

\textsuperscript{113} Lienhard, \textit{A Pioneer at Sutter’s Fort, 1846-1850}, 76; Dillon, \textit{Fool’s Gold}, 181-182.
\textsuperscript{114} Lienhard, \textit{A Pioneer at Sutter’s Fort, 1846-1850}, 75.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 72-73, 76.
person who could give the most information about the identity of the culprit was Sutter himself,” implying that it was Sutter who had “criminally attacked” the young girl and caused her death.\footnote{Albert Hurtado cautiously discusses Leinhard’s story of the young girl, explaining that “the story about Sutter’s alleged rape came to Lienhard indirectly” and “there are too many questionable links in this chain of evidence to accept it at face value.” Hurtado also states that Lienhard’s “testimony about Sutter’s molestation of girls as young as ten years old is the only accusation concerning these sexual crimes.” Hurtado adds that Sutter did participate in the trade of American Indians, explaining that “he frequently made war on surrounding tribes and took the orphaned Indian boys to the fort, but he says nothing of orphaned girls. Perhaps the girls in the anteroom were the kin of the boys who were waiting to be sent downriver to other ranchers, and Lienhard’s sexual innuendo was mere calumny. Whether or not Sutter sexually abused these hapless victims of warfare, his participation in the trade of Indians of all ages shows him at his ruthless worst.” Lienhard also serves as the main source discussing Sutter’s relationship with Manuiki and is often the only source cited by those discussing Manuiki and Sutter, such as Hurtado, who does not question Lienhard’s reliability in this sense. Richard Dillon and J. Peter Zollinger add more to this discussion of Manuiki and Sutter by referring to mentions made by Sutter of Manuiki in letters to Pierson B. Reading and other sources, but these sources do not explicitly discuss their relationship as Lienhard did. Lienhard, \textit{A Pioneer at Sutter’s Fort, 1846-1850}, 76; Hurtado, \textit{John Sutter}, 115-116; Dillon, \textit{Fool’s Gold}; Zollinger, \textit{Sutter}.}

Manuiki and other Kānaka lived and worked in this atmosphere at Sutter’s fort where, as Anne F. Hyde describes, “native people could provide work, sexual pleasure, and various forms of capital, but Sutter could not imagine them as parts of families or permanent relationships.”\footnote{Hyde, \textit{Empires, Nations, and Families}, 187.}

It is understandable, then, that Kānaka working for Sutter would have jumped at the opportunity to leave Sutter’s employment and mine for gold. Manuiki, who lived with Sutter in a repressive relationship, would have felt relief to leave Sutter’s property and live in the comfort of a Kanaka community where she could live with her husband, John Kapu, and raise their children, Hana, Rebeka, and Harieka. After moving away from her homeland and working for Sutter, Manuiki treasured her family in California and was devastated when her daughter Hanagula passed away.

Hanagula had two brothers who, like her, had names connected to gold mining. Hana’s brother William Imigula Kapu’s name means “to search for gold” and her brother John Eligula Kapu’s name means “to dig for gold.”\footnote{Charles Kenn describes William Imigula and John Eligula as Edwin Mahuka’s sons. However, in the kanikau composed for Hanagula Kapu, their names are written with the last name Kapu. Imigula and Eligula may have been John Kapu’s sons as well as the hānai sons of Edwin Mahuka. Ibid., Pukui and Elbert, \textit{Hawaiian Dictionary}, 41, 99, 178; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94.} All three of these siblings were connected to the gold-mining region they were born in through their names, but they were not able to remain in the
region for long; Eligula passed away prior to Hana’s death and Imigula left California to attend Hilo Boarding School on the island of Hawai‘i.  

Hilo Boarding School (HBS) was originally opened in 1836 to serve as a feeder school for the Lahainaluna Seminary on Maui established by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM). By the 1860s, Hilo Boarding School began training teachers for government schools and students received training in “reading, writing, and arithmetic skills, and religious training before admission to the Seminary,” as well as cartography, English-language classes, and classes in the tailoring and dairy departments. HBS also cultivated sugar to help with some of the costs as students worked on the sugar plantation before and after classes.

When Imigula Kapu left California for HBS in Hawai‘i, he was enrolling in a school that would prepare him to become a teacher and provide him with an education in the Hawaiian Islands. His move to the Hawaiian Islands helped strengthen his family’s connection to the Hawaiian Islands while the death announcement and kanikau for Hana published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa helped Imigula stay connected with his family in California while he was away at school.

One of the kanikau that was published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa was composed by Hanagula Kapu’s sister, Rebeka Mahuka.

He uhane he aloha no kuaana, A song of lamentation, a sentiment of love for older sister,
Aloha ko kino i ka hele ana, Your beloved body that is going is loved,
Kaniau [sic] hookahi aohe lua, Only one mourns, not two,

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119 Charles Kenn states that William Imikula and John Elikula were taken to Honolulu to be educated. However, the introduction to Hanagula’s kanikau states that “Ua holo aku kona kaikunane i ua kaiaulu o ka pae aina Hawaii, a ke noho la i ka aina nona ka ua Kanilehua, iloko o ke Kulahanai, oia hoi o Imi B. Kapu, a hookahi i make, o Eligula Kapu” (“Her brother sailed to the aforementioned community of the Hawaiian archipelago, and lives in the land of the Kanilehua rain, inside of the boarding school, also known as Imi B. Kapu, and one died, Eligula Kapu). Kanilehua is the “name of a mistlike rain famous at Hilo,” implying that Imigula attended the boarding school at Hilo. Makanui, Mahuka, and Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 9, 1869; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 129.

Aloha ko leo i ka pane mai,  
Your beloved voice that answered me is loved,

Keu no hoi oe a ka hookuli,  
You are also the greatest at feigning deafness,

Aloha ole oe ia kaua;  
You are pitiless to us;

Noho iho no oe me ka makua,  
You live with the parent,

Eia au la ke hele nei,  
Here I am, you go,

Ua kokoke mai na minute.  
The minutes drew near,

Mama Manuiki ka mea aloha,  
The loved one is Mama Manuiki,

I ka uwe helu mai i ke keiki,  
Wailing call of grief and love for the child,

Kuu kama i ka ai kau i ke kua,  
My beloved child fed by dropping poi directly from the fingers into the mouth while carried on the back,

Loku ana keʻloha i ka puuwai,  
The love is surging in the heart,

Oki kaua la kaawale oe,  
We are separated, you are free,

Auwe kuu mua kuu kuaana,  
Alas my older sister, my beloved older sister,

Kuu mea minamina e noho nei.121  
My beloved grieved one who lives here.

Rebeka’s kanikau describes her love for her older sister, the feelings of Hana’s mother Manuiki, the pain of grieving, and the separation of the two sisters. Within Rebeka’s lines, she mentions uē helu, “a wailing call of grief and love, recounting deeds of a loved one and shared experiences,” a component of kanikau and grieving.122 Ioane A. Kapahukula’s kanikau for Hanagula also mentions uē helu in the lines:

Pokii Rebeka ka mea aloha,  
The loved one is young sister Rebeka,

Ka uwe helu mai i ke kuaana.123  
Wailing call of grief and love for the older sister.

These lines depict the grieving process as well as the close bond of the family. The word pōkiʻi refers to a younger sibling or cousin or “the youngest member of a family” and is “often spoken affectionately” and “used as a diminutive when addressing small children affectionately.”124 By

121 Makanui, Mahuka, and Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 9, 1869.
123 Makanui, Mahuka, and Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 9, 1869.
124 E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui further elaborate how pōkiʻi is used affectionately by referencing uses of the term to describe Pele and Hiʻiaka and by Kamehameha to his warriors. For example, “in the chants that recite the legend of Pele, Hiʻiaka, the youngest and most beloved sister of the goddess, is lovingly referred to as Pele’s Pokiʻi.” Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 338; Handy and Pukui, The Polynesian Family System, 46.
using this term, Kapahukula was emphasizing the close relationship between Hana and Rebeka and the affection Hana showed toward Rebeka.

Rebeka lived with Manuiki and John Kapu, Hanagula, and Manuiki and John Kapu’s other hānai daughter Harieka in Vernon where the three girls were given English-language lessons everyday by a Kanaka Hawaiʻi teacher. The word hānai means to adopt or foster a child as well as “to raise, rear, feed, nourish, sustain.” Māku hānai (adoptive parents) took in and cared for, fed, and raised their keiki hānai (adopted child), who were often the children of relatives or friends. In The Polynesian Family System in Kaʻu Hawaiʻi, E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui explain that a keiki hānai or, “kama hānai (feeding child),” were “formally adopted and for whom the ‘feeding parent’ comes to have an affection that may be as great as that for the biological offspring.” In these circumstances, “the ‘feeding child’ comes to feel more active affection for the family that raises it and in whose home it spends its childhood than for its true parents.” Hānai children also maintain a relationship with their biological parents. A hānai child “was told who his biological parents were and all about them… If possible, the child was taken to his true parents to become well acquainted with them and with his brothers and sisters if there were any, and he was always welcomed there.” In this sense, the hānai relationship creates a bond between families. Hanagula and her hānai sisters formed a strong bond to one another and helped link their families together. One of those families was the family of Rebeka who, prior to living in Vernon with the Kapu family, lived in Irish Creek with her biological parents, Edwin Mahuka and Waiuliuli.

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125 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 56.
Waiuliuli was a Konkow who had two sons with her Kanaka husband G.H. Kamakea. Their first son, Samuela, left Irish Creek as a hānai son of G.H. Kamakea’s brother-in-law, B.E. Kamae from Āhualoa, Hāmākua, Hawai‘i. After G.H. Kamakea died, their second son, also named Kamakea, became the hānai son of J.D. Kenao, described as John Kapu’s older brother or cousin. Waiuliuli then married Mahuka in 1860 and had their daughter, Rebeka, who later became the hānai daughter of John Kapu and Manuiki. In 1862, small pox hit the Kanaka community of Irish Creek where Waiuliuli and her family lived, and Waiuliuli, her three-year-old son Kamakea, and Kenao all died.\(^\text{128}\)

After Waiuliuli died, her husband, Mahuka, and their daughter, Rebeka, went to visit Waiuliuli’s mother, Lemaine. Theodore Weld Gulick, who had been visiting Irish Creek at the time of Waiuliuli’s death, accompanied Mahuka and Rebeka on their trip to visit Lemaine. Gulick explained in his recounting of the trip in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* that upon hearing of her daughter’s death, Lemaine was deeply saddened and strongly desired to see her granddaughter Rebeka. According to Gulick, Lemaine sent an order to Mahuka saying, “Ina aole e laweia mai ia Rebeka i ikemaka ia, e make no kona kahunawahine” (If Rebeka isn’t brought here to be personally seen by me, her grandmother will die).\(^\text{129}\)

So Mahuka, Rebeka, who was just a toddler, and Gulick left Irish Creek on July 10, 1862 and traveled over one hundred miles north to Frenchtown in Butte County, California “near the West Branch of the North Fork of Feather River, in the vicinity of Yankee Hill.”\(^\text{130}\) There were perhaps twelve Kānaka living in Frenchtown when Mahuka, Rebeka, and Gulick arrived. Some of these Kānaka could speak the local Konkow language and accompanied Mahuka, Rebeka, and


\(^\text{129}\) Gulick, “No Leimaine Ka Makuahine o Waiulili,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, September 13, 1862.

\(^\text{130}\) Ibid.; Gudde, *California Gold Camps*, 125.
Gulick upland to where Lemaine was living. At the time the group had made their trip to see Rebeka’s grandmother, the Konkow were living in the mountains fishing for salmon.

Konkow followed a yearly cycle, moving to different sites throughout their land depending on the available food sources at specific times of the year. In the winter, they lived in villages along canyon ridges of the Feather, Yuba, and American Rivers, in the spring they traveled to valleys to collect grass seeds, and in the summer they lived in the mountains to hunt and dry deer meat for the winter. The sites where Konkow lived throughout the year were well known to Mahuka who knew that to visit Lemaine, they needed to go to, what Gulick described as,

Kahi e akoakoa ana na Ilikini i keia mau mahina, i ka hopu i na i-a Kamano. He kahawai nui keia ma ke kuahiwi, a maloko o ka muliwai, e holo nui ana no na Kamano e píi ana i ke kuahiwi loa, a ma kekahi wailele, hoopaa na Ilikini i ka lakou mau upena.

The place the American Indians are assembling these months to catch salmon. This is a large river at the mountain, and inside of the river, the salmon are swimming, ascending the tall mountain, and at a waterfall, the American Indians catch the fish in their fishing nets.

When the time for fishing salmon was finished, Gulick explains that the Konkow would leave this place to collect acorns. Mahuka was aware of the seasonal patterns of the Konkow side of his family and where they lived at different times of the year to hunt and collect different types of food. Although Waiuliuli had left her Konkow family and community to live in the Kanaka community Irish Creek in Nisenan territory, she and her Kanaka Konkow family remained connected to her Konkow family, and her mother wished to remain in contact with Waiuliuli’s family since she requested a visit from Rebeka.

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131 Riddell, “Maidu and Konkow,” 373.
132 Gulick, “No Lemaine Ka Makauhine o Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 13, 1862.
133 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
When Mahuka and Rebeka arrived at Lemaine’s home, Lemaine and other women cried loudly and extensively. Lemaine continued to mourn for the death of her daughter throughout Mahuka and Rebeka’s visit. When the group left to return to Frenchtown, Lemaine attempted to keep the toddler Rebeka with her. Lemaine took Rebeka from Mahuka but eventually returned her to her father. By 1868, Rebeka was the hānai daughter of John Kapu and Manuiki and was living in Vernon along with Mahuka.135

A.E. Mahuka was born in Kohala on the island of Hawai‘i in the late-1830s. He worked for John Sutter in the 1850s before marrying Waiuliuli and moving to Irish Creek. After Waiuliuli’s death and his trip with Rebeka to visit Waiuliuli’s mother, Mahuka and Rebeka moved to Vernon and by 1868 he had remarried to a Wintu woman named Kini (Jane).136

Mahuka also spent some time in Salmon Falls, the gold-mining community on the South Fork of the American River, in the early 1860s. Vernon residents often left their homes to mine for gold and at the time that fellow Vernon residents John Kapu and Manuiki were gold-mining in Cherokee Flat, Mahuka was gold-mining in Salmon Falls.137 From Salmon Falls, Mahuka composed a kanikau with Ioane A. Kapahukula for Hairam R. Nalau, just as W.D. Paniani had. The kanikau expressed their grief and described their relationship with Nalau.

Kanikau la he aloha, A lament, a sentiment of love,
No Hairam R. Nalau, For Hairam R. Nalau,
Aloha ino no hoi, What a pity,
Kuu kaikoeke – e; My beloved brother (or male cousin)-in-law;
O ka aina malihini, Of the new, unfamiliar land,

135 Gulick, “No Lemaine Ka Makuahine O Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 13, 1862; Pogue, “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868.
136 Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 7, 1866; Pogue, “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868; U.S. Census Bureau, 1870 Vernon, Sutter County, California; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California; California Voter Registers, 1873, Sutter County; Record of Death, 1895, Chico, California; Permit to Inter, 1895, Chico Township, California; Record of Death, 1889, Chico, California; Gulick, “No Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” The Saturday Star-Bulletin, February 17, 1956; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 153.
137 Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863.
Hookahi no kuleana,  
Ka inoa kaikuahine.  
Only one responsibility,  
The dear relative of my sister (or cousin).

This passage of the kanikau composed by both Mahuka and Kapahukula establishes the composers as family to Nalau. Mahuka had family connections throughout California; he had ties to his wife Waiuliuli’s family and ancestral land, to his daughter Rebeka and wife Kini in Vernon, to Kānaka with whom he lived and interacted at various gold-mining sites, and to Nalau, a member of the Ahahui Misionari Hawaii o California nei. Mahuka continued to expand his family while he lived in Vernon and he and Kini had a daughter, Ellen, and a son, Albert. By 1889, Mahuka and Kini moved north to Chico to live near the family of Mele Kainuha Keaala whom Mahuka had remained in close connection with throughout Keaala’s lifetime.

Upon the death of her parents, Keaala’s siblings were sent to live with their uncle Mahuka in Vernon. Keaala’s son, Henry Azbill, explains in a letter to Dorothy Hill that Mahuka was the cousin of Mele Kainuha Keaala’s father, Ioane Keaala o Kaʻiana. Azbill states, “Tom [Cleanso] was the brother of Pamela whose second husband was Hakawila Adams, a half

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139 Charles Kenn states that Edwin and Kini Mahuka had two daughters, one who died young, and the other named “Elena, more commonly known as Harriet.” However, she is only referred to as Ellen in the 1880 census, Sacramento Daily Union, and other mentions of her by Kenn. Kenn states that Ellen married twice to Mr. Richards and to Lama Young and had two sons, John and Ernest who were raised by Mele Kainuha Keaala Azbill, but Ellen Mahuka died when she was eight years old, so Kenn’s information cannot be correct. It is possible that Kenn confused Ellen Mahuka with Hariet, the hānai daughter of John Kapu and Manuiki, but I have not been able to find information confirming Hariet Kapu as the wife of Richards and Young and the mother of John and Ernest. Additionally, Kenn states that Edwin and Kini Mahuka adopted a White boy named Albert, but the 1880 census identifies Albert as Black. However, this could be an error since A.E. Mahuka and Kini were also both listed as Black on the census. Kenn also states that the Mahukas raised another child, a daughter named Keola, the “daughter of a blind Hawaiian.” Makanui, Mahuka, Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 9, 1869; U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 94; Kenn, “Sutter’s Hawaiians,” The Saturday Star-Bulletin, February 17, 1956; “Died,” Sacramento Daily Union, July 25, 1884.

140 Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 3, California State University, Chico; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Audio Recording of Interview with Henry Azbill, March 4, 1971DHAC-0020, Track 1, California State University, Chico.
brother of My mother’s uncle Mahuka both of whom were cousins to My grandfather Keaala.”

As discussed previously, Pamela Clenso’s first husband was John Kapu, whose hānai daughter was Mahuka’s daughter, Rebeka. According to Azbill, Pamela Clenso’s second husband, Hakauila Adams, was a half-brother of Mahuka, and both were cousins of Mele Kainuha Keaala’s father. Mahuka was familiar with Mele Kainuha Keaala’s genealogy and linked her to King Kalākaua through their common ancestors when Kalākaua was visiting Sacramento in 1881. The genealogical bond formed in the Hawaiian Islands between Mahuka’s and Keaala’s ancestors spread from the Hawaiian Islands and united the two families in California and by the end of the 1880s, Mahuka and Kini moved to Chico to be close to their family. When Kini and Mahuka died at the end of the century, both were buried in “in the Azbill plot” in the cemetery where John and Mele Kainuha Keaala Azbill were buried in 1932. Decades later, Henry Azbill visited his parents’ and Mahuka’s graves, showing that the connection between the families extended through time.

Hanagula Kapu and her family formed connections to sites throughout California based on relationships, experiences, and travel, assisting the family in forming a relationship with the ʻāina while also reinforcing genealogical connections with the Hawaiian Islands through marriages to other Kānaka and Hana’s brother moving to Hawaiʻi. The family’s roots extended from the Hawaiian Islands to Sacramento, Irish Creek, Konkow homelands, Vernon, Salmon Falls, and other gold-mining sites. Emotion and grief also linked Hana’s family to the ʻāina, as

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141 Henry Azbill uses the spelling “Cleanso” to refer to the brother of Pamela Clenso Adams, discussed earlier in this chapter. Azbill to Hill, January 6, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
142 Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 17.
143 Burial Permit for Jane Mahuka, 1889, Chico, California; Record of Death for Jane Mahuka, 1889, Chico, California; Record of Death for Edward Mahuka, 1895, Chico, California; Permit to Inter for Edward Mahuka, 1895, Chico, California; Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico; Photograph of Mele Kainuha Keaala and John Azbill’s Gravestone, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 11, California State University, Chico; Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 95.
144 Azbill to Hill, May 15, 1968, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
the passing of Hana at a young age would have connected her family’s memories and feelings for Hana to specific places.

Conclusion

The families of Mele Kainuha Keaala, the Butler-Panianis, and Hanagula Kapu show how Kānaka Hawai‘i formed a complex, interwoven web of relationships that spread, overlapped, stretched back, and crisscrossed from the Hawaiian Islands and throughout California and Oregon. Travels of gold-mining Kānaka took them to various sites where they were able to meet with and work with other Kānaka, reinforcing relationships between communities and Kānaka who lived there. Relationships to specific sites were informed by the experiences connected to place, such as mining for gold in a temporary home, forming families and relationships with Konkow and other indigenous peoples, working for Sutter, living with family in a permanent residence, visiting family, saving someone from danger, being forced to a reservation, and meeting King Kalākaua. These stories are remembered and passed on, linked to the sites they took place and the families and relationships that formed there. These connections were so expansive that the families of Mele Kainuha Keaala, the Butler-Panianis, and Hana Kapu were related, linking them to the ‘āina throughout the gold-mining region of California and Oregon.

Although Kānaka were beginning to form relationships with the ‘āina of Oregon and California, these relationships were overtly lacking compared to those with ‘āina Hawai‘i. Because Oregon and California lacked the genealogical connections Kānaka formed with ‘āina Hawai‘i mai ka pō mai, “from the beginning of time to now,” Kānaka in gold-mining regions found ways to connect to the Hawaiian Islands by living with Kānaka in communities, marrying
Kānaka born in both western North America and the Hawaiian Islands, greeting visiting mōʻī, and traveling to the Hawaiian Islands. However, Oregon and California remained an ʻāina malihini, prompting Kānaka Hawaiʻi to continue to seek ways to connect to the Hawaiian Islands, including through culture, communication, and falling under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

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145 hoʻomanawanui, *Voices of Fire*, xxiv, 231.
Kānaka Hawai‘i living in gold-mining communities sought ways to connect with their ʻāina hānau and create a familiar, comfortable space in the ʻāina malihini. Maintaining aspects of cultural practices helped extend relationships with akua, kūpuna, and moʻolelo of the Hawaiian Islands to western North America. Communication with the Hawaiian Islands through letters and newspapers strengthened the concept of ka ʻāina paiālewa i ke kai, the land that people are carried back and forth to by the ocean, since Kanaka voices and correspondence traveled aboard ships back and forth across the ocean, linking the two regions. Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian government stretched to include Kānaka living in western North America, expanding the reach of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Cultural practices, continued communication, and the protection of the Kingdom worked to expand concepts of ʻāina extended across the Pacific to include Kanaka communities in Oregon and California.

Kanaka Culture in Oregon and California Gold-Mining Communities

This chapter looks at several examples of Kanaka culture that Kānaka extended to gold-mining communities including poi production, use of ʻōlelo Hawai‘i, dancing hula, celebrating the Hawaiian Kingdom and its history, and composing kanikau. Although these practices worked to extend relationships with the ʻāina to include western North America, they also emphasized the barriers preventing Kānaka from fully incorporating the region into something as familiar as their one hānau. This is especially seen with poi, a food closely tied to the ʻāina, akua, kūpuna, and social relationships of the Hawaiian Islands.
Kānaka living in gold-mining communities greatly desired poi, but had no way to get it since they did not have access to kalo. In the mele ko‘ihonua of Papahānaumoku and Wākea, kalo grew at the site where Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani’s child Hāloanaka was buried. Kalo was the older sibling of the second child of Wākea and Ho‘ohōkūkalani, Hāloa, and Hāloa became the kūpuna of Kānaka Hawai‘i, thus linking the ‘āina and kalo with Kānaka.

Poi is made by pounding cooked kalo c Corms with a pōhaku ku‘i ‘ai (poi pounder) on a papa ku‘i ‘ai (poi-pounding board) while adding water until the consistency is smooth.1 As E.S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui state in The Polynesian Family System in Ka‘u Hawai‘i, “the Hawaiian diet was built around poi.”2 Although poi can be made from other foods such as ‘uala and ‘ulu (breadfruit), it is most often made from kalo, “the food plant that was the Hawaiian staple of life,” and highly nutritious.3 Without kalo, poi does not have the same relationship with the ‘āina, kūpuna, and akua. But, after living in western North America for years, Kānaka longed for this food of the Hawaiian Islands and created a new type of poi using flour called poi palaoa (flour poi). Moses Nahola, who wrote to Ka Hae Hawaii from Coloma, California, in 1859, and Daniela Masona, who wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa from Henley (Cottonwood) in northern California in 1867, credit the ingenuity of Kānaka for developing poi palaoa.4

There were two types of poi palaoa made in gold-mining communities, poi palaoa (or poi falaoa) made from Haole-produced flour, and poi Agore.5 Poi palaoa was made by boiling water

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1 Hiroa, Arts and Crafts of Hawaii, 20-21, 26-33; Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 335, 318.
2 Handy and Pukui, The Polynesian Family System in Ka‘u, 3.
4 M. Nahora, “He Poi Palaoa,” Ka Hae Hawaii, March 16, 1859; Daniela Masona, “Ka Poi Falaoa O Kalifonia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 19, 1867.
5 The type of flour used for poi Agore is not specified, but was likely made from acorn flour. Masona, “Ka Poi Falaoa O Kalifonia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 19, 1867; Nahora, “He Poi Palaoa,” Ka Hae Hawaii, March 16, 1859.
in a pot over a fire, pouring flour into the pot off the fire, stirring, and putting the pot back on the fire, repeating these steps until the poi is cooked. The poi is then poured into a bucket or barrel. This poi, Moses Nahola explains, is “ono maoli, e like me ka poi kalo o Hawaii” (truly delicious, like poi kalo of the Hawaiian Islands).\(^6\)

Poi palaoa, poi Agore, broiled crackers, and leavened crackers were the principle foods of Kānaka living in gold-mining communities. Daniela Masona explains, “O ka poi Agore, oia ka poi i hoowali nui ia e na kanaka ma Kalifonia nei, o ka wa ia e hu nui ana o ke dala gula ma na kahawai eli gula” (The poi Agore is the poi often mixed by Kānaka in California, of the time the gold money was overflowing at the gold-mining rivers).\(^7\) Poi Agore was quickly made and, with broiled crackers, served as a quick meal, and “ua kuke mau ia keia mau ai ma na huakai hele a na kanaka ma na Mauna eli gula o Kalifonia nei” (these foods were cooked on the travels of the Kānaka at the gold-mining mountains of California).\(^8\)

It is likely that the flour used to make poi Agore was acorn flour since acorns were a staple for many California indigenous peoples. In the regions Moses Nahola and Daniela Masona wrote from, Shasta, Nisenan, Maidu, and Konkow peoples made acorn flour, leached the flour to remove bitter tannins, and cooked the flour in containers with water and hot stones to make soup, bread, and “mush.”\(^9\) By using acorn flour to make poi, Nahola, Masona, and other Kānaka living in gold-mining communities were eating a staple of California indigenous diets, acorns, to replace the staple of Kanaka diets in the Hawaiian Islands, kalo. This adaptation of

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\(^7\) Masona, “Ka Poi Palaoa o Kalifonia,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, October 19, 1867.

\(^8\) Ibid.

poi was a blend of Kanaka foods, the resources available in gold-mining regions, and dietary staples of California indigenous peoples, connecting Kānaka to the lands of their gold-mining homes as well as their homelands in the Hawaiian Islands.

Making poi Agore was similar to making poi palaoa but the pot was placed on charcoal from the fire and surrounded by hot embers. When the water boiled, flour was poured inside the pot and stirred. Masona warns that:

Ina e hohono palaoa ana no, aole ia i moa, hoowali no oe a e ala pono ae ana no ka poi alaila ua moa, no ka mea ea, ina i moa pono ole ka poi Agore, he hokuku ka opu ke ai aku, a hakukoi aku kela me he poi ulu la.¹⁰

If the flour smells unpleasant, it isn’t cooked. Mix until the poi is properly sweet-smelling, then it is cooked. Because, if the poi Agore isn’t cooked properly, the stomach has discomfort if it is eaten, and it agitates like breadfruit poi.

Masona advises that, when eating poi Agore, i’a lomi (lomi fish) should also be prepared, made with sardines mashed with onions and tomatoes.¹¹ In Masona’s opinion, poi Agore was ko’eko’e (tasteless) whereas poi palaoa was ‘ono (delicious) and “e like me ka poikalo a oukou e ai mai la” (similar to the poi kalo that you all eat).¹²

For Kānaka Hawai‘i in gold-mining communities, these types of poi palaoa were resourceful options for continuing a cultural practice in a land lacking kalo. Masona explains that poi palaoa was inexpensive and lasted a long time, as one barrel could feed a house of five families for a week. Masona also saw the potential for poi palaoa in other situations and advised his readers in the Hawaiian Islands that, “he poi maikai loa ka poi falaoa no na aina Kaha, a me na wahi loaa mau i ka wi” (the poi palaoa is a good poi for the lands unsuited for upland kalo growth and the places that have famine) showing that Masona was applying knowledge he

¹⁰ Masona, “Ka Poi Falaoa O Kalifornia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 19, 1867.
¹¹ This is similar to kāmano lomi (lomi salmon), “salted salmon, mashed with onions and tomatoes and a little water,” but using sardines instead of salmon. Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 125, 212.
¹² Masona, “Ka Poi Falaoa O Kalifornia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 19, 1867.
learned in California to places in need in the Hawaiian Islands. Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands did find use for poi palaoa, and in the 1870s, poi palaoa was made at the leper settlements in Kalawao and Kalaupapa on Molokai, further showing the connections between Kānaka in western North America and the Hawaiian Islands. Poi palaoa was introduced in Molokai by a Kanaka who had lived in and made poi palaoa in California before spreading it to Molokai.

Kānaka in gold-mining communities had created a new food in their efforts to emulate poi kalo in western North America. Due to their desire to eat the food tied to the ‘āina, akua, and kūpuna of the Hawaiian Islands, Kānaka attempted to replicate their dietary staple with the resources available. The result, varieties of poi palaoa, provided a useful, affordable food source that combined food knowledge learned in both the Hawaiian Islands and western North America but it also stands out as a way Kānaka were unable to fully replicate connections to the ‘āina in Oregon and California since it was not made out of kalo, the elder sibling of Kānaka Hawaiʻi.

Kānaka also connected to the Hawaiian Islands through ‘ōlelo Hawaiʻi. Kānaka continued to speak, write, and read in ‘ōlelo Hawaiʻi while living abroad for decades, passed the language on to their children, and taught it to indigenous peoples living in their communities. As Noelani Arista has stated, “words in Hawaiian oral traditions are imbued with power” and “words, proverbs, and idiomatic phrases are freighted with their past performances, past echoes, and past resonances, and in this way bear knowledge of past experience, which constitute a collective intelligence, or knowing.” Kānaka who perpetuated ‘ōlelo Hawaiʻi in gold-mining communities by speaking, reading, writing, composing, and teaching the language to others were

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13 Masona, “Ka Poi Falaoa O Kalifonia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 19, 1867.
15 Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure,” 300-301.
helping to connect their communities and descendants to this collective intelligence. Kānaka continued to speak and read ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i in gold-mining regions into the twentieth century. In 1904, three Kānaka living in Honolulu (Gottville) on the Klamath River in northern California encountered Dr. St. D.G. Walters, a doctor from the Hawaiian Islands who was traveling in California. The three Kānaka had been living in western North America for over fifty years and one of them, James Alapai, had arrived at Vancouver on the Columbia River in the late 1840s and lived in Kanaka Flat outside of Jacksonville before moving to Honolulu on the Klamath River where he met Walters.¹⁶ Walters states that when he spoke ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to Alapai and the other Kanaka man and woman, “they nearly fell over backwards. I spent a couple of hours with them and it was really very affecting… I was the first white man whom they had heard speaking Hawaiian during all that time.”¹⁷ Kānaka also read Hawaiian-language sources for decades after arriving in Oregon and California. After their meeting, Walters wrote to the Hawaiian Islands and requested a subscription of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* for the three Kānaka living in Honolulu on the Klamath River.

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i was not only spoken by the first-generation of Kānaka that moved to California and Oregon; some Kānaka taught the language to their children who continued to pass on the language to their children. Mele Kainuha Keaala Azbill, whose father moved to California from the Hawaiian Islands in 1839, was born in California, spoke Hawaiian, and taught her children Hawaiian language. Her son, Henry Azbill, a third-generation Kanaka living in California, explained that he grew up speaking Hawaiian at home and that as an adult in the

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¹⁷ “Meets Hawaiians,” *The Independent* (Honolulu, HI), September 15, 1904, 3.
1860s, he found himself speaking “the language unconsciously at times” and doing most of his thinking in Hawaiian.18

Rebeka Mahuka is another example of a Kanaka born in California who spoke Hawaiian. Her father and hānai parents arrived in California in the mid-1800s and Rebeka was born in the early 1860s.19 Rebeka was well-versed in Hawaiian by the time she was a young child and, when she was around nine years old, composed a kanikau for her older sister, exhibiting Rebeka’s competency in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and Kanaka verbal arts.20 Rebeka also learned English from a Kanaka teacher showing that in addition to speaking the language of her parents’ homeland, she and other Kānaka were learning English so they could converse with other populations in the gold-mining regions.21 Not only did Kānaka living in gold-mining communities continue to speak ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, enabling following generations to learn and speak the language as well, they also taught the language to others living in their communities, including American Indians. Rebeka’s Konkow mother, Waiuliuli, began interacting with Kānaka in the mid-1850s, married two Kanaka men, lived in the Kanaka gold-mining community Irish Creek, and was proficient in speaking and reading ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.22 In California and Oregon, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i was spoken, read, and taught among Kānaka and their

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18 Audio Recording of Interview with Henry Azbill, c. 1971, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, DHAC-0202, Track 2, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, January 26, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico; Letter from Henry Azbill to Dorothy Hill, March 21, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 23, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
19 Gulick, “No Waiulili – (Babbling Waters) He Wahine Ilikini No Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 12, 1862.
20 Makanui, Mahuka, Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 9, 1869.
21 Pogue, “No Na Mea I Ike Maka Ai Ma Kaleponi,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 19, 1868.
22 Aarona, “He Mau Palapala Mai Kaliponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 21, 1862; Gulick, “No Lemaine Ka Makuahine O Waiulili,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 13, 1862.
family members for decades, connecting the region to the Hawaiian Islands and expanding the reach of “a collective intelligence, or knowing” through language.²³

Another connection to the Hawaiian Islands was through hula. Hula is an important component of Kanaka culture and tradition that connects to both the past and present. As Adria L. Imada describes in *Aloha America: Hula Circuits through the U.S. Empire*, hula is “a form of embodied and kinesthetic historical knowledge” that allows for “flexibility, change, and innovation as its practitioners and political patrons shifted.”²⁴ In “Re-Membering the History of the Hawaiian Hula,” Amy Kuʻuleialoha Stillman describes hula as a “multifaceted complex of poetry, vocal recitation, and choreography” and a “site of cultural memory” that encourages new choreography as well as the continuation of “established repertoire” where “memories of people and events endure long after they have passed.”²⁵

Therefore, dancing and teaching hula in Oregon and California connected Kānaka abroad to Kanaka history and culture through this repertoire described by Imada and Stillman as well as through hula itself, whose origins some attribute to the moʻolelo of Hiʻiakaikapiolepele when Hiʻiaka danced hula with Hōpoe.²⁶ In the moʻolelo, the akua Pele asks her sisters to dance with Hōpoe who is seen dancing hula at Hāʻena on the island of Hawaiʻi. Hiʻiaka agrees and dances hula and surfs with Hōpoe after composing and chanting an oli “in tribute to the beautiful Hōpoe and her ‘hula lea.’”²⁷

²³ Arista, “Histories of Unequal Measure,” 301.
²⁴ Imada, *Aloha America*, 32.
²⁷ Silva explains that “the word leʻa is a modifier that means ‘pleasing, delightful,’ but has a definite sexual connotation because it also means ‘sexual gratification, orgasm.’” Such poetry consciously makes use of double meanings of these kinds of words. Hiʻiaka is clearly entranced with Hōpoe in a way that might easily be interpreted as romantic and/or sexual.” Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 76-77.
Performing and teaching hula in gold-mining regions of Oregon and California connected Kanaka communities and the ‘āina to Kanaka historical knowledge, ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, Kanaka art, mo’olelo, akua, and kūpuna at a time when hula was a contentious issue in the Hawaiian Islands. This is reflected in the actions of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association who petitioned the Hawaiian government to legally ban hula in 1858. Two of their reasons for this proposed ban were the perceived idleness caused by hula, distracting Kānaka from work, and the idea that hula encouraged adultery. Following this petition, the civil code of 1859 required a license for hula performances that charged admission and restricted performances and the selling of licenses to Honolulu. Imada explains that this law “effectively erased hula from urban areas and the public sphere.” However, King Kalākaua, who reigned from 1874 to 1891, supported hula performances, as well as other Kanaka culture and traditions, and hula performances were featured at Kalākaua’s poni mōʻī (coronation) in February 1883 and his fiftieth birthday jubilee in November 1886.

Kānaka who danced hula in Oregon and California would have been doing so while the Hawaiian Evangelical Association was working to ban hula in the Hawaiian Islands. Mele Kainuha Keaala lived in the Hawaiian Islands during Kalākaua’s revival of hula, his poni mōʻī, and his fiftieth birthday. She may have learned hula during this time of cultural revival and celebration in the Hawaiian Islands and then passed this knowledge on to her hānai daughter, Lealani. Others also learned hula during this time before performing in the United States such as “Jennie Wilson (née Kini Kapahukulaokamāmalu McColgan), a dancer in Kalākaua’s court and hula performer at the Chicago World’s Fair in 1893, [who] attributed all contemporary

29 The restriction to Honolulu was repealed in 1870. Ibid., 41-42, 46; Imada, Aloha America, 33.
30 Imada, Aloha America, 33.
31 Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 108-120.
knowledge of hula to Kalākaua’s revival efforts.” Like Wilson, Keaala worked at the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition where she too may have performed hula.

Like language and hula, Kānaka in California and Oregon also formed connections to the Hawaiian Islands through the remembrance, commemoration, and celebration of the history and events of the Hawaiian Kingdom. One way this was done was through the observance of the Hawaiian holiday, Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea (Restoration Day). On July 31, 1862, members of the Aha Hui Missionari Hawai o California in Irish Creek, California, organized festivities to recognize this holiday that celebrates the restoration of sovereignty to the Hawaiian Islands by the British.

On February 25, 1843, Kauikeaouli (King Kamehameha III) ceded the Hawaiian Islands under protest to British Captain George Paulet. Kamehameha III’s actions came after Paulet had made a list of demands under the threat of war to Kamehameha III and the Hawaiian Kingdom concerning the British consul and British subjects in the Hawaiian Islands. Kamehameha III refused to comply with the demands and instead ceded the Hawaiian Islands to Paulet until Queen Victoria was informed of the matter. Sovereignty was restored to the Hawaiian Islands five months later on July 31, 1843 when British Admiral Richard Thomas arrived in the Hawaiian Islands as representative of the British government and proclaimed the Hawaiian Islands to be sovereign. The day sovereignty was restored would be recognized and celebrated each year in the Hawaiian Islands as Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea.

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33 Notes from Interview with Henry Azbill, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 1, California State University, Chico.
36 The sovereignty and independence of the Hawaiian Kingdom was further recognized later that year on November 28, 1843 when Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Hawaiian Islands. The independence of the Hawaiian Islands was also recognized by France, the United States, and Belgium. The day Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the Hawaiian Islands would be recognized as Lā Kūʻokoʻa (Independence Day). Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, 376-368; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 37.
Almost twenty years later, the holiday was celebrated by Kānaka living in gold-mining communities in California. Hairam R. Nalau and Moses Nahola, members of Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia, wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa to describe the festivities. Nalau and Nahola explained that:

O makou o na keiki kupa o ka aina Hawaii, e noho ana ma keia aina malihini; no ko makou aloha i ka aina hanau, nolaila, ua hoolilo makou i ua la la, i la hoomanao, a i la haipule hoi, e waiho ana i na hana lima.\(^{37}\)

We the native children of the Hawaiian land living at this strange and unfamiliar land; because of our love for the homeland, therefore, we have designated this day as a day of commemoration, and as a religious holiday also, when we do no work.\(^{38}\)

Nalau and Nahola professed their love for their homeland and celebrated their nationalism and the Hawaiian Islands through commemorating Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea. The patriotic celebration began with a feast. Food was prepared the morning of July 31 and served on a table where everyone sat together to eat. Before the meal began, L.H. Kapuaa, a member of Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o California, stood to speak and sing.

Nalau and Nahola included one of the hymns sung by Kapuaa at Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea in their letter to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. The hymn describes the events of 1843 leading to the restoration of the Hawaiian government as well as the commemoration of the event by the Kānaka in Irish Creek. Each verse ends with the lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,} & \quad \text{The sovereignty was restored,} \\
\text{Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.} & \quad \text{The Hawaiian flag hangs again.}
\end{align*}
\]

One verse illustrates how the events described in these lines made the Kānaka in Irish Creek feel:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Nolaila e na hoa,} & \quad \text{Therefore the friends,} \\
\text{E ku a mele pu,} & \quad \text{Stand and sing together,} \\
\text{Hauoli like kakou,} & \quad \text{We are happy together,}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{37}\) Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.  
\(^{38}\) Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.  
\(^{39}\) Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.
Ma keia waoakua,  
At this distant mountain region inhabited by akua,
Ua nui na la i hala,  
Many days have passed,
Aole kakou i hoomanao,  
We do not remember,
Ua hoiihoi mai ka ea,  
The sovereignty was restored,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.  
The Hawaiian flag hangs again.

This verse emphasizes that Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea was a joyous day and a time for celebration together although Kapuaa and the Känaka around him may have been living away from the Hawaiian Islands for a long period of time. The line “ma keia waoakua” (at this distant mountain region inhabited by akua) illustrates the region as a distant land, away from the Hawaiian Islands, and a mountainous landscape not inhabited by people, but the region where akua lived.

Other verses describe the events that took place in 1843. They focus on the arrival of British Admiral Thomas and recalling British Captain Paulet.

O Thomas ka mama,  
Thomas was the quickest,
Ma na ale o ke kai,  
On the waves of the sea,
A hiki ma Hawaii,  
Until he arrived at Hawai‘i,
Kuku me ka Moi,  
Discussed with the King,
Me na Luna Aupuni,  
With the government officials,
Holo ke kuikahi,  
The treaty was approved,
Ua hoiihoi mai ka ea,  
The sovereignty was restored,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.

Hoopauia o Lo Keoki,  
Lord George was dismissed,
Hoi nele aku ia,  
Returned empty-handed,
Ka moana Pakipika,  
The Pacific Ocean,
Hauoli Hawaii,  
Hawai‘i was happy,
I ka la hope o Iulai,  
On the last day of July,
Ala ae kakou,  
We rise up,
Ua hoiihoi mai ka ea,  
The sovereignty was restored,
Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii.  
The Hawaiian flag hangs again.

In these verses, the details of July 31, 1843 are retold, describing the arrival of Thomas, his meeting with Kamehameha III and government officials, and the restoration of Hawaiian

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40 Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaha Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.
41 Ibid.
42 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
sovereignty. It discredits Paulet’s attempt to gain control of the Hawaiian Islands and, with the last lines of each verse, emphasizes the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom, showing a national loyalty among the celebrators.

The last verse of Kapua’a’s hymn gives credit to God as helping with the restoration of sovereignty in 1843.

E ala e na keiki,  The children of the,  O ka Ehu Hau,  Cool Mist rise up,  Mele me ka hauoli,  Sing with joy,  Hoonani ke Akua,  Praise God,  Nana kokua mai,  It was he who helped,  Ka ea o ka aina,  The sovereignty of the land,  Ua hoihoi mai ka ea,  The sovereignty was restored,  Kau hou ka Hae Hawaii. The Hawaiian flag hangs again.44

In this verse, Kapua’a refers to “na keiki o ka Ehu Hau” (the children of the Cool Mist), the Känaka at the Irish Creek Lā Ho‘iho‘i Ea celebration, identifying themselves by the cold mist that often surrounded the mountains in California.45 These Känaka celebrated the 1843 restoration of Hawaiian sovereignty by coming together to sing, feast, listen to histories of the Hawaiian Islands, and praise God.

After Kapua’a’s hymn, everyone prayed and ate. The feast was followed by Kapua’a telling “ka moolelo o ka noho ana o na’lii mai ka wa kahiko mai” (the history of the governing of the rulers from the old time until today) as well as the story of the Hawaiian Islands under British rule in 1843. After his speech and another prayer, everyone returned to their homes to rest until they would reconvene at five o’clock in the evening. When everyone reassembled that evening, they listened to a speech from Hairam R. Nalau and another member of Aha Hui Misionari 43

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43 Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.
44 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
45 Nalau and Nahola also used this term when they wrote that the hymn was “hakuia e na keiki o ka Ehu Hau” (composed by the children of the Cool Mist) and at the end of their letter to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa when they wrote, “na na keiki o ka Ehu Hau i Haku” (the children of the Cold Mist were the composers). Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.
Hawaii o Califonia, J. M. Kake. Their speech told the history of the reign of the Kamehameha family. Nalau and Kake compared the success of Kamehameha I over the rulers of Maui, Oʻahu, and Kauaʻi to the success of Kamehameha III over Paulet by stating:

E like me ka manao o ke Akua o Kamehameha I, ka mea i lanakila ai ia maluna o naʻLii ekolu o Maui, Oahu, a me Kauai; pela i lanakila ai o Kamehameha III., ma ka mana o Iehova kona Akua.⁴⁶

Similar to the idea of the God of Kamehameha I, the one who was victorious over the three rulers of Maui, Oʻahu, and Kauaʻi; it is like that Kamehameha III was victorious at the power of Jehova, his God.

As Kapuaa had mentioned in his hymn, Nalau and Kake spoke of sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands as a result of the presence and assistance of the Christian God. They compared this to Kūkāʻilimoku assisting Kamehameha I in uniting the Hawaiian Islands as a relatable situation in a different time. Nalau and Kake ended their speech by calling for the continuation of Hawaiian sovereignty and the rule of the Kamehameha family in the lines, “E ola mau loa ka ohana Kamehameha. E mau ka noho aliʻi ana.” (The Kamehameha family will continue to live. The reign will continue). The speech was followed by prayer and then everyone returned to their homes, “me ka lana o ka manao e loa hou ka la e like me ia i ka M.H. 1863” (with the idea the day similar to this will be had in 1863).⁴⁷

In addition to commemorating the restoration of Hawaiian sovereignty, the Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea holiday in Irish Creek celebrated the rule of the mōʻī and aliʻi, the Kamehameha line, the history of the Hawaiian Islands, and the continuation of the Hawaiian Kingdom and sovereignty of the Hawaiian Islands. It was also a religious holiday organized by the Kanaka Christian organization in Irish Creek, Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia. Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea and the Aha Hui Misionari Hawaii o Califonia provided Kānaka with the opportunity to come together as a

⁴⁶ Nalau and Nahola, “Ahaaina Hoihoi Ea,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 6, 1862.
⁴⁷ Ibid.
community united by their shared connection to the Hawaiian Islands and extended the knowledge and celebration of the history of the Hawaiian Kingdom into the gold-mining regions of California.

Another cultural practice through which Kānaka living in gold-mining communities connected to the Hawaiian Islands was composing and publishing kanikau. As has been discussed throughout this study, Kānaka sent kanikau to the Hawaiian Islands to be published in Hawaiian-language newspapers, expressing grief and memorializing the lives of their loved ones who passed away in Oregon and California. Composing kanikau in western North America incorporated the region into Kanaka verbal arts by adapting kanikau components such as place names, shared experiences, and kaona (multiple or veiled meanings) that were specific to the gold-mining experience.

A kanikau composed by Kamakahiki Maintop for Akahiakalohelani in Jacksonville, Oregon, includes place names throughout western North America, showing the extent of Maintop’s knowledge of the ‘āina and Akahi’s experiences in the region. One site Maintop includes in the kanikau is the “Snakey River” (Snake River), which flows in present-day Wyoming, Idaho, along the Oregon-Idaho border, and in Washington. Another site she mentions is Walla Walla, a town located near the confluence of the Snake and Columbia Rivers in present-day southeastern Washington. The kanikau also mentions “Oso Fino” (Oro Fino), a town east of Walla Walla in present-day Idaho along the Clearwater River which flows into the Snake River.48 These place names were included in the verse:

48 It is spelled with an “s” in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa but “Oso Fino” is most likely referring to the name “Oro Fino” which means “fine gold” in Spanish. Although there is also an Oro Fino in Siskiyou County, California, it is believed that the composer, Mrs. Kamakahiki Maintop, was referring to the Oro Fino in Idaho since she refers to the place in a verse mentioning nearby Walla Walla and the following verse mentions the Snake River. Oro Fino is roughly twenty miles west of Pierce, Idaho, from where G.B. Kahinano sent multiple letters to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa. Kahoinea, Kahoinea, Maintop, Kaauwaeaina, and Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa,
He u la he aloha, A lamentation, a sentiment of love, 
Nou no e Akahi, For you, Akahi, 
Aloha wale ka Uhane, The spirit is greatly loved, 
E maalo hookahi nei, Only one passes away, 
I ka loa o Kalaponi, In the distance of California, 
A pili me Oregona, And close to Oregon, 
Ka piina i Oso Fino, The ascent to Oro Fino, 
A hui me Walla Walla, And joined with Walla Walla, 
Hui pu mai ke aloha, The love is united, 
Auwe! Auwe! Aloha ino.49 Alas! Alas! What a pity.50

Some Kānaka went to this eastern Washington-western Idaho region to mine for gold. These place names connect Akahiakalohelani and Maintop to this region and the Kānaka living there.

The use of Oregon, California, Washington, and Idaho place names in kanikau composed from gold-mining communities shows that one of the intended audiences of the kanikau were Kānaka living in these places or experienced travelers. Kānaka living throughout western North America were knowledgeable of the places mentioned and would better understand and relate to the descriptions and stories tied to those places. The use of these place names also served to acquaint Kānaka living in the Hawaiian Islands with communities and important sites for Kānaka living in gold-mining communities, helping Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands maintain a connection with Kānaka abroad by becoming knowledgeable about the ‘āina and their gold-mining experiences.

Like kanikau composed in the Hawaiian Islands, kanikau composed in Oregon and California gold-mining communities also described shared experiences between the composers and the person the kanikau was composed for. These experiences are described in the lines of the kanikau as well as the specific words used. Juliana Kahoinea mentioned traveling to northern

50 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva.
California and working at a gold-mining camp in her kanikau for Akahiakalohelani composed from Jacksonville in southern Oregon.  

He uwe helu mai na hoa luhi,  
A wailing call of grief and love from the companions who have labored together,  

Aloha ino no ko’u hoa pili,  
What a pity my dear friend,  

Na hoa hele o Shasta River,  
The traveling companions of Shasta River,  

Na hoa huikau o Yreka,  
The companions in the crowded town of Yreka,  

Ka piina ikiiki o Long Gulch.  
The stifling ascent of Long Gulch.

This verse connects the Shasta River, Yreka, and Long Gulch to experiences shared between Kahoinea and Akahi. Together, Akahi and Kahoinea labored and traveled along the Shasta River to the populous town, Yreka, and the gold mining site, Long Gulch.

Kahoinea describes traveling out of Long Gulch as a “piina ikiiki” (stifling ascent). The word ikiiki means “stifling heat and humidity; acute discomfort, pain, grief, suffering” and the word pi‘ina means “climb, ascent, rise, incline.” Kahoinea is using these words to describe the ascent out of Long Gulch in the stifling heat as well as the difficulty of the labor and the pain and suffering she was feeling due to the death of Akahiakalohelani. A similar use of ikiiki in another kanikau is discussed by Noelani Arista in “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning: Kaona as Historical and Interpretive Method.” Arista looks at the following lines in the kanikau composed by Ioane Kaahiki for his wife, Manihi, to discuss how place names are used to recall memories as well as evoke emotion: “‘Kuu wahine mai ka makani anu he Waikoloa / Ua loihi no ko kaua noho ana i ka la ikiiki e Kapuukolo’ (‘My wife from the cold wind, Waikoloa / Long did we

52 Ibid.  
53 History of Siskiyou County, 207.  
54 Pukui and Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary, 97, 327.
reside in the stifling days of Kapuʻukolo’).”\(^{55}\) Arista explains that the “cold wind and heat are symbols of the strength of a relationship that had weathered good times and bad” and the use of the name Kapuʻukolo “draws on the meaning of puʻu as ‘obstacle, burden, discomfort, sorrow’ and signifies the drudgery, sorrow, and discomfort that prolonged illness brings to the body, a strain for both husband and wife to bear.”\(^{56}\)

Similarly, Kahoeina uses ikiiki to evoke emotion as well as memory. She uses the word to call on the idea of a relationship that had “weathered good times and bad” through the symbolism of the opposing concepts of hot/cool and suffering/peacefulness since she included the line, “o ka puu Hau ua ea mai” (the snowy hill has risen) in the previous verse, and “Ka iho’na hoolai o ka wai Hu” (The gushing spring peacefully descends) in the following verse, contrasting with ikiiki, which means “stifling heat and humidity” and “acute discomfort, pain, grief, suffering.” She also uses various California place names in the verse to call on a similar idea. In this verse, Kahoeina mentions a crowded city, a river, and a gold-mining site. These three different types of locations symbolize a relationship that has faced and survived a variety of circumstances. The idea of facing an “obstacle, burden, discomfort, sorrow” as symbolized by Ioane Kaahiki in the use of the name Kapuʻukolo can also be seen in the use of the word puʻu in “o ka puu Hau ua ea mai” (the snowy hill has risen) in the previous verse as well as the use of the name Long Gulch. Although Long Gulch is an English name, Kahoeina used the name strategically to describe the difficulty of gold mining, traveling, and living in Oregon and California, as well as the discomfort, suffering, and pain experienced by Akahi due to her sickness. A gulch is a deep, narrow ravine and the name Long Gulch emphasizes its distance, while the use of the words piina ikiiki emphasizes its steepness and the difficulty to ascend it,

\(^{55}\) The kanikau composed for P. Manihi by Ioane Kaahiki in Honolulu was published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, October 14, 1871. Arista, “Navigating Uncharted Oceans of Meaning,” 666.

\(^{56}\) Ibid.
making it a difficult obstacle to overcome. Kanikau like this one composed in Oregon by Kahoina show how Kānaka incorporated the ‘āina of Oregon and California into kanikau. Publishing in Hawaiian-language newspapers allowed Kānaka to send kanikau to the Hawaiian Islands, connecting the deceased with their homeland while also connecting Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands with the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California.

Composing kanikau; celebrating the Hawaiian Kingdom and Hawaiian history through Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea; dancing and teaching hula; speaking, reading, and writing in ‘ōlelo Hawaiʻi; and preparing and eating adaptations of poi are all examples of Kanaka cultural practices that Kānaka extended to Oregon and California that provided a familiar, comfortable space that began to connect the ‘āina with akua, kūpuna, and moʻolelo of the Hawaiian Islands. Although the ‘āina of the gold-mining region did not have a relationship with Kānaka Hawaiʻi mai ka pō mai, aspects of Kanaka culture, such as those discussed here, helped to introduce the ‘āina malihini to these relationships. Continuing aspects of Kanaka culture also helped Kānaka connect to the Hawaiian Islands and Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands connect to Kānaka living abroad through the publication of kanikau and other writings in Hawaiian-language newspapers.

**Communication with the Hawaiian Islands**

Newspapers and letters allowed Kānaka in gold-mining communities and the Hawaiian Islands to communicate with one another, strengthening connections between the two regions and further defining western North America as an ‘āina paiʻalewa i ke kai as the voices of Kānaka sailed back and forth across the Pacific. Gold-mining communities and local networks also stayed connected to one another through letter-writing and reading Hawaiian-language newspapers that occasionally published contributions from Kānaka in the region. The primary
purpose of Hawaiian-language newspapers in gold-mining regions, however, was for readers to stay informed and in touch with the news, events, and culture of the Hawaiian Islands through a Kanaka news source in ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Many Kānaka throughout Oregon and California subscribed to Hawaiian-language newspapers in order to read the latest news, mo‘olelo, letters, kanikau, and other articles published in the newspapers.

Newspapers were first printed in the Hawaiian Islands in 1834 when Ka Lama Hawaii was printed at Lahainaluna Seminary in Lahaina, Maui. As Helen Chapin explains in Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian language had been reduced to a written language by American Calvinist missionaries in the 1820s, prompting newspapers to be published in the Hawaiian language as Kānaka “quickly and eagerly adopted literacy and the printed page.” Many Hawaiian- and English-language newspapers soon followed and have been categorized in four ways by Chapin as: establishment (mainstream press “part of a power structure that formulates the policies and practices to which everyone is expected to adhere”); opposition (established as an alternative to establishment newspapers); official (government-sponsored newspapers); and independent (newspapers not affiliated with a special interest).58

As the amount of newspapers and written resources grew throughout the Hawaiian Islands, so too did literacy. M. Puakea Nogelmeier states that “the acknowledgement of full literacy was general among Hawaiians and their foreign contemporaries” and Kānaka who wrote and published in newspapers, were doing so in conversation with “a fully-literate populace.” Therefore, Kānaka that wrote from Oregon and California to Hawaiian-language newspapers were writing to a large population of literate Kānaka living in the Hawaiian Islands and abroad.

57 Helen Chapin, Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai‘i (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), 16.
58 Noenoe Silva uses the term “resistance” to replace Chapin’s term, “opposition.” Ibid., 2-4; Silva, Aloha Betrayed, 56.
59 Nogelmeier, Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo, 72.
The newspaper that Kānaka living in gold-mining communities often published in was *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, what Helen Chapin calls the “longest-running and most successful Hawaiian language journal” that ran from 1861-1927. An establishment press, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* was started by Henry M. Whitney, a son of Calvinist American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries, and its first editor was Reverend Luther Halsey Gulick, who was also a son of missionaries. Chapin explains that although Whitney and other journalists of missionary descent were born in the Hawaiian Islands, spoke Hawaiian, and “called Kamehameha IV ‘our sovereign,’” they identified with the United States. However, most of the writers for *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, either as newspaper staff or as reader submissions, were Kānaka Hawai‘i. The content of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* included mo‘okū‘auhau, mele, moʻolelo, discussions of Kanaka culture, as well as writings from John Papa ʻĪʻī and Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau. In the first year of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, three thousand copies of the weekly paper were printed. Chapin describes *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* as popular among Kānaka, and it “achieved a circulation of 5,000 in the nineteenth century.” Among those that published in the popular newspaper were Kānaka living in Oregon and California, allowing them to stay in conversation with Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands.

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60 Chapin and Noenoe Silva classify *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* as an establishment paper as, Silva points out, it was “owned and operated by missionary son Henry Whitney and received the endorsement of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association.” Puakea Nogelmeier calls *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* one of “the earliest independent Hawaiian papers.” Chapin, *Shaping History*, 54, 57; Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 56, 82; Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo*, 85.


64 At the time of the first year of publication of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, the Kanaka population in the Hawaiian Islands was approximately 65,000. Nogelmeier, *Mai Pa‘a i ka Leo*, 81.

65 Chapin, *Shaping History*, 57.
Not only did Kānaka Hawai‘i living in gold-mining communities write to the newspapers, they also subscribed to the papers. The newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, reported on the demand from “na makamaka o makou e noho ana ma na aina e” (our intimate friends living in other lands) for subscriptions to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. The paper explained that “ua loa mai ia makou na palapala mai Kaleponia, Keomolewa a me Oregona, e hai mai ana i ko lakou mahalo i ke Kuokoa, e makemake ana e lawe ia pepa” (we have obtained documents from California, Keomolewa, and Oregon, declaring their gratitude to the *Kuokoa*, desiring to subscribe to this paper).

Those in California, Keomolewa, and Oregon requesting newspaper subscriptions also wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* requesting information on subscription payments. Newspapers sent to Kānaka living abroad were shipped through the mail across the Pacific Ocean and therefore required an additional mail fee. The paper explained that the Hawaiian Islands letter fee was 104 cents and the American letter fee was fifty-two cents for the year, totaling a yearly expense of $1.56. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* declared that because of these fees, they would charge $3.50 for a yearly subscription to the newspaper for “ka poe e noho ana ma na aina e” (the people living in other lands). The regular yearly subscription rate for people living in the Hawaiian Islands was $2.00, so the newspaper was responsible for paying the extra six cents for the $1.56 mail fee.

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66 “I Na Makamaka Ma Na Aina E,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 26, 1862.
67 The place name “Keomolewa” or “Keamolewa” has been defined as the Columbia River, Vancouver, the Klamath River, and Oregon. In this example, the article in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* uses the term in conjunction with Oregon and California, designating it as a separate but related place, such as Washington. It seems that over time, the term has been used to refer to a variety of places in the region and it is difficult to know which specific place the term refers to unless the author specifies. For that reason, this dissertation will use the term “Keamolewa” or “Keomolewa” when the place name is not more specifically defined. “I Na Makamaka Ma Na Aina E,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 26, 1862, 2; Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 145, 517; “Hula Puili Mai oe (Auhea wale oe e Keao),” trans. Mary Kawena Pukui, MS Group 81, Box 9.12, Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i; S.M. Kamakau, “Ka Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ke Au Okoa*, July 15, 1869; Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs*, 404; Keoni Ana, “Report of the Minister of the Interior, Read before His Majesty, to the Hawaiian Legislature, Aug.1, 1846,” *The Polynesian*, August 8, 1846.
68 “I Na Makamaka Ma Na Aina E,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 26, 1862.
These extra fees were well worth it for Kānaka abroad who valued these newspapers to stay connected with their homeland.

The newspaper also explained how those wishing to subscribe to the paper should send in their payment. The paper suggested:

E hoouna mai no oukou i ko oukou mau dala ma ka lima o ka makamaka kupono, a i ole ma ka lima o na Kapena, o na moku holo mau ma Honolulu nei; a e hai mai ma ka palapala i na mea a oukou i manao ai e hooili mai.⁶⁹

You should send your money at the hand of the reliable, honest, intimate friend, or at the hand of the captains of the ships always sailing to Honolulu and say in the document the things you want to ship.

These comments also show that both news and people traveled back and forth between the Hawaiian Islands and western North America. Payments and requests for newspaper subscriptions could be sent by makamaka (intimate friends) or captains, inferring that people and ships were frequently moving between the two regions. The subscription requests could be made through these travelers and newspapers would then be sent to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa subscribers in California, Keomolewa, and Oregon.

One recipient of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa was Daniela MASONA who lived within the Yreka-Jacksonville local network. In an 1865 letter to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, MASONA describes a visit to the post office in Henley, California, where he hoped he would find some letters sent to him. When the postmaster handed MASONA a roll of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, MASONA explained, “lele ae ko’u hauli i ka olioli, me ka lana o kuu manao e ike i na mea hou o ke aupuni Hawaii” (I was surprised with joy with my hope to know the news of the Hawaiian Kingdom).⁷⁰ Kānaka continued to receive and subscribe to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa and other Hawaiian-language newspapers for the next several decades.

⁶⁹ “I Na Makamaka Ma Na Aina E,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 26, 1862.
Eleven years after Mason’s letter to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* expressing his joy due to receiving the newspaper in the mail, Luke Kualawa wrote to the newspaper *Ka Lahui Hawaii* concerning subscriptions to *Ka Lahui Hawaii* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Kualawa, writing from Vernon in the Coloma-Sacramento local network in California, explained that he had sent $12.50 for yearly subscriptions to both *Ka Lahui Hawaii* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* for himself and John Kapu. He had sent the money to Reverend John Pogue believing the money would then reach the newspapers, but over two months had passed and Kualawa and Kapu had not received a newspaper. *Ka Lahui Hawaii* published both Kualawa’s letter and the paper’s response to Kualawa, saying the newspaper had not received the money. Two weeks later, *Ka Lahui Hawaii* announced that they received Kualawa’s payment and Kualawa and Kapu would receive their newspaper subscriptions in Vernon, California. In this case, *Ka Lahui Hawaii* used the format of the newspaper to communicate with Kualawa and Kapu in California while also informing the newspaper readers that Kānaka abroad were subscribing and reading the newspaper.

Kānaka living abroad were still reading and desiring subscriptions to Hawaiian-language newspapers several decades later when Dr. St. D.G. Walters visited northern California in 1904. As mentioned previously, when Walters was in Honolulu (Gottville) on the Klamath River in California, he met a Kanaka woman and two Kanaka men, one of whom was James Alapai. In a letter written by Walters to Dr. Herbert and published in *The Independent*, Walters stated that Alapai and the other Kanaka man had been living there since 1849 and the Kanaka woman had been living there since 1851. It also stated that they were “treasuring very fondly” an issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* that was eight years old, dated June 26, 1896, that the editor, Joseph M. Poepoe, had sent them. The issue included, among other items, the laws of the

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Republic of Hawai‘i, and a letter written by Poepoe’s daughter, Cecilia Kealoha Poepoe, from Oakland, California. Walters wrote that “they were very anxious to get some Hawaiian papers” and instructed Herbert to order a year’s subscription to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa to send to Alapa‘i and charge it to Walters, as “it will come to them as an echo of their beloved native land the memory of which is still very dear to them.” For decades, Kānaka living in Oregon and California gold-mining communities were reading and subscribing to Hawaiian-language newspapers, valuing the chance to stay connected to their homeland through reading the news and other writings in the paper.

In addition to kanikau, Kānaka in Oregon and California were also submitting writings to the newspapers in the form of mele, death announcements, population lists, and letters describing various events and experiences abroad. Some Kānaka wrote in conversation with the newspapers, responding to ka‘ao (legends), mo‘olelo, news, and other matters they read about in the paper. This format allowed those Kānaka living across the Pacific Ocean to voice their opinions and be in dialogue with Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands. One subject that attracted a response from California was the ka‘ao Lā‘ieikawai by S.N. Hale‘ole.

*Lā‘ieikawai* was published in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* as a serial from 1862-1863 and compiled and published as a book in 1863. Inspired by the publication of *Lā‘ieikawai* as a book, E. Kualawa wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* from Missouri Bar in Yuba County, California, approximately twenty-two miles east of Oroville. Kualawa discussed the desire to print “mo‘olelo kahiko loa, mai ka hoomaka ana mai o keia hanauna hiki wale i keia wa i mea e nalowale ole ai ma keia mau hanauna aku” (very old histories/legends/stories, from the beginning of this ancestry until now so that they will not be forgotten in the generations to

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come). Kualawa argues that by publishing these moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau of aliʻi and kānaka, it would be clear that “ke kanaka he kanaka, he kanaka kona olelo ana, pela hoi keʻi, he Alii kona olelo ana, he Haku, he Ilamuku” (a commoner is the commoner, the moʻokūʻauhau says it is a commoner, likewise for the aliʻi, the moʻokūʻauhau says it is an aliʻi, a lord, an executive officer). Kualawa’s proposal refers to the ‘ōlelo noʻeau (proverb), “ʻhe aliʻi nō mai ka paʻa a ke aliʻi; he kanaka nō mai ka paʻa a ke kanaka’ (a chief from the class of chiefs; a commoner from the class of commoners).” Katrina-Ann R. Kapāʻanaokalāokeola Nākoʻa Oliveira explains that this ‘ōlelo noʻeau “reminds us that a chief is a chief because his ancestors were; a commoner is a commoner because his ancestors were. This statement warned those of royal descent to ensure a high-ranking lineage for their descendants by having children with other high-ranking aliʻi.”

Kualawa was also concerned about who were aliʻi and officials in the Hawaiian Islands and looked to moʻolelo and moʻokūʻauhau to help ensure this knowledge was retained. Kualawa listed Kamehameha I and his Kahuna, Kākāʻolelo, Kāula (Prophet), Kilo (Astrologer and Reader of Omens), and Kuhikuhipuʻuone as examples of who should be included in these moʻolelo. Kualawa also desired the publication of kaʻao such as Kana, Kawelo, Kauahoa, Kamapuaʻa, and others and recommended that if these moʻolelo and kaʻao were published as books, everyone would say, “E kuai no makou! E kuai no makou!” (We will buy! We will buy!).

Kualawa also wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa in response to another reader’s column on the publication of moʻolelo. J.W. Kaikaina, who wrote from Ulakoheo, Honolulu, suggested the

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76 Ibid.
77 Oliveira, Ancestral Places, 28.
79 Kualawa, “Palapala Mai Kalaponi Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 12, 1863.
publication of the moʻolelo of Losinehama as a book “e like me ka Buke o Laieikawai” (similar to the book Lāʻieikawai).\textsuperscript{81} Like Lāʻieikawai, Losinehama was also published in Ka Nupepa Kuokoa as a serial. Kualawa wrote a response from Sweetland in Nevada County, California, approximately ten miles south of Missouri Bar, agreeing with J.W. Kaikaina and the suggestion for the publication of Losinehama as a book.\textsuperscript{82} Although traveling throughout gold-mining regions in California, Kualawa remained in conversation with Hawaiian-language newspapers by responding to kaʻao published in the paper, recommending future publications, and by responding to others who wrote in to the paper. These conversations were published for all readers to see, allowing everyone to be a part of these correspondences.

Kānaka abroad also wrote to newspapers in response to news about mōʻī and aliʻi showing a continued sense of national loyalty to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Daniela Masona described receiving a copy of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa that had a picture of Alexander Liholiho (King Kamehameha IV) and Queen Emma. Kamehameha IV had died in 1863, two years before Masona received the newspaper. Masona wrote:

\begin{quote}
Wehe ae la wau i ka owili nupepa, aia hoi e waiho ana elua mau momi makamae iloko, oia hoi ke kino wailua o ko kakou Moi aloha i hele aku i ka aoao mau o ke ao nei, Alekanedero Liholiho Kamehameha IV a me ke Kuini Ema lani i holo aku nei i Europa, a paa keia mau kino kii ma koʻu lima, ninau mai na haole e ku poai ana iloko o ka Hale-lela, heaha ia mea ma ko lima, pane aku la wau imua o ka lehulehu, o ka keu keia o ka mea hou i loaa iaʻu ma keia Hale-lela, ke kii keia o ko makou Moi Kamehameha IV, a me ka pua iiu o ke aupuni Hawaii ke Kuini Ema lani.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

I opened the newspaper roll. Behold! Two precious pearls were exposed within, namely the spirit of our beloved monarch who went to the afterlife, Alexander Liholiho Kamehameha IV and the Queen Emalani who sailed to Europe, and these portraits held tight in my hand, the White people standing in a circle inside of the post office asked me what is this thing in your hand, I then answered in front of the crowd, this is the greatest

\textsuperscript{81} J.W. Kaikaina, “Makemake Wale, Hauoli Ilo,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 4, 1863.
\textsuperscript{82} E. Kualawa’s previous letter on moʻolelo and kaʻao had been written from Missouri Bar one month earlier.
\textsuperscript{83} Mason, “Ke Kino Wailua O Ka Mea I Aloha Nui Ia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 4, 1865.
news I received at this post office, this is the picture of our King Kamehameha IV, and the majestic flower of the Hawaiian Kingdom the Queen Emalani.84

In his letter to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Daniela Masona expressed his love for his aliʻi and closed his letter by writing “Ke kaena mau nei au o ke Kuini o ke aupuni Hawaii” (I continue to praise the Queen of the Hawaiian Kingdom) and “O ke aloha kou a me kou mau alakai. E ola ke Kuini Ema lani i ke Akua” (My love to you and my leaders. God save the Queen Emalani), expressing his loyalty for the rulers of the Hawaiian Kingdom.85

G.B. Kahinano also wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* about receiving news concerning aliʻi.

In 1866, Kahinano wrote from Pierce City in the gold-mining region of western Idaho, describing the arrival of an issue of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* and learning about the death of the Kuhina Nui Victoria Kamāmalu. Like Masona, Kahinano expressed his grief and love for Kamāmalu in his letter to the newspaper.86 Upon receiving images and news concerning Kamehameha IV, Queen Emma, and Kamāmalu through *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, Masona and Kahinano felt compelled to respond to the newspaper and write about their mōʻī and aliʻi. Their reactions show that Masona, Kahinano, and other Kānaka living in gold-mining communities remained loyal to the Hawaiian Kingdom. Although living outside of the Hawaiian Islands, Masona and Kahinano could use newspapers to stay informed, remain in contact with other Kānaka, and show their loyalty for the Hawaiian Kingdom. In addition to being in conversation with Kānaka living in the Hawaiian Islands, Kānaka that wrote to Hawaiian-language newspapers from gold-mining communities were also in conversation with other Kānaka living throughout western North America. Since Kānaka throughout the region subscribed to and received Hawaiian-language newspapers such as *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, these newspapers also

84 Translation assisted by Noelani Arista.
served to connect Kānaka living in various gold-mining communities and local networks to one another, helping to support a larger regional network throughout western North America.

Letter-writing also facilitated a connection between Kānaka throughout western North America and Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands as well as Kānaka living in different gold-mining communities. Letters were sent to individuals and Hawaiian-language newspapers, such as *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, and published for subscribers to read. In a letter to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, G.B. Kahinano detailed his journey from Puget Sound, Washington, to Oregon City, Oregon, and discussed a letter received in Oregon City from Kānaka living in Jacksonville. In his letter to the newspaper, Kahinano explained that after he arrived in Oregon City, “hiki mai la ka leta a kekahi o ko makou mau hoa’loha o keia aina malihini, e noho ana ma Jacksonville” (the letter of some of our friends of this strange and unfamiliar place living in Jacksonville arrived). The letter from Jacksonville provided notice that M. Kaauuwaeaina and others were on their way from Jacksonville to Oregon City before traveling to Idaho, and the Kānaka in Oregon City should wait for their arrival. The Jacksonville letter said, “E kali iho oukou ilaila a hiki aku o M. Kaauuwaeaina ma, alaila, huli aku ke alo i Boise Miners i kahi eli gula. Elima dala no na la ewalu, he umi a pela’ku” (You all should wait there until M. Kaauuwaeaina and others arrive, then, turn toward Boise Miners to the gold-mine place. Five dollars for eight days, ten and so forth). This letter from Jacksonville not only shows that Kānaka living in gold-mining communities were aware of other Kānaka living throughout the larger region, they coordinated their travel to new places for new gold-mining opportunities.

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88 Kaauuwaeaina had been married to Ellen Akahiakalohelani before her death in 1863 and lived in Kanaka Flat outside of Jacksonville. Kahoinea, Kahoinea, Maintop, Kaauuwaeaina, and Isaia, “Make I Ka Aina Paia Lewa I Ke Kai,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 28, 1863.
Although Kahinano had only been in Oregon City for two and a half weeks, he was in-touch with the gold-mining and other Kanaka communities throughout the region. Kahinano arrived in Oregon City after traveling from Port Madison on the Puget Sound in Washington. His ten-day journey to Oregon City took him to Steilacoom, Washington, by a sloop, then to Olympia, Washington, by foot, on to Monticello at the mouth of the Cowlitz River in Washington by stagecoach, then along the Columbia River by steamship to Portland, and finally to Oregon City by another steamship. Kahinano had been living north of Kanaka gold-mining communities, but he remained in contact with them and chose to join Kanaka gold miners who left Jacksonville to travel to the gold mines in Idaho.\(^90\) Letters helped Kahinano and other Kānaka communicate with Kanaka gold miners to plan moves to other gold mines. Letters also helped Kahinano explain his travels to readers of Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, informing readers in the Hawaiian Islands and abroad of Kahinano’s experiences and familiarizing them with the ‘āina of western North America.

Letters were able to reach and be sent from Kānaka in gold-mining communities as the mail system grew and expanded throughout the region and in the Hawaiian Islands. Kānaka in gold-mining communities were sending letters to the Hawaiian Islands as early as 1849. When Reverend Samuel Damon visited Irish Creek in California in July 1849, he offered to take letters from Kānaka living in the area to the Hawaiian Islands. When he left, “a mail of some twenty letters was made up.”\(^91\) In this instance, Damon personally transported letters from the gold-mining community to the Hawaiian Islands. In other cases, letter writers used the postal system to deliver their mail.

\(^{90}\) Kahinano, “Mai Idaho Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, September 22, 1866.
\(^{91}\) Damon, “A Trip from the Sandwich Islands to Lower Oregon and Upper California,” The Friend, December 1, 1849.
After the first post office opened in the Hawaiian Islands in 1851, letters sent between the Hawaiian Islands and western North America required Hawaiian and U.S. postage fees as well as fees for ship captains transporting the letters. These extra fees plus the changing cost for postage to and from western North America over the following years at times caused confusion among those wishing to mail letters. In 1862, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* reported that the payment for a letter to the Hawaiian Islands from California and Keamolewa was only three cents but some had been overpaying for postage, including one person who wrote from California and paid thirty cents and someone who wrote from Keamolewa and paid twenty-four cents.\(^{92}\) Although mailing letters between western North America and the Hawaiian Islands cost more, Kānaka were willing to pay the extra postage, just as Kānaka abroad were willing to pay extra fees to receive subscriptions to Hawaiian-language newspapers. The demand to send letters to Oregon and California from the Hawaiian Islands was so high that pre-stamped envelopes were sold specifically for letters sent to those states.

In 1863, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* explained that envelopes with stamps adhered to them could be purchased from the bookstore of Henry M. Whitney, the publisher of *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, simplifying the process of using the correct amount of international postage. The newspaper specified that people wanting to mail letters to Oregon and California could purchase pre-stamped envelopes for twelve and a half cents, compared to the regular priced postage envelopes that cost three cents.\(^{93}\) The extra cost to send mail across the Pacific was worth it for Kānaka

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\(^{92}\) According to Fred Gregory, at the time of this *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* article, the U.S. postage rate for mail sent to the Hawaiian Islands from San Francisco and western North America was three cents while the Hawaiian postage rate was five cents and the ship captain’s fee was two cents, making the total postage fee ten cents for one letter. “I Na Makamaka Ma Na Aina E,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, April 26, 1862; Fred F. Gregory, *Hawaii Foreign Mail to 1870*, vol. 2 (New York: Philatelic Foundation, 2012), II-5.

\(^{93}\) The three-cent envelopes accounted for a two-cent postage stamp and a one-cent envelope. The twelve and a half cent envelopes must have also accounted for the one-cent envelope, making the postage eleven and a half cents. Several years later in 1869, Daniela Masona wrote from Henley (Cottonwood) in the Yreka-Jacksonville local network and explained that the cost of a postage stamp to send a letter to the Hawaiian Islands was ten cents. G.B.
wishing to send letters, stay in touch, and connect the gold-mining regions to the Hawaiian Islands.

To collect their mail, Kānaka living in gold-mining communities traveled to nearby towns with post offices. Daniela Masona describes a trip he took to a town in northern California to visit the post office in 1865. Masona explains, “Hele aku la wau ma ke Kaona lai o Henley, me kuu manao ua hiki leta mai au mai Honolulu mai” (I went to the peaceful town of Henley, with my beloved thought that a letter had arrived from you from Honolulu).94 Once at the post office, Masona asked the postmaster if there was a letter addressed to him, to which the postmaster handed him his mail. Even if Kānaka were living in gold-mining sites or small communities away from major towns, they had access to letters and communication with the Hawaiian Islands as long as they could travel to a town with a post office.95

However, there were occasionally some difficulties with sending and receiving mail. G.B. Kahinano wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa in 1869 from Pierce City, Idaho, to explain several obstacles he had observed that prevented letters from reaching their intended recipients.96 Kahinano stated that the main obstacle was letters sent without stamps. He explained, “He nui na leta a na hoa’loha i hoouna mai ia’u; aka, ua haule aku kekahhi, a loaa mai kekahhi. No ka paa ole no o ke kapili ana o ke poo ke kumu nui o ka haule ana” (Many of the friends’ letters were

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94 Mason, “Ke Kino Wailua O Ka Mea I Aloha Nui Ia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, November 4, 1865.
95 For instance, because there was a post office in Honolulu (Gottville), Kānaka living near the town along the Klamath River could easily access mail without traveling to Yreka. In 1882, it was announced in the Sacramento Daily Record-Union that “a special tri-weekly mail is now carried regularly between Yreka and Honolulu [Gottville], via Humbug creek and Klamath river roads.” “Coast and State,” Sacramento Daily Record-Union, April 8, 1882.
96 Kahinano, “He Palapala Mai Amerika Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, June 5, 1869.
sent to me; but, some were dropped, and some were obtained. Not securely attaching the stamp is the main reason for the dropping.\textsuperscript{97}

Another obstacle preventing letters from reaching their destination was witnessed by Kahinano on a steamship on the Columbia River. While Kahinano was on the ship, he saw a letter thrown from the office of the supercargo. Kahinano was able to grab the letter as it was blowing around on the floor of the ship. He noticed that it had a stamp and was addressed to Monticello, a town at the mouth of the Cowlitz River in Washington, but the ship had already passed the town. Kahinano was not sure why this unopened letter was thrown from the supercargo’s office; he posited that “malia paha ua piha ka eke leta, aohe wahi kaawale nona” (perhaps the letter bag was full, there was not empty space for it).\textsuperscript{98}

In another instance, Kahinano wrote and sent letters to his friends “e noho ana ma kela keia wahi o Keomolewa, Kaliponia, a kapalili loa aku i Hawaii” (who were living in various places in Keomolewa, California, and palpitating with joy for Hawai‘i).\textsuperscript{99} He received responses but was missing a response from one friend living in Jacksonville, Oregon. Months later, he received a letter “me na papahi lei” (with the adornment of many lei [postal marks]). There were postal marks from the place it was sent, Jacksonville, as well as Colville, Washington; Boise, Idaho; Lewiston, Idaho; and several postal marks from Walla Walla, Washington. The letter traveled for two months and three weeks from Jacksonville until it reached Kahinano in Pierce City, Idaho, a trip that would usually take two weeks.\textsuperscript{100} As was the case for this letter mailed by Kahinano, letters sometimes went to the wrong destinations and could take longer to reach the intended recipient or perhaps not reach them at all.

\textsuperscript{97} Kahinano, “He Palapala Mai Amerika Mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, June 5, 1869.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
Another obstacle that prevented one of Kahinano’s letters from reaching the recipient was the post master not being familiar with the recipient. Kahinano believed a letter sent to his friends in King County, Washington, waited at the post office for two and a half months before it was opened to see the name of the sender, re-inserted into the envelope and returned to Kahinano.\textsuperscript{101} The final reason Kahinano provides for letters not reaching their recipients is the lack of proper payment.

Despite these obstacles, letters were able to reach Kānaka living throughout western North America. Letters were sent across the region as well as across the Pacific Ocean to and from the Hawaiian Islands. The news they shared helped to connect Kanaka letter-writers to one another. Adamu K. Waiaholo writes about how the mail, specifically post offices, enabled Kānaka to stay informed in two lines in his kanikau for Hairam R. Nalau:

\begin{quote}
Hoona ka uhane i ka Hale Leta, 
I ike nu hou o ka aina.\textsuperscript{102} 
The spirit finds solace in the post office, 
To know the news of the land.
\end{quote}

These lines emphasize the importance of post offices and letters in assisting Kānaka in staying in communication with one another and staying informed. As methods of communication, letters as well as Hawaiian-language newspapers helped Kānaka stay connected to one another and the Hawaiian Islands and reinforced the idea of western North America as ka ʻāina paʻalewa i ke ka as their voices and conversations traveled back and forth across the Pacific.

\textbf{Under the Jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom}

In addition to cultural practices and communication methods, Kānaka Hawaiʻi in gold-mining communities were also connected to the Hawaiian Islands through the extension of the

\textsuperscript{101} Kahinano, “He Palapala Mai Amerika Mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, June 5, 1869.
authority of the Hawaiian Kingdom into western North America where Hawaiian subjects lived. For instance, when James Alapai filed for divorce from Ellen Akahiakalohelani in 1851, they paid the Hawaiian government twenty dollars. Alapai and Akahi had left the Hawaiian Islands for Fort Vancouver years before and at the time their divorce was filed, Akahi was living in California. Divorces in the Hawaiian Islands required a payment to the government and although Akahi and Alapai lived outside of the Hawaiian Islands, they still paid a fee.\(^{103}\) In addition to fees and laws such as the divorce fee paid by Akahi and Alapai, the authority of the Hawaiian Kingdom reached Hawaiian subjects in western North America in various forms of government assistance. Kānaka living in gold-mining communities and throughout the region fell under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom because they appealed to, and were assisted by, the Hawaiian government, not the United States government, in times of need.

Kanaka gold miners as well as other Kānaka in western North America looked to the Hawaiian Kingdom for assistance when seeking help from jail, when wishing to return to the Hawaiian Islands, and when sent to Indian reservations. In some cases, these Kānaka in need were able to find help by contacting the consul of the Hawaiian Kingdom, getting in touch with Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands, or by communicating with the mōʻī. One Kanaka prisoner in California was visited by the king who then called on the consul to help the prisoner.

King Kalākaua arrived in California in October 1881 as his last stop on his journey around the world before returning to the Hawaiian Islands. While in California, he visited the

\(^{103}\) The document written by M. Kekuanaoa, Oʻahu Governor, to Keoni Ana, the Kuhina Nui (officer that shares executive power with the mōʻī) and Minister of the Interior in the Hawaiian Islands, only states that Alapai was “ka mea hoopii mai” (the complainant) but does not specifically state who paid the twenty dollars to the Hawaiian Kingdom. In other divorce cases, the complainant paid the fee. The fee for Alapai and Akahi’s divorce was twenty dollars, a price equivalent to those paid by other divorced couples in the Hawaiian Islands, although in some cases, a lesser payment was allowed if the complainant was “ʻilihune” (poor). M. Kekuanaoa to Keoni Ana May 22, 1851, Letter and Translation by E.H. Hart, Interior Department Miscellaneous, Box 144, May 1851, Hawaiʻi State Archive, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi; M. Kekuanaoa to Keoni Ana July 11, 1851, Letter and Translation by E.H. Hart, Interior Department Miscellaneous, Box 144, July 1851, Hawaiʻi State Archive, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi.
California State Prison in San Quentin. Specifically, Kalākaua visited Napowna Kahala (also known as James Kahala), a Kanaka prisoner. Kahala, born in Maui in 1819, was living in Butte County, California, when he was arrested for murder. Butte County was inhabited by many Kanaka gold miners and includes towns such as Chico, Yankee Hill, and Cherokee Flat. Kahala was listed as a laborer in the San Quentin Prison records at the time of his arrest and likely had worked in the mines of Butte County. He had resided at the San Quentin prison for a little over two years before he was visited by Kalākaua.

According to the consul of the Hawaiian Kingdom in San Francisco, H.W. Severance, Kalākaua interviewed Kahala while Kalākaua visited the jail and then asked Severance to “obtain his full name, his crime, his sentence, and the record of his case as far as it can be obtained from the prison records.” After obtaining this information from the prison’s warden, Severance then wrote to W.L. Green, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, to ask if he should further investigate “with the view of obtaining pardon should there be any mitigating circumstances or on condition that the native should be sent to his own country on being released.” In addition to sending Green the information from the San Quentin prison records, Severence also sent a “personal statement” from Napowna Kahala. Kahala’s personal statement lists several things that Kahala said about himself and the crime he was imprisoned for. It reads:

He states that his name is “Napowna Kahala” that he was born in Maui, he left there in 1844 and came to California and he has been a resident of this state ever since and that he never was in any kind of trouble and always worked honestly for a living and he also claims that he is innocent of the charge that he is imprisoned for; but he having a great deal of family trouble the circumstances of the killing pointed to him. He being without funds to employ able counsel to defend him was compelled to accept the Counsel.

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104 H.W. Severance to W. L. Green November 19, 1881, Letter and Enclosures, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 38, Folder 611: San Francisco, USA August-December 1881, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i. 
105 Ibid.
appointed by the Court and not being conversant with the English language was unable to understand the evidence given against him.106

According to this statement, Napowna Kahala was wrongly accused and was in great need of assistance. This help came from the visit of King Kalākaua. Kalākaua had personally spoken with Napowna Kahala and asked the consul to follow-up to find more information. Although Kahala had been living in California for many years, Kalākaua worked to help Kahala confront the American justice system.

There were other instances throughout western North America where Kānaka in jail appealed to the Hawaiian government or found the help they needed from the Hawaiian government. One example is Tidahore Parkaer (also known as Kapaukau) who was living in Wasco County, Oregon. Parkaer was arrested for stealing horses and incarcerated in The Dalles, the county seat on the Columbia River, on July 24, 1879. The Sheriff of Wasco County, James B. Coopen, wrote to the consul of the Hawaiian Kingdom in Portland, John McCraken, and stated that Parkaer “claims to be a native of the Sandwich Islands and brother to the king.”107 McCraken sent Coopen’s letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, J.M. Kapena, and described Parkaer as, “a Kanaka who claims to be a half brother to His Majesty.”108 The King of the Hawaiian Islands at the time of Coopen and McCraken’s letters was Kalākaua. McCraken added that, “in my official capacity I shall do all that is proper to be done for a Hawaiian subject residing in this jurisdiction in trouble. If however His Majesty or

106 Severance to Green November 19, 1881, Letter and Enclosures, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 38, Folder 611, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
107 J. McCraken to J.M. Kapena August 6, 1879, Letter and Enclosures, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 33, Folder 540: Portland, OR, USA 1877–1882, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
108 Ibid.
your Excellency have any special instructions in this case I shall be happy to further them to the utmost of my ability.”

Tidahore Parkaer also wrote to the Hawaiian Kingdom in search of assistance. His letter was addressed “Dear Brother,” who Sheriff Coopen and Consul McCraken said Parkaer claimed was King Kalākaua. Parkaer explained in his letter that he was arrested and “charged with the crime of horse stealing, a crime of which I am not guilty of, the horses were given to me by a man. I did not know that they were stolen.” In his letter, Parkaer asked his “brother” for assistance. He wrote, “I wish you would come here yourself or send some one, to help me out of this scrape. I want to go home.” Parkaer expressed concern that he would not be able to find justice within the American judicial system without assistance from his brother. He explained, “I have no money to employ a lawyer with, and I am afraid, if there is not some thing done, to help me, they will send me to the Penitentiary of this State.” Parkaer then explained that the Wasco County Circuit Court was not meeting until the third Monday of November and hoped that he could receive assistance before then. He closed his letter by stating, “… I am in sore distress. I am well in health, and hope you are enjoying the same blessing,” and signed his name, “Your affectionate brother, Tidahore Parkaer.”

A year after Parkaer wrote his letter to his brother, consul McCraken wrote to William Jarrett, the Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom to follow up on the case. McCraken noted that he understood any application for pardon “must not be grounded on the assumption that the prisoner is in any way whatever connected by family ties to His Majesty.” Instead, McCraken wrote, “when opportunity offers to furnish him direct transportation to the Sandwich Islands – I shall make application for pardon simply upon the

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109 McCraken to Kapena August 6, 1879, Letter and Enclosures, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 33, Folder 540, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

110 Ibid.
promise to send him out of the state and I doubt not it will be granted.”

Parkaer had found the assistance he needed from the Hawaiian Kingdom as well as consul McCraken, and McCraken was sure he would be pardoned. McCraken’s orders to not apply for pardon under the pretense that Parkaer was related to Kalākaua may have been because there was no family ties between the two or because the Hawaiian government did not want to rely on family relationships to the king in requests to the American judicial system. Either way, Parkaer’s plea for help from the Hawaiian government and the assistance received from the consul in Portland shows how Kānaka in Oregon fell under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

In another case, the unjust imprisonment of a Kanaka subject in California resulted in a group of Kānaka traveling from the Hawaiian Islands to San Francisco to prove his innocence. Harry Kaheleiki (also known as William Taylor) was arrested in San Francisco in 1862 while he was working on a whaling bark. Kaheleiki was accused of killing Captain Hussey, the captain of the ship, William Penn, on November 6, 1852 in Kosrae in Micronesia. However, Kaheleiki was not in Kosrae in November 1852; he was living in Honolulu. The arrest of Kaheleiki caught the attention of Dr. Gulick who had been living as a missionary in Micronesia at the time of the murder of Captain Hussey and was living in San Francisco at the time of the arrest of Kaheleiki.

Gulick was aware of the death committed by the “Harry” who had been in Kosrae on the William Penn in 1853 and decided to visit Kaheleiki in jail, where he was further convinced of Kaheleiki’s innocence. Gulick met with the consul of the Hawaiian Islands in San Francisco, C.E. Hitchcock, to ask for assistance for the falsely accused prisoner. Hitchcock was able to postpone Kaheleiki’s trial and wrote to R.G. Wyllie, the Minister of Foreign Relations of the

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112 “Examination: Of all the Witnesses as to the Identity of the Kanaka Harry,” *The Pacific Commercial Advertiser*, April 16, 1863.
Hawaiian Kingdom, to alert Wyllie of Kaheleiki’s trial and ask for depositions from those that could attest to Kaheleiki’s presence in Honolulu at the time of the murder. As Hitchcock explained in his letter, “if the prisoner escapes conviction it can only be by positive proof of his having been in Honolulu during the time he alleges himself to have been there-in from 1851 to 1855, in other words he must have an alibi.” Wyllie sent depositions to Hitchcock which Hitchcock took to the counsel defending Kaheleiki, but the written word was not enough evidence to defend Kaheleiki. Hitchcock wrote to Wyllie again and stated that the presence of the witnesses John Ii, Kaisara Kapaakea, and J. Koii Unauna was requested by the attorneys defending Kaheleiki. Hitchcock added, “I believe him innocent and know full well that unless these witnesses are produced, the evidence will convict him.”

The case of Kaheleiki was discussed at the February 2, 1863 Hawaiian Kingdom Privy Council and it was resolved that funds be used to pay for the expenses of the witnesses to travel to San Francisco. Ka Nupepa Kuokoa reported that “i ka wa i lohe ai o Ka Mea Kiekie L. Kamehameha, ua hooikaika nui oia me ka Makai Kiekie W.C. Parke, i ka huli ana i na hoike kupono nana e hooiaio i ka pono o Kaheleiki” (when His Highness L. Kamehameha [Alexander Liholiho, King Kamehameha IV] heard, he and the high sheriff W.C. Parke worked hard searching for the appropriate witnesses to prove the morality of Kaheleiki). Two weeks later, John Ii, Kaisara Kapaakea, and J. Koii Unauna, as well as Charles Gordon Hopkins, departed for

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113 C.E. Hitchcock to R.G. Wyllie September 27, 1862, Letter, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 36, Folder 582: San Francisco 1862, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
114 C.E. Hitchcock to R.G. Wyllie December 16, 1862, Letter, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 36, Folder 582: San Francisco 1862, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
115 C.E. Hitchcock to R.G. Wyllie January 10, 1863, Letter, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 36, Folder 583: San Francisco USA 1863, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
116 February 2, 1863, Privy Council Records Volume 11, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
San Francisco to serve as witnesses for Kaheleiki.\textsuperscript{118} The witnesses appeared in district court in San Francisco and testified that Kaheleiki had been in Honolulu at the time of the murder of Captain Hussey in Kosrae.\textsuperscript{119} After spending over a year in prison in San Francisco, Kaheleiki was proved to be innocent and returned to the Hawaiian Islands with Ii, Kapaakea, Unauna, and Hopkins in April 1863.\textsuperscript{120}

In the case of Kaheleiki, the Hawaiian government sent Kanaka subjects to testify on behalf of Kaheleiki’s innocence. The government and Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands saw to it to protect and assist a Kanaka in California. Additionally, the consul of the Hawaiian Kingdom in San Francisco, Hitchcock, also helped Kaheleiki by communicating with the Hawaiian government and Kaheleiki’s attorneys to get the assistance needed to prove Kaheleiki’s innocence. Tidahore Parkaer and Napowna Kahala were also assisted by the Hawaiian Kingdom’s consuls in California and Oregon. In these three cases, the consuls were the point of communication between the prisoners abroad and the Hawaiian Kingdom. The consuls served to assist Hawaiian subjects abroad and in that sense, helped Kānaka to stay connected with the Hawaiian Islands while keeping them under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom.

The Hawaiian Kingdom’s consuls also assisted other Kānaka appealing for help.\textsuperscript{121} In 1862, San Francisco consul Hitchcock wrote to the Minister of Foreign Relations of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Wyllie, to say, “there are two Hawaiian subjects here now sick and destitute no least they say they are.” The two subjects were Kanaka gold miners. Hitchcock explained that he was taking care of their bond and medical attendance and asked Wyllie if he should “ship

\textsuperscript{118} “Naue I Kapalakiko,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, February 21, 1863.
\textsuperscript{119} “Examination: Of all the Witnesses as to the Identity of the Kanaka Harry,” \textit{The Pacific Commercial Advertiser}, April 16, 1863.
\textsuperscript{120} “Ka Huakai A Na ‘Lii Hawaii I Kapalakiko,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, April 18, 1863.
\textsuperscript{121} Consuls often assisted Kanaka seamen applying for relief. C.E. Hitchcock to R.G. Wyllie September 27, 1862, Letter, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 36, Folder 582: San Francisco 1862, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
them home.” Hitchcock also helped other Kanaka gold miners find passage home to the Hawaiian Islands, including William Kanui.

William Kanui had traveled from the Hawaiian Islands years before and arrived in Boston in 1809 where he and five other Kānaka worked on farms and as servants. Eventually, Kanui traveled to Connecticut and attended the Foreign Mission School in Cornwall in the first year the school was opened in 1817. Kanui attended the school with several other Kanaka students, Heneri ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia, Thomas Hopu, John Honoli‘i, George Kaumuali‘i, and George Sandwich. In 1819, Kanui as well as Hopu, Honoli‘i, and Kaumuali‘i left New England with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries for the Hawaiian Islands. Almost thirty years later, Kanui and Hopu left the Hawaiian Islands once more, this time for the gold mines in California. Kanui traveled to California in 1849 and by 1852, had acquired six thousand dollars from gold mining in the Sierra Mountains. Kanui deposited the money in a bank in San Francisco but unfortunately, the bank lost his money and Kanui was not able to match his original gold-mining successes again.

Eleven years later, Kanui appealed to the consul of the Hawaiian Kingdom for assistance. The San Francisco consul, Hitchcock, wrote to Wyllie to say, “I have engaged passage on the Bark Comet for a Hawaiian subject named William Kanui, an old man in feeble health and mind,” and the captain of the ship agreed to let Kanui travel in the second cabin due to his poor health.

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122 C.E. Hitchcock to R.G. Wyllie July 21, 1862, Letter, Hawaiian Officials Abroad, Series 404, Box 36, Folder 582: San Francisco USA 1862, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
123 Chappell, Double Ghosts, 135.
126 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 246.
127 Kanui also opened a restaurant at Sutter’s Fort. Luther Halsey Gulick, “He Palapala Mai Kaleponia Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, April 5, 1862; Chappell, Double Ghosts, 106.
health. Hitchcock ended his letter to Wyllie with the words, “Sincerely hoping that this old veteran will arrive safely in his native land.”

After living in various parts of the United States, successfully mining for gold, and losing his money to a failing bank, Kanui looked to his home country for assistance, and reached out to the Hawaiian Kingdom’s San Francisco consul. Kanui and other Kanaka gold miners appealed to the consul for aid and assistance in finding passage to return to the Hawaiian Islands, showing that, despite their travels and residences abroad, they remained under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian government.

Kānaka also appealed to the Hawaiian Kingdom for assistance in other times of need. One story tells of a Kanaka forced onto an Indian reservation who wrote to the Hawaiian Kingdom to right this injustice. As discussed previously, Ioane Keaala o Ka‘iana (Ioane Keaala), his Konkow wife Sumyneh, and their children Hiram and Serrah, were forced onto the Round Valley Reservation in northern California. According to the story, Ioane Keaala wrote a letter to the mōʻī requesting assistance since Ioane Keaala saw himself as a subject of the Hawaiian Kingdom and felt he and his family should not be sent to a reservation. In one version of the story in John A. Sutter in Hawaii and California, William J. Breault states that Ioane Keaala’s letter was sent to Kamehameha V who then sent a letter to U.S. President Abraham Lincoln. After this communication, Ioane Keaala’s family was allowed to leave the reservation. Similar to the stories of Napowna Kahala, Tidahore Parkaer, Harry Kaheleiki, William Kanui, and other Kanaka gold miners, Ioane Keaala looked to the Hawaiian Kingdom for assistance when he was in need, even though he had been living in California for over two

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129 Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” 92; Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 5.
130 Ramsland, The Forgotten Californians, 5.
131 Breault, John A. Sutter in Hawaii and California, 82.
decades. Kanaka gold miners and other Kānaka living in California and Oregon remained under the protection and authority of the Hawaiian Kingdom, linking them and the gold-mining communities throughout western North America to the Hawaiian Islands.

Conclusion

Living in an ‘āina malihini, Kānaka connected with the Hawaiian Islands through cultural practices, communication, and the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Cultural connections helped extend intertwined relationships between the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands, akua, kūpuna, and mo‘olelo to western North America. Connections with the Hawaiian Islands also reinforced the concept of western North America as ka ‘āina paia‘alewa i ke kai through written forms of communication that linked the ‘āina with the Hawaiian Islands. Kānaka remained in conversation with fellow Kānaka in the Hawaiian Islands through newspapers and letters while also staying informed of the news and reading Kanaka literature published in the papers. Furthermore, newspapers and letters also assisted in the communication between Kanaka gold-mining communities and local networks throughout western North America, strengthening connections between Kānaka and their communities. Finally, Kānaka in western North America also connected to the Hawaiian Islands through the reach of the authority of the Hawaiian Kingdom which viewed Kānaka abroad as subjects of the Kingdom. By appealing to the Hawaiian Kingdom and consuls for help in times of need, Kānaka living in western North America remained under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Culture, communication through newspapers and letters, and the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom helped Kānaka in gold-mining communities connect to the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands and incorporate western
North America into Kanaka concepts of ‘āina. These concepts of ‘āina were challenged by the end of the century when confronted with the expansion of the American empire into the region.
Whether in the form of kanikau or death announcements, the topic of death was prevalent in writings submitted to Hawaiian-language newspapers by Kānaka in western North America. Death became increasingly common in Kanaka gold-mining communities throughout the nineteenth century, especially as the communities came into contact with diseases such as smallpox. The prevalence of the topic of death symbolizes the difficulties Kānaka faced as they attempted to incorporate an ‘āina malihini through maintaining their communities and networks while competing against an increasing population of White Americans who wished to erase the presence of Kānaka from the American West. Diseases, accompanied by discriminatory American laws, decimated Kanaka communities and broke down networks. Additionally, United States census records worked to erase the presence of Kānaka in gold-mining regions from the country’s historical record and depiction of itself. This chapter examines the various ways Kānaka were pushed to the margins by discriminatory laws, diseases, and on census records as White Americans increased their presence in western North America and established the region as part of the United States, challenging Kanaka conceptions of the region as an extension of the Hawaiian Islands, an ‘āina paiālewa i ke kai.

As Kānaka began gold mining and creating communities, the population of White Americans in western North America drastically increased. Although there were some American immigrants to the region throughout the early 1800s, by the late 1840s, the number had grown exponentially. Methodist missionary Jason Lee, as well as others, helped to spark this immigration to Oregon. Lee first arrived in Oregon Country in 1834, but after failing to establish
a successful mission, he returned to the east coast from 1838-1839 where he promoted immigration to Oregon Country to assist with the mission. These and other efforts brought national attention to Oregon Country and its possibilities for immigration. Anne Hyde states that, following Lee, the two most significant efforts to inspire immigration to Oregon Country were made by a Boston schoolmaster, Hall Jackson Kelley, and Missouri Senator Lewis F. Linn, who were inspired by the small American missionary presence in Oregon Country. After Kelley read Lewis and Clark’s descriptions and spent a winter at Fort Vancouver from 1834-1835, Kelley became “obsessed with obtaining this region for the United States,” and produced many pamphlets and wrote to members of Congress. Beginning in 1838, Senator Linn began what Hyde calls, “a persistent campaign for the extension of American laws and sovereignty to Oregon” with other members of Congress. The promotion of Oregon Country by Lee, Kelley, Linn, and others helped prompt the migration surge to the region in the 1840s, and between 1843 and 1851, over 10,000 migrants traveled to Oregon Country.

In California, the discovery of gold caused a flood of immigrants to the region. After gold was found at John Sutter’s sawmill in January 1848, gold seekers soon traveled to the surrounding rivers and streams. By the end of the year, Americans from the east heard the news of the discovery and began their journey to California, participating in a mass movement to the gold mines. This migration drastically changed the population of the region. Albert Hurtado explains that “before the gold discovery, Indians had outnumbered whites by nearly ten to one,” but “by the early 1850s whites outnumbered Indians by perhaps two to one. From that time

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1 Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee*, 100, 128, 131.
3 An increasing number of free American citizens in Oregon Country also increased the chances the region would become a state in the United States. The 1787 Northwest Ordinance introduced the method of creating and incorporating states into the United States when a specified territory reached a population of sixty thousand free American citizens. Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee*, 161; *An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States North West of the River Ohio*, 2nd Cont. Cong., July 13, 1787.
forward the white population steadily rose while the Indian population precipitously declined.”

Although the discovery of gold attracted immigrants to California from a variety of regions, including the Hawaiian Islands, China, and other countries, the large population of White Americans combined with the establishment of California as a territory of the United States after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo impacted how the region developed in the second half of the century. As both Oregon and California became United States territories and then states in the 1850s, the newly established American entities challenged Kānaka who were working to form relationships with the ‘āina since the states created discriminatory laws that governed the region.

**The Impact of American Laws on Kānaka and Kanaka Gold-Mining Communities**

When California and Oregon became states in 1850 and 1859, their governments created laws that favored the increasing White American population and discriminated against people of color. Discriminatory laws, such as those pertaining to land ownership, citizenship, voting, marriage, and mining, impacted People of Colors’ ability to live and thrive in western North America. Many of these laws specifically targeted Kānaka Hawai‘i, making it difficult for Kānaka to continue to mine for gold and live in the region. Although Kānaka and other People of Color had migrated to western North America at the same time or before White American immigrants, they were not allowed the same opportunities to own land, be American citizens, vote, have equal marriage rights, and mine for gold.

After Oregon Territory was created in 1848, the United States Congress passed the Oregon Donation Land Act in 1850 which proclaimed that land in the region was only for White American citizens. The Act specified that “every white settler or occupant of the public lands,” over eighteen years old and a United States citizen who had “resided upon and cultivated the

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same [land] for four consecutive years,” would be granted acreage in Oregon Territory. A single man would receive three hundred twenty acres and a married man would receive six hundred forty acres to split with his wife. Additionally, all White male U.S. citizens over the age of twenty-one and planning to settle in Oregon Territory between December 1, 1850 and December 1, 1853, would also be granted land. A man who settled in Oregon Territory after December 1, 1850 would receive one hundred sixty acres if he was single, or three hundred twenty acres if he was married.5 The Oregon Donation Land Act prevented any settler that was not a White American man or married woman from obtaining land, including American Indians, British nationals, African Americans, and Kānaka.6 This land-granting act was passed before any treaties were signed with the indigenous populations of the region. Within five years, “nearly 2.5 million acres of the most productive Indian lands in western Oregon” had been claimed by those White American citizens who benefitted from the Act.7 In addition to taking over indigenous land without a treaty, the Act prevented people of color, specifically Black and Kanaka settlers, from owning land.8 The desire of Oregon law makers to prevent these residents from claiming land is reflected in the debate over the Oregon Donation Land Act’s amendments.

In debating the wording of the Oregon Donation Land Act, the first delegate to the U.S. Congress from Oregon Territory, Samuel R. Thurston, made his position on allowing land-owning rights for Hudson’s Bay Company employees as well as Black and Kanaka residents

8 According to U.S. census numbers in 1850 at the time of the Act, 207 Black settlers lived in Oregon. This information comes from a chart in William Loren Katz’s The Black West, which also said that 13,087 White settlers lived in Oregon in 1850. William Loren Katz, The Black West: A Documentary and Pictorial History of the African American Role in the Westward Expansion of the United States, revised (New York: Harlem Moon, 2005), 44.
clear. Thurston argued against one proposed wording of an amendment on the fourth section of the Act because “it would give land to every servant of the Hudson’s Bay Company, including some hundreds of Canakers, or Sandwich Islanders, who are a race of men as black as your negroes of the South, and a race, too, that we do not desire to settle in Oregon.” He added that Hudson’s Bay Company employees that leave the company and become American citizens should be granted land, but Thurston was “not for giving land to Sandwich Islanders or negroes.” This discrimination, he explained, was consistent with the views of the people of Oregon Territory who “so dread the introduction of the negro race into Oregon, that, at the last session of the Legislature, they passed a law prohibiting the introduction of any free negro into the country.”

Thurston explained that his and the Legislature’s fears of allowing Black and Kanaka settlers land grants was based on the idea that, “the Canakers and negroes, if allowed to come there, will commingle with our Indians, a mixed race will ensue, and the result will be wars and bloodshed in Oregon.” Thurston instigated racist fears that Kanaka, Black, and American Indian populations would cause violence and wars in the region, but White visitors and residents had been provoking violence with indigenous populations since fur trading was introduced. The introduction and spread of disease from White immigrants to Oregon Country started the

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9 *Congressional Globe, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 28 May 1850.*
10 Ibid.
11 Anne Hyde looks at several examples of Hudson’s Bay Company Chief Factor John McLaughlin using retaliatory violence towards American Indians in the 1820s and states that “American trappers, especially groups of free trappers operating outside the restrictions of a large business enterprise, had deservedly bad reputations for violence during these early years in the Pacific Northwest.” Nathan Douthit discusses how fur trapping, specifically the Hudson’s Bay Company’s goal to rid the region west of the Rockies of beaver to prevent Americans from immigrating, depleted a food and economic resource for many American Indians, leading to a series of violent encounters between fur trappers and American Indians in southern Oregon beginning in the early nineteenth century. Hyde, *Empires, Nations, and Families,* 113-116; Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters,* 11-12, 18-19, 24-25.
Cayuse War in 1847, several years before Thurston’s speech. As the White populations in the region increased, sporadic incidents of violence occurred, particularly with the growing numbers of gold miners. Additionally, Nathan Douthit describes farms created by White men and families as the greatest threat to American Indians since they increased White Americans’ “control over Indian food resources – the oak trees, root grounds, and grazing land for deer and elk,” provoking attacks from American Indians and leading to war in southern Oregon in 1853, just a few years after Thurston’s comments. Thurston warned of an increase in violence resulting from a possible Black Kanaka American Indian population, but White residents had been provoking, and would continue to provoke, violence throughout the region for decades. Based on Thruston’s points, he saw himself as “obedient to the wish of [his] constituents, and hence [was] opposed to [land] donations to negroes of any grade.” Thurston’s statements illustrate the intention behind the official wording choice in the Act of “white settler” and “white male citizens of the United States,” to specifically mean the exclusion of Black and Kanaka residents and land-owners in Oregon Territory.

Thurston’s comments on the Oregon Donation Land Act reveal that the Oregon Territory Legislature and White American citizens in Oregon Territory did not want any Black or Kanaka residents in the region, and especially did not want them to own land. According to Thurston, this was partially due to the desire to prevent Hudson’s Bay Company employees who were not American citizens from owning land in the newly created American territory, but it was largely due to Thurston’s and his constituents’ racism. Thurston’s description of Kānaka as “a race of men as black as your negroes of the South,” and his opposition of land granted to “negroes of

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12 The Cayuse War was sparked in 1847 when a group of Cayuse attacked the Waiilatpu mission station that was located near present-day Walla Walla, Washington, killing the Whitman family and eleven other men and boys. Over 1,100 men volunteered to fight in the resulting war against the Cayuse. Douthit, *Uncertain Encounters*, 66-67.
13 Ibid., 95.
any grade,” show that he viewed Kānaka and people of African descent as a relatable racial category, neither of which he wished to inhabit Oregon Territory, whether they were American citizens or not, especially since, as Thurston explained, Oregon Territory had voted to exclude free Black citizens. His statement explaining his fear of a “mixed race” of Kanaka, Black, and indigenous people further points to his and his constituents’ detestation of all people of color in Oregon Territory. Such racism dictated the wording of the Oregon Donation Land Act and illustrates the discrimination that Kānaka and other people of color faced as Oregon became an official territory of the United States. Although some Kānaka had lived and worked in the region for decades longer or had settled in the region at the same time and for the same reasons as White gold miners and other immigrants, they were not afforded the chance to own land in Oregon Territory.

Some Kānaka, however, did find ways to own land in the region. In June 1865, a “notice to hold a piece of land on Kanaka Flat on Jackson Creek” in Oregon was filed by William Makakoa Butler. The notice stated that Butler claimed “a piece of land upon which his cabin is built, and which he has heretofore occupied and resided upon, embracing about four acres.”

Butler, who lived in Kanaka Flat with his Shasta wife Mary Decker, soon sold his land in a group sale three months later. Butler and three others sold their land as well as “25 sluice boxes, 4 shovels, 4 picks, 1 sluice fork, 3 wheel planks, and one house” to a Chinese company named Loui and Company for seven hundred dollars. Butler subverted the American land ownership law and took advantage of owning and selling land, an opportunity legally not available to Kānaka during this time period.

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15 “Notice to hold a piece of land on Kanaka Flat on Jackson Creek,” June 19, 1865, Mineral Records, Jackson County Records, Series I, Subseries C, Volume 8a, 73, University of Oregon Special Collections, Eugene, Oregon

16 “Bill of sale, Henry Parker & others To Loui & Co. (Chinaman),” September 13, 1865, Mineral Records, Jackson County Records, Series I, Subseries C, Volume 8a, 109, University of Oregon Special Collections, Eugene, Oregon.
Butler claimed his land on Kanaka Flat after the Homestead Act was passed in 1862 which opened up land ownership to any U.S. citizen. The Act stipulated several conditions for citizens wishing to acquire land including the construction of a house and maintenance of a farm on the property for five years – or for six months for the price of $1.25 per acre – before the citizen could file for a deed of title. However, when Butler claimed his land on Kanaka Flat, Känaka were not eligible to become U.S. citizens, and were therefore not able to claim land under the Homestead Act of 1862.

Based on the 1790 federal law limiting “naturalized citizenship to ‘white’ persons,” Känaka were not allowed to become U.S. citizens. Känaka also did not have the right to vote since the Organic Laws of Oregon limited voting rights to “every free male descendent of a white man.” The law listed “mixed bloods” as eligible to vote but, as Gray H. Whaley explains, “the conditional extension of whiteness and citizenship to mixed bloods was not reflected in popular racial thought.” The laws limiting citizenship to White residents and voting rights to White men were upheld in Oregon Territory where, in one example, these rights were denied to Känaka that attempted to become U.S. citizens in 1849 in order to vote.

In *Minority without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850*, Janice Duncan explains that although there was some question among officials in 1849 on how to rule on Känaka wishing to become U.S. citizens, the government ultimately decided against it. Duncan states that “Governor Joseph Lane did not feel ‘authorized’ to accept them, and referred the question to the new federally-appointed Chief Justice, William P. Bryant.” Bryant determined that since other People of Color, specifically “those of the ‘African race,’ or

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‘aborigines of the country’” were not granted U.S. citizenship, Kānaka should not be granted U.S. citizenship either.\textsuperscript{19}

It was not until the fifteenth amendment and the 1870 Civil Rights Act that Kānaka could successfully become U.S. citizens and registered voters. One Kanaka who became a U.S. citizen and voter was Edwin Mahuka. Mahuka, as discussed in chapter three, was the husband of Waiuliiulu, father of Rebeka, and uncle of Mele Kainuha Keaala, and had moved to California by the 1850s where he worked for John Sutter before moving to Irish Creek and Vernon. While Mahuka was living in Vernon, he was admitted to U.S. citizenship in the County Court in Sacramento in September 1871 and registered to vote in 1873.\textsuperscript{20} Several other Kānaka were admitted to U.S. citizenship along with Mahuka: “James Crow, James Kenkena, … John Kapu, John Makanoo, and John Kahawaia.”\textsuperscript{21}

Another Kanaka who was admitted to U.S. citizenship and registered to vote was William David Paniani. As discussed in chapter three, Paniani moved from the Hawaiian Islands to California in 1849. Once in California, Paniani mined for gold and traveled throughout the Coloma-Sacramento local network and surrounding area before settling in Vernon. As a resident of Vernon, Paniani was admitted to U.S. citizenship at the Sacramento County Court in 1876 and registered to vote in 1880.\textsuperscript{22} Another Kanaka, Daniela Masona, who lived throughout the Yreka-

\textsuperscript{20} “City Intelligence,” \textit{Sacramento Daily Union}, September 2, 1871; California Voter Registers, 1873, Sutter County.
\textsuperscript{21} Names are listed as they appear in the \textit{Sacramento Daily Union}. “John Makano” is likely “J.P. Makanue” or “J. Makanui” and “John Kahawaia” is likely “Kahawai.” Jim Crow, discussed in chapter two, was a successful gold miner and one of the earliest residents of Vernon. John Kapu was discussed in chapter three as the husband of Manuiki and father of Hanagula Kapu. “City Intelligence,” \textit{Sacramento Daily Union}, September 2, 1871; Gulick, “Na Kanaka Hawaii Ma Kaliponia,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, September 12, 1863; Makanui, Mahuka, Kapahukula, “Mai Kaliponia Mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, October 9, 1869; Smith, “Mai A L. Kamika mai,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, June 30, 1866.
\textsuperscript{22} Another “native of the Sandwich Islands,” Thomas Sylvester, was also admitted to U.S. citizenship with Paniani. “New Citizens,” \textit{Sacramento Daily Union}, November 1, 1876; California Voter Registers, 1890, Vernon, Sutter County.
Jacksonville local network since the early 1850s, was also admitted to U.S. citizenship. While Masona was living in Siskiyou County in northern California, he became a U.S. citizen and a registered voter in 1880.23 Walter Jarrett was also admitted to U.S. citizenship and registered to vote. Jarrett, discussed in chapter three as the grandfather of Stephen Remers and husband of Isabel Butler, traveled to the Yreka-Jacksonville local network to mine for gold before moving south to Vernon. While living in California, Jarrett became a U.S. citizen in 1889 in Sacramento and registered to vote a year later.24 Jarrett then returned to the Hawaiian Islands with his family at some point between 1896 and 1900 when the Islands were either governed as the Republic of Hawai‘i or the Territory of Hawai‘i following the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893.25 Mahuka, Paniani, Masona, Jarrett, and other Kānaka were able to become U.S. citizens and registered voters in the late nineteenth century, rights that had not been accessible to Kānaka prior to this time. Since Kānaka were not granted the same land, citizenship, and voting opportunities as the White settlers rushing to Oregon and California in the mid-1800s, they were legally defined as inferior to White Americans and were put at a disadvantage in trying to build and maintain their communities and networks.

Kānaka and other People of Color in California also encountered discrimination in laws that determined who could testify in court. In 1850, California passed a law stating, “no black or mulatto person or Indian shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of or against any white person.”26 As Rudolph M. Lapp explains, this law meant that “whites might murder or rob blacks, Indians, and Chinese and escape justice as long as there were no white witnesses who

23 California Voter Registers, Great Register for General Election, Nov. 2nd, 1880.
24 California Voter Registers, 1890, Sacramento County.
25 California Voter Registers, 1896, Sutter County; U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
26 The Statutes of California. Passed at the First Session of the Legislature. Begun the 15th Day of Dec. 1849, and Ended the 22d Day of April 1850, at the City of Pueblo de San José (San José: J. Winchester, State Printer, 1850), 230.
would agree to testify on behalf of the injured parties.”

This law was amended in 1863 so that the wording read, “no Indian, or person having one half or more of Indian blood, or Mongolian, or Chinese, shall be permitted to give evidence in favor or against any white person.”

It is unclear how the law categorized Kānaka as a race and whether or not the California state legislature believed they had included Kānaka in the 1850 or 1863 wording used, but the law clearly targeted People of Color, and took away their right to testify in court.

This law, Lapp states, led to many cases “in which people of color were violated in one way or another without any recourse to the law.”

Although the testimony law in California may have resulted in cases where Kānaka could not provide testimony in court for or against a White person, there was at least one instance where Kanaka witnesses were called to court to help a wrongly accused Kanaka. As discussed in chapter four, several Kānaka were called upon in the Hawaiian Islands to travel to San Francisco to provide testimony in the case of Harry Kaheleiki in 1863. Kaheleiki had been wrongly accused of murder and the testimonies of John Papa ʻĪʻī and others stating that Kaheleiki had been in Honolulu at the time the murder took place in Kosrae helped to prove Kaheleiki’s innocence.

These witnesses may have been allowed to appear in court because White men, including Dr. Gulick and the San Francisco consul of the Hawaiian Islands, C.E. Hitchcock, were also involved in proving Kaheleiki’s innocence, or they may have been able to provide

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28 *The Statutes of California, Passed at the Fourteenth Session of the Legislature, 1863: Begun on Monday, the Fifth Day of January, and Ended on Monday, the Twenty-Seventh Day of April* (Sacramento: Benj. P. Avery, State Printer, 1863), 69.
29 Rudolph M. Lapp discusses a case of a Portuguese man assaulted by a white man that was dismissed because the white man’s lawyer claimed that the Portuguese man “had ‘negro blood.’” The term “Mongolian” could have been interpreted to represent many different races as Peggy Pascoe explains that some California lawmakers interpreted the term “Mongolian” as “a kind of collective racial category.” Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California*, 194; Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally*, 85.
testimony because the court did not see them as falling into the racial categories outlined in the wording of the law. It is also possible that the court did not view these witnesses as providing testimony for or against a White person since they were testifying only to the location of Kaheleiki at the time of the murder, and were therefore allowed to appear in court. However these Kanaka witnesses were able to provide testimony in the California court, they succeeded in exonerating Kaheleiki. If they would not have been able to, as so many People of Color at this time in California were not able to do, an innocent man would have been charged with a murder he did not commit. This law may have caused other innocent Kānaka or guilty White criminals to not receive the justice they deserved in California courts.

Kānaka also faced legal discrimination through miscegenation laws which outlawed marriage between White people and People of Color. In What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America, Peggy Pascoe argues that marriage has been a “fruitful ground for the growth of white supremacy” because, among other reasons, it has “power to naturalize some social relationships, and to stigmatize others as unnatural” on an intimate level. Laws prohibiting interracial marriage and sex existed in America since the mid-1600s and spread to western North America by the mid-nineteenth century.\footnote{Pascoe, What Comes Naturally, 2, 19, 21.} Laws prohibiting interracial marriages were created on the state level and each state chose their own specific list of races not allowed to marry White people, but all states’ miscegenation laws prohibited marriages between White and Black men and women.\footnote{Ibid., 2.}

In 1866, the Oregon state legislature passed “a bill to prohibit the amalgamation and intermarriage of the races” that stated that it was illegal “for any white person, male or female, to intermarry with any negro, Chinese, or any person having one fourth or more negro, Chinese, or
kanaka blood, or any person having more than one half Indian blood.” Oregon was the only state to specifically include Kānaka in their miscegenation laws. Each state’s miscegenation law reflects the historical background of the state, and Oregon has a relatively long history of Kānaka populating the region, especially as employees of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Ever since Oregon Territory was formed, legislators let their dislike of Kānaka be known.

The lawmakers also quantified what they deemed as an unacceptable amount of ancestry of a specified race. For instance, a person with more than one quarter African, Chinese, or Kanaka ancestry was not allowed to marry a White person under this law. The lawmakers listed a different requirement for indigenous peoples; instead of the one quarter law, people with more than one half indigenous ancestry were deemed unacceptable to marry White people. Pascoe explains that lawmakers allowed this difference to account for the many families of White men who arrived in the region decades earlier and married indigenous women. By specifically targeting Kānaka, as well as Black, Chinese, and indigenous peoples, Oregon’s miscegenation law legally defined Kānaka and other People of Color as socially inferior to its White residents.

Miscegenation laws were also established in other states where Kānaka lived, although they did not specifically name Kānaka in the law as Oregon’s did. Like the California testimony law, the California miscegenation law was ambiguous in how it racially classified Kānaka. California instituted a miscegenation law in 1850 that listed “negroes,” “mulattoes,” and when it was amended in 1880, “Mongolians.” California’s law reflected the growing feelings of White Americans in the state as the Chinese population increased in mining regions and cities, leading

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34 The Oregon miscegenation law of 1866 expanded upon an earlier law prohibiting marriage between White and Black people. Ibid., 77, 79.
35 Ibid., 80.
36 Ibid., 99.
37 Pascoe, What Comes Naturally, 84-85.
to the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited the immigration of Chinese laborers and denied citizenship to Chinese living in America.\textsuperscript{38}

Although the Kānaka Hawai‘i population in California was not specifically accounted for in this law, their absence could mean that California lawmakers saw Kānaka as fitting under one of these racial categories. Pascoe states that both Oregon and California originally used the term “Mongolians” in miscegenation laws to represent Chinese immigrants, but it was also used to include other populations, such as Japanese immigrants. Pascoe further explains that some California lawmakers believed that humans could be divided into three racial categories, “Mongolian, Caucasian, and Negro,” and interpreted the term “Mongolian” as “a kind of collective racial category.”\textsuperscript{39} In \textit{Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans}, Ronald Takaki states that the racial terms “blacks, Indians, and Chinese” were viewed as generic terms and could refer to any person of color. This was seen in the California Supreme Court’s reversal of the 1854 \textit{People v. Hall} decision where George W. Hall was ruled guilty of murder after the jury heard the testimony of Chinese witnesses. The decision was later reversed on the basis that the California testimony law, which stated that “no black or mulatto person, or Indian, shall be permitted to give evidence in favor of, or against, any white person,” referred to any Person of Color, and therefore applied to the Chinese population.\textsuperscript{40}

Based on these ambiguous understandings of racial classification, California lawmakers would have likely viewed Kānaka as belonging to one of the categories listed in the California miscegenation law, “negroes,” “mulattoes,” or “Mongolians.” The absence of a specific racial classification for Kānaka in California would have also caused confusion among those in charge of recording the race of residents, such as those in charge of granting marriage licenses, while

\textsuperscript{38} Takaki, \textit{Strangers from a Different Shore}, 100-101, 110-111.
\textsuperscript{39} Pascoe, \textit{What Comes Naturally}, 85, 89.
\textsuperscript{40} Takaki, \textit{Strangers from a Different Shore}, 102.
also giving them the power to determine what racial category Kānaka would be classified under and how they would be impacted by the law.

Although miscegenation laws were established in California and Oregon to prevent Kānaka and other People of Color from marrying White people, some White and Kanaka couples formed relationships with one another and married. As discussed in chapter three, Emily Butler, a Kanaka English Shasta woman born in Oregon, married Charles Blockwell, a White man from Washington, D.C., in Jackson County, Oregon, in 1870. Despite the Oregon miscegenation law which specifically prohibited both Kānaka and American Indians from marrying White men and women, the marriage of Butler and Blockwell was recognized by the state.41

In other instances, interracial marriages were not recognized by the state or the families of the couples. Because of this, there may have been more marriages and families formed by Kanaka-White couples that are not found in historical records.42 As discussed in chapter three, John Azbill was the husband of Mele Kainuha Keaala, a Kanaka Konkow woman born in California. Azbill was the son of a White American father and a Wailaki mother. His parents were married in California according to Wailaki custom but the Azbill side of the family did not recognize the marriage.43 The Azbill family and other families could refuse to accept interracial marriages such as this one because it was not accepted by the state under the miscegenation law. The Azbill family believed in what the law reinforced, that interracial marriage was unnatural, and therefore denied a legal relationship. Kānaka and other People of Color and their family relationships were impacted by these discriminatory miscegenation laws in Oregon and

41 Eastlick, ed., *Siskiyou County Marriages.*
42 Anne Hyde discusses the prevalence of marriages between fur traders and American Indian women in the Pacific Northwest that eluded historical records in *Empires, Nations, and Families.*
43 Transcript of Interview with Henry Azbill, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 2, Folder 4, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.
California that helped to legally and socially define White Americans as superior to People of Color.

Oregon and California tax laws also discriminated against Kanaka residents and gold miners. In Oregon, “an act to provide for taxing negroes, Chinamen, kanakas and mulattoes” was passed, requiring “that each and every negro, Chinaman, kanaka and mulatto, residing within the limits of this state, shall pay an annual poll tax of five dollars.” Those who failed to pay the yearly tax would be arrested and required to work on the public highways. Further putting them at a disadvantage to White miners, “An Act to Tax and protect Chinamen mining in Oregon” required Chinese miners to have a license in order to mine for gold in the state. The fee for the license was raised from two dollars per month in 1862 to four dollars per month by 1866. If a Chinese miner did not have a license and refused to purchase one, “the sheriff may seize any property belonging to him, and sell the same at public sale to the highest bidder, at one hour’s notice.” This tax made it difficult for Chinese miners to maintain access to their mining claims and allowed the sheriff to quickly take mining claims away from the miners they deemed unable to pay. Although the act did not specify that Kānaka were also subject to this license fee, it stipulated that “all Chinamen or Kanakas engaged in trading, buying and selling goods, chattels, merchandise, and all kinds of live stock, and every kind of trade and barter among themselves in the State of Oregon,” must pay a tax of fifty dollars per month. This steep tax prevented Kanaka and Chinese residents from trading among their communities and made them

45 General Laws of Oregon, 1860, 49; Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, Passed at the Fourth Regular Session, 1866 (Salem, Oregon: W.A. McPherson, State Printer, 1866), 41.
46 General Laws of Oregon, 1860, 50.
47 The tax was fifty dollars per month in the 1860 version of the law and was lowered to fifteen dollars per month by 1866. General Laws of Oregon, 1860, 51; Acts and Resolutions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon, Passed at the Fourth Regular Session, 1866 (Salem, Oregon: W.A. McPherson, State Printer, 1866), 43.
reliant on White residents for trade. While the Oregon state legislature discouraged Kanaka and Chinese residents from participating in gold mining and trading with one another, making it financially difficult for them to thrive in the state, the newly created counties and state made money off of the taxes of these residents who were prohibited from becoming U.S. citizens.48

These taxes did not, however, prevent Kānaka from gold mining in Oregon or even from owning mining claims. The 1860 Jackson County, Oregon, census listed the occupation “miner” for thirty-nine Kānaka.49 Some Kānaka owned their own gold mine claims in Jackson County. One Kanaka recorded as “Kanaka Jo” purchased the “six mining claims” and “the water Ditch claims known as Hendricks claims” from Simon McCalester for thirty dollars in 1862. In 1866, a group referred to as “Keleikipi (Kanaka) and Co.” made a mining claim of land about two hundred yards long at Kanaka Flat.50 To purchase these mining claims and live in Jackson County, Jo and Keleikipi and Co. had to pay for rights to the claim, pay the yearly poll tax to reside in Oregon, and pay a monthly tax if they wished to trade with Kanaka and Chinese residents. Such Oregon tax laws put Kānaka, as well as other People of Color, at an economic disadvantage compared to White miners, but some Kānaka Hawai’i were still able to mine for gold and own their own mining claims.

Similarly, California also enacted mining taxes that targeted People of Color. The California state legislature established a tax in 1850 that required all foreign miners to purchase a license for twenty dollars a month to mine for gold.51 Ronald Takaki explains that this law was

49 Twenty-four of these Kanaka miners resided in the Jacksonville Township, twelve resided in the Sterlingville Township, and three Kanaka miners lived in the Applegate Township. U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Jackson County, Oregon.
51 The California Foreign Miners’ Tax was originally instituted in 1850 and required all foreign miners to purchase a license for twenty dollars a month. This tax was repealed in 1851 but then reenacted in 1852 at a new price of three
designed to target Chinese miners who, like Kānaka and other People of Color, could not become American citizens under the 1790 federal law limiting U.S. citizenship to White people. As in Oregon, this foreign miners’ tax gave money to the counties and state. Takaki states that by the time the tax ended in 1870 after the passing of the federal Civil Rights Act, “California had collected $5 million from the Chinese, a sum representing between 25 and 50 percent of all state revenue.” Despite being denied the chance to become citizens and being forced to pay this tax, Kānaka still mined for gold throughout California and made claims on gold mines. However, even after paying these taxes, some Kānaka faced other unjust obstacles preventing them from accessing gold mines. In one case, a Kanaka who had the money to pay for his foreign miners’ tax had his claim jumped by the license officer.

A Kanaka miner known as Captain Coxe was mining at Kanaka Dam near the north fork of the Yuba River in 1850 when he was visited by the license officer, W.B.F. Royer. An American miner on the Yuba River wrote to the Sacramento Transcript to say that, “this officer paid a visit to this dam ostensibly to grant licenses to the Kanakas here, but in reality to jump their claims.” When Coxe and the other Kānaka tried to give Royer the twenty dollars for the license (the fee according to the 1850 version of the law), Royer denied the money, saying it was too late. Royer had brought a “posse” with him, many of whom were foreigners, to take the claims from the Kānaka. As the American miner asked in the Sacramento Transcript, if the law was intended to protect American miners, “the way this officer acted, which does he protect,

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52 Takaki, Strangers from a Different Shore, 82.
53 An unnamed miner referred to Kanaka Dam as located on the south fork of the north fork of the Yuba River. Richard H. Dillon suggests Kanaka Dam is the same as Kanaka Bar on the Yuba River. Another Kanaka with the same last name, John Cox, arrived in Oregon Country in 1811 and worked at Fort Astoria and Fort Vancouver for the North West Company and Hudson’s Bay Company before dying in Kanaka Village outside of Fort Vancouver in 1850. It is not clear if these two men were related. “The Foreign License Law,” Sacramento Transcript, September 21, 1850; Dillon, “Kanaka Colonies in California,” 17; Barman and Watson, Leaving Paradise, 40, 139, 240-241.
American or foreign interests? And can he refuse legally the revenue of the State when tendered him?"\(^{54}\) Although Coxe and his company of miners had enough money to pay for the foreign miners’ tax, they were denied the opportunity to purchase their license by Royer. In this case, those with the power to administer laws abused that power to prevent Kānaka from mining for gold. This did not deter Coxe from mining for gold in California, however. He also had a three months license on Bear River that “was still good and in full force.”\(^{55}\)

Poll taxes and mining taxes in Oregon and California made it difficult for Kānaka and other People of Color to mine for gold as a viable form of income since they were forced to pay taxes that White miners did not have to pay, putting them at an economic disadvantage. Tax laws as well as miscegenation laws, the California Testimony law, U.S. citizenship and voting laws, and other laws that discriminated against Kānaka and People of Color, institutionalized racism in Oregon and California while making it increasingly difficult for Kānaka to live in these regions and maintain their communities and networks. When faced with these laws, some People of Color chose to leave the region. For instance, Rudolph Lapp explains that California laws targeting Black residents, specifically a proposed law in 1858 banning Black immigration into the state, led to a “large-scale exodus” to Victoria, British Columbia, “the most important departure point for the Fraser River gold rush.”\(^{56}\) Similarly, Kānaka may have been driven to the gold mines and other economic opportunities in Canada as they continued to face discriminatory laws.\(^{57}\) Kānaka Hawai‘i working to develop relationships with the ‘āina of western North America that connected the region to the Hawaiian Islands were constantly challenged by these

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\(^{54}\) The unnamed miner added a post script to his letter to the newspaper stating that he had spoken to Coxe and Coxe told him that Royer “wanted to compromise with him, but [Coxe] refused, as he had driven off his men, and they had gone nobody knew where.” “The Foreign License Law,” *Sacramento Transcript*, September 21, 1850.

\(^{55}\) Ibid.

\(^{56}\) Lapp, *Blacks in Gold Rush California*, 240.

\(^{57}\) Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson discuss the move of Kānaka who had worked for Hudson’s Bay Company in Fort Vancouver north to Canada after the international boundary between the United States and Canada was determined in 1846. Barman and Watson, *Leaving Paradise*.
laws aimed to deter Kânaka and remove them from the California and Oregon gold-mining regions. The laws were aided by the spread of diseases which further prevented Kânaka and their communities from thriving beyond the nineteenth century.

**The Impact of Disease on Kânaka and Kanaka Gold-Mining Communities**

Diseases spread throughout the Pacific Ocean and western North America as international trade increased in the early nineteenth century. Ships, traders, and others traveling throughout the region introduced and spread various diseases which were transmitted from trade ports on the coast to inland indigenous communities by traveling along indigenous trade routes. In the 1870s, smallpox spread through these trade routes in Oregon Country and between 1830 and 1834, malaria spread to a previously unexposed indigenous population. Malaria was introduced at Fort Vancouver in 1830 and spread to the interior of California in 1833. Due to fur trading expeditions throughout Oregon Country, California, and the greater region, malaria spread extensively from Fort Vancouver “up the Columbia River, across the Plateau, into the Great Basin, across the Sierra to the Sacramento Valley and California’s north coast, then northward through southwest Oregon back to the Willamette Valley.”

Numerous diseases spread along trading routes in both Oregon and California. David Igler, who discusses the spread of diseases in *The Great Ocean: Pacific Worlds from Captain Cook to the Gold Rush*, states that “some of the most virulent disease outbreaks coincided with the influx of fur trappers and traders during the 1830s and 1840s, some of whom carried malarial fevers, influenza, smallpox, and diphtheria with them, which all cut deadly paths through interior California.”

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The spread of disease devastated indigenous populations in western North America. The 1830s malaria epidemic killed tens of thousands of indigenous peoples throughout Oregon Country and northern California and, combined with other diseases that spread from 1805 to 1841, caused the population of the Chinook along the Columbia River and the Kalapuya in the Willamette Valley to decline by approximately eighty-eight percent.\(^{60}\) Mass death caused by disease was also taking place in the Hawaiian Islands where the Kanaka Hawai‘i population was reduced from an estimated 400,000-1,000,000 in 1778 to around 135,000-200,000 in 1823 and an estimated 70,000 by 1860.\(^{61}\) Kerri A. Inglis explains that “Captain Cook and his men introduced venereal diseases and tuberculosis to Hawai‘i in 1778, and from that moment onward, Native Hawaiians would be assaulted again and again by a myriad of epidemics.” In 1804, an epidemic of ma‘i ‘ōku‘u (likely Asiatic cholera) caused an estimated five to fifteen thousand deaths. In 1848-1849, epidemics of measles, whooping cough, dysentery, and influenza resulted in approximately ten thousand deaths. A smallpox epidemic in 1853 caused five to six thousand deaths, and beginning in the 1850s and 1860s, thousands in the Hawaiian Islands contracted leprosy (which was introduced in the Hawaiian Islands in the 1830s).\(^{62}\) Kānaka that moved from the Hawaiian Islands to western North America were not able to escape these devastating effects of the spread of disease.

Throughout gold-mining regions in the second half of the nineteenth century, Kanaka miners were always susceptible to the various diseases, and occasionally they encountered dangerous epidemics. In several instances, smallpox infected Kanaka populations and gold-

\(^{60}\) Whaley, *Oregon and the Collapse of Illahee*, 92.


mining communities, killing many Kānaka and helping to dismantle Kanaka communities and local networks that had been established throughout the region. Particularly devastating was smallpox, which caused “burning fever, huge oozing pustules, and rotting skin” that proved deadly for fifty to ninety percent of those who contacted the disease. Smallpox spread through an afflicted person’s breath, fluids from their sores and scabs, and contact with their corpse, allowing it to spread quickly.63 Those that survived having smallpox had long-lasting side effects such as, “deep facial scarring, hair loss, frequent enlargement of the nose, and the potential for vision impairment.”64 Two Kanaka communities fell victim to smallpox in the 1860s: Irish Creek, California, in 1862, and Kanaka Flat, Oregon, in 1869.

Smallpox spread throughout North America in 1861-1862.65 In the spring of 1862, smallpox infected residents of the Kanaka gold-mining community, Irish Creek. Doctor Luther Halsey Gulick was visiting Irish Creek when the disease arrived in the town and he described how fast it spread. He stated that within a week of his arrival on April 25 in the community of thirty-three people, there were seven new cases of the disease and a total of ten sick people. Gulick explained that they sent for a person in Coloma who came to Irish Creek to see the sick and “ua ooia na lima o ka poe e ola ana” (vaccinate the people who were living).66

By the end of May, six people had died in Irish Creek due to smallpox, including: J.D. Kenao from Maui; Kenao’s hānai Kanaka Konkow son, Kamakea; the biological Konkow mother of Kamakea, Waiuliuli; a Kanaka named J. Hawaii; and a Mangaian named H.J. Ua.67

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63 Hyde, Empires, Nations, and Families, 336-337.
64 Susan Craddock, City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty, and Deviance in San Francisco (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 64.
65 Susan Craddock, City of Plagues, 64-65.
66 Translation assisted by Noenoe Silva. Gulick, “No Ka Mai Puupuu Liilii, Ma Irish Creek, Kaliponia,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, July 5, 1862.

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Once smallpox arrived in Irish Creek, it infected and killed these residents within a few weeks. Only nine days after one person died on May 3, Kamakea died. His hānai father, Kenao, died just hours later. Three days later, Waiuliuli passed away, and the following day, Ua died. Six days after on May 22, J. Hawaii passed away.\textsuperscript{68} Although the disease quickly became fatal for these residents, some Kānaka in Irish Creek survived the epidemic. Those that were not victims of smallpox built a fence “mawaho mai o na luakupapau o na hoa’loha i make aku nei” (outside of the graves of the friends who died) to create a cemetery in Irish Creek, serving as a reminder of the devastation the disease caused the community.\textsuperscript{69}

At the end of the decade in southern Oregon, residents of Kanaka Flat also suffered from a smallpox outbreak. On January 6, 1869, \textit{The Oregonian} reported that there was “much apprehension that the disease [would] become epidemic” after thirty people had been diagnosed with smallpox, four of whom had died.\textsuperscript{70} On that same day, a letter was written by W.H. Hyde from Jacksonville to U.S. Indian Agent Lindsay Applegate stating that smallpox, which was “raging in our midst,” had “also alarmingly spread on Kanaka Flat.” Hyde added that “several squaws on the flat now have it, and it is feared it cannot be speedily checked.” One of the women at Kanaka Flat, who he believed introduced the disease to the region, had already died.\textsuperscript{71}

Kanaka Flat serves as an example of how diseases such as smallpox impacted the social relationships and divisions within communities. In \textit{City of Plagues: Disease, Poverty, and Deviance in San Francisco}, Susan Craddock states that, when “used as accusation toward the already deviant, disease intensifies the rhetoric of hatred, fear, and blame utilized against undesirable populations. It shifts the quality of this rhetoric from the socially construed to the

\textsuperscript{68} Gulick, “No Ka Mai Puupuu Liilii,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, July 5, 1862.
\textsuperscript{69} Gulick, “He Palapala Na Ko Makou Elele I Holo Aku Nei I Kapalakikio,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, October 25, 1862.
\textsuperscript{70} “Small Pox at Jacksonville,” \textit{The Oregonian}, January 6, 1869.
\textsuperscript{71} W.H.S. Hyde to Lindsay Applegate, January 6, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
medically legitimated, from a vaguely if forcefully defined rationale of difference to a rational basis for surveillance, control, and exclusion.”

During the mid- to late-nineteenth century when Kānaka were living in gold-mining communities and falling victim to diseases, they were also being discriminated against by the increasing White American populations. Feelings of hatred and fear towards Kānaka and other People of Color that were reflected in discriminatory laws of this time period influenced how cities reacted to the outbreak of disease. For example, Craddock explains that San Francisco residents attributed the smallpox epidemics in the late 1800s to the city’s Chinese residents due to the anti-Chinese movement. San Francisco’s Chinatown was credited as the source of smallpox, which, Craddock argues, transformed Chinatown “from an area to be shunned to an area needing intense scrutiny, intervention, and control.” Kanaka Flat was viewed by the nearby Jacksonville residents similarly to how San Francisco’s residents viewed Chinatown during its smallpox epidemic.

Jacksonville reacted to the outbreak at Kanaka Flat by closing businesses, homes, and saloons, and the Jacksonville trustees “prohibited persons from Kanaka Flat from coming to town.” Hyde explained in his letter to U.S. Indian Agent Applegate that those infected at Kanaka Flat needed provisions and clothing. He believed that “if the disease continues to spread amongst them, and there is every probability that it will, many of them must absolutely perish, for want of suitable and timely aid.” Hyde wrote his letter to Applegate because it would “tax to the utmost” the town of Jacksonville, even with funding from Jackson County, to take care of, who he calls, “legitimately county charges” and confine the disease. Hyde and Jacksonville turned to Applegate to take care of the American Indians infected with smallpox at Kanaka Flat, stating, “I am therefore directed to solicit you, as Indian Agent, to render that class such

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72 Craddock, City of Plagues, 4.
73 Ibid., 62.
Hyde and the town of Jacksonville did not want to pay to assist the residents of Kanaka Flat but they also did not want the infected people near their town. To help with their problem, they looked to the U.S. Indian Agent who oversaw the Klamath Reservation to the east.  

After receiving this letter from Hyde, Applegate looked to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon, J.W.P. Huntington for assistance. Applegate wrote a telegram to Huntington on January 7 stating, “a number of squaws of different tribes near Jacksonville affected with smallpox and suffering for want of clothing & provisions; County Commissioners call on me to care for them, Can I go to any expense in providing for them?” Huntington’s concise response sent on the same day simply stated, “collect the squaws, vaccinate them, provide quarters and subsistence.”

Applegate then made arrangements for the vaccination and assistance of the indigenous residents of Kanaka Flat. He ordered, “collect them at some house in Kanaka Flat, vaccinate them, secure squaws or other persons to take care of the patients and purchase and convey to them some flour and veg.” Huntington and Applegate’s language suggests that these steps would be done to the Kanaka Flat residents in order to assist the Jacksonville residents rather than for the Kanaka Flat residents to assist them with their health and well-being.

Despite these efforts, residents infected with smallpox continued to die. W.M. Turner wrote to Applegate from Jacksonville on January 12 to inform the Indian Agent that there had

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74 W.H.S. Hyde to Lindsay Applegate, January 6, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
75 Jefferson C. Davis Riddle, The Indian History of the Modoc War and the Causes that Led to it (Mechanicsbug, PA: Stackpole Books, 2004), 244.
76 Lindsay Applegate to J.W.P. Huntington, January 7, 1869, “Telegraphic Correspondence in relation to Indians in Vicinity of Jacksonville, Oregon, destitute and affected with smallpox,” Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
77 J.W. P. Huntington to Lindsay Applegate, January 7, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
78 Lindsay Applegate to D.P. __alrod, January 8, 1869., Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
been another death that day. Applegate responded to Turner to order that the American Indians remain “confined to their present locality as much as possible” and asked that he “not let them trouble the town or county authorities, or private individuals.”

The communications between Applegate and Hyde, Huntington, and Turner convey the feeling that the outbreak of smallpox at Kanaka Flat was an unwanted problem at an unwanted expense and the Kanaka Flat residents that were infected were a nuisance. This was emphasized in Applegate’s final line in his January 12 letter to Turner. Applegate wrote, “I assure you that when the proper time shall come I will make a determined effort to break up that disgusting den of infamy on Kanaka Flat and will apply for order to that effect.” Applegate’s words show that the attitudes he and others he was in communication with felt toward Kanaka Flat was not just because of the recent smallpox outbreak, but because they disliked the community altogether. Two and a half months later, Applegate ordered the removal of American Indians from Kanaka Flat to the Klamath Reservation.

The removal of American Indian women and children at Kanaka Flat to Klamath Indian Reservation was planned for April 6 since, as Turner wrote, “the only preachable [sic] way to break [Kanaka Flat] up is to remove the women. In so doing you will have the hearty thanks of all the good citizens of the place.” Chelsea Rose writes that it is unclear if residents of Kanaka Flat were ultimately removed on April 6, but at some point, some Kanaka Flat residents did end

79 W.M. Turner to Lindsay Applegate, January 12, 1869, “Telegraphic Correspondence in relation to Indians in Vicinity of Jacksonville, Oregon, destitute and affected with smallpox,” Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
80 Lindsay Applegate to William M. Turner, January 16, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
81 Ibid.
82 Lindsay Applegate to William M. Turner, March 31, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.
up moving to the reservation. When Turner referred to “the women” he was presumably speaking of the American Indian women living in Kanaka Flat since they were the focus of the previous letters, but the use of the vague term, “the women,” may indicate he was also referring to Kanaka women. Kanaka and American Indian women lived with, married, and formed families with Kanaka men in Kanaka Flat and Turner was proposing the splitting up of these families, which would break up the community and family networks. If he was referring to both Kanaka and American Indian women in his proposal for removal, Turner was then racially classifying Kānaka as American Indians since he saw it was fit that they live on the Klamath Indian Reservation. It is difficult to know whom exactly Turner was referring to in this letter and other letters he wrote concerning the population at Kanaka Flat. Turner, Applegate, Hyde, and others were ambiguous in how they referred to Kanaka residents of Kanaka Flat, provoking some questions on how Kānaka were treated during this smallpox epidemic.

When discussing the residents of Kanaka Flat inflicted with smallpox, Hyde and Applegate most often referred to women as having the disease. Hyde and Applegate referred to those who had smallpox as “squaws,” a derogatory word referring to American Indian women, but it is possible that they also used the term to refer to Kanaka women. Since a majority of Kanaka residents living in Kanaka Flat were men, Hyde and Applegate may have been specifically referring to the American Indian wives of some of these men and were not referring to Kanaka residents at all. In another letter, Applegate used the word “indians” when ordering for the vaccination of the Kanaka Flat residents, implying that perhaps it was not just women who were sick and granted assistance from the government, but it is not clear if he intended to

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84 Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 89.
85 List of names and birthplaces submitted to the newspaper by J.A. Alapai. “Mai Oregona Mai,” Ka Nupepa Kuokoa, August 29, 1868.
use the word to refer to both American Indians and Kānaka. Applegate, Hyde, and the others administering the vaccinations may have only been referring to American Indian women when discussing victims of smallpox and removal to the Klamath Indian Reservation. If that was the case, how were the Kanaka residents treated during this epidemic? Did the Kanaka residents avoid having smallpox, or were those inflicted with the disease not cared for by the government? Or, did the government racially classify Kānaka as American Indians? Who exactly was being referred to in these communications is unclear, but regardless, Kānaka were greatly impacted by the spread of smallpox to Kanaka Flat as it split up families, reduced the population, and solidified divisions between Kanaka Flat and Jacksonville. One Kanaka who had lived in Kanaka Flat, Daniela Masona, wrote to Ka Nupepa Kuokoa on January 22, 1869 and discussed the introduction of smallpox to Kanaka Flat and the problems it caused the residents.

Masona did not mention any specific names of Kānaka Hawaiʻi who had gotten sick or died but he did describe the situation in Kanaka Flat. Masona explained that smallpox arrived in Jacksonville after a White man and an American Indian woman brought the disease from Crescent City on the northern California coast. They were the first to die, and soon after, the disease spread to Jacksonville, where “nui ka make i ka po a me ke ao” (there were many deaths all night and day). As a result, the people of Kanaka Flat were forbidden from going to Jacksonville and the White people of Jacksonville, other than doctors, were restricted from going to Kanaka Flat. Masona explained that “ua kukuluia ma na kihi o ke alanui na Hae olenalena he kumu hoi ke ua

86 W.H.S. Hyde to Lindsay Applegate, January 6, 1869, Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon; Lindsay Applegate to J.W.P. Huntington, January 7, 1869, “Telegraphic Correspondence in relation to Indians in Vicinity of Jacksonville, Oregon, destitute and affected with smallpox,” Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon; Lindsay Applegate to D.P. __alrod, January 8, 1869, , Lindsay Applegate Papers, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.


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kapu ke komo ana aku i ke County” (the yellow flags were constructed at the street corners as a display of the reason why the entrance to Jacksonville was forbidden). “Yellow-flagging” with yellow placards or signs was a quarantine method used in other cities with smallpox outbreaks. When a smallpox epidemic reached San Francisco in 1868 and the smallpox hospital was overcrowded, the city ordered yellow placards on the doors of the houses of smallpox victims.

These yellow signs represented that the smallpox victim was confined inside of the house for two to three weeks and nobody could enter the house during that time period. Susan Craddock discusses the impact this type of quarantine could have on victims, their families, and their community. Craddock argues that the yellow signage, the “invisible boundary” that shut victims and their families in their homes while keeping others out, “was a constant reminder that they inhabited a liminal space, balanced precariously on the border between undesirability and nonexistence. Because their home was reviled and feared, it was assiduously avoided, eliminated as much as possible from local cognitive maps and physical pathways.”

The yellow flags in Kanaka Flat acted similarly, but by placing the yellow flags on the street corners, rather than doors as they did in San Francisco, the entire community of Kanaka Flat was divided from Jacksonville and was marked as undesirable with this invisible boundary.

Masona wrote his letter about smallpox in Kanaka Flat from Henley (Cottonwood) in northern California, seventeen miles north of Yreka. Masona explained that at that time, Yreka had a strict kapu (prohibition) preventing people from entering the town unless they remain in quarantine for fifteen days in the “hale hoomaemae,” which Masona defined as “Pest House.”

This outbreak of smallpox in 1869 concerned the larger region, and nearby towns and

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88 Masona refers to Jacksonville as “ke county o Jacksonville” and “ke County” throughout his letter, distinguishing it from “Kanaka flat.” Ibid.
89 Craddock, City of Plagues, 104.
90 Ibid., 109.
communities attempted to contain the disease in Kanaka Flat. The feelings Jacksonville and regional residents had for Kanaka Flat were exposed during this time as their main concern during the outbreak was that the disease not spread beyond Kanaka Flat. A total of twenty people died in the Jacksonville-Kanaka Flat area due to this outbreak.\(^\text{92}\) Although smallpox did not infect all of the residents of Kanaka Flat, it reduced the population and strengthened the divisions between Kanaka Flat and Jacksonville imposed by the White residents of Jacksonville, assisting in marginalizing Kānaka and their community.

In addition to the smallpox epidemics in Irish Creek in 1862 and Kanaka Flat in 1869, Kānaka were victims to other diseases throughout their time living in Oregon and California gold-mining communities. One such case was P. Pole, a Kanaka who died in the Coloma-Sacramento local network near Salmon Falls in 1862 after living in California for almost twelve years. Pole had arrived in the region in 1850 to mine for gold. The sickness that killed Pole was described by J.C. Kaaiahua to be, “he pehu ma na wawae a hiki i na uha” (a swelling at the legs until it reached the large intestines).\(^\text{93}\) Ellen Akahiakalohelani, who died in Kanaka Flat in 1863, also fell victim to disease.\(^\text{94}\) When Hairam R. Nalau passed away in Salmon Falls, California, in 1863, it was due to a fever and sickness he had for three months.\(^\text{95}\) Hanagula Kapu also died due to disease. When she was just shy of eleven years old, Hanagula died in Vernon, California, after being sick for four months in 1869. Her father, John Kapu, described the sickness that caused her death as, “he piva wela iloko o ka puuwai” (a hot fever inside of the heart).\(^\text{96}\) The outbreak of epidemics continued to impact Kānaka into the early-twentieth century.

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\(^\text{92}\) Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 42.


\(^\text{96}\) Kapu, “Make Ma Kaliponia,” \textit{Ka Nupepa Kuokoa}, August 28, 1869.
Kānaka who maintained a community along the Klamath River in the 1910s also eventually fell victims to influenza. The influenza epidemic that spread throughout the world in 1918-1919, “infected about one-quarter of the world’s population and killed an estimated 50 million people,” including approximately 675,000 in the United States.97 This influenza epidemic was said to have “hit the Hawaiians on the Klamath especially hard in 1919.” Those that died due to the influenza were buried in the Kanaka Cemetery located near the community Honolulu (Gottville) on the hillside of the Klamath River.98

Although disease did not kill all Kānaka living in gold-mining communities, the populations of communities infected by disease were impacted by the emigration of survivors who moved to new communities, perhaps in hope of escaping future outbreaks. After Waiuliuli died from smallpox in Irish Creek, her husband, Edwin Mahuka, and their daughter, Rebeka, moved to Vernon. Seventeen years after the death of Waiuliuli, Mahuka remained concerned about unfamiliar diseases. In 1879, Mahuka, William D. Paniani, John Paniani, Sam Keahilele, Papu, and Papu’s companion embarked on a trip to West butte from Vernon with A.E. Kahekili. Kahekili, a visitor to Vernon, prompted this journey after staying in Vernon for one week. William Paniani explained that, “ua paa kona manao e imi hele ma na wahi e noho ia ana e ka ohana Hawaii” (he decided to go search at the places where Kanaka families were living).99 Kahekili wished to travel to West Butte in Sutter County, Oroville in Butte County, and La Grange in Stanislaus County. The group took three separate boats and began their journey along the Feather River to West Butte on April 27. The plan was to travel to Oroville from West Butte,

then return to Vernon for a month before going to La Grange. However, on May 3, Mahuka made an order to return to Vernon. Paniani recalled,

Mei 3, haalele makou ia Butte no Vanona, kauoha aku la o Mahuka aole make noho loihi maanei, he wahi mai keia, no ka mea, he malihini oe ma keia wahi, a e ano e ana paha oe no na ea o keia aina, olelo mai la kela, aole au e noho loihi loa ana ma uka nei, e hoi koke aku ana no au.

May 3, we left Butte for Vernon. Mahuka ordered, better not stay here long, this is a sick place, because, you are a stranger at this place, and you are perhaps unfamiliar to the diseases of this land. That being said, I was not going to stay long inland, I was going to quickly return.\textsuperscript{100}

Mahuka had determined that there were diseases or an epidemic present in West Butte and it was not safe for those that were perhaps not familiar with the disease, such as Kahekili who was new to the region. Although others turned back, Kahekili continued on the journey, caught pneumonia, and died.\textsuperscript{101}

William Makakoa Butler also moved away from a Kanaka community that at one point had been infected by disease. After living in Kanaka Flat and the surrounding mines in southern Oregon in the 1860s, Butler moved to northern California by 1880.\textsuperscript{102} Others remained in the once smallpox-stricken communities and towns for years after the disease had spread. One Kanaka resident of Kanaka Flat, George Maio, died in 1890 after living in the region since 1852.\textsuperscript{103} Although Kānaka still lived in the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California in the

\textsuperscript{100} Paniani, “Mai Na Aina E Mai,” \textit{Ko Hawaii Pae Aina}, July 19, 1879.

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{102} U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Humbug, Siskiyou County, California.

\textsuperscript{103} The article in \textit{Ashland Daily Tidings} announcing the death, referred to “Kanaka George.” As mentioned in chapter two, Emil Brit wrote a note stating “George Myer Kanaka George” on the inside front cover of his journal, alluding that “Kanaka George” was “George Myer.” This is probably referring to George Maio, a Kanaka that lived in Kanaka Flat throughout this time period and married a American Indian woman, Susan. The \textit{Ashland Daily Tidings} article stated that Kanaka George had “an Indian wife and several children.” \textit{Ashland Daily Tidings}, September 19, 1890, 2; Emil Britt, Diary, 1889-1893, Britt Collection, MS 170, Britt, Peter, 1819-1905, Box 4, Item 9, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon; Marriage Certificates, George Maio and Susan, October 7, 1861, MS 271, Southern Oregon Historical Society, Medford, Oregon.
late nineteenth century, they did so in smaller numbers as a result of the diseases that helped to dismantle Kanaka communities.

The Erasure of Kānaka from U.S. Census Records

As diseases and discriminatory laws marginalized Kānaka and tore apart Kanaka communities and networks, the U.S. census worked to erase the presence of Kānaka from American records and representations of the American West. Jean Barman and Bruce McIntyre Watson state in Leaving Paradise: Indigenous Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, 1787-1898 that after 1846, “most of the Hawaiians who remained south of the [U.S.-Canada] border became invisible, even when present.” They argue that “so far as mainstream society in the United States was concerned, Hawaiians did not really exist.” Barman and Watson add that due to discriminatory laws, Kānaka did not stay in the American West and, “in popular view, the few who remained in the Oregon Territory ‘married into various Indian tribes and disappeared from local records.’” Although Kanaka populations decreased, not all Kānaka “disappeared” from the American West by the end of the nineteenth century. However, the ways Kānaka were or were not represented on the census show that the U.S. chose not to include Kānaka in their data, and therefore, did not choose to represent Kanaka populations in its reflection of the American West, erasing Kānaka from the records.

Both the names and the racial category provided on the census influences how individual Kānaka can be traced through census records over time. The absence of these identifiers not

104 Barman and Watson, Leaving Paradise, 161, 211.
105 U.S. Census records also did not adequately reflect the Mexican and Californio (“that group of Mexicans and Anglos who thought of themselves as Californians rather than Mexicans or Americans”) populations since there were no census categories specific to these groups, even though California had been Mexican territory until 1848. Clara E. Rodríguez, Changing Race: Latinos, the Census, and the History of Ethnicity in the United States (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 73-74, 78, 82-84; Hyde, Empires, Nations, and Families, 78, 83.
only assists in the erasure of Kānaka from American records, but it also assists in an historiographical erasure as it can make it difficult to conduct research on Kanaka communities. As David A. Chang notes, the 1860 census for the Coloma Township in California, “provides not even a means to trace [Kānaka’s] identities because they are listed under such Anglo-American names as Charles and Mary Aaron, Frank Harrison, and Thomas Boyd, at a time when few Kānaka Maoli had such names.” These name changes and lack of information in censuses has also made it difficult for descendants to trace the histories of their ancestors. The ways Kānaka were recorded in American records reflects how White Americans chose to recognize or ignore the presence of Kānaka as well as how Kanaka “became invisible” in the ways the country defined itself. There are many factors that contributed to the physical decline of Kanaka communities including laws and disease, but, as Barman and Watson suggest, individual Kānaka were rendered invisible over time through the manner in which they were recorded, or not recorded, on American historical records such as the census.

Censuses not only reflect the population they are reporting on, but they shape how the report is constructed and who is included in that report. In other words, as Jennifer L. Hochschild and Brenna Marea Powell have noted, “a census both creates the image and provides the mirror of that image for a nation’s self-reflection.” When a group of people are represented a certain way or not represented at all, the census is helping to shape the image of the population since it chooses what categories and classifications are included on the census. Since the individual identities and Kanaka Hawai‘i ancestry of Kanaka residents were often left off of the census, Kānaka were erased from the representation of the population and history of the

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region they lived in, creating an image that the American West was void of Kānaka and their communities.

The Kanaka individuals that lived in gold-mining communities in Oregon and California are often difficult to identify and track over time due to the inaccuracies of the U.S. census. This is partially due to census enumerators who did not include all residents of mining communities, partially due to enumerators not including personal or full names, and also because “Kanaka” was not an option to mark as a race on censuses. This has been a persistent problem of U.S. census records which did not include an individual category for Kānaka Hawai‘i until 2000. The confusion concerning how Kānaka and others should be racially classified in the language of various nineteenth century U.S., California, and Oregon laws, also occurred on census records. When census records began asking for the race of citizens, there were limited options of how to define the race on the forms. In 1850, there were only three categories: Black, White, and the newly added category, “Mulatto.” In 1870, there were five categories: White, Black, Mulatto, Chinese, and Indian. Although “Chinese” was a new category on the 1870 national census, it had previously been distinguished on California censuses. On the 1852 California census, Chinese residents were identified in a footnote as a “subset of the white population.” The racial classification changed on the 1860 California census to define Chinese residents in a separate “Asiatics” category while the 1860 U.S. census defined Chinese residents as White. The differing racial categories used to define Chinese populations on the U.S. and California censuses from 1852-1870 shows how census racial categories were inconsistent and reflect varying understandings of race in different regions and at different times.

108 Rose, “‘A Sound of Revelry By Night,’” 94.
109 Rodríguez, Changing Race, 158.
111 Ibid., 71.
Hochschild and Powell argue that from 1850-1930, “in any single year and across decades, racial categorization was internally incoherent, inconsistent across groups, and unstable.”

The racial classification given to a person could change over time or could be different in various locations. The ways race was defined also varied. Hochschild and Powell explain that census racial categories were based on an assortment of understandings of identity including the “mixture between blacks and others,” nationality, mother tongue, and religion, as was the case for people from South Asia who were identified as “Hindoo” for a time. Racial categories were also inconsistent considering that categories that existed on some censuses, ceased to exist decades later.

Hochschild and Powell argue that a combination of political, scientific, and ideological motivations influenced how racial classifications were defined on different censuses, causing these “incoherent, illogical, and unstable” racial categorizations.

When the “Chinese” category was added to the 1870 U.S. census, it was explained that the category included Japanese residents but excluded Kanaka residents. However, there was no explanation of what category Kānaka were to be included in and there was no category labeled “Kanaka” or “Pacific Islander.” So how did the census define Kānaka Hawai‘i? Some census enumerators made efforts to describe Kānaka on censuses by listing their country of origin, “Sandwich Islands.” Others wrote a “K” or similar notation in the “color” or “race” box on the census, even though “K” or “Kanaka” was not listed as an appropriate racial category on census instructions. Many times, instead of writing a person’s name, the word “Kanaka” or a variation of the word was used. However, while this technique identified an ethnicity, it erased the individual’s name from the census record. Others left the race box blank or chose another

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113 Ibid., 60.
114 Ibid., 65.
115 Ibid., 72.
racial category, seemingly arbitrarily and at the discretion of the census enumerator. The various ways the race of Kānaka was categorized on censuses shows an inconsistency as well as confusion for census enumerators to racially classify Kānaka based on the terminology provided. This also reflects the confusion throughout the region on how to enforce discriminatory laws that did not specifically list Kānaka, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

Instructions for census enumerators put the power in the hands of the enumerators to choose which race applied to the individuals being recorded. But, if on occasion the individuals being recorded on the census had a say in how they were racially defined on the census, they would have had to strategically consider their options and the legal rights allowed to them when they chose a racial category since they could only identify as one racial category. If allowed to self-identify on the census, descendants of Kanaka and American Indian parents were forced to choose a particular racial classification on the census. In *Leaving Paradise*, Barman and Watson discuss several examples of descendants of Kanaka workers of the Hudson’s Bay Company who lived with indigenous peoples from the region. Barman and Watson discuss these Kanaka American Indians as representing Kānaka who chose to identify with their American Indian background *rather* than their Kanaka Hawaiʻi background, but this simplifies the situation. Descendants of both Kanaka and American Indian parents could still identify with both sides of their family while living among their American Indian relatives and communities. Government records such as censuses forced them to choose one race and limited their options

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116 In 1920, the census specified that the racial category “Hawaiian” was to be included under “Other,” rather than White, Black, Mulatto, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Hindu, or Korean. Although this provided some clarity for census enumerators of how to racially categorize Kānaka, it still classified Kānaka as “other,” and marginalized Kānaka. The racial category “Hawaiian” was not included on the U.S. census until 1960. In the late twentieth century, efforts were made by Kānaka Hawaiʻi to remove the racial category of “Native Hawaiians” from “Asian and Pacific Islanders,” and on the census of 2000, “Hawaiian” was listed as a separate racial category. Hochschild and Powell, “Racial Reorganization and the United States Census 1850-1930,” 72; Rodríguez, *Changing Race*, 81, 83, 158; Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States January 1, 1920: Instructions to Enumerators* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1919), 27.
on how to identify themselves, influencing their choices to identify a certain way on documents or publicly to receive certain legal rights.

William Nahanee, the descendent of Joe Nahanee, a Kanaka Hudson’s Bay Company employee, moved to a Squamish reservation on the north shore of the Burrard Inlet in British Columbia. In Canada, only “persons with status, which descended only through the male line” had the right to live on a reservation. Therefore, “the offspring of Hawaiian men had no right to be there, even if married to a Native woman.” Since William Nahanee’s father was a Kanaka, he could not live on the reservation, even though his wife and children were American Indians. According to Barman and Watson, an exception was made for William Nahanee since he agreed to embrace Catholicism and “downplay their non-Native descent.” In another example, Barman and Watson refer to Charley Kahana, the son of John Kahana and Mary Skqalup, a Lummi and Clallum woman, who lived on San Juan Island in Washington. After San Juan Island became United States territory, John Kahana moved north to Salt Spring Island in British Columbia along with other Kānaka. Charley Kahana chose to remain in the United States and “later, by asserting his mother as Lummi as well as Clallum, he settled onto 9 acres on the Lummi Reservation at the mouth of the Nooksack River in northwest Washington.”

While, perhaps Kanaka American Indians like Charley Kahana and William Nahanee were, as Barman and Watson suggest, choosing to identify with their American Indian side of their family rather than their Kanaka side of their family, this perspective simplifies the choices faced by Kānaka and their descendants. Charley Kahana and William Nahanee and others may have emphasized their American Indian background to government officials in return for opportunities not granted to Kānaka in the United States or Canada in the nineteenth century.

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118 Ibid., 194.
119 Barman and Watson, Leaving Paradise, 175-176, 195-196, 265-266.
to discriminatory land laws. Alternatively, when forced to choose one side of their family to identify with, Kanaka American Indians or Kānaka who formed families with American Indians may have chosen to identify as American Indian as that most closely fit their background and situation while living in western North America, but that did not mean they did not identify with their Kanaka background.

Henry Azbill expresses the complexity of identifying with a side of his family and finding a place he felt he belonged or could call his home. As discussed in chapter three, Henry Azbill, who was born and lived in California, identified with both his Kanaka and American Indian backgrounds, but struggled to identify with his father’s White American side of his family. Another person discussed in chapter three, John Paniani, a Kanaka Konkow man, also connected to both sides of his family. After living in the Kanaka community Vernon and marrying a Kanaka Shasta woman, Emily (Butler) Blockwell, John Paniani lived at the Round Valley Reservation where it is said he played the guitar and sang hymns in both ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i and English, symbolizing his diverse background and experiences. John Paniani and Henry Azbill are examples of the complex question of identity for some Kanaka American Indians, and warn that just because a government document may identify them singularly, it is not representative of the person it is identifying.

Based on the limitations of the census forms of the time, there are many reasons why the racial category of Kanaka was recorded inaccurately and inconsistently. The Kanaka individuals being identified on the census may have chosen a certain race when prompted by the enumerator, but, more likely, the enumerator chose a specific race based on the enumerator’s own views of Kānaka and race. These views were influenced by the time they lived and the region they lived in, as each community and county had different ways of recognizing Kānaka. These variables

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influenced how Kānaka were recorded on the census and led to many Kānaka, over time, to not be labeled as Kanaka, making it difficult to find the presence of Kānaka in census records throughout western North America.

The misrepresentation of Kanaka populations caused by inaccuracies and inconsistencies in census records can be seen in the ways the race of Kānaka living in Kanaka gold-mining communities were labeled in different regions. In the 1860 census for Jacksonville Precinct in Jackson County, Oregon, the location of Kanaka Flat, most Kānaka were recorded without a name or a racial classification. A majority of the names for Kanaka Hawai‘i residents were written as “Kanacker” and the “color” box for most Kānaka was left blank. The instructions for census enumerators in 1860 made the task of choosing a race for individuals sound simple, but when faced with people of different ethnicities and backgrounds, these instructions lost their usefulness, and enumerators and individuals found their own ways to represent race. The instructions stated that “in all cases where the person is white leave the space blank.” This instruction quite obviously normalizes “White” as a race since no identification at all was needed on the form to label a person White. It also left room for error. If there was any doubt on what race an individual was, the box could not be left blank, otherwise the person would, by default, be marked as White. The instructions continued: “in all cases where the person is black without admixture insert the letter ‘B;’ if a mulatto, or of mixed blood, write ‘M;’ if an Indian, write ‘Ind.’ It is very desirable to have these directions carefully observed.”121 But when these seemingly straightforward directions did not have spaces for all to identify, they could not be

carefully observed and enumerators were forced to find ways to include a proper identification for Kānaka in their census forms or force Kānaka into the racial categories provided in the census instructions.

For twenty-nine of the thirty-four total Kānaka recorded on the Jacksonville Precinct 1860 census, their name was written only as “Kanacker.” One Kanaka whose name was recorded, John Boyce, was residing outside of the community in Jackson County jail. Two of the other Kānaka whose names were recorded, “Main Lop” and “Mrs. Main Lop,” were the first names written on the form before listing twenty-nine men named “Kanacker.” These thirty-one Kānaka lived together in the same community, Kanaka Flat. Two other Kānaka whose names were listed as “F. Roman” and “Danl. Mason” were listed separately from this community. This could be because they had occupations in the town of Jacksonville as clothes washers and were included among people in the town rather than in Kanaka Flat or because they lived in the town of Jacksonville rather than Kanaka Flat. Aside from having their names written on the census, these two Kānaka stand out from all other Kānaka recorded on the 1860 Jacksonville census because, unlike the others, their race was recorded. Both Roman and Masona were identified as Black on the census.

By identifying Roman and Masona as Black on the census, the census enumerator was defining them as different from the others listed on the page, whose race was left blank, presumably indicating that they were White, per the census instructions. Perhaps because Roman and Masona worked and possibly lived in Jacksonville rather than Kanaka Flat, the enumerator felt a greater need to identify them as different from the Jacksonville residents. He may have felt that there was no need to mark the race of the Kānaka on the following pages.

\[122\] Although “Main Lop” and “Mrs. Main Lop” and the twenty-nine Kānaka were listed together on pages 189B and 190A, there were other names of people from Tennessee, Missouri, Virginia, as well as unoccupied homes within this grouping.
because of where they lived or because instead of writing a name, he wrote “Kanacker.” For these nameless Kānaka, the census enumerator chose to identify individuals solely by their race and nationality by writing “Kanacker” for their name and “Sandwich Is” for their “place of birth,” erasing the individuality of these Kānaka residents. However, although it may have been implied that these unnamed Kānaka, Main Lop, Mrs. Main Lop, and John Boyce were Kānaka, by leaving the box indicating their race blank, the enumerator was classifying these residents as White according to the census directions.

The “color” box was also left blank for Kānaka living in the mining community Sterlingville in Jackson County, Oregon, in 1860. Twelve Kānaka were listed, half of whom were only listed as “Kanacker” for their name, showing the enumerator’s disinterest in learning the names of these residents. The other half of the Sterlingville Kānaka had their names included on the census: James Allen, W. Butler, Geo. Bunker, Chas. William, Saml. Kanard, and John Lewis. The birthplace of all twelve of these Kānaka was listed as “Sandwich Is.” It is not clear why some of the Kanaka residents were named on the census and some were named only as “Kanacker.” If the enumerator believed that writing “Kanacker” instead of a name identified the race of the individual in a census system that did not account for Kanaka as a race, then the enumerator ignored identifying the race of those Kānaka whom he named. In addition to naming a majority of the Kānaka Hawaiʻi “Kanacker” on the 1860 Jackson County census, the census enumerator left the “color” box blank, which, according to the census instructions, identified the Kānaka as White. Based on the discriminatory laws created in Oregon at this time, it is not likely that the census enumerators would have classified Kānaka as White; instead, these blank boxes represent the lack of representation Kanaka had on the census forms and the confusion

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123 U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Jacksonville, Jackson County, Oregon.
enumerators faced when trying to determine how to racially categorize Kānaka under the census classification system.

On the 1860 census in Vernon, California, Kānaka Hawai‘i were listed as Black. Although there were only five Kānaka listed on this census, unlike the Jackson County censuses, each of their names was provided and each was racially categorized as Black. The Kānaka listed, P. Robison, T. Ball, I. Kau, Harit Kau, and James Crow, also had “S.I.” listed as their place of birth. T. Ball was recorded as living with two children, Emanuel, who was six months, and Sarah, who was ten. Emanuel and Sarah were also listed as Black but their place of birth was California. If these were T. Ball’s biological children, their Kanaka ancestry was not noted on the census.\textsuperscript{124} On the next census for Vernon in 1870, some Kānaka were identified as Black, while others were identified as White. The Kanaka individuals were listed one right after another on the 1870 Vernon census; the first five were identified as White, and the following sixteen were identified as Black.\textsuperscript{125} The birth place for all except the three children born in California was recorded as the Sandwich Islands. There is no explanation why the race of some would be identified as White and the race of others would be identified as Black.\textsuperscript{126} The 1880 Vernon census also listed a majority of the Kanaka residents as Black. The only Kānaka not listed as Black was John Paniani who was listed as “Mulatto” and whose father was listed as Black and mother was listed as Indian.\textsuperscript{127} Other than the 1870 census when a quarter of the

\textsuperscript{124} U.S. Census, 1860, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
\textsuperscript{125} The Kānaka listed as White were John Kapu, George Osgood, John Bigely, Joseph Bigely, and Davies. The Kānaka listed as Black were Menneha Kapu, her three children Lipica, Hamet, and John Davis, Mapuouia, J.H. Wahenealoa, Edward Mahuka, John Russell, B.M. Kekae, Bull Kaawa, J. Kahorhulis, B. Papu, J.W. Kahorhulis, W.D. Panami, Henry Mahoa, and J.J. Naai.
\textsuperscript{126} U.S. Census, 1870, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
\textsuperscript{127} The 1880 census for Vernon included six Kanaka adults, eight children, and two American Indian women. Jane Mahuka, a Wintu woman, was incorrectly listed as being from the Sandwich Islands and was labeled as Black while the other American Indian woman, Julia Paniani, was labeled as “Indian.” Other than Julia Paniani and John Paniani who were listed as “Indian” and “Mulatto,” there were thirteen Kānaka listed as Black on the 1880 Vernon census. U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
Kanaka residents were labeled as White, the Vernon census enumerator labeled Kānaka as Black on the 1860, 1870, and 1880 censuses.

The Vernon censuses are different from the Jackson County censuses not only because the Vernon censuses identify most of the Kanaka residents as Black but also because, unlike the Jackson County censuses, Kanaka residents of Vernon had their individual names recorded. The censuses of Jackson County and Vernon show the inconsistencies and inaccuracies in how census records defined race in different regions and decades, creating what Hochschild and Powell call “incoherent, illogical, and unstable” racial categorizations. The inconsistencies and inaccuracies on census records impacted individuals who, over time and in different locations, were arbitrarily racially categorized a variety of ways, representing the lack of effort made by the U.S. to include Kānaka in its representation of its population and assisting in the erasure of Kānaka from census records and the United States’ portrayal of the American West.

As Daniela Masona, John Paniani, and Emily Butler moved to different towns and counties, they were labeled differently on censuses. On the 1860 Jacksonville census, Masona was labeled as Black, but on the 1870 census for Cottonwood Township in Siskiyou County, California, he was labeled as “Colored.” The instructions for enumerators to record race changed between 1860 and 1870. Whereas in 1860, enumerators were told to leave the box blank to represent “White,” in 1870, the instructions said, “it must not be assumed that, where nothing is written in this column, ‘White’ is to be understood. The column is always to be filled.” The only options on the census, however, were “White,” “Black,” “Mulatto,” “Chinese,” and “Indian.” When the enumerator wrote in “Colored” for Masona, he was defining

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129 U.S. Census Bureau, 1860, Jacksonville, Jackson County, Oregon; U.S. Census Bureau, 1870, Cottonwood, Siskiyou County, California.
Masona as something other than one of these categories, but still defined him as something other than White. In 1880, Masona was living in Humbug in Siskiyou County, California. On the census, he was recorded as “Mu,” meaning, “Mulatto.” On these three censuses in three different communities, Masona was labeled as Black, Colored, and Mulatto. None of these categories clearly defined him as Kanaka, as there was no category provided on the censuses, but they all defined him as a Person of Color.

John Paniani, whose father was Kanaka and mother was Konkow, was labeled four different ways on the censuses from 1880 to 1920. As previously stated, Paniani was listed on the 1880 Vernon census as “Mulatto.” Twenty years later in Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, in northern California, Paniani was labeled with the letters “Ka.” The only instructions for census enumerators in 1900 concerning how to label race on the census stated, “write ‘W’ for white; ‘B’ for black (negro or of negro descent); ‘Ch’ for Chinese; ‘Jp’ for Japanese, and ‘In’ for Indian, as the case may be.” The enumerator in Mountain Township did not see Paniani as fitting in with these categories so he created his own category, “Ka,” referring to “Kanaka.” By only writing “Ka” rather than the full word, “Kanaka,” the census enumerator also assumed that his notation would be understood by anyone reading the census, implying that, at least in Siskiyou County, “Kanaka” was a recognized racial classification even if it was not listed on the census. This identification did not persist, however, on the next census. In Yreka in 1910, although Paniani was residing in the same county, he was labeled as Black. On the next

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131 Masona lived with two other Kānaka from the Hawaiian Islands, John Lorys and Juley Lorys, along with a girl born in California, Jeanette Mason. All were labeled as “Mulatto.” U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Humbug, Siskiyou County, California.
132 U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Vernon, Sutter County, California.
133 U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Mountain, Siskiyou County, California.
135 U.S. Census Bureau, 1910, Yreka, Siskiyou County, California.
census in 1920, Paniani was living on the Round Valley Reservation in Mendocino County, California, and was categorized as “Indian.”\textsuperscript{136} Although the previous censuses had listed Paniani’s homeland as the Hawaiian Islands, on the 1920 census, the place of birth for Paniani, his father, and mother, were all recorded as California. Once living on the reservation, the census enumerator chose to only identify Paniani’s American Indian ancestry, erasing his Kanaka ancestry from the records. The census records for Paniani not only show the inaccuracies and inconsistency of censuses, but they also show that, on the 1900 and 1920 censuses, Paniani was singularly identified as one race, not allowing Paniani to be connected to both his Kanaka and American Indian backgrounds. The U.S. census forced Paniani to only be identified with one half of his ancestry, erasing the other half from the records.

The census records of John Paniani’s wife, Emily Butler Blockwell Paniani, whose father was English Kanaka and mother was Konkow, also exemplify the inaccuracies and inconsistencies in racial classification on U.S. census records. In 1880, when Butler was married to a White American, Charles Blockwell, and was living in Scott Valley in Siskiyou County, California, Butler, along with her children and husband, were all labeled as White.\textsuperscript{137} On the 1900 Mountain Township census, when she was married to John Paniani, Butler and her husband were labeled as Kanaka.\textsuperscript{138} On the next census, Butler was living in Yreka with Paniani. While Paniani was labeled as Black, Butler was labeled as Indian.\textsuperscript{139} This differentiation on the part of the census enumerator may have related to the birthplaces the enumerator assigned to Butler and Paniani; Butler was listed as being born in California while Paniani was listed as born in the

\textsuperscript{136} U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, Round Valley Reservation, Mendocino County, California. 
\textsuperscript{137} U.S. Census Bureau, 1880, Scott Valley, Siskiyou County, California. 
\textsuperscript{138} U.S. Census Bureau, 1900, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California. 
\textsuperscript{139} U.S. Census Bureau, 1910, Yreka, Siskiyou County, California.
Hawaiian Islands, even though he was born in California. The enumerator may have determined that Butler was more closely connected to the “Indian” racial classification because of her listed birthplace. Ten years later, Butler had returned to Mountain Township and was no longer married to John Paniani. Although she was labeled as “Kanaka” on the Mountain Township census in 1900, Butler was labeled as “Indian” on the 1920 census. The 1920 census was the first census that enumerators could mark “other” on the racial category box and write in the race of the individual in the margin. But even with this option, the enumerator did not account for Butler’s Kanaka ancestry. The changes in how the U.S. census records racially identified Butler over the years seems to also relate to who her husband was. In 1880 when Butler was married to a White man, she was identified as White; in 1900 when she was married to a Kanaka man, she was identified as Kanaka. This pattern did not continue, however, because in 1910, when she was married to Paniani, who was labeled as Black, Butler was labeled as Indian. Changes in census records for Butler show how inconsistent and inaccurate the census racial classifications were, even within one county.

With the absence of Kanaka Hawai‘i as a racial category, over time, individuals’ Kanaka ancestry was erased from U.S. census records, and therefore erased from America’s representation of itself. Kanaka descendants who were born in Oregon and California, over time, did not have any note on their census records that identified them as having Kanaka ancestry. This is seen in the children of Kanaka immigrants such as the Butler-Blockwell children and the children of Mele Kainuha Keaala.

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140 The birthplace of both Emily Butler and John Paniani were inaccurately recorded on this census, since Butler was born in Oregon. Birthplaces were often inaccurately reported on censuses, adding to the inconsistencies and misrepresentations in the records.
141 U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, Mountain Township, Siskiyou County, California.
William “Bill” Makakoa Butler, an English Kanaka man who moved to western North America in the mid-nineteenth century, married a Shasta woman, Mary Decker. Their daughter, Emily Butler, was born in Oregon and later married a White American, Charles Blockwell, and had four children. These Butler-Blockwell children were English Kanaka Shasta White Americans, but the census records did not show this diverse background. The 1880 Scott Valley census only listed the Butler-Blockwell children as White. Since their mother was not born in the Hawaiian Islands, the box asking for the birth place of their mother said California. Oddly, the box asking for the birthplace of Emily Butler’s father also said California even though he was born in the Hawaiian Islands. Because of this, there was not one signifier on the census showing the Kanaka background (or the Shasta background) of the Butler-Blockwell children.

The erasure of the presence of Kānaka Hawai‘i in the American West in census records is also seen in the records of Mele Kainuha Keaala’s children, Henry and John Azbill. By the 1930 Chico, Butte County, California, census, Henry and John Azbill’s Kanaka ancestry was neglected in the way they and their family were recorded. On the 1920 Chico census, Mele Kainuha Keaala was recorded as “Ha” and the birthplace of her father was written as “Hawaii.”\footnote{U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, Chico, Butte County, California.} Her children, however, were recorded as Indian, a racial classification that ignored the Kanaka ancestry of their mother.\footnote{Ibid.} On the following census in 1930, Mele Kainuha Keaala was no longer identified as Kanaka and the birthplace of her father was no longer listed as the Hawaiian Islands. In 1930, Mele Kainuha Keaala was identified as Indian and in the box designated for the place of birth for her father, the census enumerator wrote, “mixed blood.”\footnote{Ibid.} This census erased the Kanaka ancestry of Mele Kainuha Keaala from the records. This also

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext[143]{U.S. Census Bureau, 1920, Chico, Butte County, California.}
\footnotetext[144]{Ibid.}
\footnotetext[145]{Ibid.}
\end{footnotes}
meant that her son John, who was listed on the 1930 census as living with his parents, was not listed as having Kanaka ancestry either.146

The U.S. census collects data about its citizens to provide a record of the population. The problem is that the census also determines how to collect and categorize that data. In terms of racial classification, for many years the census ignored diverse backgrounds and instead only looked to identify individuals by one racial classification. This over-simplified approach made census enumerators classify Kānaka under a racial category that did not reflect the background of Kānaka. Because these early censuses inaccurately portrayed Kānaka, their descendants were also recorded on censuses without properly identifying their Kanaka backgrounds. The U.S. census then, as it serves to reflect the population of the country, portrayed an image of the American West that was void of a Kanaka immigrant population and overtime, had less and less Kānaka, erasing the presence of Kānaka in the American West from U.S. census records.

Conclusion

Discriminatory laws, diseases, and U.S. census records all worked together to push Kānaka to the margins of society until their communities in the American West disappeared. State and federal laws defined Kānaka as unequal and inferior to White Americans while also creating economic disadvantages. Diseases dramatically reduced Kanaka populations, decimating the communities and networks Kānaka created throughout the region. They also helped to define boundaries between White communities and Kanaka communities inflicted with diseases, pushing Kānaka outside of the desired boundaries of towns. Additionally, Kānaka were pushed to the margins on U.S. census records through the use of a racial classification system

146 The way records inaccurately portray the diverse background of an individual is also seen in the death certificate of Henry Azbill. “W” was written on the line asking for the race of Henry Azbill. Record of Funeral for Henry Azbill, 1973.
designed only to define who was White and who was not rather than determine the diversity of the backgrounds of the country’s residents. Due to inaccurate and inconsistent labeling of Kānaka, the census effectively hides Kanaka residents and the descendants of Kanaka immigrants in its historical records, erasing the presence of Kānaka in its depiction of the country’s population. Conversely, Kanaka historical records, specifically kanikau, represent the region as populated with numerous Kānaka Hawai‘i. However, throughout this time, the region became exponentially filled with White American immigrants who created room for themselves as they pushed others out of the way, challenging Kānaka who saw the region through Kanaka concepts of ʻāina rather than American views of the region that looked to remove the presence of Kānaka from the land.

As the region became increasingly American and as gold mining slowed down, Kanaka communities were essentially erased, but their memories remain tied to the land through place names. Vernon is marked by a street sign, “Vernon Rd.,” in the community Verona, California, at the intersection of the Feather and Sacramento rivers. Similarly, Kanaka Flat is memorialized by a street sign, “Kanaka Flats Rd.,” outside of Jacksonville, Oregon. These and other place names continue to tie the land with the lives, stories, and memories of Kānaka that traveled, mined for gold, and lived there. Near the site of Honolulu (Gottville), on the hillside, under the shade and protection of a grove of trees, and overlooking the Klamath River, sits Kanaka Cemetery where numerous Kānaka who lived throughout the region were laid to rest. This hidden cemetery reminds us how Kānaka who lived in gold-mining communities formed relationships with the ʻāina both through their experiences in the region and as the burial site for their iwi (bones). It also reminds us how their relationships were tied to death and loss in a land far from their one hānau where their efforts to form communities and networks in western North
America and connections with the Hawaiian Islands was constantly challenged by the Americanization of the region.
CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

In April 1887, Queen Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani set sail from the Hawaiian Islands and embarked on a journey to England to attend Queen Victoria’s Golden Jubilee. They sailed across the Pacific to San Francisco before traveling by train across the United States with their attendants and officials of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Along the way, they visited numerous Kānaka living throughout the country. While in San Francisco and the Bay Area, Kapi‘olani and her entourage visited children from the Hawaiian Islands, including keiki ali‘i (children of ali‘i), at the schools they attended in San Mateo and Oakland.¹

From San Francisco, the royal travelers went to Sacramento. James Washington Lonoikauali‘i McGuire, one of the attendants on the trip, remarked that in Sacramento, ²

He nui na poe Hawaii maanei, a ua lohe mua aku lakou e hiki aku ana na ‘liiiahine. Nolaila ua akoakoa mai lakou a ua ike, a lulu lima a kamailio pu nohoi me na ‘lii. Nui no ke aloha o na ‘lii ia lakou a pela nohoi lakou i na ‘lii ame makou apau.

There are many Kānaka Hawaiʻi there, and they had heard before that the aliʻi [Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani] were coming. Therefore, they gathered and saw, and shook hands and also spoke with the aliʻi. The aliʻi have great love for them, and likewise, they have love for the aliʻi and all of us.²

Kānaka Hawaiʻi from around the region had gathered to greet Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani just as Mahuka had requested they do for Kalākaua several years before. Those Kānaka that greeted the aliʻi wahine were gold miners, fishermen, and descendants of the earliest Kānaka who moved to the region, and their vast numbers impressed McGuire. Decades after Kānaka first began

working for Sutter and mining for gold throughout the Coloma-Sacramento local network, there was still a large population of Kānaka living in the region that flocked to Sacramento to greet their queen and princess.

Kapiʻolani, Liliʻuokalani, and their entourage were not able to stay in Sacramento long however, and soon continued on their journey east. Their train took them over the snow-covered Sierra Nevada mountains. This snow, Liliʻuokalani explains, was “similar, but more extensive, to what we could witness on the tops of the highest mountains on Hawaiʻi; but here it was universal, and the valleys were also filled with snowbanks.” At the summit, the travelers could see that snow and mists enveloped the mountains and Liliʻuokalani later remarked, “ua hohola kapa kea o Lilinoe” (Līlīnoe unfurled her white kapa cloth). They descended the mountains and arrived in Salt Lake City where they were greeted by members of the Mormon Church and approximately fifteen Kānaka Hawaiʻi.4

Mormon Kānaka had begun moving to Utah in the 1860s and immigration to Salt Lake City increased in the 1880s.5 The reunion between the Mormon Kānaka, Kapiʻolani, Liliʻuokalani, and other members of the traveling party was emotional as they met and talked in the train cars. McGuire explains that, “Nui nohoi ka uwe o na Hawaii, a pela pu nohoi ma ka aoao o na ‘ili ame makou pu no kekahi i hookulu i na waimaka, no ke aloha ia lakou” (The

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3 Līlīnoe is an akua of mists from Mauna Kea on the island of Hawaiʻi and Haleakalā on Maui. Her kapa has the power to bring cold, snow, and mists. Translation of Liliʻuokalani’s June 15, 1887 letter to Joe is my own, however, transcription and translation of the letter was assisted by an anonymous translation found in the Hawaiʻi State Archives file “Foreign Office and Executive, 1887 - Kapiʻolani’s Trip Abroad (Queen).” Liliʻuokalani, Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 119; Liliʻuokalani, June 15, 1887, Letter from Liliʻuokalani to Joe, Foreign Office and Executive, Box 33 Miscellaneous: Foreign, 1887 - Kapiʻolani’s Trip Abroad (Queen), Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi; Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs, 215; Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini, Place Names of Hawaiʻi, 133; S.N. Haleole, Ke Kaa o Laieikawai: Ka Hiwahiwa o Paliuli, Kawahineokaliula (Honolulu, Oahu: Henry M. Whitney, 1863), 113; W.D. Westervelt, Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes (Mythology) Collected and Translated from the Hawaiian (Boston, Massachusetts: Ellis Press, 1916), 55-56.

4 Among these Kānaka was Kapukini, an aliʻi and friend of Liliʻuokalani and Kapiʻolani. Hawaiʻi’s Story by Hawaiʻi’s Queen, 119; “The Island Queen,” The Salt Lake Herald Saturday, April 30, 1887; Liliʻuokalani, June 15, 1887, Letter to Joe, Foreign Office and Executive, Box 33, Hawaiʻi State Archives, Honolulu, Hawaiʻi.

5 Kester, Remembering Iosepa, 78-85.
wailing of the Kānaka Hawai‘i was truly great, and likewise on the side of the ali‘i and us as well, whose tears flowed due to the love for them).  

The traveling party was similarly greeted at various stops on their trip across the country. Lili‘uokalani explains, “i ua mau wahi la he mea mau ka hoopuni mau ia ke kaʻa ahī e na kanaka e kieia ana e kahea ana he like la me ke aha a ka makou i kahi i kapa ia o Loko Paakai” (in these places, it was common for the train to be surrounded by people who peered in, calling out greetings, similar to what happened to us in the place called Salt Lake City).  

They continued east until they reached Washington, D.C. After meeting U.S. President Grover Cleveland, Kapi‘olani, Lili‘uokalani, and their entourage spent a week in Boston before traveling to New York City, their last stop before embarking on their voyage across the Atlantic Ocean to England. While in New York, Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani visited with their friend, Eleanor Kaikilanialiiwahineopuna Coney Graham, who had grown up in a house near ‘Iolani Palace, whose family often hosted Kapi‘olani for morning coffee, and whose sisters were lede ukali for Princess Likelike and Queen Kapi‘olani.

Across the United States, Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani met with Kānaka Hawai‘i, some they had known in the Hawaiian Islands, and some who had been living abroad for years or for their whole lives. Kānaka gathered at the towns where they knew the ali‘i would be stopping, even if their scheduled stops were just for a fraction of an hour. It was important for Kānaka living abroad to visit their queen and princess, and likewise, it was important for the ali‘i to visit

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6 McGuire, He Moolelo Pokole, 25; “The Island Queen,” The Salt Lake Herald Saturday, April 30, 1887; Lili‘uokalani, June 15, 1887, Letter to Joe, Foreign Office and Executive, Box 33, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
7 Lili‘uokalani, June 15, 1887, Letter to Joe, Foreign Office and Executive, Box 33, Hawai‘i State Archives, Honolulu, Hawai‘i.
8 Eleanor Kaikilani’s great-grandmother, after whom she was named, was High Chiefess Kaikilanialiwiwahineopuna. Riānna M. Williams states that High Chiefess Kaikilanialiwiwahineopuna was, “a descendent of the Kamehameha line and the last high chiefess of the Puna district of the island of Hawai‘i.” Riānna M. Williams, “Hawaiian Ali‘i in New York Society: the Ena-Coney-Vos-Gould Connection,” The Hawaiian Journal of History 38 (2004): 149, 152, 154.
their subjects. Kamakau explains that in the Hawaiian Islands, “it was customary for the chiefs to travel about the islands and honor the citizens by a visit.” Kapiʻolani and Liliʻuokalani were extending this custom to include Kānaka living in California, Utah, and New York. Kānaka descendants of gold miners who had been born in the gold-mining region were able to see and greet their aliʻi in Sacramento just as Kānaka living throughout the Hawaiian Islands did.

As seen in Kapiʻolani and Liliʻuokalani’s visits throughout the United States, Kānaka continued to travel and move to the continent for various reasons long after the lure of the gold rush. Additionally, travels took Kānaka to numerous other countries throughout the nineteenth century. In the 1840s, Kānaka resided in places such as Papeete, Tahiti, and Paita, Peru. By the 1890s, Kānaka Hawaiʻi were in China, Japan, the Philippines, Mexico, Peru, Chili, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, the Marquesas Islands, Gilbert Islands, Caroline Islands, Guam, Palau, Sāmoa, Tonga, and Fiji. In the United States, Mormon Kānaka moved to Salt Lake City and the Kanaka community Iosepa, Utah, until the community disbanded in 1917. Meanwhile, hula circuits took Kanaka hula performers throughout the U.S. from the 1890s to the late 1950s and baseball tours took Kanaka baseball players to the United States in the 1910s.

Since World War II, there have been what J. Kēhaulani Kauanui refers to as “at least three significant waves” of Kanaka out-migration. One of these waves occurred through the form of “substantial Hawaiian military migration and postwar settlement after discharge” during the territorial period (1898-1959). Another wave took place after Hawaiʻi became a state in

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9 Kamakau, Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii, 298.
10 Trading and whaling ships had taken Kānaka throughout the Pacific and beyond in the early 1800s and some traders tried to establish settlements of Kānaka to grow provisions for ships in the Mariana Islands and Bonin Islands near Japan. Keoni Ana, “Report of the Minister of the Interior,” The Polynesian, August 8, 1846; Chappell, Double Ghosts, 94, 107.
A third wave of out-migration took place in the 1970s due to an increase of the presence of U.S. military and boom in tourism as “developers evicted, dispossessed, and displaced many Hawaiians and other locals to make way for the building of residential subdivisions, hotel complexes, and golf courses.” After decades of Kanaka migration, Kauanui asserts, “Hawaiians can now be found in all fifty states.”

These expansive migrations and travels of Kānaka reflect Epeli Hau‘ofa’s description of Oceania as “huge and growing bigger every day.” Oceania continues to expand today as Pacific Islanders from throughout the region travel to new locations, “strike roots in new resource areas, securing employment and overseas family property, expanding kinship networks through which they circulate themselves, their relatives, their material goods, and their stories all across their ocean, and the ocean is theirs because it has always been their home.” In another study looking at migrations to California, Michael Kearney sees Mixtec communities abroad with homelands in Oaxaca, Mexico, as an “archipelago” expanding Latin America beyond the United States-Mexico border so that “a Mexican-Latino/a corridor now extends from Tijuana on the Border to deep within Unitedstatesian territory, and here and beyond there is a large and growing archipelago of Latino/a peoples.” Viewing these communities as islands in an expanding archipelago shows that the national border has “taken on a different meaning to Mexicans than it has to European-Americans.” Similarly, Kānaka Hawai‘i communities in western North America and elsewhere have crossed boundaries to create an expanding Oceania, a growing Hawaiian archipelago. Kauanui has pointed out the need for more research and histories of these stories of Kanaka migration, specifically to the United States. This study has

\[14\] Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” 144-145.
\[16\] Ibid., 155.
worked to uncover some of these stories of Kānaka in western North America by focusing on those who lived in gold-mining communities.\textsuperscript{18}

This dissertation has shown that Kānaka Hawai‘i incorporated the ‘āina of the gold-mining regions of California and Oregon into Kanaka concepts of ‘āina by viewing the ocean as a pathway that could be traversed back and forth; defining physical spaces through the creation of communities and local networks; establishing social and familial relationships that extended Kānaka connections to the ‘āina to include the Hawaiian Islands, Oregon, California, and the families of American Indians; and linking relationships, experiences, and stories to specific sites to form an intimate relationship with the ‘āina. This intimate relationship with the ‘āina can be seen in the numerous kanikau composed from gold-mining communities that list important place names, describe their characteristics, and recount experiences and relationships attached to these places. Kānaka defined their physical spaces in Oregon and California through the creation of communities and local networks. These spaces helped foster community-based relationships tied to the land and shared experiences. Since Kanaka communities were centered on specific resources, such as gold and fish, the communities were linked to the resources of the land and the labor required to obtain the resources, experiences shared by all in the community. As Kānaka used these communities to incorporate the region into concepts of ‘āina and establish designated physical spaces for themselves, they were doing so on lands of the indigenous peoples of California and Oregon. Like White settlers, Kānaka Hawai‘i inscribed the land with their own definitions and spaces of belonging and at times participated in colonial projects such as missionary work targeting American Indians. As Kauanui has suggested, the numerous Kanaka place names “simultaneously marked the land with their presence and contribute to the erasure of

\textsuperscript{18} Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” 139, 143-144, 146-147.
the indigenous place names.”

At the same time, many Kānaka also welcomed American Indians into their communities and incorporated American Indians within their families so that their concepts of ‘āina expanded to include indigenous peoples of the region to help Kānaka form connections with the ‘āina malihini.

Families extended Kānaka relationships with the ‘āina through genealogical connections to different sites based on relatives’ relationships and experiences linked to those sites. These connections spread throughout a vast region of western North America but lacked the deep genealogical rooting that family relationships had in the Hawaiian Islands, causing the gold-mining region to remain an ‘āina malihini. To combat this, Kānaka found ways to reinforce genealogical ties with the Hawaiian Islands through marriages and hānai in Oregon and California as well as visits and moves back to the Hawaiian Islands.

The families of Mele Kainuha Keaala, the Butler-Panianis, and Hanagula Kapu exemplify how individuals lived in Oregon and California and how their family ties connected them to the ‘āina. These families are all genealogically connected to one another, stretching their connections to the ‘āina throughout southern Oregon and California and back to the Hawaiian Islands. The travels of Mele Keaala, the move of Isabel Butler and Walter Jarrett, and the attendance of Imigula Kapu at Hilo Boarding School show how western North America was ka ‘āina paiālewa i ke kai since these Kānaka were able to travel back and forth across the ocean, strengthening connections between the gold-mining region and the Hawaiian Islands.

These families also exemplify the many different events that were tied to specific places and how their genealogies were tied to these experiences. Kānaka who worked for John Sutter were linked to Sacramento, Coloma, and the surrounding rivers where they worked for a man who enslaved and abused indigenous workers while living and building on their land. Kānaka

19 Kauanui, “Diasporic Deracination and ‘Off-Island’ Hawaiians,” 144.
who left employment with Sutter escaped this environment and lived in Kanaka communities where they formed families with Kānaka and American Indians in places like Irish Creek and Vernon. While living in these communities, Kānaka faced threats to their families, illness, and death, while they formed relationships to one another, mined for gold, and traveled throughout the region. These experiences were connected to specific places and helped shape Kanaka relationships with the ‘āina.

However, western North America remained an ‘āina malihini since it lacked the genealogical connections of the ‘āina hānau. Despite this, cultural practices, communications, and remaining under the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom helped Kānaka remain connected to their ‘āina hānau while living abroad. Through making and eating poi, speaking ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, dancing hula, celebrating the Hawaiian Kingdom and its history, and composing kanikau in western North America, Kānaka Hawai‘i were inscribing the land with aspects of Kanaka culture that connected Kānaka to their kūpuna, akua, mo‘olelo, and history in an attempt to make the region no longer feel like an ‘āina malihini. Communication through letter writing, and subscribing and writing to Hawaiian-language newspapers helped Kānaka remain in dialogue with other Kānaka while also strengthening the concept of the gold-mining region as ka ‘āina paiālewa i ke kai as their correspondence traveled back and forth across the ocean, connecting the two regions. Kānaka who appealed to the Hawaiian government or received assistance from the Hawaiian government helped to extend the reach of the Hawaiian Kingdom to the areas in which Kānaka lived in western North America. By redefining the ‘āina malihini through Hawaiian culture, sending and receiving communication back and forth across the ocean, and extending the jurisdiction of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Kānaka in Oregon and
California could stay connected to the Hawaiian Islands as they strengthened and expanded their relationship with the ‘āina of the gold-mining region.

Throughout the mid- to late-nineteenth century, Kanaka concepts of ‘āina were challenged by the increasing Americanization of the region through disease, laws, and U.S. census records. These factors combined to remove the presence of Kānaka from the region by helping to dismantle Kānaka communities and local networks and erase Kānaka from U.S. archival records. Kānaka greatly suffered from the deathly toll of diseases and the discriminatory laws created to keep Kānaka from economically succeeding and becoming land-owning citizens in Oregon and California. Rather than remain an extension of the Hawaiian Islands, by the end of the nineteenth century, western North America firmly came under the control of White Americans who did not see a place for Kānaka Hawai‘i in the region. Despite these challenges, Kānaka continued to live throughout the gold-mining region and remained in contact with one another and with the Hawaiian Islands so when Queen Kapi‘olani and Lili‘uokalani stopped in Sacramento in 1887, Kānaka gathered in the city to greet their queen and princess.

Other works on the history of Kānaka in Oregon, California, and the gold rush have focused on the earliest Kānaka who worked for Sutter, sources from missionaries who visited Kānaka communities, and brief surveys of Kanaka place names, and are small studies or parts of larger works on Kānaka in the Pacific Northwest.20 Studies of gold mining and the American

West rarely discuss Kanaka gold-miners and communities in California and Oregon in the mid-
to late-nineteenth century.\footnote{The following books have only brief references to Kānaka and serve as a representation of the scholarship on gold mining in California and the lack of coverage on Kanaka gold miners. Johnson, \textit{Roaring Camp}; J.S. Holliday, \textit{The World Rushed In}; Malcolm J. Rohrbough, \textit{Days of Gold: The California Gold Rush and the American Nation} (Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1997).} This dissertation fills this void in Hawaiian and American West histories by focusing on Kānaka Hawai‘i, their experiences, communities, and families in the gold-mining regions of Oregon and California. It does so by placing Kānaka at the center of the story and focusing on the writings of Kānaka found in Hawaiian-language newspapers. This dissertation also interprets kanikau composed in gold-mining regions as Kanaka performance cartographies and looks to kanikau to guide the discussion of communities, local networks, and understandings of relationships and experiences among Kānaka. Not only do kanikau present Kānaka perspectives from a Kanaka form of recording history, events, places, and relationships, but kanikau discussed in this dissertation were composed by women and men of various ages, introducing a rich variety of Kānaka voices and perspectives to the histories of the region.

By rooting itself in the Hawaiian Islands through focusing on Kanaka concepts of ‘āina, this dissertation has shown that Kānaka Hawai‘i were expanding concepts of ‘āina to include gold-mining communities in Oregon and California. This expansive concept of ‘āina that was inclusive of new economic opportunities reached by traversing the ocean fits within histories of Kānaka voyaging throughout the Pacific. Kānaka viewed the ‘āina of western North America as ka ‘āina paiālewa i ke kai, a land not separated by the ocean but connected by the ocean. Those who sailed to the gold mines worked to maintain this connection while also forming a relationship with the ‘āina of the region, showing that Kānaka did not choose one land over the other, but were trying to make their home and find their place in both. However, Kānaka who wrote to Hawaiian-language newspapers exhibiting their knowledge and relationships with
Oregon and California continued to call the region an ‘āina malihini, implying that without genealogical relationships with the land, it would forever remain strange and unfamiliar, and could never be a replacement for the ‘āina of the Hawaiian Islands.
Map 1. Map of Key Sites. Map from Andrew C. Isenberg’s *Mining California* with the addition of the approximate locations of Kanaka Flat, Honolulu (Gottville), Chico, Vernon, Irish Creek, and Coloma. Andrew C. Isenberg, *Mining California: An Ecological History* (New York: Hill and Wang, A Division of Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 5.


APPENDIX B

IMAGES

Image 1. Mele Kainuhu Keaala Azbill, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 7, Folder 3, Special Collections, Meriam Library, California State University, Chico.

Image 2. Mele Kainuhu Keaala Azbill, ca. 1887, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 7, Folder 2, California State University, Chico.

Image 3. Henry Azbill as a baby in a cradleboard with his mother, Mele Kainuhu Keaala Azbill, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 7, Folder 10, California State University, Chico.
Image 4. John B. Azbill, Henry Azbill’s Father, ca. 1894, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 7, Folder 5, California State University, Chico.

Image 5. Ellen Mahuka, Jennie Mahuka [Kini Mahuka], and Serrah Keaala, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 7, Folder 14, California State University, Chico.

Image 6. Photograph of Henry Azbill at gravestone of his parents John B. Azbill and Mele Kainuha Keaala Azbill, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 200, Folder 63, California State University, Chico.

Image 7. Photograph of Henry Azbill at his parents’ and Edwin Mahuka’s graves at Chico Indian Cemetery, 1968, Dorothy Morehead Hill Native American Collection, MS 160, Box 198, Folder 3, California State University, Chico.
APPENDIX C

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP CHARTS

The following are charts of the families discussed in chapter three. The charts should be viewed as partial lists since they only include some of the main family members discussed in the chapter.

Chart 1. The Family of Mele Kainuha Keaala

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship to Mele Kainuha Keaala</th>
<th>Other Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Keawe ikamoku (Keawe)</td>
<td>Great-Great-Great-Grandfather of Keaala</td>
<td>Father of ‘Ahu’ula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ahu ulaokeawe (‘Ahu ula)</td>
<td>Great-Great-Grandfather of Keaala</td>
<td>Son of Keawe; Brother of Kame‘eiamoku and Kamanawa (Ancestors of Kalākaua); Father of Ka’iana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaupekamoku</td>
<td>Great-Grandmother of Keaala</td>
<td>Mother of Ka’iana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka’iana ‘Ahu’ula (Ka’iana)</td>
<td>Great-Grandfather of Keaala</td>
<td>Son of ‘Ahu’ula and Kaupekamoku; Relative of William David Paniani; Father of Keaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekupuohi</td>
<td>Great-Grandmother of Keaala</td>
<td>Mother of Keaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keaala</td>
<td>Grandfather of Keaala</td>
<td>Son of Ka’iana and Kekupuohi; Father of Ioane Keaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kekuapo ‘i’ula</td>
<td>Grandmother of Keaala</td>
<td>Mother of Ioane Keaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ioane Keaala o Ka’iana (Ioane Keaala)</td>
<td>Father of Keaala</td>
<td>Son of Keaala and Kekuapo ‘i’ula; Husband of Sumyneh; Father of Hiram, Serrah, Hoku, Pua, and Mele Kainuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulmeh</td>
<td>Grandfather of Keaala</td>
<td>Father of Sumyneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumyneh</td>
<td>Mother of Keaala</td>
<td>Daughter of Kulmeh; Wife of Ioane Keaala; Mother of Hiram, Serrah, Hoku, Pua, and Mele Kainuha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Edwin Mahuka</td>
<td>Uncle of Keaala</td>
<td>Cousin of Ioane Keaala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mele Kainuha Keaala</td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of Ioane Keaala and Sumyneh; Niece of A. Edwin Mahuka; Mother of Pierce, Ruby, Cora, Marie, Henry, John, and adopted daughter Lealani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Azbill</td>
<td>Father-in-Law of Keaala</td>
<td>Brother of Pierce Azbill and Adopted Brother Jim Naphus; Husband of Henokmei; Husband of Mary Frost; Father of John Azbill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Relationship to William “Bill” Makakoa Butler</td>
<td>Other Relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Makakoa Butler</td>
<td>Husband of Mary Decker; Father of Isabel, Frank, William, and Emily</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary (Decker) Butler</td>
<td>Wife of Makakoa</td>
<td>Mother of Isabel, Frank, William, and Emily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isabel (Butler) Jarrett</td>
<td>Daughter of Makakoa and Mary (Decker) Butler</td>
<td>Wife of Walter Jarrett; Mother of Walter, Emma, Paul, and Henry Jarrett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emily (Butler Blockwell) Paniani</td>
<td>Daughter of Makakoa and Mary (Decker) Butler</td>
<td>Wife of Charles Blockwell; Mother of Mary, Henry, Priscilla, and Charles Blockwell; Wife of John Paniani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Jarrett</td>
<td>Son-in-Law of Makakoa</td>
<td>Husband of Isabel Butler; Father of Walter, Emma, Paul, and Henry Jarrett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma (Jarrett) Remers</td>
<td>Granddaughter of Makakoa</td>
<td>Daughter of Walter and Isabel (Butler) Jarrett; Wife of William Remers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stephen Remers</td>
<td>Great-Grandson of Makakoa</td>
<td>Grandson of Walter and Isabel (Butler) Jarrett; Son of Emma (Jarrett) and William Remers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John William Paniani</td>
<td>Son-in-Law of Makakoa</td>
<td>Son of Robert Paniani and a Konkow Woman; Nephew of William David Paniani; Husband of Emily (Butler) Blockwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert Paniani</td>
<td>Father of Makakoa’s Son-in-Law</td>
<td>Father of John William Paniani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William David Paniani</td>
<td>Uncle of Makakoa’s Son-in-Law</td>
<td>Uncle of John William Paniani; Relative of Kaʻiana (Mele Kainuha Keaala’s Great-Grandfather); Husband of Julia Paniani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia Paniani</td>
<td>Aunt of Makakoa’s Son-in-Law</td>
<td>Wife of William David Paniani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chart 3. The Family of Hanagula Kapu

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Relationship to Hanagula Kapu</th>
<th>Other Relationships</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sam Kapu</td>
<td>Grandfather of Hanagula</td>
<td>Husband of Elena Kapu; Father of John Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elena Kapu</td>
<td>Grandmother of Hanagula</td>
<td>Wife of Sam Kapu; Mother of John Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kapu</td>
<td>Father of Hanagula</td>
<td>Son of Sam and Elena Kapu; Younger brother or cousin of J.D. Kenao; Husband of Manuiki; Father of William Imigula and John Eligula; Hānai father of Harieka and Rebeka; Husband of Pamela Clenso (who later married Richard Hakauila Adams and Aihi Eel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuiki Kapu</td>
<td>Mother of Hanagula</td>
<td>Wife of John Kapu; Hānai mother of Harieka and Rebeka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanagula Kapu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of John and Manuiki Kapu; Sister of Harieka, Rebeka Mahuka, William Imigula Kapu, and John Eligula Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harieka</td>
<td>Hānai Sister of Hanagula</td>
<td>Hānai daughter of John and Manuiki Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rebeka Mahuka</td>
<td>Hānai Sister of Hanagula</td>
<td>Hānai daughter of John and Manuiki Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Imigula Kapu</td>
<td>Brother of Hanagula</td>
<td>Son of John Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Eligula Kapu</td>
<td>Brother of Hanagula</td>
<td>Son of John Kapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Edwin Mahuka</td>
<td>Father of Hanagula’s Hānai Sister</td>
<td>Husband of Waiuliuli; Father of Rebeka Mahuka; Husband of Kini (Jane); Father of Albert Mahuka; Cousin of Ioane Keaala o Ka’iana (Mele Kainuha Keaala’s Father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiuliuli</td>
<td>Mother of Hanagula’s Hānai Sister</td>
<td>Daughter of Lemaine; Wife of G.H. Kamakea; Mother of Samuela (Hānai son of B.E. Kamae) and Kamakea (Hānai son of J.D. Kenao); Wife of A. Edwin Mahuka; Mother of Rebeka Mahuka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

HAWAIIAN-LANGUAGE GLOSSARY

‘Ahahui – Society, organization
Aha Hui Missionari Hawaii ma Honolulu – Hawai‘i Mission Society at Honolulu
Aha Hui Missionari Hawaii o California nei – Hawai‘i Mission Society of California
Ahupua‘a – Land division usually extending from the uplands to the sea
‘Āina – Land
‘Āina Hānau – Land of one’s birth, birthplace, homeland
‘Āina Malihini – Strange, unfamiliar land
‘Āina Paʻialewai ke Kai – Land that people are carried back and forth to by the ocean
Akua – God
Ali‘i – Chief, ruler
Ali‘i nui – High Chief
Aloha – Love, affection, compassion
‘Auhau o ka ‘Āina – Land tax
‘Auhau o ke Kino – Poll tax
‘Aumakua – Guardian, family or personal god (plural: ‘Aumākua)
Ēwe – Rootlet, kin, lineage
Hānai – Adopt; to raise, rear, feed, nourish
Haole – White person or people
Heiau – Temple
Hoa Hele – Traveling companion
Ho‘omaluhia – Protect
Huaka‘i Ali‘i – Royal journey
Ikiiki – Stifling heat and humidity; acute discomfort, pain, grief, suffering
‘Ili ‘Āina – A land division smaller than an ahupua‘a; a subdivision of an ahupua‘a
‘Īnea – Hardship, suffering, distress; to suffer discomfort
Inoa ‘Āina – Place name
Iwi – Bone
Iwi Kūpuna – Ancestral human skeletal remains
Ka‘a Māhu – Steam-propelled vehicle
Ka‘ao – Legends
Kāhili – Feather standard, symbolic of royalty
Kahuna – Priest (plural: Kāhuna)
Kaikaina – Younger sibling or cousin of the same sex
Kākāʻōlelo – Orator
Kālai‘aina – To carve the land; the act of redistributing land to supporters by a new ali‘i when they ascend to power
Kalo – Taro
Kanaka Hawaiʻi – Hawaiian (plural: Kānaka Hawai‘i)
Kanikau – Grief chant
Kaona – Multiple or veiled meanings
Kaumaha – Dismal, heavy, sad
Keiki Hānai – Adopted child
Konohiki – Chief who managed an ahupuaʻa
Kuhikuhipuʻuone – Seer; priest who advised concerning building and locating of temples, homes, and fish ponds
Kuhina Nui – Officer that shares executive power with the mōʻī
Kula – Gold; plain, field, open country
Kuleana – Responsibility
Kupuna – Ancestor, grandparent (plural: Kūpuna)
Lāhui – Nation
Lā Hoʻihoʻi Ea – Restoration Day
Lā Kōʻele – Kōʻele days, or labor tax, also referred to as government labor days
Lede Ukali – Lady-in-waiting
Luhi – Strenuous, laborious, tiresome
Luna – Leader
Mai ka pō mai – From the beginning of time to now
Mai nā kūpuna mai – From the ancestors to us
Makaʻāinana – General population
Makamaka – Intimate friend
Mākuā Hānai – Adoptive parents
Mana – Spiritual power
Mele – Song
Mele Koʻihonua – Cosmogonic genealogies
Moku – District, island
Mōʻī – King, monarch
Moʻokūʻauhau – Genealogy
Moʻolelo – Histories, literature, narratives
ʻOhana – Family
ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi – Hawaiian language
ʻŌlelo Noʻeau – Proverb
Oli – Chant
One Hānau – Sands of one’s birth, birthplace, homeland
Paʻa Kāhili – Kāhili bearer
Pali – Cliff; obstacle, difficulty
Piʻina – Climb, ascent, rise, incline
Poi – Mashed, cooked kalo thinned with water
Poi Agore – Acorn flour poi
Poi Palaoa – Flour poi
Poni Mōʻī – Coronation
Pono – Balance and unity
Pua – Flower, blossom; progeny, child, descendant, offspring
ʻUala – Sweet potato
ʻUlu – Breadfruit
Wahi Pana – Legendary place
Wawai – Wealth
Wela – Hot, burned; heat, temperature; lust, passion, to feel such
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------. 1870. Siskiyou County, California.

------. 1870. Sutter County, California.

------. 1880. Siskiyou County, California.

------. 1880. Sutter County, California.

------. 1900. Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

------. 1900. Sutter County, California.

------. 1900. Siskiyou County, California.
1910. Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

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