

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF
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Archaeological investigations can reveal persistent traditions of ethnic groups. Hawaiians were employed in the fur trade of the Columbia River from 1810 through 1850. The Hudson's Bay Company employed them at Ft. Vancouver, Washington from 1825 through the end of this period. Data from the excavations of the servant's village at Ft. Vancouver are compared with the built environment of contact period Hawaii. Similarity of structural remains suggests a persistence of tradition among the Hawaiian employees of the Hudson's Bay Company.

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Ku on the Columbia:
Hawaiian Laborers in the
Pacific Northwest Fur Industry.

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Ku On The Columbia: Hawaiian Laborers in the Pacific Northwest Fur Industry.

Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

The Euro-American culture of the North American fur trade has been widely documented. Many published histories have been written and numerous archaeological studies of trading posts have been conducted. This attention is to be expected, as the fur trade was a very powerful tool in the expansion of western capitalist mercantilism. The minority cultures associated with the fur trade have not fared so well. The Native Americans and Pacific Islanders that were employed by the fur trading companies have received little attention.

Histories of the fur trade have been focused on commercial enterprise (e.g. Galbraith 1957; Gibson 1985; Ronda 1990) and its physical presence (Hussey 1957), or the personal experiences of Euro-Americans (e.g. Cox 1957; Franchère 1967). Some of these (e.g. Franchère 1967; Ronda 1990) have noted the presence of the Hawaiians as employees in the western coastal and interior fur trade. None have focused specifically on the Hawaiians in the fur trade. Even in a review of Hawaiian contributions to the history of the Pacific coast (Duncan 1972a) the numbers and the distribution of the Hawaiians employed in the fur trade were derived from anecdotal sources.

Similarly, the archaeology of historic fur trade sites has focused on the architecture and material culture of the commercial enterprise (e.g. Caywood 1948, 1953; Larabee 1966). Archaeological studies that included peripheral communities (e.g. Caywood 1954; Thomas and Hibbs 1984) expected a localized expression of a standardized Euro-American material culture. When artifacts and features did not derive from the industrially based material culture of the fur trade, they were interpreted as evidence of indigenous Native American cultures. Archaeological studies of ethnicity and cultural interaction (e.g. Kardas 1971; Pysczyk 1989) also assumed this technological dichotomy.

I review the fur trade and its material culture from a different perspective. Instead of Euro-American culture, I examine the material record of the fur trade for evidence of the Hawaiian culture. I assume that acculturation is not necessarily implied by material culture.

I propose that the Hawaiians employed by the northwest fur trade between 1810 and 1845 were the bearers of a strong and vibrant cultural system that maintained their ethnic identity. I propose that this ethnic identity is discernable in the archaeological record of the Pacific Northwest. I further propose that cultural changes, primarily religious and political, in Hawaii during this time are reflected in a diachronic change in the material culture and demographics of the emigrants. These propositions can be tested by integrating the historical, ethnographic and archaeological records relevant to this population.

Chapter 2 is a brief review of the history, religion, and material culture of Hawaii. Chapter 3 integrates a review of the culture of the Northwest Coast and Columbia River fur trade and a study of the Hawaiians employed by the fur trade. Chapter 4 re-examines the archaeological record of the fur trade for evidence of ethnic material culture associated with traditional Hawaiian culture. In Chapter 5, the results of these examinations are integrated to test a model for the recognition of uniquely Hawaiian components of the material culture record of the Pacific Northwest.

The recognition of such features requires, as does the study of all non-European cultures, a suspension of the Euro-American world view. The economic basis for a complex socio-cultural group is not restricted to market exploitation. By suspending the concept that man adapts nature to culture, systems that are adapted to natural cycles become more understandable. Interpreting the purpose or assigning the cultural or ethnic origin of an archaeological feature requires knowledge of the range of probable creators and their motivations as well as the context of the creation.

The context of the fur trade requires an understanding of the market forces which encouraged its rapid expansion. Historically, three agents of mercantile state expansionism were most active in the eastern Pacific during the fur trade era. Colonial exploitation of this region expanded markets and extracted resources in some places by the simple expedient of complete replacement of traditional socio-religious complexes. In many places expansion was accomplished by pernicious mercantilism and aggressive agrarian displacement of non-agrarian peoples.

Pernicious mercantilism, or the conversion of native economies from relative self-sufficiency to dependence on foreign products was the most significant technique of the fur trade. New symbols of wealth and power were

introduced to indigenous American cultures. Symbols that were classically composed of the exotic goods available only through long distance inter-group exchange. In a manner akin to the modern images of the illegal narcotics trade, the fur trade carried the addicting steel knife, gunpowder, and the iron boiling pot to the unaware. Gifts to the trendsetters ["The first one is free." or "Here, this is especially nice. Give it to your wife."] caused dissonance among the followers. Clothing, beads, and metal objects previously unavailable or even undreamed of were suddenly present.

This is a study of the Hawaiians who participated in the fur trade era exploration and exploitation of the drainage basin of the Columbia River and the northwest coast of North America. This era opened with two discoveries by Captain Cook during his third voyage in 1778 and 1779. First, the discovery of the Hawaiian Islands and second, the discovery of the high interest in sea otter furs by the Chinese. Until this time, the sea otter and its Chinese market had been concealed from Europe by the Russians (Barbeau 1958). The specifics of this study are confined to the period of the English and American Northwest Coastal and Columbia River fur trade (Figure 1), from 1810 through 1845. Though the Russians also employed Hawaiian laborers (Duncan 1972:96), they are reserved for future investigation. The Columbia River fur trade era closed with the increased immigration and settlement of Americans and the end of the Hudson's Bay Company's control of the commerce of the lower Columbia River in the late 1840's.

In the body of the text America is defined as the United States of America and Canada is the area now politically described as Canada. During the period of this study, neither had completed their western expansion. The Northwest is the Pacific Northwest, generally meaning the Columbia River and its associated drainages but often including Puget Sound and the Pacific Coast of North America from north of San Francisco to southern Alaska. Hawaii and Hawai'i are distinguished from each other in that Hawaii is the Kingdom (now the state) of Hawaii and Hawai'i is specifically the island of Hawai'i. Other names for Hawaii and Hawaiians such as Captain Cook's 'Sandwich Islands', various spellings of Owhyhee, and the Polynesian word 'kanaka' are used when a source is quoted or in the modern identification of geographic localities. Other political and geographic identities are explained when they are introduced or are generally similar to their current identity.

Non-English words, intended in their non-English usage, are italicized as

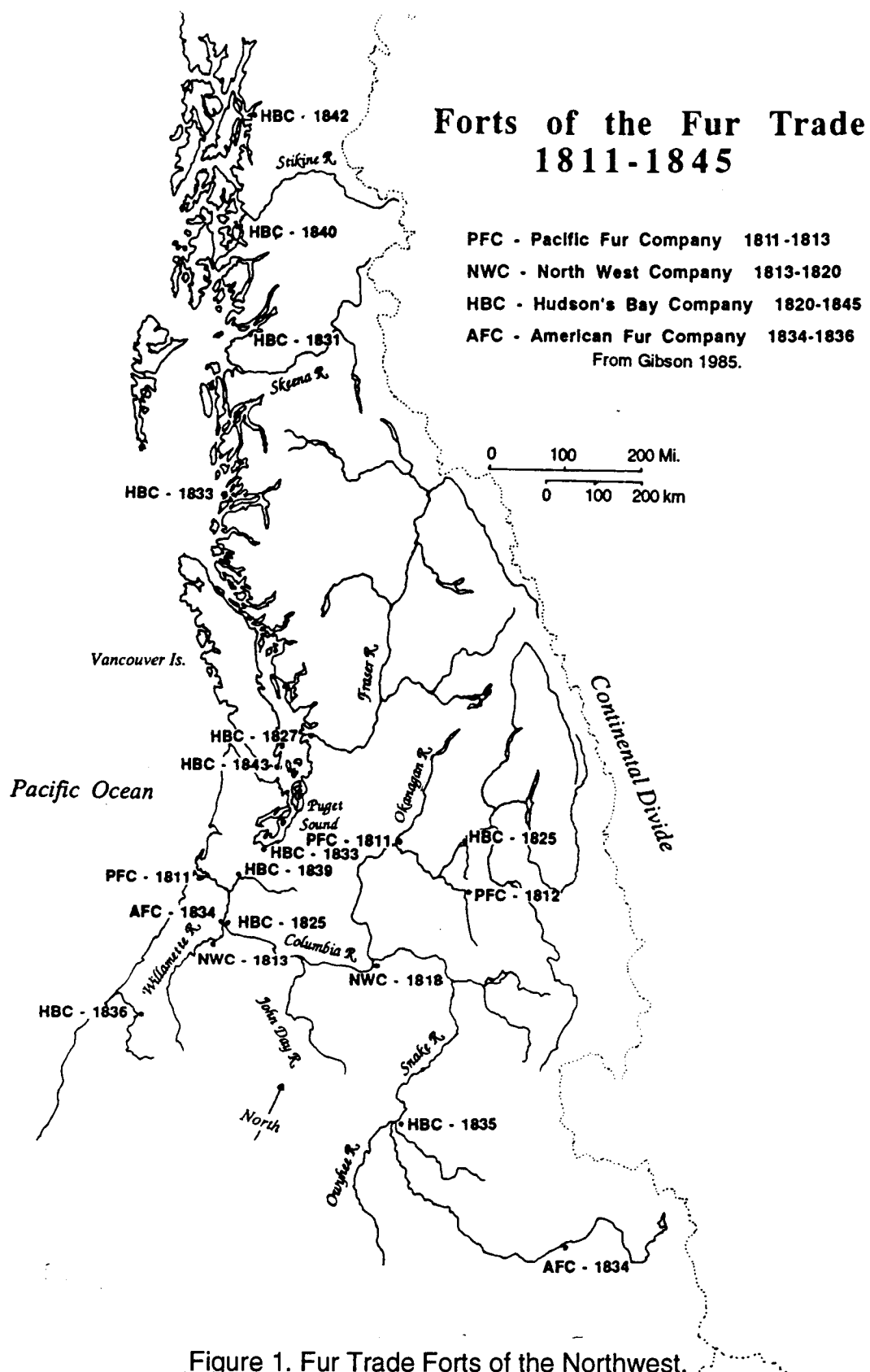


Figure 1. Fur Trade Forts of the Northwest.

are the names of ships. Hawaiian is a Polynesian language. Polynesian, in general, was not a written language and modern written versions of Polynesian languages are the result of a process of standardization of the aural values understood by Europeans. Hawaiian was standardized in the 1820's and 30's by missionaries from the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (hereafter ABCFM) for their own purposes. Though vowels and consonants have constant values (Appendix A), enunciation is often unpredictable in words of more than a few syllables due to the compound nature of the longer words (cf. Pukui and Elbert 1986).

In deference to modern Hawaiian cultural identity, the term '*kanaka*' should not be used as a label for Hawaiians by those who are not cultural members (Naughton 1983).

Chapter 2: HAWAIIAN CULTURE

... people built their heiaus in different ways. If they were prominent people, their heiaus would be large; if they were humble people, their heiaus would be small [Kamakau 1976:131].

This chapter briefly reviews the social and material culture of pre- and post-contact Hawaii. Specific aspects of the societal structure and material environment are discussed to enable identification of Hawaiian components in the archaeological record of the Pacific Northwest.

Hawaii

The Hawaiians are a branch of the Polynesian people. With roots in the Indo-Asian subcontinent, the ancestral Polynesian society emerged from the seafaring Lapita culture in the eastern Polynesian area composed of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa by about 500 B. C. (Kirch 1989:20). After about 300 A. D., the independent development of various island groups was such that "...it is no longer reasonable to speak of a unified ancestral society" (Kirch 1989:20). The configuration of the ancestral society has been inferred from linguistic reconstruction, primarily glotto-chronology, and descended attachments to the ethnographically recorded aspects of material culture. Kirch cautions that the understanding of the origins and travels of Polynesian society is far from complete with many gaps in the record (ibid.:21).

For the Hawaiian Islands, the pattern of Polynesian expansion and settlement seems to be as follows. The Marquesas of eastern Polynesia were settled by 300 B. C., yet the Society Islands (Tahiti, etc.) in central Polynesia were apparently not settled until 1000 A. D. (Kirch 1989:24-25). The Hawaiian islands were settled from the Marquesas before 300 A. D.. The settlers encountered an excellent land and, as was common among Polynesians, they named their new lands for places in their ancestral legends. They expanded slowly through the island chain until about 1200 A.D., when contact with the Society Islands brought new ideas and methodologies. The contacts ended by 1400 A. D. and once again in isolation, the culture evolved into the form discovered by Captain Cook in 1778 (Castle 1917; Kirch 1985, 1989; Kroeber

1923; Lewis 1972; Williamson 1924). The remainder of the chapter is drawn from the characterizations of contact period Hawaii.

Hawaiian Social Organization

The Hawaiian social structure was a two-tiered hierarchical system. The upper class was the chiefly class or *ali'i*. This class was internally stratified. The other stratum, the commoner class or *maka'ainana* was not formally ranked.

The *ali'i* relied upon the labor provided by the *maka'ainana* for agricultural produce, forest products and marine resources. The chiefs controlled land use and used the surplus produce. The land management system relied on the chiefs of lower rank to manage the *ahupua'a* and *'okana* to produce a surplus above the subsistence needs of the commoners.

In general, a commoner's household membership was a large extended family that could include unrelated dependents. Linnekin found that kinship ties implied by the earlier anthropological description "...as a branch of a ranked lineage on the Polynesian conical clan model" (Linnekin 1985:60) were not supported by the loose structures reported by early visitors to the islands. Linnekin (ibid.) ascribed this to an ephemeral, non-binding nature of marital ties among the commoners. Informal cohabitation and freely practiced adoption avoided the concept of illegitimacy. Overlapping kindred groups created supporting networks. Households and communities composed of such networks did not need the long histories of the nobles to legitimize power. The oral record of three or four generations was sufficient to assign responsibilities and privileges within the household (Linnekin 1985:60-61 and ch. 5). This family unit subsisted on the produce from the *kihapai* or family farm (Earle 1978:15).

Households were grouped in the *ahupua'a*. This served as a basic island land division comprising an economic district that extended from the sea to the center of the island. The *ahupua'a*, by nature internally self-sufficient, was the smallest unit responsible for taxes to the ruling chiefs (Kirch 1985:3). Commoner marriages were usually within the *ahupua'a*. The family identified with the community and migration was not common (Earle 1978:14-15). Communal tasks often required external co-ordination by the *konohiki*, analogous to a paid manager. The *konohiki*, an *ali'i* of lesser rank, was

responsible for organizing both agricultural and religious labor forces for the maintenance of the infrastructure and in return was entitled to some portion of the revenue from the *ahupua'a* (Kamakau 1976:150).

Taxation and the *konohiki* served to prevent accumulation of wealth by commoners. The system effectively enforced a community standard of egalitarianism among the commoners (Linnekin 1985:140, 144). Though not all *ahupua'a* had marine or upland access, they were generally self-sufficient, as landforms created differing environments and cropping patterns. Some *ahupua'a* had additional resource bases. An *ahupua'a* might have advantageous slopes or bays and reefs or a unique resource such as a quarry for adze production. When combined, *ahupua'a* composed a district (*'okana*). Several or all of the districts on an island comprised the chiefdom (*moku*).

The upper hierarchical group were the *ali'i*. Analogous to the English usage of 'noble' when in reference to the ruling elite as a whole, and more closely meaning 'chief' when applied to an office or the function of an individual. In contrast to the commoners, the chiefly class was highly stratified on the basis of kinship. The paramount chief had to be from the highest ranking families of the *ali'i*. One title of the paramount, *ali'i 'ai moku*, translates as 'chief that eats [from] the chiefdom', meaning the chief entitled to eat the produce of the chiefdom (Earle 1978:15; Kirch 1985:15). The word 'from' in the translation is an implied word and given that the transition from one chief to the next was not always easy, it is probable that the title had a double meaning.

The chief, whether chief by succession or chief by conquest, would traditionally keep the lands he wanted, and then divide the rest among his faithful subchiefs. These chiefs would, in turn, divide the properties among their followers and a feudal-like order was established. The principle remained that the chief gave the land and for any reason could take the land back (Kuykendall 1938:10).

In Hawaii, loyalties were not static; it was nothing unusual for a chief to transfer his allegiance from one overlord to another; intermarriages between the *alii* of different islands were common, and one chief, either male or female, might at different times he [sic] married to chiefs of rival families [Kamakau 1979:29].

The distinction between the chiefs and the commoners was based upon birthright, similar to the feudal holdings of mediæval Europe. The tenant farmers and fishermen owed allegiance and labor to the several chiefs who controlled the land. However, the commoners were free to leave the land they farmed and resided upon, to seek livelihoods elsewhere. This privilege served as a check on the greed of the chief when excessive demands drove the labor force into a rival's fields (Castle 1917:15).

Rathje and Schiffer (1982:54) label the governing structure at contact a chiefdom. Hommon (1972) views Hawaii as a primitive state. Hawaii can probably best be viewed as lying in the continuum between complex chiefdom and statehood. Some of these characteristics are relevant and need review.

Political power was the legitimate monopoly of the noble classes and many of the functions of government had already devolved on noble bureaucrats (Hommon 1972). The *konohiki* would be responsible for levying enough labor for example, to repair an irrigation system disrupted by a flooding stream. In the case of a larger, regional devastation from a volcanic eruption, *tsunami*, or hurricane, labor coordination would be by the district or island chief.

Taxes of labor could be levied for the general maintenance of the land holding or for the personal benefit of the hierarchy of landlords. There were no definite rules about how much labor could be demanded, in essence the tax could be infinite. Though the labor force could nominally pack up and move to another district if things got too bad, this may not have been as easy as it sounds and there were no assurances that things would be any better in the new district (Earle 1978; Kuykendall 1938:270-273).

The governing structure and the power of the *ali'i* were supported by the religious superstructure. The people accepted the devine right to rule.

The Superstructure

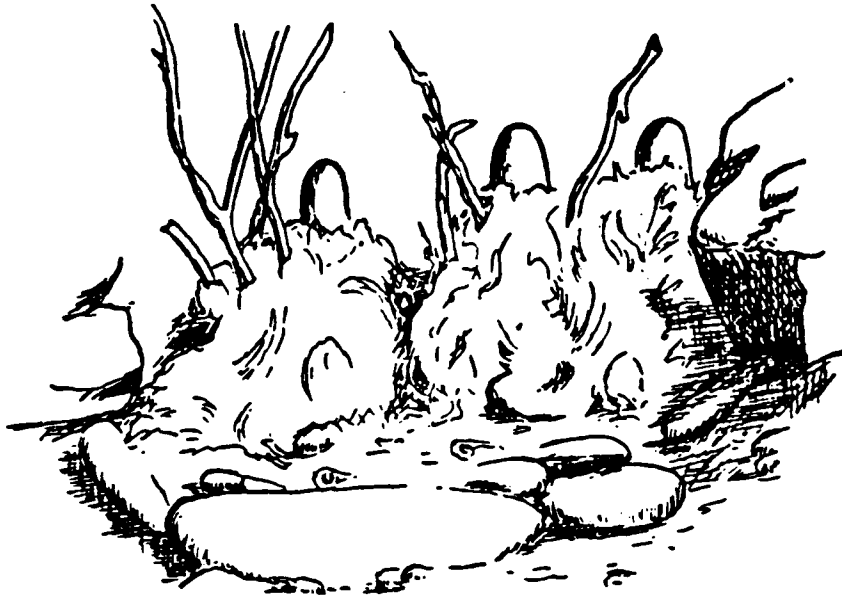
The Polynesian religious system has been referred to as a very large one, labeled 'Polynesian Culture in its Entirety' (Handy 1927:3-4). Handy (ibid.) makes the point that the religion of the Polynesian encompassed every aspect of existence and that there was no gulf between the 'natural' and the 'supernatural'. *Mana* was the connecting medium. For the Polynesian mind there was nothing miraculous about the existence of psychic rapport between

objects or persons, or in nature as a whole. Virtually all objects were vessels of variable amounts of *mana*. Human actions and language affected *mana*. Properly applied, *mana* maintained a beneficial balance in the Polynesian's world. The disturbance of *mana* had the potential for severe repercussions on the general well-being. The *kapu* was a system of religious sanctions intended to prevent degeneration of *mana*. To break *kapu* and disturb *mana* could cause crop failures or other dire events, hence the penalties were severe (c.f. Buck 1964-XI; Handy 1927; Ii 1959; Kamakau 1964; Kanahele 1986; Malo 1951; Pukui and Elbert 1964:vii-xii).

Hereditary and accumulated *mana* were the underpinnings of chiefly power. Linnekin describes *mana* as "efficacy or achieved power" and *kapu* as "ritual superiority and privilege" (Linnekin 1985:100). The *kapu* served the official religion and its structure very well. In the hierarchy of priests (*kahuna*) chief was the main intercessor (*kahuna nu'i* or 'big *kahuna*') with the most powerful of the Hawaiian pantheon and their response was to channel *mana* through the chief to the benefit of the society. *Kapu* served to create a buffer around the chief and protect both him and those with less *mana* from accidental discharge of this potential.

The automatic flow of *mana* was established through the architectural forms. Handy (1927) indicates that the most complicated temple forms of Polynesia were found on the island of Hawai'i. The least complicated shrines were also present on Hawai'i and elsewhere in the islands, for example "Fishermen in Hawaii had their shrines along the coast where they plied their trade. Most of these appear to have been merely small piles of stones" (Handy 1927:167) where sacrificial offerings were left for *Kú'ula*, the fisherman's god (cf. Bennett 1938; Emory 1969; Kirch 1985). Figure 2, from a drawing made in 1913, is a fisherman's shrine that was discovered in a dry cave. The conditions in the cave preserved the sticks and *tapa* cloth and many of the organic portions of offerings. Forty-eight bundles, containing waterworn stones, sea shells, coral, and vegetable foodstuffs, were also found at the shrine site, all still wrapped in *tapa* (Kirch 1985:152). It was clear from this discovery that organic structural features and the organic components of offerings have decayed at open air shrine sites, resulting in the 'small piles of stones' noted by Handy.

Stick and *Tapa* Cloth Fence and Upright Stones



Kamóhio Bay Fishing Shrine
Kaho'olawe

Source: Fig. 134, Kirch 1985:152.

Figure 2. Hawaiian Fishing Shrine.

Few sacred places went unmarked, and though sacrificial food and wooden objects were ephemeral, the site location itself was marked in a relatively permanent fashion with stone, which was regarded throughout Polynesia as the most permanent agency that could be utilized as a medium and container of *mana* (Handy 1927). In Hawaii, the term *heiau* encompasses every place of worship, from the single standing stone shrine to *Kane* (*pohaku 'a kane*), to the large *luakini* temple for human sacrifices dedicated to *Ku* (Buck 1964-XI:466; Kamakau 1964:32-33, 1976:130-133; Kirch 1985:258).

The large *heiau* of ancient Hawaii was not used for daily devotions, rather it was reserved for serving large groups of people at seasonal or special events (Buck 1964-XI:513). The temple was not maintained when it was not in use, instead it was reconditioned or even modified substantially prior to use. New temples were built or old ones remodeled when the old temples were not sufficient for an undertaking or celebration. This occurred often enough that there existed a class of professional temple architects, *kuhikikihipu'uone*, who studied the histories of temples and offered designs that incorporated features of previous successful temples (ibid.:515; Kanahele 1986:205; Malo 1951:161).

Heiaus were the most obvious remains of the Hawaiian settlement system and were intensively recorded between 1900 and 1940 (cf. Bennett 1930; Thrum 1907, 1908, 1909). The emphasis on major structures continued until the 1960's when other structures, such as dwellings and agricultural impoundments became a focus. Only recently has the relevance of the *heiau* to the settlement pattern become part of the research plan (Dye 1989). *Heiau*, as with other Polynesian temples, have changed as the society has progressed or retrogressed (Buck 1964-XI:513; Cleghorn 1988). The date a temple was originally constructed and the dates of reconstruction efforts can offer insights to the progress of Hawaiian culture in an area (Green 1980 in Kirch 1985:119; Ladd 1969, 1973).

Gifting the gods was not reserved only to the public forum or the power-elite:

Domestic shrines where families venerated their dead, and where private rites, such as those of birth and death were performed, commonly had a place in the dwelling or near it. In Hawaii the small house called *mua* which was a part of the establishment of every householder of any pretensions, was both a tapu eating house for men and the family chapel, for it

contained the domestic shrine where the representations and relics of the ancestral guardians were kept and rites performed in their honor [Handy 1927:168].

Figure 3 shows such a complex. The main residence has a standing stone. Kamakau indicated that such stones were not true *heiau* in the sense of public temple or shrine. Instead, the stones were:

...a place of refuge, a *pu'uhonua*, for each family from generation to generation. It was not a *heiau*; it was a single stone monument (*he wahi 'eo'eo pohau ho'okahi*), and a *kuahu* altar with *ti* and other greenery planted about [Kamakau 1964:32].

Kamakau then indicated that such stones were special. The nature of the stone was pointed out to an individual by a god "... in a dream, or in a vision, or by leading someone to the spot" (Kamakau 1964:33). References from the mythology of Polynesia recorded that some stones (as vessels for ancestral spirits) traveled with the voyaging canoes as they spread across the Pacific (Hall 1950:139). One story of Pele, the goddess of volcanism on Hawai'i, said she came to the islands as a stone carried by the first Hawaiians (Kaimi, personal communication 1988).

Most commonly, waterworn stones were selected, a practice that continued into the middle of the 19th century. The site plan for Kuolulo's house in Figure 4 shows such a manuport. It seems probable that some stone gods would have been carried by the Hawaiians when they enlisted in the fur trade.

Mana and Man. Sahlins argued that the exotic goods were perceived as objects endowed with *mana* and an accumulation of such possessions and their display showed *mana* (Sahlins 1985). This transfer of the *mana* of foreigners was effected as well by the adoption of the names of powerful Europeans and Americans:

At the race-course I observed Billy Pitt, George Washington, and Billy Cobbett, walking together in the most familiar manner, ...while in the centre of another group, Charley Fox, Thomas Jefferson, James Maddison [sic], Bonaparte, and Tom Paine, were to be seen on equally friendly terms with each other [Cox 1957:36-37].

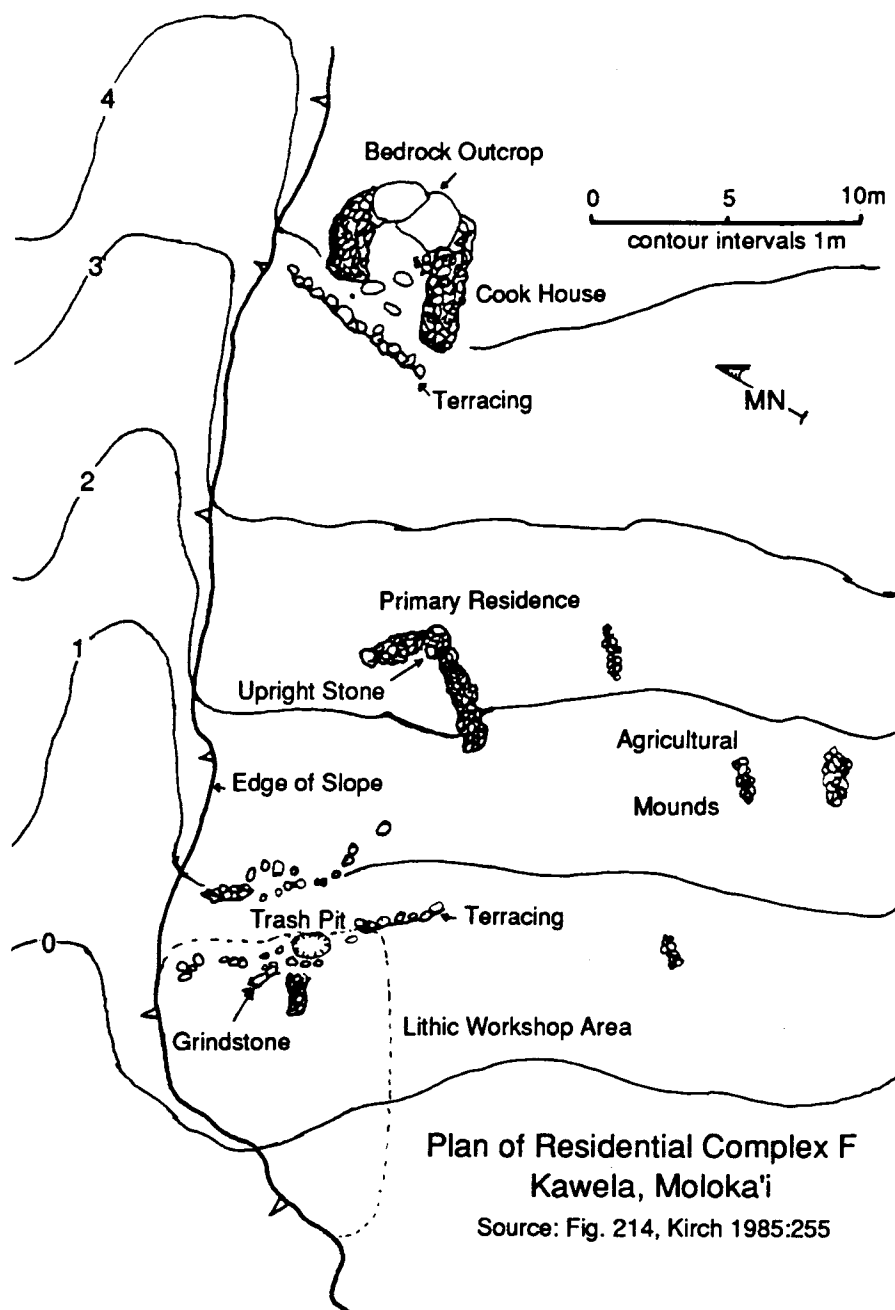


Figure 3. Proto-Historic Hawaiian Residential Complex.

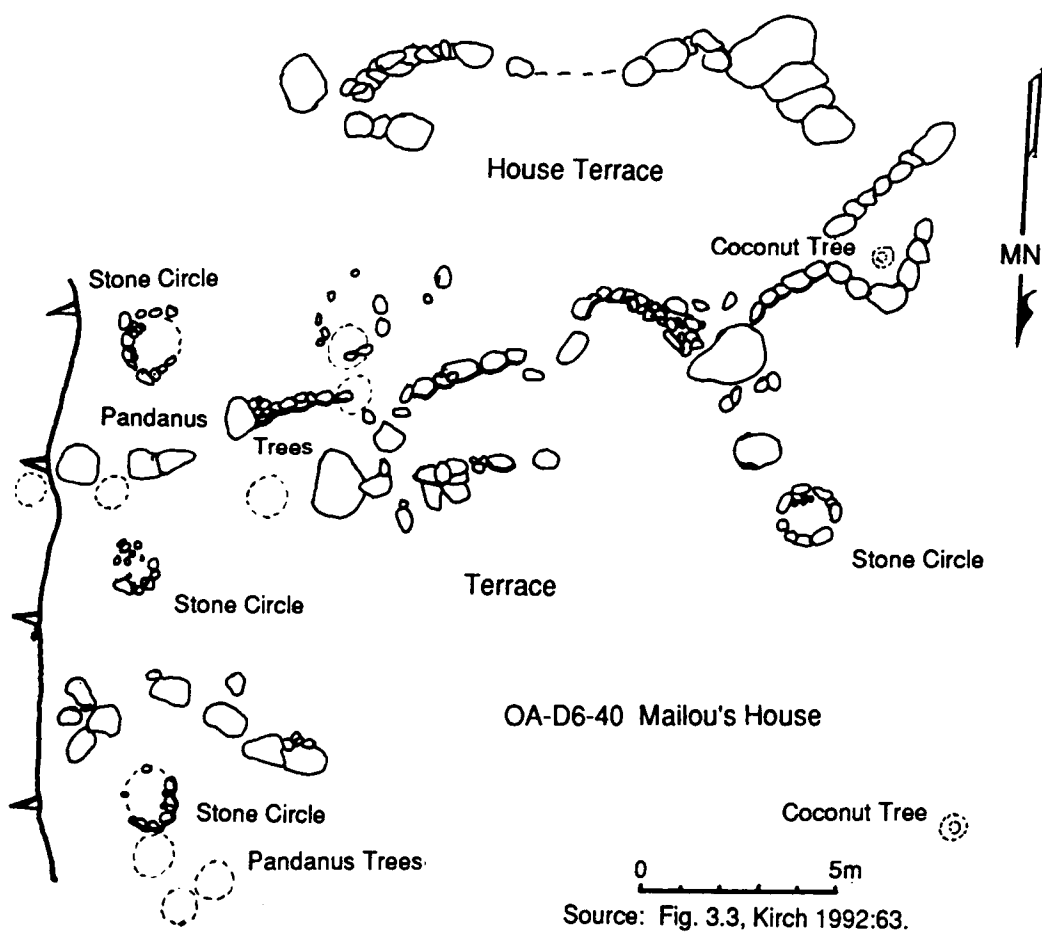
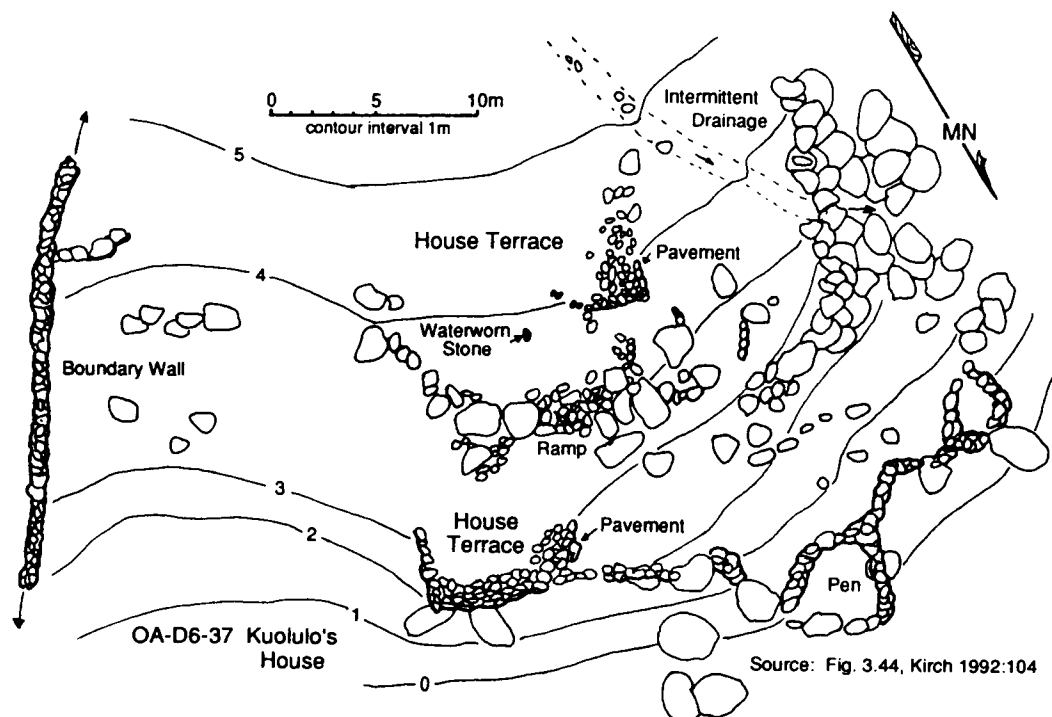


Figure 4. Historic Hawaiian House Sites.

These, as well as the names of ship captains, were legible tattoos on arms or trunk (ibid.). The names, loaded with the *mana* of the original owner, were bound to the person by the tattoo and augmented the *mana* of the wearer (Shore 1989:166). Emory (1946) indicated that some families and islands were known by a distinctive tattoo, providing a possible pre-contact analogy for this transference. Denning (1988:18 in Kirch 1992:39) recorded a half-body tattoo specifically associated with the warriors of Kahekili, the paramount chief (*ali'i nu'i*) of the island of Maui. In 1792, the men were living in "unruly bands" on Oahu, which had been conquered by Kahekili in 1782. The tattoo covered "half of the body precisely, from head to toe... or all of the head... except, so it was said, the teeth and the insides of the eyelids" (Denning 1988:xviii in Kirch 1992:39). When Kamehameha, Kahekili's arch-rival, conquered Oahu in 1804 (Kirch 1992:181) the tattoo and its *mana* probably became a bit of a liability.

Sahlins clearly showed one mechanism of cultural drift when he described how the meanings of Hawaiian words and customs were broadened to include the *mana* of the European goods and customs. "And always the functional revaluations appear as logical extensions of traditional conceptions" (Sahlins 1985:140). When the chiefs applied *kapu* to control trade between the commoner and the Europeans, the meaning of *kapu* altered its nature from the divine to the secular, but still signified 'off limits' to the commoner. From this, *kapu* became further extended as the privilege of any proprietary control over land and has come to mean 'no trespassing' (Sahlins 1985:142). Personal experience in Hawaii showed this application to be evident on side roads throughout the islands. Further, while the secular value is sufficient to deter trespass, *kapu* has not been divorced of religious content. It clearly intends a sacred proscription when posted at a religious site.

Superstructural Collapse and Persistence. Substantially in decline because of 'contamination' by Euro-American visitors (Sahlins 1985:9 and 142), the *kapu* system was overthrown in early November 1819 by Liholiho, Kamehameha's heir. By the act of publicly eating with his wives, his mother, and other women, the new king broke the division between sacred and profane. This act was immediately followed by orders to destroy the temples throughout the islands and burn the wooden images of the gods; that men and women should eat together; and that women be permitted foods that had been

denied them (e.g. pork, bananas). These orders were received in Honolulu on 6 November 1819 (Kuykendall 1938:68).

The overthrow of the temples incited a rebellion by the king's cousin in mid- to late December 1819. The rebellion was unsuccessful and confounded believers in the old religion, who were dismayed at the "...apparent inability of its gods to stem the tide of infidelity" (Kuykendall 1938:69). Sahlins interpreted the overthrow of *kapu* as an act which validated Liholiho's right to power because of its inherent outrageousness (1985:80). A Christian mission arrived the next year and the acculturation of the commoner began (Holman 1931; Kuykendall 1938). It is unclear what happened to the priests of the old religion, their disappearance is interpreted as an "erosion of pre-Western beliefs. Originally meaning priest, *kahuna* came to mean sorcerer after missionization, either a healer or the evil variety who could pray people to death" (Linnekin 1985:39-40).

Linnekin's study of the "persistence of tradition in a highly acculturated society" (Linnekin 1985:1) connected modern Hawaii with the pre- and proto-historic culture. Linnekin did not clearly discuss any persistence of traditional religion in the modern day. Some areas with links to Old Hawaii

...are considered to be holy: a *heiau* (ancient temple) site, a sacred watercourse, a place frequented by the dead. Many villagers will not venture in these places for fear of spirits [Linnekin 1985:39].

Her informants generally did not speak of religious matters, though Linnekin related some anecdotes that showed how the "Keanae Hawaiians retain considerable respect for the power of unseen forces" (ibid.).

The speed with which Christianity spread in post-*kapu* Hawaii was a question of accessibility. While Mau'i was one of the first islands to receive a mission, Hana, on the east coast of Mau'i, did not have a station until 1837. Prior to this, "...missionaries reached East Maui no more than twice a year" (Linnekin 1985:18). In 1849, Cheever (1850: 257) reported that about 10% of the population attended church. Keanae, Linnekin's study area, did not get a church until 1856. Membership in Keanae peaked at 318 in 1871, and dropped to 81 by 1877 (Linnekin 1985:37). Clearly, the scattering of missionaries in the islands were unable to keep a close watch on their flocks. Kuykendall reported that

[e]ven among those who outwardly conformed to the new order were many who secretly clung to their idols; the old gods of Hawaii had their devotees for a long time after 1819 [Kuykendall 1938:68-69].

Travelers also reported that the old religion persisted past the middle of the 19th century in remote areas (Bird 1986[1875]:289; Emory 1967:71n7; Nordhoff 1987[1874] II:87). In areas of lower population density, the large sacrifices on elaborate temples of the old formal religion were annual events associated with tax collection and their abolition would generally ease the burden on the rural economy. Otherwise, the Hawaiian personally interacted with the cosmos, a level of interaction that is difficult to control by decree.

Material Culture

Kaeppler notes an integration between the material and spiritual worlds in "...aesthetic traditions ... concerned with appropriate materials, form, and use" (Kaeppler 1989:238). Additionally, objects made and used correctly acquired power through such use (ibid.).

A brief review of the material culture of Hawaii is presented to describe the range of artifacts, portable or architectural, that might have traveled to the Pacific Northwest with the laborers.

Portable Objects of Organic Materials. Much of the Hawaiian tool inventory was of an ephemeral nature. Objects of wood, barkcloth (*tapa*), mats, and gourd fragments usually did not preserve well except in dry locations, particularly cave shelters (Emory 1988, Kirch 1992). Identifiable wooden objects included house timbers, canoe pieces and models, and *tapa* beaters. Their presence only in the remoter cave shelters probably indicates substantial scavenging or looting of such materials (Emory 1988). Absent among Emory's catalog is the category of wooden weapons, a substantial part of the tool inventory (Buck 1964-X).

It is unlikely that the organic component of the tool inventory was carried by the fur trade era emigrants. Many of the ephemeral objects (e.g. wooden tools and *tapa* clothing) were not needed or were replaced by Euro-American equivalents as a condition of employment. If such objects were transported is

is unlikely that they will be discovered. Unprotected organic material on the surface in both Hawaii and the Pacific Northwest rapidly deteriorates.

Portable Objects of Stone. The description of Hawaiian stone technology provided by Emory (1969) from the island of Lana'i sufficiently presents the techniques and products of all the islands. Both ground stone tools and chipped stone tools are present in the inventory. Ground stone tools predominate, even the adze blades are finished by grinding (Emory 1969:76).

The formal chipped stone tool inventory is dominated by the tanged adze, typical of Polynesia. The Hawaiian adze (Figure 5) differs from the Polynesian version by being quadrangular in cross-section instead of triangular (Emory 1969). The tang distinguishes the blade from any North American analogs. Without the presence of a tang, it was difficult to distinguish whether a blade was intended as an adze head or for use as a chisel (*ibid.*). Chisels and tangless adze blades comprised the rest of the inventory of knapped tools (*ibid.*:77-8). Ethnographic reports by Kamakau (1976:22) of the technology for the stone adze and its wooden and shell analogues are supported by archaeological evidence (c.f. Emory 1969; Kirch 1985) and museum collections (Rozina 1978). Kamakau (1976) reported that special quality stone was sought and assessed by a class of specialist stone workers.

Emory noted that on Lana'i, as for most of the other islands, the manufacture of the large stone *ko'i* was essentially restricted to the area that had the best lithic resource. Workshops were established at the quarry source and specialists produced the blades. A rare resource, basalt of suitable quality was exploited wherever it was found, one quarry is located at 3,770 m. altitude on Mauna Kea (Porter 1987:592). The name of one *ahupua'a* on Moloka'i (Kaluako'i) translates as "the adze pit " because of the adze production there (Kirch 1983:124).

Less formally manufactured tools are found on house sites. Flakes and spalls were used as knives and scrapers or pointed for use as perforators. Emory describes some found in house sites as "...irregular except along the working edge or point, [and] seldom show any attempt at reworking" (Emory 1969:80). Archaeological excavation of house sites on the island of Oahu and elsewhere showed a much larger presence of informal lithics than Emory indicated for Lana'i (Kirch 1992:43-44). Kirch found a strong connection between historic records of *tapa* preparation and informal flake tools of

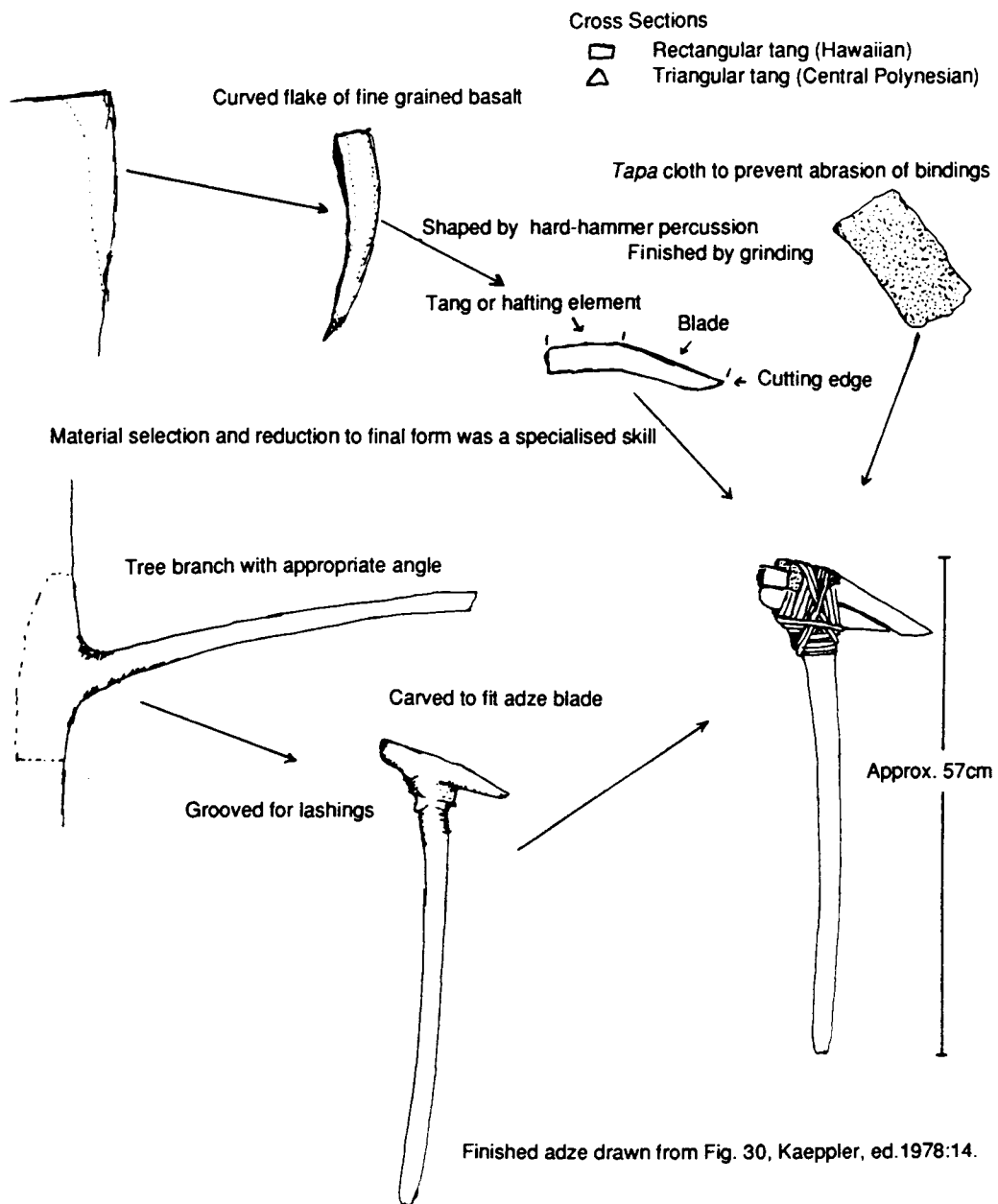


Figure 5. Hawaiian Tanged Adze.

volcanic glass. Other flakes present on the sites were identified as adze fragments from polish on one or more surfaces. They were interpreted as the result of adze use or edge rejuvenation. Edge wear or modification from subsequent use was not discussed. Such use is likely as the flakes were rare. Kirch indicated that low ratios of utilized versus non-utilized flakes were aberrant at dwelling sites (ibid.) supporting Emory's finding that debris from lithic production was rare at dwelling sites (Emory 1969:80). The complex presented in Figure 3 has a workshop only because of the nearness of a quarry source. Utilized flakes were present in occupation strata that dated after 1804, but have become an insignificant part of the inventory by the mid-nineteenth century (Kirch 1992:76 and 83). The grindingstone noted in the lithic workshop in Figure 3 was used to finish adze blades.

Emory noted differences between the hammers used at the *ko'i* workshop sites and the coastal zones. Many of the hammerstones found near the coast had finger grips pecked or ground into them. Emory speculated that these were used for the manufacture of groundstone and that this task was not reserved to specialists:

From scattered distribution of unfinished specimens, it would appear that the making of pounders, sinkers, stone pans, and game stones was not confined to any one place, and it is unlikely to have been the work of one class of artisan [Emory 1969:77].

The *poi* pounder was needed to smooth taro (*kalo*) or other steamed vegetables into an edible paste (*poi*). The stone *poi* pounder is present in dwelling sites archaeologically dated to the late nineteenth century (Kirch 1992:71 and 74).

One example of a *poi* pounder follows, though variation in such pounders is extra-ordinary and inadequate research has been done to clearly distinguish the pounder from analogous pestle and maul forms of indigenous Northwest coast and interior cultures.

The pounder is composed of the light-gray crystalline igneous rock found on the boulder beach at Kaumalapa'u. It is 7 inches high, 6 inches wide at the base, 1.7 inches at the neck, 2.5 inches at the top, and weighs 8.4 pounds. The neck is circular in cross-section and expands above into the sharp rim of the top and below into the sharp rim of the base. Both top and bottom are strongly convex. The sides flare from the neck towards the base and towards the top. The shaping seems to

have been by pecking and on the smooth sides by scraping and rubbing [Emory 1969:82].

This pounder was specifically said to have been used for making sweet-potato *poi*. Another pounder described by Emory is made of coral conglomerate, 5 inches high and 3.5 inches wide at the base (ibid.). Among the wide variations in form is the stirrup or ring shaped *poi* pounders from Kaua'i (Kirch 1985:192).

One additional object in the Hawaiian inventory of ground stone tools is presented, in part because the possibility exists that these have entered the inventory of petroglyphs along the Columbia. This is the *papamu* or game board. The game of *konane* ('Hawaiian checkers') is played on a *papamu*, a stone or wooden slab with rows of pits sized to receive one small stone (*ili*) each. The number of pits varies. Laid out in rows and columns, typical boards had no less than 9 rows or columns and as many as 20. As the game requires a center, either the row or column count is an odd number. Stones of contrasting colors (e.g. black basalt and white coral) are the game pieces (Emory 1969:84-5).

The stone tools of Hawaii may have traveled with the Hawaiian employees of the fur companies. Both Hawaiian adze and *poi* pounder are reported for the lower Columbia River (Fagan 1990 personal communication). Reasons for such transport are unclear. As a woodcutting tool, the adze blade would likely have been replaced by its steel analog, the axe. It is possible that some were brought for traditional religious uses. Such tools had acquired *mana* through use and could enhance ("bless") the outcome of future tasks (Kamakau 1964). The pounders may have been brought as an indispensable part of Hawaiian food preparation technology. The radical change in diet (see Chapter 3) that accompanied employment by the fur companies would have come as a shock to the employee equipped to pound *poi* for supper.

Structures of Stone

Non-portable artifacts, the structures of Hawaii, are reviewed because they were inseparable from the lives of the Hawaiians. This review of Hawaiian stone structures divides them into the two traditional worlds of

profane and sacred that controlled such construction. In the first world, only tenuously divided from the sacred, structures were usually for dwellings, storage, and political demarcation. In the second world, structures served to channel *mana*, either as a manifestation of chiefly power or as a supplication for the welfare of the commoner class (Bennett 1930). The following is a brief review of the structural forms.

Dwelling Architecture. Emory succinctly described the variations in Hawaiian dwelling types:

The signs of native habitations on Lanai are: (1) floor levels or terraces in the entrance of natural caves or under overhanging bluffs; (2) stone shelters; (3) house sites marked (a) by cleared ground, (b) by leveled ground, (c) by an enclosure, (d) by a platform [Emory 1969:38].

Stone shelters were numerous "[a]long the coast, in the regions distant from villages" (Emory 1969:38). Typically semi-circular, they were used to protect both humans and animals from inclement weather and to contain livestock. Some of these shelters appeared to be ephemeral use areas, others were occupied for more substantial time periods (Kirch 1985:43). The foundation features were as simple as a single course of field stones in a semi-circle with an associated hearth. Not all such shelters were 'C-shaped', some were rectangular in the typical form of houses (Emory 1969:38).

Kirch found the typical dwelling cluster (e.g. Figure 3) consisted of at least 3 C- or L- shaped structures (Kirch 1992:176). The structure use and the minimum cluster size exhibited concord with Malo's description of separated living, cooking and eating structures (Malo 1951:122).

Emory distinguished the intermittent use structure from a more permanent dwelling by the amount of energy devoted to site preparation. Leveling by excavation and or terracing was common on sloping ground. Platforms were built where the ground was rough and stones plentiful. Exterior and interior wall locations were usually marked (Emory 1969:38-9). Some platforms were large enough to support several houses and occasionally several platforms were joined, though "...ordinarily there is only a single small platform, always rectangular" (Emory 1969:40). Kirch described the typical structure as "...fairly simple, usually consisting of a stone windbreak wall (c. 50-90 cm high) bordering one to three low, earth-filled terraces defined by single-course stone alignments" (Kirch 1992:176). Variation was

most often the lack of a windbreak wall (ibid.). Stepping or terracing occurred on some platforms, apparently defining specialized interior areas (Emory 1969:41). Emory's estimates of 49 house sizes in one study area revealed an average house size of 6.5 by 15.5 feet, with a minimum size of 6 by 6 as a square (10% of the houses were square, the largest 10 by 10). The smallest rectangle was 5 by 8, the largest was 20 by 25 (ibid.:44). Generally "...it may be said that the house platform or terrace on Lanai is low and rectangular, about 12 feet wide and 20 feet long and stands several feet above the ground" (Emory 1969:45). Evidence indicated that some houses were constructed with lean-to walls and others had rafters and side posts (ibid.:43). Emory did not make a correlation between platform size and house construction.

The 'main' house in a cluster was characterized by the presence of a fire hearth (Kirch 1992). Emory noted that most fireplaces described by early travelers were in the center of the house and used for warmth only, cooking was done outside in the pit oven or *imu* (ibid.). Emory's informants on Mau'i broadened this, in that some cooking was done at the above ground fireplace which was located variously around houses. When near a wall, the wall would usually be of stone as a fire preventative measure and there might be a smoke hole in the wall above the fireplace. Others would put their fireplace outdoors on the *lanai*, the "lounging place in front of the house" (Emory 1969:42). Emory stated that the internal fireplace typically consisted of "...flat stones set on edge, forming a box two feet square or smaller, and commonly resting on a stone slab...and sunk in the pavement" (Emory 1969:45). Other manifestations of fireplaces took on the aspects of linear arrangements: "Several platforms have a five-foot strip of stone slabs...or earth..., across the middle of the fine pavement, on which an open fire may have been placed" (Emory 1969:45).

Emory typified the *imu* or underground oven by describing a

...most interesting one...this pit is 3 feet 6 inches in diameter at the top, 3.5 to 4 feet deep with the sides nearly straight. The rim had evidently been moistened and smoothed with the hand or an instrument, marks of which still remain, for about 12 inches into the pit [Emory 1969:45].

Kirch's study of Anahulu reported ovens for all dwelling locales including rock shelters and open field sites without structural remains (Kirch 1992). One

oven Kirch encountered was 3 to 4 meters in diameter and a meter deep. Ovens this large were historically used to bake the roots of *ti* plants (*Cordyline fruticosum*) to release sugars for the fermentation of alcoholic beverages (ibid.:69). When discovered, earth ovens were typically filled with fire altered basalt stones (ibid.).

In the Anahulu Valley on Oahu the use of all types of dwelling foundations persisted into the late nineteenth century (see Figure 5). Increased platform size and complexity generally characterized long term occupations during this period. The most significant change in architectural pattern occurred some time after 1830 when the cooking structure became attached to the living or work structure (Kirch 1992:176-177). Prior to this time platform elaboration consisted primarily of increased height and widening to accomodate a paved *lana'i* adjacent to the main dwelling. Kirch noted that these architectural trends occurred throughout Hawaii during this time (ibid.).

Religious architecture. The religious structures of Hawaii vary from the simple standing stone to very large complexes of platforms and walls (c.f. Bennett 1930; Kirch 1985). Kamakau (1964 and 1976) related some of the practices associated with the various structures, specifically mentioning that the smaller structures played significant roles in the lives of the commoners. He refrains from calling the standing stone (*Pohaku o Kane*) a *heiau*, specifically discussing them separately. Nor does he review complex structures such as a shrine reported by Emory (1969:72), described as a platform is 6 feet wide, 21 feet long, 3 feet high, with an upright about 8 inches square and 18 inches tall just north of the center. Kamakau (1964:33) does report that *Pohaku o Kane* were very common throughout Hawaii. The upright played an important part in most religious structures (Bennett 1930; Emory 1964) and was incorporated ubiquitously.

In distinguishing the *Pohaku o Kane* from other religious structures, Kamakau discussed *ko'a* shrines, which he split into two classes. One was for the increase of deep sea fish and coincidental increase in fishing success. The other was established on the banks of rivers, streams and ponds to improve the harvest of non-pelagic species. Kamakau's description (1976:133) of the *ko'a* does not vary from the archaeological report of these structures by Emory (1969:70). They varied from simple heaps of stone to elaborate platforms as large as 25 feet square (ibid.). If there was an *imu* associated with the structure for cooking offerings, the *ko'a* would be left on

the surface, but the oven would be buried (Kamakau 1976:133). Practices associated with *ko'a* are recorded for dates as recent as 1916 and are said to "...differ widely according to purpose or dream vision of the fisherman" (Emory 1969:71, note 7). One site had an anthropomorphic stone image of *Ku'ula*, the fisherman's god, until Kamehameha V ordered it hidden in 1868 (Emory 1969:71).

The other religious structures mentioned by Kamakau are the human and land resources *heiau*. Distinguishing these from the *ko'a* for the marine and aquatic harvests, these *heiau* seem to fall into two classes. First are the *heiau* to Lono (*ipu o Lono*) and Kanepua'a (*lunuunu ho'oulu 'ai*) for the increase in land based food crops. The others are apparently those *heiau* used for the preservation of the state (Kamakau 1964:133). The *heiau ipu o Lono* was, in effect, the commoner's *heiau* and was located in every household's *hale mua* or men's eating house (ibid.). In all of these structures, variation in size and elaboration was attributed to the economic ability of the party doing the construction (Kamakau 1976:131).

The archaeological survey of the Upper Anahulu Valley used a more restrictive definition and found no structures that could be interpreted as *heiau*. Kirch interprets the absence as a combination of the remoteness and the "...very recent, postcontact date [A.D. 1804] of permanent, intensive settlement" (Kirch 1992:175). Lesser religious structures erected in the valley during this time period included an agricultural shrine and several upright stones (ibid.).

Several miscellaneous structures of stone were reported by Emory from Lana'i, mostly consisting of boulders crowned with a ring of stones or of stacks of stones. The first were reported as possible *ko'a*, the latter as shrines constructed by travelers to ensure good fortune on the journey (Emory 1969:71-72).

Burial. The final resting place of the Hawaiian was important, though treatment varied over time and with the social status of the dead person. The body of the Hawaiian carried the *mana* that had accrued during life. Burial without disturbance would conserve the *mana*. The range of burial sites in pre-historic Hawaii included sand dunes, in lava tubes and rock shelters, under domestic and religious structures, "and in various other contexts" (Kirch 1985:237). Few in-ground burials had portable artifacts associated with them. Several of the burial inventories were clearly associated with an occupational

specialty. Dry cave inventories were richer primarily because of the preservation of organic materials. Elaboration, such as placement of the corpse in a canoe, probably indicated elite status (ibid.:238-239). Kirch found diachronic changes in burial practice (Kirch 1992:177-178). The earliest practice of interment under dwelling floors changed after 1600 A. D. to burial at remote communal sites in sand dunes or lava tubes. During the early nineteenth century, the burial practice returned to the vicinity of the dwelling and took the form of a monument or crypt burial (ibid.). The monuments were minimally rock paved rectangles, differentiated from surrounding paving by an outline of rocks (Rogers 1988). Personal experience indicated that the practice of rectangular rock outlines on grave sites was still practiced in Hawaii, though it appears that communal burial sites have again replaced burial sites associated with dwellings.

Kirch (1985: 243) briefly cites several studies of the physical characteristics of early Hawaiians (e.g. Pietrusewsky 1971; Snow 1974) but does not say if the population has changed through time. Some features that might be evident in burials of Hawaiians are "rocker jaws" and shovel shaped incisors (Kirch 1985:243). However it is unclear if posture habits, which caused a tilt in the tibial plateau and "squatting facets", described by Snow (1974:11 in Kirch 1985:243) were continued into the historic era.

Summary

Traditional subsistence and settlement patterns in Hawaii did not undergo rapid change following contact with Western Civilization. Warfare between chiefs for the control of productive resources continued. Peace, brought by the consolidation of the Kingdom of Hawaii, reduced disruptions in production caused by displacement of tenant farmers but otherwise did not affect the land management system.

Even in a stable political environment, mercantile replacements for indigenous products were not easily distributed to rural areas. Initial commerce in foreign products was restricted to the chiefly class and controlled by the *kapu*. The use of this religious sanction imbued commercially acquired products with *mana*, the underlying power of the Polynesian religion. Before acquiring this commercial dimension, *mana* had been demonstrated by skill and achievement. The *kapu* system was weakened when forbidden

intercourse between Hawaiians and the crews of visiting ships was not punished. Overthrown in 1819 for political reasons, the official religion's burdens were not missed by the commoners and personal beliefs were not affected.

Reasons for seeking employment with foreign commercial enterprises varied. Some *alii* enlisted on the orders of the King of Hawaii. Labor taxes and the acquisition of a façade of Euro-American material culture were significant motivations for *maka'ainana*.

Though the tools of daily existence were not immediately abandoned following contact, it is unlikely that much of the Hawaiian material inventory was transported to the Northwest with the laborers. The European equivalents, cotton and wool clothing, steel axes, and firearms, would have replaced much of the Hawaiian's personal inventory. The skills and attitudes of the indigenous Hawaiian were more easily transported.

A focus on the religious superstructure and its built environment at the time of contact reveals the Polynesian shrine as a potential ethnic identifier for the Hawaiians employed in the fur trade. While the adoption of European clothing presented a manifestation of *mana* for the individual, it did not satisfy the need for the control of *mana* in the environment of the workplace and the daily life. Though the stone adze changed to a steel axe, the skills of tool use were not limited to the physical plane. The supplication of the woodworker's ancestral gods and Lono's blessings on agricultural endeavors still required physical action to ensure efficacy. Some of these gods had physical manifestation in the stones of Hawaii and may have traveled with their keepers to be set upright at the site of their new dwelling.

Chapter 3: HAWAIIANS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST FUR INDUSTRY.

The fur trade along the Columbia River between 1810 and 1845 was primarily controlled by three companies, the Pacific Fur Company (1810-1814), the North West Company (1814-1821), and the Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1845). All three companies employed Hawaiians as laborers and boatmen. Some Hawaiians, initially employed by the Pacific Fur Company, died or retired from the service of the Hudson's Bay Company and never returned to Hawaii.

Chapter 2 presented the Hawaiian material and social culture of the islands during the proto-historic period. This chapter opens with a brief history of the North American continental fur trade to present the economic and social environment in which the Hawaiians were employed. The labor of the trade, as it was experienced by the Hawaiians, is then presented to create a base for the discussion of the economic stratum occupied by the Hawaiians. The chapter closes with a short review of the economic condition and distribution of Hawaiians following their service.

Sources and Reliability. The North West Company period of Hawaiian employment was difficult to separate from the brief Pacific Fur Company era. This stemmed from the fact that two primary sources for the NWC's Columbia period were originally PFC men, Alexander Ross (1969) and Ross Cox (1957). Another journal of the early days of the NWC at Astoria, that of Alexander Henry (Coues 1965), gave a clear chronicle of the sale of the PFC to the NWC. It also supplied an idea of the early re-ordering of Fort George, but the journal was cut short when Henry drowned. Barry, editor of Peter Corney's journal of voyages for the NWC (Barry 1932) severely abbreviated the journals, revealing that one elision was "...a description of the country and the Indians" (Barry 1932:364n12). Substantial documentation of daily life resumed after the HBC combined with the NWC, but the reporting from journals was replaced by information derived from personal and official letters and archived business records.

The Hudson's Bay Company was an organization founded in accountancy. An enormous amount of data was generated by the Columbia Department alone. Most of this data has been collected in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives. Though not all the business records have survived, many

records have been stored on microfilm. Data on the films are still considered business information and the property of the Hudson's Bay Company Archives and may only be collected by manual transcription.

The excellence of the record keeping of the HBC was relative. In the employee records, problems were associated with inconsistencies in book-keeping practice. Gaps existed in the archived information reviewed, Hawaiians employed and discharged during such a gap could not be included in the study. The records examined were not of the same types. Some were budgeting documents, others were year end recapitulations. Within a record type, variations occurred from season to season and in the records of different posts. Names of employees were the least variant and were relatively easy to deduce when variance occurs. Job titles changed from year to year on some records. The job titles of 'middleman' and 'laborer' were interchangeable or were used that way by some recordists.

Because determining the population identity and its economic ability are fundamental to a study of consumption, I concentrated on examining employment and general debt records and selected only data relevant to Hawaiian employees. The product of this effort is Appendix B, a database of Hudson's Bay Company's Hawaiian servants. The 1263 entries in the appendix represent 392 individual Hawaiians.

Identification of Hawaiian employees in the records was relatively straightforward. Some of the HBC records showed the country or parish of origin of an employee. Some records specified this data only for the Hawaiians, who were called 'Sandwich Islanders' by the HBC. If this information was not present, I used the individual's name as a method for determining the ethnic origin. Most Hawaiians were recorded without surnames which made them readily identifiable. This technique was not perfect. As a part of active acquisition of foreign *mana* or as a product of missionary influence, some Hawaiians adopted Euro-American (generally English) names and surnames and were thus camouflaged in simple lists of employees. When Hawaiians with the same names were employed in the same year, HBC clerks added an identifying letter, for example 'Mahoy (b)' would identify the second individual employed. Additionally, names were not always spelled the same from year to year. Comparison of supporting data, specifying an employee's job title, wage rate, or port of discharge often clarified the ethnic origin or individual identity. A few data entries were

included that may not be for Hawaiians, these are noted as dubious. Editorial comments by Coues highlighted the problem of tracking identities that did not have a standard anglic interpolation for their names. Of persons mis-identified as Hawaiians by Coues, two were the erroneous identification of Canadians as Hawaiians because of the "outlandish" quality of their names (Coues 1965:870n).

Early Fur Trade.

The western fur trade began with the colonization of Canada by the French. When Jacques Cartier, was exploring for the northwest passage in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1534, he was "greeted by Indians offering pelts for trade" (Sauer 1980:74). By the end of the sixteenth century, the serendipitous fur trading on the northeast coast of North America had made the home ports of the cod fishery in France into fur depositories which supplied the market of fashionable Paris(ibid.). By 1654, the fur trade had reached the interior of the continent around the Great Lakes and peace agreements with the Iroquois made the business secure from predation in that area (ibid.:122).

The establishment of New France as a crown colony in 1663 brought governmental controls and officials. Perceiving the new trade environment as unfavorable, two of the established fur traders traveled to London with a plan for exploiting the rich fur environment north of Lake Superior by shipping from Hudson's Bay, which was not a part of New France. The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) was chartered in 1670 (ibid.). Even so: "[a]t the end of the seventeenth century New France was still Indian country beyond Montreal" (Sauer 1980:253). Organized as trading franchises regulated by the colonial government, French-Canadian voyageurs expanded the fur trade into this territory. The cession of Canada to England, following the end of the French-and-Indian War in 1763, did not affect the Montreal-based trade pattern until 1768, when a new colonial governor was persuaded to break the Canadian control of the trade.

The opening of previously exclusive trading territories to all traders marked the beginning of the English domination of the Canadian fur trade. Though English capital and goods replaced those of France, the expansion of trade that followed put a strain on the HBC. The interior trade conducted from the Great Lakes and using the river systems required "[l]ight trade-goods, a

dispersed trade system and some sort of trafficking for food on the long journey" (Rich 1959:13). The sea-based trade of New England and Hudson's Bay relied on heavy trade goods and a "preference for a confined trade at the posts" (ibid.). The Hudson's Bay Company did not initially compete with the Great Lakes traders by establishing interior posts. By 1773, the suppliers of fur were no longer interested in traveling to the HBC factories. Competition for their trade let the natives stay at home: "...if the rival white men wanted their furs they would have to come and get them at the Indian's convenience" (Rich 1959:36). Reluctantly the HBC responded by establishing inland posts.

Some of the inland and Montreal traders also conducted trade on a credit basis, further undercutting the ability of the regulated trading companies (e.g. the Hudson's Bay Company) to obtain fur. However, the cost of the credit was very high. Where the HBC traded a 'three foot gun' for ten beaver, the competition offered the same for six beaver now or twenty beaver later (Rich 1959:31 and 38). Because most products came from the same manufacturing sources, the HBC's competition also gave away trinkets to encourage trade.

By 1776, the unorganized inland competition began to give way to trading syndicates, one of which was the North West Company (NWC) (ibid.:67). The formal organization of the North West Company occurred in 1779, when a report showed them to be a company of sixteen shares and the shareholders to be nine different partnerships composed of Montreal businessmen, Great Lakes traders, and inland traders. The company survived feuding between the disparate interests and was well established by 1783 (ibid.:117-118).

In 1783, the inland posts were not a pleasant place, particularly for the clerks of the HBC who had come from England and Scotland expecting the relative security of the large trading posts. Inexperienced at managing a distributed marketing network, the initial efforts were under-supplied. Some posts had to trade beaver pelts to the competition to obtain supplies for survival. This prompted the Governing Committee of the HBC to increase supplies and salaries for the posts in the interior, with the reservation that this did not set a precedent for future increases (Rich 1959:114).

The expansion of the fur trade through the interior of Canada in the late 1700's was partly the expansion of business interests and partly driven by the exhaustion of the resources. The improvement of the felting industry in

Europe eliminated the requirement for prime winter beaver skins, as summer skins could be used for felt. The use of inland posts eliminated the extensive summer travel time and improvements in traps and lures created the environment for the decimation of the beaver populations. The Iroquois, by then thoroughly enmeshed in the system and often in debt to the HBC, were encouraged to move west and north and "...by relentless trapping they could sterilise the district round a post in four or five years" (Rich 1959:190).

The intensification of competition for the fur resources resulted in an increase in the use of alcohol as a trade item as well as engendering an atmosphere of chicanery and violence. Every advantage was sought and the occasional resort to theft, murder or fraud was perceived as a necessary adjunct to business (Rich 1959:196). Pressures were also mounting on the international scene. The settlement of the Great Lakes region boundary dispute between the U.S.A. and England in 1794 resulted in governmental discrimination favoring American traders south of the Great Lakes and forced the independent British and Canadian traders north into a direct confrontation with the HBC (ibid.:197).

The monopoly on the exports from Canada had not been relinquished by the British, forcing the primary market for Canadian furs to be in London. However, reports from the Pacific in the late 1700's showed that China was a profitable market and was opening to external trade. Because the British monopoly on trade with China was held by the East India Company, the Montreal agents had to smuggle furs into the United States for shipment to China. Disposing of the return cargos also created problems, encouraging partnerships with such American fur traders as John J. Astor. The new knowledge of the Pacific coast encouraged the speculation that this coast was the logical area for the shipping of furs gathered in the far west (Rich 1959:206).

By 1800, both the HBC and the NWC were experiencing the inroads of unscrupulous free traders and well-organized smaller companies. They uneasily began to work together to exclude such traders from the areas where they were established (Rich 1959:209). One of the strongest of these competitors was the XY Company, composed of disgruntled former North West Company partners, including Alexander Mackenzie, who had achieved knighthood in 1802 for his explorations across Canada to the Pacific and Arctic Oceans. Mackenzie constantly worked to incorporate the Hudson's Bay

Company and its Royal patent on access to the Hudson's Bay as a fundamental to the trade routes of the 'New North West Company' as the XY Company was now known (Rich 1959:220). By 1805, competition between the new North West Company and the old North West Company resulted in the amalgamation into a single concern which began to exploit the western side of the Rocky Mountains, though still relying on the shipment of furs to Montreal. Already exploiting the upper reaches of the Columbia River, the North West Company sent a party to the mouth of the Columbia in 1811 and discovered J. J. Astor's Pacific Fur Company already established there and ready to enter into competition for the furs of the Columbia River drainage (Rich 1959:253-254).

In summary, the fur trade was the business of acting as a middle-man between the demand for fur in Europe and China and the demand for Euro-American products in the wilderness. It can be described as having five general categories of tasks: production, sales, transportation, security, and management. The accounting and planning functions of management and the retail and wholesale trade were supported by the other tasks.

These support functions were the province of contract laborers known as *engagées*, or servants. Their labor produced most of the peripheral materials needed for the establishment and maintenance of remote trading posts. Illustrated by ethnographic references of variable brevity, the tasks assigned the Hawaiian component of the labor force provide a general overview of the labor of the fur trade.

Hiring On.

Before reviewing the nature of the labor, it is important to understand the system of employment. To this end, the history of fur trade labor contracts with Hawaiians is reviewed. The earliest records of Hawaiians in the Northwest Coast fur trade date to 1787. General recommendation of Hawaiians as crew members followed this experience, though records from the 1790's only record Hawaiian involvement as the result of unethical acts of abduction and abandonment or the travels of touring nobility (Barbeau 1958; Bennett 1913; Kittleson 1963 in Greer 1967). Though formal contracts between the employee and employer were standard in the continental fur trade of this era (Rich 1959), research has not revealed the terms of employment offered to Hawaiians in the earliest coastal trade.

The labor contract governed the life of the employee and to a lesser extent the employing company. Though the details of such contracts were modified over time, the general format for the employment of Hawaiians in the fur trade was established by the Pacific Fur Company when the *Tonquin* was hiring at Oahu in 1810. It was an agreement to employ the islanders for 3 years, during this time to feed them, to reclothe them annually, and at the termination of the agreement to return them to Hawaii with \$100 dollars worth of merchandise (Franchère 1967:37). Other trading vessels were stopping in the islands and it is probable that this contract is typical of the agreements that were made. When the *Beaver* arrived the following year, the contract terms had changed to a monthly wage in addition to food and clothing (Cox:1957:44). There is no evidence that written contracts were generated between the Pacific Fur Company and the Hawaiian employees.

The lack of a written agreement may have contributed to an involuntary continuation of employment. During the negotiation of the sale of the Pacific Fur Company to the North West Company, the Hawaiians were one of the points of contention. They were reported to be very desirous of returning to Hawaii, but as this would have reduced the labor force at Ft. George, the NWC opposed this. During the negotiations, "each Hawaiian was given a new gun, supplies of powder and shot, and three pounds of tobacco" (Ronda 1990:289) to quiet their concerns. The NWC finally agreed to allow four of the Hawaiians to leave, the rest were taken into the service of the NWC per the fourth article of the sales agreement (Coues 1965; Elliot 1932).

Following the sale, the labor contract terms were changed to eliminate wages. Alexander Ross is cited by Duncan (1972:20) as having stated that the Hawaiians contracted to labor for the NWC for only food and clothing. Support is lent by a similar statement made by Governor Simpson (of the HBC) in 1824 which indicated that the Hawaiians had not been paid wages before their employment by the HBC (Naughton 1983:22).

Cox neglected the Hawaiians when he described the composition of the North West Company. He described the company as composed of white Canadians, half-breeds (*métis*), and Native Americans from the Iroquois and other Eastern tribes (Cox 1957:354). He noted that the Iroquois were engaged at a lower pay rate than the Canadians (ibid.:364).

Alexander Henry provided insight into the differences between the Canadian system of contract labor and the system practiced on the southern

Great Lakes and the headwaters of the Mississippi. In April 1814, he complained that the employees of the Pacific Fur Company (now in the employ of the NWC) were not suitable for the Canadian fur trade because they were insubordinate and did not trust their employers enough (Coues 1965:889-890). He ascribed this problem to the employment culture around the southern Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi, where employers were changed yearly (ibid.).

The process of hiring for the Hudson's Bay Company's Columbia District was conducted by letter. In August 1829, John McLoughlin requested from Richard Charlton, British Consul in Oahu and HBC agent there, that he engage fifteen young Hawaiians on the same contract terms gotten by Captain Simpson of the *Cadboro*. The Hawaiians were to be forwarded on the next HBC vessel touching at Oahu and bound for the Columbia (Barker 1948:27). I did not find any records that specified or suggested the terms of this contract.

Regulating the size of the workforce and its encumbent expense was one of the duties of the Chief Factor. In late October 1831, McLoughlin sent instructions to Charlton in Oahu. Negotiations for the purchase of an additional vessel for the coastal trade were then underway and McLoughlin wanted the vessel manned with a [Euro-American] crew only large enough to sail to the Columbia River. He stated that he did not require additional Hawaiians and that there were enough at Vancouver to fortify the crew for the coastal trade. McLoughlin emphasized the point by repeating that there were sufficient numbers of Hawaiians at Vancouver and that no additional Hawaiians were to be sent to Vancouver even if HBC headquarters ordered them (Barker 1948:225-226).

In a different letter, also dated October 1831, McLoughlin requested of Charlton that the employees returning to Hawaii be paid the balances due and that this be charged to the account of the HBC. In this letter, one Hawaiian was to be engaged for each person returned to Hawaii (Barker 1948:227-233).

In 1836 the HBC chaplain at Ft. Vancouver wanted the hiring process to include a verification of good character and proposed that the good behavior of the Hawaiians could be insured by the employment of a "more than ordinarily respectable" married Hawaiian, who would act as overseer and

religious leader. Rev. Beaver concluded that he would not need to be paid more than the others (Jessett 1959:131-132).

Labor demand increased in the Columbia District, but there was a limit set on the number of Hawaiians to be hired. In October 1839 the annual quota of fifty Hawaiians was ordered by James Douglas, then acting as Chief Factor at Vancouver (McLoughlin 1943:210). It is unclear whether this quota was set by the Crown of Hawaii or the Governor of the HBC.

A contract in Hawaiian was written in 1840 between the HBC and the kingdom of Hawaii for labor. Made between the governor of Oahu (M. Kekuanaoa) and the HBC agent in Oahu (G. Pelly), the contract agreed that sixty Hawaiians were to be employed in the Columbia District for a period of three years. They were then to be returned to Hawaii. There was a charge of twenty dollars for each man that did not return for any cause other than death. The wage scale was not incorporated (Blue 1924:72). Comparing the date of the agreement, 11 February 1840, and data from the 1843 outfit, a group of Hawaiian servants with 2 years of service fits the parameters. The records indicate that these employees were hired at a rate of £30 per year (HBCA B223/g/6). The high labor price was the result of a diminishing native population in Hawaii and an increased demand for labor by the whaling industry.

The reduced labor supply prompted the Hawaiian government to generate a law in 1841 which provided a fine for hiring Hawaiians without approval of the island governor or his agent. Additionally, a surety bond had to be signed promising the return of the employee within two years (Greer 1967:222). However, the contemporary employee list from Ft. Vancouver shows newly hired Hawaiian laborers to be engaged for three years of service (HBCA B223/d/157).

In March 1842 a letter from HBC Governor Simpson (then in Honolulu) to McLoughlin said that due to difficulty in obtaining workers from Canada and Europe, the annual reinforcement of new recruits could not be relied upon. Simpson recommended re-enlistment of good workers as a remedy and that only worthless or useless people be discharged. He requested that no more Hawaiians be hired as there were too many already employed (McLoughlin 1943:271). During his visit to Hawaii, Simpson had estimated that nearly 1000 left the islands annually and had become concerned by the massive overseas employment of Hawaiians (Duncan 1972:39). He apparently felt

that the drain on the indigenous population was too great and decided to not hire them any more.

McLoughlin was clearly aware of the Governor's wishes. In a letter dated 18 November 1843, McLoughlin indicated that he was under orders from Governor Simpson to not order any men from Hawaii (McLoughlin 1943:171). McLoughlin was intent on ordering additional men. He had been undermanned during the winter of 1842, and was facing the expiration of several contracts. The number he required was unknown because they had not all left yet and re-enlistment was common (McLoughlin 1943:162). As a justification for his acting against orders, a communication was sent in December to the Governor and Committee. In it, McLoughlin wrote to say that hiring fifty Hawaiians would not fill vacancies left by retirements, discharges, and deaths. Fourteen Hawaiians were leaving on the *Vancouver* and *Columbia* after their contracts expired in 1843 (McLoughlin 1943:182 dated 4 December 1843).

Naughton (1983:22-25) presented several contracts made for employment in Oregon. One, between Gustavus Hines and Kane was noted for the statement of the obligations of both master and servant. A briefer and more typical agreement was between a Babcock and Makobako for the payment of taxes, passage and seventy-two dollars as an annual wage. In McLoughlin's letters it is interesting to note that in November 1844, a Hawaiian was abandoned with Dr. McLoughlin by a Dr. Babcock. McLoughlin wrote up what appears to be a surety bond for the return of the Hawaiian to Oahu "-desertion and Death Excepted [McLoughlin 1973:111]." There was no other condition agreed to by McLoughlin. Called 'Mikker Barkis' by McLoughlin, Makobako had engaged with Babcock through 1848. In the employee roles of 1845 (HBCA B223/d/157) the name Mikapako may represent the same individual. Terminated with less than a year's wages in May of 1845, Mikapako was re-engaged by 1847 at a wage of £17 annually (HBCA B223/d/176). His last appearance was in the 'Balances of Servants Accounts' for 1849 (HBCA B223/d/187) where it was recorded that he had a credit balance of £8 12S. and 7d.

Duty and Labor.

The contract seldom spelled out the duties of the employee. Typically, the agreement was for the payment of taxes owed, passage to Oregon, a fixed

periodic remuneration for unspecified labor, and return passage to Hawaii following the end of the contract period. Even the relatively wordy agreement made between Kane and G. Hines was written with only 174 words and simply defines Kane's duties as those "...which belong to a servant" (Naughton 1983:25).

Neatly condensing the general pattern of life in the fur trade, Ronda (1990:209) cited Duncan McDougall's constant note that all the men were busy at their various trades. The commercial enterprise of the fur trade was large enough to require a multiplicity of specialized and general labor functions. The Hawaiians participated in almost all areas.

The general employment of laborers in the fur trade was of two types. The labor associated with a sedentary establishment and the labor of transporting trade goods and furs. The transportation and travel functions are discussed first, in part because they deal primarily with riverine and marine transport and partly because this is the first function in which the Hawaiians were employed (Clark 1934:25). Following the transportation section, the life and times of the posts and depots are developed by an examination of the tasks assigned to Hawaiians.

Hawaiian Boatmen. As early as 1788 "...sea captains were being told that it was a good thing to pick up an islander or two before proceeding from Hawaii to the fur grounds" (Greer 1967:221). Hawaiians served as boatmen in all the vessels available to the fur trade: dugout and bark canoes, undescribed boats and barges, and the sailing vessels and steamships of the coastal fur trade. On the rivers, Hawaiians provided the steady paddle power that was the task of the middleman. Hawaiians did not hold the job title of either steersman or bowsman in any of the records examined. In 1813 as part of the plans to capture Astoria, a Hawaiian with the North West Company, probably John Cox (or Cox), was sent to England with the express purpose of acting as pilot for the *Isaac Todd* when it arrived at the Columbia River bar (O'Neil 1930:248). The Hawaiian transferred to a British naval vessel, the *Raccoon*, with some of the NWC clerks and employees. It was not recorded if he acted as the bar pilot for the *Raccoon* (ibid.). In 1846, Paaylaay, with a job title of 'laborer', was paid a gratuity of £3 for acting as steersman (HBCA B223/d/169). This and other records indicated that on the lower Columbia River the Hawaiians often composed the entire crew of small craft engaged in cargo, message, and passenger transport between Ft.

Vancouver and Ft. George (Barry 1932; Coues 1965; Cox 1957; HBC Archives; Parker 1842:149).

The skill of the Hawaiians as small boat handlers was the stuff of legend. While Franchère said only that they were good sailors (Franchère 1967:37), Irving had the Astorians ecstatic about their skills and declaring that "...they had never seen watermen equal to them, even among the voyageurs of the Northwest..." (Irving 1964:24).

There is no record of the duties of the Hawaiians hired by the *Tonquin* party, though 12 were hired for duty aboard the ship. It was at the mouth of the Columbia River that the Hawaiians became actors in the fur trade when Stephen Weeks and a Hawaiian survived swamping in the surf on the bar. When the first boat sent to find the channel through the bar disappeared, Captain Thorn ordered five of the crew to man the pinnace and try again. When this crew found the channel, the *Tonquin* sailed into it and abandoned the small craft in the surf. Franchère related the story Weeks told the following day:

The boat, for lack of rudder, became very hard to manage. We let her drift at the mercy of the tide until, after we had escaped several surges, one wave struck midship and capsized us. I lost sight of Mr. Aitken and John Coles, but the two islanders were close by me. I saw them stripping off their clothes. I did the same, and seeing the pinnace within my reach, keel upward, I seized it. The two natives came to my assistance, we righted her, and by pushing her from behind we threw out so much of the water that she would hold a man. One of the natives jumped in, bailed with his two hands, and succeeded in a short time in emptying her. The other native found the oars and about dark we were all three embarked [Franchère 1967:40-41].

The cold water was too much for one of the Hawaiians who died of exposure (ibid.). Alexander Ross' version varied from Franchère's only a little, in that the Hawaiians were first at the overturned boat, righted it, bailed it out and then discovered and rescued Weeks. They then succumbed to the cold and could no longer assist Weeks (Ross 1969:69-71). The next morning Mr. Weeks made shore and left the two islanders (one dead, one too weak to travel) to make his way towards where he supposed the *Tonquin* to be. He was rescued by a search party from the boat, which then divided and searched for the living islander that Weeks had left on the beach. The Hawaiian was discovered the following day and eventually recovered from his

ordeal (Franchère 1967:42). Ronda gave the names of the two Hawaiians with Weeks in the pinnace as Peter and Harry, but did not indicate which one perished (Ronda 1990:114).

Clearly, the Hawaiians and other servants transported in company vessels to their worksites were not idle passengers. Aboard the *Beaver*, sailing from Hawaii to the Columbia River in April 1812, Cox recorded the general format of interaction between the Hawaiian overseer, Boatswain Tom, and his labor force:

When any number of natives were wanted to perform a particular duty, word was passed to Bos'n Tom; who, to do him justice, betrayed none of the softer feeling of national partiality to his countrymen. The moment he gave 'the dreadful word' it was followed by a horrid yell; and with a rope's end, he laid on the back and shoulders of every poor devil who did not happen to be as alert as he wished [Cox 1957:45].

Sixteen years later, in 1828, servants in the 'naval service' of the HBC were described as being "... of a very miscellaneous description" (Simpson 1947:79), including some 16 "Sandwich Islanders and Indians" (ibid.). Treated in the HBC books much like a trading fort, the earliest record of the naval service examined was for the 1827 outfit, where it was called the Coasting Trade. Examination of roster of employees for the end of the 1827 outfit showed no Hawaiians assigned to this service (B223/d/10), nor were there any assigned in 1831 (B223/d/28).

In 1828 at Nass (or Simpson) River trading port, the American coastal trading vessels were noted by Æmelius Simpson, Captain of the *Cadboro*, as having been manned largely by Hawaiians (Rich 1959:615). It is possible that non-Hawaiians were observed by Capt. Simpson. In March 1829, the *Convoy*, trading mate of the Boston brig *Owyhee*, was to stop "at the Friendly or Society Islands for Islanders to make up numbers as they are less expensive than American Seamen" (Simpson 1947:103).

The Hudson's Bay Company's schooner was not very satisfactory for the coastal fur trade as it was small and risked

...being boarded from the large War Canoes, many of which are longer and higher out of the Water than the *Cadboro*, carrying 40 to 50 Indians, and so knowing and daring are those Savages, that it is scarcely possible to guard sufficiently against them [Simpson 1947:83-84].

The *Cadboro* was used for the coastal trade anyway. Francis Ermatinger noted that Hawaiians were temporarily assigned to the *Cadboro* for defense in 1829 (McDonald, ed.1980:94). Debt records indicated that three Hawaiians incurred small debts to the naval service in 1831. This probably indicated a temporary duty assignment, as debts to the naval service would have been an unlikely occurrence unless aboard the vessel (HBCA B223/d/36).

The *Cadboro's* small size had already played a role in the fate of Hawaiians aboard the supply ship for the Columbia Department, the *William and Ann*. The *William and Ann* was wrecked in March 1829, while crossing the Columbia River bar. The lives lost were those of: "the captain, the mate, fourteen men and boys from England, and ten Sandwich Islanders" (Simpson 1947:106). The Hawaiians, hired for Ft. Vancouver by Capt. Simpson, were being transported aboard the *William and Ann* because there was not enough room on the *Cadboro* (ibid.). Capt. Simpson arrived at Ft. Vancouver with the account that the crew had made it into boats, which then had capsized in surf at the shore. He indicated that they then were murdered by Clatsops from the village opposite Cape Disappointment. McLoughlin eventually concluded that crew had not been murdered, though some of the bodies had been mutilated (Rich 1959:623).

Hawaiians were officially on the rolls of the Naval Service in 1833 when 7 new Hawaiian employees apparently joined 3 previously in the service (B223/d/47). Two years later, in 1835, only one Hawaiian was still on the rolls of the service (B223/d/61). In 1843, six Hawaiians were assigned to the steamer *Beaver*, three as woodcutters, two as stokers and one as a middleman (B223/d/152). The Hawaiian's contracts were expensive for the Naval Service. During this period, the typical pay for non-Hawaiian men employed by the HBC as sailors was £10 annually, apprentice seamen were paid less.

According to Reverend Beaver, life in the Company's vessels in 1838 seems to have been rough. Commenting on a mutiny aboard the steamer *Beaver* said that, though no fault had been officially assigned, Captain McNeill's language and conduct were

...most violent and unbecoming...[and]...would, of course disgust the crew, nor can his live appendages, in a confined cabin, be very pleasant to the officers [Jessett 1959:86-87].

Beaver alluded to another instance of shipboard life when Captain Home, valued as a friend and drinking companion, was dismissed for using his sword against his crew while the vessel was at anchor at Ft. Vancouver (ibid.:87).

Inland Life and Labor. The Hawaiians at trading posts labored as personal servants, gardeners, sawyers, coopers, guards, and as general labor. The last broad category is well represented by a job described by Henry Thompson in a journal entry:

The Islanders [are] clearing away a pile of Rotten small Fishes thrown away about a month ago ... an ugly job [Payette 1962:123].

Construction. One of the first tasks that followed the selection of a trading post site, was the clearing of the selected area. Two months of work were required to clear about an acre of land at Astoria. Though no Hawaiians were among the injured, the work was hazardous enough that "...three of our men were killed by the natives, two more wounded by the falling of trees, and one had his hand blown off by gunpowder" (Ross 1969:80-81). Displeased with the location chosen by the Astorians, the NWC planned a new fort and in February 1814, 10 Hawaiians and 10 Canadians were sent to Tongue Point to begin clearing the site for a new fort (Coues 1965:840).

Woodwork. The timber felled during site preparation was rapidly converted to lumber for housing and other necessary articles. Many of the woodworking tasks were accomplished with Hawaiian labor and required a high degree of skill, though it is likely that the task of manually sawing timbers into lumber caused Governor Simpson to remark that Hawaiians could be 'usefully employed' for common drudgery (Simpson 1931:91 in McLoughlin 1973:111-112, ed.'s note #2).

Hawaiians served as sawyers from their earliest presence ashore. The saw pit at Ft. Spokane was probably manned by Hawaiians during the 1822 reconstruction of that post (Caywood 1953). In 1824, four of twenty Hawaiians in the Columbia District were listed as sawyers. All were recorded to have 8 years of service, indicating employment with the NWC before the 1821 merger with the HBC. Of 120 employees in the district, these four were the only servants listed in the capacity of sawyer (HBCA B239/g/4). In 1826, one of the

men had died, the other three remained as the only sawyers (HBCA B239/g/4). Duncan (1972:27) reported from the Ft. Langley journal that the sawyers during the construction of the fort in 1827 were Hawaiians.

The Hawaiians adapted to mechanized lumber production. Slacum (1912:185) reported that in 1836 the HBC sawmill, six miles upriver from Fort Vancouver, employed 28 men, 'mostly Hawaiians'. Clark (1934:29) reported that the Hawaiians were considered expert mill men and that two were advisors during the search for a mill site at Nisqually.

Hawaiians were also skilled in using the wood produced by the milling operations. Clark (1934:27) noted that at Astoria, some of the Hawaiians were experts at small craft construction. Gibson (1985) discussed Fort Langley as a farming center, in line with the fort's purpose as a provisioning post, but did not mention the necessary supporting industry of cooperage or barrel making. Water-tight barrels in standardized volumes would have been needed to ship butter to Russian settlements and salmon to Hawaii. Peeohpeeoh, employed originally by the NWC, was one of the four sawyers in the Columbia department in 1824 (HBCA B239/g/2, B239/g/4). Present at Ft. Langley 1831, he was listed as a cooper by 1846 (HBCA B223/d/28, B223/d/169). Hawaiians were also coopers in 1844 and 1846 at Ft. Vancouver (HBCA B223/d/152, B223/d/169).

The head carpenter at Nisqually, Cowie, was a wheelwright as well as having been able to build wagons and structures (Clark 1934:29). The HBCA employment records do not acknowledge the skill. Cowie was recorded as a middleman from 1841 to 1846, as a shepherd in 1846, and as a laborer from 1847 through 1854. Cowie was one of two Hawaiians who had 15 years of service in 1854. At £25, Cowie was paid £3 more annually than the other Hawaiian, Joe Tapou (HBCA B223/g/10). In 1847, Tapou was listed as a shepherd and both men were paid £17 annually (HBCA B223/d/176). One Hawaiian at Ft. Vancouver was listed as a laborer and carpenter in 1847. He was being paid £27 annually, but there was no correlation between the title and the payscale as 9 others with the same wage were listed only as laborers.

Early tourists gave a view of the Columbia District that wasn't exclusively concerned with trade relations (c.f. Harper 1971; Parker 1842), most of these visitors used Ft. Vancouver and its services. In October 1835, one of these visitors, Samuel Parker, took a two week trip to Fort George and the mouth of the Columbia River. His transportation west was an HBC freight canoe

manned by Hawaiians. The trip to Fort George was relatively leisurely, with occasional stops to examine the country. When he was exploring ashore, Parker took a Hawaiian with him for protection. On the return trip, the party stopped at Wyeth's anchorage at Sauvie's Island. The weather was wet and the party built a fire inside a large and comfortable thatched structure that had been built for Wyeth by Hawaiians at Ft. William (Parker 1842:149-166). This was the only reference I found that specified a Hawaiian built structure in the architecture of the Columbia River fur trade. Parker's work was written after his return to New York, a journey which included a six month stop in Hawaii, hence Parker would have been familiar with traditional Hawaiian architecture. Thus, I assume that the rest of the building, beyond the thatched roof, was also of Hawaiian design. This possibly included walls and a floor platform of stones, though Parker's description was not detailed.

Another traditional Hawaiian woodworking skill exhibited at Ft. William was the use of whole logs. In 1835, Nathaniel Wyeth had a dugout canoe 60 ft long, 3 feet wide and 2.5 feet deep created from a flawless log, as well as a "house Boat 70 feet long" (Young 1973:233). It is likely that the Hawaiians Wyeth employed were instrumental in the construction of both of these vessels for two reasons. First, a 60 foot dugout was the size of the typical large Hawaiian canoe (Jones 1931:967). Secondly, local Native Americans, the other likely source of labor skilled in the construction of large dugout canoes, were no longer present on Sauvie's Island, having died out before Wyeth built Fort William in 1834. The natives left " ...nothing to attest that they ever existed except their decaying houses, their graves and their unburied bones of which there [were] heaps" (Young 1973:149).

Hawaiian Farmers. Provisioning the newly constructed post was also a priority. Shortly after the *Tonquin* arrived, four of the Hawaiians were detached from the effort of clearing the site for the Astoria fort and set to work developing the provisions garden. The plantings consisted of Indian corn, potatoes, turnips, cucumbers, radishes, and rape. The garden was fenced to protect it against forays by the hogs and goats at the post (Ronda 1990:205).

While the corn and cucumbers didn't get enough sun; the radishes didn't like the soil; and mice ate the rapeseed; the Hawaiians were able to report in August that the potatoes and turnips were turning out well. This was the start of the continuous pattern of gardening and farming that was to occupy many of the Hawaiians employed in the fur trade (ibid.).

In 1814 the gardens of Astoria (renamed Ft. George by the NWC) were expanded to Tongue Point by the new owners when their needs exceeded the capacity at the fort (Coues 1965:905). This began the pattern of expanding fur company farming interests in the Northwest. The fields of Ft. George provided the interior posts and brigades of the NWC with a vegetable supplement to the meat diet described by Cox (1957) and Wyeth (Young 1973).

While potatoes were the general staple produced at Ft. George, one act of gardening preparation included the collection of ash for hop-poles, indicating the cultivation of hops as early as 1814 (Coues 1965). Later, Herbert Beaver revealed the presence of "...an ample supply of barley and hops" (Jessett 1959:80) at Ft. Vancouver in about 1835.

The supply plans included domestic animals, at Astoria, pigs and goats were present. The goats provided milk for the coffee of the officers (Coues 1965). The pigs became so abundant as to be a threat to the gardens (Ronda 1990). Two of the Hawaiians who managed the livestock for Astoria were Edward Cox and James Kimoo (ibid.:197).

Established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1827 as a provisioning post, the signal products of Fort Langley were salmon and butter (Gibson 1985). The first was in demand in Hawaii, the second a luxury enjoyed in Russian Alaska (ibid.). Other farming activities were typical gardens and grain production (ibid.).

The Hudson's Bay Company expanded the reliance on 'country' produce and the gardens into a commercial farming enterprise. Ever on the lookout for additional commercial opportunity, the officers at Ft. Vancouver noticed the English market for the hides and tallow being produced in Hawaii. Their own plans for a cattle farm reached the ears of the governing committee in the fall of 1834, and was immediately forbidden as a conflict with their duty to the company. The HBC, itself, then undertook the development of this trade north of the Columbia (Galbraith 1957:193-194). The first plantings for the Puget Sound Agricultural Company (PSAC) were in 1839 at the Cowlitz Farm. In October 1840, Alexander Simpson, the HBC agent in Honolulu, wrote to McLoughlin that he had obtained a cargo of sheep and engaged seven Hawaiians to care for them (McLoughlin 1943:239). Simpson later indicated that there had been some trouble with the crew and that one of the Hawaiians had deserted in 'Calefornia' (ibid.:244). Cowlitz was too small for the planned livestock operation, so the main location for the PSAC was Ft. Nisqually,

which by 1845 had 2,280 head of cattle and 5,872 sheep (Galbraith 1957:200-201). In 1846, Cowlitz had 17 servants, of whom 9 were Hawaiian (HBCA B223/d/176). Nisqually, with 20 servants, had 6 Hawaiians (ibid.).

In Personal Service. Two instances were recorded of Hawaiians serving as personal servants. An individual named Dick served as butler ('major domo') to the partners of the NWC at Fort George (Astoria) in November 1813 (Coues 1965:756). He moved into the residence of the partners to better accomplish his duties (ibid.). It is interesting to note that in 1818 two structures at the fort were occupied by Hawaiians (Figure 6). One was a large structure outside of the walls between the back entrance and the southern blockhouse. The other was on the north end of the "Residence of the principal merchant". This may indicate the continued residence of the major domo or his replacement.

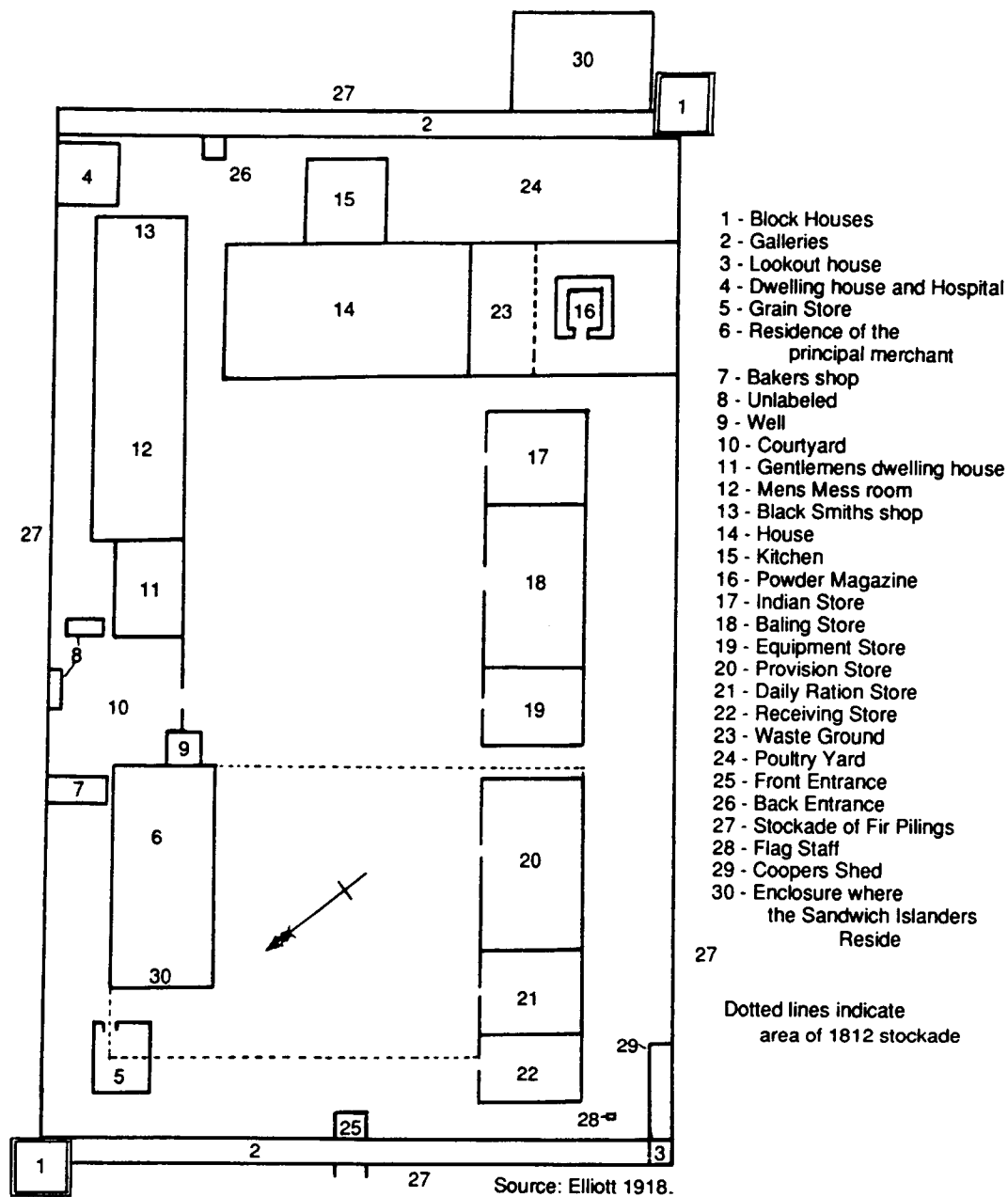
A male servant had been assigned to Rev. Beaver, the Fort Vancouver chaplain, but finding an unmarried female servant for Mrs. Beaver was difficult because the required level of refinement was not present in the population. When offered a "decent, active, married, Sandwich Islander and his wife", Beaver rejected them on the grounds that there would not be enough time to train and use them before he and his wife left (Jessett 1959:139-141).

Armed Service. A significant portion of the labor references were those involved with protection of the traders and the trade goods (c.f. Coues, ed.1965; Cox 1957; Payette 1962). Several reports of the para-military duties and activities presented the Hawaiians as active participants.

The brigade to the interior in November 1815 was attacked several times above the Walla Walla River. During preparation for an impending attack, NWC trader Keith addressed the Hawaiians with the brigade. He asked:

...would they fight the bad people, who had attempted to rob us, in case it was necessary? Their answer was laconic: "Missi Keit, we kill every man you bid us." So far all was satisfactory; and after having examined their muskets, and given each man an additional glass of rum, we embarked...[Cox 1957:198].

Donald MacKenzie wrote a letter to Cox on 12 February 1817. Stationed at Spokane House, he found it necessary to travel up the Lewis River to obtain



Plan of the settlement of Fort George, October 1818

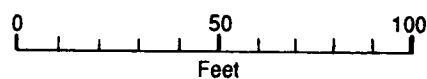


Figure 6. Plan of Fort George in 1818.

supplies from the Nez Percés. He:

...took ten Sandwich Islanders, whom I armed and accoutred quite *en militaire*. The *Nez-Percés* did not half relish the swarthy aspect of these invincibles, and fancied I intended to resent former grudges (Cox 1957:249).

Cox also provided an example of what *en militaire* might have meant:

Each man was provided with a musket, and forty rounds of ball-cartridge, with pouch, belts, &c.; and over his clothes he wore leathern armour....Besides the muskets, numbers had daggers, short swords, and pistols...(Cox 1957:77).

The 1820 Snake Country brigade of the NWC was not an easy trip. The Iroquois trappers with the brigade mutinied and attacked the leader, Donald Mackenzie, who was saved by the timely arrival of the Hawaiians and Canadians in the party (Ross 1855:158-60 in Duncan 1972:22-23). Later in the winter three Hawaiians were sent to trap the mouth of an unnamed river. When they did not return, an investigating party discovered one skeleton and the location of their murder (Ross 1855:264-5 in Duncan 1972:22). The river was named the Sandwich Islands River in their memory, and is now called the Owyhee River (Horner 1921; Naughton 1983).

Ermatinger (McDonald 1980) described an HBC punitive expedition against the Clallum peoples of Puget sound for the robbery and murder of Alex McKenzie and the four men with him. The action occurred in June 1828. On the 16th, the eve of departure, after the 'Clallum Expedition' was generally assembled, the men are given a *regale* or pint of rum. During the ensuing festivities, the Iroquois "...went through a war dance, in character, before the Hall Door" (McDonald 1980:98).

One war party went by ship to Puget Sound, the other went up the Cowlitz River and across the Cowlitz portage to the Nisqually River. Hawaiians were in both parties. On June 30, 1828 the overland party was in position for the attack and the Iroquois, Hawaiians and Chinook slaves put on war paint (McDonald 1980:106). No record was made of the Hawaiian participation in the attack on the encampment.

Having been asked to take notes by the leader of the expedition, Alexander R. McLeod, Ermatinger speculated that there may not have been a plan. His frustration at the ineptness and indecision shown by McLeod is

compounded when the purpose of the expedition is revealed to be the recovery of a woman held captive by the Clallum, and not the murderous surprise attack originally supposed. When the expedition was over, Ermatinger voiced his complaints to McLoughlin.

Chief Factor McLoughlin reported the expedition and Ermatinger's distress to Governor Simpson in a letter. McLoughlin's response to the specific complaint of mismanagement defines the level of loyalty that was expected from employees and illuminates the polyglot nature of the Service of the Hudson's Bay Company.

I have to observe, that I have neither Known or heard of any Expedition of the Kind either before or since I came to this place with which some one did not find fault and conceive that either too much or too little had been done and it is but justice to all in charge of such Expeditions to state they are the most disagreeable Duty to which a person can be appointed to take Charge of and extremely difficult to manage Composed as they are of Canadians Iroquois a few Europeans Owhyees and native Indians whose language we do nospeak nor they ours and even hardly understand us of hired servants who consider themselves bound to defend our persons and property when attacked but conceive it no part of their duty to to go to war and merely go to oblige and of freemen who may be led but will not be commanded [Barker 1948:81-85].

Ermatinger recorded the names of two Hawaiians, Tourawhyeene and Cawinaia, who were with the overland party (McDonald, ed.1980:107). In the HBC rosters for 1828 (HBCA B239/g/8), Cawanaia and Tourawhyeene were recorded as having been in service for 12 years and each received a wage of £17 annually. Cawanaia was listed as a sawyer and was 31 years old. Tourawhyeene was a laborer and was 28 years old.

Hawaiians also served as shipboard guards (Coues, ed.1965; McDonald, ed.1980:94) and as bodyguards for traders and visitors (Cox 1957; Parker 1842:150).

Trapping Beaver. The task of trapping was the first reference, on the Columbia River, to the practice of renting out the services of company employees. In December 1813, a freeman or independent trapper, Bélair, went up the Willamette with four Hawaiians and two Canadians. For their labor, until the beginning of May, the North West Company was to be paid 180 pounds of beaver pelts (Coues 1965:780). This reference did not assess the

skills of the Hawaiians. Elsewhere, they did not get very high marks as trappers. This might be expected as there was not much in traditional Hawaii that was analogous to trapping beaver. In the fur trade it appears that the Hawaiians were porters and middlemen first and trapped co-incidental to the travels of the expeditionary forces, or brigade (Ross 1855:264-5 in Duncan 1972:22). No Hawaiians were listed as trappers with the HBC in any of the records reviewed. This was not unexpected, as the title of 'trapper' in the lists of the Hudson's Bay Company was used to indicate a specialist who trapped for his own account.

Ross Cox received a letter in 1814 from the clerk at Fort Okanagan which contained a comment about the trapping skills of the Hawaiians:

My men, half Canadians and half Sandwich Islanders. [The Canadians are gone]...the whole of my household troops merely consisted of *Bonaparte! Washington!!* and *Caesar!!!* ...

I have not as yet made a pack of beaver. The lazy Indians won't work; and as for the emperor, president, and dictator, they know as much about trapping as the monks of *La Trappe* [Cox 1957:145, emphasis in the original].

Hawaiians accompanied the annual Snake Brigades of the NWC (Ross 1855:264-5 in Duncan 1972:22). After the NWC/HBC merger, Hawaiians were not included in the Snake trading parties until 1841 (HBCA B223/g/6). It is unclear why they did not accompany earlier Snake country expeditions of the HBC.

The Brigade. Anecdotes about the travelling routine revealed the typical life on the paths between hunting grounds and trading markets. Most of the travel followed rivers, in part because beavers are aquatic rodents and in part because transport of freight was easier by water routes. In all this travel, the brigade served as a convoy system, ensuring labor for portages and sufficient force to repel attack by thieves.

Cox (1957:74) spared his readers the boredom of the long hours and hard work of the daily routine, noting only that when on the water, few days were without stops for boat repairs. Two types of boats were used, a shallow draft cargo barge (York boat or *bateau*) and bark or dugout canoes. They were crewed by 8 and 6 men respectively and carried passengers as well as freight (ibid.:75). Time spent in travel was minimized as the destination was the goal. One brigade described by Cox arrived at Fort George (Astoria) on 8

November 1815 after leaving Spokane House on 24 October. Ten days after arriving at Ft. George, the brigade returned to the interior and on 12 December reached Ft. Okanagan. The brigade broke in to subsections and those destined for Spokane left the next day. Six Hawaiians started out from Ft. George and two were left at Fort Okanagan. The Spokane brigade traveled overland with 26 horses and added forty dogs as provisions after crossing the river. When this parade straggled out along the trail, the the Hawaiians were kept in pairs when they were assigned to the subcomponents (ibid.:194-207).

In October 1834, Nathaniel Wyeth left Sauvies Island for Fort Hall. After two hours sleep the brigade started upriver, into a chilly headwind. The horses were carrying the trade goods, which left four Hawaiians afoot. To remedy this, Wyeth hired a canoe and sent some provisions and traps up the river to Walla Walla (Young 1973:234-235).

Life on the road was not without its incentives. In July 1847 Paul Kane departed from Ft. Vancouver for the interior. At the first night's encampment Kane notes the activities of the brigade members during the "customary debauch", the *regale* with a pint of rum following departure:

Immediately on landing, the camp was made, the fires lit, and the victuals cooked; in short, every preparation for the night was completed before the liquor was given out. As soon as the men got their allowance, they commenced all sorts of athletic games; running, jumping, wrestling, &c [Harper 1971:111].

Employment of the Children of Trade. Always looking for a steady supply of replacement labor, the Hudson's Bay Company planned to employ the grown children of the officers and their Native American wives in some capacity. One proposed career for these 'half breed Lads' was that of seaman (Simpson 1947:96). It seems that several of the Hawaiians also apprenticed their sons into the service at Ft. Vancouver. In one instance the son of Como, Thomas Como, was apprenticed at Ft. Vancouver in 1851 (HBCA B223/d/195).

Labor in the private sector. As the demand for furs diminished in Europe, the Columbia Department's labor pool became subject to irregular demand and attrition. Contracting out surplus labor served both the interests of the HBC and the missionaries, millers, and settlers emigrating to the Oregon Country. Essentially, the tasks continued to be similar, though they became more difficult to document because of the dispersed nature of the smaller

businesses and irregular nature of private records associated with private enterprise.

Missionaries from the New England based American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) had arrived in Hawaii in 1821 (cf. Holman 1931). Evangelising from fixed bases in the ports of Honolulu and Lahaina and from periodic circuits of the islands, the combined effort of the Presbyterians and Congregationalists soon enrolled a substantial number of Hawaiians. Some of these converted Hawaiians were specifically sought out for employment in the various Christian missions along the Columbia River and in the Willamette Valley (OHS ms. 70-372).

A letter dated 1 October 1840 from Alexander Simpson to McLoughlin said that Mr. Bingham (probably Hiram Bingham, head of the ABCFM mission to Hawaii) had failed to engage any Hawaiians for the Columbia Missions (McLoughlin 1943:239). Most often, the Hawaiians employed were contracted from the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1837 two Hawaiians helped to build Wailatpu Mission (OHS ms. 70-372). In 1844, George Carey, successor to Jason Lee at the Methodist Willamette Mission, regretted that Lee had contracted about 12 Hawaiians from Ft. Vancouver. The contract had been made in July at \$10 per month. By November the monthly rate was \$6 (Carey 1923:174-175). An additional shock was received when, in addition to the actual labor time, McLoughlin wanted payment for the Hawaiian's travel time from Oahu and payment for their passage back to the Islands. It was an unwelcome additional expense of more than three hundred dollars (ibid.:179).

Some of the HBC Hawaiians were employed by McLoughlin for his private enterprises (McLoughlin 1973:55). One of these individuals was returned to the HBC at the end of his HBC contract period in 1847. McLoughlin sent a letter to the Chief Factors at Ft. Vancouver to explain the action:

He has applied to me to be allowed to settle in the Willamette. But of course as I had him from the Company I could not agree to his proposal and therefore return him [McLoughlin 1973:27].

Named in the letter as "Spagnole" this was probably the same "l'Espagnol" or "The Spaniard" recorded by the Vancouver parish in 1844 as having had a daughter in 1844 by a woman from the Dalles (Warner and

Munnick 1972:A-61). The spellings Spagnole and l'Espagnol are not present in the HBCA (B223/d/152) records for this year. Though it would not be extraordinary for the employee to be unrecorded, a more likely explanation is derived by assuming that when he was first employed the clerk enrolling him interpreted 'Spaniard' to be 'Spunyarn'. Review of Spunyarn's record reveals the typical economic history of a long term Hawaiian employee. Spunyarn was employed from before 1831 until his death (at an unknown age) in 1853. With seven years of service and the job title of middleman in 1836, Spunyarn was paid £18 per year until 1841, when his wage was reduced to £17. His account balance in this year showed a debt of £40. In 1844, his wage had been raised to £20 and he is thereafter employed as a cooper. In 1849, Spunyarn had a modest credit balance of £8 9s. 8d.. He was paid £30 in 1851 and he died at Ft. Vancouver in January 1853 (HBCA B223: d/28, d/184, d/187, d/195, g/6, g/10).

Spunyarn's £40 debt in 1841 is unexplainably irregular. Of 52 Hawaiians with account balances, only two other Hawaiians in the same district had negative balances. The largest of these was £17. Thirteen other Hawaiians in the district had no account balances, this is probably related to the fact that they had only 1 or 2 years of service, though it is not clearly so related.

Labor Summary. Throughout their employment in the Pacific Northwest fur trade, the Hawaiians were employed in skilled and general labor positions. Employed in the coasting trade as boatmen and guards, Hawaiians were employed as farmers and woodworkers as soon as the fur trade began establishing settlements ashore. Work histories of long term Hawaiian employees and anecdotal evidence indicated craft specialization and high skill levels as woodworkers, farmers and surf and tidewater boat handlers. Less successful as inland *voyageurs*, Hawaiians were employed in the brigades as middlemen. None were hired as stern or bowsmen or received accolades as trappers.

Distribution of Populations.

The archaeological discernment of a cultural group is the process of establishing that a body of ethnically identifiable people left a diagnostic

presence in the material record. This section presents some of the historic population concentrations of Hawaiians in the fur trade.

Early Transient Populations. Very small populations of Hawaiians were present on the Northwest Coast before the fur trade attempted to establish interior trading posts. Barbeau's description of the sea otter fur trade (1958) records Vancouver's discovery of two Hawaiian women at Nootka Sound in 1792 (ibid.:81-82). Clark (1935:25) noted that in the same year a Hawaiian named Atoo was aboard Captain Gray's vessel *Columbia* when Gray named the river for his ship. The effect of these populations is uncertain. The archaeological record of their presence has probably been erased.

Inland Brigades. The supply convoys and trapping expeditions, the brigades, were fast moving transient populations. The Hawaiians participated as laborers in the transportation network. Some information about the population distributions was discovered, though the historic records of the brigades were generally anecdotal.

During the earliest period of the Columbia fur trade, records indicated that Hawaiians were valued members of the trading and trapping expeditions. The earliest reference is to two Hawaiians who accompanied Stuart's party to the interior on 22 July 1811 (Ross 1969:111). One of the Hawaiians, Cox, was traded to the North West Company party when they and the Astorians parted company on 31 July 1811 (Ross 1969:123). Cox would later return in November 1813 with the North West Company representatives aboard the *H.M.S. Raccoon* (Kittleson 1965:196). The other Hawaiian continued on with Stuart and helped establish Spokane House or Ft. Okanogan (Caywood 1954).

In the next year, 20 Hawaiians were with the 1812 inland brigade. The brigade dispersed in August of 1812. Three trapping parties went to Spokane, Okanagon, and the Snake country. An 'express' party of eleven men went across the Rocky Mountains to St. Louis to send mail to Astor. No Hawaiians were included in the express. Six Hawaiians were in the party headed to Spokane House (Cox 1957:91). The distribution of the remaining 14 Hawaiians is unknown.

It was just prior to the NWC merger with the Hudson's Bay Company that the Hawaiians were killed while trapping the Owyhee River (Duncan 1972:22; Naughton 1983:29). After the merger between the HBC and the NWC, Hawaiians were not again members of the Snake River brigades until 1841,

when 13 accompanied a brigade of 26 men, exclusive of officers (HBCA B223/g/6). The reasons for the hiatus are unclear. Otherwise, most of the operations associated with the Columbia Department of the HBC employed Hawaiians at one time or another.

Sedentary Hawaiian Populations. A trading post was an intentional occupation of a location by a structured community composed of arbitrarily transient individuals. The first intentional residents on the Columbia were 25 Hawaiians with Captain Winship in May 1810. Named Oak Point by Winship, the site chosen for the trading post was about 40 miles inland, on the south shore of the Columbia River, opposite Oak Point, Washington. Threatened with flooding, Winship abandoned the post in June (Horner 1921:52). Horner did not discuss whether the few structures completed by Winship included housing for the Hawaiians. The short-term of this occupancy, more transient than not, was included here because of the intent of settlement.

The data relating population distributions of the Pacific Fur Company (1810-1814) and the Columbia River operations of the North West Company (1814-1820) were sparse and were derived from personal and official journals which rarely provided a complete census. Hence, the Hawaiian population counts presented in Table 1 represent only minimum numbers. The irregularity of the data is unfortunate, but it serves to show a significant number of Hawaiians to be members of the early sedentary populations of the Columbia River fur trade.

Pacific Fur Company (1811-1813). The recorded sedentary populations of Hawaiians began with J. J. Astor's Pacific Fur Company in April of 1811 when 11 Hawaiians debarked from the *Tonquin* (Ross 1969:76). Re-inforcing the assumption that the transient populations created only ephemeral impacts, the 12 Hawaiians that remained aboard the vessel died when the *Tonquin* was destroyed (Coues 1965:777n). A second contingent of the Pacific Fur Company brought either 12 or 16 Hawaiians in 1812. Franchère (1976:71) indicated that the ship arrived on the 12th of May with 12 Hawaiians. Ross Cox, aboard the *Beaver*, said 16 were hired for Astoria, 10 for the ship, and an Hawaiian overseer. I assume that, with the name of 'Boatswain Tom', the overseer stayed with the crew on the *Beaver* (Cox 1957:44-45).

Cox enumerated the establishment upon his arrival at Astoria on 9 May 1812:

Source	Location	Year of Report							
		1811	1812	1813	1814	1817	1818	1821	1822
Ross 1969:76	Ft. Astoria*	11							
Cox 1957:44-45	Ft. Astoria		16						
Ronda 1990:219	Ft. Astoria			24					
Coues, ed. 1965:851	Ft. George				15				
Barry 1932:365	Ft. George					60			
Elliot 1918:271	Ft. George						24		
Cox 1957:249	Spokane House						10		
Duncan 1972:21	Walla Walla†						32		
HBC Archives B239/g/1	Columbia District							11	
HBCA B239/g/1	New Caledonia							2	
HBCA B239/g/2††	Columbia District								22
HBCA B239/g/2	New Caledonia								2
Totals		11	16	24	15	60	66	13	24

* Astoria became Ft. George when the PFC sold out to the NWC.

† Walla Walla became Ft. Nez Percés after the NWC merged with the HBC.

†† 14 are recorded as transferred from the NWC. The discrepancy between 1821 and 1822 is unexplained.

Table 1. Minimum Hawaiian Populations in the Columbia Fur Trade, 1811-1822.

Here we found 5 proprietors, 9 clerks, and 90 artisans and canoe-men, or, as they are commonly called in the Indian country, *voyageurs*. We brought an addition of 36 including the islanders; so that our muster-roll, including officers, &c., amounted to 140 men [Cox 1957:50].

This statement does not make clear whether the 'muster-roll' included the crew of the *Beaver*. Presuming that it did not, either 16 of the 36 were Hawaiians (ibid.:44-45), or only 12 were (Franchère 1976:61). Ronda (1990:219) was also uncertain of the number brought aboard the *Beaver*. Further, when the PFC drew up the list of employees in 1813, Ronda found 24 Hawaiians on the roster, one too many when compared with Franchère's number.

In August 1813, following the decision to sell out to the North West Company, one of the PFC partners left Astoria aboard the *Albatross*, bound for the Marquesa Islands, with the intent of purchasing a ship to carry away PFC property not sold to the NWC and to return 32 Hawaiians to their native land (Ross 1969:270). The population numbers remain unclear; the records of the sale of Astoria indicate that 25 Hawaiians were employed and were to be returned to Hawaii (Elliot 1932:46).

On 18 December 1813 four Hawaiians returned to the islands aboard the *Raccoon* (Coues 1965:773). In March 1814, it was agreed that four Hawaiians would return aboard the PFC's newly purchased *Pedlar* (Coues 1965:852; Ronda 1990:300).

North West Company (1813-1821). After the purchase of Astoria, the North West Company changed the name of the post to Fort George. Fifteen Hawaiians were counted at Ft. George in April 1814 when the inland brigade departed. Six left with the brigade (Coues 1965:851). No counts or indications of Hawaiians at inland posts were given. All Hawaiians were to have returned to Astoria during the negotiation of the sale (Elliot 1932:46), but it is unclear if they did so. Additionally, in December, 4 Hawaiians had accompanied a trapper into the Willamette Valley, with the intention of returning in May (Coues 1965:780). Kittleson (1965:196) reported that all Hawaiians were returned to Hawaii in August 1814 aboard either the *Isaac Todd* or the *Columbia*. This information does not agree with an account by Peter Corney indicating that 16 Hawaiians were left in China by the *Isaac Todd* in 1815.

Most of these Hawaiians returned to the Columbia River aboard the *Columbia*, though "several" died before the vessel left China and two were buried at sea on 21 June 1815 (Barry 1932:368). The next report of a number of Hawaiians at the mouth of the Columbia also came from Corney, though it was dated 2 years later. He related that in June 1817, 60 Hawaiians were delivered to Ft. George (Barry 1932:365).

Prevost recorded 26 Hawaiians in a "Mem[orandum] of the number and descrip. of the population" in November 1818 (Elliot 1918:271). The total male population was put at 56, of whom 23 were European or Euro-Canadian, 26 were Hawaiian, 6 were Iroquois, and 1 was "native of the place" (ibid.). Women and children, presumably as a part of the fort's population, were present, but were neither counted or assigned an ethnic affiliation. It is clear that this record was only of the residents of Ft. George and did not reflect the populations of interior trading activities. The population of Hawaiians in the field in 1818 was substantial, at least 10 Hawaiians were at Spokane House (Cox 1957:249) and 32 were counted at Walla Walla (Ross 1855:178 in Duncan 1972:21). Other posts are unaccounted for. These few references point up some of the problems in developing a census of Hawaiians in the New World. The archived records of the Hudson's Bay Company are more definite.

Hudson's Bay Company (1821-1854). The populations of Hawaiians at various Hudson's Bay Company facilities are presented in Table 2. Some of the longest continuous occupations by populations with Hawaiians were at Ft. George (1811-1824) and Ft. Vancouver (1824-1860). The residency of Canot at New Caledonia from 1821 through his death in 1834 was singular. First, because he was posted there without any other Hawaiians and secondly because of the long term employment at a post which was acknowledged to be the most miserable jobsite in the Columbia Department (Gibson 1985:26). This begs the question of whether one Hawaiian, alone, would leave an archaeologically identifiable presence. Figure 7 compares the population of Hawaiians assigned to Fort Vancouver with the total count of Hawaiians in the Columbia Department.

The studies done by Towner (1984 in Thomas and Hibbs 1984) and Kardas (1971), gave a relatively clear picture of the inhabitants of Ft. Vancouver. However, there are numerous questions still unanswered about

the demographics of the Hawaiian population. Some questions appear answerable in the archived business records of the Hudson's Bay Company.

One such example would be an examination of the average age of the study population. Archived data showed the average age of the Hawaiian population for 1824 to have been 28.3 years. All 20 Hawaiians were included in the average. However, irregular recording of this data does not allow a broader study. For example, in 1836, 60 Hawaiians were present in the records. Only 12 of these had an age recorded, the average age for this population was 38 years. Of these 12 Hawaiians, 7 were included in the 1824 average. When these 7 were eliminated, the average age dropped to 32.6 years. However, one of the 5 Hawaiians, Como, had been employed at New Caledonia in 1824. Removing him dropped the average age to 30.75 years. Clearly the data is unsatisfactory. Without examination the data would wrongly indicate an aging of the population. For the same reasons, data relating to the Euro-American and Native Americans did not allow diachronic comparison with the Hawaiian population. Sampling of these populations, even in 1824, where the age data was also recorded for the non-Hawaiian employees, would not provide comparable data. Random sampling of such small populations does not result in useful data.

Questions about the island of origin and the political and religious orientations of the populations were unanswerable. One such demographic concern was the economic stratum of the emigrant population. Early reports were exclusively of *ali'i* (Greer 1967; Li 1959; Kuykendall 1938; Schmitt 1965). Later discussions did not specifically mention the class, though it was assumed to always be commoner (Duncan 1972; Kardas 1972). It is assumed, from the controls placed on emigration in the 1840's (Greer 1967), that most of the population of Hawaii was of the laboring class. The people were still needed as farmers to prevent or at least reduce dependence on imports of foreign foodstuffs (Kuykendall 1938).

A distinction between the classes was not acknowledged in the records that were examined, either directly or indirectly. The Hawaiian Crown sent several agents to report on the working conditions. Li (1959) specifically noted that these agents were *ali'i*, but such status was not officially acknowledged by job title or managerial positions. Some hints are present in anecdotal form that suggest elevated (or segregated) positions (c.f. Kittleson 1965). In 1814, the housekeeper ('majordomo') at Ft. George lived with the officers of the North

Location	Year Established	1821	1822	1823	1824	1826	1828	1831	1832	1833	1835	1836	1841	1844	1846	1847	1849	1851	1853	1854
Ft. Astoria (Ft. George)	1811																			
Thompson's River	1812															12				
Ft. Nez Percés	1818										1		2	1						
Ft. Colville	1825								3		1					2			1	
Ft. Vancouver	1825							46	16	24	24		73	138	18	85	13	24	5	1
Ft. Langley	1827							5	5	5	5		18	9	4	9		12		
Ft. Simpson	1831								19	13	8		2					9		
HBC Naval Service	1832								6	10	1		4	7	5	6	2	3		
Ft. McLoughlin	1833										10		2							
Ft. Nisqually	1833												5	4	1	6	2	6	5	4
California Establishment	1836												2	5						
Cowellitz Farm	1839												12			9	10			
Ft. Stikine	1840												9	9	3	9				
Ft. Taku	1842												10							
Ft. Victoria	1843													10		10		15		
Willamette Falls	1847															1	2			
Ft. Rupert																		7		
Snake Party													13	13	4	13		3	3	2
Southern Party													4							
Miscellaneous Dead												1	2			1			1	1
Misc. Discharged													14						1	
Misc. Unknown													1						1	
Columbia Department	1821	11	21	19	20	18	19					59					104			
New Caledonia		2	2	1		1		1	1	1							1	2		
Totals		13	23	20	20	19	19	52	50	53	50	60	173	196	35	163	134	81	17	8
Percentage change			77%	-13%	0%	-5%	0%	274%	-4%	6%	-6%	20%	288%	13%	-560%	-17%	-18%	-40%	-79%	-53%

Table 2. Hawaiian Populations of the Hudson's Bay Company, 1821-1854.

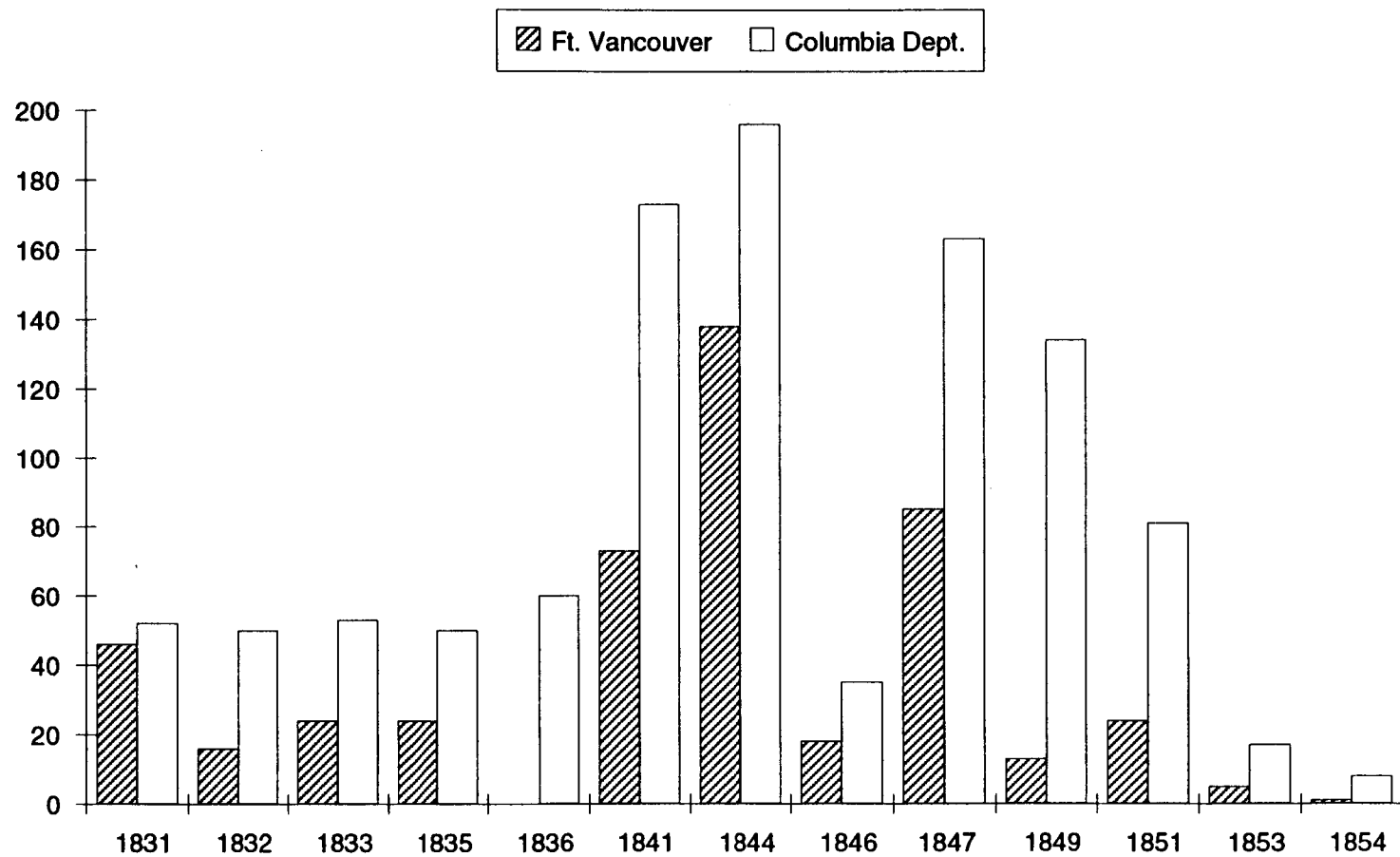


Figure 7. Hawaiian Populations at Ft. Vancouver and in the Columbia Department, 1831-1854.

West Company, though it is unclear whether this was to better provide service or separate a high status Hawaiian observer from the lower classes. A few specific references to Hawaiians in managerial roles were noted, one of a Hawaiian (Bos'n Tom) hired by the Astorians aboard the *Beaver* (Cox 1956). Later, Peeohpeeoh (Piopio) was the foreman of the Hawaiians on the expedition to establish Ft. Langley (Naughton 1983:67) and Cowie was noted as head carpenter at Ft. Nisqually by Clark (1934), but their status was not acknowledged in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Hawaiian preacher at Ft. Vancouver, William Kaulehelehe, reported indiscretions (e.g. drunkenness) by Hawaiian employees to Dr. McLoughlin (Rockwood 1939). There is no evidence that Rev. Kaulehelehe had any earthly authority other than as a 'schoolteacher'. It may be that there were substantially more Hawaiians in a management position aboard the American coastal traders and in the whaling fleets.

Hudson's Bay Company records did not place any Hawaiians specifically at Fort George when it was serving as the depot for the Columbia District (1821-1825). It is likely that the patterns established in the last years of the North West Company were relatively unchanged by the HBC management until the decision in 1824 to establish Fort Vancouver and in 1827 to combine the New Caledonia District with the Columbia District to form the Columbia Department (Gibson 1985:18). Following the combination of the districts in 1827, both the number of Hawaiian employees and the number of non-Hawaiian employees (19 and 191 respectively) began to increase. The peak period of Hawaiian employment in the mid-1840s (196 in 1844) showed them to have increased from less than 10% of the population to 31.26% of the Columbia Department population of 611 reported by Gibson (1985:20).

Sudden redistributions of servants were not uncommon when done to meet commercial opposition, though given the usual distances of such postings, they were not often as convenient as the response to an American trader's attempt to set up shop at the Dalles of the Columbia River. Posting to the 'Bache Fort' was a relatively short trip from Ft. Vancouver (Barker 1948:60).

An example of the more typical circuitous route is the case of Hereea, a Hawaiian with about 15 years of service. He is 'temporarily' sent from Vancouver to Walla Walla (Ft. Nez Percés) in 1830, possibly to be sent on to assist with preparations for the Colville Outfit (Barker 1948:202-203). Correacca and Spunyarn are sent to Colville in September, 1831 and join

Hereea there (Barker 1948:212, and HBCA B223/d/37). Hereea is back at Ft. Vancouver the following season (HBCA B223/d/47).

On another occasion McLoughlin anticipated personnel replacements at Ft. Simpson and sent four Hawaiians there aboard the *Cadboro* in August 1831 (Barker 1948:208).

Unanticipated labor demands abounded. When Ft. Langley burned in 1839, a new establishment was constructed two miles away at the location now celebrated as Ft. Langley Park, east of Vancouver, B. C. (Duncan 1972; Gibson 1985; Jack Porter, personal communication 1992). Archived employment records for the post, summarised in Table 2, showed a temporary increase in the Hawaiian population during 1841, probably the result of the new construction.

As a result of McLoughlin's defiance of Governor Simpson's hiring ban, 1844 was the peak employment year. It was also a time of oversupply of Hawaiian labor at Ft. Vancouver. Rev. Carey's complaint (Carey 1923:174) about the labor costs of the Willamette mission revealed a classic supply and demand response. Most of the Hawaiians at Ft. Vancouver were being paid £27 annually or about \$10 per month in 1844 (see Table 3). In July, at \$10 per month, McLoughlin was not charging the mission for any overhead expenses. Apparently McLoughlin was unable to employ the Hawaiians in the service of the HBC and decided to reduce expenses by having someone else feed the workers and by requiring the mission to pay for passage back to Hawaii. Table 2 (graphically expressed in Figure 7) reveals that between the years of 1844 and 1847 the Hawaiian workforce was reduced by 17%. By 1851, the Hawaiian workforce had been reduced from the 1844 high of 196 to 81. Only 24 remained at Fort Vancouver, down from 138.

A significant note is to be made that Hawaiians were not assigned to any duties east of the Rocky Mountains. Other than the travels of John Cox with the NWC in 1812 through 1814 (c.f. Kittleson 1965; O'Neil 1930), the only other Hawaiians to be recorded as having crossed east of the Rockies in the service of the fur trade were the two witnesses to John McLoughlin Jr.'s death. William Spencer went to York Factory with Kekepi and Captain Cole to act as their translator (McLoughlin 1944:20 dated 20 Nov. 1844). On the release of the witnesses, a footnote indicated that the Hawaiians were returned across the mountains to the Columbia Department some time after 14 June 1844 (ibid.:9n).

Non-Hawaiian Polynesians. Other Pacific Islanders also participated in the fur trade. Though none were identified in the employee records of the HBC, their presence had sufficient impact. In September 1829, Ft. Nez Percés was warned that two Society Islanders were in the company of an American, Bache. Bache was from the American trading brig *Convoy* and was suspected of being a trading competitor on his way to the Dalles (Barker 1948:57). The *Convoy*, trading mate of the Boston brig *Owhyhee*, had orders to stop at the Society Islands for crew (Simpson 1947:103). McLoughlin responded to Bache's potential competition by immediately sending James Birnie and two Hawaiians, Kikarrow and Peter, in October to the Dalles (Barker 1948:60). Peter is not recorded in the 1828 or 1831 employee lists (HBCA B223/g/8, B223/d/28, B223/d/30) and there is no further record of him. Kikarrow is probably Kaharrow, who died at Vancouver in 1830 after serving with both the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBCA B223/g/2, B223/d/28).

The *Owhyhee* had a complement of 'kanakas', but nothing is said of the Society Islanders or of Bache in Howay's condensation of the log (Howay 1934). Howay thought it clear that this application of '*kanaka*' meant Hawaiians and not Society Islanders, but this was not stated plainly in any of the samples of the log. The use of the word *kanaka* may specifically relate to Hawaii as the spelling is specific to the Hawaiian language, the Society Islands normally using 't' in place of 'k' (e.g. *tanata-kanaka*, *tapu-kapu*, *Tahiti-Kahiki* [c.f. Pukui and Elbert 1986]). This distinction may have been irrelevant to the captain. The *Owhyhee* stopped at both the Hawaiian Islands and the Society Islands on the way back to Boston (ibid.).

Private Sector Populations. The Hawaiians working outside of the fur trade are hard to enumerate, in part due to the irregular nature of the records from this 'private' sector of the economy. Dr. John McLoughlin's private interests employed several Hawaiians. He obtained them from the HBC at Ft. Vancouver as well as hiring them from the open market (McLoughlin 1973:23, 29, 55). The records of the Catholic missions included additional hints that 'free' Hawaiians were a significant presence during the 1840's and 50's (Munnick and Warner 1979; Warner and Munnick 1972). The Hawaiians provided steady labor in sawmills and for the various missions, as well as being present in the growing roster of retired servants of the fur trade establishing themselves in the valley.

In 1846, Lieutenant Howison (a spy from the United States) noted that there were about 30 blacks and 60 Hawaiians in Oregon City (Howison 1913:27). Lieutenant Vavasour (a spy for the British) estimated that the total population of Oregon City at that time was 300 (Schafer 1909:51). The Hawaiians were working as cooks and house servants "to those who can afford to employ them" (Howison 1913:28). This was the first clear reference to a resident population of Hawaiians independent of the Hudson's Bay Company. As the HBC did not record Hawaiians as 'retiring in the country' until 1849 (HBCA B223/d184, d/187), it is unclear if any of these people were present as a result of a reduction in the HBC workforce. The Hawaiians in Oregon City in 1846 were apparently fully employed in 1847 when McLoughlin, who had retired from the HBC, inquired if any laborers were available from Vancouver while he waited for contracted employees from Hawaii (McLoughlin 1973:27).

One answer to the question of 'How did a large body of independent Hawaiian laborers get to Oregon?' is that they were unofficial passengers on HBC and other vessels. In the postscript of a letter to the Chief Factors at Ft. Vancouver, McLoughlin thanked them for responding to his request for a Hawaiian for temporary labor. The Hawaiian was being returned, however, because McLoughlin had engaged another Hawaiian who had arrived aboard the HBC brig *Mary Dare* (McLoughlin 1973:29). This raises several questions about the numbers of 'undocumented' Hawaiians on the Columbia. It certainly indicates that there was at least one Hawaiian granted passage aboard an HBC vessel without being an employee of the HBC. That McLoughlin did not have to hire this man's services from Ft. Vancouver, in spite of the transport aboard a company-owned vessel, leads to the conclusion that the Hawaiian came to the Willamette Valley either as a free or indentured paid passenger, a stow-away, or a guest. In the first event, the paid passenger lists might be available in the HBCA or other archived records. The other two possibilities suggest an unrecorded population of Hawaiian laborers. Clearly, Howison's report mentioned above and the report of 6 Hawaiians employed by an American-owned sawmill near Oak Point, Washington (Duncan 1972:77), show substantial populations of Hawaiians independent of the HBC in the mid-1840's.

Hawaiian Women as a Possible Population Component. It is unclear if these undocumented immigrants included women. Two reports of Hawaiian

women at Fort Vancouver were found. Rev. Beaver reported that the Hawaiians brought women when they came to Fort Vancouver (Jessett 1959:131-132). Supporting this, Naughton (1983:44) reported that Kaulehelehe, the Hawaiian preacher at Ft. Vancouver, brought his wife. Naughton gave her name as Mary Kaai (ibid.). Beaver's report was dismissed by Kardas (1971:201) for two reasons. First, because there was no support in the written record of the HBC; secondly, because there were no records of Hawaiian women in the marriage records of the churches. That they were not present in the official record of the HBC is a null argument. There were an enormous number of people who were undoubtedly present at one time or another at Ft. Vancouver, but left no evidence in the written record. Typically, the only mention of the family of a servant was when the family of a deceased servant (recorded without names) incurred a debt to the HBC store. Mary Kaai did not incur such a debt among the records I surveyed, though no other records, official or anecdotal, supporting her presence at Ft. Vancouver were found either.

The second argument, that the Hawaiian women were not present in the church records, is a null argument similar to the first. They and their husbands might not have needed the approval of the formal ceremony, the custom of Hawaii then being such that informal marriage was the rule (Linnekin 1985; Sahlins 1985). In the case of Rev. Kaulehelehe, a product of the ABCFM schools in Hawaii, it is probable that a local ceremony would have been a redundant exercise.

Population Dispersal. The plans of the Hudson's Bay Company were affected by the resolution of the boundary between Canada and America in the Pacific Northwest. Investments had been made along the north shore of the Columbia River to establish a British claim there and present the Columbia River as a natural international boundary (Gibson 1985:106). As late as 1840, Governor Simpson was still convinced that the boundary would be the river (Gibson 1985:114). Plans had been made for a trading port in the Puget's Sound since 1830 to get away from the Columbia River Bar, the long distance upriver to the fort, and a malaria-like sickness that regularly debilitated the workforce of Fort Vancouver (ibid.:63 and 195-196). Nothing had been done to establish such a port by 1835. New directions were sent to McLoughlin in 1836 to seek a location for a new depot in the Straits of Juan de Fuca. This shift northward from the sound to the strait may indicate that the HBC was no

longer sure of establishing the Columbia as the border (ibid.:61). The need to establish the new depot in the north became overwhelming as the Oregon Trail opened the Willamette Valley to settlement. Fort Victoria was established on the south end of Vancouver Island in 1843 to replace Fort Vancouver as the departmental depot (ibid.). Table 2 shows only a small populations of Hawaiians at Ft. Victoria, compared with the 'old' depot of Ft. Vancouver. Probably, this is a function of the relatively vast scale of the enterprises conducted by the HBC at Vancouver and the time required to disengage from the operations. Ft. Victoria never had the chance to employ as many Hawaiians, their numbers in the HBC lists declined precipitously after 1846.

The wealth generated by the HBC at Fort Vancouver engendered jealousy among the newly arrived American immigrants. Politics played an important part, pre-disposing Americans against things British. The business system of the HBC, predicated on a trade monopoly granted by a Royal Patent, was perceived as an especially pernicious influence (cf. Gray 1870).

News of the gold discoveries in California reached the Willamette Valley and Fort Vancouver in August 1848. By October, 1,200 settlers had left the Willamette Valley and Columbia River drainage for the Sacramento region. In September 1849, less than 200 emigrants had passed through Ft. Hall for Oregon but 20,000 had passed on the way to California (Galbraith 1957:447, note 45 to chapter 13). This marks the end of the fur trade on the Columbia River. Most of the readily available beaver had been exterminated and the European demand for beaver had slackened. The HBC retreated northward to Canada for the remaining trading opportunities and began slowly disengaging itself from the fur trade, a process that culminated with a 1991 corporate decision to stop selling fur (Agnes, personal communication 1992).

Hawaiians still in the employ of the HBC transferred with the move. Their communities continued to support their ethnic identity (c.f. Duncan 1972b; Naughton 1983). Other pressures were brought to bear on the Hawaiians who were not employed by the Hudson's Bay Company. Racially discriminatory laws were enacted by the Oregon Territorial Legislature (Schafer 1909; Young 1909). Those enacted against the Hawaiians were justified (Gray 1870) or condemned (Schafer 1909) because they were designed to irritate the HBC by harassing its employees. The laws were ineffective against the employees, but the HBC could not protect its pensioners at Fort Vancouver or in the Willamette Valley and most Hawaiians left for California or Canada where they continued

to form ethnic communities (c.f. Clark 1934; Dillon 1955; Duncan 1972b, Sutter 1962[1857]).

Summary of Population Data. The purpose of this section has been to try and present the true numbers and demographic makeup of the Hawaiians in the Columbia basin. There remain several questions that must be answered to accurately present their numbers. The size of the population of undocumented Hawaiians, may never be adequately answered. Reported estimates of the populations are exaggerated. The total Hawaiian population on the Columbia was estimated at 500 in 1842 (Naughton 1983:13). However, in mid-1841 only 137 Hawaiians were in the employ of the HBC (HBCA B223/g/6). A review of the source (Landerholm 1956:133) indicates that this was an optimistic uttering used as an excuse to learn Hawaiian. Greer (1967:221-222) indicated that from 300 to 400 islanders were in the employ of the HBC on the Columbia in 1844; yet, the HBC employment records showed only 196 on the roles (B223/d/152) of whom 39 could not be included in the wage study presented in Table 3. In 1846 there were still 500 reported on the Columbia (Greer 1967:224). At the same time, 500 were reported in the Society Islands, 50 in Peru and 3000 aboard cargo and whaling vessels in the Pacific (ibid.). Elsewhere, in 1847, the Hawaiian population of San Francisco consisted of 39 males and 1 woman (ibid.). By 1850, the California population had grown to 319 with an additional 269 elsewhere on the continent (Schmitt 1965:207). At this time only 1.9% of the population in Hawaii was foreign born (ibid.). In 1851, the HBC recorded 75 Hawaiian employees (HBCA B223/d/195). It is clear from these and other reports (Kuykendall 1938:312) that the Hudson's Bay Company employed the largest number of Hawaiians in North America, but probably accounted for only a small portion of the Hawaiians employed abroad.

Traditional Hawaiians.

Several reports gave evidence of traditional Hawaii on the Columbia River. The earliest was the burial of an Hawaiian who drowned crossing the Bar of the Columbia. Another early report suggested the celebration of the *Makahiki* or Hawaiian New Year festival on October 27, 1812 at Ft. Astoria (Ronda 1990:219). While an account of the new year's party at Astoria was lacking, Gabriel Franchère's description of the burial seems remarkably complete:

Toward evening, a number of the Sandwich Islanders, provided with the necessary implements and offerings consisting of biscuit, lard, and tobacco, went ashore to pay last homage to their compatriot who died in Mr. Aitken's boat during the night of the twenty-fourth. Mr. Pillet and I followed them and witnessed the obsequies which took place somewhat after the following manner: Arrived at the place where the body had been hung from a tree, the islanders set about digging a grave of suitable proportions in the sand. Then they took the body from the tree, put the biscuit under one of the arms, the lard under the chin, and the tobacco under the genitals. The body, thus prepared for the journey into another world, was laid into the grave and covered with sand and stones.

The companions of the dead man afterward knelt along the grave in a double row, faces turned to the east—with the exception of one among them who officiated as a priest. This latter went to get water in his hat, sprinkled the two rows of islanders and recited a kind of prayer to which the others responded somewhat in the manner in which we respond in the litanies in our churches at home. When the prayer was finished they got up and returned to the ship without once looking back. As each of them appeared, in fact, in a role that he played, it is very likely that they observed, so far as circumstances permitted, the ceremonies practiced in their own country on such occasions. Toward dusk, we went on board again [Franchère 1967:43-44].

Although the text of the service was not recorded, the form of the service was identical to the form of traditional burial practice described by Kamakau (1964:35), supporting Franchère's assessment that this had been a contingent expression of a Hawaiian burial.

During an early (ca. 1812) portage around one of the rapids on the Columbia, the weather was hot. The Hawaiians stripped off their European clothing, and their "...swarthy bodies, decorated with buff belts, seemed to excite the particular attention of the Indians" (Cox 1957:82). The 'buff belts' were undoubtedly *malo*, the traditional loincloth of Hawaii, the buff coloring suggest that they may be made of *tapa*, a cloth made from the bark of the paper mulberry (c.f. Buck 1964-V; Malo 1951).

Community. In traditional Hawaii, men worshipped and ate together in a structure sacred to this purpose. The Hawaiians in the fur trade maintained their ethnic identity by continuing as a community. At Astoria, in 1813, when a new house was built the Hawaiians occupied one end (Ronda 1990:219).

The plan of Ft. George by Prevost in 1818 (Figure 6) showed the original area occupied by the Astorians and the expansion undertaken by the NWC. The Hawaiian's quarters are a large structure on the exterior of the stockade. At the second Ft. Langley site, established in 1839, the Hawaiians were the only occupants of one structure (Jack Porter, personal communication 1992). These may be evidence of involuntary segregation, but it is also likely that the Hawaiians preferred the arrangement, choosing community.

Certainly, not all Hawaiians were inclined to be community members and it is difficult to determine whether the occasional single Hawaiian in the literature (c.f. Coues 1965; Franchère 1967; Kittleson 1965; McDonald 1980) was present in a party by choice or under orders. Some of the Hawaiians were alone among Euro-Americans as the result of misfortune to a companion. The survivor's grief was notable (Franchère 1967; Scott 1923) and demonstrated that interpersonal bonding existed among the Hawaiians in the fur trade.

Closing the argument that the Hawaiians in the employ of the HBC maintained an ethnic community is the example of the incident at Stikine in 1841, wherein McLoughlin, Jr. was murdered. The reason for murderous friction between McLoughlin, Jr., the clerk at Stikine, and some of the servants is unclear. The post occupied most of a peninsula that was often isolated by tides. The periodic inundation left a slime which was

...aided by the putridity and filth of native villages in the neighbourhood, in oppressing the atmosphere with a most nauseous perfume [Simpson 1847:210-211 in Gibson 1985:66].

In this oppressed atmosphere, McLoughlin, Jr. tried to rule his servants with an iron hand. An agreement to jointly mutiny and murder McLoughlin was circulated by Canadians and all Hawaiians except the cook signed it. When the time for action came, two of the Hawaiians were witness to the killing. In later depositions, an Iroquois servant indicated that the Hawaiians were too strange to have been involved. This may have been due to a linguistic barrier, as McLoughlin, Sr. noted that the Hawaiians did not speak much English. Or it may simply be that culturally, the Hawaiians were difficult to understand.

During the inquiry into McLoughlin, Jr.'s murder, the Iroquois referenced the Hawaiians as blue men. This was the only documented instance of this

appellation encountered during research. It is possible that the Hawaiians received this name because of traditional tattooing, which appeared blue in color (c.f. Emory 1946).

Contemporaries and employers of the Hawaiian laborers recorded that their religion persisted in the Northwest long after the state's official rejection. Naughton (1983:43) recorded that Hawaiians selected the old religion when they witnessed a meteor shower in 1833. The Hawaiians interpreted the display as a sign of a great imbalance in *mana* and prayed to Pele and other gods to set right whatever *kapu* had been broken.

Later evidence of traditional Hawaii and its religious influence on the Columbia was documented by Herbert Beaver. Beaver, chaplain to Fort Vancouver, was a steadfast adherent to the doctrines of the Church of England. It is apparent from his reports and letters (Jessett 1959 and Pipes 1933) that he and his wife were shocked to find the streets unpaved, the wine rationed, and the people pagan and licentious. Beaver was not only prejudiced only by his faith, but apparently by nature, as James Douglas (acting as Chief Factor of Ft. Vancouver) commented that Herbert was not satisfied to remain an idle spectator but apparently felt compelled "...to libel, by his discoloured statements the character of every person with whom he associates" (Jessett 1959:104).

Accepting this as a warning to be wary of rhetorical exaggeration, it is important that Beaver identified two groups of Hawaiians, those that had been employed for more than ten or twelve years and those hired more recently. He commented upon their state of "grace", and assessed the early employees as:

...totally uninstructed; while those, who have entered it at later periods, have been, for the most part, instructed by the missionaries in their native land previous to leaving it, and many of them can read in their own language. But, from their almost entire ignorance of any other, they are necessarily without instruction, and thus little Christianity, which they brought with them, becomes speedily forgotten and lost, and their former good, but unstable, principles are quickly undermined by the inroads of surrounding corruption. Removed from the eye of their Pastors, these half-reclaimed savages have, in several cases, reverted to certain abominable practices of idolatrous times, and the few women who came with them, having been selected from the lowest grade, have turned out more than commonly depraved [Jessett 1959:131-2].

As a remedy, Beaver wanted to require the prospective employees to have a certificate of Baptism. More interestingly, because they were mentioned almost nowhere else, the women would have been required to have a certificate of marriage, showing that they were married to the men they accompanied.

The presence of the non-Christian, traditional, Hawaiian was made clear during the conflict over the burial of an unidentified Hawaiian of long service to the HBC. Beaver presented the man as not only un-baptised, but 'an absolute heathen'. He complained that the reading of the burial service by Chief Factor McLoughlin over this individual not only profaned the service but the burial-ground as well (ibid:147).

A study of the employee roster for the Columbia Department in 1836, showed that of 61 Hawaiians some, 75% were hired in the early 1830's. Of the 12 Hawaiians who had ages recorded in the lists, the youngest individual was 24 Years old and had been in service for 7 years. Assuming that 17 was about the minimum age for employment by the HBC, all of the Hawaiians in the service of the HBC in 1836 were born before the collapse of the old system. Additionally, though they had been exposed to Christianity, they, as Beaver described, had made only a conversion of convenience. The other 25% were mostly employees of 20 years (and longer) service in the fur trade. These men were clearly from traditional Hawaii, though it is open to question how strongly they were attached to Hawaii and *mana* (HBCA B223/g/3).

Beaver's comments established the presence of non-Christian Hawaiians and the "abominable practices of idolatrous times." Unfortunately, neither Beaver or any other source have made clear what the practices might have been. One possibility was dancing on Sundays. The missionaries to Hawaii suppressed the *hula* as a pagan and licentious display (Kamakau 1964; Sahlins 1985). Kanahale (1986:131) provided support for the pagan appellation and said that dancing for entertainment was secondary to dancing for spiritual purposes.

In spite of the repression, *hula* was still practiced in 1847:

We had eight Sandwich Islanders amongst the crews, who afforded great amusement by a sort of pantomime dance accompanied by singing. The whole thing was exceedingly

grotesque and ridiculous, and elicited peals of laughter from the audience [Harper,Ed. 1971:111].

Paul Kane was recording the *regale*, or traditional pint of rum and festivities allowed to brigade members at the first encampment after departing Ft. Vancouver. Kane's phrasing does not make it clear, though it seems that the dance is performed by several, at least, and possibly all of the Hawaiians.

This coordination identified a close community which practiced the dance together, whether in the past as children or in the community that they inhabited. There may have been no missionary repression of children's 'games'. It seems possible that some *hula* routines may have been taught to children throughout Hawaii and thus enabled a spur of the moment exhibition by people thrown together by chance. Personal observation has revealed that 'the Hokey-Pokey' has this potential among modern American adults. The alternative is that the dance was actively organized and practiced by members of the Hawaiian community. Certainly a symbol of ethnicity, *hula* was an active tie to old Hawaii. The Hawaiians' response to being applauded with 'peals of laughter' is not recorded, though two of the Hawaiians attempted to desert the next day.

Retirement and Reward.

Money. Table 3 summarizes the HBC payrates recorded for the Hawaiians. The Hawaiians were, in general, paid the same as the other servants. There are two notable differences, which are made obvious by Figure 8. First, the Hawaiians who transferred from the NWC were underpaid in the early 1820's. The second is a group of Hawaiians who were paid a very much higher wage.

After the merger with the NWC, the Canadian and Iroquois servants complained that the Hawaiians received the same pay as themselves. Simpson gave this as a reason for reducing the Hawaiians wages (Simpson 1924:91 in Naughton 1983:22). Simpson, who was reducing costs in the Columbia District during this time, also cut the pay of the other servants. A sample of the pay records of the Canadians and Iroquois (included in Figure 8) did not show a comparable reduction and increase. This was not supported by the accounting entries. From the HBC books, it was apparent Hawaiians were paid less initially and then reduced to an even smaller wage. The wage history

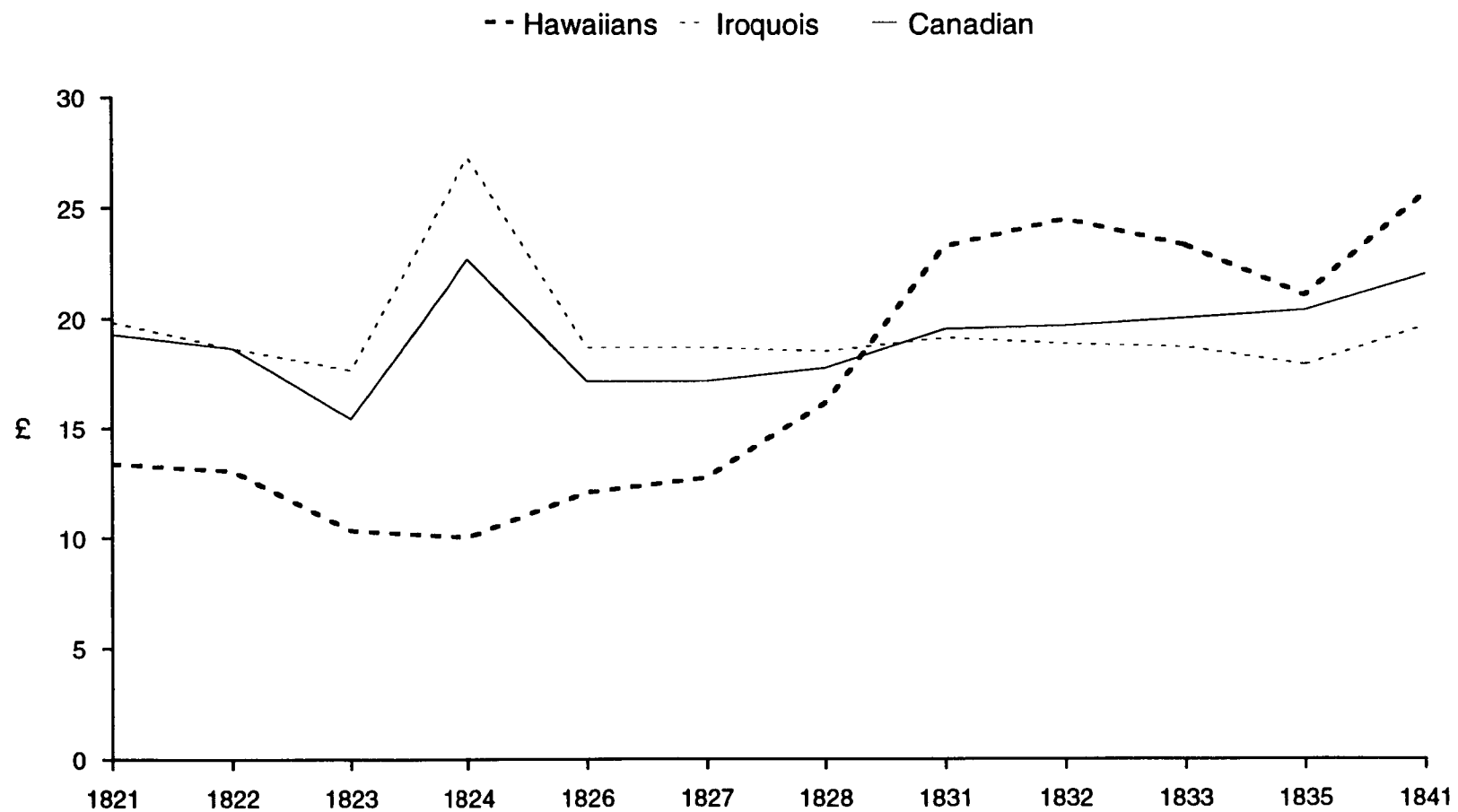


Figure 8. Average Wages of Hawaiian Servants, 1821-1824.

Pay rate	1821	1822	1823	1824	1826	1828	1831	1832	1833	1835	1841	1844	1846	1847	1849	1851	1853	1854
10			20	19	19	2												
12					2													
12.4	1																	
12.7	8	21																
13					1													
16.5	2	2	1															
17					6	14	17	12	16	29	38	65	3	77	18			
18							10	9	10									
19							1	1	1		1	9		11				
19.91														1				
20					1							1	1	2		50	5	3
21											2							
22												1	1	3		1	1	1
22.16									1									
22.7														1				
23														1				
24											1	3		1		2		
25											1					1	1	1
26.5											1							
27										3	15	78	5	41	8	8		
27.5											1							
28.75								2										
30							24	26	27	11	74			1		1		
31.25																1		
37.5																6		
40													1	1				
50																1	1	1
Year	1821	1822	1823	1824	1826	1828	1831	1832	1833	1835	1841	1844	1846	1847	1849	1851	1853	1854
Avg. Pay	13.36	13.03	10.31	10.00	12.03	16.13	23.23	24.45	23.29	21.02	25.63	22.27	19.73	20.65	20.08	23.20	24.63	26.17
n	11	23	21	19	29	16	52	50	55	43	134	157	11	140	26	71	8	6

Table 3. Employment Wages of the Hudson's Bay Company Hawaiians, 1821-1854.

(Table 3) of the middle 1820's shows that some of the Hawaiians may have been able to return to their previous wage rate. It is unknown whether those Hawaiians who were continued at the reduced wages were un-aware of the potential for increase or were not considered worthy of an increase.

The tables were turned during the hiring period of the late 1820's when the payscale for newly hired Hawaiians is raised to £30. This may be the result of the heavy labor demand for the sandalwood harvest and the increasing needs of the expanding whaling industry. By 1835, probably reflecting the collapse of the sandalwood trade in 1829, many of these laborers were paid less when they re-engaged. The cycle repeated itself in the 1840's, probably reflecting demand generated by the whaling industry. The erratic labor expenses may have caused the Hudson's Bay Company to stop hiring Hawaiians.

Deaths, Discharges and Desertion. For the loyal employee, death or contract expiration were the only ways an employment agreement could terminate. Samuel Parker estimated in 1838 that about three years was the average life expectancy of a trapper or trader in the west (Parker 1842:188). Death by murder, accident, and disease were recorded in the HBCA records and the accounts of clerks, missionaries, and trappers (Cox 1956; McDonald 1980; Munnick and Warner 1979; Pipes 1933; Scott 1923; Warner and Munnick 1972). The high rate of consumption of personnel caused the Hudson's Bay Company to 'retire' employees who successfully survived several engagements and chose not to re-engage. Most Hawaiians were returned to Hawaii and discharged at the end of their contracts. Others were discharged for cause, noted as deserters, or died. Few employees on the Columbia District became old age pensioners or 'superannuated' as Cox was in 1835 (HBCA B223/d/61). Table 4 summarizes the contract termination of 228 employees. Twenty-five percent (25%) of this sample died, 61% either retired or were discharged, and 14% deserted. The official fates of the other 164 employees listed in Appendix B are unknown.

Death. The Hawaiians were not exempt from attrition by accident or design. They were among the earliest deaths at Astoria, one died during the *Tonquin's* first crossing of the bar at the mouth of the Columbia River. Twelve more died when the *Tonquin* was attacked and destroyed near Nootka Sound (Franchère:1967). Corney, aboard the NWC schooner *Columbia*, records that several Hawaiians died of illness during a return voyage from China to Ft.

	1824	1825	1827	1830	1831	1832	1834	1835	1836	1837	1840	1841	1842	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	Totals
Deaths																										
Ft. Van.				1	1	1				1			1	2	1	1	6	6		5						26
Other								1				2		1		2		7			2		3	1		19
Unknown	1	1	1				1		2		1	2	1	1		1										12
Discharges																										
Oahu					7	3	5		7		2	17	5	20	7	21	16	6		1						117
Unknown									3			3			2							2	1			11
Retired																			3		4	1	4			12
Desertion										1						.		1	15	2	6	1	1	1	3	31
Hawaiian																										
Attrition	1	1	1	1	8	4	6	1	12	2	3	24	7	24	10	25	22	20	18	8	12	4	9	2	3	228
Population	20	19	19	-	52	50	53	50	60	-	-	173	-	196	-	35*	163	-	134	-	81	-	17	8	-	N/A

*1846 Population count is a data collection error.

Table 4. Deaths, Discharges, and Desertions, 1821-1854.

George (Barry 1932:361). At least two (or three) more died in the employ of the NWC. Their murder became commemorated in the name of the Sandwich Islands (Owyhee) River (Horner 1921; Naughton 1983). In March 1829, 10 Hawaiians died with the other members of the crew when the *William and Ann* foundered on the South spit at the mouth of the Columbia River. The circumstances surrounding the deaths were unclear; some evidence indicated murder by local villagers (Rich 1959: 623; Simpson 1947:106).

One story of a definite murder was related by Francis Ermatinger in a letter from Ft. Colville. Dated March 1836, the letter recorded that three Hawaiians died in 1835. One of the Hawaiians was:

...the most faithful servant to me and had followed me throughout. In fact his death saved my life — he was ahead and when I got up to him had that minute been killed and I was in time to see his murderers running off. Had I been at the moment leading, as was my custom, we should all have fallen with the three poor fellows [McDonald 1980:184].

It is not probable that all three men killed in this instance were Hawaiians, as there was only one Hawaiian recorded at Colville in 1835. The other two dead can not be accounted for. The editor (McDonald 1980) noted that the ambush occurred while Ermatinger was returning to the Flathead camp after attending the 1835 Green River Rendezvous (*ibid.*, note 82). McDonald also supplied notes about a western Montana valley named in 1835 for a Hawaiian employee who had been killed in an ambush by Blackfeet. In the 1850's, when the first military road was built across western Montana, a canyon just north of the Jocko River was named Coriakan. Just south of the canyon is the *Course de Femmes* a name given to a regular Flathead Indian encampment (McDonald 1980:209).

Correlating Ermatinger's account, McDonald's notes, and the employee lists of the HBC reveals an individual named Corriaca. He was with Ermatinger at Colville in 1831, 1833 and 1835 (HBCA B223/d/36, B223/d/47, B223/d/61). In 1836, he was only an entry in the sundry accounts of the Columbia District with a negative balance of more than £17, probably confirming that his debts were no longer collectible (HBCA B223/g/3). The other two dead, Hawaiian or otherwise, were not discernable in the employment records.

Burial. Ermatinger did not say what happened to the body of his 'faithful servant'. When death occurred in the vicinity of the trading post, a communal burial ground was established. The majority (72%) of the deaths noted in the records were at trading posts. At least twenty-six Hawaiians died at Fort Vancouver (Table 4). The jump in the death rate in 1847 and 1848 has been attributed to a measles epidemic imported via the Oregon Trail (Warner and Munnick 1972). It had spread to Forts Victoria and Langley in 1848, possibly pointing to the Hudson's Bay Company as a disease vector.

Burial at Fort Vancouver seems to have been a responsibility of the Hudson's Bay Company. When the HBC chaplain reported his activities for 1837, he revealed a *de facto* egalitarian treatment of religious beliefs by the fur trade.

There have been few Burials, twelve in all; four of which took place in consequence of accidental drowning; but a considerable number of unbaptised persons, over whom the ceremony was not, of course, performed by me... [have also died] [Jessett 1959:133].

The ceremony (a capital 'B' burial) had been performed in two such instances by the Chief Factors at Ft. Vancouver. The complaint and response give some insight into death and burial at Fort Vancouver.

These persons were not only unbaptised, but absolute heathens, never having received any Christian instruction; the one being a young woman, and consequently not engaged in the service; the other a Sandwich Islander of old standing in it. ...it is, moreover, in my view, highly important that the Heathen around us should not behold the rites of Christianity administered to persons, who are not Christians. These should be interred with all due respect and decency, as in England, in the burial ground, but privately and without performance of any ceremony... All burials at the Burial-ground at Vancouver should be conducted under the direction of your Chaplain, or another burial-ground should be appropriated for his exclusive performance of his own ceremony [Jessett, ed. 1959:133-4].

James Douglas, as temporary Chief Factor, accompanied Beaver's complaint with his response. Noting that "The first seven pages [of Beaver's letter] ...[were] confined to the hackneyed topic of domestic comfort.." (Jessett 1959:139), Douglas discussed the practice of burials at Fort Vancouver.

It has always been the custom at this place to have the ceremony of committing to the earth the remains of the Companys deceased servants, their wives, or children, performed with the utmost solemnity, and the beautiful and impressive service of the English Church has been generally used on such occasions, equally as a tribute of respect to the departed, [and] as a seasonable relief to our own feelings. The persons so buried were of course always baptized; lay baptism, in cases of necessity being sanctioned by the Romish Church.

It will appear from what I have just stated that in bestowing Christian burial on the two persons, one an old servant and the grown daughter of another... we were only following former usages of the place, without the remotest intention of interfering with Mr. Beaver's duties, or casting reflections upon his character. But will the most painful reflections unavoidably arise in the mind of every person who is informed by Mr. Beaver's own writings that two such persons, living at this Establishment, and neither of them indisposed to receive instruction, were left in their last moments without the comforts of religion, and died, in both cases of protracted disease, 'not only unbaptised but' 'absolute heathens [Jessett, ed. 1959:146-147].

The 'old servant', a Hawaiian, was probably Hereea. HBCA records showed Hereea to have been transferred from the NWC in 1821. In 1826, Hereea had been employed for 10 years and was 28 years old. His wage was £17 where it remained until his death at Fort Vancouver in September 1837. Only one record reported a job title; in 1836 Hereea was recorded as a middleman (HBCA B239/g/2, B239/g/6, B223/g/3, B223/g/5). Hereea's birth in 1798 makes it probable that he was an 'absolute heathen' 'indisposed to receive instruction'. It is unclear if the 'Christian burial' given the Hawaiian precluded traditional Hawaiian customs. When Hereea was buried, 6 (of about 24) of the Hawaiians at Fort Vancouver had the same length of service. This group clearly had origins in the culture of traditional Hawaii.

Retirement. Simpson's reasons for discouraging settlement 'in the country' applied to the Columbia District, though they were specifically addressing the settlement of retired servants of the HBC in Canada. He feared that

...such settlers, scattered and uncontrolled would supplement their incomes by fur trading, would act as runners and interpreters, and would provide food and transport, for American and other rivals in the trade [Rich 1959:518].

Most of the Hawaiians, 51% of the sample, were discharged in Hawaii, only 5% retired. Neither discharge or retirement were well-documented. John Cox, a Hawaiian initially employed by the PFC in 1810, was recorded as 'superannuated' in 1835 and had a reduced wage of £10 (B223/d/61). The value of such a retirement is unclear and apparently did not suit Cox. In 1841, at the age of 61, Cox was back on the books with a wage of £17 (B223/g/6). He is not listed in 1844 (B223/d/152). He was still a resident of the village in January 1845 when P. Nobili, a Jesuit missionary, "...buried solemnly in the cemetery of this place Marie, slave of old Koks Canak" (Warner and Munnick 1972:S46). When Paul Kane was at Fort Vancouver in 1846, he painted a picture of Cox (Harper 1971:Figure159).

Desertion. Desertions from the vessels, forts and brigades of the HBC were not uncommon in the HBC records. Free trappers and some of the engagées would transfer allegiance to the Americans for a few dollars more, others just quit (Barry 1932; Rich 1959). It is not until the 1849 goldrush in California that desertion becomes a serious drain on the manpower levels.

Three attempts at desertion by Hawaiians are notable. The first was an early attempt to leave Ft. George for the promised land of California. The second, the desertion of the Hawaiians employed by Nathaniel Wyeth, is reported in detail because it reveals some of the transportation system of the interior Columbia Basin. The last, by Paul Kane, shows the Hudson's Bay Company's control over the trading environment.

Duncan (1972) cited Ross's story of a Russian who incited desertion from the NWC. Sent ashore at Ft. George (Astoria) from the NWC schooner *Columbia* for mutiny, the Russian accumulated 18 people, including some of the Hawaiians, and lead the party south. They were overtaken the next day by an interpreter from the fort who had no difficulty inducing the Hawaiians to return (Ross 1855:82-84 in Duncan 1972:20).

In the next report, Wyeth had started his brigade to the interior and Ft. Hall from his headquarters of Ft. William on Sauvie's Island. Wyeth had divided the brigade and sent one part by river with his assistant, Captain Thing. Wyeth's party traveled overland and arrived at Walla Walla on 10 November 1834. When he arrived he was told by the HBC clerk that Captain Thing's 12 Hawaiians had deserted and had taken 2 bales of trade goods and 12 horses.

On the 16th, one of the stolen horses was recovered at the Umatilla River and another had been butchered and all but the fat taken. Two of the Hawaiians had traded for a canoe and continued down river (Young 1973:235).

Wyeth had no hope of immediately catching up to the Hawaiians and on the 18th, sent Captain Thing on to Fort Hall with four Hawaiians, ten whites, a fur man, and three Nez Percés. This crew was trusted less than the Hawaiians who had already deserted, but it was too late in the season to find any replacements (*ibid.*).

On the 23rd, Ira Long, the thirteenth Hawaiian in Thing's complement, disappeared from camp. Wyeth was puzzled by the disappearance because the man had been excused from duty and provided "...tea and other luxurys..." that no one else got. Because he was sick and suspected of mental derangement, speculation about Ira's disappearance ranged from sudden accidental death to desertion (Young 1973:236).

By mid-November, Wyeth had followed the trail of the Hawaiians in the canoe to the Deschutes River and stopped at a small village of Native Americans. At the village, about one mile up the river, Wyeth was made to understand by signs that two Hawaiians had stopped there and either stolen or killed some horses. The chief had objected to their actions and one of the Hawaiians killed him. Wyeth's fear that he would have to make an example of the Hawaiian was relieved when the Hawaiians were killed by the Indians on the 4th of December (Young 1973:239).

Wyeth spent the winter on the upper Deschutes River. News of the remainder of the Hawaiian deserters reached Wyeth on 6 February 1835. Ten Hawaiians on horseback had taken a trail over the Blue Mountains; one drowned in a ford and one died of exposure in the high country. The Hawaiians then rafted down the Snake River and one was drowned at the falls of the Columbia. The remaining seven were at Fort Vancouver, where, on 12 February, Wyeth found them. They were "...very sick of their job so I have concluded not to be severe with them" (Young 1973:249-250).

Two additional Hawaiians were then reported as deserters. Tom Bule and Harry, were reported with McKay on the Snake River. Wyeth expected that they would come in with the brigade returning from Fort Hall (*ibid.*:250). This presents a problem. Thirteen started with Capt. Thing. Twelve Hawaiians deserted, one disappeared. Two of the deserters were killed by

indigenous peoples, two drowned, and one died of exposure. The remaining seven were at Fort Vancouver. Yet two were with the HBC Snake Party. It may be that these last two deserted from the party that was headed to Ft. Hall. It is not clear in the text.

In July 1847 Paul Kane recorded a desertion attempt by two Hawaiians:

A boat was immediately unloaded, and sent back, with a view of intercepting them at the Cascades. They had received 10/. sterling each in goods as their outfit, and, in passing the Cascades, had hid their bags in the woods, and hoped to get back again to the coast with their booty [Harper 1971:112].

The deserters were captured by a local Native American chief and returned to the brigade, where punishment for the infraction consisted of a severe beating. Kane asked the chief if he was not afraid of the Hawaiians; the chief responded that he only feared the whites (ibid.).

The employee lists of the Columbia District recorded the increase in desertions occasioned by the discovery of gold in California (HBCA B223/d/184,187,195). That Hawaiians were not immune to the allure is evident in the phrase "Gone to California" next to several names (HBCA B223/d/184).

Summary.

The labor roles assigned to the Hawaiians exhibited adaptive modification of traditional Hawaiian culture. As boatmen, gardeners, woodworkers and porters, the Hawaiians were most often recorded working in jobs that had close analogues in the subsistence and material culture of proto-historic Hawaii. The Hawaiians maintained an ethnic identity and sense of community. Language, behavior, and segregation served to reinforce this identity. The Hawaiian social order, the worker's status as commoner or nobility, was not so easily discerned. The hierarchy of the fur trade mirrored the culture of Hawaii by dividing production and management. Hawaiians received egalitarian treatment as *engagés*. Very rarely, individuals were specifically assigned an association with the upper class (e.g. John Cox in Kittleson 1965 and Peeohpeeoh in Naughton 1983:67), hence it is reasonable to assume that a majority of Hawaiians of the fur trade were commoners.

As the culture of the fur trade expanded into the interior, the skills demanded of the Hawaiians changed. Initially employed only as boatmen, the

establishment of shore-based trading posts expanded employment categories. Most, though, were still general laboring categories. Clearing forest, building shelter against the weather, guarding against predation by thieves and procuring or developing food sources were all jobs that, once planned, required only labor to accomplish. Moreover, this work was well within the experience of the Hawaiians, only building styles, an abundance of steel tools, and vegetation provided novelty.

The references available indicate that the work categories changed with the changes in the trading environment. This is to say that as the trading environment became more stable, there was less demand for military or guard duty and as the post gardens became farms, there was an increase in employment as farmers. Labor opportunities increased with the expansion in size and duties of Fort Vancouver as the provisioning and supply depot for the Columbia Department. The expansion included employment at the Hudson Bay Company sawmills, where Hawaiians, still titled only as 'laborers', were the majority of employees.

The Hawaiians were not permitted to act as trappers or traders by the HBC, though they acted as trappers with the NWC. Some must have been successful, as the reports that Hawaiians employed by the NWC received only food and clothing cannot be reconciled with the credit balances transferred to the HBC books following the merger of the two firms. An additional source of income is hinted at in cryptic references to merchandise taken on credit from the company store by individuals. This material was possibly traded for furs which were then sold to the company to repay the advance.

An examination of job titles assigned in the HBC books did not reveal that the Hawaiians were able to obtain ethical treatment (e.g. job title or higher wages) for specialised skills or experience. The payments for such skills seemed relatively arbitrary, with only a slight hint that age and experience were accounted for on re-enlistment. They apparently were begrudged their pay in all circumstances except a gift of mollification recorded by Ronda (1990) during the sale of Astoria to the NWC.

The labor demand of the gold-rush era increased the value of Hawaiian labor in the Oregon Territory, but also drew Hawaiians south to the gold fields and a growing Hawaiian community around the San Francisco area (Duncan 1972b; Olmstead 1962). Disenfranchisement by the Oregon Territorial government forced the exodus of most Hawaiians from the Oregon Territory.

Some remained in the employ of the HBC when it relocated to Canada, others settled along the Columbia and in the San Juan Islands (Duncan 1972a, 1972b; Naughton 1983).

Chapter 4: ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE FUR TRADE.

Forts and Villages.

To establish evidence that historically documented Hawaiian labor is represented in the archaeological record, that record will now be examined. Typically the fur trade posts were fortified enclosures within which were living quarters for the traders and trappers and store houses for the protection of trade goods and furs. The posts were the focus of a population that varied in size and function depending on the season. A market community would form adjacent to the fort when trading was active. Sites were often strategically located near indigenous communities. Some HBC and NWC posts were also way-stations or transfer points on the transcontinental route between the western fur collection regions and the eastern company offices (Cox 1956; Gibson 1985; Pysczyk 1989; Rich 1959). It is no surprise that the investigations of the scattered posts revealed a variable density of artifacts and widely varying states of preservation.

Archaeological explorations have been conducted at several forts of the Columbia River fur traders. Two excavations examined here are those of Caywood at Ft. Okanagan (1954) and Ft. Spokane (1953). Clearly not an inventory of post excavations, or even particularly recent, the sample is sufficient to demonstrate the general nature of such investigations. Communication with investigators at Ft. Nisqually (Guy Moura, personal communication 1990) and Ft. Langley (Jack Porter, personal communication 1992) indicated a continuing emphasis on the Euro-American aspects of the fur trade culture. Typical of this focus is commercial or habitation structure discovery and analysis. At the smaller forts, the living quarters were generally limited to structures that could be contained within the stockade, a living environment that mixed the discard patterns of the inhabitants with commercially associated activities.

Where space or safety permitted, separate housing accommodations were provided for men with differing ethnic identities. At Fort Vancouver, the laborers lived outside the stockade in a small village.

Kardas (1970), Larabee and Kardas (1968), Chance and Chance (1976), and Thomas and Hibbs (1984) all conducted exploration in or near the

employees settlement associated with Ft. Vancouver. The work done at Ft. Vancouver's servant's village is of special significance and receives extended attention. First, because the village was so closely associated with the Hawaiian laborers that it derived its popular name 'Kanaka Village' from their presence. Next, because some of the dwellings were historically recorded as having been occupied by Hawaiians and several of these structures were rediscovered and excavated.

The investigations of the other forts are of lesser significance as research tools, in part because the historic records were not as specific about dwelling occupants. More importantly, the reports did not provide sufficient data for an adequate re-analysis of the artifacts and their distributions. With these qualifications noted, the reports do contain information that provides insight into the lives of the Hawaiian laborers.

Fort Okanogan. Caywood (1954) excavated both the HBC and the earlier NWC trading posts. The Pacific Fur Company or 'Astorian' trading fort was not discovered and was not examined by this report. The HBC Fort Okanogan had features that could be roughly identified as building locations, preservation was insufficient to establish features however. The excavation demonstrated a construction of adobe walls on cedar sills. Caywood reported that the interiors of the structures had been "worked out" by extensive scavenging after they were abandoned by the HBC in 1860 (Caywood 1954:11). One scavenger's excavation was temporarily identified as a cellar (ibid.:13). There had been an occupation of one building site by Native Americans following abandonment (ibid.:12). Caywood did not excavate the post's bastions, though evidence indicated that one of the bastions had been built of heavy planks or posts set upright on stone and wooden footings (ibid.:14). Excavation of the stockade walls showed them to have been uprights on wooden footings. A heavy rock footing was discovered and postulated to have been the foundation for the hinge post of the gate.

The other fort excavated by Caywood at Okanogan, identified by tradition as the 'Astor' fort, was actually a fort built by Ross Cox (Cox 1956) for the Northwest Company in 1816 and used until 1826 by the HBC. Though the archaeology of this structure was curtailed by time and funding, the location of the structure and some of the internal details were established. This fort also showed evidence of post-abandonment occupation by Native Americans.

Artifacts from the Caywood (1954) excavations were examined by Leonard R. Butler and reported (Butler 1954) in an appendix to Caywood (1954). Butler found that three of the buildings from the HBC fort had contained enough artifacts to correlate them with the usage indicated in a report to a joint U. S.-British commission established to settle the property and territory claims of the HBC (Caywood 1954: 22). Interesting artifacts recovered from these structures included a granite 'hand adze' from the storehouse area and evidence of a steatite pipe manufactory associated with a structure identified as the likely residence of the chief trader (ibid.:13). The illustration of the hand adze (ibid.: Plate IIIB) was poor, but sufficient to see that it was not an adze blade of the Polynesian type (see Figure 2.). The steatite pipes were being manufactured with Euro-American tools and in the form of the Euro-American clay tobacco pipe. There were several problematic incomplete or broken pipe forms of unidentifiable design (Caywood 1954: Plate IIIA). The balance of the artifacts were interpreted as typical of the trade goods available or as typical of a native American occupation (ibid.:36). Caywood (1954) said nothing about ethnicity, though the artifact analysis by Butler ascribed ethnic origin for the steatite pipe industry to Caucasians because of the shapes and location inside an HBC structure. Otherwise, insufficient evidence was presented for Butler's determination that the artifact inventory "suggests a rare degree of acculturation had taken place among the Indians at Fort Okanogan [Butler 1954:36]." This ascription of acculturation implies that an abundance of Euro-American artifacts is valid evidence of an adoption of culture. A possible alternative interpretation could find that the employees at the post were using an unexpected amount of native culture and had 'gone native'.

Spokane House. The first structure on the site of Spokane House was built by the NWC in 1810. To meet this trading threat from the interior, a brigade from the Pacific Fur Company traveled upriver from Astoria and established a trading post adjacent to the NWC structure. Six of the PFC Hawaiians were present for the construction of the PFC stockade (Caywood 1953:43). After the NWC bought out the PFC in 1813, the NWC moved into the PFC structure (ibid.:3). The last trading post was built adjacent to the 1811 stockade in 1822 by the HBC after its merger with the NWC. This last structure was abandoned in April 1826 (ibid.:8). After the abandonment of Spokane

House, a trapper continued to live at the fort and was buried under one of the bastions when he died in 1828 (ibid.:10).

The archaeology conducted at this site did not locate the original NWC Spokane House of 1810. Otherwise there was evidence for all fur company occupations and the burial of the trapper. The structural remains at the fort were mostly of the stockade posts, some of which had been set into the ground as deep as six feet (ibid.:25). Rocks had been used as fill to help support stockade posts (ibid.:39). Inside the stockade, wood lined cellars were found. Above ground, the commercial and residential walls had been "posts in the sill" of standard Canadian fur trade construction style (ibid.:16).

A boat house and saw pit, described in the extracts of the HBC post journal for Spokane (Appendix A in Caywood 1953:81), was also discovered. It had been a combination structure, the pit was 8 feet deep, 6 feet wide, 18 feet long and had been lined with planks. The boat house/saw pit had been occupied by Native Americans following abandonment by the HBC (Caywood 1953:18). The post journal indicated that the wood for the 'new' store, constructed in 1822, was sawn in this pit (ibid.:80). Sawn steatite pipe blanks were found in the sawpit, possibly indicating a locus of initial shaping.

Several artifacts were reported that had potential Hawaiian origins. Two mauls were reported from the stockade area and a pestle was discovered "resting upright in a camas roasting pit in the boat house area [Caywood 1953:67]." No dimensions were given for these tools which, from their appearance, could have been *poi* pounders (ibid.: Plate V-B object a). Additionally, no data or other evidence was given which might define the difference between a camas roasting pit and an *imu*, the Hawaiian type of roasting pit. On a nearby burial ground, a cache of seven flat stones was found. The stones had been worked around the perimeter to achieve a circular outline. Diameters ranged from 5 inches to 3 inches, thickness from about 1 inch on the 5 inch diameter stone to 1/2 inch on a stone 3 and 3/4 inches in diameter. Most of the disks were 5/8 of an inch thick and one was broken (Caywood 1953:68). The disks fit the dimensional parameters for *'ulumaika* gaming stones (cf. Buck 1964-VIII:Figure 216) though from the illustration (Caywood 1953:Plate X-B) they did not seem to be as well finished or as circular as those illustrated by Buck. Their discovery as a cluster in a Native American burial ground also made them more likely to be associated with one of the burials, though the archaeologists could not make such a

connection (Caywood 1953:67). Caywood did not discuss the ethnic qualities of the artifacts. Assumptions of either Native American origin or Euro-American origin were based on typology combined with location of discovery.

Ft. Vancouver History. The old fort, occupied from 1825 to 1829, has not been investigated. It was located where the buildings of the Washington State School for the Deaf are (or were when Hussey wrote his history), at 2901 East 7th Street in Vancouver, Washington (Hussey 1957:40). The stockade was located more than a mile from the Columbia and everything received or shipped from the post had to be transported over a rough road (ibid.:70). Water for the stockade was transported from the river in two trips a day by a wagon and ox-team (ibid.). The construction of housing was secondary to the trading and warehousing activities at the first stockade. When David Douglas, the botanist, visited the post in 1825, he lived in a tent as there were no surplus quarters. When his collections outgrew the tent, he moved from into a deerskin lodge and eventually to a bark hut near the river (ibid.:49). Douglas was the first inhabitant of record in the informal settlement that would become Kanaka Village. Unfortunately, he had chosen a low spot. When he was flooded out during heavy rains on Christmas Eve of 1825, Dr. McLoughlin invited Douglas to shelter in his partially finished quarters (ibid.:49-50). The construction of housing for servants remained unfinished when the stockade was abandoned in 1830.

By 1829, the areas of the plain that were not frequently flooded had been identified and a high spot on the plain was chosen for the new fort (ibid.:70). In March of that year at least one wall of the new stockade was 300 feet long (ibid.). The process of the move was not recorded. If the move was similar to the HBC's move from Ft. Spokane to Ft. Colville, the scavenging of the old fort was very thorough (Caywood 1953:8). Conflicting reports indicated that the first stockade and buildings were gone by 1841 or were still detectable in 1853 (Hussey 1957:71n76).

Figure 9 is from a map by R. Covington (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:753) of the trading post and village area as it appeared in 1846. The map is contemporary with much of the testimony used by Hussey (1957) and was accurate enough to serve as a general plan. It is the largest scale map of the area from this time period and was drawn at about 10 inches to one mile (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:753). Inset in Figure 9 is a smaller scale map, drawn at 4 inches to the mile and reproduced at approximately 2.4 inches to

Fort Vancouver & Servant's Village 1846 (Covington Map)

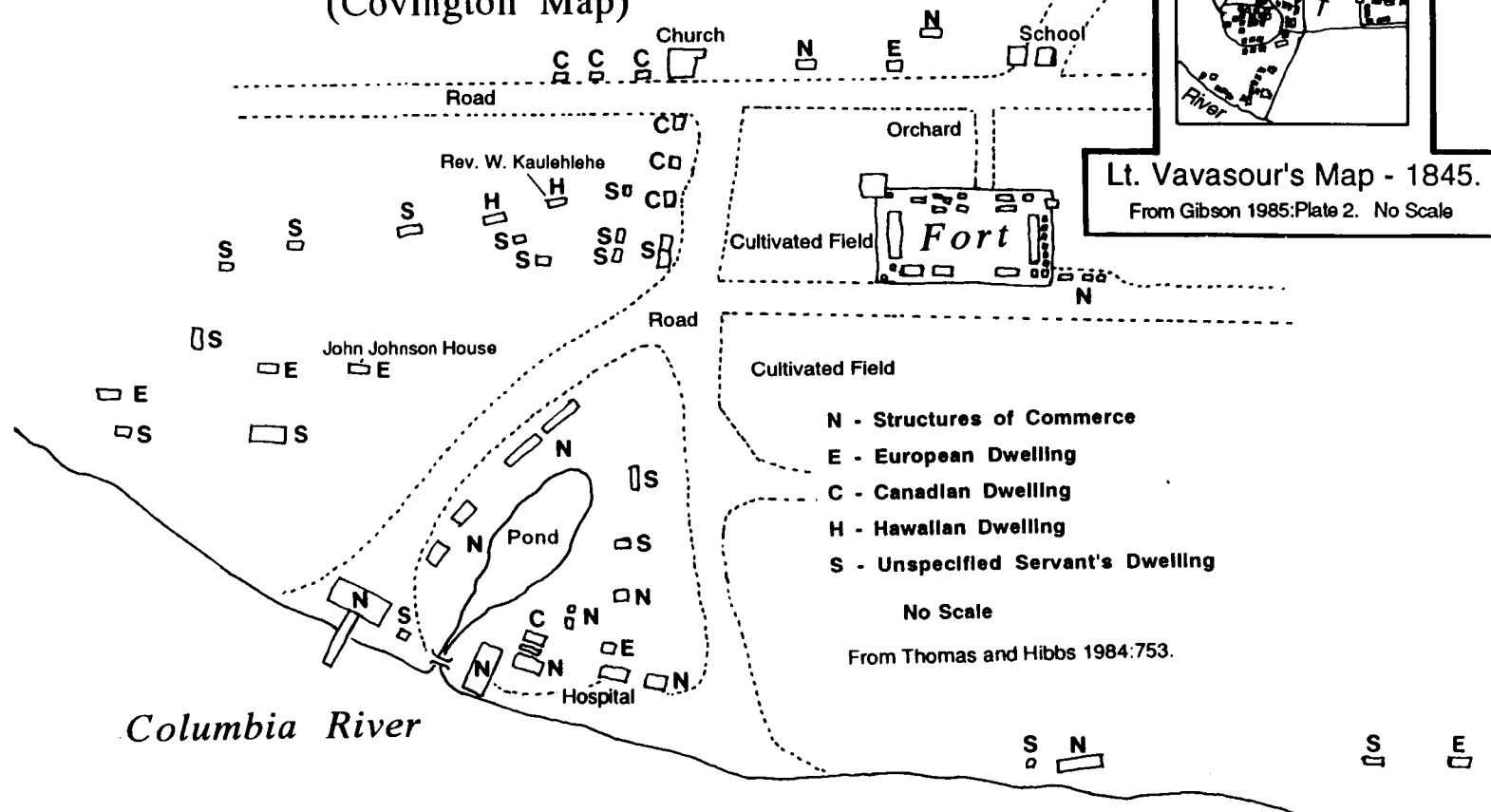


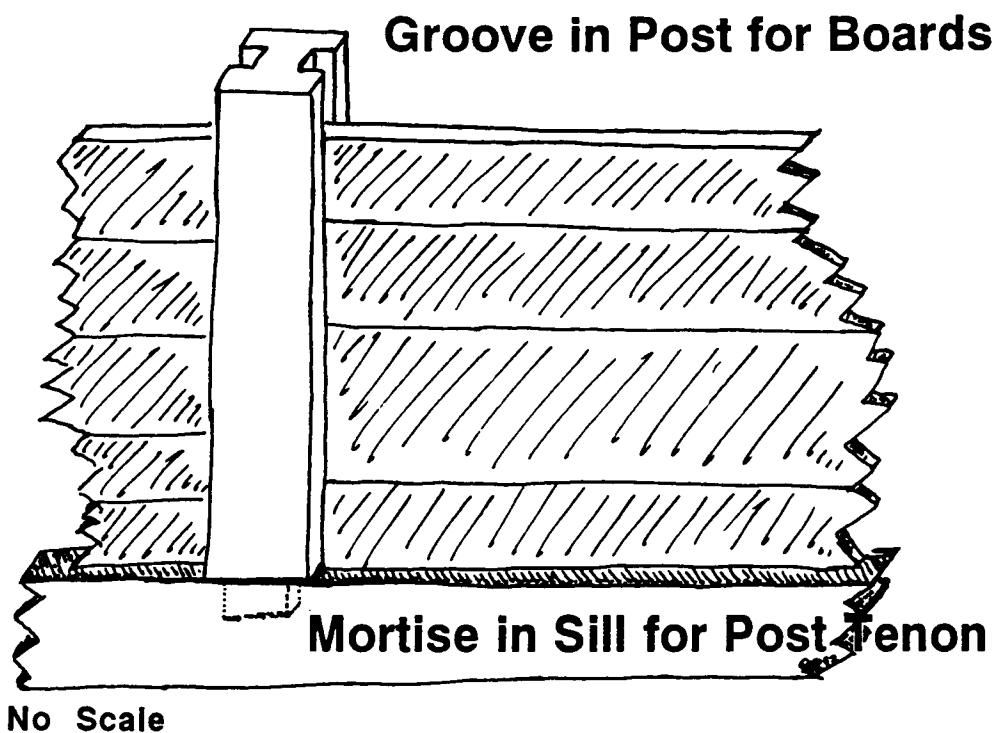
Figure 9. Fort Vancouver Servant's Village in 1846.

the mile. The map was made in 1845 by Lieutenant Vavasour of the Royal Engineers (Gibson 1985:Plate 2). Though the Vavasour map showed a different road system and more dwellings, archaeologists (Kardas 1971, Thomas and Hibbs 1984) have used the Covington map because it identified the functions of village structures. The village's houses were identified by the status, ethnicity, or name of the inhabitant(s). Some dwelling occupants were identified only by profession, some by ethnicity, and some by name. The rendition presented in Figure 9 simplifies the Thomas and Hibbs version by assigning ethnic identifications to dwellings instead of names and by generalizing structure functions.

The structures associated with the fort on the plain (the 1830 stockade) were well described by Hussey (1957). The general architectural form was a typical "Canadian" plan of laying the sill on wooden foundation blocks. Grooved uprights were mortised into the sills about six to eight feet apart. The walls were six inch thick timbers, laid horizontally with their ends shaped to fit the grooves of the posts (Figure 10). Plates were laid on the posts and rafters raised over these. The roof was sawn boards, with grooves planed in the edges and laid to shed water (Hussey 1957). Hussey reports that before 1841, no iron or nails were used in joining the timbers (*ibid.*:161). In the 1840's the roofs were covered with shingles and some of the rooflines were changed from simple gables to hipped roofs. The exterior walls of most of the buildings were unfinished. Weather boards were added to the exterior of the company store, grainery, office and the chief factors house. Of these, only the grainery did not receive an occasional coat of paint (*ibid.*:162).

The interiors of the Company-built buildings were rough and needed leather or paper laid to cut drafts and enhance privacy in shared dwellings. The interior partitions were upright boards with finished surfaces and battens covering the vertical joints. Tongue and groove joints were used for some ceilings. Windows had small panes, their frames were made locally. The doors were hung on metal hinges. A few buildings, including the kitchen, were built in another style, probably frame construction (*ibid.*:162-163).

None of the numerous archaeological investigations conducted on the site of the 1830 stockade will be reviewed. They are beyond the scope of this work, as no Hawaiians were reported to have been residents within the stockade.



Typical Post-in-the-sill Construction

Figure 10. Post-In-The-Sill Construction Detail.

The Servant's Village. Outside the 1830 stockade, domestic structures were located upriver on the Mill Plain near the saw and flour mills; adjacent to the southeast corner of the stockade; and in the village area west and southwest of the stockade. The Lower Plain, probably Coxe's Plain (Kittleson 1965:197), had three houses. Sauvie's Island also had some farm structures and four dwellings (Hussey 1957:198). Most of these buildings had no historical references or descriptions other than size. Information about the domestic structures was extracted from Hussey's discussion (ibid.:198-220).

The sawmill was described as a busy looking area, but only the construction of the mill was described. Unsatisfactorily, this leaves us with about 25 to 30 Hawaiians occupying some miscellaneous scattered dwellings on Mill Plain (ibid.:199).

The village area (see Figure 9) was separated from the fort by a large cultivated field. A roughly north-south road was about seven hundred feet from the west wall of the stockade. The road separated the field from the village area (ibid.:216). A number of houses lined this road on the west side, giving the road a street-like appearance. A road from the west intersected the first road opposite the bastion of the northwest corner of the stockade. Additional housing was arrayed along this road suggesting the appearance of a formal street. Visitors to the fort expressed opinions that ranged from marveling at the tidyness of the village to disparaging a slovenly scatter of shacks. Hussey pointed out that there were undoubtedly less formal lanes that were not recorded and that these served to organize the scatter of houses recorded on the maps (Hussey 1957:217). It seems apparent from maps that the two arrays on the main roads would have given the semblance of a tidy appearance from either gate of the stockade.

The construction techniques used in the village were probably best described by an HBC millwright in his appearance before the British and American Commission settling the land claims of the HBC. Related in Hussey (1957:218-219), the buildings were mostly of the 'posts in the sill' style of Canadian construction. Some were frame construction and the exterior covered by weatherboards, a few were built of squared timbers. Only a very few were built of scrap slabs from the sawmills. The millwright indicated that an upgrading process occurred in the village between 1843 and 1849. Some structures had one and a half stories, most did not. The interior layouts were generally partitioned into two or three rooms and the walls plastered with clay.

Some structures had ceilings and a few had wall paper. There were also many single room houses (ibid.).

Everybody but the officers of the HBC lived in the village. The village population was described in 1849 as 66% Native American and mixed race, 22% Hawaiian and 11% white (Hussey 1957:218). After 1849, the village population shrank in concert with the decline of the HBC's trading activities. All but one structure from the HBC occupation in the village had been destroyed by 1860 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:31).

Village Archaeology. The earliest archaeological investigation of the village area was apparently done by Caywood (1955, cited in Kardas 1970:9) for the National Park Service. In the village area Caywood found numerous 19th century shards. Some were recovered three feet below the surface from an excavated trench located in an unknown section of the pond area shown in Figure 9. Kardas noted that the proveniences of the material recovered by Caywood had been lost, though the excavated artifacts were still available for investigation at the National Park Service Headquarters at Ft. Vancouver (Kardas 1970:9). The next archaeological investigations were by Larabee and Kardas (1968) and Kardas (1970). These were done for the National Park Service as cultural resource inventories. Following Kardas's work, investigations were undertaken for the Washington State Department of Transportation prior to highway construction. This work was reported in Chance and Chance (1976), Chance et al. (1982), and Thomas and Hibbs (1984). The following are brief reviews of these works with a focus on structural details. The recovered artifacts receive lesser attention, in part because the reported analyses support an ascription of user ethnicity only in the case of the John Johnson House (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:111).

Exploratory investigation by Larabee and Kardas (1968) determined that substantial subsurface data existed in the village area. In spite of farming and its use as a military training ground, the material from the Hudson's Bay occupation was found to be coherent enough to warrant additional investigation. Several areas had concentrations of domestic debris, one of these, 'Area W' was assigned the appellation of 'House 1' by Kardas during the subsequent investigation (Kardas 1970). Additionally, Kardas (ibid.) investigated three more domestic concentrations and labeled them Houses 2, 3, and 4. Two other artifact concentrations, thought to represent dwelling sites were not investigated (ibid.:109). Both of these were insufficiently described

by Kardas to be placed on Figure 11. The following paragraphs intermix the data from both reports to review the excavated houses and one other structure, a 'rock feature'. Other features reported, but not reviewed here, included several domestic animal burials and an adobe-lined well.

Trenching by Larabee and Kardas delineated the eastern edge of the village. They found it to have been accurately represented on the 1846 Covington map (Figure 9) and established that the boundary road was about 800 feet from the west wall of the stockade (Larabee and Kardas 1968:47). The trenches showed the Hudson's Bay era artifacts to lie in a thin layer between 3" and 6" beneath the surface. Excavation revealed that artifact concentrations were sufficient to locate village dwelling structures and approximate interior/exterior divisions. No 19th century pits were discovered. 20th century disturbance was present and destructive, but of limited extent and easily defined. Two 'Domestic Concentration[s]' were discovered, one was on the east (fort) side of the village. The other, House 1, was about 225 feet west of the first, supporting an image of occupation along the east boundary followed by an open area to the west which gave way to scattered dwelling structures (ibid.:30).

The concentration near the eastern edge of the Village was noted for the presence of porcelain sherds and a relatively high count of handmade nails. The section encountered by the trench was estimated to have been 30 feet wide (ibid.:19). Kardas (1970:21) interpreted the concentration as a completely removed structure.

House 1 was postulated to have been a structure smaller than 15 by 25 feet, with an orientation roughly parallel to the west wall of the stockade (Larabee and Kardas 1968). Artifacts from the 1840's and early 1850's were recovered in this concentration. Kardas and Larabee (ibid.:23) did not find sufficient information to limit the dwelling occupation to this time period. No artifacts were attributed to the presence of women, causing speculation that this was a dwelling occupied only by males (ibid.). Burned soil, scattered rocks, and ash were found in two concentrations 20 feet apart, center to center. Remnants of the foundation remained and were not charred indicating to Kardas (1970:11) that the building was dismantled instead of burned upon abandonment.

The remainder of the structures were reported by Kardas (1970). The floor of House 2 was distorted by demolition. It had been a clay-floored

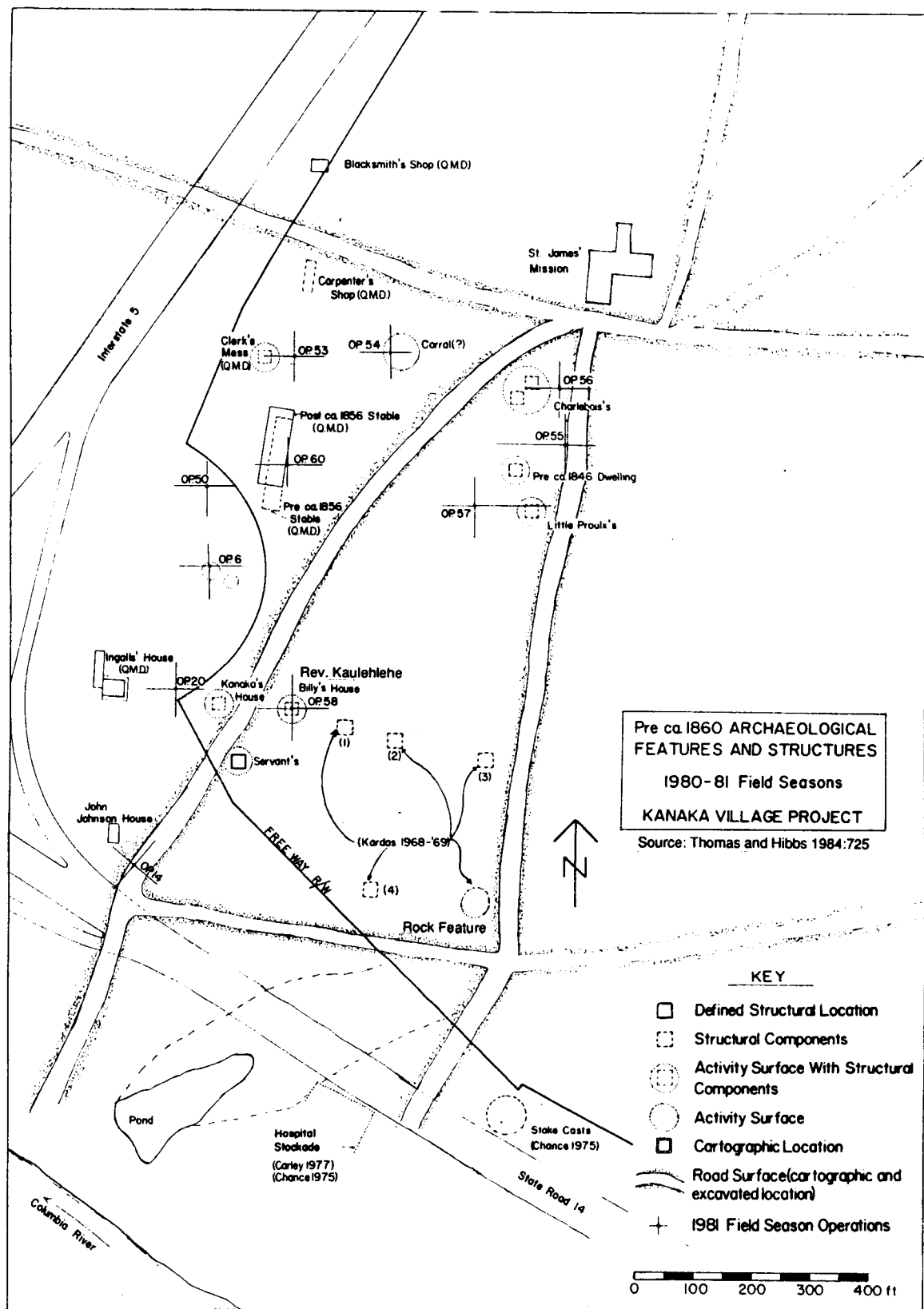


Figure 11. Archaeology of the Village.

structure probably 10 by 7.5 feet in dimension with an adjacent 5 by 6 foot wood-lined pit. The house had apparently been knocked down and pushed into the pit. Most of the artifacts assigned to this feature came from the clay that had been pushed from the floor of the house into the pit. The only structural materials were a hypothesized foundation stone and some broken bricks in the pit fill. The bricks were thought to represent a destroyed hearth. The date for the demolition was elusive, but speculated to have been before the U. S. Army occupation (1860 A.D.) since a steatite effigy pipe was discovered in a fire hearth above the clay layer adjacent to the pit (ibid.:25). Carving on the pipe was speculated to be of Polynesian design (ibid.:26).

House 3 was also a clay-floored structure. It was apparently abandoned before it was demolished and pushed into a wood-lined pit that was associated with the structure (ibid.:49). No date was suggested for the demolition.

House 4 apparently burned, terminating an active occupation, and was not disturbed afterwards. Its dimensions were about 6.5 by 8 feet. The floor was not easily defined, except in profile, as it consisted of a thin and irregular layer of clay. A hearth of closely fitted stones stood above the clay layer in the southeast corner. Artifact distributions were concentrated, ceramics in the northern end and metal in the southern end. The ceramics were primarily unmatched bowls and cups. The metal artifacts were mixed, the larger pieces represented farming activities, the smaller pieces were associated with the fur trade. Very little window glass was discovered, adding to the probability that this was the earliest of the four houses excavated by Kardas (1970:64). The date of the structure was unclear, but the presence of gun parts from a NWC (pre-1821) trade gun and a button dated to 1824 suggested that at least one occupant had been an early participant in the Columbia fur trade.

The Rock Feature discovered by Kardas (1970:101-104) was stratigraphically located below the general deposition from the village, indicating a relatively early construction or even a construction date prior to the fur trade occupation of the site. The relative immediacy of the structure under the historic debris and the lack of any lithic debitage makes the latter assumption less likely. The structure was composed of rocks deposited in a horizontal layer with alignments. "Curiously, some of them are placed in an upright position [Kardas 1970:101." But, "...the pattern of alignment does not suggest that they were part of a collapsed structure [ibid.]." To Kardas, the

soils suggested a marsh or swampy area with subsequent siltation of the location and eventual superposition of village debris (ibid.).

Chance and Chance (1976), Chance et al. (1982), and Thomas and Hibbs (1984) incorporated continuity into their investigations by using previously established designations for work loci. For example, the 'Operation 6' of Thomas and Hibbs (1984:65-110) was an expanded investigation of 'Operation 6' by Chance and Chance (1976). The same was done for re-investigation of operations initially reported in Chance et al. (1982). Most of the data reported in these investigations related to the post-1860 occupation of the area by the U. S. Army. The following review of two structures ignores the U. S. Army occupation, except where it has affected the Hudson's Bay occupation.

Operation 6 was undertaken on the western side of the village, in an area that showed no structures on the historic maps (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:65). Only one structural feature, 'Feature 58', was dated to the HBC period. Numerous fire pits, some with stake molds, were also present in Operation 6, but could not be assigned a chronologic value. Feature 58 was about 8 by 15 feet and had a light colored compacted floor with a higher pebble concentration than surrounding soils. Three post moulds were found which possibly indicated a post-in-the-ground construction. The spacing of the posts did not conform to the typical French Canadian measurement interval of 6.5 feet (ibid.:90). The feature was interpreted to have been a pre-1845 insubstantial structure. Four fire-pit features with a few artifacts were located in the structure. None of these was assigned the identity of a hearth. The area had been heavily disturbed by post-1860 intrusions.

Operation 14 had a feature reported as the '...first definitely identified Euro-American structure... [Thomas and Hibbs 1984:111]." Identified from maps, the structure was occupied by an HBC cooper and later by the U. S. Army. The artifact count from the operation was higher than any other excavated area at the village. The artifact richness and structural features allowed discrimination of several occupation periods. Of interest, as a yard feature, was an apple tree probably planted between 1826 and 1830 and still standing in 1984 (ibid.:288).

The structure was built using the French measurement interval (*toise*) of 6.5 feet and was 20 by 13 feet. It had probably been built sometime between 1825 and 1835 (ibid.:282). No sill structures were discovered, probably

indicating the post-in-the-ground variant structural form. The ground surface had been leveled prior to construction. The floor of the first occupation period was a compacted silt-loam. The long axis of the structure ran east-west with a northward extension of the floor in the northwest corner, which possibly represented a door. The second period spanned 1835 to 1860. In 1846, the house was recorded as the John Johnson house on the Covington Map (Fig. 6). Initial change was marked by the presence of a cellar. Two additional modifications were also evident, an 8 foot expansion on the north and a 13 foot expansion to the south. The northern expansion occurred sometime between 1835 and 1846 and was accompanied by the installation of a wooden floor throughout the structure (ibid.:228). The construction of the southern expansion was concurrent with the rental of the building to the U. S. Army and may have been done by either the Army or by the HBC (ibid.:299).

Discussion. Because Ft. Vancouver was the depot for the Columbia Department of the HBC, it served as central store, warehouse and shipping port. From 1825 until the early 1840s, virtually all the Hawaiians employed by the HBC were at least temporarily present at Ft. Vancouver. Many of the Hawaiians were employed around the trading fort or at the nearby sawmill (HBCA B223/d/28) and lived either near the sawmill or in the servant's village west of the 1830 stockade.

The artifacts that would positively indicate a Hawaiian presence in the northwest are limited to durable materials. At Ft. Vancouver, preservation of organic materials from the fur trade period was poor (Chance and Chance 1974:267). In the village itself, soft organic materials were present only when directly associated with a preserving factor or were from late fur trade or U. S. Army occupations. Examples of organic remains include some brass studded leather fragments from House 4 (Kardas 1970:63) or the post-1845 shoe fragments recovered from Operation 14 (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:238). Harder organics, bone and wood were also in poor condition. Bone was recovered at several village locations (Chance and Chance 1977; Kardas 1971; Thomas and Hibbs 1984), and was generally identifiable as to animal. Very little of the bone bore more than butchery marks, exceptions included a tool labeled as a 'bone perforator' (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:Figure 6-11d), a bird bone whistle (ibid.:Figure 55-7a) and a bone wand (Chance and Chance 1977:245c). Wood was either charred, buried, or evident as a soil stain (Chance and Chance 1976; Kardas 1970; Thomas and Hibbs 1984). Many

objects of iron or steel were identified as to purpose and size. For example, machine cut square nails were distinguishable from hand made nails of the same size. Machine cut nails increased through time. Non-ferrous metals preserved relatively well. Ceramics and glass were thoroughly broken in most cases. The manufacturers of patterned ware were often identifiable as was the relative time period. Window glass thickness and bottle morphology were also useful in establishing the site's chronology.

Poor preservation of artifactual materials in the village was accompanied by constant assaults on site integrity. Early village dwelling patterns were probably obscured by later superimposed structures and natural events. The earliest dwelling change recorded for the river bank, that of naturalist David Douglas in 1825, was caused by flooding (Hussey 1957:49). Housing requirements fluctuated on an annual cycle and as the resident population changed in size and composition. The construction materials in abandoned village dwellings were scavenged for re-use before and after demolition. Following village abandonment, U. S. Army demolition and construction activities continued to affect the site. Even so, there were detectable structural details.

The discussion of the John Johnson house by Thomas and Hibbs was valuable for the comparison with the structures discovered by Kardas (1971). Similarities were present, though insufficient excavation by Kardas prevented accurate definition of several of the structures (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:298). Operation 14 and the houses from Kardas (1971) fit a pattern of standardization that is ethnographically and historically supported (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:298). Hard packed silty clay floors, post-in-the-ground construction, and generally similar dimensions were among the features shared by most of the structures. Hibbs and Thomas used their evidence for a typical French Canadian measurement of 6.5 feet to indicate that construction had been done by the Canadians present (ibid.:297). The measurement interval is more probably an artifact of the Canadian origins of the dwelling architecture.

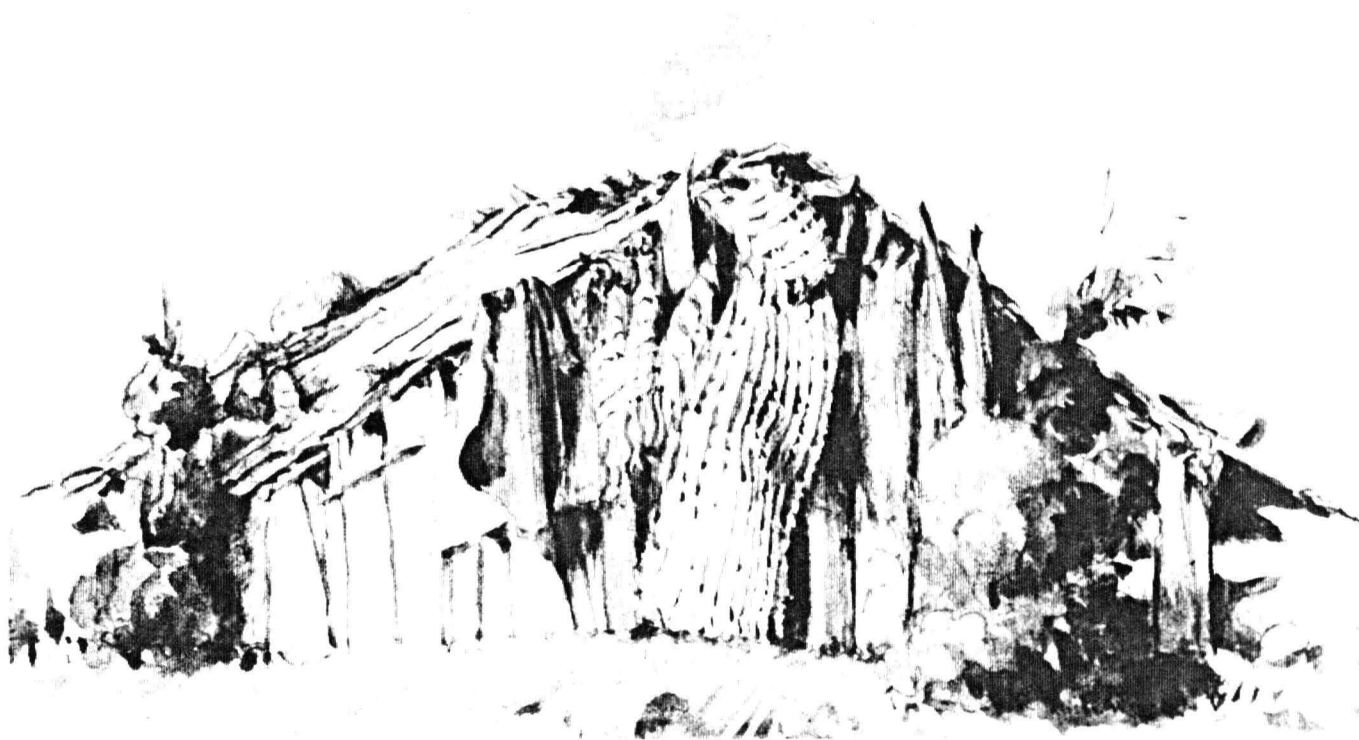
Summary of the Village Archaeology. Historic reports from the late 1840's indicated that the average dwelling in the village had been a structure built with post-in-the-sill (Figure 8) or, more probably, the less complicated post-in-the-ground construction. Several of the dwellings were slab sided with the scrap of the timber milling operations, probably reflecting the

importation of machine made nails. A few were of modern 'balloon' construction, employing nailed studwalls (Hussey 1957:216-219; Thomas and Hibbs 1984:45-46). Identifiable portions of these structures survived repeated assaults by the forces of time. One, the John Johnson house, was reported in detail by Thomas and Hibbs (1984:111-299). They concluded that the house had been built in the 'Canadian' fashion of post-in-the-sill using a French measurement interval. Further, comparison with the houses excavated previously by Kardas (1971) demonstrated a conformity of plan (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:297-298).

The earliest dwellings were probably typified by the description of David Douglas' progress from tent through deerskin lodge to bark hut in the summer of 1825 (*ibid.*:49). Thomas and Hibbs (1984) discovered that such ephemeral dwelling sites were numerous in the archaeological record of the village area. Defined by stake and post molds and fire hearths, many of these features probably pre-dated the era documented by Covington's map (*ibid.*). Clearly though, village fringe dwellers were still occupying 'bark huts' in 1846 when Paul Kane made a painting of one (Figure 12).

Remnants of structures not intended or interpreted as dwellings abounded. Most significant among these were features composed of rocks alone. Of these, Chance and Chance (1977) and Thomas and Hibbs (1984) recorded numerous rock features that were specifically attributable to the U. S. Army. A cobble and pebble walkway was laid on the silts of the 1862 flood (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:95). 'French drains' or cobble filled ditches were installed some time after 1900 (Chance and Chance 1977:25). Most other features constructed of rocks were interpreted as foundation features, hearths, or wells. Two features were not identifiable.

From the different manners of destruction, the artifacts, and the locations, a picture of the forces affecting the village emerges. Ephemeral occupancy, minimally defined as an hearth without an associated structure, occurred almost everywhere in the village and apparently throughout the village occupation period. This was probably the result of seasonal short term encampments, near the houses of friends by visitors from the interior. A higher concentration of ephemeral occupancies was, as expected, found in the western area of the village where the Native Americans lived and visited.



Source: Harper 1971:Figure 159.

Figure 12. Klikitat Lodge at Fort Vancouver.

No structures at the village or fort have earned the label 'permanent'. Some exhibited more time invested in construction and had relatively long service lives. Ultimately, it was unclear when structures were built, altered, or destroyed. The ethnicity of the village occupants was not discovered by the excavation of their homes.

Ethnicity and Archaeology.

Ethnicity is an identification with a shared tradition, a cultural marker. The identification with tradition implies an active personal participation in the culture that originates or exhibits the tradition. Tradition, as a component of culture may express itself in the material record and enable the assignment of ethnicity by archaeological investigation (Pszczuk 1989; Staski 1990). Traditions may remain unaltered; or they can be superseded, modified, or invented (Hogsbawm 1983). Some traditions can become inextricably linked to material culture (ibid.). Tradition is persistent, particularly so when it serves as a component of cultural identification (Spicer 1971; Staski 1990). Hence, ethnicity may appear as a continuous material record of one or more traditions or it can be assigned to a unique fragment of an action marking the material record.

In the archaeology of the furtrade a material record expression of Hawaiian ethnicity is difficult to identify. The portable artifact record from village excavations is small. Most traditional Hawaiian material culture was ephemeral, durable artifact categories were either not present or of ambiguous morphology. Hawaiians were actively adopting a Euro-American material façade, replacing both tools and clothing. The pattern of this adoption in the Pacific Northwest is not yet defined. During the first 30 years of their employment, the Hawaiians were purchasing from a limited selection of products. The product selection had previously been given some ethnic attributes by indigenous demand and merchant's expectations (c.f. Pszczuk 1989).

A search for ethnic variations in the HBC store sales records was not done. The range of products available can be discerned in the archived inventories of the Columbia District (e.g. HBCA B223/d/3 or B223/d/26), but sales records have not been reviewed to determine what portion of the whole were excluded from servants, either by economic inability to purchase or by

company regulation. Variance in the wages of the Hawaiian employees probably affected the quality and quantities of goods purchased in the stores.

Previous researchers assumed that the Hawaiian material record would approximate that of the Native Americans in similar employ (Bray 1982; Kardas 1971; Thomas and Hibbs 1984). There was no clear rationale for this assumption. Chance and Chance (1976) indicated a pre-fur trade indigenous occupation on the riverbank adjacent to the Fort Vancouver village, but did not say how this skews representation of Native American inhabitants during the village occupation era.

The assignment of ethnicity to an object requires that it bear some aspect of use, manufacture or material origin that is typical to the proposed ethnic origin and atypical of other possible origins. All the manufactured products of ceramic, metal, or glass were foreign to traditional Hawaii. In Hawaii, adoption of foreign goods was rapid and analogues displaced traditional tools. As an example, the Hawaiian adze blade with a quadrangular tang or hafting element (see Figure 2) is distinct from flat adze blade of North America and the Central Polynesian adze with a triangular tang. However, a section of barrel hoop, sharpened and used as an adze blade is not diagnostic of any specific ethnicity.

Other Hawaiian stone tools either have little diagnostic value as in the case of the expedient flake tool, or are of ground stone and have morphologies in the ground stone traditions of North America. The scant data that has been reviewed failed to present the factors that might distinguish a *poi*-pounder from a Northwest Coast maul or a fancy pestle. Of the ground stone reviewed in the village reports, a steatite pipe bowl was enigmatic and was assigned probable Polynesian origin by Kardas (1970). The relatively crude carving of a face on the pipe was assigned Hawaiian ethnic origin by assuming that decorative elements on the face were representative of tattooing. There was no analogue to a stone pipe in traditional Hawaii, tobacco having arrived with the barrel hoop.

An examination of the mentally portable skills of traditional Hawaii, the ethnic style of living and working, showed little that was not superseded by the systems of the furtrade or easily confused with local indigenous practices. There is one category of artifact that might remain. Artifacts associated with the Hawaiian superstructure. Unaffected by prohibition or material requirements, the meta-physical needs of the work group (*'ohana*) could mark

the material record with the *ahu* or stone pile. Without context, a pile of stones is an enigmatic structure; at worst, it is almost indistinguishable from nature. At Fort Vancouver, the ethnic context gives meaning to a stone pile.

Fort Vancouver's Hawaiian Shrine.

Two anomalous rock features have been reported from the village area. Under-reporting makes their interpretation difficult. One was reported by as an "[U]nidentified pit circa 150 square feet" Thomas and Hibbs (1984:325). Shown only as two adjacent 5' X 5' squares, it is unclear how this exposure defined a pit of 150 square feet.

The second feature was discovered in 1969 in an exploratory trench. This "... complex of rocks, called the 'Rock Feature' was uncovered lying below the artifact bearing levels" (Kardas 1970:23). The stones were determined to be "...obviously the result of human activity..." and were interpreted as "...an early Hudson's Bay Company structure" (ibid.).

Kardas noted that the structure underlay the stratum of soils containing the debris of the Kanaka Village occupation. The artifact bearing soils ended about 12 inches from the surface, the rock structure was located at a depth of about 16 inches. At most, two ceramic fragments were found at the depth of the rocks,

...suggesting that these rocks were already covered with soil prior to the deposition of the Hudson's Bay Company period when these artifacts were deposited (Kardas 1970:101).

Kardas argued that the rocks were manuports, as they did not occur naturally in the soils of the site. There was no

...indication that they were related to pre-fur trade aboriginal activity. The rocks appear to have been deposited in the horizontal spread that we found them; the pattern of alignment does not suggest that they were part of a collapsed structure. Curiously, some of them are placed in an upright position [ibid.].

Kardas dismissed the possibility that the rocks might have been the remnant of a sweat lodge as the deposition was inappropriately patterned. Thomas and Hibbs (1984:677) reported a sweat lodge from the village which supported this dismissal. Kardas then discussed the feature's possible use

as a riverbank feature, such as a dock. This was also considered unlikely, as the 19th Century river bank was too far away. The soil associated with the feature, or perhaps only the overburden, is different from the soils farther north "...being very dark, silty and rich in organic material" (Kardas 1970:101). This was interpreted as indicative of a swampy environment, though this layer was the layer containing the majority of the village debris.

Kardas interpreted the structure as "...the remains of a very early (1825-1829) Hudson's Bay Company warehouse which was carefully raised above the ground to protect its contents (such as furs)" (ibid.). Kardas then suggested that before the village (and its associated debris) came into existence, the superstructure of the warehouse was removed and subsequent flooding covered the foundation with soil. Following this interpretation was a table of artifacts from the overburden, a soil profile, a scale drawing, and a single photo. Figure 13 includes both the excavation drawing and the soil profile. The photograph is reproduced as a line drawing in Figure 14.

Both figures show reasons for this feature not being a natural occurrence: the rocks are deposited in a patterned manner. A strong lineal pattern, roughly southeast-northwest is clear in the central portion of the feature, this is intersected by another lineal pattern crossing the approximate mid-section of the exposed feature at a right angle. Lesser lineaments (one apparently following grid north) seem discernible in the plan view of the feature. Further, the upright stones are not a natural feature of a flood plain, they are seldom a natural feature anywhere. I could not discern any specific pattern in the uprights, though Kardas asked us to "...note orthostats on periphery of feature, as well as in concentration" (ibid:104). Perhaps additional photography or field notes would have provided enlightenment in this area.

Figure 14 and the photograph it was derived from show clearly that the feature was not fully exposed during the investigation, as there is no perimeter of soil without the cobbles. Several areas show a reduced count, but the southwest corner and the northwest corner should have been exposed. The baulks could also have been removed, as they seriously interfere with the information present in the photograph. Given the cursory treatment of this feature, the baulks did not likely do more than make drawing the soil profile less difficult.

It is unlikely that the feature represents a foundation for an HBC warehouse. The sparse and irregular pattern of upright stones would not

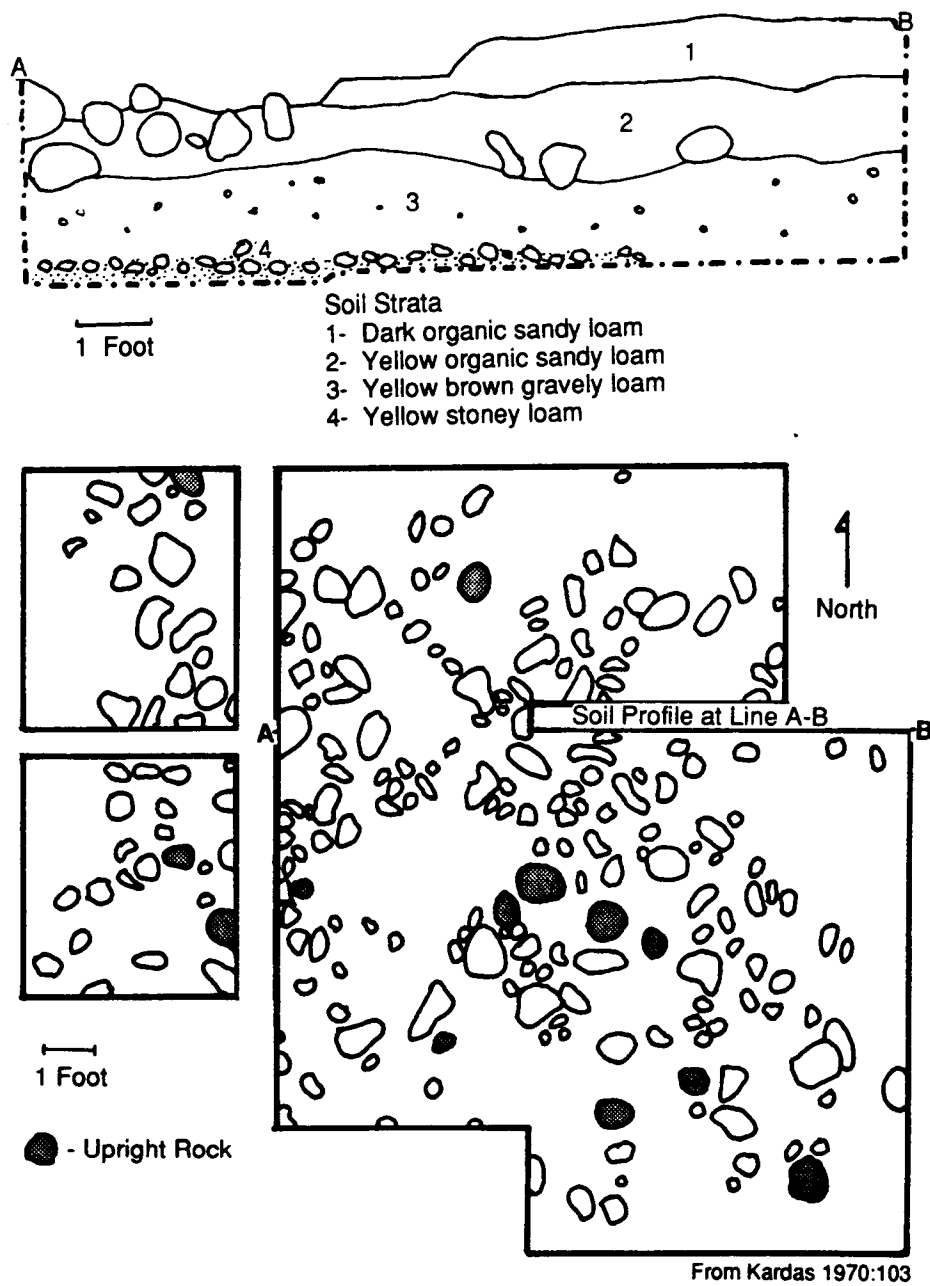


Figure 13. Village Rock Feature Excavation Map.

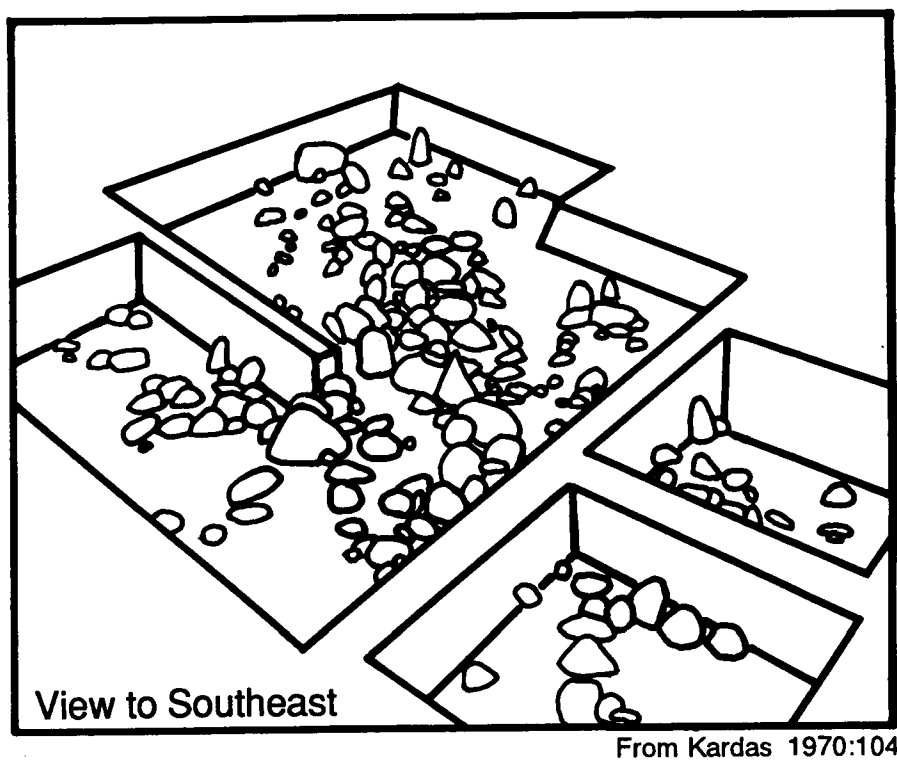


Figure 14. Village Rock Feature Perspective Drawing.

support any structure typical of the fur trade. The non-erect stones serve no discernable purpose, as they are not supporting the standing stones. If the structure dated to the early Fort Vancouver period, the 'riverside warehouse' would have been more than a mile from the protective enclosure of the stockade walls. The HBC was not inclined to leave property of any value so exposed to potential plunder. The soil deposition sequence seems to preclude surface exposure during the period following the building of the 'new' fort in 1828. Ignoring this problem still leaves the proposed warehouse structure almost a thousand feet from the stockade. Finally, the proposed elevated nature of the structure "carefully raised" about 12 to 16 inches is unlikely protection against inundation on the shore of the Columbia River.

If this structure is not Euro-American in origin, can it be Native American? There are structured stone features discovered in the archaeology of North American indigenous peoples. Most of these features, however, are artifacts of construction such as 'teepee rings', sweatlodges, and camas ovens. Rare linear and upright features exist, for example, medicine wheels and Pueblo dwellings. Kardas rejected the structure as a sweatlodge and I agree with the reasoning and add that there seems to be no sharply angular fire-cracked (thermally altered) rock visible in the photograph. It could just be an anomaly, a unique assemblage of river cobbles into linear features. A report from the Boise River Archaeological Survey (Nance 1991) described a site with two rock alignments. One was a rectangle, the other was "...a line of large basalt boulders arranged along the edge of a rimrock ledge" (ibid:5). Both were interpreted as "...aboriginal in origin because of the presence of lithic debris found in direct association" (ibid).

Lacking any associated debris, there is a much more likely interpretation for the rock feature discovered by Kardas. The structure is a Hawaiian shrine.

Kardas' dissertation (Kardas 1971) was specifically focussed on the interaction of the three cultural groups present at Fort Vancouver: the Euro-Americans, the Native Americans, and the Hawaiians. Only the first two groups are interpreted as evident in the archaeological record.

The Hawaiians were dismissed. Only one artifact, a steatite pipe, was considered to have Hawaiian ethnic attributes. The reason presented most forcefully is that the population of the village was derived from the commoner class of Hawaii and was selected for their ability as boatmen. Hence, they would not have possessed sufficient style to leave artifacts with identifiable

ethnic attributes (ibid:415). Earlier in the dissertation, the role of religion in the lives of the people of Hawaii was described as follows:

Maintenance and practice of the religion was also a prerogative of the upper class. ... The role of the commoners in religion was to build and repair the temple structures and to provide the foodstuffs necessary for the rituals. For the most part they were allowed only marginal participation or were completely excluded [Kardas 1971:109].

The assumption that religion was disconnected from the daily life of the Hawaiian commoner is not supported by my research. Kardas's additional assumption that the Hawaiians were only employed for their boating skills is also not supported.

The false premises prevented Kardas from speculating that the Hawaiians had the motivation to build such a structure. The old religion of Hawaii, already described in Chapter 2, was alive in these people. The evidence of Franchère's account of the Hawaiian's burial at the mouth of the Columbia and Reverend Beaver's reference to the Hawaiians returning to their pagan practices showed that the religion persisted on foreign shores. A ubiquitous feature of the built environment of old Hawaii was the religious shrine erected by commoners to honor personal gods and ensure success and safety during labor. When much of the material culture of Hawaii was actively replaced by Euro-American analogs, rock shrines continued to be built and honored. Though *mana* was altered to reflect the new manifestations of power provided by a Euro-American façade, the fundamental tool for the manipulation of *mana* could not be altered.

Several characteristics support the interpretation of the feature as a Hawaiian shrine. The northwest-southeast trend of the main alignment orients the structure parallel to the river bank, reflecting typical Hawaiian focus on water resources. Upright stones, *pohaku*, are incorporated as physical manifestations of gods (*akua*) and ancestral spirits (*aumakua*). At many religious structures in Hawaii, stone pavements mark sacred areas. The absence of inorganic debris on the stone paving possibly reflects special treatment, it certainly indicates an early date of construction and separates the structure from the discard patterns of previous indigenous inhabitants.

In brief, I interpret that the builders of the rock feature were traditional Hawaiians. Living and working together, their ethnic identity was centered in

the traditional work group, the *'ohana*. The majority of the work they did was little different from their previous experience and required the same accumulation and distribution of *mana* for success. The rock feature was their shrine, the uprights their gods.

That the structure appears incomplete (e.g. parallel sides, right angle corners, holes in the pavement) has two explanations. First, the appearance of incompleteness is an artifact of Euro-American perception. The discovery and excavation process was focused to discover and interpret Euro-American structural features. We do not know from the report of the excavation that the structure was completely exposed. The second explanation is that flooding and silt deposition forced abandonment of the structure. As other Hawaiian structures were modified and added to through time, we can assume that this structure would have received additional attention. There is no way of determining from the excavation report whether the structure was the result of a single construction episode or the result of periodic additions prior to final burial.

There are several likely explanations for the apparent lack of a replacement structure. The first and simplest is that one has not been found. The archaeology conducted at Ft. Vancouver was for cultural resources management purposes. The large scale excavations were conducted for data recovery purposes because highway construction would unpredictably alter the site integrity (Thomas and Hibbs 1984). Previous work (Caywood 1953, 1954; Chance and Chance 1976; Kardas 1969; Thomas and Hibbs 1984) had defined the condition, content and limits of various historically recorded structures and activity areas. Most of this work was designed to obtain only a representative sample for the purposes of the National Register of Historic Places. Significant amounts of work were expended studying the material culture of the U. S. Army occupation. Another explanation is that the anomalies were discarded or glossed over. In the tradition of the archaeology of the fur trade, indigenous structures were excavated for their Euro-American artifact content and indigenous artifacts were considered alien when found in a Euro-American style structure.

The most complex reason for a replacement structure not having been found is that one was not built. Assuming that the rock feature was built by Hawaiians as a shrine in the late 1820's, there may not have been a sufficient population of active traditional Hawaiians who cared to build another shrine.

The village had grown substantially. It was ten years since the overthrow of *kapu* and the islands had not sunk to the sea bottom or been buried in eruption. The Hudson's Bay Company officially encouraged the Christian faith and allowed officers and other official representatives to suppress the expression of alien doctrines. The tradition may have been suppressed, thus documenting cultural change by removing another cultural marker from the material record.

The date of the rock structure is not known. Though it was not associated with debris from the village, neither was it associated with Native American artifacts. Hence, a postulation of construction prior to the existence of the village is not warranted. The over-burden contains what is effectively a background count of artifacts, the result of landscape re-distribution. The excavation stratum of the rock structure was considered contemporaneous with the rest of the village. It should be considered co-eval with the village.

The rock structure, if a foundation for a Hudson's Bay Company warehouse, is unlike any other foundation archaeologically reported for the fur trade in the Columbia. The postulation that the upright stones were for the elevation of the warehouse above the ground to avoid water damage to the contents implies that the ground was either constantly wet as if a shallow stream ran under the warehouse or, as was speculated by Kardas, that the warehouse was raised above annual flooding. The uprights were estimated to be 20 to 40cm tall, not sufficient to provide real protection for any property of the Hudson's Bay Company. The Vavasour map (Gibson 1985:Plate 2) shows the distance from the location of the rock structure to the 1825 stockade was almost 1 mile, an improbable distance for the storage of material property, particularly furs. The Hudson's Bay Company was serious about the business of the fur trade. Forts were built to protect the trade goods and the returns on those goods. The Company records show that they knew almost immediately that the stockade on the bluff was more protection than they needed (Hussey 1957). Still, they built another stockade in 1830 when they moved to the plain adjacent to the river bank and the business of the trade was conducted within its walls. The rock uprights were not placed regularly enough to support the fur trade's Euro-American pattern of construction. No nails were found, an unlikely happenstance at a construction site, the hypothesis of elevation requiring a fixed floor structure. There were a substantial number of rocks in alignment but they, also, did not fit Euro-American building patterns

associated with the HBC. Nor did they function as physical support for the upright rocks.

The rock feature is dis-similar to indigenous American rock-alignments and house-floors in this region. Without thermally fractured rock it is not remotely like either an earth oven or a sweat lodge.

The period of occupation of the old fort (1826 to 1830) was the time when there was a concentration of Hawaiians in the vicinity of the fort. Traditional Hawaiians, who had a traditional culture structure from pre-1819 Hawaii. The group probably included some members of the upper-class, culturally trained in ritual expression. The structure was located adjacent to the village. Some parts of the village were being occupied by 1826 when the first fort was built. Housing for servants was never completed at the site. Hence, Hawaiians were among those occupying the village area as early as 1826. The time span between this occupation and the occupation period defined by the Covington Map of 1846 (Figure 6) was long enough for more than one structure to have been abandoned as the result of flood, fire, or rot. Archaeology supports this, as all investigators have discovered scattered dwelling sites that do not appear on the 1846 map.

Chapter 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this thesis, I proposed a study of the Hawaiian laborers in the fur trade. My objective was to determine what their role was in the fur trade, to measure their populations, and how their ethnic identity might have marked the material record. In essence, I was attempting to establish a Hawaiian perspective to broaden the field of view. The Euro-American perspective has dominated analysis of the material culture of the fur trade, a domination that has resulted in overlooking the contributions of non-European members of the fur trade culture.

The premise, that an alternate view of data can reveal information about a subject, does not require an abandonment of objectivity. Writing from the viewpoint of a museum curator, Pearce (1986a:198) described the nature of objects that allows them to be analysed in a meaningful way. Every artifact has properties which can be empirically categorized and interpreted. The analysis of an artifact can reveal its cultural significance. Four main attributes of artifacts are material, history, environment, and significance (*ibid.*). Material attributes include raw material, design, construction and technology. The history of an artifact includes an account of its function and how it was used. All spatial relationships compose its environment. Finally, significance is the sum of the "emotional or psychological messages" carried by the artifact (*ibid.*).

Every artifact has typological characteristics which can be compared with other artifacts and used to assign a value of similarity (*ibid.*:199). Pearce rejected criticism of the typological approach with the cogent point that everything human-made has typological characteristics and that objects fall into groupings of characteristics. Pearce stated that reducing subjectivity by mechanization of the comparison process still leaves the same "awkward pieces...left over to linger in grey areas of uncertainty" (*ibid.*).

The material composition of an artifact, like its typology, will have measurable characteristics and give it a place in the range of potential materials. The history of an artifact is divided into two sections, its manufacturing and use history and its post-use history. Pearce determined that the post-use history began with the artifact's collection and documents the history of exhibition (*ibid.*). This meshes with the concept put forward by

Binford (1983) that an object becomes static in the in the archaeological record only after it is removed from the archaeological record. This is to say that an object's 'use' history in archaeological terms is its manufacture, use, discard, and the post-deposition site-formation processes.

Pearce commented that the environment of an object has long been familiar to archaeology. Answering why an object is discovered in one location and not another is the fundamental question of archaeology.

But the idol, the altar, and priest are gone, and there
are few surviving who can give an intelligent answer to
the question, What meaneth this great heap of stones
[Cheever 1850:125]?

Though Pearce (1986a) was writing about portable artifacts, the process of identification and categorisation described is applicable for the description of the *in situ* built environment.

The social process that gave meaning to Hawaiian religious structures was presented in Chapter 2. Archaeological documentation of features that were common among these structures, their typology, was also presented there. The Euro-American mechanism of pernicious mercantilism and its modification of the Hawaiian culture were shown to have two effects. First, *mana* was modified to include the display of exotic products which had, as their only origin, an external source. While this created a demand for these products by all members of the society, it created an acute demand among the *ali'i*, as their position in the structure required the demonstration of strong connections to *mana*. Second, the traditional division of labor between the managers and the producers was diverted from the production of food to the production of an item of exchange. This diversion both increased the amount of labor demanded from the producers and created famine when crops were neglected. These effects encouraged Hawaiians to seek employment in the Euro-American mercantile system to gain access to status enhancing goods and to escape unrewarding labor. It is unclear how more personal motivations, such as a lust for adventure, affected job seeking.

The earliest employment opportunities were aboard ships engaged in trading for fur along the north Pacific coast of North America. As the fur trade exhausted the coastal resources, employment became available in trading companies established in the interior of the Pacific Northwest.

Chapter 3 presented the fur trading companies and the conditions of the employment in the fur trade of the Columbia River basin by an examination of the Hawaiian employees. The ethnographic and historic records that were examined, demonstrated that the Hawaiians in the employ of the trading companies brought aspects of their traditional culture with them. Archived employment records were integrated with anecdotal references and gave identities to otherwise unrecognized people. This examination revealed that the Hawaiians were employed at jobs that were similar to work experience in Hawaii and that they excelled at

Ethnicity requires that some aspect of a culture, real or invented, serve as a shared identifier among members of the culture. The language barrier and religion were both recorded as serving to isolate the Hawaiians from the other ethnic groups of the fur trade. Segregation of Hawaiian populations was evident in several trading communities, though it is not clear whether this was discrimination by the Hawaiians or their employers. The labor experience in the fur trade was found to have been relatively similar to the labor experience in contemporary Hawaii. A hierarchical command structure managed labor and the flow of wealth. The tasks were similarly comparable. Most of the Hawaiians employed by the HBC returned to Hawaii. Those that stayed in North America continued to maintain ethnic identity and community ties.

Previous archaeological investigations of the fur companies were reviewed in Chapter 4 to discover anything that might be interpreted differently if viewed from a Hawaiian perspective. Finally, an anomalous structure excavated at Ft. Vancouver was discussed to re-interpret its function. My interpretation led to the conclusion that, though it did not fit patterns of construction established for the trading companies or local indigenous peoples, the structure was clearly within the parameters for the Hawaiian built environment and probably represents a shrine.

Though employed by a foreign culture, the Hawaiian employees did not abandon their culture. The state religion of Hawaii enforced compliance with heavy penalties. Archaeologically significant, both the state and personal interface with *mana* had an architectural component, the 'abominable practices of idolatrous times'. The erection of a shrine was necessary to focus the *mana* present and channel it for the benefit of the individual and the community. However, neither the state nor archaeology can differentiate faith

from an appearance of faith. Though their actions marked the record, the personal beliefs of the Hawaiians in the fur trade are unknowable.

Archaeological research relating to the early Euro-American presence in the northwest has overlooked the presence of the Hawaiians. This was partly because the Hawaiians were not using material culture objects associated with Polynesian Hawaii and partly because of prejudice developed during previous research design. This thesis serves to alert archaeologists to the presence of a substantial body of ethnic Hawaiians employed in the fur trade of the Pacific Northwest. The sizes, activities and locations of these populations have been documented to facilitate future research.

Future Research. Additional research needs to be done to establish the parameters of a Hawaiian pattern of consumption for the Euro-American artifacts available in the fur trade. Initially my archive research plan included both documenting the Hawaiian population and examining the sales records from the company stores for evidence of a pattern of consumption by this population. When the volume of archived data available for research was compared with the time constraints, the search for consumption patterns was curtailed. Research was refocused to gather the identities and work histories of the Hudson's Bay Company's Hawaiian population. I believe this has created a solid foundation for future studies of this population. I was unable to obtain the records necessary to establish an Hawaiian pattern of consumption for products available to employees in the fur trade.

Discerning the Hawaiian presence in the material record may be as simple as correlating Euro-American artifact preferences in Hawaii with similar artifact preferences in fur trade dwellings. Sahlins and Kirch (Kirch 1992:44) described a secondary economy in Hawaii, conducted by women of the commoner class. The glass beads of the fur trade became the currency of exchange. Wealth was earned in a sex-for-money exchange (e.g. Simmons-Rogers 1984). Did the incidence of beads in dwellings at Vancouver reflect a Hawaiian influence? Data from Thomas and Hibbs (1983) certainly suggest an ethnic differentiation. Dwellings identified as inhabited by Canadians had significantly fewer beads than the other dwellings excavated. Another possible ethnic marker may be reflected by a steatite pipe industry in the Columbia River fur trade. From locus of initial shaping in a saw pit at Spokane, through an indoor factory at Okanogan, to discard at Vancouver, the

Hawaiians seem to be implicated. Does this indicate the creation of an ethnic marker from an object that had no analogue in traditional culture? Features that do not fit a pre-conceived cultural pattern must be treated with the same care as those that do.

Archaeological method has improved. It is too late to wonder what Kardas might have found in House 4 using the tools and funding available to Thomas and Hibbs. It contained a record of material culture spanning the transition from trapping to farming. Still, wondering has an educational value. After all, soil samples were taken by Kardas, but had not been analysed when Kardas issued a final report of the investigation. They could still exist and be able to answer questions. Would the pollen from the overburden on the rock structure help document the course of agriculture at Fort Vancouver? Can the soil samples help refine the stratigraphy of the village or link Kardas's strata with those of later investigations?

Are there other *ahu*, other *pohaku* to be found in the material record of the Pacific Northwest? Though all the posts on Figure 15 had sedentary Hawaiian populations, they are not equally likely to have an overt expression of Hawaiian tradition. As time passed, Hawaiian traditions changed, Hawaiian populations of later establishments, like the second Fort Langley (1839) or Fort Victoria (1843), may not have been as closely tied to traditional Hawaii. Others, like Spokane House, Okanogan, the first Ft. Langley, and Ft. George/Astoria were established early (Figure 1) with the aid of traditional Hawaiians and have a high likelihood of exhibiting rock structures incorporating upright stones. Any unusual accumulation of rocks needs sufficient exposure to determine its size and structure. More importantly, adequate records need to be made of rock structures. What were the pits at Spokane (Caywood 1953:67) and at Vancouver (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:325)? What prompted the determination that the 'garden features' near the Ingall's house were associated with the house (Thomas and Hibbs 1984:324) and not the remnants of the private gardens of village dwellers? Anomalous features, such as an atypical occurrence of pit ovens or atypical hearth construction, could signal the presence of Hawaiians when these structures are associated with the fur trade. It would have been useful if even typical camas ovens and hearth features had been thoroughly reported. Inadequate reporting has stymied further analysis.

A great deal of time has been spent studying the inside of the stockades of the fur trade. More attention needs to be spent studying the lifestyles of the populations that surrounded the posts. The village at Fort Vancouver was an official recognition of the family lives of the employees and provided a well documented site as a focus for research. What of the other posts? Were they populated by celibates or was each trading post accompanied by a 'camp-town' populated by the families of servants and officers? Was Caywood's Native American burial ground at Spokane reserved to the use of the indigenous peoples? More importantly, were the fur traders 'indigenous peoples', exhibiting a blend of Euro-America and native culture? Have the minority cultures of the fur trade been overlooked because we have been looking in the wrong place? Assumptions about the archaeological evidence of acculturation may have misdirected the analysis of sites where artifacts from industrial and pre-industrial cultures co-exist.

Archaeological investigation of the Russian fur trade presents an exciting opportunity for a comparative study of cultures. Did Hawaiians exhibit persistence of culture while in the employ of the Russians? How did the Russian system of indenturement differ from the Euro-American system? Is there a difference in the mode of employment, or were the Hawaiians also employed in traditional skills? Assuming that the Russians employed Hawaiians from their temporary presence on Kaua'i at Fort Elizabeth, will the subtle differences in culture between Kaua'i and the rest of Hawaii (cf. Chapter 6 in Kirch 1985) be evident in the material culture of the emigrants?

Conclusion. Familiarity with the Euro-American culture of the fur trade is virtually a professional requirement for an adequate archaeological investigation of a trading post. Yet, ethnic identity has only recently been recognized (cf. Pysczyk 1989) in the material record of this population; a population that has long been acknowledged to have, at least, a mix of ethnic French Canadians and ethnic Scots. Expectations of conformity, founded on a false premise of uniformity of population, were incorporated into self-fulfilling investigations. Because populations lived together in an arbitrarily ordered space and consumed arbitrarily available merchandise, they have been assumed to think alike. Similar to the transformation of *mana*, where the display of acquired property replaced the display of acquired power, acculturation has been improperly assigned to the display of material culture. Refined collection and analysis methods are beginning to dispel the fog of

acculturation assumed for the populations of the posts. Familiarity with the traditional cultures of the Hawaiian and Native American components of the fur trade is vital for an improved understanding of the material record.

Discerning acculturation from the appearance of acculturation may remain an unsolvable riddle for archaeology. This is especially true when a broad range of material culture is allowed to imply the presence of a culture bearer. Material objects require patterned usage to establish a cultural implication. One Hawaiian shrine is only a teaser, an inadequate demonstration of ethnicity. The warning that it gives is clear. A broader understanding of the culture of the fur trade will prevent abrupt dismissal of anomalies. This thesis broadens the foundation for the study of the fur trade west of the Rocky Mountains.

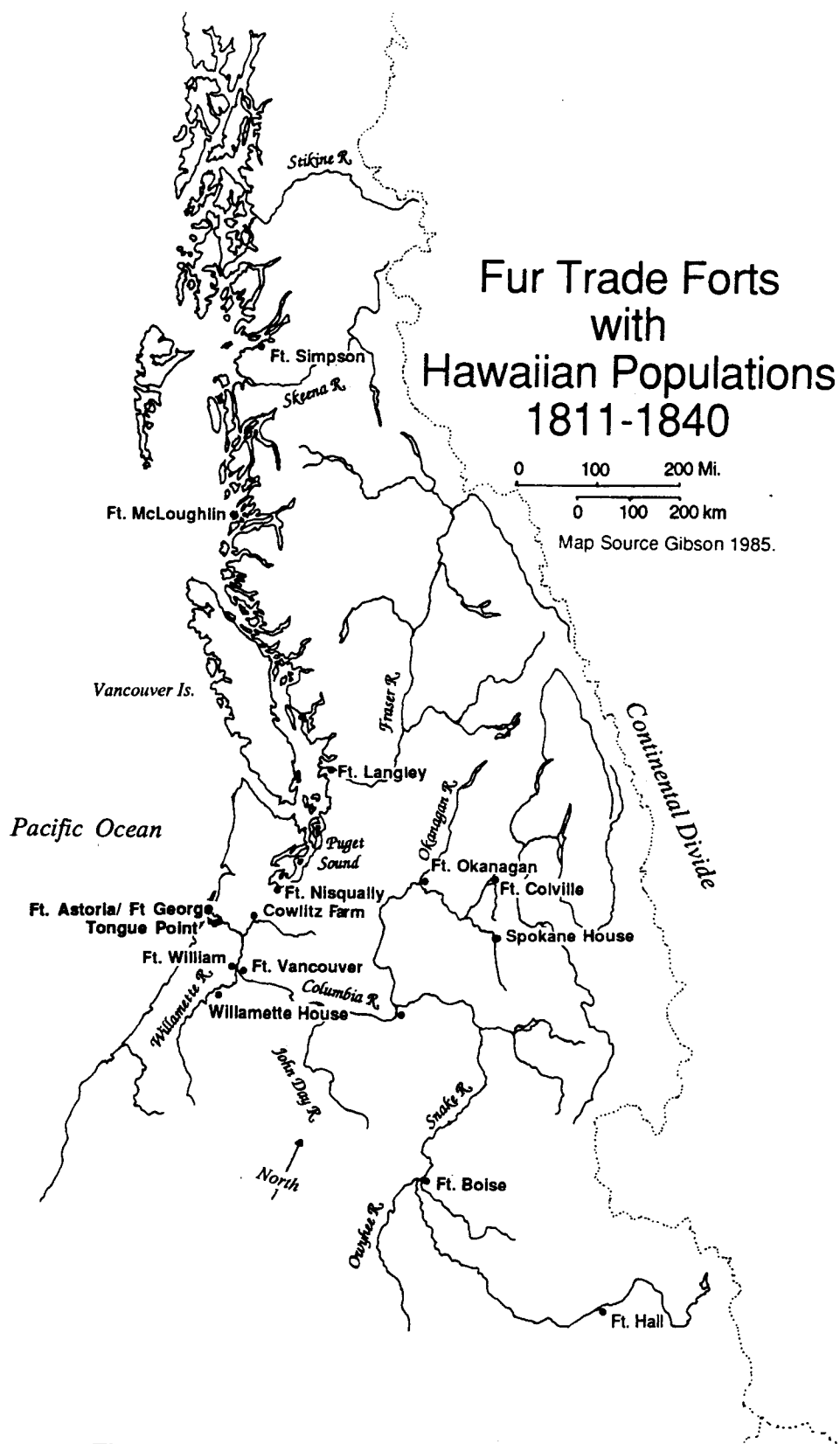


Figure 15. Fur Trade Forts with Hawaiian Populations

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 HBCA - Hudson's Bay Company Archives
JAA - *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*
OHQ - *Oregon Historical Quarterly*
 OPB - Oregon Public Broadcasting
WHQ - *Washington Historical Quarterly*

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A.

Pronunciation of Hawaiian from Pukui and Elbert (1986:xvii-xviii).

Consonants

p,k	about as in English but with less aspiration
h,l,m,n	about as in English; <i>l</i> may be dental alveolar and <i>n</i> dental
w	after <i>i</i> and <i>e</i> usually a lax <i>v</i> ; after <i>u</i> and <i>o</i> usually like <i>w</i> ;
	after <i>a</i> or initially, like <i>w</i> or <i>v</i> .
ʻ	a glottal stop, similar to the sound between the <i>oh</i> 's in <i>oh-oh</i> .

Vowels

Unstressed

a	like <i>a</i> in above
e	like <i>e</i> in bet
i	like <i>i</i> in city
o	like <i>o</i> in sole*
u	like <i>oo</i> in moon* * without off-glides.

Stressed

a,á	like <i>a</i> in far
e	like <i>e</i> in bet
é	like <i>ay</i> in pay
i,í	like <i>ee</i> in see
o,ó	like <i>o</i> in sole
u,ú	like <i>oo</i> in moon

Stressed vowels do not have off-glides. Vowels marked with macrons are somewhat longer than other vowels and are always stressed.

Rising diphthongs.

ei, eu, oi, ou, ai, ae, ao, au

Even diphthong.

iu

The accenting of syllables in Hawaiian (and other Polynesian languages) is unpredictable in words of four or more syllables. Words of lesser length are predictable. There are three categories of stress units for shorter words. The dissyllable (e.g. *moku* 'chiefdom'); second, a syllable with a long vowel or a diphthong (such as *lá* 'sun' or *kai* 'sea'); and third, either of the first two preceded by an unstressed syllable (e.g. *mahalo* 'thank you' or *makai* 'toward the sea'). For such short words, the stress is always predictable: on the last vowel or diphthong, or if the syllables are short) on the second-to-last syllable.

APPENDIX A (continued)

Longer words are composed of several of these sub-units, each carrying its own stress pattern. The etymological origin of a compound word is not necessarily reflected in its enunciation pattern.

APPENDIX B.

The following appendix was extracted from records in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives (HBCA). The data in the appendix is, in part an artifact of the information that was physically received on microfilms, and in part an artifact of my personal judgement of the ethnic origin of the individual reported.

Only records pertaining to Hawaiian employees were included in the appendix. The appendix is organized alphabetically, with each line minimally composed of a name and a year of record. Individuals with multiple entries are presented chronologically. Some data for 1822 is repeated and is designated 1822NW, showing individuals that definitely transferred from the North West Company. However, it is likely that all Hawaiians employed by the HBC before 1825 were transferees from the NWC.

The appendix was assembled from HBCA microfilm records of the Columbia Department and its precursor districts for the years of 1821, 1822, 1823, 1826, 1828, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1835, 1836, 1841, 1844, 1846, 1847, 1849, 1851, 1853, and 1854. Specifically, the archive records used were:

B223/d/2a	B223/d/10	B223/d/11	B223/d/20	B223/d/36
B223/d/37	B223/d/38	B223/d/47	B223/d/53	B223/d/54
B223/d/61	B223/d/62	B223/d/152	B223/d/156	B223/d/157
B223/d/169	B223/d/176	B223/d/184	B223/d/187	B223/d/195
B223/g/3	B223/g/5	B223/g/6	B223/g/7	B223/g/9
B223/g/10	B239/g/1	B239/g/2	B239/g/3	B239/g/4
B239/g/6	B239/g/8.			

This appendix is not comprehensive, information was not present in the archived records, and I did not include information from published sources. Barker (1948:297-327) and Payette (1962:188-190) both cited HBC archives sources that I did not review. For example, the archived records for 1831 that were reviewed for this appendix did not contain the 'years in service' data that Barker reported for that year. Except for Correacca's death in 1835, the appendix does not include information that I did not find in the archives.

APPENDIX B (continued)

The data categories are described as follows:

Name-	the name of the individual. Usually the first spelling encountered in the records was used to identify subsequent appearances of the same individual.
Age	-age of the individual as recorded by HBC clerks.
Job Title	-assigned by HBC.
District	-accounting unit that was responsible of employee's wages.
Serv.	-cumulative years of employment (service).
C. Exp.	-year in which current contract expires.
Acct. Bal.	-employee's account balance. Parentheses () indicate that money is owed to the company, a debit balance.. Usually recorded in Pounds Sterling (£), though in 1821, 1822, and 1823 it was recorded in French Livres. Recorded in U. S. Dollars (\$) in 1853.
Wage	-annual wage or portion thereof. Recorded as for Acct. Bal. Partial wages were the result of mid-year hiring or termination.
Other	-general category for relevant notes such as alternate name spellings, worksite, and death or discharge data.
Census	-year of record.

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Adams, Jack or Kaanana		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				20		1851
Adams, Jack or Kaanana						(\$41.43)		Deserted 1851	1853
Adams, John		Laborer	Vancouver	1	Dead		\$6.13		1853
Aganey		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1842	3/10/08	17		1841
Aganey		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1845		8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Ahao		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Ahao		Laborer	Ship Columbia	4			1/8/1	Died 19 Jun 1844	1844
Aikane						4/4/06			1849
Aikau		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Alane		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				37/10/0		1851
Alauka		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1			17/0/0		1844
Alauka		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Alauka						6/8/05			1849
Aliao		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1			11/14/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Alia		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Alia		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	4	1847		27/0/0	Ft. George	1844
Alia		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7			17/0/0		1847
Alia						3/18/0			1849
America			Columbia				576	French Livres	1822
America	26		Columbia	3	1825	8/8/07	10		1824
America			Columbia	5		10/9/10	10		1826
America		Laborer	Columbia	7		10/15/06	10		1828
America			Ft. Vancouver			(10/3/7)	17/0/0		1831
America			Ft. Vancouver				7/1/08	Returned to Oahu 1 Nov. 1831	1832
Anahi		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	22/18/5	30		1841
Anahi		Middleman	Stikine	5	1846		19/0/0		1844
Anahi		Laborer	Stikine	7	1848		9/10/0	Returned to Oahu 30 Nov 1846	1846
Aupu		Middleman	Snake party	2	1843	24/12/7	30		1841
Aupu		Middleman	Snake Party	5			17/0/0		1844
Awana		Laborer	Wallamette Falls	3	1848	(5/1/10)	27/0/0		1847
Awana		Laborer	Wallamette Falls			(3/16/4)	4/5/0	Deserted 1 Sept. 1848	1849
Bahia		Laborer	Ship Columbia	2	1848		27/0/0		1846
Bahia		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	3	1848	30/1/8	27/0/0		1847
Bahia						31/2/2			1849
Baker, Joe		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839				1836
Baker, Joe		Middleman	Ft. Taku	6		6/19/08	9/2/1	Returned to Oahu 1841	1841
Balau		Laborer	New Caledonia	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Balau						24/16/1			1849

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Balau		Laborer	Ft. Rupert				20/0/0		1851
Belay			Ft. Van General Charges			(32/5/3)	30/0/0		1831
Belay			Ft. Vancouver			(43/15/3)	30/0/0		1832
Belay			Ft. Vancouver			(28/6/4)	30/0/0		1833
Belay			Ft. Vancouver			(11/12/0)	17/0/0		1835
Belay	31	Middleman	Columbia	8	1837	0/1/5			1836
Belay	36	Middleman	Snake Party	12	1842	6/0/8	17	Returned to Oahu 1842	1841
Bell, John B.		Apprentice	Ft. Langley	7	1845		15/0/0		1844
Bell, John B.		Cooper	Ft. Langley	10		13/1/10	24/0/0		1847
Bell, John B.						21/14/11			1849
Bell, John B.		Cooper	Ft. Langley		1851		24/0/0		1851
Bell, Peter			Deceased			(2/14/2)		Died - Possibly not Hawaiian	1841
Ben						29/13/4			1849
Bill		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Bill		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	Gone		13/10/0	Returned to Oahu 30 Nov 1846	1846
Billy		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0		1844
Billy		Laborer & Carp	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			27/0/0		1847
Billy		Carpenter & Lal	Ft. Vancouver Depot			12/10/08	20/5/0	Gone to California 1 Mar 1849	1849
Bisset, John		Seaman	B. Cowlitz	1			21	Possibly not Hawaiian	1841
Block		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Block		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4				Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Block		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851	(0/10/0)	14/12/6	Deserted 1 Feb 1849	1849
Boki		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(20/15/1)	30/0/0		1833
Boki			Ft. Vancouver			(19/18/7)	30/0/0		1835
Bole, Captain		Laborer	Ft. Van General Charges			12/19/04	27/0/0		1847
Boli, John		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Boli, John		Middleman	Ft. Victoria	4	1847	8/4/05	17/0/0		1847
Boli, John						10/14/06			1849
Boli, John		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1851		20/0/0		1851
Borabora, George		Middleman	Ft. Langley			(4/1/3)	17		1841
Borabora, George		Middleman	Ft. Langley	10			17/0/0		1844
Borabora, George		Laborer	Ft. Langley	13		2/16/2	17/0/0		1847
Bull, John		Middleman	Nisqually	4		25/1/10	17		1841
Bull, John		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7	1846		17/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Caesar		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Caesar						2/14/09		Spelled Cesar	1849
Cakaao		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Cakaao		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Cakaeo						2/13/1		Spelled Cakas	1849
Cakaeo		Laborer	Ft. Langley		1851		24/0/0		1851
Canot			New Caledonia				800	French livres	1821
Canot			New Caledonia			412	800	French Livres	1822
Canot			Western Caledonia			154/16	800	French livres	1823
Canot			Western Caledonia		1826	12/17/09	20		1826
Canot	27	middleman	Columbia			18/13/6	17		1828
Canot			New Caledonia			(8/18/4)	19/0/0		1831
Canot			New Caledonia			(21/17/11)	19/0/0		1832
Canot			New Caledonia			(32/12/8)	19/0/0		1833
Canot			New Caledonia			(0/14/2)		Died May 1834	1835
Cawanaia			Columbia			182/0	576	French Livres	1822
Cawanaia						182		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Cawanaia			Columbia			(291/0)	453/6	French livres	1823
Cawanaia	27	Sawyer	Columbia	8		(5/13/7)	10		1824
Cawanaia	29	Sawyer	Columbia	10		(2/17/4)	17		1826
Cawanaia	31	Sawyer	Columbia	12		2/15/06	17		1828
Cawanaia			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(16/10/2)	17/0/0		1831
Cawanaia			Ft. Vancouver			(20/17/9)	17/0/0		1832
Cawanaia			Ft. Vancouver			(25/10/9)	17/0/0		1833
Cawanaia			Ft. Vancouver			(13/1/9)	10/0/0	Disabled	1835
Cawanaia	39	Middleman	Columbia	18	1839	(17/7/10)		Spelled Cawinaia 1824-28	1836
Cawanaia			Deceased			(3/13/2)		Dead	1841
Charley		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Charley		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1848	(0/9/8)	9/8/11	Died 20 Dec 1847 Ft. Van	1847
Coah, James			Columbia			(74/0)	576	French livres	1821
Coah, James			Columbia			81/12	576	French Livres	1822
Coah, James			Columbia			117/18	453/6	French livres	1823
Coah, James	29		Columbia	11	1825	10/5/1	10		1824
Coah, James	31		Columbia	13		10/17/10	10		1826
Coah, James	33	Laborer	Columbia	15		11/7/10			1828
Coayeray			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/5/3)	18/0/0		1831
Coayeray			Ft. Simpson			(25/7/3)	18/0/0		1832
Coayeray			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(12/14/8)	18/0/0		1833
Coffin, Charles								Discharged same season	1836
Cole, Captain		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	22/18/8	30		1841
Cole, Captain		Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Colins, Tom			Naval Department			10/19/06	30/0/0		1832

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Com		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	23/8/3	30		1841
Com		Middleman	Snake Party		1847		27/0/0		1844
Com		Laborer	Snake Country	7		43/12/2	17/0/0		1847
Com						8/5/11		Died 1848 Snake Country	1849
Como			New Caledonia				800	French livres	1821
Como			New Caledonia			133	800	French Livres	1822
Como			Columbia			26/16/1	17		1826
Como			Columbia			21/3/5	17		1828
Como			Ft. Langley			(17/15/6)	17/0/0		1831
Como			Ft. Langley			(20/1/9)	17/0/0		1832
Como			Ft. Langley			(19/4/6)	17/0/0		1833
Como			Fort Langley			(14/2/6)	17/0/0		1835
Como	40	Middleman	Columbia	19		1/18/11			1836
Como	45	Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	24	1843	15/17/4	24	Died 1850 Ft Van	1841
Como		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	27	1845		17/0/0		1844
Como		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	30			17/0/0		1847
Como						2/10/10			1849
Como			Ft. Vancouver Depot		1852		5/7/09	Died 1850 Ft Van	1851
Como, Thomas						0/0/0			1849
Como, Thomas		Apprentice	Ft. Vancouver Depot				8/0/0		1851
Como, Thomas						(\$22.06)		Discharged 1852	1853
Correacca			Ft. Van General Charges			(20/0/0)	18/0/0		1831
Correacca			Ft. Colville			(28/18/10)	18/0/0		1832
Correacca			Ft. Colville			(8/14/8)	18/0/0	Coriacca	1833
Correacca			Fort Colville			(11/7/7)	17/0/0	Died 1835 Nez Percés	1835
Cowelitz		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1848			Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Cowie		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843		27/10/0		1841
Cowie		Middleman	Ft. Nisqually	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Cowie		Shepherd	Ft. Nisqually	7	1848		17/0/0		1846
Cowie		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually	8	1848	13/8/1	17/0/0		1847
Cowie						14/17/3			1849
Cowie		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				20/0/0		1851
Cowie		Laborer	Nisqually	14	1855	\$22.76	\$120		1853
Cowie		Laborer	Nisqually	15	1855		25/0/0		1854
Cox, John			Columbia			1007/10	576	French Livres	1821
Cox, John			Columbia			(17/4)	576		1822
Cox, John			Columbia			(31/2)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Cox, John	46		Columbia	15		5/9/10	10		1824

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Cox, John	48	Middleman	Columbia	17		10/11/06	10		1826
Cox, John	50	Middleman	Columbia	19		(5/12/9)	17		1828
Cox, John			Ft. Vancouver			(16/7/5)	17/0/0		1831
Cox, John			Ft. Vancouver			(19/1/10)	17/0/0		1832
Cox, John			Ft. Vancouver			(18/9/5)	17/0/0		1833
Cox, John			Ft. Vancouver			(11/8/0)	10/0/0	Superannuated	1835
Cox, John	57	Middleman	Columbia			4/2/04			1836
Cox, John	61	Middleman	Ft. Vancouver		1843	9/3/11	17		1841
Crownriver		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				20/0/0		1851
Crownriver		Laborer	Snake Country			(\$8.70)	\$87.55		1853
Deblo								Discharged same season	1836
Dick			Columbia			(35/4)	576	French Livres	1822
Dick						(35/4)		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Dick			Columbia			51/18	453/6	French livres	1823
Dick	25		Columbia	8		8/8/3	10		1824
Dick	27		Columbia	10		8/7/0	10		1826
Dick	29	Laborer	Columbia	12		(3/19/5)	17		1828
Dick			Ft. Vancouver			(12/6/9)	17/0/0		1831
Dick			Ft. Vancouver			(16/17/11)	17/0/0		1832
Dick			Ft. Vancouver			(25/9/0)	17/0/0		1833
Dick			Ft. Vancouver			(14/1/9)	17/0/0		1835
Dick	37	Middleman	Columbia	20		4/10/2			1836
Dick	42	Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	25	1844	0/8/4	17		1841
Dick		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	28	1846		17/0/0		1844
Dick		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	31	1848		17/0/0		1847
Dick						9/12/0			1849
Dick		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1852		20/0/0		1851
Dick		Laborer	Vancouver	37		\$102.20	\$96.00	Retired 1853 Ft Van	1853
Ebony		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Ebony		Laborer	Ship Columbia	3	1847		27/0/0		1846
Ebony		laborer	Ft. Victoria	4		20/1/2	17/0/0		1847
Ebony						17/9/8			1849
Ebony		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1852		20/0/0		1851
Ehoo		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Ehoo		Middleman	Ft. Nisqually	4	1846		17/0/0		1844
Ehoo		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually	7		26/6/7	7/11/1	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Ehu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Ehu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Ehu						14/9/0			1849
Ehu						(\$22.66)		Returned to Oahu 1850	1851
Eleahay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1842	26/14/2	17		1841
Eleahay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1846		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Faito			Ft. Van General Charges			(30/11/2)	30/0/0		1831
Faito			Ft. Simpson			(22/17/1)	30/0/0		1832
Faito			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(46/8/3)	30/0/0		1833
Faito			Ft. Vancouver			(12/17/6)	17/0/0		1835
Faito		Middleman	Columbia	7	1837	2/5/08			1836
Faito		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1842	(17/0/0)	17		1841
Faito		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1846		22/0/0		1844
Faito		Laborer & sawy	Ft. Vancouver Depot	18			22/0/0		1847
Faito						4/12/06			1849
Faito		Sawyer	Ft. Victoria				22/0/0		1851
Fight, John			Naval Department			(15/17/10)	28/15/0		1832
Fo-o-ena			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/9/9)	18/0/0		1831
Fo-o-ena			Ft. Vancouver			(27/3/11)	18/0/0	Fooina	1832
Fo-o-ena			Ft. Vancouver			(8/17/7)	18/0/0	Fo-o-ina	1833
Fo-o-ena			Ft. Vancouver			(10/7/7)	17/0/0	Fooina	1835
Friday		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Friday		Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	4			16/10/0	Returned to Oahu 10 Jan 1845	1844
Friday		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	7	1848	18/8/11	27/0/0		1847
Friday		Laborer	Ft. Victoria			12/0/5	8/14/09	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849
Friday		Laborer	Ft. Rupert		1852		27/0/0		1851
Gannet, John		Seaman	B. Cowlitz	1			21		1841
George		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Ham		Laborer	New Caledonia	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Ham						8/11/1			1849
Hanihowa			Columbia					Dead	1822
Hanotto		Laborer	Steamer Beaver		1851		27/0/0		1849
Haona			Snake Country	3	1848	2/1/10		Died 22 April 1847 Ft Van	1847
Harry, Jack			Naval Department			(19/13/4)	28/15/0		1832
Hawaii		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Hereea			Columbia			21/2	576	French Livres	1822
Hereea						21/2		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Hereea			Columbia			6/4	453/6	French livres	1823
Hereea	26		Columbia	8		7/16/0	10		1824
Hereea	28		Columbia	10		9/7/10	17		1826

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Hereea	30		Columbia	12		26/4/2	17		1828
Hereea			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(12/3/9)	17/0/0	Heveea	1831
Hereea			Ft. Colville			(10/1/2)	17/0/0		1832
Hereea			Ft. Vancouver			(17/5/0)	17/0/0		1833
Hereea			Fort Langley			(15/19/11)	17/0/0		1835
Hereea	38	Middleman	Columbia	5		(4/13/8)		Died Sept 1837 Ft Van	1836
Honno		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0		1844
Honno		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4		(1/7/8)	17/0/0		1847
Honno						(1/7/8)		Died 1848 Snake Country	1849
Honnu			Discharged		1841		21/4/3	Discharged Oahu	1841
Honolulu		Laborer	Cowelitz	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Honolulu		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm		1850	16/17/3	17/0/0		1849
Honolulu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		20/0/0		1851
Hoolapa		Middleman	Snake Party	5	1842	27/9/9	8/2/11	Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Hoolapa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1846		27/0/0		1844
Hoolapa		Laborer	Snake Country	4	1848		17/0/0		1846
Hoolapa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1848		17/0/0		1847
Hoolapa		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm		1850	(10/6/10)	17/0/0		1849
Hoolio		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Hoolio		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Hoolio		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	6	Gone		8/10/0	Returned to Oahu 30 Nov 1846	1846
Horapapa, John			Ft. McLoughlin			(29/18/0)	30/0/0		1835
Horapapa, John							30/0/0	Died 1836	1836
Iaukeo		Laborer	Snake Country	3	1848	19/18/7	27/0/0	Iaukio	1847
Iaukeo						30/14/2			1849
Iaukeo		Laborer	Snake Country				20/0/0		1851
Iaukeo		Laborer	Snake Country		1854	\$0.30	\$96.00		1853
Iaukeo		Laborer	Snake Country	8			20/0/0	Deserted 1855	1854
Iomanno		Laborer	Cowelitz	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Iomanno		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm		1850	8/7/05	17/0/0		1849
Iomanno		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		20/0/0		1851
Iomanno						(\$65.44)		Deserted 1852	1853
Itati		Middleman	Ft. Nez Percés	2	1843	20/1/11	30		1841
Itati		Stoker	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		30/0/0		1844
Jack, John		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839			Discharged Oahu 1837	1836
Jack, Long		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5		7/14/16			1841
Jimo			Columbia			7/6	576 French livres		1821
Jimo			Columbia			24/2	576 French Livres		1822

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Jimo			Columbia			(16/16)	453/6	French livres	1823
Jimo	26	Cook	Columbia	11		6/16/06	10		1824
Jimo	28	Cook	Columbia	13		8/18/06	17		1826
Jimo						11/2/11		Died 11 April 1827	1828
John		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	20/8/2	30		1841
Johnny			Ft. Van General Charges			(20/17/2)	30/0/0		1831
Johnny			Ft. Vancouver			(12/16/3)	12/10/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Nov 1831	1832
Jones		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade		1846		12/0/0	Poss. not Hawaiian Ft. George I	1844
Jones		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	5			11/6/08		1847
Jones		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	5		9/14/10		Died 1848 Ft Van	1849
Kaau, John			Ft. McLoughlin			(32/19/9)	30/0/0		1835
Kaau, John		Middleman	Columbia	3		(10/9/7)			1836
Kaau, John	42	Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	8	1842	0/17/8	19		1841
Kaau, John		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	11	1847		17/0/0		1844
Kaau, John		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	14		7/7/06	17/0/0	Ka_au, John	1847
Kaau, John						14/1/8			1849
Kaau, John		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				37/10/0		1851
Kaehetou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0		1844
Kaehetou		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Kaehetou						5/15/3		Deserted 1849	1849
Kaemi		Laborer	Nisqually	7		\$94.54	\$96.00	Discharged 1853	1853
Kahaloukulu		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	24/3/0	30		1841
Kahaloukulu		Middleman	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		10/7/09	Returned to Oahu 10 Jan 1845	1844
Kahannui		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0		1844
Kahannui		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually	4		(6/5/6)	17/0/0		1847
Kahannui						(1/0/4)			1849
Kahannui		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				20/0/0		1851
Kahannui		Laborer	Nisqually	10		(\$13.84)	\$56.00		1853
Kahannui		Laborer	Nisqually	11	Left		10/0/0	Deserted 1854	1854
Kaharrow			Columbia			17/12	576	French Livres	1822
Kaharrow						17/12		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Kaharrow			Columbia			78/18	453/6	French Livres	1823
Kaharrow	29		Columbia	8		10/16/09	10		1824
Kaharrow	31		Columbia	10		10/15/10	13		1826
Kaharrow	33		Columbia	12		20/17/0	17		1828
Kaharrow			Ft. Vancouver			(5/11/10)	0/13/10	Died 20 Jun 1830 Ft Van	1831
Kahela		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Kahela						13/5/4		Died 1848 Ft Van	1849

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Kahemehou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	21/10/0	30		1841
Kahetapou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	16/7/14	30		1841
Kahetapou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		7/23/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Kahoolanou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27		1844
Kahoolanou		Laborer	Snake Country	4		4/6/06	17/0/0		1847
Kahoolanou						11/19/09			1849
Kahoorie		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1843	29/5/0		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Kahoorie		Middleman	California Establishment	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kahoorie		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1848	34/10/10	17/0/0		1847
Kahoorie		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1850	34/7/10	8/14/09	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849
Kai		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	5	1843	20/7/3	.17		1841
Kai		Middleman	California Establishment	8	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kai		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	10	1848		6/2/09	Died 10 Oct 1846	1846
Kaihé		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		17/0/0		1847
Kaihé						5/18/10			1849
Kaihé		Blacksmith	Ft. Vancouver Depot				8/6/08		1851
Kaikuanna		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kaikuanna		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			4/19/0	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Kaikuawhiné		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Kaikuawhiné		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	4			17/0/0		1847
Kaikuawhiné		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade		1849	4/17/05	17/0/0	Ft George	1849
Kailimai						(19/12/0)		Died 1848 Ft Langley	1849
Kaimaina		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Kaimaina		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	Gone		1/8/04	Returned to Oahu 1 July 1847	1847
Kaina		Laborer	Vancouver		dead		\$5.87	Died 1853 Ft Van	1853
Kainoalau		Laborer	New Caledonia	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kainoalau						38/12/2			1849
Kainoalau		Laborer	Ft. Rupert				20/0/0		1851
Kaipumakau		Middleman	Snake Party	1	1847		27/0/0	Kapumakau	1844
Kaipumakau		Laborer	Snake Country	4		28/2/5	17/0/0		1847
Kaipumakau						15/5/3			1849
Kaipumakau		Laborer	Snake Country		1851		20/0/0		1851
Kaipumakau		Laborer	Vancouver		dead	(\$0.36)	\$13.55	Died 1853 Ft Van	1853
Kaiwaiwai		Laborer	Stikine	3	1848	4/10/10	27/0/0		1847
Kaiwaiwai						(0/7/6)			1849
Kakepi		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	23/8/3	30		1841
Kakepi		Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 10 Jan 1845	1844
Kalama		Middleman	Nisqually	5	1842	31/18/0	17		1841

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Kalama		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kalama		Laborer	Cowelitz	11	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kalama		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm		1850	7/4/11	17/0/0		1849
Kalemaka		Laborer	New Caledonia	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kalemaka						29/0/2		Died 1848 Ft Langley	1849
Kalemopole		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot				9/0/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Kalua		Laborer	Ft. Simpson		1853		37/10/0		1851
Kaluahi		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				37/10/0		1851
Kaluaikai		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kaluaikai						12/6/07			1849
Kaluaikai		Steward	Ft. Vancouver Depot				15/0/0	Free	1851
Kamahana			Columbia			(13/19/5)		Discharged Oahu	1836
Kamai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Kamai		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Kamai						7/5/0			1849
Kamai		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				37/10/0		1851
Kamaikaloa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Kamaikaloa		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	4			17/0/0		1847
Kamaikaloa		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade Umpqua		1849	26/10/8	17/0/0	Deserted 1849 Umpqua	1849
Kamaka		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Kamaka		Laborer	Cowelitz	4	1848		17/0/0		1847
Kamaka		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm			6/15/3	17/0/0		1849
Kamaka		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		20/0/0		1851
Kamaka						(\$142.12)		Retired 1851	1853
Kamakeha		Middleman	Ft. McLoughlin	2	1843	24/5/5/	30		1841
Kamakeha		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1846		17/0/0		1844
Kamakeha		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	8	1848	4/3/04	7/11/1	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Kamakeha		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851	9/1/3	27/0/0		1849
Kamakeha		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				27/0/0		1851
Kanackanui		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	20/0/11	30		1841
Kanackanui		Middleman	Stikine	5	1847		19/0/0		1844
Kanackanui		Laborer	Stikine	8			19/0/0		1847
Kanackanui						12/15/3			1849
Kanackanui		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				20/0/0		1851
Kanah, Frank			Columbia			673/0	600	French Livres	1821
Kanah, Frank			Columbia			853/10	576	French Livres	1822
Kanah, Frank			Columbia			542/10	453/6	French Livres	1823
Kanah, Frank	33	Cowherd	Columbia	11		23/9/10	10		1824

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Kanah, Frank	35	Cowherd	Columbia	13		18/7/9	10		1826
Kanah, Frank	37	Cowherd	Columbia	15		11/17/04	17		1828
Kanah, Frank			Ft. Vancouver			(15/16/3)	17/0/0		1831
Kanah, Frank			Ft. Vancouver			(13/4/1)	7/1/08	Returned to Oahu 1831	1832
Kanai		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			14/7/0	27/0/0		1847
Kancrahoah, Joshua			Columbia			185/0		Transfer from NWC	1821
Kané		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kané		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			4/19/0	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Kanelupu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	9/16/3	30		1841
Kanelupu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Kanelupu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			23/0/0	Steward	1847
Kanelupu		Laborer	Wallamette Falls		1850	(13/1/2)	17/0/0	Willamette Falls Mill	1849
Kaneoukai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	16/16/3	30		1841
Kaneoukai		Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	5	1847		17/0/0	Woodcutter Steamer Beaver	1844
Kaneoukai						1/17/07		Died 1848 Vancouver	1849
Kanoha		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kanoha						3/5/1			1849
Kanohe		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				20/0/0		1851
Kanoho						(\$165.52)		Deserted 1851	1853
Kanomé		Middleman	Ft. Van. General Charges			13/18/2	27/0/0		1847
Kanomé						19/14/1			1849
Kanomé		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0		1851
Kanooe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Kanooe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5			12/3/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Kapahi		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			12/18/0	27/0/0		1847
Kapahu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Kapahu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Kapahu						16/10/4		Deserted 1849	1849
Kapaua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1846		15/0/4	Discharged 31 May 1845	1844
Kapaua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Kapaua						1/9/1			1849
Kapoua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1846		17/0/0		1844
Kapoua		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	3	Gone		12/13/04	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846
Karæ		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	17/5/3	30		1841
Karæ		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		24/0/0		1844
Karehoua		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	22/15/4	30		1841
Karehoua		Middleman	Stikine	5	1845		19/0/0		1844
Karehoua		Laborer	Stikine	8		36/14/9	19/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Karehoua		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				20/0/0		1851
Karoooha		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	17/7/3	30		1841
Karoooha		Middleman	Stikine	5			19/0/0	Karooohu	1844
Karoooha		Laborer	Stikine	8		26/14/6	19/0/0		1847
Karoooha						1/11/04			1849
Karoooha		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				20/0/0		1851
Karreymoui		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27		1844
Karreymoui		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0	Karreymowie	1847
Karreymoui						11/10/07			1849
Karreymoui		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				6/13/04	Died 1850 Ft Van	1851
Kauai		Laborer	Ft. Langley			11/4/1	3/16/06	Died 21 Jul 1848 Victoria	1849
Kaulehelehe, W. R.		Laborer and Te	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1848		40/0/0		1846
Kaulehelehe, W. R.		Teacher	Ft. Van. General Charges	3	1848	(4/17/9)	40/0/0		1847
Kaulehelehe, W. R.						21/16/5			1849
Kaulehelehe, W. R.		Teacher	Ft. Vancouver Depot				50/0/0		1851
Kaulehelele, W. R.		Teacher	Vancouver	9		\$125.06	\$240.00	Kaulehelele	1853
Kaulehelele, W. R.		Teacher	Vancouver	10			50/0/0	Kaulohelele	1854
Kaumaia		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3			27/0/0		1847
Kawero, Tom			Ft. Vancouver			(22/14/4)	15/0/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Dec 1834	1835
Kaypriou			Discharged			35/5/0		Discharged Oahu	1841
Kea		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851	11/5/06	27/0/0		1849
Kea		Laborer	Thompsons River				27/0/0	Deserted 1851	1851
Keahanale		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			14/7/0	27/0/0	Kea_Hauale	1847
Keahanele						19/18/7		Keahanelé	1849
Keahanele		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0		1851
Keahi		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	20/1/6	30		1841
Keahi		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1847		17/0/0		1844
Keahi		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7	Gone		3/2/04	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Keala		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Keala		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Keala						(7/19/4)		Deserted 1849	1849
Kealoha		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			18/16/7	27/0/0		1847
Kealoha						15/14/7			1849
Keave		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	24/14/6	30	Keavé	1841
Keave		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1845		27/0/0		1844
Keave (a)		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Keave (a)		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	8	1848	32/3/8	17/0/0	Keavé (a)	1847
Keave (a)		Laborer	Ft. Victoria			18/17/3	8/14/09	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Keave (a)		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1852		20/0/0		1851
Keave, Tom		Middleman	Snake Party	3	1845		17/0/0		1844
Keave, Tom		Laborer	Snake Country	4		28/16/3	17/0/0		1847
Keave, Tom		Laborer	New Caledonia		1849	25/15/8	17/0/0	Deserted 1849 Ft Langley	1849
Keave, Tom		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0		1851
Keavehaccou		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Keavehaccou		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually	4		12/6/05	17/0/0	Keavé_haccou	1847
Keavehaccou						7/3/10		Keavé_haccou	1849
Keavehaccou		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				20/0/0		1851
Keavehaccou		Laborer	Nisqually			(\$47.54)	\$96.00	Kearè-hauou	1853
Keavehaccou		Laborer	Nisqually	10	1855		20/0/0	Keauio Hauiou	1854
Kee		Laborer	Ft. Colville	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kee						13/11/7			1849
Kee		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0		1851
Keekaneh			Columbia			69/2	576	French Livres	1822
Keekaneh						69/2		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Keekaneh			Columbia			(71/12)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Keekaneh	27		Columbia	8		3/2/11	10	Keekanneh	1824
Keekaneh	29		Columbia	10		2/1/09	10		1826
Keekaneh	31	Laborer	Columbia	12		(3/4/5)	17		1828
Keekaneh			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(11/3/2)	17/0/0	Keekany	1831
Keekaneh			Ft. Vancouver			(16/16/9)	17/0/0	Keekany	1832
Keekaneh			Ft. Vancouver			(23/16/10)	17/0/0		1833
Keekaneh			Ft. Vancouver			(12/1/2)	17/0/0		1835
Keekaneh	38	Middleman	Columbia	17	1839	8/9/08		Keekanneh	1836
Keekaneh		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	22	1843	29/15/1	17		1841
Keekaneh		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	24	1845		17/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Keekaneh		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	26	Died		4/5/0	Died 31 Aug 1846 Ft Van	1846
Keharoha		Middleman	Snake party	2	1843	9/8/05	30		1841
Keharoha		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Keharou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	18/0/8	30		1841
Keharou		Laborer	Stikine	8		36/1/7	8/8/10	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Keharoua		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	2	1843		30		1841
Keharoua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0	Kehoroua	1844
Keharoua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0	Kehoroua	1847
Keharoua						2/7/06			1849
Kehela		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1847		27/0/0		1844
Kehou						2/19/09			1849

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Kehou		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				20/0/0		1851
Kehou						(\$133.26)		Deserted 1851	1853
Kehow		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kekahuna		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Kekoa		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			14/7/0	27/0/0		1847
Kekoa						20/16/11			1849
Kekou		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0		1851
Keo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Keo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1848		17/0/0		1847
Keo						5/9/09			1849
Keroha		Middleman	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	2	1843	19/10/3	30		1841
Kikapalalé		Laborer	New Caledonia	3	1848		27/0/0	Kikapalalé	1847
Kikapalalé						16/8/6		Kikapalalé	1849
Kikapalalé		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0	Kikupalale	1851
Kimo		Stoker	Steamer Beaver				15/8/4	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849
Kimo		Laborer	Ft. Rupert				37/10/0		1851
Kiona		Stoker	Steamer Beaver	3	1848	31/10/0	30/0/0		1847
Kiona						36/15/5			1849
Kiona		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				27/0/0		1851
Koa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	16/2/7	30		1841
Koemi		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			13/8/6	27/0/0		1847
Koemi						20/3/9			1849
Koemi		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				20/0/0		1851
Konea		Middleman	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	2	1843	19/9/5	30		1841
Konea		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Konea		Laborer	Cowelitz				27/0/0		1847
Konea		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm		1850	6/0/7	27/0/0	Deserted 1849	1849
Koneva		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843		30		1841
Koneva		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Koneva		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7	Gone		3/2/04	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Korhooa		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	19/13/6	30		1841
Korhooa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		10/7/09	Returned to Oahu 10 Jan 1845	1844
Korhooa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7	1848		27/0/0		1847
Korhooa						(12/7/11)		Died 1848 Ft Van	1849
Kuana						5/12/06			1849
Kuana		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0		1851
Kuawaa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Kuawaa		Laborer	Ft. Simpson	5	1848	12/1/09	19/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Kuawaa						5/7/2			1849
Kuawaa		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0		1851
Kuluaelehua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Kuluaelehua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			22/14/1	Employed by Dr. McLoughlin	1847
Kuluaelehua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot			1/6/1		Retired Columbia 1849	1849
Kupahi						21/17/11			1849
Kupahi		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				20/0/0		1851
Kupahi		Laborer	Nisqually	7		\$75.12	\$48.00	Discharged 1853	1853
Kupihea		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3			27/0/0	Employed by Dr. McLoughlin	1847
Kupihea						22/6/11		Deserted 1849	1849
Laeoitte		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Laeoitte		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			3/6/1	Died 10 Aug 1847 Ft Van	1847
Lahaina			Ft. Van General Charges			(19/12/5)	18/0/0		1831
Lahaina			Ft. Simpson			(25/12/7)	18/0/0		1832
Lahaina			Ft. Vancouver			(8/5/0)	18/0/0		1833
Lahaina			Ft. Vancouver			(6/17/3)	17/0/0		1835
Lahaina			Columbia			(1/9/8)		Discharged Oahu	1836
Lahowbalow		Middleman	Ft. Simpson	3	1842	29/17/3	30	Discharged Oahu 1842	1841
Lamb, Joe		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	24/0/3	30		1841
Lamb, Joe		Middleman	Stikine	5	1846		19/0/0		1844
Lamb, Joe		Steward	Steamer Beaver	7	Gone		10/0/7	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846
Laowala		Middleman	Ft. Langley	3	1842	13/17/7	30		1841
Laowala		Middleman	Ft. Langley	6			17/0/0		1844
Laowala		Laborer	Ft. Langley	9		9/16/05	17/0/0		1847
Laowala						9/16/05		Died 1848 Nisqually	1849
Leauki, Homy						(\$84.34)		Deserted 1851	1853
Like		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Like		Laborer	Ft. Colville	4			17/0/0		1847
Like						8/1/08			1849
Like		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1852		20/0/0		1851
Like		Laborer	Colville	10	left	(\$23.80)	\$44.27	Retired 1853	1853
Lohiau		Middleman	Ft. Van. General Charges	2	1843	18/13/3	30	Died 1 June 1842 Ft Van	1841
Long, Joseph		Middleman	Columbia	2	1838	(0/16/6)			1836
Long, Joseph		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	7	1842	12/18/05	17		1841
Long, Joseph		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	10			7/13/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Lowpirani		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	24/1/4		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Maalo		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Maalo		Laborer	Cowlitz	4			17/0/0	Ma-alo	1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Maalo		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm			12/4/3	17/0/0		1849
Maalo		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1851		6/6/08	Deserted 1850	1851
Maayi						3/18/09			1849
Mackaina			Columbia			57/2	576	French Livres	1822
Mackaina						57/2		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Mackaina			Columbia			50/8	453/6	French Livres	1823
Mackaina	29		Columbia	8		9/16/0	10		1824
Mackaina	31		Columbia	10		10/9/04	12		1826
Mackaina	33	Laborer	Columbia	12		8/8/0	17		1828
Mackaina			Ft. Vancouver			(14/2/2)	17/0/0		1831
Mackaina			Ft. Vancouver			(16/14/9)	17/0/0	Makaina	1832
Mackaina			Ft. Vancouver			(28/3/4)	17/0/0		1833
Mackaina			Ft. Vancouver			(14/2/7)	17/0/0		1835
Mackaina		Middleman	Columbia	20		(1/12/5)		Returned to Oahu 1836	1836
Mafenoa			Ft. Van General Charges			(15/1/5)	30/0/0		1831
Mafenoa			Ft. Langley			(29/16/8)	30/0/0		1832
Mafenoa			Ft. Langley			(35/2/3)	30/0/0		1833
Mafenoa			Ft. Vancouver			(9/14/0)	17/0/0		1835
Mafenoa		Middleman	Columbia	7		(1/9/0)			1836
Mafenoa			Sundry Accounts					Dead	1841
Mahou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Mahou		Laborer	New Caledonia	4			19/0/0		1847
Mahou						19/4/4			1849
Mahou		Laborer	Schooner Cadboro				20/0/0		1851
Mahoy		Laborer	Steamer Beaver		1851	11/18/10	27/0/0		1849
Mahoy		Middleman	Ft. Rupert		1851		27/0/0		1851
Mahoy (B)		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843		30		1841
Mahoy (B)		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		3/10/10	Died 12 Aug 1844 Cowlitz Farm	1844
Mahoy, Bill		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1842	16/2/10	17		1841
Mahoy, Bill		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1846		17/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Mahoy, Bill		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	10	Gone		3/2/04	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Mahoy, Jimmy			Ft. Vancouver			(22/14/8)	30/0/0		1833
Mahoy, Jimmy			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(19/3/0)	23/0/0	Disabled	1835
Mahoy, Jimmy		Middleman	Columbia	5		18/3/9			1836
Mahoy, Jimmy			Deceased					Died 1841	1841
Makai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Makai		Laborer	Snake Party	3	1847		27/0/0		1846
Makai		Laborer	Snake Country	4		11/0/2	17/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Makai						20/1/7			1849
Makaoura		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843		25		1841
Makaoura		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Mamala		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Mamala		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1847		12/3/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
MamoKaKay			Columbia			(334/4)		French Livres	1821
Manene						8/10/06			1849
Manero			Ft. Van General Charges			(18/17/8)	30/0/0		1831
Manero			Ft. Vancouver			(13/5/2)	30/0/0		1832
Manero			Ft. Vancouver			(11/16/6)	17/0/0		1833
Mano		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			2/14/0	Returned to Oahu 6 July 1847	1847
Manoa, Joe		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(27/14/9)	30/0/0		1833
Manoa, Joe			Ft. Vancouver			(32/3/7)	30/0/0		1835
Manoa, Joe		Middleman	Columbia	5	1838	(1/2/6)			1836
Manoa, Joe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	10	1844	14/10/5	27/0/0		1841
Manoa, Joe		Middleman	Snake Party	13	1846		17/0/0		1844
Manoa, Joe		Laborer	Snake Party	15	1848		17/0/0		1846
Manoa, Joe		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	16	1848		17/0/0		1847
Manoa, Joe						19/0/11			1849
Manuka, Jim		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(17/16/10)	30/0/0		1833
Manuka, Jim			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(35/6/9)	23/0/0	Disabled	1835
Manuka, Jim		Middleman	Columbia	5		(7/15/7)			1836
Manuka, Jim		Middleman	Southern Party	10	1843	9/11/1	17		1841
Manuka, Jim		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	13	1845		17/0/0		1844
Manuka, Jim		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	16			9/8/11	Died 1847 Ft Van	1847
Markus, Harry			Ft. Van General Charges			(13/12/9)	30/0/0		1831
Markus, Harry			Ft. Vancouver			(25/18/9)	12/16/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Nov 1831	1832
Marro		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	2	1843		30		1841
Marro		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	1847		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Marro		Laborer	Cowelitz	7			17/0/0		1847
Marro		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm			9/17/11	17/0/0		1849
Marrouna			Columbia			(30/18)	576	French Livres	1822
Marrouna						(30/18)		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Marrouna			Columbia			(115/6)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Marrouna	26		Columbia	8		3/1/11	10		1824
Marrouna	28		Columbia	10		4/18/0	10		1826
Marrouna	30	Laborer	Columbia	12		1/14/1	10		1828
Marrouna			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(11/3/3)	17/0/0	Marroua	1831

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Marrouna			Ft. Van. Indian Trade			(12/13/1)	17/0/0		1832
Marrouna			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(16/5/0)	17/0/0	Morrowna	1833
Marrouna			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(16/7/5)	17/0/0	Marouna	1835
Marrouna		Middleman	Columbia	11		(1/17/5)			1836
Marrouna			Deceased			0/4/11		Died 1840	1841
Martin, Harry								Discharged Oahu same season	1836
Matté			Ft. Van General Charges			(24/0/6)	30/0/0		1831
Matté			Ft. Simpson			(24/19/8)	30/0/0		1832
Matté			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(39/10/7)	30/0/0		1833
Matté			Ft. McLoughlin			(13/11/8)	17/0/0		1835
Matté	38	Middleman	Columbia	7		4/3/06		Matti	1836
Maueui		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Mauo		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Mauo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			2/14/0	Returned to Oahu 6 Jul 1847	1847
May_ago		Apprentice	Ft. Langley			4/6/04	8/0/0		1847
Mehuila		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848		27/0/0		1847
Mikapako		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1846		9/7/0	Discharged 31 May 1845	1844
Mikapako		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Mikapako						8/12/07			1849
Mikiloa		Middleman	California Establishment	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Mikiloa		Middleman	California Establishment	4			27/0/0	Mikiloah	1844
Mokowhehe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Mokowhehe		Middleman	Ft. Langley	4			17/0/0		1844
Mokowhehe		Labor	Ft. Langley	6	Gone		8/10/0	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846
Moku		Middleman	Southern Party	5	1842	(4/0/11)	17		1841
Moku		Laborer	Snake Country	3	1848		23/8/7		1847
Moku						31/2/10			1849
Moku		Laborer	Snake Country				10/0/0	Died 1851 Snake Country	1851
Momuto, George			Naval Department			(20/0/6)	30/0/0		1832
Momuto, George		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(19/4/5)	30/0/0		1833
Moo		Middleman				7/14/06			1841
Moo		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot				9/0/0	Returned to Oahu 1844	1844
Moreno, Tom			Ft. Vancouver			(19/5/5)	30/0/0		1833
Moreno, Tom			Ft. Vancouver			(22/10/1)	30/0/0		1835
Moreno, Tom	30	Middleman	Columbia	5	1839	7/17/3			1836
Moreno, Tom			Discharged			(58/0/3)		Discharged Oahu	1841
Moses			Discharged			(10/10/6)		Discharged Oahu	1841
Moumouto			Columbia			80	576	French Livres	1822

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Moumouto						80		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Moumouto			Columbia			133/2	453/6	French Livres	1823
Moumouto	27	Sawyer	Columbia	8		8/5/09	10		1824
Moumouto	29	Sawyer	Columbia	10		6/0/3	17		1826
Moumouto	31	Sawyer	Columbia	12		16/1/3	17		1828
Moumouto			Ft. Vancouver			(12/19/4)	17/0/0	Moumouton	1831
Moumouto			Ft. Vancouver			(20/4/4)	17/0/0	Momouton	1832
Moumouto			Ft. Vancouver			(31/7/6)	17/0/0	Moumouton	1833
Moumouto			Ft. Vancouver			(15/8/3)	17/0/0		1835
Moumouto		Middleman	Columbia	20	1837	0/2/17		Moumouton	1836
Moumouto		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	25		3/3/05	17	Momouton	1841
Moumouto		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	28	1845		17/0/0	Sawyer	1844
Moumouto						9/2/07		Retired 1847 Ft Van	1849
Mowa						16/3/5			1849
Mowee		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Mowee		Laborer	Cowelitz	4			17/0/0		1847
Mowee		Laborer	Cowelitz Farm				17/0/0		1849
Mowee		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				3/6/08	Died 1850 Ft Van	1851
Mytie		Middleman	Columbia	2	1838	(3/14/11)			1836
Mytie			Discharged			17/9/7		Discharged Oahu	1841
Naharou		Middleman	Ft. Langley	2	1843	19/7/6	30		1841
Naharou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Naharou		Laborer	Snake Country	8		(0/10/9)	17/0/0	Nahaiou	1847
Naharou						5/2/08			1849
Naharou		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		20/0/0		1851
Naharou		Laborer	Snake Country	13	1854	(\$0.46)	\$58.58		1853
Naharou		Laborer	Snake Country	14			20/0/0	Deserted 1855	1854
Nahiuree		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	18/13/6	30	Died 1842	1841
Nahoa		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	1	1847		27/0/0	Umpqua Post	1844
Nahoa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Nahoa						9/1/10		Deserted 1849	1849
Nahoua		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	25/10/3	30		1841
Nahoua		Middleman	Stikine	5	1846		19/0/0		1844
Nahoua		Laborer	Stikine	8		27/15/4	8/8/10	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Nahoua		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually		1851	10/6/2	27/0/0		1849
Nahoua		Laborer	Ft. Rupert		1851		27/0/0		1851
Nahuaoleo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1846		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Nakahené		Middleman	Ft. Simpson	2	1843	21/2/0	3/2/06	Died 1841 Ft Simpson	1841

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Namacooeerooa		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	25/15/7	30	Namaaooaroua	1841
Namacooeerooa		Middleman	Snake Party	5			17/0/0		1844
Namacooeerooa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7	Gone		3/2/04	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Namaeerooua			Discharged			21/16/5		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Namahana			Ft. Van General Charges			21/7/2	18/0/0		1831
Namahana			Ft. Vancouver			(17/11/3)	18/0/0		1832
Namahana			Ft. Vancouver			(5/11/1)	18/0/0		1833
Namahana			Ft. Vancouver			(1/15/8)	8/11/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Dec 1834	1835
Namhallou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Namhallou		Laborer	New Caledonia	4			19/0/0		1847
Namhallou						24/11/6			1849
Namotto		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Namotto		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	4		15/15/1	10/13/04	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Namotto						11/0/3			1849
Namotto		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				11/5/2		1851
Napahay		Apprentice	Sch. Cadboro	3		4/9/09	9		1841
Napahay		Middleman	Ft. Nisqually	6	1845		17/0/0		1844
Napahay		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually	9		10/4/07	17/0/0		1847
Napahay						15/18/11			1849
Napahay		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				20/0/0		1851
Napoua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843		30/0/0		1841
Napoua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Napoua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			9/4/2		1847
Napuko, Harry			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(32/3/10)	30/0/0		1835
Napuko, Henry		Middleman	Columbia	3		(7/16/0)		Deserted Oct 1837 Monterey	1836
Naremarou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	20/17/9	30		1841
Naremarou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1846		3/17/11	Died 21 Aug 1844 Ft Van	1844
Narimma		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Narimma		Laborer	Stikine	4		30/10/4	19/0/0		1847
Narimma						6/13/07			1849
Narimma		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				12/9/11	Died 14 Jan 1851 Ft Simpson	1851
Narua			Discharged			25/9/9		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Nauka		Laborer	Snake Country	3	1848	31/8/3	17/0/0		1847
Nauka						15/6/0			1849
Naukana		Laborer	New Caledonia	3			27/0/0		1847
Naukana						27/15/2		Naukanna	1849
Nauvé		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Nehauoui		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Nelu		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	2	1848		14/5/0	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846
Nemani alias Taylor		Middleman	Columbia	2	1838	6/7/06		Numane or Taylor	1836
Nemani alias Taylor			Discharged			(26/4/2)		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Nemani alias Taylor		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	10	1845		27/0/0	Died 1845 Ft Van	1844
Neuanua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0		1844
Neuanua		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5			17/0/0	Newanna	1847
Niapalu		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually		1851	13/17/6	27/0/0	Neapalu or Niaupalu	1849
Niapalu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				19/7/3	Retired 1851	1851
Nickaloe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1842	14/17/9	17	Discharged Oahu 1842	1841
Nigre		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1843	49/17/4	17		1841
Nigre		Middleman	Snake Party	8	1845		17/0/0		1844
Nigre		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	11	1848		17/0/0		1847
Nigre						3/19/05			1849
Nigre		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				5/13/04	Died 1850 Ft Van	1851
Nihanoni		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	19/1/11	30		1841
Noah, Harry Bell			Columbia			(138/2)	576	French Livres	1821
Noah, Harry Bell			Columbia			(227/10)	576	French Livres	1822
Noah, Harry Bell			Columbia			(212/10)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Noah, Harry Bell	29		Columbia	11		(0/18/11)	10		1824
Noah, Harry Bell	31		Columbia	13		(0/2/11)	10		1826
Noah, Harry Bell	33	Laborer	Columbia	15		(0/1/2)	12		1828
Noah, Harry Bell			Ft. Vancouver			(11/1/4)	17/0/0		1831
Noah, Harry Bell			Ft. Vancouver			(5/13/4)	5/16/05	Died 30 Sept 1831 Ft Van	1832
Nohiau			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(36/10/10)	30/0/0		1835
Nohiau		Middleman	Columbia	3	1838	(4/19/11)			1836
Nohiau		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	8	1842	(6/16/4)	17		1841
Nohiau		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	11			17/0/0		1844
Nono		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	22/4/6	30		1841
Nono		Middleman	Stikine	5	1845		19/0/0		1844
Nono		Middleman	Stikine					Died 1846 Stikine	1846
Nooiuoune		Middleman	Sch. Cadboro	3	1842	27/17/11	30		1841
Noowow						11/4/2		Discharged Oahu 1842	1843
Nouhee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	21/2/1	30		1841
Nouhee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	1847		27/0/0		1844
Nouhee		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0		1847
Nouhee						5/9/1		Deserted 1849	1849
Nyoray, Peter		Middleman	California Establishment		1844	2/18/1	27/0/0		1841
Nyoray, Peter		Middleman	California Establishment	9			27/0/0		1844

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Ohea		Cooper	Ft. Langley		1851		20/0/0		1851
Ohia		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	6/16/09	30		1841
Ohia		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		24/0/0		1844
Ohia		Laborer	Ft. Langley	8		4/6/07	17/0/0		1847
Ohia		Laborer	Ft. Victoria Depot			4/3/05	8/14/09	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849
Ohpoonuy		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839	5/3/07			1836
Ohpoonuy		Middleman	Southern Party	6	1843	24/15/5	17		1841
Ohule		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1846		15/0/4	Terminated 31 May 1845	1844
Ohule		Laborer	New Caledonia	4			19/0/0	District Cook	1847
Ohule						1/5/10			1849
Ohule		laborer	Ft. Langley		1851		20/0/0		1851
Okaia		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	22/9/11	30		1841
Okaia		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Okaia		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	8	1848	33/9/3	17/0/0		1847
Okaia						18/16/1			1849
Okaia		Laborer	Ft. Victoria		1852		27/0/0		1851
Oketowa, Henry			Columbia			50/2	576	French Livres	1821
Olau		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	19/0/3	30		1841
Omai		Middleman	Ft. McLoughlin	2	1843	18/17/4	30		1841
Omai		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1846		17/0/0		1844
Opiaunui								Died 1854 Ft Van	1854
Opunui		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	22/2/4	30		1841
Opunui		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		24/0/0	Opunoui	1844
Opunui		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0		1847
Opunui (a)		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Farm			6/16/08	17/0/0		1849
Opunui (a)		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1852		20/0/0		1851
Opunui (a)		Laborer	Vancouver	8	left	\$16.48	\$55.23	Deserted 1853	1853
Oroheeay			Ft. Van General Charges			20/17/2	18/0/0		1831
Oroheeay			Ft. Simpson			(19/6/10)	18/0/0		1832
Oroheeay			Ft. Vancouver			(2/6/10)	18/0/0		1833
Oroheeay			Ft. Vancouver			(13/16/9)	17/0/0		1835
Oroheeay	24	Middleman	Columbia	7	1839	(1/15/9)			1836
Oroheeay	29	Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	7	1843	1/14/07	17		1841
Oroheeay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1845		5/13/04	Died 30 Sept 1844 Ft Van	1844
Oroheeay, Alexander						0/0/0			1849
Oroheeay, Alexander		Apprentice	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1852		8/0/0		1851
Oroora		Middleman	Columbia	2	1838	(1/1/2)		Oroua	1836
Oroora	30	Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	7	1842	8/12/2	17		1841

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Oroora		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	10	1846		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Oroora		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	12	Gone		3/2/04	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Orouku		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Farm		1850	12/1/08	17/0/0	Deserted 1849	1849
Ottehoh			Columbia			80/12	576	French Livres	1822
Ottehoh						80/12		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Ottehoh			Columbia			55/14	453/6	French Livres	1823
Ottehoh	27		Columbia	8		11/7/05	10		1824
Ottehoh	29		Columbia	10		12/7/3	12		1826
Ottehoh	31	Scullion	Columbia	12		3/17/3	17		1828
Ottehoh			Ft. Vancouver			(10/14/3)	17/0/0		1831
Ottehoh			Ft. Vancouver			(8/0/11)	7/1/08	Discharged Oahu 1 Nov 1831	1832
Ottehoh			Ft. Vancouver			(35/19/6)	22/3/4	Engaged Oahu 5 Sept 1832	1833
Ottehoh			Ft. McLoughlin			(18/17/0)	30/0/0		1835
Ottehoh	45	Middleman	Columbia			6/1/1			1836
Ottehoh			Discharged			2/6/3		Discharged Oahu 1839/40	1841
Oulu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	19/2/4	30		1841
Oulu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1846		27/0/0		1844
Outii		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot				9/0/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Paaylay			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/17/0)	18/0/0	Pa-ay-lay	1831
Paaylay			Ft. Simpson			(27/9/4)	18/0/0		1832
Paaylay			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(17/15/5)	18/0/0	Pa-ay-lay	1833
Paaylay			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(10/11/5)	17/0/0		1835
Paaylay		Middleman	Columbia	7		7/5/1			1836
Paaylay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1842	(12/15/9)	17		1841
Paaylay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1845		17/0/0		1844
Paaylay		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	18			17/0/0	Steersman	1847
Paaylay		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1850	(14/11/8)	17/0/0	Steersman	1849
Pahwack			Columbia			(90/4)	576	Pahwack, Racoon	1821
Pahwack			Columbia			145/16	576	French Livres	1822
Pahwack			Columbia			275/16	453/6	French Livres	1823
Pahwack	29	Middleman	Columbia	8					1824
Pahwack						21/12/5		Died 1825/26	1828
Pakee			Ft. Van General Charges			(18/18/5)	18/0/0		1831
Pakee			Ft. Simpson			(28/7/4)	18/0/0		1832
Pakee			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(15/12/9)	18/0/0		1833
Pakee			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(12/17/5)	10/0/0	Disabled	1835
Pakee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	14/16/9	30		1841
Pakee		Middleman	Ft. Nez Percés	5	1845		17/0/0		1844

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Pakee		Laborer	Ft. Simpson	8		2/6/1	19/0/0		1847
Pakee						8/11/3			1849
Pakee		Laborer	Brig Mary Dare				20/0/0		1851
Pakeokeo		Laborer	Thompson's River	3	1848	52/17/1	27/0/0		1847
Pakeokeo						34/18/4			1849
Palupalu		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	2	1843	30/15/2	30		1841
Paparee, Jim		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(15/6/10)	30/0/0		1833
Paparee, Jim			Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(19/12/9)	30/0/0		1835
Paparee, Jim		Middleman	Columbia	5		22/7/0			1836
Paparee, Jim			Discharged			4/12/2		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Paparee, Jim		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	13	1845		27/0/0		1844
Paparee, Jim		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	14			17/0/0	Papara	1847
Paparee, Jim						7/8/11			1849
Paraou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	17/15/4	30		1841
Paraou		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Parker, George			Naval Department			(19/0/4)	30/0/0		1832
Parker, George		Middleman	Columbia	6	1837	15/1/11			1836
Patele		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Paynee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1846		9/7/11	Discharged 31 May 1845	1844
Paynee		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0	Died 20 May 1848 Ft Van	1847
Peainnau, Joe		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839				1836
Peainnau, Joe		Middleman	Ft. Langley	9			17/0/0	Peaenneau, Joe	1844
Peainnau, Joe		Laborer	Ft. Langley	12		4/11/07	17/0/0	Peainneau, Joe	1847
Peainnau, Joe						3/3/1		Peaennau, Joe	1849
Peainnau, Joe		Laborer	Ft. Victoria				20/0/0	Peaennau, Joe	1851
Pee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Pee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			12/19/06	Returned to Oahu 1844	1844
Peeo		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Peeo		Laborer	Barque Columbia	4		16/18/4	17/0/0		1847
Peeo						15/5/8			1849
Peeo		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0		1851
Peeohpeeoh			Columbia			(21/2)	576	Peeopeeoh	1822
Peeohpeeoh						(21/12)		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Peeohpeeoh			Columbia			(155/16)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Peeohpeeoh	27	Sawyer	Columbia	8		(0/8/0)	10	Peeopeeoh	1824
Peeohpeeoh	29	Sawyer	Columbia	10		(1/10/9)	17	Peeopeeoh	1826
Peeohpeeoh	31	Sawyer	Columbia	12		6/2/2	17	Peeopeeoh	1828
Peeohpeeoh			Ft. Langley			(16/10/10)	17/0/0		1831

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Peeohpeeoh			Ft. Langley			(15/16/5)	17/0/0		1832
Peeohpeeoh			Ft. Langley			(18/4/3)	17/0/0		1833
Peeohpeeoh			Fort Langley			(11/2/7)	17/0/0		1835
Peeohpeeoh	39	Middleman	Columbia	20		(4/12/5)		Peeopeeoh	1836
Peeohpeeoh	44	Middleman	Ft. Langley	25		(0/0/3)	17	Peeopeeoh	1841
Peeohpeeoh		Middleman	Ft. Langley	28			17/0/0		1844
Peeohpeeoh		Cooper	Ft. Langley	30			20/0/0		1846
Peeohpeeoh		Cooper	Ft. Langley	31		22/1/6	20/0/0		1847
Peeohpeeoh						25/13/0			1849
Peeohpeeoh		Cooper	Ft. Langley				20/0/0		1851
Peter		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	19/16/9	30		1841
Peter		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	7			7/13/0	Returned to Oahu 12 Nov 1844	1844
Plomeu, Henry			Ft. Vancouver			(19/16/4)	17	Plomer, Henry	1831
Plomeu, Henry			Ft. Vancouver			(15/10/9)	7/1/08	Returned to Oahu 1 Nov 1831	1832
Ploughboy Joe			Naval Department			(14/1/6)	30/0/0		1832
Ploughboy Joe			Ft. Vancouver			(10/0/1)	17/0/0		1835
Ploughboy Joe		Middleman	Columbia	6	1837	(3/19/5)			1836
Ploughboy Joe	30	Middleman	Southern Party	11	1843	5/6/11	17		1841
Ploughboy Joe		Middleman	California Establishment	14			17/0/0		1844
Ploughboy Joe		Laborer	Snake Country	17	1848	30/5/11	17/0/0		1847
Ploughboy Joe						27/3/1			1849
Poah, Paul			Columbia			195/2		French Livres	1821
Poonoroora		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Poonoroora		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Poonoroora						13/5/9		Deserted 1849	1849
Poopanehé		Middleman	Ft. Van General Charges	5			10/4/09	Returned to Oahu 10 Jan 1845	1844
Poopoo		Middleman	Nisqually	2	1843	10/12/06	30		1841
Popoay			Ft. Van General Charges			(18/19/4)	30/0/0		1831
Popoay			Ft. Simpson			(23/10/1)	30/0/0		1832
Popoay			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(26/5/8)	30/0/0		1833
Popoay			Ft. McLoughlin			(13/11/5)	17/0/0		1835
Popoay			Columbia			(0/15/9)		Discharged Oahu 1836	1836
Pora			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/13/0)	30/0/0		1831
Pora			Ft. Simpson			(22/12/0)	30/0/0		1832
Pora			Ft. Vancouver			(24/10/0)	3/15/0	Discharged Oahu 16 Jul 1832.	1833
Pouhow		Middleman	Stikine	2	1843	23/4/5	30		1841
Pouhow		Middleman	Stikine	5	1846		19/0/0		1844
Pouhow		Labor	Stikine	7	Gone		10/0/7	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Pourere			Discharged			14/0/6		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Powrownie, Joseph			Columbia			567/8		French Livres	1821
Provero			Ft. Van General Charges			(20/8/10)	30/0/0	Prorero	1831
Provero			Ft. Vancouver			(15/11/9)	30		1832
Provero			Ft. Van Indian Trade			(36/8/4)	30/0/0		1833
Puahele, Jim			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(33/7/1)	27/0/0		1835
Puahele, Jim		Middleman	Columbia	3		1/10/10			1836
Puahele, Jim			Discharged			20/12/5		Discharged 1841	1841
Puili		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Pulhilu, George			Ft. Van General Charges			(23/12/3)	30/0/0		1831
Pulhilu, George			Ft. Simpson			(23/15/1)	30/0/0		1832
Pulhilu, George			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(57/12/1)	30/0/0	Puhilu, George	1833
Punebaka		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	25/11/3	30		1841
Punebaka		Middleman	Snake Party	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Punebaka		Laborer	Cowlitz	8	1849		27/0/0		1847
Punebaka		Laborer	Cowlitz Farm			12/2/07	27/0/0		1849
Punebaka		Laborer	Ft. Simpson				20/0/0		1851
Rahilu, Columbia			Ft. Van General Charges			(17/19/6)	13/18/8		1831
Rahilu, Columbia			Ft. Vancouver			(10/15/10)	6/5/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Nov	1832
Railaima		Laborer	Ft. Langley	2	1848		11/5/0	Died 31 Oct 1846 Ft Langley	1846
Rappa, Moniday		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(18/18/10)	30/0/0		1833
Rappa, Moniday			Ft. McLoughlin			(38/0/8)	30/0/0		1835
Rappa, Moniday		Middleman	Columbia	5		(0/5/2)			1836
Rappa, Moniday			Discharged			0/2/9		Discharged Oahu 1839/40	1841
Ratline		Middleman	Ft. Van Indian Trade	2	1846		27/0/0	Ft. George	1844
Ratline						4/12/08		Died 1847 Ft Van	1847
Roots, Jim		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		26/5/0		1841
Roots, Jim		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			12/19/06	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Ropeyarn, Jack		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839	6/16/0			1836
Ropeyarn, Jack		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	6	1842	46/11/0	17		1841
Ropeyarn, Jack		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	9	1846		17/0/0		1844
Ropeyarn, Jack		Cook	Ft. Vancouver Depot	11	1848		22/0/0		1846
Ropeyarn, Jack		Cook	Ft. Vancouver Depot	12	1848		22/0/0		1847
Ropeyarn, Jack		Cook	Wallamette Falls		1850	9/6/0	17/0/0	Retired Columbia 1849	1849
Sam		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	22/13/11	30		1841
Sam		Middleman	Ft. Victoria	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Samuhumu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	18/7/1	30		1841
Samuhumu		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1847		17/0/0		1844

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Samuhumu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0		1847
Samuhumu						(3/6/2)			1849
Shaving		Middleman	Ft. Nez Percés	2	1843	18/0/11	30		1841
Shaving		Stoker	Steamer Beaver	5	1845		30/0/0		1844
Spunyarn			Ft. Van General Charges			(18/17/4)	18/0/0		1831
Spunyarn			Ft. Colville			(18/17/9)	18/0/0		1832
Spunyarn			Ft. Colville			(9/6/1)	18/0/0		1833
Spunyarn			Fort Nez Percés			(12/1/9)	17/0/0		1835
Spunyarn		Middleman	Columbia	7		11/17/1			1836
Spunyarn		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1843	(40/11/10)	17		1841
Spunyarn		Cooper	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1845		20/0/0		1844
Spunyarn		Cooper	Ft. Vancouver Depot	18			20/0/0		1847
Spunyarn						8/9/08			1849
Spunyarn		Cooper	Ft. Vancouver Depot				30/0/0		1851
Spunyarn		Cooper				\$7.34	\$5.60	Died 1853 Ft Van	1853
Taeenai		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	18/12/10	30		1841
Taeenai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Tahako		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	20/18/7	30		1841
Tahako		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1846		17/0/0		1844
Tahako		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1848		17/0/0		1847
Tahako						(2/3/4)			1849
Tahako		Laborer	Thompsons River				20/0/0		1851
Tahanoe			Ft. Van General Charges			(26/0/10)	30/0/0	Tahanoi	1831
Tahanoe			Ft. Simpson			(18/19/10)	30/0/0		1832
Tahanoe			Ft. Vancouver			(23/14/4)	3/15/0	Discharged Oahu 16 Jul 1832	1833
Taharpee		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	22/7/2	30		1841
Taheenou		Middleman	Ft. Langley	2	1843	21/6/9	30		1841
Taheenou		Middleman	Ft. Langley	5			17/0/0		1844
Taheenou		Laborer	Ft. Langley	7	Gone		8/19/05	Returned to Oahu 10 Dec 1846	1846
Taheerina		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	19/9/8	30		1841
Tahenna		Laborer	Stikine	4		6/3/06	19/0/0		1847
Tahenna						(0/7/5)			1849
Tahenna		Laborer	Brig Mary Dare		1851		20/0/0		1851
Taherina		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17		1844
Taherina		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0	Taheerina	1847
Taherina						1/17/09			1849
Taherina		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		11/13/04	Deserted 1851	1851
Taheuna		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Tahouay		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	24/12/8	30		1841
Tahouay		Middleman	Stikine	5	1845		19/0/0		1844
Tahouay		Laborer	Stikine	8	1848	12/12/0	19/0/0		1847
Tahouay						8/1/06			1849
Tahouay		Middleman	Ft. Simpson				20/0/0		1851
Tahouna		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Tahouna		Laborer	Thompson's River	4			17/0/0		1847
Tahouna						37/1/4			1849
Tai			Ft. Langley			(17/8/3)	30/0/0		1831
Tai			Ft. Langley			(29/8/11)	30/0/0	Tahi	1832
Tai			Ft. Langley			(37/12/9)	30/0/0	Ta I	1833
Tai			Fort Langley			(14/19/3)	17/0/0		1835
Tai		Middleman	Columbia	7		(2/8/0)		TaJ or Tal	1836
Tai		Middleman	Ft. Langley	12		(1/14/11)	17		1841
Tai		Middleman	Ft. Langley	15			17/0/0		1844
Tai		Laborer	Ft. Langley	18		(0/2/3)	17/0/0		1847
Tai						(2/10/9)		Died 1848 Victoria	1849
Taianna, Jim			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(32/12/2)	27/0/0		1835
Taianui, Jim		Middleman	Columbia	3		(2/14/8)			1836
Talao		Middleman	Snake Party	5		39/3/11	8/2/11	Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Tamaherey		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0	Sawmill	1844
Tamaherey		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			19/18/3	Tamhery	1847
Tamaherey		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot			37/18/1		Retired Columbia 1849 Tamhur	1849
Tamoree		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(24/5/2)	30/0/0		1833
Tamoree			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(29/17/10)	30/0/0	Tamoree, Joe	1835
Tamoree		Middleman	Columbia	5	1837	10/11/08		Discharged Oahu 1837	1836
Tamoree, George			Ft. Vancouver			(14/17/5)	18/0/0		1835
Tamoree, George			Columbia			(0/10/0)		Discharged Oahu 1836	1836
Tanero			Ft. Van General Charges			(19/14/10)	30/0/0		1831
Tanero			Ft. Simpson			(24/5/4)	30/0/0		1832
Tanero			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(37/13/0)	30/0/0		1833
Tanero			Ft. McLoughlin			(13/1/4)	10/0/0	Disabled	1835
Taoutoo		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	5	1843	30/18/4	17		1841
Taoutoo		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1845		17/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Taoutoo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	11	1849		2/14/0	Returned to Oahu 6 July 1847	1847
Tapou, Joe		Middleman	Nisqually	2	1843	8/19/04	30	Tapow, Joe	1841
Tapou, Joe		Middleman	Ft. Nisqually	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Tapou, Joe		Shepherd	Ft. Nisqually	8	1848	44/0/7	17/0/0		1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Tapou, Joe						42/18/4			1849
Tapou, Joe		Laborer	Ft. Nisqually				25/0/0		1851
Tapou, Joe		Laborer				\$32.48	\$105.60		1853
Tapou, Joe		Laborer	Nisqually	15			22/0/0	Deserted 1855	1854
Taroua		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Taroua		Laborer	Ft. Van Indian Trade	4			6/7/06	Returned to Oahu 1847	1847
Tarpaulin		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	2	1846		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Tarpaulin		Laborer	Ft. Victoria	5	1848	27/6/5	7/11/1	Returned to Oahu 10 Nov 1847	1847
Tarpaulin		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1850	7/8/11	17/0/0	Engaged Vancouver Oct 1848	1849
Tarpaulin						(\$19.58)		Retired Columbia 1852	1853
Tatooa		Middleman	Snake Party	5		46/15/10	8/2/11	Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
Tatooa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Tatooa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Tatooa						20/19/10		Deserted 1849	1849
Tatouira			Columbia			(20/0)	576	French Livres	1822
Tatouira						(20/0)		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Tatouira			Columbia			96/10	453/6	French Livres	1823
Tatouira	27		Columbia	8		10/3/3	10	Died 1824-5	1824
Tayapapa		Middleman	Snake Party	2	1843	(2/10/0)	17		1841
Tayapapa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Tayapapa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1848		9/2/3	Died 13 Dec 1847 Ft Van	1847
Tayba			Ft. Van General Charges			(22/15/9)	30/0/0	Taybá	1831
Tayba			Ft. Simpson			(21/10/9)	30/0/0		1832
Tayba			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(37/16/7)	30/0/0		1833
Taylor, William			Discharged			0/0/10			1841
Teaheererey		Middleman	Ft. Langley	2	1843	17/0/4	30		1841
Teaheererey		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0	Cowlitz Farm Tuahurerey	1844
Teaheererey		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0	Teeaaheerery	1847
Teaheererey						10/14/10		Teeaaheerery	1849
Teela		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839				1836
Teela		Middleman	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	6		47/1/10	17		1841
Teela		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	9			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Tekowe		Middleman	Cowlitz Farm	1	1844		27/0/0		1841
Tekowe		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	1846		27/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Tekowe		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	6	Gone		8/10/0	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Terecaepou		Laborer	Ft. Van. General Charges			13/18/4	27/0/0		1847
Terecaepou						5/11/05		Tereapou	1849
Terecaepou		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0	Tereapou	1851

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Terepuena		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	20/11/2	30		1841
Terepuena		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0	Teupoena	1844
Terepuena		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8			17/0/0	Terepoena	1847
Terepuena						(3/5/5)			1849
Thomas, John		Middleman	Ft. Taku	2	1843	25/0/2	30		1841
Thomas, John		Middleman	Ft. Victoria	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu 23 Nov 1844	1844
Tiainno		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	3	1842	31/15/4	30	Discharged Oahu 1842	1841
Timeoy			Ft. Van General Charges			(19/6/10)	30/0/0	Time-oy	1831
Timeoy			Ft. Simpson			(23/0/10)	30/0/0		1832
Timeoy			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(24/14/9)	30/0/0	Time-oy	1833
Timeoy			Ft. McLoughlin			(13/17/6)	17/0/0		1835
Timeoy			Columbia			(2/12/8)		Discharged Oahu 1836	1836
Timeoy, B		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839	4/19/09			1836
Timeoy, B		Middleman	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	6		36/13/8	17		1841
Timeoy, B		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	9			17/0/0	Umpqua Post	1844
Timeoy, B		Laborer	Ft. Van. Indian Trade	12			17/0/0	Timioy, B	1847
Timeoy, B						8/7/10			1849
Toheru		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot				10/2/06	Returned to Oahu 1844	1844
Toi-o-foi			Ft. Van General Charges			(23/7/8)	30/0/0		1831
Toi-o-foi			Ft. Vancouver			(31/17/4)	30/0/0	Toi ofoi	1832
Toi-o-foi		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(56/3/8)	30/0/0		1833
Tom		Middleman	Columbia	1	1839	5/3/07			1836
Tommo		Middleman	Snake Party	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Tommo		Laborer	Snake Party	3	1847		27/0/0		1846
Tommo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4			17/0/0		1847
Tommo						15/16/2			1849
Tommo		Laborer					\$96.00	Retired 1853	1853
Tooa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	5	1844	4/15/2	17		1841
Tooa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1846		17/0/0		1844
Tooa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	11	1848		17/0/0		1847
Tooa						(10/7/9)			1849
Tooharamokoo								Discharged 1836	1836
Toohareroa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	2	1843	31/16/1	30		1841
Toohareroa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5	1845		17/0/0		1844
Toohareroa		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1849		27/0/0		1847
Toohareroa						10/16/14		Deserted 1849	1849
Tooina			Columbia			5/2/04		Died 1836	1836
Toopanehi		Middleman	Nisqually	2	1843	27/8/7	30		1841

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Toopanehi		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	8	1848		2/9/0	Returned to Oahu 6 July 1847	1847
Toouyoora			Ft. Van General Charges			(26/0/10)	30/0/0	Tooryoora	1831
Toouyoora			Ft. Simpson			(24/15/15)	30/0/0	Toovoora	1832
Toouyoora			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(42/7/10)	30/0/0	Toovyoora or Tooryoora	1833
Toouyoora			Ft. McLoughlin			(12/19/7)	17/0/0		1835
Toouyoora		Middleman	Columbia	7		15/18/8			1836
Toouyoora		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1842	12/16/11	17		1841
Toouyoora		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	14			17/0/0		1844
Toouyoora		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	17	1848		17/0/0		1847
Toouyoora						(6/14/8)		Died 2 Jan 1848 Ft Van	1849
Topa		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot				9/0/0	Retired to Oahu 1844	1844
Topa		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver	4	1848	28/0/0	27/0/0		1847
Topa		Woodcutter	Steamer Beaver			25/4/0	12/6/08	Returned to Oahu 5 Dec 1848	1849
Toro			Ft. Langley			(25/1/5)	30/0/0		1831
Toro			Ft. Simpson			(20/13/5)	30/0/0		1832
Toro			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(34/7/6)	30/0/0		1833
Toro			Ft. McLoughlin			(14/16/0)	17/0/0		1835
Toro		Middleman	Columbia	7	1837	(2/17/4)			1836
Toro		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1843	12/11/05	17		1841
Toro		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	14	1845		17/0/0		1844
Toro		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		20/0/0	Retired 1853	1851
Touramano			Ft. Van General Charges			(20/15/11)	30/0/0	Touraonano	1831
Touramano			Ft. Simpson			(33/9/1)	30/0/0		1832
Touramano			Ft. Vancouver			(14/10/0)	3/15/0	Discharged Oahu 16 Jul 1832	1833
Tourawhyheene			Columbia			31/8	576	French Livres Tourawhyeene	1822
Tourawhyheene						31/8		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Tourawhyheene			Columbia			(29/10)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Tourawhyheene	24		Columbia	8		6/15/06	10		1824
Tourawhyheene	26		Columbia	10		6/13/09	10		1826
Tourawhyheene	28	Laborer	Columbia	12		17/3/7	17		1828
Tourawhyheene			Ft. Van. Indian Trade			(11/3/3)	17/0/0	Tourawhyheene	1831
Tourawhyheene			Ft. Van. Indian Trade			(12/7/10)	17/0/0	Tourawhyeene	1832
Tourawhyheene			Ft. Van. Indian Trade			(20/3/6)	17/0/0	Tourawhyheene	1833
Tourawhyheene			Ft. Vancouver			(7/7/11)	8/10/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Dec 1834	1835
Tourawhyheene		Middleman	Columbia		1839	(27/13/5)			1836
Tourawhyheene			Discharged			(17/0/6)		Discharged 1841	1841
Tourawhyheene		Middleman	Snake Party		1845		27/0/0	Tourawhyhiné	1844
Tourawhyheene		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	12			1/14/0	Returned to Oahu 6 July 1847 T	1847

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Tourawhyheene		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	12			1/14/0	Returned to Oahu 6 July 1847 T	1847
Towai			Columbia			(66/14)	576	French Livres	1822
Towai						(66/14)		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Towai			Columbia			(53/12)	453/6	French Livres	1823
Towai	27		Columbia	8		5/4/2	10		1824
Towai	31	Laborer	Columbia	12		7/1/1	12		1828
Towai			Ft. Vancouver			(16/1/2)	17/0/0		1831
Towai			Ft. Vancouver			(17/9/8)	17/0/0		1832
Towai			Ft. Vancouver			(18/16/7)	17/0/0		1833
Towai			Ft. Vancouver			(15/9/2)	17/0/0		1835
Towai		Middleman	Columbia	20	1838	4/9/04			1836
Towai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	25	1842	10/9/04			1841
Towai		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	28	1845		27/0/0		1844
Towello		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1845		17/0/0	Cowlitz Farm	1844
Towhay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	3	1842	3/5/06	30		1841
Towhay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	5			8/3/05	Returned to Oahu Nov 1844	1844
Tsoo, Tom		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(14/0/10)	30/0/0	Poss. not Ha. Engaged Oahu	1833
Tsoo, Tom			Ft. Vancouver			(31/14/11)	10/0/0	Disabled	1835
Tu****ki, Jack		Middleman	Columbia	3		5/16/1		Name not legible	1836
Tuaha			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/7/9)	30/0/0		1831
Tuaha			Ft. Simpson			(28/19/9)	30/0/0		1832
Tuaha			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(32/14/13)	30/0/0		1833
Tuaha		Middleman	Columbia	7	1837	(1/14/7)			1836
Tuaha		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1843	12/5/06	17		1841
Tuaha		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1845		17/0/0		1844
Tuaheeuny		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Farm				17/0/0		1849
Tuarumaku, Jack			Ft. Vancouver			(16/6/3)	30/0/0		1833
Tuarumaku, Jack			Ft. Vancouver			(11/11/3)	15/0/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Dec 1834	1835
Tueromoko, Jack			Ft. Simpson Land Service			(30/13/2)	27/0/0		1835
Tueromoko, Jack						(4/19/9)			1838
Tupy			Ft. Van General Charges			(21/0/7)	30/0/0		1831
Tupy			Ft. Vancouver			(24/19/6)	30/0/0		1832
Tupy			Ft. Vancouver			(9/12/6)	17/0/0		1833
Tuuea, Jack			Ft. Vancouver			(21/0/4)	15/0/0	Returned to Oahu 1 Dec 1834	1835
Ula Ula		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		26/13/4	Died 1841 Okanagan	1841
Umi Umi		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Umi Umi		Labor	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1847		13/10/0	Returned to Oahu 30 Nov 1846	1846
Upahee			Ft. Van General Charges			(25/6/9)	30/0/0	Upahu	1831

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv.	C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Upahee			Ft. Simpson			(35/7/3)	30/0/0		1832
Upahee			Ft. Vancouver			(21/6/6)	17/0/0		1833
Upahee			Ft. Vancouver			(10/12/1)	17/0/0		1835
Upahee		Middleman	Columbia	7	1838	6/17/09			1836
Upahee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	12	1842	5/11/1	17 Free (released)	1851	1841
Upahee		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	15	1846		17/0/0		1844
Upahee		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	18	1848		17/0/0		1847
Upahee						0/5/10		Retired 1851 Columbia	1849
Upay		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Upay		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1847		4/19/0	Returned to Oahu 6 Aug 1846	1846
Waahela		Middleman	Snake Party	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Waahela		Laborer	Snake Party	3	1847		27/0/0		1846
Waahela		Laborer	Snake Country	4		(11/13/9)	17/0/0	Wa_ahela	1847
Waahela						(5/16/11)			1849
Waahela		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot		1851		3/6/08	Deserted 1850	1851
Wahaloola		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	1	1847		27/0/0		1844
Wahaloola		Laborer	Snake Country	4		15/12/5	10/2/06	Returned to Oahu 15 Aug 1847	1847
Wahinahulu		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot				31/5/0		1851
Wahinahulu						\$15.22		Discharged 1852	1853
Waiakanaloo		Laborer	Thompson's River	3			17/0/0		1847
Waiakanaloo						18/18/11			1849
Waikanaloo		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0		1851
Walia						0/0/0			1849
Walia		Laborer	Ft. Rupert		1852		27/0/0		1851
Washington, George		Seaman	Ft. Simpson Naval Service			(22/11/1)	17/0/0	Poss. not Hawaiian	1833
Washington, George			Ft. Vancouver			(14/10/7)	17/0/0	Poss. not Hawaiian	1835
Watson, George		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver	1	1844		30/0/0		1841
Watson, George		Middleman	Ft. Vancouver Depot	4	1846		17/0/0		1844
Wauicareea			Ft. Langley			(16/9/9)	30/0/0		1831
Wauicareea			Ft. Langley			(30/5/8)	30/0/0		1832
Wauicareea			Ft. Langley			(37/7/7)	30/0/0		1833
Wauicareea			Fort Langley			(16/12/2)	17/0/0		1835
Wauicareea		Middleman	Columbia	7		(6/8/8)			1836
Wauicareea		Middleman	Ft. Langley	12	1842	(5/1/1)	17		1841
Wauicareea		Middleman	Ft. Langley	15			17/0/0	Waricareea	1844
Wauicareea		Laborer	Ft. Langley	18		(0/8/5)	17/0/0	Wauicareea	1847
Wauicareea						0/11/7			1849
Wauicareea		Laborer	Ft. Langley				20/0/0	Waricareea	1851

Name	Age	Job Title	District	Serv. C. Exp.	Acct. Bal.	Wage	Other	Census
Whyeane			Columbia		17/12	576	French Livres	1822
Whyeane					17/12		Transfer from NWC	1822NW
Wiappeoo			Ft. Van. General Charges		(3/15/9)		Discharged Oahu 1841	1841
William			Ft. Van General Charges		(25/1/8)	18/0/0		1831
William			Ft. Simpson Land Service		(17/13/3)	18/0/0		1833
William			Ft. Vancouver		(7/14/5)	17/0/0		1835
William			Discharged		(0/4/6)		Discharged 1841	1841
William, J *		Middleman	Columbia	6	1/1/06			1836
Woahoo		Laborer	Ft. Vancouver Depot	3	1848	6/7/06	Returned to Oahu 15 Oct 1847	1847