WESTERNERS
LOS ANGELES CORRAL
The Branding Iron
J. GOODMAN
WINTER 2021 LOS ANGELES CORRAL NUMBER 301

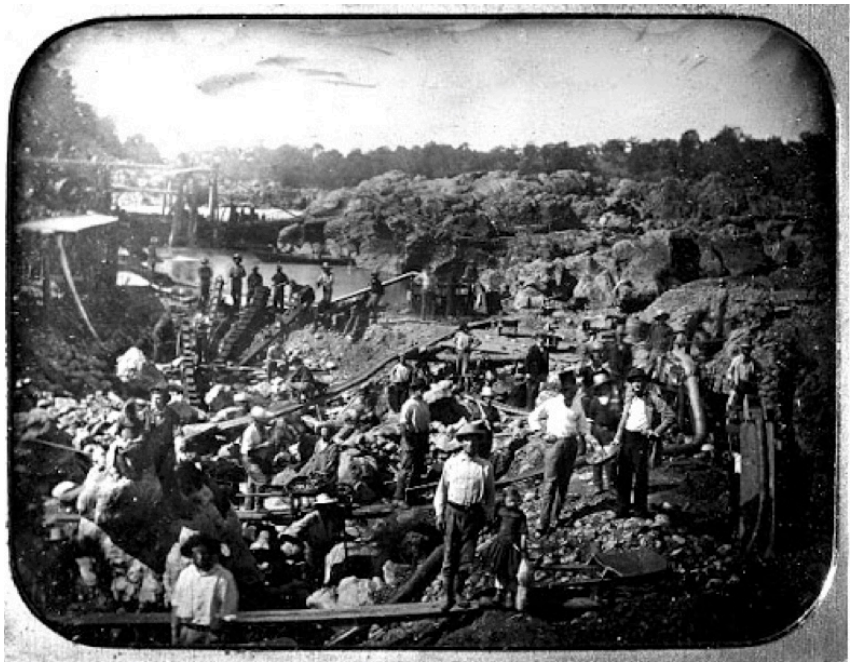


Figure 1: *Mining Operations on the American River near Sacramento, California, 1850. A series of dams have exposed the gold-rich riverbed downstream, over which gold-seekers are swarming. Native Hawaiians are conspicuously absent from this and from virtually all early Gold Rush photographs and artistic renderings. But just because they were not photographed does not mean they were absent from the gold fields. Instead of building dams or diverting entire rivers like white miners, the Hawaiians dove down to the river bottoms to practice their unique speciality: underwater gold recovery. Daguerreotype courtesy of the Oakland Museum photo collection.*

Invisible People and Vanished History: California's Early Hawaiians

Richard H. Dillon and Brian Dervin Dillon

Introduction

The white Americans who rushed to California's Mother Lode in 1849 were too interested in digging for gold to take care of their own souls, much less worry about the souls of the poor Natives they found, then

(*Continued on Page 3*)

The Branding Iron

Los Angeles Corral of The Westerners

Published Quarterly

Winter – Spring – Summer – Fall

For subscription information: Los Angeles Corral of The Westerners, P. O. Box 1891, San Gabriel, CA 91778
www.lawesterners.org

The Branding Iron is always seeking articles of up to around 20 pages dealing with every phase of the history of the Old West and California. Contributions from both members and friends are always welcome.

www.lawesterners.org

See our web site for all the Branding Irons, photos, Corral meetings and so much more!

Editor's Corner . . .

Happy 2021, and—in commemoration of our longhorn masthead—the Year of the Ox! To help beat the cabin fever of quarantine, please enjoy this issue of *The Branding Iron!*

The main feature of this Winter 2021 edition is a joint article by the late Living Legend No. 46 Richard H. Dillon, and former L.A. Corral Sheriff Brian D. Dillon, on the forgotten Hawaiians of the California Gold Rush.

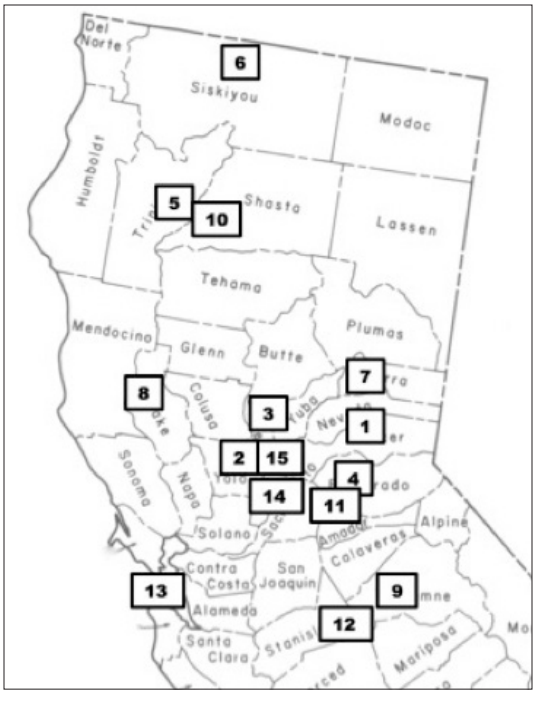
The Corral unfortunately has not met for Roundups due to COVID-19, so there are no meeting summaries in this issue. Yet there is always more Western reading material out there to enjoy, so be sure to read the book reviews by Warren Thomas and Aaron Tate.

Assuming the end of lockdown, our Corral will be hosting its 75th Anniversary Celebration in October 2021. Please see more details and signups at the end of the issue.

Many thanks to all of our great contributors who make *The Branding Iron* something all of us can enjoy. If you would like to share your Western knowledge or experiences in *The Branding Iron*, feel free to contact me with your ideas for articles.

Happy Trails!

John Dillon
John.Dervin.Dillon@gmail.com



1. ***Colfax,*** *Placer County*
2. ***Fremont,*** *Yolo County*
3. ***Hock Farm,*** *Sutter County*
4. ***Irish Creek,*** *Eldorado County*
5. ***Kanaka Bar,*** *Trinity County*
6. ***Kanaka Cemetery,*** *Siskiyou County*
7. ***Kanaka Dam,*** *Sierra County*
8. ***Kanaka Glade,*** *Lake County*
9. ***Kanaka Mine,*** *Tuolumne County*
10. ***Kanaka Peak,*** *Shasta County*
11. ***Kanaka Valley,*** *Eldorado County*
12. ***La Grange,*** *Stanislaus County*
13. ***San Francisco,*** *S.F. County*
14. ***Sutter's Fort,*** *Sacramento County*
15. ***Vernon,*** *Sutter County.*

Figure 2: *Locations of Native Hawaiian settlements and placenames mentioned in the text. Base Map from Beck and Haase, 1974, additions by B. Dillon, 2020.*

pushed aside, in the gold region. These California Indians, who were of many different groups, speaking many tongues, were all lumped together by the ignorant miners and called *Diggers*.[1] This name was given them not because they dug for gold as did the miners, but because the latter thought the former lived entirely upon roots which they dug up for food. The Native Californians did indeed dig for edible roots, but they also hunted and fished and harvested many different wild plants. A more accurate contemporary name for them would have been *Gleaners*, since the greater part of their diet was of seeds, berries, acorns and other plant foods. After the birth of anthropology–the study of humankind–long after the Gold Rush, anthropologists began to classify cultures around the world by their economy. The California Indians consequently became world-famous as classic *hunters and gatherers*.[2]

The first European contact with the California Indians came in 1542, as Spanish explorers worked their way up the Pacific Coast from Central America and Mexico. Sustained contact between the Natives and outsiders began more than two hundred years later, in the 1760s and 1770s, with the arrival of the first overland colonists from northern Mexico. Throughout the Spanish Colonial and later Mexican periods, California's non-Indian population was tiny, a fraction of that of the Natives. This changed with the Mexican War of 1846-48, and even more so during the California Gold Rush of 1848-1859, when a tidal wave of whites from the American East Coast, Europe, even Australia, Asians from China, and Latin Americans from Mexico to Chile overwhelmed the California Indian population.

The Maidu of the central and northern Sierra Nevada foothills were squarely in the path of the earliest gold-seekers. To their south, the Sierra Miwok likewise occupied the gold-rich southern part of the central Sierra and the northern portion of the southern Sierra. To their west, in the upper part of the San Joaquin Valley, lived the Plains Miwok, and then came a great number of Yokuts groups down through the rest of the San Joaquin Valley and into the foothills of the southern Sierra. In the Sacramento Valley, the Maidu extended to the eastern side of the Sacramento River. On the west bank were the Wintun, who extended north all the way up to the McCloud River drainage far beyond the great valley.[3]

All of these Natives were displaced by gold prospectors, miners, settlers and then, much later, farmers and ranchers. When they

proved too recalcitrant, they were slaughtered without hesitation. So, by 1850 most California Indians who had the misfortune to live on or adjacent to gold-bearing streams, and had managed to survive introduced diseases and widespread murder, now lived as refugees. Next the white man brought them another "blessing of civilization:" alcohol, trading it for labor, game, or firewood. Left to their own devices, many abused California Natives drank themselves into unmarked graves, having turned to liquor in their despair.

There were very few ministers among the 49ers and no evangelists among them rose up to save California Indian souls. The Mother Lode and lower Sacramento Valley Natives were saved, though only temporarily, by the most unlikely and smallest group of foreigners venturing to California before and during the Gold Rush: Polynesians from the Hawaiian Islands. These people in the 1840s were known by two names: Sandwich Islanders,[4] by the British, and *Kanakas*,[5] as they called themselves. Today, we call them Native Hawaiians.

Richard H. Dillon (1924-2016) published a scholarly paper in 1955 entitled *Kanaka Colonies in California* in one of the Pacific Coast's premier historical journals. In its very first paragraph he noted that:

> Hawaiians...were on the California scene early [1831], but their contributions...have been given scarcely passing notice by California historians.[6]

What was true sixty-five years ago is still, unfortunately, true today: Native Hawaiians remain the invisible people of California history. All but a very few historians,[7] and even anthropologists,[8] continue in complete ignorance of their presence in the Golden State.

Hawaiians in California Before the Gold Rush

The four best-known mentions of Hawaiians in California before the Gold Rush are those by William Heath Davis (1831) in the hide and tallow trade; Richard Henry Dana (1835) near San Diego, again in the context of Yankee merchants and *Californio*-supplied cowhides; Captain John Sutter's boatmen in the Sacramento River drainage (1839); and young U.S. Army Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman for Yerba Buena/San Francisco (1847). Had other literate observers been interested in ethnographic recording surely additional mentions of Hawaiians in California would have made their way into the historic literature.

William Heath Davis (1822-1909), the son of a Yankee ship captain in the China trade and a half-Hawaiian mother, was born and raised in the Hawaiian Islands. His father died when William was but an infant, and he first went to sea at age nine, visiting California in 1831. Davis learned the sailor's trade through the school of hard knocks, returning to California in 1833. He took up permanent residence there in 1838 when only sixteen, in the tiny hamlet of Yerba Buena, renamed San Francisco a decade later. Quarter-Hawaiian Davis was an expert boatman. He explored San Francisco Bay, the Sacramento/San Joaquin Delta, and the lower reaches of most of the largest rivers of Central California while still only a teenager. He came to know all of the Yankee traders in California, all of the *Californio* families, eventually marrying into one of them, and was familiar with the Mission Indian peoples of the coast and the "gentiles" of the interior. Few individuals by the time of the Gold Rush knew the strengths and weaknesses of all the different races, cultures, and ethnicities comingling in California better than Davis (Figure 4).

When the newcomer John Sutter arrived in California in 1839 and asked for a guide to the interior of the country, it was Davis who guided the Swiss up the Sacramento River to where Sutter's Fort was eventually built. Davis came to be known by various nicknames: *Don Guillermo* to his *Californio* family and friends, *Kanaka Bill* or *Kanaka Davis* to most of his monolingual, English-speaking, 49er contemporaries.[9]

Richard Henry Dana, the Harvard man who took a ship to California in 1834-1835, penned one of the most complete English language descriptions of Mexican California

ever written. He found something to criticize about just about everything and everybody, except for the Native Hawaiians he found up and down the California Coast. Hawaiians were sailors on many of the vessels plying California waters, and in some cases formed their entire crews. Polynesians were the expert boatmen who brought consumer goods ashore through the breaking surf, and the cowhides ("California banknotes") back out through it to the Yankee ships anchored offshore for eventual shipment back to Boston for shoe leather. Hawaiians not infrequently also did the back-breaking work of muscling the heavy, stiff hides around onshore, from *carretas* to the shoreline *bodegas,* and then from these warehouses down to the boats. And, when business was slow, or when they "jumped ship," Polynesians also formed little communities ashore. They interacted with the local *Californios,* with the California Indians, especially the women, and with the occasional Yankee, including Dana. Dana was "beached" and lived with one group of what he called "Sandwich Islanders" on the beach near Point Loma in what is now San Diego County, and considered them the friendliest people he ever met.[10]

Three years after Dana, John Sutter began his Sacramento Valley colony with a half-dozen Native Hawaiians as his first and most important employees: his boatmen. The Polynesians ran Sutter's little fleet, sometimes only a single boat, up and down the Sacramento River, through the Delta, and out onto San Francisco Bay. Sutter's Hawaiian sailors, called *Kanakas* by contemporary writers, brought in supplies from the tiny village at Yerba Buena and eventually began to take out his agricultural products. More Hawaiians came on the vessels that regularly ran between Yerba Buena and Honolulu. Most, if not all, picked up the rudiments of the Spanish language and many took California Indian wives. The very first constructions at what would eventually become Sutter's Fort, and then, only a few years later, Sacramento, were all built by Hawaiians.

Kanaka Harry, one of Sutter's most able and trusted Hawaiian workmen, was put in charge of the Hock Farm, the satellite operation far upriver on the Feather from the Fort, while Maintop (nick-named so by his white sailor friends) was the undisputed "captain" of Sutter's sailing launch. Two Hawaiian women came from the islands with their husbands, and quickly made friends with the local Indian women of the Sacramento Valley. Two years after the founding of Sutter's Fort, a U.S. Naval officer visiting him commented that a California Indian dance Sutter put on in his honor had music 'more harmonious, "almost Polynesian" [compared to the more

Figure 3: *a "Sandwich Islander," probably drawn by Charles Nahl, possibly from Kanaka Creek, Sierra County, published in Hutchings' California Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 5, November 1856.*

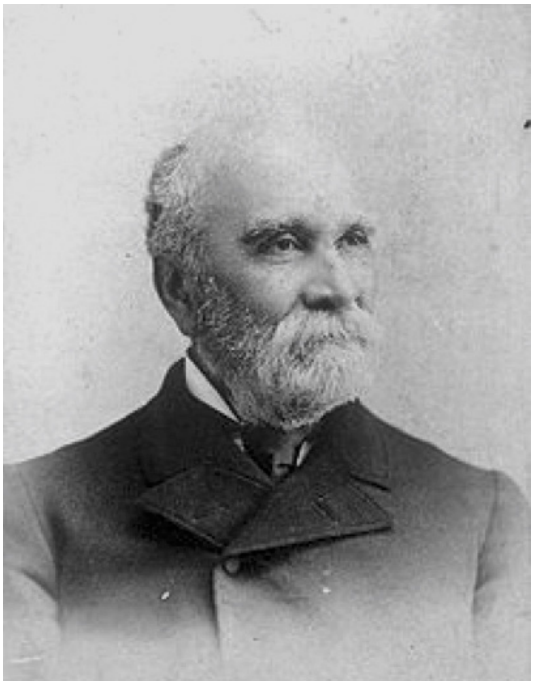


Figure 4: *"Kanaka Bill" aka William Heath Davis, the quarter-Hawaiian California pioneer who married into the Estudillo family and lived in three different worlds: Hawaiian, Yankee, and Californio. Photo courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

discordant Indian music] doubtless owing to the Hawaiian cultural infusion.[11]

Lieutenant William Tecumseh Sherman, in California as a junior officer of the U.S. Army during the Mexican War more than ten years after Dana, noted in July, 1847:

> "we rode into Yerba Buena...Around the plaza were a few houses, among them the City Hotel and the Custom-House, single-story adobes with tiled roofs. . .The population was estimated at about four hundred, of whom Kanakas (natives of the Sandwich Islands) formed the bulk..."[12]

Gold Rush Hawaiians

Before Jim Marshall's discovery of Gold in 1848, most of the Hawaiians in California were sailors who had "jumped ship." After 1848, they came from the Islands in search of wealth, just like any other gold-seekers. The Polynesians had one great advantage over all the other 49ers: they were amazingly adept swimmers. Probably 99 out of every 100 miners in California, be they originally from the Eastern United States, Sonora, or Kwangtung, couldn't swim. So access to the river and stream bottoms where the heavy gold lay could only, at least in their eyes, be gotten through back-breaking engineering efforts, like upstream damming (Figure 1) or stream and river diversion through hand-dug ditches. Early newspaper and diary accounts are full of reports of white 49ers drowning in gold-bearing streams and rivers while seeking riches, or even while crossing watercourses many miles from the gold fields.

Conversely, the Hawaiians, confident swimmers from childhood, simply dove to the bottom of gold-bearing streams, then, holding their breath, swam along them, prospecting and recovering gold nuggets as they went. They also scooped or bagged up gold-rich sand and gravel off the stream bottoms, and brought it to the surface, where the gold particles were separated out. They also learned, early on, to move the heavy boulders on river bottoms, finding the gold trapped underneath them. Thus, Polynesians, the world's best swimmers and divers, were as much at home in the water and even underwater as on dry land. They might recover as much gold from a California stream or river within minutes as would otherwise have taken weeks or months of dam-building or river-diverting, ditch-digging effort by hundreds of white miners, or, much later, the very costly gold dredging boats. Wherever the Hawaiians did this during the Gold Rush, such places came to be named for them: *Kanaka Bar* (for those gold-bearing sand bars where the Polynesians struck it rich) being the most common.[13]

As early as July, 1848, Captain John Sutter led 50 Native Hawaiians up the American River's south fork, in search of gold. Many more followed this first large influx of Polynesian gold-seekers, fanning out over the Mother Lode a year before the late-arriving white 49ers from "back East." Unlike the white American Argonauts who so greatly outnumbered them by the time of

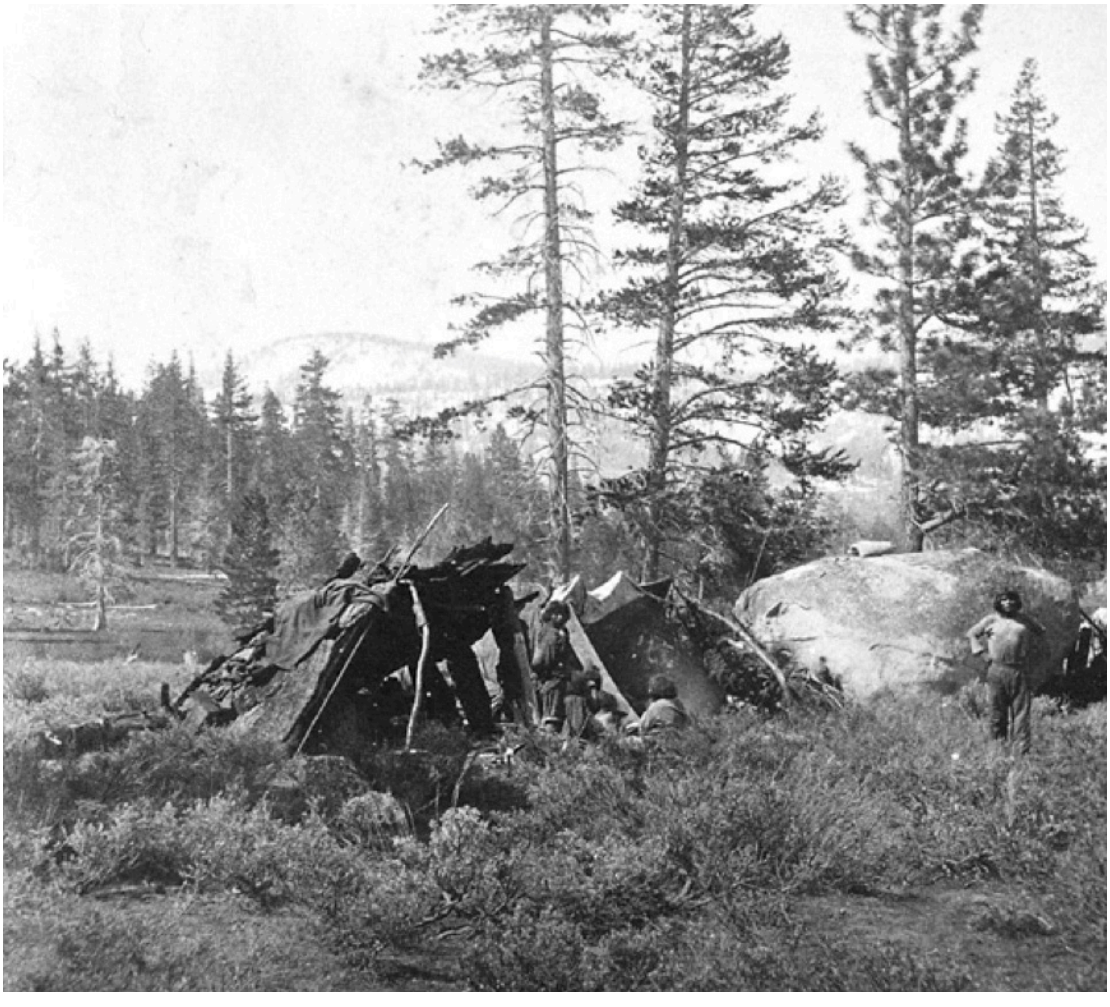


Figure 5: *A typical California Indian temporary camp in the Sierra Nevada of 1860s vintage, where a few Native survivors of intolerant white miners lived in acculturated fashion. The traditional shelter at left was built of bark strips pulled from the largest trees in the vicinity. The smaller one at right was made of cloth obtained from the whites. At the same time that this moment was photographically frozen in time a few mixed Hawaiian-California Indian settlements also existed in California's Mother Lode and Central Valley. Originally part of a stereo pair, Lawrence and Houseworth Photo No. 601, entitled* An Indian Rancheria in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. *Courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

California statehood in 1850, the Kanakas did not so easily leave their religious convictions behind. The Hawaiians who came to California were Christians, having been converted by the New England missionaries first in Honolulu, then on many of the islands other than Oahu. Like many converts to Christianity, they became even more zealous than their teachers and took up the burden of saving the poor California Indians both from the intolerant miners and from themselves. The Hawaiians were themselves treated roughly by the California miners, discriminated against, and sometimes chased off good gold placers by greedy white claim jumpers. They were also forced to pay special mining license fees, since they were adjudged "foreigners." In fact, as early as the California constitutional convention of 1849, presaging statehood in 1850, delegates had already decided to render all Hawaiians in California second-class citizens: along with Indians,

Chinese, and Blacks. Hawaiians were denied the right to vote, to hold public office, and many other "rights and privileges" all California whites not only demanded, but took for granted.

Most white California miners paid little attention to the efforts of the Hawaiians, but their evangelical good work did finally come to the attention of eastern newspapers. One of them reported:

> In various parts of the state are thronged the lowest class of American Indians, upon whom the whites, aided by the largesses of the state and local government, have made frequent wars (they might as well talk of wars with rabbits) while the churches have done absolutely nothing for their salvation. Yet is the good work done by certain Kanakas... from the Sandwich Islands in 1849-50, have settled near them, intermarried with them, and taught them the way of life.[14] [sic]

Some of the missionaries stationed in the Hawaiian Islands visited the Sierra mines during the Gold Rush. One of them, Reverend Samuel C. Damon,[15] of Honolulu, visited a small Kanaka settlement at Irish Creek, Eldorado County, in 1849.[16] Damon found twenty-four Hawaiian men, two Hawaiian women, three Indian women and four half-Indian children. All the wives dressed neatly and were busy sewing or washing most of the time during his stay. The women and children, as well as the men, could read the Bible in Hawaiian and frequent prayer meetings and hymn sessions were held in a big religious hall. The Chief of the Irish Creek *Kanakas* was Kenao, probably the most important Hawaiian in all California. He had built himself a neat clapboard house and kept it freshly painted and papered. He had put a stop to crime and drunkenness in his little village by banishing malefactors. Most interestingly, two of the California Indian wives had learned enough Hawaiian to speak in that language with the Polynesians of that little community. Some of the Hawaiians gave Reverend Damon gold dust to carry back to their relatives in the Islands.

Some time later another Honolulu missionary visited this same hamlet, unfortunately at the time of a smallpox epidemic. This disease was a plague to both the California Indians and their Hawaiian friends and protectors. Reverend Theodore Weld Gulick (1837-1924) a missionary-dentist, whose older brother Luther Gulick was a missionary-doctor who specialized in the diseases of Hawaii, heard the wailing of the Indian women and knew that Kenao had died, following four other deaths in the community within a month.[17]

The Hawaiian community at Irish Creek was fairly prosperous. Others were not so fortunate. At Kanaka Dam in Sierra County,[18] a state agent arrived with a posse with the ostensible purpose of collecting the foreign miner's license fees, but in reality they came only to "jump" the Hawaiians' claims. The pernicious 1850 "Foreign Miner's Tax" of $20.00 per month was only levied against those "foreigners" who were non-white: Chinese, Mexicans, Chileans, Peruvians, and now, of course, Hawaiians. Captain Coxe, the head of the colony, tried to protect his people, but the unscrupulous officer declared that it was too late to receive the license money, since he had already collected a posse to punish those who had ignored the requirement. The mining claims were taken from the Polynesians and given to the official's posse, many of whom were actually foreigners themselves—but whites. Captain Coxe (sometimes rendered Cox) was an *Alii*—a noble, of royal blood. He may have been the son of Keeaumoku II (d. 1824), brother to Queen Kaahumanu, made the Governor of Maui by Kamehameha I, and who was called "Governor Cox" by some English-speakers who had trouble with Hawaiian names.

A larger Hawaiian settlement at La Grange, Stanislaus County,[19] was visited by a third Honolulu missionary, the Reverend John Fawcett Pogue in 1868 long after the initial "rush" was over.[20] He found about twenty-one of the forty or so Kanaka families at home. The rest were scattered far and wide seeking better luck on new claims. The La Grange diggings were worked out and the

Figure 6 (Left): *"Indian Tom" a Southern Sierra Miwok with a clutch of recently-caught trout, Yosemite Valley, 1860s. From a stereo pair by E. and H.T. Anthony #7447.* ***Figure 7 (Right):*** *California Indian woman, probably Central Miwok, near Knight's Ferry, Stanislaus County, 1860s. Lawrence and Houseworth photograph No. 597, Its original legend was "Digger Indian Squaw." Most whites in Gold Rush California treated their Indian predecessors with contempt. Conversely, Native Hawaiians befriended them, married them, and were eventually absorbed by them. Both photos courtesy of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.*

miners had little gold dust to show for their day's labor. Many of the American miners thought the Hawaiians were rich and that they had their money hidden, but Pogue found that they were poor. None of them wished to return to the Islands, however; they thought themselves better off in California's Sierra foothills. They had one "professor" of religion among them and did not drink to excess, but otherwise lived as the white miners did. Suspicious whites now began to speak well of them; the quiet and inoffensive Hawaiians were only accused of a reluctance to pay their debts on time. This was undoubtedly due to their poverty.

When the gold diggings began to fail, some of the Hawaiians turned to fishing, as they had done in the Islands. Vernon, Sutter County,[21] now a ghost town like all the one-time Hawaiian villages in California, was at the junction of the Sacramento and Feather Rivers. Reverend Pogue found eight Hawaiian men, one Hawaiian woman, one Indian woman, and three children there. The colony of Hawaiians and Indians under their headman, Kapuu, prospered from the sale of fish in Sacramento. They caught pike, sturgeon, and salmon. Pogue went fishing with them and saw 125 pike pulled out of the river in a single day. The little Hawaiian Christian community continued to hold church meetings in their school house, even though their religious zeal had diminished somewhat after years in the mines and on the river.

Another fishing settlement, called Fremont, had earlier been located on the opposite side of the Sacramento River from Vernon. A reporter for the *Sacramento Transcript* found a dozen rude huts, some tents and a large central religious meeting

hall there, all within neat fences made of willows [woven] into wicker-work.[22] Around the great central fire the Kanakas would gather at night after work to eat fish and drink tea and converse excitedly in Hawaiian. When the Polynesians abandoned short-lived Fremont, they simply moved across the river to Vernon.

John Makani was one of a kind, a California Indian educated in Hawaii, then sent back to California by the Hawaiian Missionary Board. He ran a school for Indians at Colfax, Placer County,[23] with several other branches nearby. He also held prayer meetings with the local Indians, but admitted that their education, and conversion, was *pa' akiki loa* ("very difficult"). The Honolulu missionary newspaper *The Friend* praised the Kanakas as evangelists:

> It tells well for them, but ill for us, that the first [and he might well have said the last, also] efforts for the salvation of our heathen has been made by these foregoing converted heathen.[24]

Not all the Polynesians in California were men. A few were women, who came with their Hawaiian husbands or older brothers or their white common-law husbands. Perhaps the best known was Captain Sutter's mistress Manuiki, who may have borne him several children at New Helvetia in the early 1840s. A dozen years later "Dame Shirley" (aka Mrs. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith Clapp) noted another Hawaiian woman in rough-and-tumble California. "Shirley" was the wife of a New England 49er doctor who wrote a series of remarkable letters describing life at various mining camps (Rich Bar, Indian Bar, etc.) in the Feather River gold fields of Plumas County. Her 16th letter, dated, May 1, 1852, "From our Log Cabin, Indian Bar" noted that:

> ...the *Kanaka* wife of a [white] man living at the Junction [Bar] has made him the happy father of a son and heir. They say that she is quite a pretty little woman, only fifteen years old, and walked all the way from Sacramento to this place.[25]

Then, in her 17th letter, dated May 25, 1852, she wrote:

> ...the Junction...[is where] the East Branch of the North Fork of the Feather River unites itself with the main North Fork...The little *Kanaka* woman lives here. I went to see her. She is quite pretty—with large, lustrous eyes, and two great braids of hair, which made me think of black satin cables, they were so heavy and massive. She has good teeth, a sweet smile, and a skin not much darker than that of a French brunette. I never saw any creature so proud as she, almost a child herself, was of her baby...the Indian encampment...lies a few miles from the Junction...Indians often visit us...There are about eighty Indians in all at this encampment, a very small portion of which number are women. A hostile tribe in the [Sacramento] valley made a Sabine-like invasion...and stole away all the young and fair *muchachas*, leaving them but a few old squaws...[26]

After gold fever diminished, the Hawaiian settlements disappeared. Some Kanakas returned to the Islands, others died of smallpox and many other diseases they had no immunity from. But most of them were simply swallowed up in the increasing population of California. Two generations ago Richard H. Dillon noted that:

> During the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the Hawaiians were dispersed and assimilated and lost their identity as a racial group in California. Today [1955], no trace of their stay remains except for the few place names [on some of the oldest maps of the Mother Lode] and the rare items scattered in the newspapers of California and Honolulu.[27]

Conclusion

Because of their unique skill—underwater prospecting—California's Gold Rush Hawaiians could recover as much gold in just a few minutes as took weeks or months

of work by their "afraid of the water" white contemporaries. The Polynesians got rich *quick* and got rich *early* too, but soon faded from the scene.

Native Hawaiians are very much the "invisible people" of California history. Apart from sea otter-hunting Aleuts, they were the smallest group of non-whites present both before and during the Gold Rush, their numbers a fraction of the rapidly-dwindling California Indians and the ever-growing numbers of Chinese. Contributing to their "invisibility" was their blending into remnant California Indian populations as early as the 1840s.

As Hawaiian men married Maidu and Miwok women, and had children that no longer spoke Hawaiian, the old, clearly-defined, Hawaiian identity in California became blurred. By the 1870s Polynesians had ceased to exist as a specifically-identifiable racial or ethnic group: they had, for all intents and purposes, acculturated so successfully that they became California Indians themselves. And perhaps it is no exaggeration that the 19th-century Polynesian infusion also helped some California Indian groups adapt to the new and not very Indian-friendly world that the Golden State became once the whites overwhelmed all other peoples in numbers, in language, in customs, and culture.

Postscript

Within the three truckloads of unpublished books, articles, notes, and reference materials junior author Brian D. Dillon hauled from Northern to Southern California after his father's 2016 death was a four-page, typewritten draft (R.H. Dillon, n.d.). Abundant inked emendations indicated later revisits. Two different trial titles were rejected (lined through) by Richard H. Dillon, but a third one was left unmodified. This manuscript was not dated, but the address atop its first page became obsolete in 1968, so it had to pre-date that time. It also post-dated the Dillon family's 1962 stay in Honolulu while RHD was teaching summer session at the University of Hawaii. He made extensive use of archival material at the U.H., the Bishop Museum, the Honolulu Public Library, and the Hawaii State Archives during this visit, including the material his unpublished paper was based upon. The inked and circled inscription, *Unpublished article*, represents RHD's final visit to this draft before he turned to hundreds of later efforts. These ranged from full-length books to short book reviews, all but very few of them published. The present study is the fourth post-mortem resurrection of an unpublished Richard H. Dillon opus by his son Brian. It will not be the last.

Notes

1. ***Diggers:*** this perjorative rhymed with the offensive term in universal use for another despised minority, Blacks.
2. ***Hunters and Gatherers:*** the British anthropologist C. Daryll Forde (1902-1973) perhaps more than any other scholar embedded the Hunters and Gatherers concept in modern anthropology with his seminal book *Habitat, Economy and Society* (1934). Forde was profoundly influenced by the University of California's resident genius, Alfred Louis Kroeber (1876-1960) while studying there between 1928 and 1930. Kroeber had published the seminal book on California Indians (1925) nearly a decade earlier, forever demolishing the old "digger" stereotype.
3. ***California Indian Groups Impacted by the Gold Rush:*** Kroeber 1925.
4. ***The Sandwich Islands:*** were named by Captain James Cook in 1778 after his patron, John Montagu (1718-1792) the 4th Earl of Sandwich. This rich nobleman, as the legend went, was so addicted to cards and billiards that he would not interrupt games to sit down to lunch, so he had his servants bring him simple fare, slices of meat, etc., between two slices of bread. And so the "sandwich" was born. Only the British took their claim of sovereignty over Hawaii seriously: no Hawaiian ever did, nor did any of the Yankee missionaries that, after 1820, comprised the majority of the white island population.
5. ***Kanaka:*** is Hawaiian for "people." Originally a neutral, descriptive, term, towards the end of the 19th century a pejorative connotation

was attached to it. Today, some Native Hawaiians still use it while others shun it.

6. ***Native Hawaiians Overlooked by California Historians:*** R. H. Dillon 1955: 17. Too many examples of supposedly comprehensive books on California history lacking any mentions of Native Hawaiians exist to be listed here in detail. The shining exceptions to this are Duncan 1972, and Rosenthal 2018.
7. ***Hawaiian Place Names in California:*** Gudde and Bright (1998: 189) note no fewer than a dozen Northern California place names with *Kanaka* in them, but specifically identify only one of these, *Kanaka Glade* in Mendocino County. See also the recent Okada, n.d. map for Hawaiian place names in the Sacramento area. ***Kanaka Bar,*** Trinity County (Figure 2: 5) was on the Trinity River, a short distance east of Douglas City, probably on the south bank at the confluence of Indian Creek (R. H. Dillon 1955: 17; Hoover, et al, 1990: 503). ***Kanaka Cemetery,*** Siskiyou County (Figure 2: 6) is on the Klamath River northwest of Yreka. ***Kanaka Glade,*** supposedly in Mendocino County (R.H. Dillon 1955: 17; Gudde and Bright 1998: 189) actually may lie on the East Fork of Spanish Creek, not in Mendocino, but in Lake County, northeast of Clear Lake, in the southeast corner of Mendocino National Forest, a few miles north of Indian Valley Reservoir (Figure 2: 8). ***Kanaka Mine,*** Tuolumne County (Figure 2: 9) was near Second Garrote, present-day Groveland (Hoover, et al, 1990: 526). ***Kanaka Peak,*** Shasta County (Figure 2: 10), lies due south of Whiskeytown Reservoir and due north of IGO, on the Whiskeytown- Shasta-Trinity National Recreation Area. ***Kanaka Valley,*** Eldorado County (Figure 2: 11) is one of the two Eldorado County locations known earlier as ***Kanaka Bar.*** In addition to the Hawaiian settlements and place names located on the Figure 2 map, were ***Kanaka Town,*** Eldorado County near Chili (Chile) Bar at the junction of Irish and Slate Creeks, 2.5 miles S.W. of Garden Valley, near the South Fork of the American River, cartographically recorded as early as 1849. This place was also called ***Kanaka Diggings*** (Miller 1978: 102). Possibly the same population as at ***Irish Creek*** (Figure 2: 4) there were still three or four Hawaiian families living there as late as the 1880s. Two different ***Kanaka Bars*** also show up on early maps of Eldorado County. Both are on the American River, just above the present reach of man-made Folsom Lake. One of these settlements was founded by English sailors who had brought their Native Hawaiian wives with them from the Islands to California (R.H. Dillon 1955: 17; Hoover, et al, 1990: 77). ***Kanaka Cutoff,*** Yolo County, is on the Sacramento River a short distance downstream from Knight's Bridge. Miller (1978: 102) lists a ***Kanaka Bar*** in Butte County north of Bidwell Bar, and a ***Kanaka Flat*** east of Downieville in Sierra County, probably the same location as ***Kanaka Dam*** (Figure 2: 7). Downieville itself got its name in November, 1848, when Major William Downie arrived with a Native Hawaiian called by the unlikely name of Jim Crow, also accompanied by an Irishman, an Indian, and ten Black sailors. The Polynesian of the party even had a local landmark (***Jim Crow Canyon***) named after him (Hoover, et al, 1990: 447).
8. ***Anthropologists and the Hawaiian Presence in California***: Robert F. Heizer (1915-1979) was an "includer" of those minorities overlooked by most California historians apart from Richard H. Dillon. His book *Other Californians* (Heizer and Almquist 1971) features California Indians, Mexicans, Chinese, Japanese, and even Blacks, at least in passing, but omits Native Hawaiians. As an undergraduate (1972-74) and later a graduate student (1974-76) of Heizer's I had numerous conversations with him about California ethnohistory and asked him why he hadn't included Hawaiians in his 1971 book. "Because there weren't any" was his peremptory, and completely incorrect, answer. I refrained from mentioning my father's 1955 publication, which appeared 16 years before Heizer's *Other Californians*: grad students do not challenge their professor's credibility if they want to continue in graduate school. Some years later, two of Heizer's contemporaries became friends and mentors of mine and revealed that they both knew better than he did. Franklin Fenenga (1917-1994) and Fritz Riddell (1921-2002) were former U.C. Berkeley Anthropology students while my fa-

ther was there. Both told me of Native Hawaiians marrying into California Indian groups, mostly Maidu but also Sierra Miwok. Even into the 1990s their descendants were still proud of being part-Hawaiian.

9. ***Kanaka Bill (William Heath Davis) in California, 1831:*** R.H. Dillon 1956; 1957; 1967; Rolle 1956.
10. ***Hawaiians on the Beach in Southern California, May, 1835:*** Dana 1840: 134-143.
11. ***Hawaiians on the Sacramento River, 1839:*** R.H. Dillon 1967: 94-95; 113.
12. ***Hawaiians in Yerba Buena/San Francisco in 1847:*** Sherman 1875: Volume 1, Part 2. An online version of Sherman's July, 1847, observations is also available as *William T. Sherman and Early California History—Part II,* on the Museum of the City of San Francisco Web Page (accessed 2/21/2020).
13. ***Hawaiian Place Names:*** are not uniquely Californian. There are many other examples scattered up and down the coast of the Pacific Mainland, including Oregon (Kanaka Flat) and even as far north as British Columbia, where one Native group in the old Fraser River Gold Rush country took the name *Kanaka Bar Indian Band.* Bright (2004: 199) lists Kanaka Creeks in Washington, Oregon, and Utah, but, curiously enough, not in California, where they are more common than in all three other states combined. He also (Bright 2004: 362) lists Owyhee County, Idaho, and another Owyhee in Malheur County Oregon.
14. ***Kanakas Intermarry with California Indians:*** *The Friend* 1863; R.H. Dillon 1955: 21.
15. ***Samuel Chenery Damon:*** Reverend Damon (1815-1885) of Massachusetts was a Congregational missionary at Bethel Church in Honolulu from 1841 to 1882 and was the editor and publisher of *The Friend* from 1845 to 1884. Damon was particularly interested in saving the souls of sinful sailors, especially those from the American Whaling ships who considered the Hawaiian Islands their most favored debauchery destination.
16. ***Irish Creek, Eldorado County:*** (aka Irish Bar, Indian Bar), was three miles northeast of the Coloma gold discovery location, above the South Fork of the American River near Foster Mountain. Worked by Hawaiians as early as 1849, 25 Polynesians were still living there eleven years later, as per the 1860 census (*The Friend* 1861; 1863; Daily Alta Californian 1862; R.H. Dillon 1955: 17-20).
17. ***The Gulicks***: (*The Friend* 1862; R.H. Dillon 1955: 20) were one of the largest and most dedicated American Protestant missionary families. Peter Gulick (1797-1877) arrived in Honolulu in 1828, first preaching on Kauai, then Molokai, and finally on Oahu. Of his eight children, seven also became missionaries. Oldest son Luther H. Gulick (1828-1891) ended up in Micronesia. Other Gulick offspring served as missionaries in Japan, China, Hawaii, California, and even Catholic Spain. One son, John Gulick (1832-1923) arrived in the California Mother Lode in 1848, coming in from Oregon, and worked as a miner for two years, until 1850. Theodore Gulick, after visiting the Hawaiians at Irish Creek, then attempted to convert Jews to Protestantism in the American Midwest.
18. ***Kanaka Dam, Sierra County:*** (aka Kanaka Bar) was on the South Fork of the North Fork of the Yuba River (Sacramento Transcript 1850; R.H. Dillon 1955: 17). ***Kanaka Creek*** (aka Kanaka Creek Canyon), also in Sierra County, meets the Middle Fork of the Yuba River, near the still-active mining town of Alleghany (*Sacramento Transcript* 1850; R.H. Dillon 1955: 17; Clark 1970: 19; Hoover, et al, 1990: 450-451). Here, Hawaiian miners led by Captain Ross, the putative son of King Kamehameha, worked placer deposits. Another "Captain Ross," this one a *Haole* (white man) by the 1850s was running cattle at Waialae near Honolulu-the exact relationship between Hawaiians of that name, be they Haole or Kanaka, is unclear. A remarkable rendering of ***Kanaka Creek*** (Hutchings California Magazine 1856: 139) shows a tiny, linear, mining town perched high above the creek on a narrow shelf. Unfortunately, no description of inhabitants is included, only of the near-vertical position of the town.
19. ***La Grange, Stanislaus County,*** in the Sierra Nevada foothills, was first called French Bar in 1852. It had a large Chinatown and many California Indians also lived nearby. For a while it was the county seat, but lost this honor to Knight's Ferry in 1862 (*The Friend* 1868; R.H. Dillon 1955; Gudde and Bright 1998:

200). There are no mentions of Native Hawaiians in the Hoover, et al (1990: 489), Clark (1970), Gray (1973), Miller (1978) nor modern internet (Wikipedia) descriptions of this town's history.

20. ***Reverend J.F. Pogue:*** Pogue (1814-1877) from Wilmington, Delaware, came to Hawaii in 1844, married the first white girl ever born in the Islands, and served as a missionary first on Kauai, and then on the Big Island. He later became the head of the Lahainaluna Seminary, and specialized in converting Native Hawaiians and teaching them spoken and written English (The Friend 1868; R.H. Dillon 1955: 21).
21. ***Vernon, Sutter County:*** (aka Old Verona) is shown on the 1851 Scholfield map on the east bank of Sacramento River to the immediate south of its confluence with the Feather River, about twenty miles north of Sacramento City (R.H. Dillon 1955: 17; Gudde and Bright 1998: 411). An erroneous location given by Okada is near present Nicolas on the Feather River just below its confluence with Bear River. A short distance west of the Feather River, just east of Knight's Landing, *Karnak* is almost surely a later garbling of *Kanaka.* No mention of Native Hawaiians is to be found in the Hoover, et al (1990: 494) description of Vernon's town history.
22. ***Fremont, Yolo County:*** is shown as a crossroads on the 1851 Scholfield map on the West bank of the Sacramento River opposite Vernon (*Sacramento Transcript* 1851; R.H. Dillon 1955: 21). By the time the 1857 Goddard map was published, the name had changed to *Fremont's* and the crossroads had become a town. Reverend Pogue reported that the early Hawaiian colony at Fremont had simply picked up and moved across the river to Vernon. Present-day Fremont, due west of Sacramento International Airport, lies south of the older settlement of the same name. The Reverend J.F. Pogue's visit to what he called Freemont [sic] was published in The Friend (1868: 69).
23. ***Colfax, Placer County:*** lies fifteen miles northeast of Auburn (*The Friend* 1868; R.H. Dillon 1955; Gudde and Bright 1998: 85). There are no mentions of Native Hawaiians in the Hoover, et al (1990: 264), the Clark (1970: 38), Miller (1978) nor modern Wikipedia descriptions of this town's history.
24. ***John Makani's Preaching at Colfax:*** was described by the Reverend J.F. Pogue in *The Friend* (1868: 69).
25. ***Young Hawaiian Wife of a White Miner:*** Clapp 1949: 140.
26. ***Maidu Women Kidnapped Wholesale:*** Clapp 1949: 146-148.
27. ***Hawaiian Colonies Disappear:*** R.H. Dillon 1955: 23.

Bibliography

Alta California [San Francisco Newspaper]
1862 May 24.

Bright, William
2004 *Native American Placenames of the United States.* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

Clapp, Mrs. Louise Amelia Knapp Smith [Dame Shirley]
1949 *The Shirley Letters from the California Mines, 1851-1852.* Introduction, Notes, by Carl I. Wheat. Alfred A Knopf, N.Y.

Clark, William B.
1970 *Gold Districts of California.* California Division of Mines and Geology, Bulletin 193, San Francisco, CA.

Dana, Richard Henry
1840 *Two Years Before the Mast.* Harper and Brothers, New York. [Penguin Books, NY, 1964].

Dillon, Richard H.
1955 *Kanaka Colonies in California.* Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 24, No. 1: 17-23.
1956 "Kanaka Bill" in California. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin,* March 31: 4-5.
1957 William Heath Davis, The Kanaka Pioneer. *Westways,* Volume 49, No. 7, July: 6-7.
1967 *Fool's Gold: The Decline and Fall of Captain John Sutter of California.* Coward-McCann, Inc., New York.

Dillon, Richard H. [cont'd]
n.d. *Hawaiian Evangelists in the Gold Rush* [1st title, typed, crossed out]. *California's Hawaiian Ghost Towns* [2nd title, penciled, crossed out]. California's Gold Rush Hawaiians [3rd title, ink]. Undated (1962-1968) 4-page typed manuscript.

Duncan, Janice K.
1972 *Minority without a Champion: Kanakas on the Pacific Coast, 1788-1850.* Oregon Historical Society, Portland.

Forde, C. Daryll
1934 *Habitat, Economy and Society: A Geographical Introduction to Ethnology.* Methuen Publishing Ltd, London.

The Friend [Honolulu Newspaper]
1861 February 1.
1862 July 1.
1863 February 2.
1868 August 1.

Goddard, George H.
1857 *Britton & Rey's Map of the State of California.* Lithograph by Britton & Rey, San Francisco, CA.

Gray, Thorne B.
1973 *Quest for Deep Gold: The Story of La Grange, California.* Southern Mines Press, La Grange, CA.

Gudde, Erwin G. and William Bright
1998 *California Place Names: The Origin and Etymology of Current Geographical Names.* [4th, Revised, edition]. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Heizer, Robert F. and Alan F. Almquist
1971 *The Other Californians: Prejudice and Discrimination Under Spain, Mexico and the United States to 1920.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

Hoover, Mildred Brooke, Hero Eugene Rensch, Ethel Grace Rensch, William N. Abeloe and Douglas E. Kyle
1990 *Historic Spots in California.* [4 , Revised, edition]. Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Hutchings California Magazine
1856 Mountain Scenery in California (1/5). [in *Scenes of Wonder & Curiosity, Hutchings California Magazine, 1856-1861,* Roger R. Olmsted, ed. Howell-North, Berkeley, CA, 1962: 135-142].

Kroeber, Alfred Louis
1925 *Handbook of the Indians of California.* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, Washington, D.C.

Miller, Donald C.
1978 *Ghost Towns of California.* Pruett Publishing Company, Boulder, CO.

Okada, Sharon
n.d. *Sacramento's Hawaiian Connection.* Full color, interpretive map, posted on the Internet.

Rolle, Andrew
1956 *An American in California: The Biography of William Heath Davis, 1822-1909.* Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

Rosenthal, Gregory
2018 *Beyond Hawaii: Native Labor in the Pacific World.* University of California Press, Berkeley.

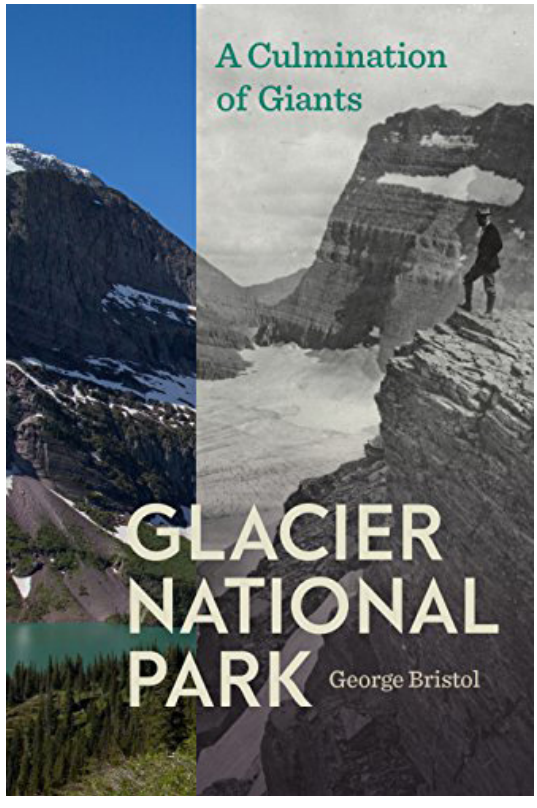
Sacramento Transcript [Newspaper]
1850 September 21.
1851 January 22.

Scholfield, Nathan
1851 *Map of Southern Oregon and Northern California.* Litho by J.W. Hartman, San Francisco, CA.

Sherman, William Tecumseh
1875 *Memoirs of General William T. Sherman* [2 Volumes]. D. Appleton and Co., N.Y.

Down the Western Book Trail . . .

GLACIER NATIONAL PARK: A Culmination of Giants, *by George Bristol.* University of Nevada Press, Reno, 2017. 218 pp. Illustrations, Maps, Notes, Bibliography, Index. Softcover. $25.95.



The successful establishment of a national park often results from the convergence of multiple players with different motivations: those with the desire to protect a resource rooted in aesthetic or scientific considerations, those who see a commercial advantage and, conversely, those who are convinced that the land is worthless for any other purpose. All three of these motivations played an important role in the establishment in Montana of Glacier National Park in 1910, the nation's tenth. Added to these are the persons who preserve, protect, and exploit the park in its subsequent history. These players are the giants in the title of George Bristol's *Glacier National Park: A Culmination of Giants,* the fifth in the America's National Park Series, edited by Pomona College Professor Char Miller. Bristol admits to a more than fifty-year love affair with the park, beginning with his employment on a seasonal trail crew in 1961 and leading to his role as a co-founder of The Glacier Park Fund (now The Glacier Park Conservancy) in 1999.

Although many people played a role in the park's establishment, including sometimes reluctant congressmen and senators, two prime movers emerge in Bristol's account. First is outdoorsman George Bird Grinnell, nationally recognized conservationist in the 19th-century sense, editor of the influential magazine *Forest and Stream,* and founder, with Theodore Roosevelt, of the Boone and Crockett Club. The other is Louis W. Hill, son of "Empire Builder" James J. Hill and president of the Great Northern Railway, whose right of way formed the southern boundary of the park as finally established.

Much as the Northern Pacific regarded Yellowstone and the Santa Fe the Grand Canyon, Hill saw the potential for generating passenger traffic to a destination served almost exclusively by his railroad. To this end, Hill lobbied for the park's establishment, and afterwards developed hotels and back-county chalets to lure well-heeled travelers away from vacations in Europe. In keeping with this vision, he favored vaguely Swiss-style architecture and coined the phrase "See America First," a motto eventually incorporated into the railroad's logo. Hill was the dominant factor in the park, developing it as a resort and controlling the many services necessary as adjuncts to the lodging he provided. After the founding of the National Park Service in 1916, Hill had to contend with the equally forceful Stephen T. Mather, another of the giants Bristol writes about.

Much like the importance of Southwest Indians in the Santa Fe's promotion of the Grand Canyon and surrounding region, the Blackfeet, whose reservation adjoins the park to the east, had a major role in the visitor's experience in Glacier. Bristol provides a

chapter on the history and ethnology of the tribe, in particular their unfortunate relations with white settlers and their government. Significantly, the entire portion of the park east of the Continental Divide was originally part of their reservation, but sold back to the government as public land in 1895 to allow for mineral prospecting. Ironically, the ultimate failure of profitable mining in the so-called Ceded Strip aided in the subsequent argument that the park would incorporate otherwise useless land. Blackfeet played a significant role in entertaining visitors to Glacier Park, particularly in the Great Northern-dominated eastern portion, as costumed greeters, performers, and souvenir sellers. A village of painted teepees was erected prominently on the grounds of the Glacier Park Hotel.

In the process, misconceptions crept in. The Blackfeet were portrayed as the "Indians of Glacier," whereas they were and are ethnologically Plains Indians who had only used the lands of the park seasonally. To cater to the tourist's pre-conceived notions, the Blackfeet wore Sioux (Lakota)-style war bonnets rather than their own headdress. Unless employed in some capacity, however, the Blackfeet were not allowed inside the hotels.

The automobile, and Stephen Mather's vision of national parks serving a wider audience, eroded the dominance of Hill and the Great Northern. Author George Bristol gives a detailed account of the building of the Going-to-the-Sun Road across the Continental Divide, an engineering tour-de-force completed in 1934, which transformed Glacier into an automobile-accessible park. Major contributions by the Civilian Conservation Corps and the later Mission 66 to enhancing the experience of visitors are well described. The development of Glacier's companion national park in Canada, Waterton Lakes, and their mutual relationship get only a brief treatment. Bristol does recount that Louis Hill built the Prince of Wales Hotel in Waterton during Prohibition in order to offer his clientele the option of alcohol in "wet" Alberta.

The strength of this book is its locating the history of Glacier National Park in larger context—its relation to the local native peoples, the establishment and role of the National Park Service, trends in public perception of conservation and fire prevention, and future challenges resulting from visitation by millions of annual visitors. Perhaps most relevant are the steadily advancing effects of climate change, estimated to eliminate the last of the glaciers in the park by approximately 2030. Other "giants" make appearances in the larger history of the park—among them John Muir and both Roosevelts.

Bristol's footnotes are plentiful and his bibliography comprehensive. Joining an unfortunate trend, a significant minority of references are to internet links, whose longevity is always in doubt and which should have been replaced by the more durable published references they are derived from. For a subject in which geography plays an important role, the two maps are inadequate in number. Regrettable too is the frequent and jarring insertion of the first person and a writing style that sometimes veers off into the folksy or colloquial, contrasting with the scholarly intent of the book. The opening chapter on geology should have been revised or omitted.

On balance, this book is a good introduction to the history of Glacier National Park and its future challenges. For those having an interest in pursuing the subject further, the bibliography is an asset.

— Warren Thomas

A WHIRLWIND PASSED THROUGH OUR COUNTRY: Lakota Voices of the Ghost Dance, by Rani-Henrik Andersson. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 2018. 416 pp. Illustrations, Footnotes, Bibliography, Index. Hardbound, $39.95.

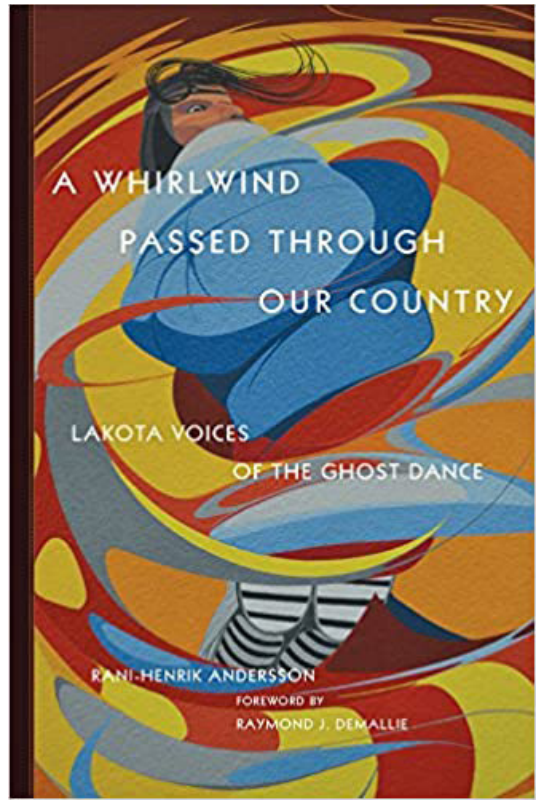
In *A Whirlwind Passed Through our Country*, Rani-Henrik Andersson assembles dozens of Lakota Indian accounts to show that there was not a single Lakota perspective on the Ghost Dance. Anderson argues that the Ghost Dance was a peaceful religion, not an excuse to start a war with the United States, as was the persistent view of the events that led up to the Massacre at

Wounded Knee. Far from making the Lakota bellicose, the Ghost Dance religion preached peace and assimilation into the reservation system. The reward for good conduct, praying, and performing the Ghost Dance was to meet family members in the afterlife and renew the world to a time before the arrival of the white man. Unfortunately for the Lakota, this millenarian dream ended in tragedy.

The book is split into four parts: accounts from people who believed in the Ghost Dance; those who once believed in the Ghost Dance; those who didn't believe in or care about the Ghost Dance; and people who were against the Ghost Dance.

Although this book is filled with extremely interesting primary accounts when taken one at a time, reading it cover to cover can be a bit of a chore. Each account is grouped with others that are somewhat similar, making for a repetitive reading experience. This feeling is amplified right off the bat with the accounts from Ghost Dancers in the first section. The account of a vision someone had in a religious trance is about as interesting as listening to someone recount a dream they had last night. They may have had a life-altering moment, but they aren't able to effectively convey into words what was an essentially supernatural experience for them. The following three sections do not have the issue of retelling dreams or visions, but several topics are rehashed over and over again. At a certain point your eyes tend to glaze over and attention begins to wander, and before you know it, you have to start reading the account all over again. Some better editing could have avoided these issues.

While not a book to read for entertainment, it is full of extremely important information about the Lakota or Sioux people and the hardships they were suffering that lead some to adopt the Ghost Dance religion. The United States government had promised them specific amounts of food and money in return for the cession of their land and their relocation onto reservations. However, Congress steadily reduced the funding promised to the reservations, and the Indian Agents stationed to them were frequently corrupt and stole from even these meagre

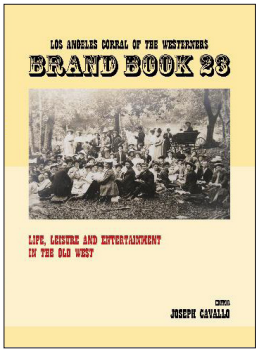


sums. It is no wonder that many Lakota professed faith in the Ghost Dance religion. It promised a return to life before white encroachment had so catatrophically altered their culture. It was a time when they could hunt and grow food like they used to, and could be reunited with their ancestors. They had no idea that this religion would be misinterpreted as seditious, and would lead to the slaughter of around three hundred Lakota at the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890.

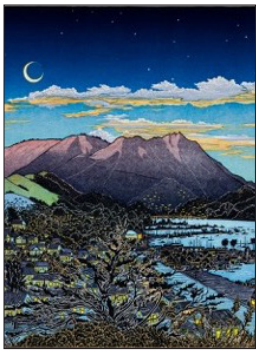
This book is important for our understanding of the history of the Ghost Dance, the Lakota as a people, and the United States' policies towards indigenous peoples. The sheer amount of time and effort Andersson took in researching, collecting, and translating the sources for this book is staggering and deserves recognition. Although not for the average reader, Andersson's book makes a meaningful and useful contribution to the field of American Indian ethnology.

— Aaron Tate

Los Angeles Corral of the Westerners Brand Books:



Brand Book 23, edited by Joseph Cavallo, is ***Life, Leisure and Entertainment in the Old West.*** It contains ten outstanding chapters, all by leading authors from the Los Angeles Corral. Price for L.A. Corral Members: $40. Non-Westerners price is $60.00+5.00 shipping. Please send orders, including your return mailing address, to: PO Box 1891, San Gabriel, CA 91778, checks payable to *Westerners, Los Angeles Corral*, including a shipping charge of $5 for the first copy and $2 for each additional copy for USA mailings. Questions? Please call BB 23 Editor Joseph Cavallo at (626) 372-5126 to reserve your copy.



Brand Book 24, edited by Brian Dervin Dillon, is ***Aloha, Amigos! The Richard H. Dillon Memorial Volume.*** Dick Dillon (1924-2016) was a world-famous western historian, author of dozens of prize-winning books, and Westerners International Living Legend No. 46. This book includes a biography of RHD, culture-historical studies and paeans by his friends and admirers from four different Westerners Corrals, and a comprehensive bibliography of his published works. Price for all Westerners is $25.00, plus a $5.00 shipping charge for U.S. orders. Non-Westerners price is $35.00 + 5.00 shipping. Please make your check out to *Westerners, Los Angeles Corral*. Send your order, with return address, to: PO Box 1891, San Gabriel, CA 91778. For questions, please email BB 24 Editor Brian D. Dillon at briandervindillon@gmail.com.

Special Issue *Branding Iron*, Coming Soon!

Craving more *Branding Iron* reading? You can help by sharing your stories! The next installment of our hit thematic specials will be about the music of the West.

Now, this doesn't just mean *Country Western* music—all genres are welcome! Feel free to contribute history articles or personal anecdotes about performers, bands, instruments, concerts, and everything musical.

To be considered for publication, please submit your articles by August 15th, 2021. Please observe a minimum article length of a half page, single-spaced. Illustrations are welcome and encouraged.

For submissions and inquiries, please contact *Branding Iron* editor John Dillon at John.Dervin.Dillon@gmail.com. Thank you all, and Happy Trails!

Mark Your Calendar and Sign Up for our *Spectacular, Post-Pandemic*

LOS ANGELES CORRAL 75th ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION /WESTERNERS INTERNATIONAL 3rd ANNUAL GATHER!

Only 7 months to go before our two-day extravaganza on

Friday, October 8 & Saturday, October 9, 2021

Saddle up your pegasus and come on down! (Sgt. William T. Dillon photo, Mexican Border, 1914).

Join all of your Westerner Friends at San Fernando Mission, Hot Rod Night at Bob's Big Boy, the Autry Museum, and the Hacienda Turner to *Celebrate the End of the Pandemic!* Come for two Days of Educational Entertainment, Guided Mission and Museum Tours, Music, Dancing, Dining, Drinking, the Biggest Western Book Auction in the U.S. of A., Eskimo Wrestling, Shovel Racing, Best Cowboy Hat and Boot Contest, Ugly Pickup Truck Competition, Hot Rods, Prestidigitation, and the WI Annual Awards Ceremony!

$85.00 per person for both days. Friday Catered Lunch, Saturday Catered Dinner, and Free Bar both days Included! Late Registration fee (After August 1, 2021) is $95.00.

Fill out the Handy Order Form inserted in this issue of the *Branding Iron* and send it, with your check made out to *Westerners, Los Angeles Corral,* to our 75th Anniversary Wranglers at:

Los Angeles Corral 75th Anniversary, 16007 Lemarsh Street, North Hills, CA 91343