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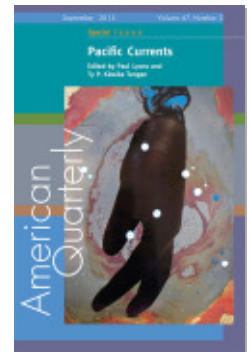
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## “We Will Be Comparable to the Indian Peoples”: Recognizing Likeness between Native Hawaiians and American Indians, 1834–1923

*David A. Chang*

**O**n June 12, 1923, Eli Keolanui graduated from Hilo Boarding School, a school founded by American missionaries nearly a century before. He made the first of the student presentations at the graduation ceremony that day, speaking on “the immigration question.” Keolanui’s opening words are provocative:

In proper discussion of the immigration question it is often said that all who came to this continent since its discovery should be considered equally as immigrants and that only the aboriginal inhabitants can properly be called natives. The Indians only are considered natives of this continent while all who came to the so-called new world should be considered as immigrants.<sup>1</sup>

Together these two sentences capture a tension between the colonialist education system in the US-occupied Territory of Hawai‘i and the response to it by Kanaka ‘Ōiwi Hawai‘i (Native Hawaiian) students such as Keolanui. For nearly a century, the education system in Hawai‘i had been a site of contention. It was the product of Kanaka initiative, but it also bore the imprint of the American missionaries, American business interests, and American officials who had each tried to shape the schools to serve their own purposes, with considerable success since the 1870s and especially after the overthrow of the kingdom in 1893 and annexation to the United States in 1898.<sup>2</sup> In the early twentieth century, the resulting education system made it difficult for Kanaka students to name American colonialism as colonialism. As Keolanui’s words demonstrate, however, Kānaka found openings to point to American colonialism through indirect comparison. In this case, Keolanui hints at an implicit comparison between the situations of Kānaka and American Indians, a recognition of likeness that prefigures the contemporary notion of “the indigenous” as a category that exists around the globe. Over the previous century,

American Indian people became a central site around which Kānaka reflected on colonialism and their own situation.

That history of Kanaka thought about American Indian people demonstrates an area of research that I argue scholars must be more attuned to. Studies of indigenous people and resistance to colonialism have often treated indigenous people as inward looking, emphasizing such topics as deep knowledge of homeland geography, the preservation of “tradition,” and continuity of social structure and practice. These are essential topics and deserve further research. Yet the focus on them means we risk failing to see that resistance to colonialism by Kānaka Maoli and other indigenous people has often been as much about looking outward at the world as looking inward to the homeland. Kānaka thinking about American Indians is an example of the ways that an outward orientation could be very much about resisting colonialism. This includes what Scott Richard Lyons has usefully called a “native signature of assent” to the new, but goes beyond it to become a native signature of embrace.<sup>3</sup> The Kanaka embrace of a broad and cosmopolitan world asserted the lāhui’s (nation’s) sovereign place in the world and its future. Other indigenous people were crucial to that embrace and that future.

Keolanui’s graduation address points to the complex positioning that Kanaka students of his time had to take in regard to the United States. On the one hand, the colonialist education system in the early territorial era rewarded students for writing from a perspective that schools taught as the norm—an American perspective. This made naming colonialism in Hawai‘i difficult. Keolanui writes, “All those who came *to this continent*,” adopting the North American perspective that the colonial educational system encouraged. Keolanui takes on the voice of a white American in the continental United States, which he is not. Moreover, the immigration question to which he refers in his presentation—the mass migration of working-class people from southern and eastern Europe that arose after 1880—was a phenomenon of the continental United States, not Hawai‘i. The American voice that his school encouraged made it hard for Keolanui’s essay to address these issues of colonialism.

But on the other hand, taking on a North American stance opened new possibilities for Keolanui to pose an indigenous critique of colonialism in North America and, implicitly, in Hawai‘i. Keolanui reminded his listeners, “The Indians only are considered natives of this continent while all who came to the so-called new world should be considered as immigrants.” Keolanui is using different words to lay out a central proposition of recent scholarship in settler colonial studies: only indigenous people deserve the name native, and

others who live in settler colonial societies from South Africa to Israel to the United States to Hawai'i are properly understood as settlers.<sup>4</sup> Although he retains the word *immigrant* (whereas recent literature rightly forwards the word *settler*), he deploys the word to emphasize that Europeans are fundamentally foreign to North America. He writes that although “the class of people that lived” at the time of the Revolution “have been called colonists, nevertheless they also were immigrants.” The “immigrants . . . later overspread the other colonies” and much of the continent. Indeed, Keolanui writes, “the pioneers were practically all English[,] Irish, Dutch and Germans.”<sup>5</sup> The emphasis on the foreign emphasizes what today we would call a settler–indigenous binary.

Keolanui's insistently indigenous critique of colonialism is particularly remarkable when we realize that he created almost the entire essay from un-attributed pieces of three well-known articles by white Americans. All had recently been reprinted together in one volume, the likely source for Keolanui's essay. “History of Immigration” by Prescott Farnsworth Hall, “Immigration: A Review” by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, and Philip Davis's “What American Means to the Immigrant” all appeared in Davis's 1920 collection *Immigration and Americanization: Selected Readings*.<sup>6</sup>

Even while Keolanui appropriates Hall's, Lodge's, and Davis's sentences nearly word for word, he edits them deftly to advance an indigenous critique that stands in opposition their American authors' intent. His use of passages by Hall is a prime example. As secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, Hall was a leader of one of the United States' largest eugenicist organizations and agitated to defend Anglo-Saxon America from the alleged dangers of immigration from eastern and southern Europe. But whereas Hall had written that “in *popular* discussions of the immigration question it is often said” that all non-Indians are immigrants, Keolanui counters that “in *proper* discussions” of immigration we see that all non-Indians are immigrants (emphasis added). The difference is crucial: to Keolanui it is right and just to consider Indians to be the true Americans, whereas Hall suggests that this idea is a “popular” misperception. Keolanui specifically rejects the term *colonists*, because over a century of American settler colonial nationalist rhetoric had prepared readers for what Hall declared: because “colonists” built the United States, they are the truest of natives. To Keolanui, *immigrant* is the better term, because it suggests settlers' enduring foreignness to the land: while the settlers “have been called colonists, nevertheless they also were immigrants.” By insisting that Indians are true Americans and “immigrant” colonists were not, Keolanui thus remakes Hall's argument for racially restrictive immigration laws into a

subtle indictment of white Americans' claims to a native status that rightfully belongs only to American Indians. Keolanui's textual borrowing shows itself to be a colonized subject's appropriation of the discursive tools of the colonial power. And he does this, let us remember, in the graduation ceremony at a boarding school whose founders were dedicated to remaking Kānaka in the image of white Americans.<sup>7</sup>

How was it possible for a young person to take racist white American sources and so deftly turn them into an indigenous critique of colonialism that remaps North America as fundamentally Indian? More to the point, how was it possible for a young person to do this when he had been raised in the decades after Hawai'i's annexation to the United States in 1898, trained in an educational system dominated by colonialist administrators, and placed in a position where he was supposed to demonstrate his mastery of the colonizer's discourse in a speech to his teachers and school administrators? This outcome is not to be taken for granted: resistance is not a given in any context, and the adoption of a self-consciously indigenous political stance in solidarity with other indigenous people has not always been a given in Kanaka political discourse.<sup>8</sup>

I argue elsewhere that from the earliest days of the Western incursion in Hawai'i, the Hawaiian intellectual exploration of the globe has been a process of simultaneously embracing the outside world, reflecting on Hawai'i's place in it, and resisting Western colonialism. Kānaka elaborated a critical geography that was both deeply indigenous and broadly global. This process took on myriad forms. In the travel of their bodies via ships and of their intellects via books and maps; in the embrace, rejection, and transformation of Christianity; in the making of intimacies and families with people from around the world; in physical labor around the globe and intellectual labor in reflecting on it; in the preservation and propagation of old stories; in the writing and translation of new books, and in the teaching of geography to Hawaiian children by Hawaiian teachers, Kānaka explored and embraced the outside world all while defending their sovereign place in it. Keolanui's graduation speech shows us one aspect of a political, intellectual, and social history, one vision from this outward and decolonial gaze.<sup>9</sup>

In the scope of this essay, these themes emerge particularly from a focused reading of nineteenth-century Hawaiian-language newspapers. What Kānaka read about and wrote about Native American people in nineteenth-century newspapers reveals a series of overlapping shifts in the representation of Indians. In a first phase, American Christian missionaries taught Kānaka that "the Indian" was a model of all things Kānaka must not be. From the time that

missionaries introduced writing in the Hawaiian language in the 1820s, the textbooks and newspapers that they produced portrayed Indians to Kānaka as a negative model. Depicting Indians as ignorant, benighted, and savage, these missionary-produced documents made Indians the model of everything Kānaka should reject and an object lesson to Kānaka as to why they must embrace the missionary message of Christianity and civilization. By the 1850s, however, there began to be a shift in Hawaiian-language newspapers. Direct social contact between Kānaka and American Indians because of Kanaka work in the fur trade, the gold rush, and other laboring domains meant that new knowledge from Kanaka sources supplemented the missionaries' messages, and depictions became more nuanced and sympathetic. In the 1860s an independent press under indigenous Hawaiian control emerged for the first time. As Kānaka resisted American colonialism in the press, Indians were portrayed increasingly sympathetically. They remained a negative model for Kānaka, but in a new way: they became the sign of the colonized, "what we must not become." Newspaper writers looked at the impoverishment of some Kānaka, likened it to the dispossession of American Indians, and worried that the Hawaiian nation as a whole might suffer the same fate. As colonized people, American Indians represented an outcome that Kānaka who were engaged in the defense of their national sovereignty hoped to avoid.

Ultimately, of course, white Americans overthrew the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 in order to seek annexation to the United States. In the process of the illegal overthrow and occupation, a third shift occurred. That shift (which lay under the surface of Keolanui's 1923 graduation address) moved Indians from being "what we must not become" to "what we have now become like."<sup>10</sup> Kānaka had not become Indians, but increasingly saw a *likeness* between their situation and American Indian people. In the strand of Kanaka thought that is an intellectual ancestor of contemporary Native Hawaiian politics and studies, American Indians became a central site in reflections on what it meant to be Native Hawaiian in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

This is a "politics of recognition" much larger, bolder, and more indigenous-centered than ones being debated today. Currently, in response to federal and Office of Hawaiian Affairs pressure, Kānaka are forced to respond to questions about recognition narrowly construed: Shall Kānaka accept a governing entity over them that would be federally recognized and federally circumscribed?<sup>11</sup> Glen Sean Coulthard has cogently critiqued a shallow politics of recognition of this sort.<sup>12</sup> In that politics, it is the settler state that validates the indigenous nation by recognizing it—and in so doing, asserts its own supremacy and the

bounds of the nation. In contrast, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century we see Kānaka recognizing their likeness to American Indians in a more profound sense. The intellectual work of Native Hawaiians' creative acts of identification as being *like* American Indian people demonstrates that today's notions of the indigenous as a global category is part of a process and a conversation that Kānaka have been engaged in for well over a century. Scholars have rightly pointed to culminating moments in the history of the indigenous as a category in the 1970s and after, notably the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.<sup>13</sup> Yet if these moments mark the emergence onto the world stage of the category indigenous, why were people in local circumstances prepared to accept this global term? The fact that Kānaka in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century decided that there was a *likeness* between themselves and American Indian people suggests that it would be useful to consider our current notion of the global indigenous as part of a far older story. Current notions may have emerged out of many such stories of connection, as people whom we now call "indigenous" started to think about themselves as sharing characteristics with other, distant people we now call "indigenous"—even before that word became common. We now have an excellent literature on the genealogies and bonds that link Kānaka and other Pacific Islanders together in what Epeli Hau'ofa calls a "sea of islands."<sup>14</sup> Kealani Cook has added essential dimension to this picture, arguing that between 1850 and 1915, there was a "common Hawaiian understanding of other Pacific Islanders as archaic versions of Hawaiians, of 'how we used to be,'" a largely pejorative judgment "based on Euro/American norms."<sup>15</sup> Combined with the changing representation of American Indians in the Hawaiian press, this suggests that one important way that Kānaka reflected on what it meant to be Hawaiian was through thinking about likenesses to and differences from other people that we would today identify as indigenous. Hawaiian studies, Pacific Islander studies, American Indian studies, and American studies can usefully investigate the global effects of different indigenous people coming to see differences and likenesses that lay between them.<sup>16</sup>

Seeing indigenous people seeing each other requires us to take their engagements with the globe of which they are a part seriously. This need is clear in regard to historical accounts of Kānaka. Too often, Hawaiian engagements with the globe appear to be disconnected and exceptional episodes in the Kanaka past. One catches sight of Kānaka encountering American Indians as sailors and whalers in the Pacific and Atlantic and in the northwestern fur

trade and the California gold rush. One glimpses them encountering other Pacific Islanders—Tahitians and Marquesans and Sāmoans—in Hawai‘i and around the Pacific. One reads of Tahitian ari‘i and Hawaiian ali‘i (cognate terms, both translated as “chiefs”) traveling back and forth between the archipelagos. Those invested in Hawaiian studies know there is a larger story here, and scholars such as Noenoe Silva, Hokulani Aikau, Kamanamaikalani Beamer, and Kealani Cook have deepened our understanding of the breadth of Kanaka engagements with ideas, practices, structures, and people from around the globe—from newspaper publishing and mapmaking to Christian religious practices and fraught relations with other Pacific Islanders.<sup>17</sup> We must see these not as disconnected episodes but as parts of a longer history that changes how we think about Kānaka and other indigenous people—a history that is the intellectual genealogy behind Keolanui’s audacious intervention.

### **1820s Forward: Missionary Lessons and the White Man’s Indian**

To understand the significance of changing images of American Indian people in the Hawaiian-language press, it is essential to note that although various newspapers were published in Hawaiian, all the newspapers published from 1834 (when the first Hawaiian-language newspaper appeared) to the early 1860s were under the editorial control of white missionaries or white settlers closely tied to them. These newspapers reflected European and (especially) American missionary perspectives and served missionaries’ agendas in Hawai‘i. It would therefore be a serious mistake to imagine that because a newspaper was published in the Hawaiian language, it expressed the viewpoints of Kānaka. It would also be a mistake to imagine that it did not, as Kānaka wrote for these papers even from the earliest days, operating within the constrained space of white editorial control. These newspapers’ perspectives were not uniform. In their editorial stances one can trace many tensions, for example, between the dominant Calvinist Protestants and minority Catholics, and between Christians who opposed commercial development and those who favored it.

The trope of the Indian emerges vividly in the newspapers published by Calvinist missionaries and the dominant American faction that in later years traced its origins (and often its literal parentage) to them. For decades after the beginning of publishing in Hawaiian, these newspapers represented Indians to Kānaka in ways that constituted a racial and colonial education. In the 1830s, 1840s, 1850s, and after, these publications taught Kānaka that Indians were degraded, dangerous, and benighted pagans in need of the civilization and



salvation that would come from colonialism and conversion to Christianity. In effect, the missionary newspapers were introducing Kānaka to what Robert F. Berkhofer calls “the white man’s Indian.” As Berkhofer puts it, “Native Americans were and are real, but the *Indian* was a White invention.”<sup>18</sup> This discursive creation, “the Indian,” was translated into Hawaiian just as surely as its name was transliterated as “ka Inikini” or “ka Ilikini.”

This figurative translation into Hawaiian of the discursive construct of “the Indian” was initially indirect, because in the 1830s, 1840s, and 1850s, newspapers generally mentioned American Indians only in the context of items that the editors deemed more interesting or important. This was the case for the first mentions of American Indian people in the first Hawaiian-language newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii* (*The Hawaiian Luminary*, published 1834 and 1841). In 1834 the missionary Lorrin Andrews began publishing *Ka Lama Hawaii* at Lāhainaluna, the boarding school established by the American missionaries on Maui with the special goal of training a native pastorate. It was, in effect, a school newspaper that functioned as “a text-book and forum for composition.”<sup>19</sup> In keeping with its pedagogical goals, it presented its student readers with illustrated articles describing animals that did not exist in Hawai‘i—and repeatedly noting that Indians used these strange beasts for food. These were translations from John Lee Comstock’s *Natural History of Quadrupeds*.<sup>20</sup> In keeping with Western “natural history” that placed nonwhites in the same natural categories as nonhumans, the Hawaiian text translated a white American notion of what Indians were like along with information on four-legged mammals. After describing the massive and heavily antlered deer that is the North American elk, *Ka Lama Hawaii* wrote: “Aole he mea waiwai ka Eleka, ma kana hana ana, aka, he mea waiwai no kona kino ke loa. Oia kekahi mea i ai nui ia e na Inikini, a me na kanaka hele ma kahi loihi iloko o ka ululaau” (The Elk is not valuable for what it does, but for what is gotten from its body. It is something that is much eaten by the Indians and the people that go to places far inside the forest).<sup>21</sup> In doing so, the story introduced two important ways to describe Indians: their strange eating habits, and their existence as hunters who dwelled in the forest. The newspaper reinforced the same theme, with nearly the same wording, in the description of the American bison: “ua ai nui ia, e na Inikini a me ka poe hele ma ka ululaau o Amerika akau” (it is much eaten by the Indians and the people that go into the forest of North America).<sup>22</sup> The image of Indians is one familiar in North American representations: these are forest-dwelling hunters who eat wild game. At least for the bison, Indians are described as eating a meat that is “ono,” or delicious.

The same cannot be said of the anteater: “Hohono no kona io i ka ai ia, ai no nae ka poe Inikini” (Its flesh is quite acrid when eaten; nonetheless, the Indian people eat it).<sup>23</sup>

What did it mean to describe Indians to Kānaka as forest dwellers and eaters of wild animals, whether delicious ones like the bison or unpleasant ones like the anteater? This spoke to whites’ self-conceptions, but also those of Kānaka. To whites, the forest (*selva* in Latin) was literally the etymological origin of the word *savage*; living in the forest and living off game placed Indians outside the realm of the civilized (etymologically: farm- or town-dwelling) eaters of cultivated crops and farm-raised animals.<sup>24</sup> But Kānaka, too, were conscious of themselves as a predominantly agricultural people, for whom crops (especially taro and sweet potato) were staple foods. Again, the act of translating an American text that described Indians as hunters who consumed game also meant translating an American idea: that Indians were nonfarmers. Naming Indians as nonfarmers meant representing them (falsely) to Kānaka as people who wandered the wilderness in search of game. These descriptions of wandering ignored the agricultural and horticultural practices that fed much of Native North America and misrepresented the elaborate strategies of cyclical migration practiced by hunting and foraging societies. Then again, the point of these portrayals was not descriptive accuracy. Rather, they served to lend legitimacy to the dispossession of Indian lands and, by contrast, to glorify the agricultural bases of a land-hungry American society. These portrayals demeaned Indians and, by contrast, glorified white Americans.

Yet demeaning Indians in this manner was a lesson to Kānaka on their place in what whites considered a civilizational hierarchy. The depiction of Indians was just one part of the missionaries’ efforts to instruct Kānaka in a tiered hierarchy of civilizations and races that placed Kānaka at an intermediary stage between supposedly na‘aupō (ignorant and benighted) Indians and na‘auao (enlightened) Americans and Europeans. This insidious hierarchy encouraged Kānaka to throw in their lot with Americans and Europeans, lest they be relegated to the realm of the na‘aupō Indians.<sup>25</sup> Because Kānaka practiced extensive and intensive agriculture, agriculture was thus an ideal way to portray their supposed superiority over Indians. This was made quite clear in 1844 in *Ka Nonanona* (*The Ant*, published 1841 to 1845), a newspaper edited by Richard Armstrong, a missionary and the minister of public instruction. Although (unlike earlier newspapers in Hawaiian) Armstrong’s paper actually published news in order to disseminate information about events in the capital around the islands, this American editor nonetheless used his newspaper to pursue

his religious goals, advocate for the westernization of Hawai'i, and represent American interests.<sup>26</sup> In an article on agriculture, the author declared farming to be the very source of Hawai'i's well-being: "Oia no ke kumu e waiwai ai ko keia pae aina. Nolaila mai ka ai" (It is the source that enriches the people of this archipelago. From it comes the food). He drew a sharp contrast with allegedly nonfarming societies where game and wild plants constituted the diet. In such places, he wrote, "Uuku kahi ai, hiki pinepine mai ka wi, a he poe hoomolowa lakou, a me ka palaualelo" (Food is scarce, famine often comes, and they are a slothful and lazy people). As examples of such people, the author named two populations: "na Inikini ma Amerika, a me ko Kahiki poe" (the Indians in America, and the people of Kahiki).<sup>27</sup> In this context, "Kahiki" describes the people of the South Pacific. The description of Indians and South Pacific Islanders as nonfarmers was part of a broader project of inculcating Kānaka into Western beliefs about hierarchies of civilized and savage, enlightened and ignorant. Note that there was flattery here, as Kānaka were agriculturalists and thus allegedly superior to American Indians. But note also that the knife cuts both ways, because the hierarchy was to be accepted as a piece. For Kānaka to accept their position of alleged superiority over Indian people also would have meant accepting that they were inferior to Americans and Europeans.

White missionary and merchant newspapers showed Kānaka what Indians lacked in order to tell Kānaka to what they should aspire: true civilization as the missionaries defined it. The distinction that white-controlled newspapers made between those peoples who had agriculture and those who did not was part of a broader array of statements of what Indians were lacking and was entirely consistent with what Berkhofer identifies as "the white man's Indian." According to this discourse and according to missionary-controlled newspapers, Indians lacked Christianity: like other benighted people around the world, Indians were "lahuikanaka i ike ole ia Iehova" (peoples who do not know Jehovah).<sup>28</sup> Indians lacked roads: without them, well-meaning whites could carry neither Jehovah nor the goods of white civilization to Indian Country, and thus "ua mau ka hupo a me ka poino a hiki i keia la" (ignorance and misery continue up to today).<sup>29</sup> Indians lacked a system of individual property in lands: without this spur to individual profit, Indians fail to use land properly, and land that could have supported a million people fed only a thousand (a claim that legitimated the dispossession of Indian lands in the United States).<sup>30</sup> Indians lacked homes: Victorian domesticity was beyond their comprehension, because "he poe hele io ia nei, e hahai i na bupalo, a me ke dia, a me kamano" (this is a wandering people that pursues buffalo, and deer, and salmon).<sup>31</sup>

The list of what white-controlled newspapers told Kānaka that Indians lacked can serve as a catalog of what the white editors wanted Kānaka to value: farms, Christianity, trade, private property, and a gauzily sentimental but rigidly restrictive ideology of domesticity. Note that this is true despite the varying allegiances of whites. Even those most loyal to the kingdom envisaged its future as a “modern” and “civilized” nation, and to them modernity and civilization were unimaginable outside Western values and behaviors. In the thinking of the nineteenth-century white American middle class from which the missionaries and merchants sprang, these things created and ennobled privately held wealth, constrained sexuality, and enforced gender norms.

These same newspaper accounts used Indians to demonstrate to Kānaka that to achieve these things, they themselves needed missionaries. In 1835 the missionary editors of *Ke Kumuhāwaii* (*The Hawaiian Teacher*, published 1834–39) established the pattern of using Indians to demonstrate to Kānaka their need for missionaries.<sup>32</sup> In a series of articles titled “He Ui Misionari” (“A Missionary Catechism”), the missionary editors asked and answered a sequence of questions that they believed established the need for their dominance in Hawai‘i. “Pehea ka noho ana o kanaka o Hawai‘i nei i ka wa i pae mai ai ka poe misionari?” (What was the condition of the people of Hawai‘i at the time that the missionaries landed?). To their own question, the missionaries responded that Hawai‘i had been in a violent state of disarray. The kapu, or sacralizing rules and distinctions of the old order, had been broken. The old gods had been torn down, the old religion had been abandoned, and in the resultant disorder reigned thievery, warfare, deceit, and all manner of wickedness. At that point, rather than narrate the activities of the missionaries in Hawai‘i or trace the rapid changes in Hawai‘i (as the majority embraced literacy and Christianity at least to some degree and as the economy rapidly shifted), the catechism turns to the Americas, again using Indians as a crucial tool in its pedagogy. “E noho ana anei ka poe ike ole ia Iehova ma Amerika Huiapuia?” (Are there people living in the United States who do not know Jehovah?). Yes, there were. The catechism explained that Europeans (“ko Europa poe”) had called those people Indians. Most Indians, it claimed, had long refused to heed the missionaries and lived slothful lives (“noho molowa no”), but in recent years many had begun to listen to the missionaries, and as a result had repented, abandoned their sinful ways, and embraced schooling, hard work, and good (i.e., Western-style) houses.<sup>33</sup> In the context of describing Hawai‘i immediately before the missionaries arrived as a land of disorder and disgrace, the message to Kānaka could not be more clear: just as American Indians needed to heed

missionaries to achieve civilization, so too did Kānaka. Note that this injunction was to listen to missionaries specifically, rather than whites in general. As was true in the United States, missionaries in Hawai'i were often in conflict with less religious whites (such as rum sellers or other merchants), who missionaries feared would lead native people along a sinful path. Thus missionary newspapers in Hawai'i warned Hawaiian readers that just as Indians needed to associate only with religious white people, so too must Kānaka be sure to mingle only with godly whites.<sup>34</sup>

The 1835 catechism's emphasis on Indians' (and Kānaka's) need for missionaries remained the norm in the missionary and merchant press for decades to come, but the statement that Indians were progressing was not the norm. Rather, most newspaper accounts depicted Indians as still immersed in sin and ignorance. The American missionaries to Hawai'i were part of a network that included missionaries in North America, and the Hawaiian-language newspapers often included accounts of evangelization efforts there. This was the case for the Oregon Country, site of the famous mission of Narcissa and Marcus Whitman among the Cayuse at Waiilatpu. Although an 1841 article in *Ka Nonanona* does not mention Waiilatpu or the Whitmans, it was probably about the Cayuse that it reported that the Indians were "paakiki" (unyielding). The author admitted that some sent their children to school and some had become "Inikini haipule" (devout Indians). But, the article intoned, "aole nae he oiaio ka lakou pule, no ka mea, aole o lakou haalele i ka hewa, a malama i ka ke Akua" (theirs is not genuine prayer [or worship], because they do not abandon sin and heed the words of God).<sup>35</sup> In this and other articles, the missionary and merchant press reinforced that Indians were making little progress toward civilization and Christianity and still needed missionaries.

By the middle of the century, many Americans' concerns about Indians' souls were overshadowed by fears of Indians' weapons. The depictions of Indians that whites presented to Kānaka shifted accordingly, but these portrayals continued to be shaped by Americans' preoccupations. By the 1850s American territorial domination was shifting increasingly westward, and military domination overwhelmed religious conversion as a concern. Accounts in the missionary-sponsored Hawaiian-language press shifted accordingly. In article after article, Hawaiian readers read that Indians were at war with whites in Oregon, California, Florida, Utah, Mexico, and other places, and that Indians were dangerous and brutal.<sup>36</sup> In 1857 *Ka Hae Hawaii* (a missionary-sponsored newspaper published from 1856 to 1861) informed its readers that when Indians in Durango, Mexico, raided the town of Mapimí, they carried

off women, children, and animals.<sup>37</sup> In 1860 the same newspaper reported that two thousand Indians had attacked one hundred whites in the Rocky Mountains, slaughtering them all.<sup>38</sup> *Ka Hae Hawaii* was (like *Ka Nonanona*) a newspaper controlled by the missionary Richard Armstrong, the minister of public instruction. Although its very title (meaning the Hawaiian banner or the Hawaiian flag) might suggest an indigenous nationalist perspective, *Ka Hae Hawaii* resembled Armstrong's other papers in the way it was used as a tool to promote his vision of transforming Native Hawaiian people. Armstrong's daughter recalled that her father "understood the native character": "He saw that Kings, chiefs, and people were mere children, governed by impulse, untrained to thinking."<sup>39</sup> He believed it was his role as minister of the Gospel, minister of public instruction, and director of the Board of Education to transform these "children" into modern and civilized subjects along American lines. Thus it is not surprising that the stories about Indian warfare that *Ka Hae Hawaii* published for its Hawaiian readers—Indians raiding white towns and massacring white settlers—were familiar in writing on Indian war in US newspapers.

Equally familiar from American papers was the notion that American Indian warfare was a bloody but futile prelude to the disappearance of Indian people and might even hasten their demise. In 1856 *Ka Hae Hawaii* reported that though wars raged between Indians and whites in California, Oregon, and Florida, the ultimate outcome of the wars was certain: "ka hoopau ana o ka lahui Inikini" (the elimination of the Indian people).<sup>40</sup> Four years later, the same newspaper told Kānaka that the defeat and "elimination" of Indians would be the natural result of the supremacy of the United States in all things. *Ka Hae Hawaii* reported that "ke kipi hou nei na Ilikini ma Amerika Huipuaia" (the Indians are again rebelling in the United States). But victory was impossible for the Indians: "Heaha la ka lakou loa e hoaano aku nei ia Amerika? Heaha la ko lakou wahi ikaika?" (What do they have that allows them to challenge America? What is their little strength? [or possibly:] What is their stronghold?). These questions were rhetorical; they required no response. *Ka Hae Hawaii* informed Kānaka that American Indians had lost America to the United States, a superior nation—"he Aupuni naauao, a he Aupuni ikaika no hoi"—"an enlightened Country and a powerful Country, too."<sup>41</sup>

### Sympathy for the Unfortunates

Yet even in this early period of the 1830s and 1840s, when the press participated in teaching Kānaka what was wrong with Indians, notes of sympathetic

identification appeared in print, as Kānaka looked at Indians and discerned a likeness with them. In 1839, for example, *Ke Kumu Hawaii* (The *Hawaiian Teacher*, a missionary newspaper that included writings of Kanaka students and teachers) published a piece that hinted at how the demographic collapse of American Indian nations struck chords of recognition among Kānaka, who were suffering greatly from virgin soil epidemics of foreign diseases. *Ke Kumu Hawaii* reported that a terrible smallpox epidemic had devastated “ka poe inikini a ka haole i kapa aku ai Inikini wawae eleele” (the Indian people that the haole called Blackfoot Indians). Note that the phrasing “that the haole called” either expresses, or at least leaves room for, the Kanaka reader to imagine perspectives outside haole perspectives. The report was followed by interjections of grief that suggest that those non-haole perspectives were sympathy and an identification of likeness between Kānaka and Indian: “Aloha ino lakou, Emi loa lakou,” meaning “What a pity for them. They are much reduced in number.”<sup>42</sup> Kānaka were painfully aware that their numbers were also falling precipitously, with a population already weakened by ecological and economic dislocation succumbing in devastating numbers to smallpox and other foreign diseases. Indeed, the same newspaper published an article only weeks later that attempted to quantify the terrible truth that Kānaka were already aware of: “No ka Emi Ana o na Kanaka” (“The Reduction in Numbers of the Kānaka”).<sup>43</sup> Even in the early days of the missionary press, room for sympathetic identification by Kānaka for American Indians could be found on the newspaper page.

Such expressions of likeness became more important in the 1850s and 1860s, a period of transition in the way that the Hawaiian-language press depicted Indian people. Increasingly, perspectives that suggested Hawaiian sympathy for and even identification with American Indian people began to appear in press accounts. They did not fully replace demeaning depictions of Indians, and often they were rife with ambiguity, but nonetheless these articles constituted an important shift in the messages Kānaka received about Indians—and about their conflicts with whites.

This shift was especially apparent in coverage of warfare. The Civil War prompted a reconsideration of what white men were capable of in warfare, which in turn suggested that Indian warfare might not be, after all, so exceptionally brutish. The shift was quite apparent in accounts of the Dakota War of 1862 in Minnesota, in which Dakota in the Minnesota River valley attempted unsuccessfully to remove white settlers from ceded lands. In the fall of 1862, brief accounts in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (*The Independent Newspaper*) had hewed



closely to the lines of depicting Indian warfare as Indian brutality: battles amounted to “hana ino” (mistreatment or abuse) of government soldiers, in which the latter risked being taken captive. There was no discussion of the causes of the war, only its allegedly brutal prosecution by Dakota warriors. But as the Civil War progressed, accounts of the now-completed Dakota War shifted. Indian violence began to be judged alongside violence by whites against nonwhite people. In May 1864 *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* carried an account of the Fort Pillow massacre, in which white Confederate troops slaughtered black Union troops who were trying to surrender—a widely denounced war crime. The author says that in comparison with the merciless brutality of the Confederate Army, the attacks two years before by the Dakota in Minnesota looked minor. The devil himself, “e noho ana ma ka lua hohonu o ka make a me ka ino” (living in the deep hole of death and wickedness), would approve of the Southern atrocities.<sup>44</sup> The next year, in 1865, the same newspaper went still farther in an article on the treatment of Union prisoners at Confederate prison camps at Andersonville, Georgia; Richmond, Virginia; Columbia, South Carolina, and elsewhere: “Ua oi aku ka lokoino o keia hana a na’Lii Kipi mamua o ka poe aikanaka o ka Mokupuni Fiki (Feejee Island) a me na Ilikini o Amerika Akau” (What the Rebel officers do is more merciless than what the cannibals of Fiji Island and the Indians of North America do).<sup>45</sup> It is difficult to know who penned these words. They could be translations of articles from the Northern press in the United States or original pieces by a white American writer in Hawai‘i. Most white Americans in Hawai‘i were from the northeast and loyal to the Union. The pieces could also have been written by Kānaka, however. The depiction of cannibal islanders or Indian people would have been consistent with the images that Kānaka had been taught in geography textbooks and newspaper articles for three decades. Whoever the authors or translators might have been, they were presenting Kānaka with startlingly different notions of Indian warfare than had been the norm in the Hawaiian-language press over the decades. It is crucial to note here that two things were being reconsidered: whites as well as Indians.

Such perspectives were evident in letters to the editor from Kānaka from the 1850s forward. Although this was an edited and mediated forum, it did allow Hawaiian writers to publish views that challenged missionaries and their self-proclaimed role among Indians and Kānaka. In the 1850s Kānaka began traveling to other Pacific Islands to evangelize Christianity. In 1862 a girl from Nuku Hiva traveled to Hawai‘i with Paulo Kapohaku, a Hawaiian missionary who had adopted her as his hānai daughter. According to a letter to *Ka Hae*



*Hawaii* from J. H. Kanepuu, though the girl was impressed by Honolulu and Kānaka, she was not well received in Hawai‘i. She was teased for her clothes and appearance, and even mocked as pupule, or crazy. Kanepuu—a school-teacher and writer who later became a vocal opponent of American annexation of Hawai‘i—warned Kānaka to be better missionaries to Marquesans than whites were to Indians. American Indians could tell the haole missionaries, “E hoi oukou e ao aku i na haole o oukou, no ka ike no o na Inikini, ua hana ino na haole hewa ia lakou, a pela ‘ku” (Return and teach your own haoles, because the Indians know that evil haoles have abused them, and so on).<sup>46</sup> Kanepuu challenged the hierarchy that the missionaries promoted. Perhaps whites were not such good missionaries, and Indians not so needy of them, as earlier reports had told Kānaka.

### **Real Native Americans and Discursive Indians: Native–Native Contact between Hawai‘i and North America**

Like stories about the Civil War, articles about connections between Indians and Kānaka in Hawai‘i and in North America marked an important shift toward seeing likeness in the larger story of Hawaiian–Indian relations. Over the preceding years, as increasing numbers of Kānaka encountered actual Native American people, face-to-face social relations and stories about them in the press undermined the figurative Indian that the missionary press in Hawai‘i had portrayed. These encounters happened both in North America and in Hawai‘i, starting in the eighteenth century with the travels of Kānaka to northwestern North America and the arrival of American Indian mariners aboard vessels. The fur trade, the gold rush, whaling, and seafaring labor brought Hawaiian men (and a few Hawaiian women) to North America, where many of them lived, worked with, and made families with American Indian people.<sup>47</sup> Via the Hawaiian-language press, direct encounters for Kānaka in North America became vicarious encounters for Hawaiian readers in Hawai‘i, and genetic kinship between certain Kānaka and certain Indians fed the emergence of a narrative of kinship between Kānaka and Indians more generally.

Because of the significant presence of New England American Indian men as crew on American vessels, it is likely that encounters with Indian people were some of the earliest encounters of Kānaka with outsiders in the eighteenth century. Hawaiian readers first could begin reading about such encounters in the late 1830s, when newspapers carried reports of American Indians landing in Hawaiian ports as workers in the sea otter hunting trade.<sup>48</sup> Assuming

such workers and sailors were afforded shore leave, the landing of ships with American Indian crew would likely have resulted in relatively brief encounters between Indians and Kānaka. No record exists of such encounters. One can only speculate on the nature of any such encounters, as Kānaka met Indians across boundaries of language. Putting into port at Lāhainā or Honolulu also created opportunities to “jump ship”—to escape the oppressive labor conditions of the ships, into which crew members had sometimes been forced, rather than signing on voluntarily. As the Australian historian of the Pacific Greg Denning argues, the ship jumpers and “beachcombers” who lived on the fringes of Pacific societies were among the most important ways that Islanders first gained perspectives on other places and peoples.<sup>49</sup>

By about 1850 American Indian “beachcombers” begin to appear in the written record in Hawai‘i. Speculation by Kānaka about them is emblematic of how Kānaka in these years were expressing interest in American Indians, but as of yet were still learning about them. In 1856 J. H. Kanepuu wrote to *Ka Hae Hawaii* to report that a stranger had been living for seven years in the mountains above Niu (east of Honolulu on O‘ahu) and that the man may have been an “Inikini no Amerika mai” (Indian from America). Residents of the area evidently found his presence disquieting. Kanepuu referred to him as “kekahi kanaka hihiu” (a wild man). The konohiki (district official) of the area had captured the unknown man to try to force him “e noho pu me na kanaka, a e hana ma na hana pono, e launa me ka oluolu” (to live together with people, and act properly, and associate pleasantly). The captive escaped his chains and returned to the upland. But for all the talk of his wildness, the man seems to have caused no trouble for Kānaka. Kanepuu himself admitted that the man lived peacefully in the mountains, cultivated kalo (taro), and if anyone came up to bother him, he simply fled “a he mama maoli no kona me he popoki la” (just as quickly as a cat).<sup>50</sup> That this man was cultivating kalo and was able to survive in the mountains suggests that he was not as isolated as Kanepuu evidently thought: kalo was not a crop that was known in North America or Mexico, so Kānaka presumably had taught the man to grow it and perhaps were associating with him. Nine years later, B. L. Koko wrote to *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* to report a similar story about a person in the Niu area (perhaps the same man) whom he identified as a “kanaka Ilikini” (Indian man).<sup>51</sup> This mysterious man was certainly not socially integrated into Kanaka society, but his presence in Hawai‘i and in the imaginations of Kānaka speaks to the way that Indians were coming to occupy a special place in Kanaka thinking by the middle of the nineteenth century.

Kānaka were not just encountering Indians in the realm of representation, and not only in their travels to North America, but in Hawai‘i as well. By the 1850s Hawaiian men and American Indian women were making families in North America. Some of their children moved to Hawai‘i, and soon Kānaka were encountering American Indian people and part-Hawaiian, part-Indian people in the islands. People of mixed heritage made plain to Kānaka—a people very oriented to genealogy—that they now literally had a kinship to Indian people. In 1866 Olepau returned from years of labor in California, bringing his Indian “kokoolua” (companion), their two daughters, and their son.<sup>52</sup> Most likely, Olepau had been one of the thousands of young Kānaka who had flocked to California in the wake of the discovery of gold in 1849. His sons were part of the history of the gold rush, as were three boys of mixed heritage whose names bore the mark of the rush for gold: Dala (Dollar), Imikula (Seek-gold), and Elikula (Dig-gold). Dala Kauanamano, a part-Indian child who won the speech contest at the Sunday school competition in central Hamakua on Hawai‘i Island in 1868, was probably the child of a similar union.<sup>53</sup> William Imikula Mahuka and John Elikula Mahuka, the sons of the Hawaiian gold seeker A. E. Mahuka and a Wintu Indian woman, were sent from their birthplace in Hawai‘i to be educated.<sup>54</sup> Though certainly fewer in number than Hawaiian people of part-white or part-Chinese ancestry, Hawaiian people of part-Indian descent were becoming a presence in Hawai‘i by the early 1850s.

Kinship between Kānaka individuals and Indian individuals was talked about frequently in articles on the lives of Kānaka living in North America, especially those who lived in California, Oregon, and Washington. After 1860 newspapers frequently reported on the relations between Hawaiian men overseas and Indian people. Common topics included the marriages of Hawaiian men and Indian women, the deaths of Hawaiian men, and the births of children of mixed Hawaiian and Indian heritage. Such stories frequently included the “one hanau” (birth sands, meaning birthplace) of the Hawaiian man in question.<sup>55</sup> In this manner, these individuals’ relatives and former neighbors in Hawai‘i were able to learn of their activities. But just as importantly, the many other readers of these newspapers were given a sense of the connection that Kānaka and American Indians had built in North America.

This did not mean that these connections were without conflict or even violence. In the 1860s the Hawaiian-language newspapers reported on several such conflicts in California—Hawaiian men allegedly killed by Indians, a Hawaiian man arrested for stealing from an Indian, and so forth.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, newspaper stories make clear that relations in Hawai‘i between Kānaka and

Indians were not free of conflict. In 1876 the newspaper *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* (*The Star of the Pacific*) reported that an Indian who worked at a sugar plantation near Lāhainā had killed a Hawaiian coworker in a fight.<sup>57</sup> In these accounts, one senses the enduring power of the images of Indian brutishness that the missionary and merchant press had promulgated among Kānaka for decades. Placed in the larger context of stories of Kānaka and American Indians who worked together, lived together, and made families together, these stories of conflict give nuance to a broader sense that Indians were people to whom Kānaka felt they were connected. As the story in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* made clear, that connection was not without difficulties, but it was nonetheless becoming established.

### **1860s Forward: What We Must Not Become**

It was not coincidental that stories such as these appeared in *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*. Founded in 1861, it was the first of a group of nationalist newspapers under Kanaka editorial control whose stories were beginning to point to how Hawaiians were being impoverished and dispossessed much as Indian people had been, and to urge Kānaka to resist that trend. Dispossession was a likeness to Indians to struggle against. In an effort to document and interpret Kanaka resistance to American colonialism, Kanaka scholars (led by the groundbreaking work of Noenoe Silva) have rightly focused their attention on *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and on the other Kanaka-controlled papers that followed it: *Ke Au Okoa* (*The New Era*), *Ka Makaainana* (*The Citizen* or *The Commoner*), *Ka Oiaio* (*The Truth*), *Ke Aloha Aina* (*The Patriot*), and others. By shifting the gaze from what whites said about Kānaka to what Kānaka said about themselves and others, groundbreaking studies have dismantled the myth of Kanaka passivity in the face of American colonialism and revealed the resistant politics of Kanaka cultural and intellectual endeavor in the second half of the nineteenth century. Kanaka editorial control was not enough to ensure that Indians would be portrayed differently than they had been in newspapers under white missionary control. For example, in 1862, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* published an account of savage Indian warfare and scalping that clearly showed how much its editors were shaped by the American newspapers on which they depended for sources and by the years of seeing Indian people through American representations such as those in the missionary-controlled press.<sup>58</sup>

But Hawaiian voices in the press were already pointing out that Kānaka were being dispossessed and must resist lest they be reduced to the state of

American Indians. It would be a mistake to assume that this shift occurred suddenly in the 1860s or was apparent only in Kānaka-controlled newspapers. First, it was a fine line between depictions of Indians that served as a negative model for Kānaka (whether portrayed as the White Man's Indian or as objects of pity) and looking at Indians as indicators of the danger that colonialism posed for Kānaka. Moreover, even in the missionary-controlled press, Kānaka used articles and letters to express the fear that colonialism could reduce them to the status of Indians. Indians were generally portrayed sympathetically, but functioned as a negative referent for Kānaka. To be Indian meant to be impoverished, landless, and colonized. In 1861 J. B. Nakea wrote to *Ka Hae Hawaii* about a group of Kānaka whom he had encountered in the vicinity of Waipi'o-uka (upper Waipi'o) on O'ahu. He came upon them as they ended a long search in the mountains for an abandoned 'awa (kava) field they had heard about—probably because they were desperately poor and needed something to sell. They were so impoverished that Nakea could compare them only to Indians: “Ua like ko lakou ano, a me ko lakou helehelena i ka nana aku, me he poe Ilikini la, aohe wahi lole wawae, aohe papale o lakou a pau. He mau wahi palaka wale no. A ua kunahihi lakou i ka make i ke anu” (Their nature and their appearance is like that of the Indians: none of them has pants or hats. Just shirts. And they were numbed to death by the cold).<sup>59</sup> Nakea's portrayal of these poor people wandering through the cold mountains in search of an abandoned field is painfully evocative in the aftermath of the widespread landlessness of the time, resulting from an 1848 land privatization known in Hawaiian history as the Māhele (“the Division”). As Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa demonstrates, the privatization of land removed the bulk of the Hawaiian population from the small farms on which they had made their living. Some were able to live for a time on small plots they had been assigned. But in the coming years, increasing numbers were reduced to a poverty so desperate that Nakea could describe it only as “like that of the Indians.”<sup>60</sup>

Although Nakea's comparison, like the colonial pedagogy of the missionary and merchant press, emphasized what Indians lacked, there was an important difference. The missionary press dedicated most of its energies to portraying Indians as what Kānaka should eschew: undomesticated hunters, brutish warriors, and unapologetic non-Christians. Nakea evoked a new fear that Kānaka were coming to be like Indians: impoverished and dispossessed. Perhaps Indians were not something distant and strange but something to which Kānaka were related, something that Kānaka could imagine being mapped onto their own bodies, and perhaps their own nation.

In the late nineteenth century, it appears that some Kānaka began to imagine their own struggles against colonialism as akin to those of Indians. This comparison was already politically contentious in 1868, when it was mobilized around the issue of the election of whites to the Hawaiian legislature. Hawai‘i’s monarchs were Native Hawaiian, but a perceived need for Western expertise (encouraged by Westerners in Hawai‘i), debt to Western creditors, and the leading place of foreigners in Hawai‘i’s economy combined to make non-Hawaiians a major presence in government posts, including the legislature. In elections in late 1867, whites (who already held a number of seats) increased in numbers in the legislature. This outcome deeply worried many Kānaka, including a man who wrote to the nationalist *Ke Au Okoa* under the name “Hawaii Pono” (Hawai‘i’s own, a patriotic catchphrase that became the title of the Hawaiian national anthem). Hawaii Pono warned Kānaka that their sovereignty was at stake and that they must elect only Kānaka in the future.<sup>61</sup> The author had chosen an appropriate newspaper for his piece. One of the new generation of nationalist newspapers, *Ke Au Okoa*, was edited by John Makini Kapena. Kapena was an active figure in governmental affairs, especially during the reign of his relative King Davida Kalākaua (who himself was instrumental to the emergence of the nationalist *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*).<sup>62</sup> Hawaii Pono’s article set off a series of dismissive editorial replies in the more establishment-oriented *Ka Hae Hawaii* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. Most interesting among these was an editorial in the latter that scornfully portrayed the opposition party as saying: “A e kaili ku ia ana ka kakou Kuokoa, e lawe wale ia ana ko kakou mau loi kalo, a o kakou o na mākāinana e kipakuia ana ma na kuahiwi e like me na Ilikini” (Our Kū‘oko‘a is being grabbed up, and our kalo patches are being taken, and we are the children of the land that are being driven away into the mountains like the Indians).<sup>63</sup> There was a thinly veiled kaona (double meaning) here: whites “grabbed up” the kū‘oko‘a, a reference to the *Kuokoa* newspaper that served whites’ interests and also to Hawai‘i’s independence, as “independence” is what kū‘oko‘a means. The larger ramifications of being “like the Indians” are clear. This meant the loss of lands and of sovereignty. The very fact that the *Kuokoa* editorial took the time to mockingly make this comparison between Kānaka and Indians suggests that it had currency among Kānaka.

Indeed, the danger of being “like the Indians” was one recognized even by those who celebrated the changes remaking much of rural Hawai‘i into an enormous American sugar plantation in the 1870s. In 1877 A. W. Wekeweke of North Kohala on Hawai‘i Island wrote to *Ka Lahui Hawaii* (*The Hawaiian Nation*, a church-oriented newspaper published from 1875 to 1877) to inform

the paper of the rapid progress of sugar production in the area, a progress that in some ways he celebrated. White-owned plantations were renting vast amounts of land for sugar production, with over two-thirds of the area given over to cane production. Wekeweke noted that such lands had probably passed forever into white hands. With plantations covering the lands all the way up to the side of Mauna Kea, most Kānaka would have nowhere to turn: “ē like aku ana me na Ilikini o Amerika, ka auwana iloko o ka ululauu” (our wanderings in the forest would be like those of the Indians of America).<sup>64</sup> With all the lands taken by haole, Kānaka would have to live on the slopes of Mauna Kea. This statement echoes the depictions of Indians as wandering hunters that dominated the colonialist teachings of the missionary and merchant press, but there was a very different politics at play when a Hawaiian linked those wanderings to the story of Kānaka dispossession in their own nation. Rather than existing as a savage other, Indians were becoming an unfortunate object of identification—a fate Hawaiians could already see but must resist. Because dispossession was the undesirable shared experience behind this identification of Kānaka with Indians, naming Kānaka as being like Indians was inherently unstable. Its negative connotations could spur Kānaka to resist colonization, but they could also encourage them to declare themselves to be different from Indians, the very sign of the colonized.

### **1890s Forward: Anti-annexation Politics and “What We Have Now Become Like”**

Those resonances came to the surface after 1893, when American planter and commercial interests overthrew the sovereign Hawaiian Kingdom and instituted a new government in hopes of rapid annexation to the United States. The likeness between Kānaka and American Indians was made especially clear on the pages of *Ka Makaainana*. This pro-Hawaiian sovereignty and anti-annexation newspaper, which was published from 1887 to 1899, announced its politics in its very name. “Ka makaāinana” translates into English as “the commoner,” “the citizen,” or “the people,” but can be more literally translated as “the one who is on the land.” The title is rich with nationalism and especially with attachment to the āina, the land. Thus the paper’s masthead gave particular power to articles about Indian lands, such as a piece reporting that the Nicaraguan government had decided to “alapoho ae i kela okana-aina kuokoa o na Ilikini a ua hoopauia aku ka heaia ana o ia inoa ma nei mua aku” (swallow up the [Miskito] Indians’ independent land district and put a halt to it being called



by that name from this time forward).<sup>65</sup> For Kānaka, who had seen their constitutional monarchy “swallowed up” and forcibly renamed as a republic less than two years earlier, the seizure and renaming of Miskito lands helped frame their own condition as colonial. *Ka Makaainana* pointed out, “Ke manao la na poe Ilikini o Iukatana e hakaka aku ia Mekiko no ka hoihoi hou ia mai o ko lakou mau aina” (The Indian peoples of the Yucatan are planning to fight Mexico for the return of their lands).<sup>66</sup>

In the aftermath of the overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom and the threat of annexation by the United States, comparisons with other colonized people became more powerful and geographically expansive. The articles above referred to Ilikini (Indians, in Hawaiian) in Nicaragua and Mexico, whereas most earlier references to Ilikini in the Hawaiian-language press spoke about the United States. This geographic expansion was an important shift, given that *Ka Makaainana* was using its pages to draw similarities between Kānaka and American Indians around the issues of dispossession and colonialism. The newspaper made this even clearer in an 1896 article in which it reported (perhaps figuratively, as other sources do not refer to the event) that Americans had stolen the bones of Kamehameha I. The newspaper used colonialism and dispossession to draw even more expansive connections between Kānaka and other peoples. *Ka Makaainana* reported that not only in Latin America but also in Africa, invading Europeans had not been content to plunder the land. They plundered also the most sacred things, the things that had been set aside, including the bones of the ancestors. This was the sort of opponent the Hawaiian nation faced. And this was the sort of comparison that now expressed the situation of the Kānaka: a comparison with Indians of Latin America and even Africans.<sup>67</sup>

Two months later, in December 1895, *Ka Makaainana* made clearer still what these articles intimated: the best way to understand what would happen to Kānaka if their nation was annexed to the United States would be to look at the situation of American Indian people. In an editorial titled “E Hoohuiia Anei Kakou?” (“Should We Be Annexed?”), the newspaper proffered a resounding no. The newspaper predicted that if the United States annexed Hawai‘i, “e hoohalikeia aku ana kakou me na poe Ilikini o Amerika Huipuiā” (we will be comparable to the Indian peoples of the United States). The only possible difference: Kānaka might get to vote on the issue of statehood.<sup>68</sup> This offered the editors little consolation.

Hawai‘i was annexed as a territory by the United States in 1898 in contravention of both international law and American constitutional law. In 1959,



when powerful forces in Hawai‘i and Washington came to favor statehood, the question of statehood was (as the editors of *Ka Makaainana* had said it might be) put to a vote. But the voters for that referendum were not just Kānaka. Rather, all the residents of the Territory, only a minority of whom were Kānaka, were permitted to vote. Nor did the ballot give voters the chance to cast their vote for independence. The only option was to approve or deny whether Hawai‘i should “immediately be admitted into the Union as a State.” In this way, the loss of effective sovereign control by Kānaka over their homeland that resulted from annexation was even worse than the editors of *Ka Makaainana* had predicted in 1895.

Because they had lost their effective sovereignty, because their lands had been taken, and because they had been impoverished, Kānaka had indeed been “comparable to the Indian peoples,” but it took a *creative act* for Kānaka to see that likeness and to point it out in writing. Kānaka did not resemble Indians in many of the ways that the latter had been described in the missionary-controlled Hawaiian language press: Kānaka ate neither elk nor bison nor antelope, did not roam the forest primeval, and did not lack a farming tradition or homes or a sense of property. Then again, most American Indian people did not fit those essentialist and racist descriptions either. For all the differences between American Indians and Kānaka, they both faced the problem of American colonialism—or, in the broader vision of *Ka Makaainana’s* articles in the 1890s, colonialism more generally. It took imaginative power for Kānaka to understand themselves to be like Indians. This complex and unstable act of identification across space and boundaries emerged over a century’s time as Kānaka read about and encountered American Indian people.

This is the remarkable creative act that nineteen-year-old Eli Keolanui achieved in his graduation address at Hilo Boarding School in 1923. In the heavily circumscribed context of a boarding school and in a paper on immigration to the continental United States, Keolanui implicitly forwarded an idea that had grown in Hawai‘i over a century, and especially since annexation by the United States: the idea that a likeness could be seen between Kānaka and American Indians. Under the pressure of American linguistic colonialism, the Hawaiian-language press on whose pages we can trace the evolution of this idea was already in decline when Keolanui penned his words, and mostly defunct by the 1940s.<sup>69</sup> But these acts of identifying likeness mark a crucial step in the genealogy of the contemporary notion of global indigeneity, which are powerful in political movements and the academy worldwide. This idea was implicit in Keolanui’s critique of settler colonial discourses of immigration, a critique that

(much like Kanaka thinking on American Indians) skillfully appropriated and deployed American texts and ideas for sovereign Hawaiian purposes.

## Notes

- Mahalo nui to Lisa Kahaleole Hall, Noenoe Silva, Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, Dean Saranillio, Nayan Shah, William J. Bauer, Jean O'Brien, and the American Indian and Indigenous Studies Workshop at the University of Minnesota for their generous help in thinking through the core issues in this article, and to Ty Kāwika Tengan, Paul Lyons, and the anonymous reader for crucial assistance in refining and extending it.
1. Eli Keolanui, "Immigration," and 1923 Graduation Program, Hilo Boarding School Records, Lyman House Museum and Archives, Hilo, Hawai'i. A note on usage: as is the norm in Hawaiian studies, I use the terms *Hawaiian*, *Native Hawaiian*, *Kanaka* (and its plural form *Kānaka*), *Kanaka Maoli*, and *Kanaka 'Ōiwi Hawai'i* as synonyms, each referring indigenous Hawaiians. I use the terms *Indian* and *American Indian* rather than *Native American*. They resonate with the Hawaiian words *Ilikini* and *Inikini*, which derive from the word *Indian*, and they are in common use by scholars of the Indigenous people of the United States and in American Indian communities.
  2. Noelani Goodyear-Ka'ōpua, *The Seeds We Planted: Portraits of a Native Hawaiian Charter School* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 16, 17, 22.
  3. Scott Richard Lyons, *X-Marks: Native Signatures of Assent* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
  4. Jodi Byrd argues for the modification of this schema with the introduction of the notion of the arrivant, referring to nonnative racialized subjects (*Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011]). On settler colonialism, see Patrick Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native," *Journal of Genocide Research* 8 (2006): 387–409; and Kevin Bruyneel, *The Third Space of Sovereignty: The Postcolonial Politics of U.S.-Indigenous Relations* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).
  5. Keolanui, "Immigration," 1–2.
  6. Prescott F. Hall, "Immigration and Its Effects upon the United States," in *Immigration and Americanization: Selected Readings*, ed. Philip Davis (Boston: Ginn, 1920), 61; Henry Cabot Lodge, "Immigration: A Review," in Davis, *Immigration and Americanization*, 50–60; Philip Davis, "What America Means to the Immigrant," in Davis, *Immigration and Americanization*, 661–71. Unlike Hall and Lodge, Davis aligned himself with what he perceived as European immigrants' interests and was not opposed to European immigration. Keolanui thus uses Davis's words with the least changes and saves these words for the concluding section of his essay, which argues against immigration laws that discriminate on the basis of national origin.
  7. Hall, "Immigration and Its Effects," 61–62.
  8. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui is examining the question of indigeneity in statist Hawaiian nationalism in her current book manuscript, "Thy Kingdom Come? The Paradox of Hawaiian Sovereignty." See also Byrd, *Transit of Empire*, 147–85.
  9. David A. Chang, *The World and All the Things upon It: Native Hawaiian Geographies of Exploration* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, forthcoming).
  10. My wording of these ideas resonates with Kealani Cook's phrase "how we used to be." See Kealani Cook, "Kahiki: Native Hawaiian Relationships with Other Pacific Islanders" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2011), 23.
  11. "Hawaiian Recognition Plan Meets Vocal Opposition," *Honolulu Star Advertiser*, August 7, 2014; J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "Precarious Positions: Native Hawaiians and U.S. Federal Recognition," in *Recognition, Sovereignty Struggles, and Indigenous Rights in the United States: A Sourcebook*, ed. Amy E. Den Ouden and Jean M. O'Brien (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 311–36.

12. For a critique of this sort of politics of recognition, and a revindication of alternative practices of indigenous self-recognition, see Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014).
13. Chadwick Allen, *Blood Narrative* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002), 196; Claire Charters and Rodolfo Stavenhagen, eds., *Making the Declaration Work: The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (Copenhagen: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, 2009).
14. Hokulani Aikau, introduction to *Chosen People, Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Cook, "Kahiki"; Alice Te Punga Somerville, *Once Were Pacific: Māori Connections to Oceania* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Ty, P. Kāwika Tengan, Tēvita O. Ka'ili, and Rochelle Tuitagava'a Fonoti, "Genealogies: Articulating Indigenous Anthropology in/of Oceania," *Pacific Studies* 33:2–3 (2010): 161; Epeli Hau'ofa, "Our Sea of Islands," in *We Are the Ocean: Collected Works* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008), 27–40.
15. Cook, "Kahiki," 23.
16. My thinking on these topics has been shaped especially by Lyons, *X-Marks*; Philip Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004); Somerville, *Once Were Pacific*; Noenoe L. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004).
17. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*; Hokulani Aikau, "Indigeneity in the Diaspora: The Case of Native Hawaiians at Iosepa, Utah," *American Quarterly* 62 (2010): 477–500; Kamanamaikalani Beamer, *No Mākou Ka Mana: Liberating the Nation* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 2014); Kealani Cook, "Kalākaua's Polynesian Confederacy: Teaching World History in Hawai'i and Hawai'i in World History," *World History Connected* 8 (October 2011), worldhistoryconnected.press.illinois.edu/8.3/forum\_cook.html; Cook, "Kahiki."
18. Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian, from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 1, 4.
19. Noenoe Silva, with the assistance of Iokepa Badis, "Early Hawaiian Newspapers and Kanaka Maoli Intellectual History, 1834–1855," *Hawaiian Journal of History* 42 (2008): 109; Helen G. Chapin, *Guide to Newspapers of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2000), 65.
20. John Lee Comstock, *A Natural History of Quadrupeds, with Engravings* (Hartford, CT: D. F. Robinson, 1829).
21. "No ka Eleka" ("Regarding the Elk"), *Ka Lama Hawaii*, March 21, 1834, 1. All translations are my own.
22. "No ka Bipikuapu" ("Regarding the Bison"), *Ka Lama Hawaii*, April 4, 1834, 1.
23. "No ka Aiananona" ("Regarding the Anteater"), *Ka Lama Hawaii*, April 18, 1834, 1.
24. On forests and "savagery," see Berkhofer, *White Man's Indian*, 13.
25. My thinking on this point has been influenced by the excellent analysis of Kealani Cook, who fruitfully explores the power of the na'au'pō-mālamalama binary in mid-nineteenth century Hawaiian thought in delineating hierarchies between Kānaka (supposedly enlightened by their Christianity) and other Pacific Islanders (allegedly stuck in the darkness of ignorance, sin, and paganism) (Cook, "Kahiki," 30–83).
26. Silva and Badis, "Early Hawaiian Newspapers," 118, 124; Chapin, *Guide*, 78.
27. "No ka Mahiai" ("Regarding Farming"), *Ka Nonanona*, January 3, 1844, 84–85.
28. "Hakina 8: No na mea i hanaia i maikai ai kanaka. No ka hoolaha ana i ka Olelo a ke Akua" ("Part 8: Regarding Things that Are Done for People's Good. Regarding the Propagation of the Word of God"), *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, May 4, 1835, 67.
29. "No ka Hae Hawaii" ("For Ka Hae Hawaii"), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, April 16, 1856, 25.
30. "No ke Kalaiaina.—Helu 27" ("Regarding Political Economy: Number 27"), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, January 27, 1858, 165.
31. "Home," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, February 8, 1860, 178.
32. Silva and Badis, "Early Hawaiian Newspapers," 112; Chapin, *Guide*, 63.
33. "He Ui Misionary: Hakina 10" ("A Missionary Catechism: Number 10"), *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, August 19, 1835, 131.
34. "Nu Hou Kuwaho" ("Foreign News"), *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 26, 1867, 2.
35. "Kialua Chenamus" ("The Schooner Chenamus"), *Ka Nonanona*, October 11, 1842, 47.

36. “Kaua o na Inikini” (“War of the Indians”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, April 2, 1856, 18; “Pepehi Kanaka” (“Kills a Man”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, June 13, 1860, 4.
37. Untitled article, *Ka Hae Hawaii*, February 18, 1857, 202.
38. “Pepehi Kanaka.”
39. Mary Frances Morgan Armstrong and Samuel Chapman Armstrong, *America. Richard Armstrong. Hawaii* (Hampton, VA: Normal School Steam Press, 1887), 35.
40. “Kaua o na Inikini.”
41. “No na Inikini” (“Regarding the Indians”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, October 24, 1860, 124.
42. Untitled article, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, January 2, 1839, 63.
43. “No ka Emi Ana o na Kanaka” (“The Reduction in Numbers of the Kānaka”), *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, April 10, 1839, 90.
44. “Ka Pepehi Hoomainoino ana ma Papu Pilo (Pillow)” (“The Atrocious Killing at Fort Pillow”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 21, 1864, 1.
45. “No ka hanaino ia o ka poe o ka Akau e lawe pio ia e ko ka Hema” (“Regarding the Mistreatment of Northerners Taken Prisoner by the Southerners”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 9, 1865, 2.
46. “Pau ole ke ano pouli o Hawaii nei” (“The Ignorant Nature of Hawai’i Is Not Over”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, June 19, 1861, 48.
47. David A. Chang, “Borderlands in a World at Sea: Concow Indians, Native Hawaiians, and South Chinese in Indigenous, Global, and National Spaces,” *Journal of American History* 98.2 (2011): 379–98.
48. Untitled article, *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, August 1, 1838, 10.
49. Greg Dening, *Islands and Beaches: Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas, 1774–1880* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1980).
50. J. H. Kanepuu, “Kanaka Hihui Mauka o Niu” (“Wild Man Upland from Niu”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, November 12, 1856, 147.
51. B. L. Koko, untitled article, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 30, 1865, 4.
52. “He Mau Wai-Hooluu Ano e i Hoohuiia” (“Different Colors Brought Together”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 19, 1866, 3.
53. “Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Ku*, February 1, 1868, 3.
54. Charles W. Kenn, “Descendants of Captain Sutter’s Kanakas,” *Proceedings of the Second Annual Meeting of the Conference of California Historical Societies* (Stockton, CA: College of the Pacific, 1956), 94. Kenn reports that the sons were schooled at the Oahu Charity School, but it is possible that William Imikula was the same person as the Imikula who later enrolled at Hilo Boarding School. Enrollment ledger, Hilo Boarding School Records, AR-7, Education Files, Enrollment Records, 65, box 4, folder 29, Lymon House Museum and Archives, Hilo, Hawai’i.
55. The many examples include “Palapala mai kekahi kanaka Hawaii mai Kalifonia mai” (“Letter from a Hawaiian Person, from California”), *Ka Hae Hawaii*, November 7, 1860, 132; “He Palapala na ko makou elele i holo aku nei i Kapalakiko” (“A Letter from Our Envoy Who Sailed to San Francisco”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 25, 1862, 4; “No na wahine Ilikini me na keiki, me na mea ai a lakou, a me ka nui o na keiki a na kanaka ma Keomolewa nei” (“Regarding the Indian Women, and the Children, and Their Food, and the Number of the Children of the Kānaka Here in Columbia”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 26, 1865, 1; John Makani, “No Ioane Makani Ilikini” (“Regarding Ioane Makani, Indian”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, November 2, 1867, 3; “Mai Oregona Mai” (“From Oregon”), *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 29, 1868, 2.
56. “Ka make weliweli ana o Hale Kalaluhi ma Bill Hill County of Cottonwood, Kaleponia” (“The Dreadful Death of Hale Kalaluhi in Bill Hill County, Cottonwood, California”), *Nupepa Kuokoa*, October 20, 1866, 4; “Make Wiliama G. Kahuakaipia i pana ia e ka Ilikini ma New Years Diggings, Mariposa County, Califonia” (“Wiliama G. Kahuakaipia Dies, Shot by the Indian at New Year’s Diggings, Mariposa County, California”), *Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 1, 1868, 4; “Hopuia” (“Captured”), *Nupepa Kuokoa*, March 29, 1862, 2.
57. “He hakaka no ka make” (“A Fight to the Death”), *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, September 14, 1876, 3.
58. “Kaua Nui ma Sugar Creek” (“Big Battle at Sugar Creek”), *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, April 3, 1862, 2.
59. “Mai Pau ke Ola,” *Ka Hae Hawaii*, August 14, 1861, 80. The title of the article contains kaona, or layered meanings. The text of the letter refers to a rain known as Pau ke ola, which can be translated as “life is over.” Mai (or ma’i) can represent several meanings. Give that the article concerns an impoverished person who nearly dies in the mountains, the title permits a number of translations, the most plausible of which include “From Paukeola” and “Life Nearly Ended.”

60. Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā e Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).
61. Title of article missing, *Ke Au Okoa*, December 19, 1867, 2. On the exchange of letters and editorials referred to here, see Leilani Basham, "Ka Lāhui Hawai'i: He Mo'olelo, He 'Āina, He Loina, a He Ea Kākou," *Hūlili* 6 (2010), [www.ksbe.edu/spi/Hulili](http://www.ksbe.edu/spi/Hulili).
62. Helen Geracimos Chapin, *Shaping History: The Role of Newspapers in Hawai'i* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 62.
63. Untitled article, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, February 22, 1868, 2.
64. A. W. Wekeweke, "Na mea hou o Kohala Akau nei," *Ka Lahui Hawaii*, January 18, 1877, 3.
65. "Alapohoia ka Aina Makika" ("News from Here in North Kohala"), *Ka Makaainana*, June 3, 1895, 3.
66. "Na hunahuna Laulaha" ("Miscellany Spread Far and Wide"), *Ka Makaainana*, October 7, 1895, 7.
67. "Mamao Loa ka Laulea" ("Happiness Is Far Away"), *Ka Makaainana*, February 3, 1896, 4.
68. "E Hoohuiia Anei Kakou?" ("Should We be Annexed?"), *Ka Makaainana*, December 23, 1895, 4.
69. *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* seems to have ceased publication in August 1948, and no other regularly published Hawaiian-language periodical would appear until the 1980s.