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ON THE "MARGINS" OF EMPIRE? TOWARD A HISTORY OF HAWAIIAN LABOUR AND SETTLEMENT IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

NAOMI ALISA CALNITSKY
Carleton University

In his 2009 article "Global Migrants and the New Pacific Canada", Henry Yu distinguishes between what is termed the "New Pacific Canada" and the "Old Pacific Canada", suggesting how the idea of a Pacific Canada may denote a "perspective on Canada's past, present, and future that highlights the ways in which the nation has been and increasingly will be shaped by its engagement with the Pacific rather than the Atlantic world" (Yu 2009: 1013-14). For Yu, the older Pacific Canada constituted a "world in which migration networks and trade flows" were key connectors, while British Columbia in the 19th century was "engaged with a Pacific world through its dominant migration patterns and trade connections" (p. 1014).[1] For Yu, Pacific connections, primarily with China, would predominate toward the end of the century. Yet, as this article will suggest, this Canadian and British Columbian engagement with a Pacific world has emphatically deeper roots.

While the notion that Canada and the Pacific Northwest region occupy an entangled past linked to the broader Pacific world is a compelling one, it is worth reiterating Nicholas Thomas's assertion that "the point to grasp about entanglement is that histories may be linked but not shared" (Thomas 1997: 13). In an effort to de-centre the perceived impacts European exploration commerce and colonisation may have had in the indigenous Pacific, Thomas suggests that "it cannot be presumed … that indigenous institutions have been pervasively altered or shaped by an oppositional logic simply because contact has taken place" (p. 13). It instead made sense to "foreground" Pacific-centred imaginings such as those forwarded by Pacific scholars like Epeli Hau'ofa (p. 20). Hau'ofa's landmark 1993 essay, "Our Sea of Islands", provoked a scholarly paradigm shift in its emphasis on the idea of an interlinked Oceania stronger than the sum of its parts, a space marked more by interconnectivity than by isolation (Teaiwa 1996: 214). The scholarly reclamation of the Pacific provoked by Hau'ofa quickly spiralled outwards, resonating with an emergent "burgeoning market for scholarship on diaspora and postcoloniality" in the West and with students of the Pacific seeking to "claim alternative futures, presents, and pasts" through a reimagining of the spaces they "inhabit" (Teaiwa 1996: 214). Hau'ofa's "Sea of Islands" importantly set in reverse an academic climate in which "dependency theories

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predominate[d]" and where "'small' island-states are perpetually constructed as subject to or neglected by continental desires" (p. 214).

While this essay offers a discussion of Hawaiian mobilities to the Pacific Northwest Coast in the 19th century through a reimagining of the ways Pacific pasts were interlinked with a broader world, it also fits a model of a de-centred Pacific where a Pacific diaspora is seen to have deeper roots that unavoidably formed along the lines of European commerce, exploration and trans-Pacific webs of exchange. In offering new interpretations and viewpoints about the existing historical scholarship on Kānaka Maoli mobilities, it follows from Lorenzo Veracini's work on the development of the historiography of New Caledonia in the 20th century in terms of its cultural and political emphases, omissions, points of departure and multiple positionings (Veracini 2003). Hau'ofa's thesis here sits uncomfortably alongside a narrative that promotes a view of Hawaiian agency that worked in concert with the commercial excursions of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) into the Kānaka Maoli world of the mid-19th century. Tellingly, Hau'ofa's "Sea of Islands" framework may help explain how patterns of Hawaiian settlement on islands off the coast of British Columbia were marked by decisions made by families wanting to replicate former lives and seek out living spaces that reminded them of a former home. In British Columbia, Hawaiians built their lives within and along the margins of the colony in ways that suited them; they "held jobs, married and had large families", became well-integrated into the fabric of the early colony, and participated in its "civic affairs" despite some demoralising missionary views that undervalued their worth as civilised subjects (Barman and Watson 2006: 189-90). Kānaka Maoli descendants in the Pacific Northwest may also be set within a broader historical category forwarded by Tracey Banivanua Mar, namely, the "descendants of colonialism's diaspora" (Mar 2016: 225).

Whether or not historiographical treatment of Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest has considered the group a pioneering one has proven largely dependent upon the positioning and theoretical orientation of the research; for Richard Mackie, Hawaiians in the region functioned primarily as Hudson's Bay Company servants and labourers, whereas for Tom Koppel, the group played a key, if somewhat ossified, pioneering role in the history of British Columbia. In Koppel's narrative, the story of Hawaiian life in British Columbia is presented as an "untold" or marginalised narrative within the historiography of the settler colony. As a sojourning community since the late 18th century, Kānaka Maoli occupied inter-colonial spaces as mobile subjects of commerce and extractive marine industries, and increasingly in the second half of the century on the North American continent occupied land, formed cross-cultural partnerships, spawned mixed-race families and communities and generally emerged as a component of a broader white settler

society that would develop its presence and authority along the continent's Pacific rim and in a British Columbia that would for a time remain "on the edge of empire" (Perry 2001: 12).

In 1868, Samuel Mānaiakalani Kamakau wrote of Hawaiians in the "old days" as "a strong and hard-working people" (Barman and Watson 2006: 2).[2] In revisiting the question of Hawaiian labour in North American history, I here draw in part on existing scholarship on Kānaka Maoli mobility to the Pacific Northwest, Alaska and the California Coast. More broadly, I also draw on theoretical developments linked to the study of gender, sexuality and propriety that have emerged from newer and older accounts of 19th-century life, intermarriage and cross-cultural relations in British Columbia.[3] In Sylvia Van Kirk's exploration of elite families of Victoria, for instance, Van Kirk concludes that the native origins of some of the most prominent mixed-race families were largely "obscured" because of cultural demands (Van Kirk 1997/98: 179). More broadly, the paper draws from work that has foregrounded patterns of indigenous intermarriage in colonial settler states, including that of Kāi Tahu historian Angela Wanhalla, whose work has emphasised mixed descent histories, helping to refocus colonial historical scholarship on mixed ancestries in southern New Zealand.[4] Prior to 1840 in New Zealand, traders and sailormen "built up intimate ties with Māori women", and circumstantial unions were central, "most couples coming together for a combination of love, comfort, politics and pragmatic need" (Wanhalla 2013: 2, 12). While mixed marriage and intimacy in New Zealand took on a unique character it was also marked by numerous complexities. Oftentimes marriage was inflected by specificities and "protocols" of indigenous communities, "guided by well-defined laws and customs" (p. 13). Damon Salesa has similarly emphasised histories of cross-racial encounter and intermarriage in the 19th-century British world, including New Zealand, in terms of "racial crossing" (Salesa 2011).

For Kānaka Maoli, intermarriages and cross-cultural unions were doubtless circumstantial as well as pragmatic, and there is little sense that Kānaka Maoli men were hesitant to engage in cross-racial intimacies for fear of "race crossing." Indeed, the incessant phenomenon of race mixing, a product of the 19th-century colonial period in the Pacific Northwest above and below the 49th Parallel, while often viewed as a sign of "degeneracy" and berated in certain Anglo-settler discourses, was also a means through which rootedness in place and identities linked to the continent could be and were formed. Moreover, when cross-cultural dependencies and unions were formed between Hudson's Bay Company servants of European and French Canadian extraction, such unions and alliances were less likely to be viewed with disdain than considered part and parcel of colonial modes of contingent possession and survival.

As far as the question of labour is concerned, many accounts mirror one another in their unanimous portrayals of Hawaiians, both on the islands and abroad, as both versatile and important for their contributions across a wide range of colonial industries. While the problem of labour intersects with the question of land in key ways, the mobility of Hawaiians along European routes of trade and industry from 1780s on was not always necessarily or directly dictated by shifting patterns in the organisation and ownership of land in the islands as the 19th century progressed. In Stuart Banner's look at the Hawaiian 19th century, colonial narratives in the earlier part of the century tended to emphasise the industrious character of Hawaiians. While a royal land-grant system of parcels to foreigners prevailed in the 1810s and 20s, such that traditional patterns of Hawaiian land tenure were in place prior to the ascent of an Anglo-American system from 1840 on, shifts in land titling saw a transformation from "oral tenure to a scheme of written titles" that would affect natives and foreigners alike (Banner 2007: 130-38, 141). Just as Kānaka Maoli in British Columbia in the second half of the 19th century increasingly claimed land rights under an emergent British Columbian system, in the islands a British-derived system merged initially with a Hawaiian one to effectively rework claims to land, mediated through a Land Commission that supplanted an obligations-based system with a fee-simple paradigm after 1855 (p. 143-45). Tellingly, Hawaiian elites readily embraced the Anglo-American system with lasting consequences and did so in part owing to a "rational" calculation that might "protect their property in the event they had to give up their sovereignty" (p. 146, 152). Prudence dictated a measure of conformance to protect traditional property rights in such a way that it would retain recognition by a foreign coloniser in the event that an annexation might be imminent; as Banner suggests, the great Māhele served as a "kind of vaccine" (p. 153-57). Accommodation with outsiders thus shaped the internal politics of land tenure in the islands and would similarly impact the Hawaiian experience abroad, in other locations shaped by empire.

Despite recent investigations into the story of Hawaiian women's encounters with Hāole outsiders (Thigpen 2014), the literature on Hawaiian mobility across the Pacific still often privileges stories about men (Rosenthal 2015). Within the Hudson's Bay Company system, the company's "North American personnel" occupied two broad categories (Gentlemen and *Engagés*), the second category constituting a labour force of mostly "French Canadian *voyageurs*, Orkney Islanders, Iroquois Indians, and on the Northwest Coast also of Hawaiians and a few local Indian interpreters" (Spoehr 1986: 28). The story of this engaged servant-labour force might be used as a broader historical thread against which to locate the historical positions Kānaka Maoli would come to occupy in the Pacific Northwest region.

LEAVING PARADISE: ASSESSING THE HISTORIOGRAPHY

Kānaka Maoli displacement to the Northwest Coast in the 19th century might be read as a sign of the global nature of 19th-century transactions in a Pacific world. As suggested in *The Atlantic World in the Antipodes* (2012), the respective historiographies of the Atlantic world and the Antipodes continue to possess a "rather shallow shared body of scholarship" (Fullager 2012: xiv-xv), and in seeking to connect the dots between Pacific history and historiography and American-centred treatment of the fur-trade era on the West Coast, this essay proposes to further close the gaps in this story in terms of scholarly positionality and emphasis. While Jean Barman and Bruce Watson's landmark study of Hawaiians in the Pacific Northwest, *Leaving Paradise* (2006), focused in on mobile men's able bodies and their displacement to the Northwest Coast, viewing the "Kanaka" as a unique historical thread in the story of the 19th-century Pacific Northwest, the literature on Hawaiian migration across the Pacific world is also permeated by more pointed narratives which have revisited Hawaiian men with a view toward their agency.

Agency could be made manifest when Hawaiians took up opportunities to travel along lines of commerce and trade, and on occasion performed acts of independence and active resistance. Gregory Rosenthal has pointed to the interaction between Hawaiian male workers' bodies and the marine and island landscapes of the US guano islands of Baker, Jarvis and Howland in Polynesia, highlighting cultural rifts that formed when Hawaiians were newly engaged as overseas proletarians. In 1865, a riot broke out on Baker Island when a phosphate labourer, Heanu, was called "kanaka" by his *luna* 'overseer', triggering anger for being labelled a beast of burden rather than a person deserving of a name (Rosenthal 2012).[5] Transnational and comparative histories like Stuart Banner's *Possessing the Pacific* have additionally helped reposition the complexities of the Hawaiian 19th century as inflected by structural shifts in land tenure and distribution (Banner 2007), whereas more localised studies of the Hawaiian story in Canadian history, as with Tom Koppel's *Kanaka: The Untold Story of Hawaiian Pioneers in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest*, have been critiqued for their lack of engagement with questions of empire and a tendency to apply fixed conceptions of identity to the Hawaiian story in British Columbia (Stanley 1998: 182-83).

The historiography on Hawaiian trans-Pacific mobility is thus diverse and often functions from different angles, with divergent emphases and points of reference. Much of the scholarship since 2000 has indicated a renewed interest in indigenous agency in Pacific historiography (Rosenthal 2012, 2015), whereas the previous scholarship that located a Sandwich Islander presence in the Pacific Northwest often tended to lump the "Kanaka" presence in with

other industrious colonial activities; the Sandwich Islander was read at worst as a component part or curious participant and at best as an active contributor in the land-based fur trade, at times set in the background of colonial activities of commerce and exchange taking place between the islands and the coast (Mackie 1997; Spoehr 1986, 1988). While Barman's extensive scholarship on the Hawaiian story on the Northwest Coast has indeed foregrounded this active Polynesian presence in the North American past, rendering it far more visible, the author's non-Polynesian background led to certain oversights of emphasis in terms of the writing of the cultural history and cultural evolution of this group's presence on the Northwest Coast and their interaction with Christianity and colonial society more broadly.

More Pacific-centred approaches have drawn renewed attention to the story of Hawaiian mobilities beyond the islands' shores; Damon Salesa has, for instance, pointed to overseas Hawaiians' elevated positioning in the Bay of Islands and Chatham Islands (New Zealand) as healers (Salesa 2009: 152). With the flowering of indigenous Hawaiian academic scholarship and the decolonisation of the discipline of Pacific history, an effort that has been ongoing since the establishment of the Canberra school of islands-centered historiography in the 1950s, increased interest in the textures of the Hawaiian past from an indigenous or island-centred point of view within the discipline of history has fostered the rethinking, rereading and rewriting of Hawaiian history on numerous fronts (Goodyear-Ka'opua *et al*. 2014; Munro and Lal 2006: 2-3). Recent interventions from Pacific scholars like Tracey Banivanua Mar have moreover provoked a dramatic rethinking of the Pacific experience from the inside out (Mar 2016).

The literature on Kānaka Maoli migrations prior to 1900 speaks to the fact that they performed a diversity of labour roles in both maritime and coastal contexts; first rendered internationally mobile when recruited by Euro-American merchant traders in the 1780s, Kānaka Maoli would enter the trans-Pacific sea-otter fur trade that connected the Northwest Coast with Canton, and by the mid-19th century some 500 were at work in Oregon Country (Rosenthal 2012: 748-9). Many thousands were employed on American whaling ships, while others worked cattle hides in Alta California, "transforming animal skin … into the shoes worn by Boston gentlemen" (p. 6). By the 1850s and 60s, they were working on US guano islands of the Pacific, including Baker and Jarvis, with some having had prior experiences of trans-Pacific sojourning (p. 6). Indeed, the prevalence of plantation histories of the Pacific in the second part of the 19th century has risked overwhelming prior histories of mobility linked to extractive marine and island industries that emerged between the time of Cook's voyages and the rise of Pacific plantation agriculture (p. 6). Despite some approaches that divide the Pacific

19th century into two periods, viewing extractive marine economies as forming a key component of the first phase followed by a second marked by the rise of plantation complexes, promoted by environmental historians like J.R. McNeill, such timelines often fail to account for the persistence of certain extractive marine industries throughout the second phase, despite the decline of key earlier extractive industries like whaling. Beyond this, few studies of Kānaka Maoli history in the Pacific Northwest have made efforts to connect the dots between their broader stories of labour and mobility along the eastern Pacific Rim. While Gregory Rosenthal's recent scholarship has rectified this slip-up to some extent, most touchstone works on Kānaka Maoli in the Pacific Northwest, like Richard Mackie's (1997) *Trading Beyond the Mountains: The British Fur Trade on the Pacific, 1793–1843,* have situated the group as characters within a broader, regional story of commerce, productivity and exchange, rather than as mobile Polynesian agents who were part of a broader circulation of indigenous bodies throughout and across the Western Pacific rim region or the trans-Pacific more broadly. Studies like Mackie's, authored before 2000, have also read the colonial archive along its grain, unearthing the "Sandwich Islander" or "Kanaka" presence in the region as this presence befitted the colonial narratives of the time.

Additionally, Jennifer Thigpen's scholarship has provoked a rethinking of Hawaiian colonial encounters along the lines of gender. Thigpen's emphasis upon the history and culture of Hawaiian diplomacy further points to Kamehameha I's influence in unifying the islands into a "powerful Pacific nation" as the monarch "cultivat[ed] political and economic relationships with travelers and traders" that would set a precedent for this nation's interchanges with outsiders that would last far into the 19th century (Thigpen 2014: 6). As Thigpen suggests, gendered divisions of labour would equally shape the missionary project in Hawai'i, while contacts with Hāole (foreigners or outsiders) in the 19th century were uniquely moulded by Pacific modalities within which women continued to occupy a uniquely powerful role. In studies like Tom Koppel's *Kanaka* (1995), Hawaiian men are positioned as a component of the Anglo-European pioneer society, as they participated in its key corners, and contributed consistently to an evolving complex colonial project based upon trans-Pacific and coastal commerce and inland industriousness and settlement (Koppel 1995). Having become "subsistence farmers, loggers and fishers" by the 1870s in British Columbia, Hawaiians located north of the 49th Parallel had developed complex colonial identities across the southern reaches of the province (Stanley 1998: 181).

Thus, arriving initially as labourers, Hawaiians in the British Columbia colony, despite their more marginal social positioning vis-à-vis the emergent Euro-Canadian settler class, would increasingly become implicated in the

story of the ascent of settler-colonial culture in Western Canada. As Laura Ishiguro has noted, 19th-century British Columbian settler society was "modelled on metropolitan structures and values, which were widely (though not exclusively) shared by British settlers and colonial administrators" (Ishiguro 2016: 7). Despite this, there was no "straightforward shift" toward settler colonialism; if anything, the circumstances of Kānaka Maoli upon this broader trajectory might also be read in terms of their initial location along what Adele Perry has termed empire's "ragged margins" (Ishiguro 2016: 10). Indeed, these were the margins described by Samuel Kamakau when in 1868 when he referred to the departure of "thousands of Hawaiians … to foreign lands' without returning: in search of California gold, to Tahiti, Peru and other Pacific islands as guano workers, to Oregon and to the ports of eastern America; indeed to other, distant shores" (Barman and Watson 2006: 16).

Kānaka Maoli Migrations to Northwest: A Preliminary Timeline

While a maritime fur trade predominated on the Northwest Coast from 1787 through the 1820s, a land-based trade would supersede it, centered initially at Fort Astoria in present-day Oregon from 1810 to 1814 (Barman and Watson 2006: 4). Protestant missionaries from New England who were stationed in the islands would increasingly come to view Hawaiians as a labour source, and their influence would help redirect the agricultural pursuits of some islanders toward missionary ends (p. 6-7).[6] Linked to the labour question was the problem of the demographic decline of Kānaka Maoli and a new reordering of the textures of land ownership; indeed, the sale of lands to outsiders would accelerate on Oʻahu as the 19th century progressed (p. 10). Distorted views of some missionaries concerning the "idleness" of native islanders saw many hope to instil work discipline into converts, yet most Kānaka were disinclined to work in plantation settings; they provided labour for the colonial sugar industry, however, prior to the arrival of Chinese in 1852 and Japanese in 1868 (p. 11).

In addition to the early fur-trade recruits, Hawaiian men would increasingly board ships at Lāhainā and Honolulu in the 1840s and 50s to engage in whaling work, while others would be drawn into the cogs of the guano trade. On 11 February 1840, Hawaiian governor Kekūanāoʻa, father to Kamehameha IV, would permit 60 Hawaiians to engage in three-year contracts through an agreement with Hudson's Bay Company agent George Pelly, with contracts in certain cases reduced to two years from 1849 on (Spoehr 1986: 33). After the 1846 boundary settlement, the status of those Hawaiians who ended up in the Pacific Northwest tended to improve if they were lucky enough to be found north of the 49th Parallel in the very young colony of British Columbia. There, Hawaiians enjoyed the civil rights of the dominant society, including rights to vote and own land (Barman and Watson 2006: 15-16). Those

who laboured and lived north of the Parallel would become more formally embedded within a culture of empire of 19th-century British Columbia to emerge as one group among other minorities whose lived histories would be inflected by the evolution of British Columbian colonial politics as the 19th century progressed.

Cole Harris, in *The Resettlement of British Columbia* (1997), notes how Hawaiians were "part of the labour force of the cordilleran fur trade from the beginning", and suggests that they were "always a minority at any fort, as traders sought to forestall harmful 'combinations' by mixing ethnicities and races" (Harris 1997: 44). Flogging was a common form of punishment used in the fur trade and was used to instil obedience in the HBC labour force (p. 45). Other means of discipline were used to deal with cases of "insubordination", as Harris documents how one Hawaiian at Fort Vancouver "spent at least five months in irons" (p. 45). Hawaiians who ended up in the Pacific Northwest were in many cases brought under the influence of missionaries stationed there, becoming implicated in the "missionary advance", at times recruited as domestics for missionary families, many of whom carried out recruitment directly in the islands (Barman and Watson 2006: 110-132). These trends echo Ann Stoler and Frederick Cooper's contention that in colonial situations, "what was imaginable in terms of social policy reflected histories of distant metropoles as well as the immediate opportunities and constraints of conquest while the colonial experience shaped what it meant to be 'metropolitan' and 'European' as much as the other way around" (Stoler and Cooper 1997: vii). Hawaiians brought under the missionary fold were sometimes viewed as needing uplift; many underwent baptisms or church-based marriages, or had children who were baptised, as was the case with George Borabora, who, after a time of service in the HBC, had children baptised in the Pacific Northwest. The missionary advance upon the islands of Hawai'i was quickly indigenised, and Hawaiian William Kaulehelehe traveled to Fort Vancouver in 1845 as a Protestant preacher at the "Owyhee" Church there along with his wife Mary Kaii. William would pressure Hawaiians at his station to reduce their consumption of alcohol and observe the Sabbath, but faced relocation when the US Army forced him from Fort Vancouver in 1860 in the wake of the HBC departure; upon relocating to Fort Victoria he joined the Kānaka Maoli community there (Stanley 1998: 181).

One George Kaumana of Whoahu (O'ahu) in the Sandwich Islands entered service as an HBC labourer in 1854, continuing in this role until 1869, based at Fort Rupert. Born c. 1822, Kaumana's last name is listed additionally as Kamano, Kamanu and Kumana, and Coffin Island in British Columbia was renamed Kamano Island after him in 1947 (HBCA Biographical Sheets). He married an Iroquois woman named Polly/Pauline and fathered "at least 9 children".[7] Another Hawaiian, by the name of Joe Friday, or Joseph Poalie,

had a harbour named after him, Friday Harbour; he entered HBC service in 1841 and lived on San Juan Island after his HBC terms came to a close (HBCA Biographical Sheets). Listed variously as middleman and labourer in the HBC District of Columbia, Friday held posts at Cowlitz Farm, Fort Victoria and Fort Rupert. John Kalama, recruited at the parish of Woahoo/O'ahu initially in 1837, spent three terms as a "middleman" in the Columbia District, including at Nez Percés and Fort Nisqually, retiring to O'ahu in 1842 then re-engaging to work as a labourer for three additional terms (HBCA Biographical Sheets). Kekoa was stationed primarily at Langley from 1848 through 1856, with a break in 1849–50 when based in the District of New Caledonia (HBCA Biographical Sheets).

The HBC kept meticulous records, and life histories of Hawaiian sojourners are made known in part through this archive. Barman and Watson put together the most extensive and perhaps comprehensive log of "Hawaiians and Other Polynesians in the Pacific Northwest", running over 200 pages and documenting workers of Hawaiian origin and their relatives, including those who served for the Pacific Fur Company (PFC) of New York, Northwest Company, and Columbia River Fishing and Trading Company (CRFTC). Riddled with question marks and unknowns, the log's scope and attention to detail remains impressive. In some entries, only brief encounters with Canada are mentioned, as in the entry of Levi Halelei born at Lāhainā in 1822. Halelei spent one week in Victoria in 1860 as a passenger on the *Emma Rooke* (Barman and Watson 2006: 249). Some Hawaiians who "left paradise"' transitioned to a life as settlers, although many returned to the islands, permanently or temporarily, often failing to become part of the permanent fabric of British Columbian history. Jack Kaau, for instance, after departing O'ahu in 1834 and serving at Fort Victoria for a time, took the *Mary Dare* from Victoria to Honolulu in 1850 and did not return to Washington Territory until 1855 (Fort Victoria Journals, 1846–1850).

EARLY SOJOURNING

The trans-Pacific sea-otter fur trade predominated in the years 1785 through the 1820s, led initially by British shipping networks then superseded by an American-led trade (Barman and Watson 2006: 17). Among the first seven Hawaiians to travel to the Northwest Coast, three of which were female, was a male Kaua'i chief by the name of Kaiana/Tianna (p. 18). In Kaiana's time, processes of European acculturation had already begun to make their mark: Kaiana "learned to wear the dress of Europe" as acquiring Western goods could signal an enhancement of *mana* or social power (p. 18). When in Macao, Kaiana met a fellow female sojourner and contemporary, Winee, prior to her death at sea in February 1788 on John Meares's *Felice Adventurer* (pp. 19-20). While Winee is the first documented Hawaiian to reach the

Northwest Coast, Kaiana is the second. Other Hawaiian sojourners travelled on American maritime fur-trade vessels; Jack Attoo left Niʻihau in 1789 with another Hawaiian, Kalehua, on board the *Columbia Rediviva*; he visited Massachusetts, met its governor, and by the time he arrived at Nootka was tired of the servant's life and deserted, only to return after his captain, Robert Gray, held a local chief hostage to "prompt his return" (pp. 25-26). Attoo's story further signifies Hawaiians' early participation in traders' conflicts on the Northwest Coast, when he alerted his captain of a plot to attack the ship. Kalehua would board *The Discovery,* rising from the position of servant to Joseph Ingraham to become an interpreter for George Vancouver (p. 27). Vancouver would claim sovereignty over the west coast of North America on behalf of Britain in 1792 (Drake and Gaudry 2016: 12). At Nootka, Vancouver also took on board two Hawaiian women who were previously lured onto the *Jenny*, an English schooner, and sailed with them along the coast of Spanish California, visiting the mission at San Francisco before the women were returned to Kauaʻi in 1793. More recently, the role of Polynesian interpreters in world history has been foregrounded in works like Joan Druett's *Tupaia: Captain Cook's Polynesian Navigator* (2011), yet the Hawaiian role in this phenomenon is perhaps less well known. Other works, like David Chang's *The World and All Things Upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (2016), have helped reposition Hawaiians as explorers and active enterprisers in the project of geography.

While some Hawaiians joined American vessels willingly and voluntarily, others were kidnapped, as in the case of the *Mercury*, which abducted men from Kauaʻi in 1795 (Barman and Watson 2006: 30). American ships like the *Convoy* were also instructed to look beyond the Sandwich Islands to the Friendly Isles or Society Islands in Polynesia. Early on, Hawaiians were involved in the labour of the coastal sea-otter pelt trade, on American ships like the *Owhyhee,* which also visited Alaska, where even Hawaiians became objects of trade, exchanged for blankets and calico (p. 32). A small Hawaiian community would also form at Nantucket in the 1820s, while thousands were engaged in maritime commerce by the 1840s; New Englanders' demands for Kānaka Maoli labour were "intense and incessant" from 1830s through the 1850s, producing, as Tracey Banivanua Mar suggested, "mixed mobile and transnational worlds" (Mar 2016: 28). In 1811, the first Hawaiians voyaged to Oregon to engage in labour linked to the mainland fur trade. They were paid in monthly wages and clothing, a departure from prevailing maritime fur trade protocols where goods and a chance for adventure were provided as compensation. Ships' logs of traders' voyages between Hawaiʻi and the Columbia coast still offer a rich resource, with many log books "retained at a post or fort" and ultimately transferred to Hudson's Bay House in London (Archives of Manitoba).

VOYAGES TO THE COAST: ENCOUNTERS, CONNECTIONS AND MARKETS

In the 1820s, Fort Vancouver expanded to include a flour mill, saw mill and substantial farm, offering new vocations for islanders stationed there (Barman and Watson 2006: 64-66). Hawaiians who voyaged on the *Tonquin* to Oregon Territory took up tasks that included tending post gardens and minding the animals that had been brought on board; they also foraged, fished and hunted for provisions (p. 40-41). They further engaged in tasks linked to construction and road clearing. Some would journey north into central Washington. The *Beaver* would transport additional numbers to Fort Astoria (p. 43). Many Hawaiians who voyaged to the Northwest also suffered from venereal diseases. Hawaiians would prove "integral" to the success of the Hudson's Bay Company, which inherited Hawaiian servants from the North West Company (NWC) after their merger in 1821 (p. 57, 63). For Governor-in-Chief George Simpson, Hawaiians were deemed more useful than "Natives", often serving the added function of guarding HBC forts from external dangers.

Increasingly between the 1820s and 50s under Kamehameha III's reign, the exchange of Hawaiians into HBC service, while maintained, required higher levels of diplomatic negotiation over terms of yearly remuneration (Barman and Watson 2006: 68-70).[8] The movement of labourers across the Pacific was also set within a wider web of commerce originating from London. The HBC's trading operations in Honolulu underwent significant expansion in the 1830s. Richard Mackie notes that Simpson and John McLoughlin were equally behind efforts to secure Pacific markets as outlets for Columbia produce (Mackie 1997: 157). In 1833, the HBC opened its Honolulu store to serve this end, where salmon, lumber, flour and potatoes sourced from Forts Vancouver and Langley in the Pacific Northwest were sold (p. 158). Alexander Spoehr has described in some detail the movement of agricultural goods between Fort Vancouver in the Columbia District and Honolulu, this trade consisting mainly of flour and butter from the mid-1830s through the 1840s. In 1845, the *Cowlitz* "offloaded 720 barrels of flour which sold in Honolulu at 'fair prices'", yet the market for Columbia flour was soon afterwards strategically diverted to San Francisco (Spoehr 1986: 52). In addition to the onset of cross-Pacific commerce, Simpson in the early 1840s adopted the belief that it was in the company's "best interests" to promote the Hawaiian government's efforts to gain international recognition of its sovereignty in the face of accelerating foreign encroachments; when at a conference with Kamehameha III at Lāhainā, Simpson formally financed a Hawaiian diplomatic mission to Washington, DC, London, Brussels and Paris to serve this end (p. 36-37). Here, Simpson effectively "laid down a firm policy for the conduct of the Agency – namely, that the agents support the Hawaiian government and not meddle in its affairs", contributing to Hawai'i's expanding role on the international stage that would foreground indigenous

royals' positioning and aspirations to maintain national independence (p. 37). At the same time, Simpson delegated orders for the recruitment of Kānaka Maoli into company service; for instance, he would instruct the master of the *Cadboro* to "recruit a few seasoned seamen for Company service on the Northwest Coast, including 'two good stout active Sandwich Islanders who have been to sea for 1, 2, or 3 years'" (p. 29).

Spoehr's focus on the period 1829–59 when the company was active in merchant shipping to Honolulu offers numerous insights into the nature of British commerce in Hawai'i. In its initial year, the HBC brought its first shipment of lumber aboard the *Cadboro* (Spoehr 1988: 71).[9] The Fort Victoria post journals in May 1846 also record the *Cadboro*'s utility in enabling a coastal trade in the Pacific Northwest, of "flour, fur & other sundries", between Victoria and the Columbia Department (Fort Victoria Journals, 1846–1850). Headquartered in London since its inception in 1670, the HBC was led by Simpson for a significant amount of time. He supervised the vast area known as Rupert's Land and was responsible for its fur trade and Hawaiian operations from company headquarters at Winnipeg and Lachine; the 1821 merger also caused an operational shift toward the Pacific Northwest, with Fort Vancouver emerging as the primary Pacific depot (p. 71). Goods marketed in Honolulu consisted of "European Manufactures" and "Columbia Produce," with lumber and salmon being the "backbone" of goods imported from Columbia (Spoehr 1986: 45-46). While "some oak logs" were sold in Hawai'i in the 1830s, lumber cut in Fort Vancouver and destined for Honolulu was mainly Douglas fir, cut from forests that "covered much of western Oregon" (p. 48). The work of sawmilling at the fort was "manned mostly by Hawaiians" who cut 2,500 feet of lumber per day in 1841 (p. 48). Indeed, the company's labour needs and tactics for its Columbia Department were shaped in part by Simpson's reference to a "constant demand upon us for men" and his reference to Hawai'i as a "near and cheaper source of labour than Lower Canada or Scotland" (Mackie 1997: 162). Lumber imported on the *Cowlitz* in 1841 was used to construct the Kawaiaha'o Church, and throughout the course of the 1840s, some "200,000 to 300,000 feet of sawn lumber were shipped each year" (Spoehr 1986: 48-49).

By 1829, Honolulu was a key "Pacific *entrepot*" (Spoehr 1986: 27). Goods traded and sold there were consumed by islanders and visitors, with a total of 85 vessels from London and the Northwest Coast docking there between 1829 and 1850, and an additional 122 arriving throughout the 1850s until the company's cessation of its Honolulu operations in 1859 (Spoehr 1988: 74). Voyages were not always smooth; in 1829 the HBC brig *William & Ann* was wrecked in the Northwest Coast, with the loss of all deckhands including "ten Hawaiian passengers bound for Company service" (p. 79). By the late 1840s, the HBC outlet found itself "overstocked with goods of all kinds", causing

its agents to turn in 1848 to California to market English manufactures, exchanged at San Francisco for gold dust "remitt[ed]" to the Agency (Spoehr 1986: 39). Owing to the HBC presence on Oʻahu, Hawaiian consumer tastes were transformed, marked by increased desires for high-quality English goods. Manufactured goods marketed in Honolulu from the mid-1840s included coats, Wellington boots, trousers, stationery, bottled mustard and "cotton and silk umbrellas", and in the 1850s the "increasingly sophisticated wants of Honolulu" saw the addition of "damask table cloths, linens, lace, perfume, and much china tableware" and expanded provisions: pickles, oils, jams, vinegars, sardines, preserved oysters, lobsters and hams (pp. 53-54). HBC blankets also found "appreciative buyers" and were "perennially sold … by the Agency" in Honolulu in a diversity of colors: "scarlet, blue, green and classic white" (p. 55). The Hawaiian government was a key consumer, purchasing "stationery, sealing wax, a scale for weighing gold dust, and the like for the conduct of its business", occasionally filing special shipment requests (p. 55).

In turn, raw products from the islands found their way to HBC posts on the Northwest Coast, consisting mainly of sugar, coffee, salt and molasses. The salt trade was crucial as it was used in salmon curing, a process that provided Hawaiʻi with a steady supply of cured fish. As a "Pacific Island emporium", Honolulu functioned as a lever for the export of whole and manufactured goods from China and the Philippines: China baskets, matting and Manila rope were despatched in 1853 by the agent Robert Clouston of the Orkneys to Fort Victoria aboard the *Vancouver* along with island goods in large quantities (Spoehr 1986: 57). After a steady trade had been made possible through the company's fixed presence on Oʻahu for three decades, in November 1859 James Bissett, a senior clerk, announced the company's ultimate withdrawal from Hawaiʻi (p. 45).

In the Pacific Northwest, the migration of Hawaiians northwards into British Columbia resulted in part when the Hudson's Bay Company shifted its Pacific depot from Vancouver to Victoria in the face of American political incursions into Oregon Territory. Fort Victoria and Fort Langley, the former becoming the capital of the British Columbia colony from 1849 on, would absorb and attract the majority of Hawaiian labourers after the 1846 settlement that divided the United States from British territory along the 49th Parallel. Fort Langley (Fig. 1), unlike Victoria, was an "outlier" fort that was able to gain self-sufficiency and produce a surplus of food that could be traded and exported (Harris 1997: 76). British Columbian place names associated with a "Kanaka" presence would soon come to include "Kanaka Row" in Victoria on present-day Humbolt Street, "Kanaka Bar" on the Fraser and "Kanaka Creek" at Fort Langley (Barman and Watson 2006: 163). As Jennifer Brown

notes, American settlers in Oregon outwardly held "negative views" of Hawaiians, "owing both to their former HBC connections" and "perceived racial features. 'Dark Hawaiians', as they were described in the US Census of 1850, were easily lumped with Native people or blacks (or both), and prejudice flourished" (Brown 2006/07: 112). This social climate, alongside the increased Americanisation of space in Oregon Territory, helps explain the movement of HBC operations and its labour force northwards into British Columbia after a period of economic dynamism surrounding operations at Forts Astoria and Vancouver.

Fort Langley had also gained importance as a key site for salmon curing and export, with "Native Hawaiians … express[ing] a preference for Fraser River rather than Columbia River salmon" and "Fort Langley on the Fraser" in what is present-day southern British Columbia serving as the "single largest exporter of salmon on the Pacific Coast" (Spoehr 1986: 50). Fort Rupert, also in British Columbia, was initially a coal mining site until 1852, and would attract some Hawaiians who settled there when it transitioned into a trading post after the coal works were abandoned (Barman and Watson 2006: 163). Nanaimo on Vancouver Island would also draw in Hawaiians and become an important site for coal mining.

While economic dynamism was instrumental in fostering Hawaiian mobility to the Pacific Northwest, trans-regional mobilities took place as a result of political shifts, and were impacted by interpersonal demands that fostered the recruitment of Kānaka Maoli for diverse ends. Governor James Douglas himself had a Hawaiian accompany him in 1849 on his journey from Fort Vancouver to Victoria by canoe, and at Victoria had a Hawaiian cook and household servant (Barman and Watson 2006: 62). In other colonial situations on the continent, indigenous peoples similarly accompanied Europeans on important journeys; as Gloria Anzaldúa highlights in her review of the history and culture of the US-Mexico borderlands, "for every gold-hungry conquistador and soul-hungry missionary who came north from Mexico, ten to twenty Indians and mestizos went along as porters or in other capacities" (Anzaldúa 2017: 243).

Life as an HBC servant was not shaped by work alone, as the transfer of Hawaiian culture in the form of chants and dances to the Pacific Northwest marked social life at the posts. Alcoholism, desertion and punishment also factored into the story of Hawaiian service in the Pacific Northwest. Tasks performed were diverse and Hawaiian labour often fell into the category of drudgery: hauling pelts, unloading goods, gardening and some trapping in eastern Oregon (Barman and Watson 2006: 95). While the HBC hired on some 400 Hawaiians "on its own volition" it also inherited some three dozen from the North West Company (p. 82). At Victoria, one Hawaiian by the name of


644 HARPER'S WEEKLY. [OCTOBER 9, 1858.

FORT LANGLEY, FRAZER'S RIVER.

THE FORTS ON FRAZER'S RIVER.

We give herewith reliable pictures of Forts

"At six o'clock in the morning the massive posts and [illegible] bars are unlocked from the entrances to the stockade which surrounds the buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the English, Scotch, Irish, half-breeds, dogs, ... ner. At the end of an hour business is resumed again, and the same dull and monotonous routine is gone through with until six P.M., when again trade is brought to a dead ...

... as it used to be in the quaint old towns of the thriving Knickerbockers and early tradespeople of staid New England.

"A bottle of whisky, or 'Hudson's Bay lightning,' as

Figure 1. Fort Langley, Fraser River, 1858 (tinted engraving). Image PDP01891 courtesy of the Royal BC Museum and Archives.

Nahoua was a labourer, baker and then restaurant owner ("Nahoua," Fort Victoria Journals, 1846-1850). Prior to the relocation northwards, Hawaiians were also drawn into the Snake River basin where fur trapping increasingly took place at mid-century, carried out in Nez Percé and Shoshone territory. Here, HBC trappers increasingly competed with American trappers, with the British company first sending men into the region in 1819. The HBC had initially aspired to territorial rights in Oregon, and its extensive activities there nearly led to the beaver's eradication from the Snake River watershed.

Intermarriage and the Generation of Descendants in the Pacific Northwest

Cultural commingling was common in the 19th-century Pacific Northwest, and Hawaiians who had arrived to work at posts increasingly gained access to the Christian rituals of baptism and marriage advanced by missionary families and preachers stationed in the region. Roman Catholic missionaries performed marriages for some 50 Hawaiians on the Columbia to primarily Cowlitz and Chinook women, their highly gendered migrations provoking their marriages to Native spouses (Mackie 1997: 308). The HBC's labour force of servants, comprised mainly of Scots, French Canadians and Hawaiians and numbering some 600 by 1843, was similarly prone to cross-cultural intimacy: "all but a few lived with, or had married, Native of Metis women" (p. 308). The Hawaiian William Naukana fathered six daughters with two or more Aboriginal women, settling at Portland Island, pre-empting half the island and later making his way to Isabella Point on Salt Spring where he offered up some land for St. Paul's Church at Fulford Harbour. Maria Mahoi, born to HBC servant William Mahoya and his "native or part-native wife", would come to represent the "strength, independence, and resourcefulness of the pioneer Kanaka women in the Gulf Islands" (Salt Spring Island Archives). Maria had 13 children by two men, American sea captain Abel Douglas of Maine and George Fisher, son of Englishman Edward Fisher and his Cowichan wife (Barman 1995: 62); by some measures, Fisher "would have been uncharitably described as a half-breed" and Maria was "ten years his senior" when they met in 1885 (Buddle 2005: 388). Soon after his arrival in Victoria, Douglas took up whaling off the southeastern coast of Vancouver Island, establishing himself at Whaletown on Cortes Island manning the *Triumph* (Barman 2004: 14). Fisher then filled a vacuum left by Douglas's abandonment of Mahoi in the early 1890s (p. 20).

As the daughter of a Hawaiian in British Columbia, Maria would produce a community of many mixed-race descendants. Barman's 100-page biography of Mahoi, published in 2004, begins with the author munching on an apple from an orchard planted by the Mahoi family more than a century earlier on Russell Island. Born in the 1850s, Maria's life spanned a part of two

centuries; she passed away in 1936 and for Barman was a model woman of the frontier who did not "flounder" when her first partner departed (p. 5). The seven children from her first union with Douglas (George, Louise, Amelia, Alfred, Ruby Josephine, Mary Ellen and Abel) were born between 1871 and 1885 at Victoria and on Salt Spring, while her second union spawned six more children (Mary Jane, Sara, Mabel, Edward, Grace and Ernest) born between 1890 and 1899.

The complex lineage of Maria's descendants is mirrored in other mixed unions in British Columbia involving men from Hawai'i: at Hastings sawmill, a Cowichan woman, for instance, had children by two "former fur-trade labourers, Eihu and Joe Nahanee" (Barman 1995: 62). Mixed marriages did not always fare well. "Kanaka Pete", a Nanaimo man, was in 1869 sentenced to death for murdering his Aboriginal wife and children upon discovering her adultery, a story recently rediscovered by Hawaiian scholar Noelani Goodyear–Ka'opua, and local oral memory at Nanaimo suggests the immediate area where the tragedy took place became known, as a result, as "Kanaka Bay."[10]

By the 1890s, Salt Spring Island was home to as many as 24 families of Hawaiian origin, and in 1886, William Haumea received a Crown grant for Russell Island that was later given to Maria Mahoi (Salt Spring Island Archives). Descendants still pass down tales of Hawaiian migration to the Northwest (Barman 1995: 47).[11] The San Juans, given to the United States in 1872, harboured Hawaiian families who shifted to Canada when the islands became American; in British Columbia Hawaiians accessed citizenship under Queen Victoria's rule, and migrations from the San Juans to Salt Spring took place in the early 1870s (Sandwell 2005: 51). Hawaiian descendants' names in Canada were increasingly Christianised with time, and a shift from HBC service work toward more independent settler tasks like farming also occurred, as was the case with Nuana, who did so at Isabella Point in the 1880s (p. 53). Hawaiians in British Columbia were thus able to make their way as the century progressed as proprietors of land in western and southern British Columbia, building upon earlier foundations as crewmen, sojourners and labourers along the margins of an industrious 19th-century Pacific world.

Setting Roots: Hawaiian Landownership in Western British Columbia

The fur trade's decline at mid-century would not "necessarily signify Hawaiians' return home" (Barman 1995: 46). The trade's decline was sparked by a preference for other goods, including silk, and by the Fraser River Gold Rush of 1858 (Salt Spring Island Archives). The rights of Sandwich Islanders in Oregon were also rendered more precarious with the setting of a new international boundary, as Samuel Thurston, Oregon delegate to the US

Congress stated smugly, he was "not giving land to Sandwich Islanders or negroes" (Barman 1995: 46). Thurston believed "Canakers" had the potential to "commingle with our Indians", causing a "mixed race" to follow (p. 49). Intermarriage may have limited the desires of some to return to Hawai'i, while discrimination in Oregon may have spurred some to return to the islands or migrate northwards (p. 47). An 1845 tax stipulated that any person introducing a Sandwich Islander into the territory would be taxed $5 "for each person as introduced", this dramatically limiting the potential for new trans-Pacific in-migrations; Hawaiians at that time were also viewed as linked with the HBC, an enterprise considered obstructive to the region's smooth integration into the United States (p. 47). Moreover, an emerging American interest in the Northwest Coast came into competition with the interests of HBC agents who "operat[ed] under the protection of British warships" (Joyce 2001: 14). American westward expansion in the 19th century was accordingly a racially charged event, where Anglo-Saxon narratives of supremacy were embedded within a manifest destiny discourse that positioned Native Americans and others as less than equal (pp. 1-10).

Hawaiians seeking suffrage in late 1840s Oregon were initially denied it, and the restrictions they faced with landownership are reminiscent of later land restrictions faced by Asian migrants to western North America on both sides of the 49th Parallel. In 1850, Kamehameha III prohibited the further emigration of "native subjects to the King" to "California or other foreign country unless for some urgent necessity", perhaps in response to increased numbers of men departing for San Francisco and the California Gold Rush; his law prohibiting Kānaka Maoli from leaving was perhaps also linked to increased planter demands for able-bodied agricultural labour in the islands (Barman and Watson 2006: 153). As the California Gold Rush "washed over Hawai'i and the Northwest", it had also generated a "rash of crew desertions, from which the Company was not exempt" (Spoehr 1988: 92).

Those Hawaiians drawn into the new British Columbia colony often congregated in areas near former posts or industrial sites where they had lived and worked. Hawaiians were also fortunate to have participated in the land pre-emptions of 1860s British Columbia. Settlement "clusters" formed in Victoria on "Kanaka Row", and at Fort Langley on the Fraser, which harboured numerous families of mixed heritage, while others were found living in Maple Ridge in Greater Vancouver in the late 19th century (Barman 1995: 55). Some made their way into sawmilling work at Burrard Inlet; others lived on "Kanaka Ranch" in present-day Stanley Park (Vancouver), or became subsistence farmers, raised orchards and worked in logging and fishing in the Gulf Islands, with Coal Island, Portland Island and Harbledown Island all attracting homesteaders (p. 56).[12] Hawaiians also became a key component of

the settler community on Salt Spring, primarily on its southern end (Barman 2004: 17). At Langley, Peeopeeoh, his son Joseph Maayo, Peter Ohule and Ohia turned settler opportunism to their advantage, claiming 60-acre parcels along an area later known as Kanaka Creek (Barman and Watson 2006: 168). Peeopeeoh was a long-time HBC employee, his son born at the fort, and prior to becoming a landowner, Joseph apprenticed for the company, working as a cooper alongside an Orkney Islander and two other Hawaiians, crafting kegs, barrels and vats for salt salmon (Barman and Watson 2006: 335). Despite his pre-emption of land on the Fraser and Crown grant land registration in 1883, Joseph was found living on an Indian reserve in the Fraser Valley and "still fishing" in 1915 (p. 335).

SOJOURNERS ALONG THE "RAGGED MARGINS" OF THE PACIFIC?

Hawaiians' unique positioning in the 19th-century Pacific world of commerce set them apart as a key contributing group located along the fringes of empire in the Pacific Northwest. The textures of life, work and mobility discussed in this paper seek to provoke a rethinking not only of Kānaka Maoli migration in the 19th century, but also of settler-colonial history and contemporary locality. To a certain extent this dramatic story fits in with a broader colonial past shaped by community formation and the entanglement of families with empire, set within a British Empire that sometimes functioned as a "family affair" or "intimate project" (Cleall *et al.* 2013). While the focus of this essay has been upon labour, commerce and the reproduction of Hawaiian communities in the Pacific Northwest and British Columbia over the course of the 19th century, there has not been sufficient space to examine the question of culture. One might ask, then, to what extent was Hawaiian culture lost or preserved in western North America, and how were Hawaiians newly implicated in the British Columbian settler-colonial project, standing to benefit from economic gains made through their own labour, through the acquisition of land and through the formation of new and uniquely North American families?

While intermarriages caused a lessening of Polynesian cultural formations on the Northwest Coast with the passage of time, Jean Barman's attention to Hawaiians' retention of certain aspects of Polynesian culture on the coast attests to culture's capacity for translocation. By the same token, formal integration with Native communities could also occur in British Columbia.[13] The so-called "missionary advance" in the Pacific Northwest may have impacted Hawaiian marriage culture; such patterns might be viewed as merely one measure through which accommodation to "frontier" colonial culture was made possible, and there remains no evidence that such processes took place wholesale. In Hawai'i, political processes marked by cultural hegemony

would see the Hawaiian language made marginal between 1898 and 1978 by "laws banning it and education programs that forcibly put English at the center" (Thiong'o 2017: ix). In British Columbia, Hawaiians would become "mostly Catholic" and "quite religious", and the life pathways of some would follow church activities, as was the case with George Kamano, who was taught to read and write at an Oblate mission outside Fort Rupert and who "followed St. Michael's mission on its relocation to … Harbledown Island, which was his wife's home territory" (Barman and Watson 2006: 181-82). Renaming practices could also mark assimilation with time, as was the case with John Adams who had formerly signed on to the fur trade by the Hawaiian name Koema Filoma (p. 180).

The transformation of Kānaka Maoli names in British Columbia often took place formally within the boundaries of Christian ceremonial culture. At the 1860 baptism of Henry Peeopeeoh's son by a First Nations woman, Margaret, Henry's surname was changed to Pound, and the Anglican priest who performed the ceremony remained critical, describing the "state into which" many HBC employees had "degenerated" as "very unsatisfactory … living insulated … amongst debased savages, they had married squaws, and their half-bred offspring but too often were mere degraded savages like the mother" (p. 194). As Damon Salesa suggests, race crossing was in the 19th century often depicted as a "serious and recurrent problem" (Salesa 2011: 1).

If anything, the history of Hawaiians' congregation and dispersal along the Northwest Coast was shaped more by economic processes linked to the trans-Pacific Euro-American trade encompassing the islands of Hawai'i than by cultural and territorial changes wrought locally in the islands. The fact that Hawaiian servants and sojourners did not prove immune to forming new relationships with Amerindian women along the western coast of North America perhaps positions them as circumstantial subjects situated along the ragged margins of commerce and empire; yet their ability to integrate seamlessly into the settler-colonial culture of later 19th-century British Columbia may perhaps be read as sign of cultural adaptability as well as resilience.

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NOTES

1. Chinese first arrived on the Canadian coast with John Meares in 1789, many of them going on to "likely intermarr[y] with local First Nations peoples" (Yu 2009: 1014).
2. For a focused study of the Hawaiian presence on the Northwest Coast see also Naughton (1983).
3. For this I have benefitted from the work of Ruth Sandwell, Adele Perry and Kenton Storey, among others; see Perry (2015), Storey (2016), Sandwell (2005) and Koppel (1995). On the mixed-race origins of prominent Victoria families, and the tendency for elite families of mixed origin to acculturate and assimilate to the cultural demands of British civilisation marked by dress and deportment, see Van Kirk (1997/98). See Barman (1997/98) for a meditation on the importance of Aboriginal female sexuality in the second half of the British Columbian 19th century.
4. See Angela Wanhalla (2005, 2009). For a biographical account of the mixed-race lives of two Sāmoan sisters and their prominence in the greater Western Pacific world, see Salesa (2014).
5. Barman (1995: 46) notes how, in the Pacific Northwest, with time the "terms Owyhee and Kanaka [would take on] negative connotations, and Canadian descendants prefer to be known as Hawaiians."
6. These missionaries forbade fishing, surfing and eventually the hula as well in an effort to control and influence indigenous culture.
7. On Kamano see also Peggy Nicholls, "Kamano—The Kanaka" [10 page typescript]. Hudson's Bay Company Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada.
8. See Barman and Watson (2006), discussion in Chapter 4, pp. 68-70.
9. For an earlier history of the commerce at Honolulu see also Thrum (1912).
10. This suggestion was provided to me in conversation with an elder and resident of Vancouver Island at the *BC Studies* conference "(Un) Settling British Columbia", Nanaimo, 6 May 2017.
11. Excerpted from Barman's interview with Hawaiian descendant Karey Litton, Victoria, 22 April 1991. Naukana returned to Hawai'i to find his family recruited into sugar plantation work, fostering his ultimate return to the Northwest.
12. For a study of the families who inhabited Stanley Park and their dispossession between the 1890s and 1930s see Barman (2005).
13. This was the case for William Nahanee, from Kanaka Ranch, who fathered a family with the daughter of a Squamish chief and in 1910 relocated to Burrard Inlet's north shore, with the Hawaiian ancestry of the family becoming more outwardly muted (Barman and Watson 2006: 194).

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the historiography of Hawaiian mobility in the 19th century, with reference to mobilities that took place through Kānaka Maoli engagements as servants for the Hudson's Bay Company of London. In recharting Hawaiian mobilities to the Pacific Northwest, it considers how Kānaka Maoli histories were intertwined with trans-Pacific networks of commerce and a broader Pacific world of aspirational mobility, extractive marine-based industries, and ultimately, a land-based fur trade centered initially at Fort Astoria. It discusses how Hawaiian engagements with the HBC in the Pacific Northwest were formative for their eventual incorporation into the colonial settler world of British Columbia, and examines their displacement from Oregon Territory in the wake of the 1846 boundary settlement. It incorporates themes of intimacy, encounter and hierarchy as key sites for locating Hawaiian social histories along the Northwest Coast. Finally, the Hawaiian presence in British Columbia is traced with attention to community formation and land acquisition. Whether or not they fit within a broader category of pioneer-settlers, the "Kanakas" displaced to the Northwest Coast were for a time first positioned along what historian Adele Perry has termed the "ragged margins" of empire.

Keywords: 19th-century Hawaiian mobility, Pacific Northwest Sojourners, Northwest fur trade, historiography, Hudson's Bay Company, intermarriage, Kānaka Maoli diaspora

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[1] Correspondence: 222 Portsmouth Blvd, Winnipeg, MB, R3P 2E4, Canada. Email: naomic55@yahoo.ca