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CONTENTS

THE GANNEN MONO: GREAT EXPECTATIONS OF THE EARLIEST JAPANESE IMMIGRANTS TO HAWAII......180 Roy M. Shinsato

JOHN COXE: HAWAII'S FIRST SOLDIER OF FORTUNE......................................................194 David Kittelson

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS...............198 HAWAIIAN MEDICAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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TO A HAPPY AND PROSPEROUS 1965. MAY THE NEW YEAR BRING INCREASED APPRECIATION AND ENJOYMENT OF OUR HISTORICAL HERITAGE. . . . .
Hawaii's first interest in the Japanese began in March, 1860, when the Powhatan, an American frigate, met continued strong headwinds on its voyage from Yokohama to San Francisco and, because of a shortage of coal, was forced to set anchor in Honolulu. Aboard the vessel was the first official Japanese embassy to the United States.

In Honolulu, Robert C. Wyllie, Hawaii's minister of foreign affairs, although shaken by the suddenness of the Japanese emissaries' visit, was anxious to employ diplomatic courtesies in the hope of securing a treaty of commerce and friendship. As these were the first ambassadors to Hawaii, Wyllie went to extremes "...to make Hawaii and her King shine in this moment of diplomatic test." To impress upon the Japanese the sincerity of Hawaii's courtship, Wyllie gave to the king his home, in order to house the ambassadors in a manner fitting and proper. And following diplomatic etiquette to the point, the foreign minister arranged a royal reception with all the customary formalities, and even provided the Japanese ambassadors "honorary passports" to those Central American countries through which they would pass on their way to New York. The purpose was to help them through the language barrier.

Wyllie's attempts to use this chance opportunity to get a treaty of friendship and commerce failed when the Japanese declined the offer. The reason given was the uneconomic atmosphere that would result from an unbalanced trade situation. "Neither Wyllie's efforts to win a treaty from the Japanese government prove foresight of the coming importance of Japan as a source of labor and population for Hawaii is debatable. The answer to this question may lie in what he knew and said. Wyllie had been aware of the acute labor problem since the 1850's, and had given warning of a potential tragedy. He encouraged "...the immigration of good and industrious families from wherever they may come..." and an increase of marriages, births, and health measures.

Hawaii has experimented with various industries and agricultural crops, ranging from sandalwood, whaling, cotton, tobacco, rice, silk, wheat, coffee, and potatoes to sugar and pineapple. Hawaii has also experimented with immigration to maintain her plantations and revive her "dying population". She has brought immigrants from the South Seas and from China, Portuguese from the Azores and Madeiras, British Indians, Norwegians, Germans, Spaniards, Malaysians, and Americans.

In 1852, Chinese laborers were imported, followed by the South Sea islanders seven years later. This experiment failed to produce satisfactory results. The Chinese were not considered "certain people", and left the plantations after their contracts were up, to compete with the whites and natives in town. The South Sea islanders, although resembling the Hawaiians, left the plantations soon after their contracts were up and went home. Immigration authorities then looked for other sources of labor supply.

Hawaii's isolated geographical position in the Pacific has created immense labor problems; it has, at the same time, caused considerable experimentation with the various sources of labor surrounding the Pacific basin. Following the device used in peopling British colonial America, the Hawaiian legislature in 1850 legalized two forms of labor contract—apprenticeship and indentured service. A Planters' Society was organized in 1864 to help solve the labor problem of the
p3.antations. In the same year the legislature created a bureau of immigration "...for the purpose of superintending the importation of foreign laborers, and the introduction of immigrants."4

Another cause of concern to the Hawaiian kingdom was the steady decrease in native population. The first census, taken in 1832, showed the Hawaiian population to be 130,313. In 1850, it was found to have decreased to 84,165. Then, in 1860, an alarming decrease of 15,165 within ten years caused the authorities such anxiety that they proposed that Hawaii "...bring those that would readily assimilate with the natives and thereby strengthen and perpetuate the Hawaiian race." Hawaii's captains of industry and the immigration officials cooperated in the realization of their complementary objectives.

R.S. Kuykendall thought that the idea of introducing Japanese to Hawaii as agricultural laborers was the idea of Wyllie, who owned a plantation on Kauai. He also believed that this idea was closely related to Van Reed's first attempt to negotiate a treaty between Hawaii and Japan.

In March, 1865, Wyllie, speaking more as a planter than as a foreign minister, wrote to Eugene Van Reed, an American businessman living in Kanagawa, Japan, who had asked to be appointed consul general for Hawaii:

It is my purpose to appoint you for that office...the result I expect will be favorable....We are much in want of them (laborers). I myself could take 500 for my own Estates. Could any good agricultural laborers be obtained from Japan or its dependencies...? If so send me all the information you can....They will be treated well, enjoy all the rights of freemen, and in our fine [islands], under our beautiful and salubrious climate they would be better off, as permanent settlers than in their own country.5

Wyllie was thinking more in terms of labor shortage than of preserving the "dying race". But he, who supposedly originated the idea of introducing Japanese, died in 1865 without seeing his hopes materialize.

Charles de Varigny succeeded Wyllie as minister of foreign affairs and carried the idea of introducing more contract labor to completion. After communicating with Van Reed about the possibility of acquiring contract laborers, and receiving a favorable reply, he brought the matter to the attention of the board of immigration. Varigny on March 19, 1868, won over the board members in session by stating that in his opinion the

...Japanese were more like the natives of these islands, than any others we could get to immigrate here. The Japanese considered themselves of the same origin with these Natives and they certainly resembled our race very much, and there was not the slightest doubt that they would most readily amalgamate.6

Hence, a resolution that the balance of the board's unexpended appropriation of $2,925 be placed at Van Reed's disposal for the importation of "...Male and Female Immigrants, if such can be obtained, and the consent of the Japanese government secured."7

Together with this idea of procuring laborers and immigrants was that of concluding a treaty of amity and commerce. Van Reed interested de Varigny in this scheme. He hoped that with such a treaty the Hawaiian kingdom would enjoy the advantages and privileges held by the great maritime powers. However, while efforts to secure the treaty were being made, the shogun died (September, 1866), forestalling negotiations.

Van Reed, finding that he lacked the necessary powers to negotiate the treaty, requested them from the Hawaiian government, which granted them in April, 1867.
But the Japanese government, as a matter of policy, objected to persons engaged in trade acting in a diplomatic capacity. The Japanese authorities, though willing to conclude a treaty with Hawaii, desired that since treaties between nations are important, proper respect should be shown by the appointment of persons of high rank for their negotiation.

In accordance with these wishes, the Hawaiian government accredited General R.B. Van Valkenburgh, American minister to Japan, as Hawaiian envoy for the purpose of signing the treaty. Van Valkenburgh accepted the commission but did not sign the treaty. "It was partly personal, a growing dislike for Van Reed, and partly national, a feeling that such a treaty would be disadvantageous to the United States." The treaty was delayed until 1871.

Meanwhile, Van Reed had been active in getting permission from the Japanese government to send laborers to Hawaii. His original intention was to obtain a treaty of commerce and friendship, which he felt would open the door for labor emigration. This plan having made no progress, he resorted to the alternative strategy of getting laborers first and negotiating the treaty later.

Van Reed succeeded in recruiting 350 laborers for Hawaii after tedious transactions with the officials of the shogunate. The selection of the emigrants was handled by Hanbey, his chief assistant. Van Reed signed a contract with him and two others, Yonezo and Kumechi. (See the appendix for the contract).

Van Reed got 350 passports from the shogun's government, but after receiving Varigny's letter, together with a draft for $1,925, he found that the British ship he had bargained for, the Scioto, was at $10,000 far beyond his means. He decided to look for a smaller vessel. As his choice, the barque Recife, could not carry more than 180 laborers, he returned 170 passports. Later, having reconsidered his decision, Van Reed resolved to send the full number originally planned for, and chartered the Scioto for $8,900. This was considerably more cash than he had.

The events which followed put Van Reed in a very embarrassing position. Before the Scioto could leave, political developments interfered. In 1868, after the resignation of the shogun, a civil war ensued between the adherents of the ex-shogun and the imperial forces. The latter won. On the day before the Scioto was to sail, the new regime took power. Van Reed, with only 180 passports, was desirous of getting back the 170 that he had returned. At the request of the recently-seated authorities, he surrendered the 180 passports in his possession, with the hope of securing 350 others. The mikado's government refused, however, as Japan had no treaty with Hawaii. It did offer to give Van Reed permission if he obtained from one of the other treaty powers a guarantee that the laborers would be returned to Japan at the end of their three-year contracts. Van Reed faced a dilemma. He could abandon the 180 laborers and lose the amount spent so far, or send them on to Hawaii. He chose the latter course. Van Reed gave the green light to the Scioto's captain only after Japanese government officials denied any compensation to him for any loss that he might have suffered. None of his other propositions was acceptable to the mikado's government, either. The Scioto left with the necessary clearance from the British customs house. Van Reed justified his course of action on the ground that the faithlessness and duplicity of the officials rendered all negotiation hopeless. He believed that the money spent would not be refunded if he relied on the integrity of the Japanese government. It is true that had the Japanese government wished to stop the Scioto there was ample time, as Van Reed had informed them of his alternative course of action.

Van Reed, writing to Varigny on July 16, 1868, said regarding the sailing of the Scioto:

the delay of the Captain [Reagan] in not being able to sail on the morning of the 10th May as agreed, enabled the new government under the Mikado to
interfere in granting the 170 passports, or even allowing any Japanese whatever to leave for Hawaii under releases granted by the Tycoon. Japanese spies having been ordered to remove the men in parties of one or two as invalids and thus by delay to allow the question to be settled by the vanishing of all on board....

Van Reed blamed the American minister, Van Valkenburgh, for issuing a notice threatening all who might be interested in the coolie trade and playing up Van Reed's role as a merchant. In the words of Van Reed, this appears the most preposterous and ridiculous from the fact that all Japanese in America are at school or traveling for experience in every case a consumer, instead of a producer.... By what right the American minister interferes to attract the extreme sensibilities of the Japanese government (proverbially suspicious and jealous in their dealings with Foreign Nations) to the question of labor for Hawaii is beyond forthcoming, and it is to be hoped that some National question may arise to make him regret his course in the above instance.

As to the number of laborers sent forward, Van Reed thought it "...impossible to ascertain as they were at liberty to leave under explicit orders from me to detain no Japanese on board as prisoners against their wish." The Scioto left Yokohama on May 17, 1868, with 149 laborers who went without permission and against the desires of the government. She met storms and rough seas on the voyage that so threatened the lives of the adventurous group that they vowed in a covenant of brotherhood to cooperate in the land that they were approaching. All but two cut their top-knots as a token of appreciation at having survived the ordeal.

The laborers, one of whom died on the trip, had been recruited from the streets of Tokyo and were mostly vagabonds, coolies or palanquin bearers between the ages of thirteen and twenty-seven. They had engaged in fighting, gambling and highway robbery and had no idea where Hawaii was, but concluded it to be as far as Tenjiku or heaven--Tenjiku, indicating India, home of Buddha and destination of man, signified the farthest distance one could go. They all expected to become rich.

On June 19, after thirty-three days at sea, the Scioto, with Captain Reagan at the helm, docked at Honolulu. The physician aboard was Dr. D. J. Lee, travelling with the American merchant, Mr. A. D. Baum.

The laborers got a barrel of salted fish as a gift from the king. The board of immigration then took charge of them, and they signed contracts of the same nature as those signed with Hanbey and his associates in Japan. It was agreed that the laborers would be paid $4.00 a month for the duration of their three-year contracts; they would also get food, lodging and medicines. They agreed to receive $2.00 in cash at the end of each month and a note for the other $2.00. The balance due on these notes would be paid through the Hawaiian consul general after the men returned to Japan.

The board then assigned the contracts to employers wanting workers. The latter paid $70.00 a man plus the $10.00 advance allowed each (this had been paid to Hanbey in Tokyo to buy clothing and other necessities). The advance was to be deducted from monthly wages. The group chose an overall headman, Makino Tomisaburo, also called Saburo, Sablow and Sablou, who was to be the interpreter and was therefore paid $150.00 a year plus lodging.

The laborers received a two-week vacation to see the "castle town of Honolulu" and were provided with additional clothing, blankets and hats. They were disappointed in the small country town and disliked Western food with its milk products. But everywhere the friendly people gave them a warm welcome. Their first
day of work on the plantation, however, was to be a rude awakening that started a barrage of complaints to both the board of immigration and to Japan.

Dr. Lee had submitted his report on the state of health of the Japanese immigrants to the board on June 19. Lee mentioned that he had selected the group from more than 400 applicants. He said it was well known that two-thirds of the class represented were afflicted with diseases of the skin, of scrofulous and venereal type. He said, however, that most of the newcomers were free from disease of any kind. Several had been rejected as ill or too old, but some of these had been smuggled aboard. Lee reported that he was gratified that even the rejected ones improved during the voyage. One male died of an unknown cause; thus there were 141 males, six females, and one child on arrival. On the voyage they had ample and excellent food; water was abundant but not of the best quality.

The Hawaiian Gazette of June 24, 1868, described the immigrants as a "very good-natured and lusty-looking set of fellows" who were favorably received by the local population. The Gazette said that "...these Japanese are to be looked on in the light of an experiment, and a few weeks or months at the most, will determine whether it will be advisable to seek for more of them."

The "master-servant" contracts—heavily in favor of the master—once signed, the immigrants were let out to various plantations. Fifty-one went to Maui, twenty-two to Kauai, and four to Walter Murray Gibson on Lanai. The six women went along with their husbands. There were twenty-three employers, but the Haiku Sugar Co. of Maui took fifty-one of the Japanese.

Apparently Dr. Lee's bill of health was an overstatement; soon complaints poured into the board of immigration from both laborers and employers.

Complaints first came from the latter. Theo. H. Davies, agent for Kaalaea Plantation on Oahu, reported some of his men's health affected adversely by the change in climate. They reported sick but, given medical attention and care, they speedily recovered with the exception of one man, who died. Through inquiry Davies found that the man had not worked more than a quarter of an hour, and that the others had spent time and attention on him. This meant a loss of man-hours on the plantation; under such circumstances, therefore, he asked the board for a full refund to relieve the plantation of expenses incurred from the original contract.

M. McInerny presented another interesting case to F. W. Hutchison, president of the board of immigration. McInerny wrote to inform the board of "...certain facts in relation to a Japanese named Nakaska whose services I engaged...." He complained that on arrival at his house and even before, Nakaska was bleeding at the nose profusely and spoke of severe pains in the back and shoulders. He was so sick that McInerny called upon Dr. J. Hillebrand, who advised him to send Nakaska to The Queen's Hospital for ten days. On his discharge Nakaska appeared no better and had been in bed, unable to work, feverish, and coughing continually. McInerny judged that the man had tuberculosis, and discovered that he had been sick during a large part of the passage. He also asked the board for reimbursement of the amount advanced ($70), plus the $7.50 paid to the hospital.

In December, 1869, the Hawaiian Gazette mentioned the immigrants' health: [it] appears to be good: one man died of consumption shortly after his arrival, two of other diseases brought with them [probably the two cases mentioned above] and one, who the interpreter [Saburo] says was insane, committed suicide.

From these reports, one can only guess that grievances were also heard by the board from the immigrants. Employers took advantage of the laborers' ignorance, and Saburo's inadequate knowledge of English added to the trouble. The Japanese protested against the withholding of one-half of their wares, and the board recommended
full payment, as the cash paid was insufficient to meet the cost of clothing and tobacco. They also protested the transferring of contracts, argued over time lost on wet months, over holidays and deliberate absences from work, and over refusals to work and running away. All these differences, intensified by the language barrier, caused the board to send Tomisaburo to Punahou to better himself.

A letter from J. Norlon Makee to the board on September 29, 1868, gives concrete evidence of the transferring of contracts: "Mr. Jones of Lahaina has transferred the contracts of two of his men to us. They do not think this right...."

The men were to work ten hours a day on the plantation and twelve hours in the mills, with half an hour for lunch. They commenced work at 6:00 a.m. and ended at 5:00 p.m. They were penalized for tardiness (1/4 day's wages for ten to fifteen minutes' lateness), fined for each stick of cane stolen, and for unexcused absences from work, were charged at the rate of two days for each day absent. Other strict rules were: no liquor or opium; lights out and no conversation after 9:00 p.m.; rooms inspected once a week for cleanliness; fines for tools carelessly broken, lost, or stolen. Under such strenuous and confining schedules, the former city men found farm work much to their disliking. They wrote home to their government about their hardships, and in 1869 three Japanese officials came to investigate conditions.

Let us for a moment turn back to Captain Reagan, noting his conduct in Japan and the matter of paying him.

James Wodehouse, in a note to Hutchison, president of the board of immigration, informed him of a meeting of the board and the decision unanimously agreed upon to pay the Scioto's master $5,900. Wodehouse conducted an investigation and concluded that

While altogether not approving of the conduct of the master of the Scioto, I yet do not find sufficient proof to convict him of a violation of his charter party and that he is therefore, in my opinion, entitled to the payment.

Reagan was accordingly paid off and free to go.

Back in Japan Van Reed had his hands full. He kept quiet when he felt he should, and at times tried to appease the Japanese government by saying that all the laborers sent to Hawaii were being far better treated and cared for than they would have been had they remained in Japan. He went so far as to suggest that the government send an embassy to investigate the situation of the Japanese laborers, and offered himself as hostage for the safe return of the laborers. After several rebuffs, he succeeded in having the government send Shiroyama Seichi and two attendants to Hawaii via San Francisco.

Van Reed emphasized to the Hawaiian authorities that the solution of the labor question in Hawaii depended much on the outcome of the Shiroyama mission. But Shiroyama, while en route, received in December, 1868, likewise from the Japanese consul at San Francisco and from other sources reports of the immigrants' being in a "state of rebellion." He therefore returned to Japan with the news, leaving his attendants to continue their trip to Hawaii. Van Reed's position became increasingly precarious. He felt the report unjustified, and asked for a more competent embassy or consul to be dispatched to the islands. After many requests and much perseverance on Van Reed's part, a special embassy was arranged.

Wooyeno Kantoc no kami (Ueno Kantoku no kami) and Hiwa Hoichi were commissioned co-envoys extraordinary to investigate the rumors that the Japanese were starving and suffering ill-treatment in Hawaii. They were also to look into the rumor in San Francisco that Van Reed had made $70,000 by sending 150 laborers to Hawaii. Van Reed was fortunate in Hiwa's selection, as the latter was an official of the old government and a sincere friend of the American merchant.
The difficulties that had attended the Scioto affair in Japan, the complaints of both laborers and employers venting their dissatisfaction, the want of proper interpreters—all led the Hawaiian foreign minister to address to Van Reed the view of the board of immigration that it was "...undesirable to receive any more Japanese laborers at the present time." He requested Van Reed to "...take no active steps in the matter, until he received further instructions." Van Reed in reply suggested that all Japanese under contract in Hawaii wishing to go home after serving one-half of their contracts be allowed to do so, and that all contracts be cancelled, thus freeing the Japanese laborers.25

We now return to the scene in Honolulu at the arrival of Wooyeno and Miwa in late December, 1869. They were housed in the same building as the first Japanese ambassadors of 1860, the so-called Edinburgh House. They were cordially received by the king and by various foreign diplomatic representatives in Hawaii, and were shown the utmost respect and courtesy. Col. Isaac H. Hooper resigned from the American legation temporarily to act as secretary for Ueno Kantoku no kami.26

In following days the Japanese presented to Minister of Foreign Affairs C. C. Harris two alternative proposals. The first read:

All Japanese subjects brought here on the Scioto who are now living shall be collected together in Honolulu...for the purpose of being returned to Yokohama, and at the expense of the Japanese Government for transportation from Honolulu.

The alternative stated:

The embassy shall receive now only a part of said subjects, and return them to Japan, the expense to be paid by the Embassy.

In the class as above named, the whole number may amount to forty persons, more or less, and consists namely of Mechanics, who may elect to return home. Men unadapted by education or habits for the services at which they are now employed. Also all the sick, deformed, and disabled.

Those Japanese subjects now embraced as above mentioned, shall remain at service until the expiration of their present contract of labor, at the end of which time or previous thereto, they shall be returned to Yokohama at the entire expense of the Hawaiian Government.

Should any of the above named class of persons be too ill, or from other unforeseen causes be unable to embark for Yokohama, they shall be properly cared for, and ultimately returned by the Hawaiian Government at its own expense, due notice to be given to the Japanese Government as to the cause or causes which may prevent such persons from being sent at the proper time with the others.27

The Japanese ambassadors at the same time made the following statement:

It is the desire and purpose of the government of Japan to live in terms of friendship and good neighborhood with the Hawaiian nation, and to that end will be pleased to entertain treaty relations...but it is thought necessary...to first settle satisfactorily the matters of his primary mission.

The Hawaiian government after some deliberation chose the second alternative, but requested an additional clause. Thereupon Ueno signed the following:

It is perfectly understood that the promise on the part of the Hawaiian Government to return to Yokohama the Japanese laborers remaining in this country until the expiration of their time of service, is limited by the general law of all nations and of this country by the fact that should
any desire to remain the Hawaiian Government has no authority to compel them to go.\textsuperscript{28}

Once the question of the laborers was disposed of, Ueno promised to take a draft treaty back to Japan and recommend it to the emperor.

Ueno and Miwa were taken on a four-day tour of Oahu and saw first-hand the working conditions on the plantations. Before leaving Hawaii, Ueno expressed his gratitude "...in the name of the Japanese Government and selves to the Hawaiian Government and people for their kindness and hospitality that have been so cordially and generously extended to us." He also thanked Harris for the visit to the various plantations of Oahu, adding, "We have everywhere found our countrymen well cared for, and kindly treated by their employers."\textsuperscript{29}

Ueno was given lists of the occupations of the men living in the islands, of those desiring to go to the U.S.A., and of those desiring to return to Yokohama (see appendix). Ueno's trip did not end all complaints--many of them petty--of laborers and employers. Also, there was difficulty with planters over the return of the "forty". Apparently, C.C. Harris had assumed the planters would, out of patriotism, give up the required number of Japanese, but they did not respond to such persuasion. Instead, they asked that they be refunded part of the original contract payment of $70, and demanded reimbursement for amounts expended for prison bail, medical expenses, etc. Examples of complaints follow:

R.F. Bickerton, manager of Kaalaea Plantation, on June 30, 1870, mentions "Kuma", who was fined $1 for driving the cattle to a run. Also, "Dioske", who lost his leg and refuses to wear a leg made for him or to work or abide by his contract.\textsuperscript{30}

A.S. Cleghorn mentions "Nitshi", who was taken from his employ on January 20, 1869. He had contracted venereal disease and was laid up at different times, resulting in heavy medical expense.\textsuperscript{31}

Theo. H. Davies of Kaalaea Plantation writes to Hutchison that his average cost has been materially increased by the death of two of his men.

J.H. Wood in a letter to Hutchison writes concerning one Japanese "Torzo", alias "Toku", in protest against his leaving the kingdom or his employ until he fulfills the terms of his contract or has permission to do so. The crops cannot be harvested in time because of a shortage of hands on the plantation.

Others, while complaining of the expense incurred, said of the laborers:

"We...are sorry to lose the services of these men who have become acclimated and accustomed to the work required of them...."\textsuperscript{32}

This man was acquiring a sufficient knowledge of the native language to understand something of the commands given him, and would in the course of time, deserved an entry to his credit of the taxes and expenses paid on his behalf....\textsuperscript{33}

Before sailing home, the ambassadors commissioned Col. I.H. Cooper to act as their agent in receiving and sending to Yokohama the forty Japanese laborers, and appointed Tomisaburo special agent to look after those Japanese remaining in the islands until the completion of their contracts. Ueno and Miwa sailed from Hawaii
on January 20, 1870, to San Francisco, and from there to Japan.

In accordance with the agreement, forty Japanese returned to Japan. Thirty-eight adults were sent on January 29 on the barque R. W. Wood. The remaining two were to be sent when selected by Saburo (the lists of returnees from the various plantations are found in the appendix).34

The returnees, arriving in Japan a few days before the ambassadors, caused unpleasant news of their treatment in Hawaii to be sent to the press and to prefectural officials. They charged Hawaiian employers with cruelty and with not fulfilling their contracts. They complained of working without a day of rest, of lack of medical treatment, and of having their pay withheld for several months. They accused Van Reed of breach of promise, maintaining that they never received the $10 advances, as they had been given to Hanbey, and that they had been imprisoned several times.

Although they were a considerable source of embarrassment to the Japanese foreign office and to Ambassador Ueno, the testament that Ueno deposited with the Japanese government satisfied the latter. Moreover, the Japanese returnees were those who had been antagonistic, troublesome and unsatisfactory. One can only recall what Van Reed himself admitted later when he described his "picked men" as being "...mere Laborers who had been picked out of the streets of Yokohama, sick, exhausted, and filthy, without clothing to cover decency."

Later some of this group, having realized the poverty-stricken lives to which they had returned, begged Van Reed on their knees "...to have me send them back to Hawaii." And five of them did go back. Van Reed also said that "...were communications [to Hawaii] more frequent, quite a number would leave on their own responsibility."

As for the Japanese staying in Hawaii (and there is disagreement as to their number), when their contracts were up in 1871, only thirteen requested to be sent back to their native land. The remnants of the original Gannen Mono (about 90) applied for and got passports permitting them to remain in Hawaii. With the expiration of the contracts, Tomi Saburo left Hawaii for California, having decided to help his people there. And with these events an era of experimentation in Japanese labor closed for the time being.

In 1935, Y.B. Goto, county extension agent, interviewed Sentaro Ishii on Maui. Ishii was at 102 years of age the last of the original Gannen Mono. He was a samurai who left his lord to come to Hawaii when he heard of the search for laborers to work in the cane fields. Discarding his sword, the mark of his calling, he came. He had never farmed in his life, but by 1885 had worked his way up to luna; in that year the next group of Japanese immigrants arrived. Ishii learned the Hawaiian language quickly, married a Hawaiian woman, and became a Roman Catholic--an early case of assimilation into the new life.35

According to Yukiko Hijiyura, all the Gannen Mono eventually assimilated into the wider community and did not constitute a separate Japanese community, as did the following waves of immigrants. They were too few in number to establish such a community.

Between 1868 and 1885 there was no organized migration to Hawaii by the Japanese. Those who came had been working on American whaling ships and were stranded in the islands. They were more or less assimilated into the local life.

The type of Japanese immigrating largely determined their assimilation rate. The Gannen Mono were nearly all vagabonds from an urban community in Japan and were attracted to emigration as a form of adventure. They were already deviates from the conventions and mores of the old country. They were Buddhist in background, but religion had little to do with their lives. They were emotional deviates from the
familial and conventional ties of the homeland and found it easy to assimilate with the people of different cultures. The 90-odd who remained intermarried, and some became successful.

Circumstances in Hawaii were also favorable to assimilation. At the time of their arrival, other Japanese were few. Therefore, considered as an experiment by the natives and other races and by the government as well, they were shown more than ordinary kindness. Records indicate that even on the plantations they were treated better than other races. The results of the so-called Great Expectations can hardly be called so. Since the number of immigrants who remained was not significant, the attempt to revive the dying population enjoyed little success. However, the 90 who did stay married and produced offspring. Nor did the Planters' Society succeed in its aim: there were too many exaggerated complaints to the board of immigration.

The treaty of amity and commerce sought became a reality in the summer of 1871 because of the success of the Ueno mission. This result occurred only after many near successes and disappointments. Van Reed, writing to C. C. Harris about the Ueno mission, congratulated him "...on the favorable termination of the visit by the embassy." He seemed enthusiastic about the future, and inquired "...of the probability of establishing a Japanese colony here by a Japanese Prince through a land grant or by rent and in what location." Van Reed was reinstated as Consul General at Japan after approval by the Japanese Government and after the treaty had been signed. He had resigned in order that negotiations might have a better chance. Van Reed died in 1873, presumably happy in his accomplishments.

Those of the Gannen Mono who had come to Hawaii to get rich quick and to return to Japan as millionaires to impress relatives, friends, and sweethearts were greatly disappointed. The ones who went back to Japan reentered the same overcrowded, poverty-stricken life in the big city. The young, adventuresome men who came to Hawaii did not find the glory that sometimes accompanies such a venture, but they did find a new kind of life among people of different customs and culture. That was quite an experience in itself.

Since their friends expected them to return wealthy, or at least conspicuously successful, the Gannen Mono delayed their return from year to year. The hardships of plantation life trained them to yield to circumstances. They had a shikata-ganai attitude—a sort of it-can't-be-helped feeling—which led them to make the most of the situation. Then, too, language difficulties and strange customs reduced their original rebelliousness. Finally, age changed the youthful vagabonds to quiet settlers.

NOTES
2. Ibid., p. 4.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid.
16. Pacific Commercial Advertiser, June 20, 1868, p. 3.
18. Ibid., p. 18.
22. Ibid., January 2, 1869.
31. Ibid., A.S. Cleghorn to Bureau of Immigration, March 23, 1870.
32. Ibid., Bishop and Co. to C. T. Gulick.
33. Ibid., Chas. Paty to Gulick.
38. Van Reed to C.C. Harris, March 22, 1870. Archives of Hawaii.

APPENDIX A

Japanese Embassy & Japanese Agent in Hawaii, 1870.
From: Wooyeno Kantoc-no-kami
To: C.C. Harris, Minister of Foreign Affairs

[He returns the "Agreement of Farmers and Laborers for Hawaiian Islands" drawn up in Japanese with translation annexed]

"Agreement of the Farmers and Laborers for Hawaiian Islands"

Three hundred and fifty (350) men of farmers or laborers has contract for Hawaiian in term for service three years (thirty-six months) by wagges of $4 per men.

The thirty-six month will be counted time they have arrived to Hawaiian.

After get permission form the Japanese government the laborers will be divid for 12 company (1 company 25 men) and two headmen will be for one company, each headmen of the company will receive $1 except his wagges.

One headmen or master for all laborers will settled and he will receive $150. for one year as wagges included his feeding.

The laborers want receive here (Yokohama) $10 for one men from his said wagges as advance.

The wagges will be deliver half of the sum of their wagges in every first day of the month in three years from the day left Yokohama and remainder half will be given by the note, Aney laborers want to receive that remainder they explain to this master through head men and remainder will be hand over in changing with said note.

The remainder of their wagges which they have labored will be deliver through the Hawaii Consul General in Yokohama after they have arrived to Yokohama and we shall receive them for send away to his home.

After they has finished their term of service the contracter will send back them to Yokohama from Hawaiian Islands with expense of the Contracter, but if there was aney berey sick man they will remain with one helpingmen and after recovered will be send back as same way.

We warrant and send the laborers off from Yokohama agreement with under signed Hanbey, therefore if any trouble occur about them We shall engage for it and will not give aney trouble to the contracter.

1st day 4the month (Keio 4)

To Mr. Van Reed
Hawaiian Consul General in Japan

(Yokohama Centensianai)
Kameya Kumehachi

(Yokohama Suyehilomachi No. 3)
Kuwanaya Yonezo

(Yokohama Suyehilomachi)
Hanbey

(signatures)

Van Reed
Honolulu, May 21st 1871

To the Foreign Office in the Gov't., H. I.

The latter in these names of Japanese Laborers, thy are wished going Back to the Yokohama, Japan.

Yoshi
Jilow
one
Dai sukey
Gihey
Takey
Te stu
Shincke, He been sick now in Hospitaio
Shuwzoa, " " " " " " 
Fuchiar
His wife Nabu
hea Hach
King now
shia bey
sturu
Gin jiloo
Takey
one child

These names of the Japanese Laborers. The since the expiration of their term of service, they wished to sojourn to this Richest and Beautiful Kingdom.

1. Ma
2. Bun
3. Kame
4. Bunji
5. Kinjilow
6. Kintaro
7. Toyo
8. Takez
9. Chosu
10. Kuma
11. Hankich
12. shuu
13. Masackeh
14. Tow
15. Wazow
16. Tome
17. Tastze
35. shin ckeh
37. Takejiro

Koojilow
Chinw
Han
Ycne
Matai
His wife
shobay
Kuni
Toyockch
stunesez
Kastu
Hez suike
chiow jiro
Ich
Madi goa
Tola
Kuma
Juw rzva

The Sum 37 But we have no count children

These names of the Laborers of Japanese they will going to United States for to learning some arts but by Degrees.

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No. 2 Yow
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As a sum 46

M. J. Sabluw
His agent of Japanese

APPENDIX C

From Archives of Hawaii, Department of Interior Miscellaneous, 1868-1885:

Memo. of Japanese for "Scioto"

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<tr>
<th>Oahu</th>
<th>Bishop and Co. (at Chamberlains)</th>
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<td>Dr. Hillebrand (transfer to Kaneohe)</td>
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<td>F. Molteno</td>
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<td>C.H. Judd</td>
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<td>J.B. Atherton</td>
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<td>J. Richardson</td>
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JOHN COXE: HAWAII'S FIRST SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

by

David Kittelson

Long before the first missionaries landed in Hawaii—in fact, even before most of those pious New Englanders were born—Hawaiians were hitching rides on sailing ships half way around the world. John Coxe was one such inveterate Polynesian tourist. Not only did he sail the seven seas, he portaged across North America, visited England, and wound up as a Hudson's Bay Company swineherd. And if Coxe's own story can be believed, he saw Captain James Cook killed and accompanied Liholiho on the ill-fated trip to Britain.

Thousands of Hawaiians crowded about Captain Cook on a Sunday morning in February, 1779, as he was stabbed and beaten to death on the shores of Kealakekua Bay. In the mob was Na'aukane, the small son of Chief Kamanawa.¹ At first glance, Coxe and Na'aukane appear to be two different people—Na'aukane an ali`i of high birth, Coxe a fur trapper who ended his days tending pigs. Nevertheless, Na'aukane and Coxe may well have been one and the same.²

In 1782, when King Kalaniopuu of the island of Hawaii died, rivals scrambled for his kingdom. Kamanawa and three other chiefs from the sunny Kona district persuaded a young warrior named Kamehameha to lead their armies in a fight to win control of the island. He did his job well. By 1796 he had fought his way to virtual control of the entire Hawaiian chain. The Kona chiefs were rewarded for their support with extensive lands and got posts on Kamehameha's advisory council.³ Later, when Kamehameha moved his headquarters to Honolulu, his chiefs came with him. Na'aukane, then in his early twenties, accompanied his father and probably became involved in court life. Apparently tired of this, he was fascinated by tales of distant lands told by Hawaiians, who had been going abroad in British and American ships since 1787. Na'aukane was interested in the ships which were stopping at Honolulu for provisions.

Most of these vessels were American fur traders on their way to the Northwest Coast to gather pelts for the lucrative China trade. They usually left New England ports with skeleton crews and at Honolulu augmented these with Hawaiians for work on the coast.⁴

In February, 1811, John Jacob Astor's Tonquin arrived in Honolulu, bound for
the Columbia River to establish the Pacific Fur Company's post. Captain Jonathan Thorne got approval from Kamehameha I to recruit islanders and signed on twenty-four Hawaiians, twelve for shipboard duty and twelve for work at Astor's fur posts. Their contracts called for three years of work in return for food, clothing, and a bonus of one hundred dollars' worth of merchandise.\footnote{5}

The ali`i, as eager as any commoner for travel and the haole's goods, decided to send along one of their own to look after the interests of the islanders. Naukane, a member of Prince Liholiho's retinue, was chosen to make the trip.\footnote{6} On board he attracted attention because of his resemblance to a member of the Tonquin's crew, John Coxe. Thereafter Naukane was called by that name.\footnote{7}

The Tonquin reached the mouth of the Columbia on a windy March day and immediately lost eight men and two whaleboats in the rough water. One of the men killed was a Hawaiian. Gabriel Franchere, a clerk on the Tonquin, described the ceremony which the remaining Hawaiians performed over their comrade. One, not identified by name in the account, acted as a priest and led the others in burial rites.\footnote{8} Coxe (Naukane) would have been the logical choice because of his high rank and because of the detailed religious training he had received as an ali`i.

After a few days, fur company officials found a site for the trading post and named it Astoria. This was the base of operations for Astor's northwest fur trade. Coxe was fortunate to have signed on for work at Astoria. Several months later the twelve Hawaiian crewmen of the Tonquin met death when Indians blew up the ship. By July, 1811, the post was well established and David Stuart, one of the leaders, took a small group up the Columbia to set up other fur posts.

Coxe's ability and industry set him apart from the other Hawaiians, and he was chosen to accompany Stuart. The expedition encountered a surveying team of the rival British Northwest Company. Its leader, David Thompson, took an immediate liking to Coxe and traded one of his own men for the Hawaiian. Coxe was released from his contract with Astor and became a Northwest Company employee. With his new friends, he canoed and portaged his way across the fur trappers' inland waterway system. In 1812, Thompson's party reached Fort William on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, the Northwest Company's great inland supply depot and a rendezvous for trappers and company officials.\footnote{9}

Since Britain was at war with the United States, the Northwest Company's officers decided to outfit a ship in England and send it to seize Astoria. They chose Donald `cTavish, John `cDonald, Coxe, and a dozen clerks and voyageurs to do the job.\footnote{10} Coxe went along as pilot because he was familiar with the dangerous entrance to the Columbia River.\footnote{11} The party left Fort William for Montreal--then on to Quebec, where the Isaac Todd took them to Portsmouth, England. There the vessel was outfitted as a supply ship.

Coxe and the Canadiens were kept busy working on the ship. A few days before it was scheduled to sail, the crew got shore liberty. Buoyed up by too much wine and women, the boisterous gang commandeered a small boat and began sailing about the harbor. A press detail boarded their craft and took the fur trappers and clerks to a Royal Navy recruiting ship. Coxe and the others protested that they were already assigned to a ship. One of the clerks was permitted to leave; he reported to `cTavish, who pulled strings with the Port Admiral. The shanghaied group was released the next day.\footnote{12}

On March 25, 1813, the Isaac Todd sailed for Rio de Janeiro in a convoy of forty ships, most of them bound for other destinations. Not a fast ship to begin with, she carried a staggering load of supplies. She also carried a letter of marque, which called for heavier armament. The Isaac Todd left Rio for the Northwest Coast in the company of HMS Phoebe, Racoon, and Cherub on July 9, 1813.
Company officials decided to send McDonald, Coxe, and four voyageurs ahead on the speedier Phoebe. When they reached the Columbia, they were to meet with other Northwest Company employees and arrange for a concerted assault on Astoria, backed by the Isaac Todd. The heavily-gunned Phoebe and Cherub were however soon called on for other naval action. Coxe and the others transferred, this time to the Racoon.

On October 20, 1813, while the Racoon's guns were being tested, powder caught fire and exploded. A sheet of flame swept the ship's deck, killing seven men and injuring twenty-six. Coxe, who was helping at one gun, fell to the deck before the blaze reached him. He was uninjured except for a severely-burned nose.\(^{13}\)

The Racoon got to the Columbia on November 30. There the travelers learned that a party sent overland by the Northwest Company had earlier persuaded the Astorians to sell out. The British took formal control on December 13, 1813, and renamed the post Fort George. Coxe continued to work there until August, 1814, when all of the Hawaiians at the fort were sent back to the islands on either the Isaac Todd or the Columbia.

After he returned to Honolulu in 1815, Coxe probably reverted to his native name, Naukane.\(^{14}\) Although this former fur trapper presumably stayed in Hawaii for the next eight years, there is no record of his activities under either his English or his Hawaiian name. Coxe was about forty at the time, and it is likely that he intended to return to a comfortable life as a lesser chief in Prince Liholiho's court. Although his wages as a Northwest Company employee had been meager, he could have saved enough money to let him live in relative wealth and respectability as the Americans did, especially with the benefits which accrued to him as an ali`i. He was well received by Kamehameha. Not only was Coxe the son of one of Kamehameha's closest advisors, and a member of Liholiho's retinue, but he had traveled widely. Kamehameha urged Hawaiians to sign on sailing ships and work for European and American firms.\(^{15}\) Like Peter the Great of Russia, Kamehameha was eager to westernize his kingdom; well-traveled subjects were good aides in building foreign trade and in strengthening the army and navy.

Kamehameha I died in 1819, and Coxe rose in stature when Liholiho ascended the throne. In 1823, Liholiho decided to sail to England and the United States to seek an alliance. A party of twelve left the islands on November 27, 1823, in the British whaler, L'Aigle. The king, queen, several cabinet officials and chiefs made the trip, accompanied by three servants—Naukane, Kaaweawea, and Kaunuhaimalama. Although the latter were generally referred to as servants or bodyguards, they were ali`i. Liholiho's person carried so much mana that in order to keep himself from being defiled, even his lowest personal attendants had to be of chiefly rank.

Naukane or Coxe, now nearly fifty, was probably chosen not for his physical ability to defend the king but for his familiarity with western ways and his personal ties with Liholiho. Coxe's travels in America and England made him a valuable addition to the party.

Liholiho's group stopped at Rio de Janeiro, where Coxe had previously been on the Isaac Todd. L'Aigle reached England on May 17, 1824, and thereafter the royal party embarked on a round of parties, horse racing, and concerts. On June 10, one of the chiefs came down with measles, and within a week all of the Hawaiians had the disease. Apparently Naukane's travels had built up his immunity, for he was hardly bothered by measles. The king and queen died, however, and two others remained sick for some time.

King George IV held an audience for the remaining Hawaiians at Windsor Castle on September 11. Coxe was present at this event.\(^{16}\)
HMS Blonde was assigned to return the bodies of the king and queen to Hawaii. The ship arrived at Honolulu in the spring of 1825 with but seven of the twelve Hawaiians. Liholiho and Kamamalu were dead; John Rives, dismissed after the king's death, was in France; Kaunuhaimalama had died just before reaching England, and Kapihe, the Hawaiian admiral, had died on the return voyage.

The Hawaiian community was suspicious of the returning voyagers. They had failed to protect their monarchs from harm, and $15,000 of Liholiho's money was missing. In this situation, Naukane probably found it expedient to leave the islands.

The Hawaiian soldier of fortune returned to the Northwest Coast, working for the Hudson's Bay Company, which had absorbed the old Northwest Company. The firm's base of operations had been transferred from Fort George to a new site farther inland, Fort Vancouver. Coxe worked for a few more years; then the company retired him and gave him a plot of land two miles below the fort.

To make the fort self-sufficient, Dr. John McLoughlin, the factor at Vancouver, promoted livestock raising. Coxe came out of retirement to become the fort's swineherd. His pigs grazed on the plains between Fort Vancouver and the Columbia near the Hawaiian's cabin. As had so many other Hawaiians who had come to the damp Northwest Coast, Coxe contracted tuberculosis. He died between 1836 and 1838 after a long illness.

The fort's chaplain, Herbert Beaver, claimed that Coxe was an unbaptized heathen, and denied the Hawaiian a formal burial. McLoughlin respected his swineherd, and he was in the midst of a long-standing feud with Beaver. Despite the padre, McLoughlin read the services over Coxe and had him interred in the fort's burial ground.

The vast plain between Fort Vancouver and the Columbia became the Hawaiian's memorial. It was called Coxe's Plain for a number of years in honor of the now-forgotten ali`i who served both the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay companies so long and so well.

NOTES


2. There are not enough facts to identify Coxe positively as Naukane, although Coxe's fur-trapping activities and Naukane's trip to England are fairly well documented. If Coxe were in England as a royal attendant, he would have been either Naukane or Kaaweawea, two servants. Naukane's lineage accounts for Coxe's presence at Kealakekua and Honolulu a few years later. Coxe claimed to have presented arms before the King of England in 1825. Naukane, not Kaaweawea, is specifically mentioned as having met the king. The lives of Coxe and Naukane are complementary enough to make Coxe's adventure story plausible.

3. Kamanawa and his twin brother Kameeiamoku were also honored by being portrayed on the Hawaiian Kingdom's coat of arms. The twin chiefs stood on either side of a heraldic shield holding a spear and a kahili or feather standard. This remained the official coat of arms until 1896, when the Republic of Hawaii replaced these two figures with the Goddess of Liberty and Kamehameha I. The state of Hawaii seal and coat of arms are essentially similar to the later version.

5. Gabriel Franchere, Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America (New York, 1854), p. 85.
7. Europeans and Americans found Hawaiian given names hard to pronounce and usually gave nicknames to Hawaiians; the latter generally took a fancy to white men's names, adopting them in lieu of their true given names.
9. Ibid.
12. Ibid., p. 45.
13. Ibid., p. 49.
15. Vasili Golovnin, Tour Around the World...in 1817-1819 (St. Petersburg, 1822). Typescript of chapters on Hawaii, translated by Ella Embree, p. 49.
17. Ibid., p. 8.
18. Beaver erred on this point. The entire party of Hawaiians who returned from England on the Blonde were baptized aboard ship on May 1, 1825. Coxe may have held to the tenets of his pagan religion, but he was baptized.

CONTRIBUTORS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS: Roy M. Shinsato produced his paper in Dr. Hunter's class in Hawaiian history at the University of Hawaii.
David Kittelson, a former and valued contributor, is librarian at the University of Hawaii's Hilo Campus.

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Richard A. Greer, Editor
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