

The Hawaiian Islands and Early *Haole* Contact

ハワイの島々とハロエ (*Haole* : 白人) との最初の出会い

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抄録 :

この論文では、ハワイ島の原住民と「ハロエ」(外国人、特に白人を指す言葉)の最初の出会いと交流について論じる。

これらの時代のいくつかの重要な出来事を紹介することで、ハワイの原住民と最初にハワイを訪れた外国人が、お互いにどのように対応したのかを理解することができる。

この交流の始まりは、ハワイの島々が最初にヨーロッパ人やアメリカ人の航海者に知られた1778年である。そして、1819年に初めてハワイ島を統治したカメハメハ大王の死後、ハワイの社会がかなりの速さで変貌をとげたという短い前触れをともなって終わった。

Abstract :

This report touches on some of the first contacts and interactions between the native peoples of the Hawaiian Islands and haole, a term referring to foreigners, but usually designating white men. A description of several key events during these years helps us to understand how the Hawaiians and those first foreign visitors dealt with each other. The starting point is 1778, when the islands were first made known to European and American seaman, and ends with a brief prelude to what will soon be relatively swift changes in Hawaiian society after the death of the islands' first unifier, Kamehameha I in 1819.

キーワード : ハワイの人々の歴史、オセアニアの歴史、キャプテン・クック、ポリネシア、18世紀の世界探検

Keywords : Hawaiian history, Oceanic history, Captain Cook, Polynesia, 18th century world exploration

Introduction

Though consequences and outcomes differ, throughout history there has often been turbulence when different cultures and peoples interact for the first time. Two sides bring the weight of their cultural norms, values, and biases. In this vein, no one culture can be said to be or have been superior to another. Technology, however, is not bound by fairness and equality and this imbalance may inevitably be the catalyst for the direction history is made. The history of the native peoples of the Hawaiian Islands and their inevitable contact with seafaring explorers from Europe, America, and Russia began in the 1770s. Superior warfare technology, along with disease, and new ideas brought by seafaring men from these countries heavily influenced the future direction of the islands. The following will cover some of the events which took place during this early era of haole contact in the Hawaiian Islands.

First Contact

Captain James Cook's discoveries around the globe can be described as monumental, having an enormous impact on the understanding of the world during the mid-18th century. The Hawaiian Islands were not immune to his 'discoveries' and as he was the first to document their position in the Pacific Ocean, so deserves mention. Born into a family of modest means, in 1728, he was gifted with both an appetite for learning and a diligent disposition. These two traits along with his moral character, which had its roots in the rigid order of the Quaker Christian faith, served him well in becoming one of the most influential persons in maritime history.

Cook made three separate journeys into the Pacific Ocean. The first in 1769, had two purposes. The publicly known reason was scientific. From Tahiti, an island where both the latitude and longitude were known, he was to witness the passing of Venus in front of the sun to help scientists determine the distance between the sun and earth. The second, and lesser known reason, was to discover a large southern land mass thought to be a counterbalance to the northern known landmasses. Cook experimented with and made use of the latest methods in cartography learned while in the British navy and on this voyage he came across and meticulously mapped the two islands of what is now New Zealand making contact with Maori. He also traveled up the eastern coast of what is now Australia and made contact with Aboriginals whom he noted that unlike the Maori, seemed totally uninterested in his large ocean going vessels.

On his second voyage, in 1772, Cook was employed again to confirm the presence of a southern land mass which he, personally believed not to exist. However, as he scoured the Pacific Ocean he 'discovered' what are now the islands of Samoa, Tonga, New Caledonia, Norfolk Island, Vanuatu, and Easter Island.

At a time when European nations were vying for greater wealth and resources to accommodate growing populations, Cook was coaxed out of retirement to find the time-saving northwest passage from the Pacific Ocean to the Atlantic. This envisioned northern route would save merchants time from having

to dip around the southern tips of South America or Africa on way to Asia. It was Cook's third and final journey to the Pacific, beginning in the summer of 1776, that was significant for the history of the Hawaiian Islands. On January 18th 1778, he came upon the islands of Oahu and Kauai and named them the Sandwich Islands, in deference to the head of the British admiralty. On this first unintentional visit to the islands, he traded with the natives and took on provisions, soon continuing on to the northern coast of North America and Alaska where he detailed its coastline. Unable to penetrate the ice of the Arctic he returned to the islands of Maui and Hawaii in November of 1778. This was during the festive harvest season which Hawaiians called, *makahiki*. This was to honor their god *Lono*, which Cook's ships are said to have resembled. Cook and his men were treated with deference for months taking on provisions, and consuming as much as their hosts could supply, but by February of 1779 things began to take a turn for the worse. On February 8th, Cook departed the island of Hawaii for the Arctic north, again in search of the northwest passage but, returned three days later due to severe weather and a damaged ship mast. On the 13th, with sails strewn on the beach for repairs and the predeparture death of one of Cook's crewman, their godly presence was all but erased. The natives engaged in the petty theft of iron objects as well as a small cutter. To have the cutter returned, Cook attempted to use a tactic which had proven effective in Tahiti, where a chief would be forcefully held ransom until the return of the stolen property. On February 14th, Cook with less of the calculated patience which served him well on previous journeys, landed the island with several seamen armed with muskets and took a chief, but as they reached the shore, the chief's followers resisted. Another high-ranking native warrior was shot and killed while attempting to pass through a blockade Cook's two ships had put on the bay. This enraged the natives, musket shots were fired, and Cook and all but a few of his men were overrun on the beach. Cook, ironically, unable to swim, was stabbed and beaten to death. He was honored by the Hawaiians for his *mana*, or power and a ceremony for his death was carried out. A few of his bones were returned to his crewmen before the ship sailed from the island of Hawaii to continue its exploration.

Cook's voyages of discovery to northwest America also made known the abundance of animals which could be killed for their furs. Valued in China and Europe, these commodities soon generated a new commercial industry in the region for Russians, Americans and Europeans. This though in turn sparked what would soon see an increase in haole visitors to the islands seeking provisions and commerce.

Trader's Ammunition

The Hawaiian Islands had not yet been united and warring chiefs of the several islands were looking to gain an upper hand on their rivals. This often came in the form of western style arms. Cannons, muskets and western-styled ships would prove to be instruments pivotal in this warring period of Hawaiian history.

Each of these Hawaiian chiefs employed the use of the few foreigners that roamed the islands, using

their knowledge to operate western arms they procured through trade. And though these new weapons were used against one another, one poignant episode demonstrates how this weaponry was set upon Hawaiians directly by a western force. The Olowula Massacre, termed, ‘Hawaii’s Wounded Knee’, (Pignataro, 2016) which refers to the well-known slaughter of Native American men, women, and children of the Lakota Sioux tribe in South Dakota by the United States 7th Cavalry some 100 years later in 1890. The Hawaiians though have a more explicit name for their tragedy, *Kalolopahu*, meaning “spilled brains”.

In 1790, the *Eleanora*, a fur trading vessel under the command of Simon Metcalfe traded with natives off the shores of Maui for hogs, fruit, and fish. While anchored off the coast, a small boat attached to the ship was cut loose and stolen at night by the natives, who coveted the metal used to hold it together. Metal of any type was sought after by the natives at this time. In addition to the theft of the small boat, the night watchman was also killed. When no natives came out to the ship to trade the following morning, the crew’s suspicions of the theft were confirmed. Captain Simon Metcalfe ordered the execution of a Hawaiian who had innocently slept on the bow of the ship that night was but saved by more sympathetic crewmen. Metcalfe soon got wind of who was responsible for the theft and offered a reward to the local ruling chief should the boat and the body of the slain crewman be returned. The bones of the seaman were returned and the chief rewarded, but the next day when only the keel of the boat was returned an infuriated S. Metcalfe promised to give the natives a reward of which they could not expect. The natives believing that trade with the ship was again possible, were persuaded to gather on the starboard side of the *Eleanora*, where unknowingly the ship’s cannons were manned. When the order was given, the closed hatches which hid them were opened and the cannons fired upon the native’s canoes. Hundreds were killed, maimed, or soon died of their injuries. This horrific episode ultimately led to the captivity of two haoles in particular, Isaac Davis and John Young.

From the island of Maui, S. Metcalfe sailed to the island of Hawaii where his temperament towards the natives was again on display when a local chief associated with the most powerful chief, *Kamehameha I*, was hit with a whip for some minor misstep of the Metcalfe’s strict rules, while aboard the *Eleanora*. The chief, humiliated, vowed to take revenge on the next foreign vessel to come near the territory he governed. That next vessel was the *Fair American*, a ship ironically captained by S. Metcalfe’s son, Thomas. Under the guise of friendly trading, natives boarded the *Fair American* and overran the small crew, throwing them into the sea, killing all except one, Isaac Davis. His life was spared and *Kamehameha I*, who by this time had secured the whole western side of the island of Hawaii, put him under his personal care. Having no knowledge of the incident, S. Metcalfe and the *Eleanora* returned to the waters off the coast of Hawaii, and John Young, the ship’s boatswain was sent ashore to survey the country. He was captured as night fell and held at the order of *Kamehameha I* who, not only eager to keep foreigners to teach him how to use muskets but also to prevent Young from carrying information back to the *Eleanora* about the capture of Isaac Davis and the taking of the *Fair American*. (Kamakau 146) *Kamehameha I* was concerned about any retaliation from S. Metcalfe and the *Eleanora* should he learn of its capture and the death of his son. Both Isaac Davis

and John Young, at first attempted to escape, but soon accepted their fate of life on the island. In time they both became an integral part of *Kamehameha's* inner circle and were given wives, land, and made chiefs. Their knowledge and use of western weaponry was instrumental in helping *Kamehameha I* defeat the ruling chiefs of all the islands except Kauai.

Ammunition and Unification

Over the next following years the number of traders visiting the islands increased and they were known to pit Hawaiian chiefs against one another, bartering off ammunition to whichever chief they could profit from. Differing chiefs also had a few *haole* working for them, helping to build small sailing vessels which might give them an upper hand on rivals. One Englishman of note, however, was Captain George Vancouver who understood very well the destructiveness of supplying the native chiefs with muskets, canons, and ammunition. Between the years of 1792 and 1794 he visited the islands on three separate occasions. Unlike the profit-hungry traders that began to frequent the islands during this period, Vancouver refused to supply ammunition to any of the island chiefs. He determined that doing so would only contribute to the ongoing conflicts between islands. (Wisniewski 19) In 1794, however, the first ship built in the Hawaiian Islands, named the *Brittania* was made possible by Vancouver supplying the iron parts and carpenters.

Vancouver favored *Kamehameha I*, as he saw him as the most powerful and prudent of the islands' chiefs. *Kamehameha I* too, wished to secure his kingdom, and attempted to cede the island of Hawaii to Great Britain in hopes that it would be protected under the British power. This was never formally acknowledged by Great Britain. Vancouver is remembered as one who was always respectful of the Hawaiians.

By 1796, *Kamehameha I* had gained control of all the islands except for Kauai. John Young and Isaac Davis guidance and western-fashioned schooners played an undeniably large role in *Kamehameha I's* victories to that point. And with intent of gaining full control of the islands, assaults on Kauai were planned, but in 1804 an unforeseen pestilence, now thought to have been typhoid or cholera, came over *Kamehameha I* and his army, thwarting his latest invasion plans. (Daws 43) In 1805, however, understanding that war benefitted neither side, the chief of Kauai and *Kamehameha I* somewhat ironically came together on a vessel of an American trader, Nathan Winship. The American trader, persuaded Kauai's ruling chief to meet with *Kamehameha I*, where an agreement was made. Kauai's chief would become a vassal of the island, making *Kamehameha I* the ultimate ruler of the archipelago. This unification was ultimately made possible with the use of foreign made weapons, physical aid, and advice. (Wisniewski 21)

The Rogue German

British and Americans were not the only nationalities to have influence on events in the islands. In 1804, the first Russian vessels visited the islands with the intent of making use of the resources in the islands for its fur trade on the western coast of North America and China. In 1815, a German doctor, Anton Georg Schaffer was sent by the Russian American Company to salvage one of the company's ships that had shipwrecked off the coast of the island of Kauai. (Daws 51) Schaffer gained the favor of the ruling chief of Kauai and urged him to trade bilaterally with Russia, and place Kauai under its protectorate of Russia, even though *Kamehameha I* had been established as the supreme ruler by this time. Schaffer went so far as to begin to build a fort in Honolulu on the island of Oahu, and raise the Russian flag. *Kamehameha I*, learning of these developments, while on the island of Hawaii, sent forces to expel the Russians peacefully or otherwise. Schaffer and the Russians left without incident and Schaffer again returned to Kauai where he persuaded the ruling chief to ally with him. A fort was built and the Russian flag again raised. Eventually Kauai's ruling chief was persuaded by *Kamehameha I* and other American traders to renege on his treasonous decisions and force Schaffer and the Russians off the island. Schaffer eventually made his way back to St. Petersburg, where his desire to have Russia assert a stronger influence in the islands was dismissed. On subsequent peaceful visits, other Russians, Lieutenant Otto von Kotzebue in 1817 and Captain Golovnin in 1818, eased the anxiety created by the unauthorized attempts of Schaffer to put any claims to the Hawaiian Kingdom. These attempts at challenging the sovereignty of the islands were only the first by men who felt they could overstep their bounds when opportunity arose to use the power of their government's name without authorization.

More Transition to Come

Kamehameha I enjoyed trading with the ships that frequented the islands and fully recognized the value of the food stuff his islands could barter to satisfy the increasing number of traders. He also strictly controlled the trade of sandalwood grown in the islands. Sandalwood was a lucrative commodity for traders, who could sell it for profit in Chinese ports. Before his death in 1819, he had purchased six large western vessels and accumulated a stockpile of western goods and ammunition as well as unify the islands. Following his death, however, under the rule of his son, *Lilolilo*, or *Kamehameha II*, the islands' sense of strict order began to unravel. The sandalwood trade became much less regulated and, too unsustainable as varying chiefs took on the role of frivolous consumers, all too often borrowing against future sandalwood payments which were never to be made. Not only did debt soon follow, but the harvesting of the sandalwood trees was also to become a bane for the common people, as they were forced to venture ever higher in the mountains to retrieve the valued wood. This left once rich agricultural lands neglected leading to a lack of food supply, overworked commoners, and ever-increasing debt for their rulers.

A firsthand account from the journal of an American trader, Charles H. Hammatt, in 1823 bears witness to both Hawaiians and trading sailors to be cunning in their dealings with each other. The traders, for instance, were at times eager to make a quick sell of weathered vessels with detailed contracts, so as not to be retracted. (Wagner-Wright 12) On the other hand, the king and various chiefs were just as eager to acquire novel foreign items and boats, often on credit. Hammatt describes how *Kamehameha II* often indulged himself with alcohol and was on many occasions drunk when trying to do business. He refused to honor any transaction he might later want to renege on if he were inebriated at the time of the deal. (Wagner-Wright 13) Alcohol, in the form of rum, had been introduced to the islands as early as 1780, with chiefs and their associates being the primary consumers.

The two decades following the death of *Kamehameha I* saw the coming of very new types of *haole* though. One set of these *haole* had completely new agendas compared to that of the profit-hungry traders that preceded them. They were missionaries from the northeastern coast of America. They brought a strict brand of Christian Protestantism at a time when the islands had just seen a loosening of its moral fabric with the end to the *kapu*, a rigid societal rules governing behavior and the worship of the gods. This *kapu* system, which had ultimately helped *Kamehameha I* come to power, was abolished soon after his death by his favorite wife, *Ka'ahumanu* and his son, L'ilililo. *Haole* on the other end of the moral spectrum were the whalers, with an appetite for alcohol, supplies, and vice. These two communities clashed, as many changes came to the islands after 1819, including a new thriving economy, literacy with the introduction of Hawaiian in written form, the threat of new diseases, and a new religion. All of these developments were fueled by the increase in foreign ships and the *haole* that steered them to the Hawaiian archipelago.

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