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A Tahitian in the History of Hawai'i: The Journal of Kahikona

THE MANUSCRIPT

THE PORTION OF A JOURNAL LEDGER held at the State Archives of Hawai'i that was written by Toketa, a Tahitian teacher to Hawaiian chiefs in the 1820s and 1830s, appeared in the 1979 *Hawaiian Journal of History*.¹ The remainder of that ledger contains the journal kept by Kahikona, another early Tahitian teacher of Christianity in the entourage of Hawaiian chiefs. It is his fragmentary journal that is presented here.

Toketa's journal encompassed only the months of May and June of 1822, while he was in the household of Kuakini, the Governor of Hawai'i island. Kahikona's journal, on the other hand, spanned the years 1826 to 1867, albeit very sketchily.

Like Toketa's, Kahikona's journal was translated by Henry P. Kekahuna while employed at the State Archives. The present translation is based upon his work. In the original translation, the entries appear in a numbered sequence set up by the copy typist of both journals. In Toketa's journal, these numbers coincided with a chronological sequence, whereas Kahikona's entry dates

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were sporadic, and entries were interspersed at random (some even upside down) with little regard for chronological order. For this paper I have reorganized Kahikona's manuscript by repositioning entries according to his own chronological dating. I have indicated each repositioned entry by adding, in brackets, the numbers assigned by the copy typist. Annotations have been interpolated for historical background or for clarification of some entries. The journal has been abridged by the omission of a number of medical remedies found in the original. Their entry numbers have been noted for reference.

INTRODUCTION TO THE JOURNAL

Kahikona's journal is one of the very few depictions we have of Hawaiian life during the period of transition from the basic subsistence lifestyle to that of "labor for profit" in the emerging market economy. Kahikona, although a Tahitian, represents that stratum of low-ranked Hawaiian chiefs still under the domination of the high chiefs but without the protective reciprocity of "service" *vis-a-vis* "care" of the earlier society. His journal allows a glimpse into the life of such a man of the times—one who seems to have worked diligently but seems never to have attained any degree of prosperity.

We learn from Kahikona's journal that he had left his native homeland in 1818, that he had gone to the Pacific Northwest, and that he arrived in Hawai'i in 1819. Like other Tahitians before him he probably came on an American trading vessel whose captain had picked up Tahitians as sailors on the way to the Pacific Northwest with the intention of dropping them off again in Tahiti on their return. In the course of a stopover in Hawai'i, some of these sailors remained here. As early as 1796 we find three such Tahitians in the employ of Kamehameha I, and in the early 1800s we find notice of others. Of those who stayed in Hawai'i, a few at least, including Toketa and Kahikona, were able to read and write in their own language, and had some rudimentary knowledge of Christianity, all taught them by the English missionaries in the Society Islands. Their knowledge of reading and

writing in the Tahitian language was easily adapted to the Hawaiian language, which made them valuable as teachers in the early days of the American missionary efforts in Hawaii.

When Kahikona "jumped ship" at O'ahu in February of 1819, he probably went immediately to Hawaii island. There he must have spent some time in the service of Kuakini, also known as Governor Adams, as he received the land of Onouli, Kona, from Kuakini in 1821. This land he held until 1845 when Charles Kana'ina, father of the future King Lunalilo, took it from him in the name of his son.²

Kahikona seems to have gone on to Kaua'i before May of 1822, for he is not mentioned by Auna, the Tahitian chaplain whose journal recorded the attendance of Toketa at his worship services at the household of Kuakini in Kona.³ On Kaua'i, we find Kahikona associated with Keali'iahonui, son of Kaumuali'i, the King of that island. Both of these chiefs had been taken as husbands by Ka'ahumanu in 1821. After the death of Kaumuali'i in May of 1824, an insurrection on Kaua'i occurred that was quelled, it was sincerely believed by the missionaries and the victorious chiefs, through the power of the Christian God. Ka'ahumanu, with her husband Keali'iahonui, then spent a period of nearly four months on that island. The Reverend Samuel Whitney reported that she "urged on the work of instruction by the help of several native teachers" and that in this work Kahikona was "useful."⁴ Ka'ahumanu returned to Honolulu on February 9, 1825, with her entourage, which included Kahikona. The Reverend Charles Stewart described him as the "private tutor and chaplain of Kaahumanu and Kealiiiahonui."⁵

Missionary Levi Chamberlain recorded that Kahikona preached sermons in Honolulu in the fall of 1826, and he is listed in 1827 as one of the "Native Assistants" to the missionaries "employed to conduct prayer meetings among the people at different places . . . as well as in teaching and superintending schools."⁶ Thus we find Kahikona among those Tahitian converts who became teachers to the Hawaiian chiefs and whose early influence upon them was at least as effective as that of the missionaries.⁷ A measure of that influence is seen in gifts of lands. In 1827, Hoapili-wahine,

Ka'ahumanu's sister Kaheiheimalie, then holding most of Moloka'i, gave him the land section, or *ahupua'a*, named Kumimi, which he held until 1840 when her daughter Kekāuluohi took it from him. In 1829, Kahikona was in the entourage when Boki took the young King Kauikeaouli to Hilo. There Boki, guardian of the King, prevailed upon the landholding chiefs to proffer their Hilo lands to the King, which were then redistributed among his followers by Boki. In this distribution, Kahikona received the *ahupua'a* of Pueopākū, one half of which was awarded him in the Māhele, or Division of Lands, in 1848.

THE JOURNAL

The first entry in Kahikona's journal is dated in November of 1838. It was triggered by some recollection, as it concerns an incident that took place in 1826. This was the visit from January 16 to May 11 of the U. S. warship *Dolphin* commanded by Lieutenant "Mad Jack" (John) Percival. Percival demanded that Ka'ahumanu rescind the *kapu* (tabu) prohibiting women from visiting the ship, and upon her continued refusal a riot ensued. The Reverend Hiram Bingham, whose home and person were attacked, gives an account of this incident.⁸ It is clear from Kahikona's journal that Percival's arguments for the release of the *kapu* on women were heard by those close to the chiefs.

Friday, November 28, 1838. The opinion of the married people of Great Britain and of Maui, we were told, was that they would not be angry at their elder brothers and parents if they took any articles such as clothes, money, a lei perhaps, or handkerchiefs or a comb, a gold bracelet, or food and fish. I would be welcome to such things. A shared mate (punalua) would be the same. If a woman slept with a man it was no one's concern but theirs.[60]

Kahikona appears to have remained with Keali'iahonui after that chief separated from Ka'ahumanu in the summer of 1825. This was a prerequisite to their acceptance as candidates for Christian baptism.⁹ In 1828, on January 16, Keali'iahonui married

Kekau'ōnohi, a granddaughter of Kamehameha I and one of the principal chiefs of Maui. Kahikona apparently accompanied Keli'iahonui to Maui, where he was given a houselot in Lahaina by Kekau'ōnohi.¹⁰

The next entry in the journal is dated in August of 1839. By this time, Kahikona's wife, Lonokahikini, whom he had married 1828, had long since left him. He and his patron chiefs, Keli'iahonui and Kekau'ōnohi, had joined the Lahaina Congregation, and all three of them had been guilty of violating covenants of the church. In 1830, Keali'iahonui had been suspended for adultery and in 1837 "for habitual neglect of public worship without sufficient reason." In November of 1832, Kahikona had been suspended "for falsehood, having signed a pledge to abstain from smoking, but having violated it;" in 1833 and again in 1837, Kekau'ōnohi had been suspended for drunkenness. In each case, the chiefs had been reunited with the church, but Kahikona was excommunicated in 1835, having been "proved guilty of striving to prevent others from returning to the bosom of the church."¹¹ Kahikona acquired as an unwed wife Kamaka, the sister of his former wife, and embraced a strictly secular life, although he maintained ties of friendship with Tauā, the Tahitian teacher who had come to Hawaii with the Reverend William Ellis on his return trip in 1823, and who remained a faithful and active member of the Lahaina church. Tauā, written as Kaua, is mentioned several times in the journal.

August 8, 1839. A French ship lay at anchor at this time. The birth of Kale [Kahikona's son by Kamaka] took place. A white man had stabbed himself at that time. On the 30th of July the King lost two thousand dollars.[61]

The entry refers to the arrival of the French warship *l'Artemise* under the command of Captain C.P.T. Laplace. He had been sent to Hawaii to demand, among other things, freedom for the Roman Catholic religion in Hawaii. As surety for compliance with his demands, Captain Laplace demanded and received a

deposit of \$20,000 (not \$2,000, as Kahikona has it) from Kamehameha III.¹²

The journal resumes some five months later, and from then on refers to incidents that took place on Maui.

January 25, 1840. A government road was being built then. During those days, at the time the king gave Hoapili-wahine the land of the deceased chief [her husband Hoapili-kane, who died January 3, 1840] I spoke to Kauikeaouli about Hanaula [in Lahaina district, Maui], as a place for Kaua and me to farm. I petitioned him for Kumimi at that time.[62]¹³

We had a conference with Kaleleiki and the tax assessors at Keawaiki. Auhea was there also. I agreed to pay the labor tax in money; I shall not go to the Poalima [workdays] of Kaleleiki.¹⁴

May 31 [1841?]. Our cattle were held by [the *haole*] Kamana¹⁵ in Launiupoko. They had trampled his land. [He said] two dollars would have to be paid for each animal, then they would be returned to the owners. Because the chiefs of this land are afraid of the *haole*, the white men enjoy themselves making demands.

The land was not injured by the cattle, nor its crops destroyed. There was a charge of twenty-five cents a day for the time that the cattle remained with them—one day.[63]¹⁶

July 21 [n.d.]. This was the day I was put in prison.

So begins Kahikona's first telling of the injustice done him by Kekāuluohi, *Kuhina nui* from 1839 to 1845. In 1827, the *ahupua'a* of Kumimi on Moloka'i, containing some 125 acres, had been given to Kahikona by Hoapili-wahine. The land was taken from him by Kekāuluohi in 1840 for the King to award to one of his (and her) favorites, the *hapa haole* (half Caucasian, half Hawaiian) John Stevenson, also called Kiwini. The records of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles (the Land Board) detail Kahikona's claim for Kumimi.¹⁷ The supporting testimony of one of the three witnesses to the gift, a lesser Maui chief by the name of Pikanele, states:

The King gave it to Nahienaena; she gave it to Hoapili-kane; he gave it to Hoapili-wahine; she gave it to Kahikona—in 1827. He held it until 1840, when the land was taken. Kahikona long refused

to part with it because of the King's giving it to him. Auhea gave it to Kiwini. Kahikona denied it to him saying the King had given it to him, Kahikona. Then he was put in prison—through no fault of his own.

Kahikona's date of July 21 for his imprisonment is not consistent with his later account of the matter, which gives June 23, 1840 (entry 207). The dates within the earlier entry (64) are not completely consistent with the true dates of either June or July of 1840, but the period of his imprisonment, 49 days, would have encompassed June 23 to August 11, 1840, the last being the date he later gave for his release (entry 207). The earlier entry continues:

I received hard poi (paiai) from Kekauonohi that night. Thursday: well fed. Friday: hungry. Saturday 22 and Sunday 23, I was hungry. Monday 24: six bundles of paiai from Hoapili-wahine. Tuesday 25: slightly satisfied. Wednesday 26 and Thursday 27, I was hungry. Friday 30: the end of this month. I received paiai and some aku fish from Hoapili-wahine. I was well fed this day.[64] August. This is a new month. Saturday 1: hungry. Sunday 2: well fed. Monday 3: a calabash of poi and some aku fish from Kekauonohi. Tuesday 4 and Wednesday 5: well fed. Thursday 6: hungry. Friday 7: well fed. Saturday 8, Sunday 9 and Monday 10: I was hungry. Tuesday 12: hungry. Wednesday 13: some paiai and some kala fish from Kekauonohi. Thursday 15 and Friday 16: I was hungry. Saturday 17, Sunday 18 and Monday 19: I was well fed. Tuesday 20: hungry. Wednesday 21: well fed. Thursday 22 and Friday 23: hungry. Saturday 24: well fed. Sunday 25: hungry. Monday 26: no food. A day completely famished. Eighteen days of hunger have passed. There were 17 days when there was food. This makes 35 days. Tuesday 27, Wednesday 28, Thursday 29 and Friday 31: these were days of great hunger.[65]

The journal resumes with a double entry not explained in context. The first may have referred to the cattle at Launiupoko (entry 63, May 31) and the second to a period when he was manufacturing molassas at Hāli'imaile plantation (entry 67, June 8).

January 29, 1841. It was there that Hoapiliwahine gave the cattle to me, Kahihona.

Pupuhi¹⁸ bought 13 gallons of molassas for three dollars and twenty-five cents. One gallon [was sold] to Ilae [Nāpōhaku] and one to another man—sales of fifty cents. Two gallons [were sold] to Pika, three to Keaka; five gallons were kept.[66]

The next three entries must surely have referred to June of 1841 rather than 1840, or after his period of imprisonment rather than before. They concern his going to Hāli'imaile in Hāmākuapoko, Maui, to start or to manage a sugar plantation for his patrons, Kekau'ōnohi and her husband Keali'iahonui.¹⁹

June 8, 1840 [probably 1841]. During those days I talked with Kekauonohi and Keali'iahonui about my going to Haliimaile to live and work for their enrichment. I would grind their cane and do whatever they wanted to be done.

The horse Pakaka was another thing [discussed]. I asked Kekauonohi for a horse to ride because it was a long distance for one to travel without a horse.[67]

[No date; written in Tahitian] It is the place where the Tahitians had a battle and where some chiefs from Hawaii [Raiatea] came and caught them.[68]²⁰

June 23, 1840 [probably 1841] I arrived at Haliimaile about this time. I am waiting for Kua to prepare the work that I am to do. He explained the preparations of the chiefs—he told me they were supplied with iron pots and other equipment. I had heard that they did not have any equipment, nor did they have much land. In my opinion I am the one who is more equipped.[69]

July 13, 1840 [probably 1841]. I waited during these days.[70]

Kahikona makes no further direct reference to the plantation at Hāli'imaile until July of 1848, when Judge A.W. Parsons took it over.²¹

The next entry is dated after the Paulet episode, when Lord George Paulet, commander of the British frigate *Carysfort*, forced a provisional cession of Hawai'i to England.²² The ceremony of

cession took place February 25, 1843, and for five months Hawaii was governed by the British Commission set up by Paulet. Among its edicts the commission ordered a registration of all lands held by foreigners. Among the nearly 200 claims registered was that of Daniel Kahikona:

. . . Be it known that I Daniel Kahikona a native of Otahaite one of the Society Islands do hold a piece of ground or building lot in the town of Lahaina on the Island of Maui, known by the name of Waianae the said lot was granted me by Kekauonohi in the year 1825, which I have held possession of since that time. I also hold a piece of land in the district of Hilo on the Island of Hawaii by the name of Pueopaku the said land was granted me by H. Majesty Kamehameha in the year 1827, which land I have held in my possession since that time. . . .²³

Taking advantage of the circumstances, Kahikona also petitioned for the return of the land of Kumimi, writing separately to Paulet and the Commissioners:

. . . Your humble servant is a native of Tahiti, and has been a resident of these islands about 25 years.

In the year 1830, the late Premier Kaahumanu now deceased gave me a piece of land on the Island of Molokai, which I held ten years. The name of the land is Kumimi. But in the year 1840 I was deprived of said land by the present Premier, Kekauluohi, and confined in irons more than a month, all of which was done without a proper trial. I therefore do appeal to your honorable body for redress of grievances, and that I may be reinstated in my former possessions, as aforesaid. . . .²⁴

Just a week before Rear Admiral Richard Thomas arrived in Hawaii and restored the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom, the son Kale, born in 1839 to Kahikona and Kamaka, entered school.

July 19, 1843. Kale was entered in Mr. Steele's school.²⁵ He took a bucket and twenty-five cents.[71]

September 13. I gave a dollar [to the schoolteacher]. Two dollars and twenty-five cents have been given. Kale was ill for three and a half weeks.

[Original written upside down in journal] Part of the wealth of the two of us (maua) is in money.

October 21, 1843 [sic]. Taapaaina bought a horse from Kauikeaouli. Twenty-five dollars remains to be paid for it when it gives birth.[91]

November 19, 1843. Ahu asked me for a dollar for the box of bottles and to pay the rest when I have it.[72]

March 9, 1844. Two dollars were brought to me for the starch.[73]

In the year of the Lord, 1844, May 25: They brought back the horse this month.[74]

Although undated, there now follows a reference to a land agreement. [166].

January 10 [n.d.]. This is the day we made an agreement about the land of Kukuipuka. It was agreed that all those who desire to use the upland and seaward parts should pay a dollar to the overseer (luna) of the land.[166]²⁶

January 29, 1845. A word about the purchase of the horse. Ten months have passed in which we have given pasturage to the horse. If it becomes pregnant and gives birth to a female that will make it all right. But if the colt should be a male, we will get a female to replace it. We have 186 goats.[167]

January 20, 1845. An agreement concerning the raising of the goats: 65 goats were in the original flock. If 100 should be born, half of them shall be his, and so on. If more goats or horses are obtained, half of them shall be the share of each of us.[168]

[n.d.]. 2 3 5 8 4 9 1 6 00 0 7 000
a e i o u h k l m n p w

[Henry Kekahuna explained this cryptic entry by annotating his translation: "This is a Hawaiian numerical and alphabetical code (hua alulua)."[169]

Concerning the beer of Kahikona and Kaleleiki. On March 7, 1845 four bottles were drunk, worth fifty cents.

The itemized account that follows covers March 7 to 17, 1845, and shows the number of bottles [drunk?] and their cost in hapawalu and in cents. Seventy-six bottles, amounting to \$9.75, are accounted for.[170]

Not in the order in the translator's copy, but chronologically there is now a reference to Kahikona's legal wife, Lonakahikini.

August 7, 1846. Lonakahikini had been using (ai aina) a piece of land called Paleleha [Paleileiha] in Waihee that belonged to Kekauluohi. Before she [Kekāuluohi] died [June 5, 1845] she gave the land to [her husband] Kanaina, and he gave it to me. Afterwards it was awarded to him, as she had given it to him earlier.[75]²⁷

August 10, 1846. Fourteen dollars and five hapawalu (\$14.62-1/2) was the amount [paid] for leasing land at Paleileiha; this was the total amount.[94]²⁸

September 11, 1846. Kale entered Mr. Steele's school on the 11th of this month, for two dollars a month. In October I paid with two dollars worth of produce.

Two dollars was paid from September to February [1847]. In March the payment was reduced to one dollar a month; the government pays the other half. In April I paid one dollar—on the 15th, 1847; May, June, July, August one dollar. In September I paid a half dollar in cash. In November, four bundles of hard poi worth one dollar. December 9, still paying.[92]

We have \$1.75 left.

Obscure references to business transactions follow that seem to pertain to sales and receipts for bundles of hard *poi*.

Seventy bundles plus 6, that is, nine eights (walu) plus 4 (76), was the first debt.

After 100 bundles two dollars and fifty cents were taken on credit. One hundred—12 walu and 4—added to 76 is 176 or 22 walu for the total.[93]

September 17 [1846]. The tax assessor, Kuihelani, investigated us. A destructive land tenant (*hoa aina*) by the name of Kapuipui was dispossessed. He had dug up the land, broken the fishpond, and pulled up the taro.[76]

[n.d.] I went to Honokawai [in Ka'anapali] and entered upon a land at Puulena. It was in December of 1846 that the land became ours (*ia maua*).[77]

October 16, 1846. A remedy for aches or soreness (*cha*): tap roots of uhaloa and nohu, with some salt and just enough urine to moisten.[78]²⁹

December 8, 1846. During these days Apolo used the cattle to drag (*kauo*) [break up the land]—until January 8th. Thirteen dollars was the payment for the month.[79]

January 11, 1874. Namauu took three barrels of poi; it was six dollars for the three barrels.[80]

January 21, 1847. Apolo used our cattle again for dragging this month. There are ten days remaining in the month.[81]

January 7, 1818

I left the land of my birth and went to the Northwest (Nowesi). The next January—1819—I left there, and came ashore at Oahu on February 27, 1819. Kamehameha died on May 8, 1819.[84]

February 10, 1847. I was weighed on the consul's scale at Luaehu [in Wai'anae, Lahaina]. I weighed 206 pounds.[85]

February 17, 1847. The wall was measured during those days.[86]

March 31, 1847. Apolo used our cattle for dragging.[89]

The name of Kahikona's estranged wife again appears:

April 19, 1847. Lonokahikini bought a boat from Akuila.³⁰ The price was seventy dollars. Fifteen dollars and fifty-cents remains to be paid. Sixty dollars were paid for some repairs to the boat.[83]

April 31 [*sic*], 1847. Seven and five hapawalu dollars (\$7.62-1/2) was received; Napukeha came with ten dollars. Twice he brought

three hapawalu (\$0.37-1/2). From Namakahikieha came nine and five hapawalu dollars (\$9.62-1/2).

Our new boat brought in thirty dollars and we received thirty dollars for the taro of our land with Kanaina [Paleileiha].[95]

June 28, 1847. This place where we live, with all that is on it, belongs to the two of us.

Henry Kekahuna's note on the above entry reads: "Original written in Tahitian; translated by John Hills, probation Officer at the Court of Domestic Relations." [172]

September 9, 1847. I was weighed again on the haole storekeeper's scale at Kaeo's house; I weighed 212 pounds.[87]

August 8, 1839

Kale was born at this time. The king gave money to the French ship in July, and Kale was born in August.[88]

September 29, 1847. I borrowed \$30.00 from Kalua [of Honokōwai, Kā'anapali] to buy a rowboat. I gave \$28.00 to Kaailau [of Lahaina], leaving a balance of \$22.00 to complete the purchase price of \$50.00. The oars cost \$2.75.[90]

October 24, 1847. Kale had an herb doctor, a kahuna lapaau. He had ea [thrush] and paaoao [a vesicular disease]. The kahuna was a blind woman known by the name of Kameehonua.[98]

November 10, 1847. I paid \$11.25 to Kalua, the principal and interest for the month of October [on the loan for the boat, made on September 29, 1847].[101]

November 22, 1847. Napukeha has given four bundles of hard poi to Sihoni Ailamu.

Sihoni has no trouble with food on shore here. Napukeha supplies it, and sometimes we do also, when Napukeha is in difficulty. The minds of all become as one in times of trouble. Sihoni had almost capsized out on the ocean. The wind was blowing hard, the gale and waves were raging, and he was wrecked on shore.[192]

November 24, 1847. Kimo has permitted Sihoni to live in Keoni's canoe shed. His payment will be \$1.50. If paid in taro, it will be two [dollars] worth, or four bundles of hard poi. . . .[103]

February 29, 1848. I gave \$9.50 to Kaailau [for the boat purchased on September 29, 1847], making a total of \$42.50 paid.[104]

September. Kale entered school on the 12th of this month, 1846. Two dollars a month is the tuition. In September [1847] \$1.00 was paid. In October two dollars was paid by two bunches of bananas; November by two birds; December by one bird; January [1848] by a two-dollar hatchet. In February \$2.00 was paid, and on March 10 I gave \$1.00 to Mr. Steele.[171]

May 6, 1848. Kalaikini³¹ said that \$7.00 is to be paid for my ox, which was sold long ago—after the taxes on it were collected—because they had not been informed [of its sale].[173]

May 7, 1848. Kaailau killed a cow; he still owes \$2.00. I have now paid \$44.50.[105]

May 29, 1848. Kale threw a kukui nut at Kauai's daughter. Fifty cents was the payment for throwing the kukui by mistake. June 2, 1848, at 11 o'clock. Kale's nose has been injured—it was punched by Uwea's boy.[174]

June 7, 1848. Kahula [of Lahaina] has taken \$5.00 to pay for taro—20 bundles of hard poi.[106]

June 17, 1848. I told Kahanau that he had better make clear how many cattle Kalaikini is to take to another place. The two said it would not be good to move the cattle. There will be another [tax] payment soon [so] they have changed their minds—they just want money.[175]

June 29, 1848. Our friends have taken 15 walu (120) bundles of hard poi to Lanai to exchange for fish—aku fish.[107]

July 17, 1848. We had a conference about the planting of sugarcane. The haole Judge [Parsons] will grind the cane and boil it, then it will be divided with the one who furnishes the firewood and hauls it to the place of work.[100]³²

July 20, 1848. Kale found two dollars by the box of the big-stomached white man, husband of the Spanish woman. They had been stolen. Kamahalahala got half of Kale's money. Some boys said that neither Kale nor his parents should get any of it. That's what they said. Kamahalahala demanded the money and got it.[176]

September 6, 1848. My wife made some suggestions. She said, among other things, that her quilts were dirty. I told her that was because she didn't wash them. This resulted in a quarrel, the point of which being that I had no wealth. She said her quilts were from her bosom friends. Your excrement is the soap, she said.

She said it would have been better for her if she had taken up with another man. She said, Why don't you build a house, in order to humiliate me. If I did as she said we would both be penniless. There was no reason for her finding fault.[187]

September 6, 1848. Regarding the beer of Kahikona and Kauai. I did not receive payment for the first day's sales.

An itemized account follows for days 1 to 30, showing number of bottles sold each day (1-12) and what is either the amount owed or amount paid in hapawalu. No unit price per bottle can be determined from these figures.[164]

[n.d.] Regarding Kahikona's hiring of Makala, a barrel maker—The payment agreed upon was three hapawalu (\$37-1/2) for a small barrel.[165]

November 1, 1848. A man who came from a foreign country is living with me. It has been said that his countrymen wear no clothes. He came from a country known as Oalolai islands [Aroraë, Gilbert Islands]. He came on a whaling ship, and a Tahitian known as Kamu brought him to my place at 5 o'clock in the evening. They understood one another as they conversed together.[108]

[n.d.] Altogether 13 walu (104) bundles of hard poi [were sold], leaving 9 walu (72). Four dollars and a half were received for the breadfruit and sugarcane. One walu and 7 (15) coconuts and 3 walu (24) of awa [roots] were exchanged for taro and \$1.50

[paid] for the select ones. I am owed for 4 walu and 7 (39) bundles of hard poi. There were 5 walu and 3 (43) left of the old; 3 walu and 5 (29) were sold. The coconuts were not included.[109]³³

I, Kanaina, agree with you, Kahikona. According to what you have told me, you have been konohiki of Onouli since the time of Hoapili-wahine, Liholiho, Kekauluohi and Lunalilo. Onouli is yours after Lunalilo and me. This is what I say to you.³⁴ C. KANAINA Luaehu, December 27, 1845[111]

In the month of January, on the 14th day [1849]. This was the day on which Palala told me that Ninito and her company had arrived. She had been sent for by the king to be the wife of the chief.³⁵ Palala was so anxious to tell the news that his breath seemed exhausted in telling the story.[199]

March 4, 1849. Auhea oe, Analuhi—We all agree on your payment for the month of March. If Keoni is successful in obtaining 5 walu and 4 (44) bundles of hard poi at Waihee, your payment will be a third of the walu and perhaps 4 over. . . .[177]

April 16, 1849. Ten dollars and a half were taken to Kikane at Waihee for the rent, and \$1.50 besides.[178]

April 24, 1849. Today the two of them [Kamaka and her friend Poli] began to wash the clothes of the woman who gave birth at Kawida's house.[179]

July 4, 1849. I abandoned my wife's land because of the spiny things she planted to beautify her land.[112]

August 5, 1849. I answered Kalaa'u, Kalua's son, saying "Auhea oe, Kalaa'u—I am suspicious [of your statement to me] because Kekauonohi said nothing to me earlier that if Kalua lacked firewood he could go and break off dry branches from the bread-fruit trees planted by me, Kahikona." [113]

January 10, 1850. Kuaiwa hired some men to weed the pond and paid out three quarters. The men were from Wailau, Molokai. Moo is one of his hired men. In one month Kuaiwa paid out fifty cents. By the 12th he had paid out a dollar and a quarter.

January 20. Three quarters were paid Peniamina [Benjamin] for weeding.

January 25. There are three men, two of whom are weak. One dollar and a half was to be paid; Kuaiwa paid three quarters and held back three quarters. The debt of \$3.00 will be paid in full when they are finished the weeding.

January 27. He paid Moo three quarters for weeding his auwai ditch.

February 28. There are some men at Namauu's place from Ehunui; one dollar and a quarter was paid them for 3 days' work, and Kuaiwa has paid out \$5.00.[114]

April 25, 1849. The first payment towards the \$11.00 has arrived—it is \$5.50. The principal of the loan has not decreased much—\$5.00 of it remains to be paid.[180]

May 11, 1849. I told my wife that she was not lazy when it came to making hats for nothing for the aristocratic people. That caused more ranting. She said she would get something when her work was seen. Watch out for your own welfare, I said. Maybe these aristocrats will continue to make a servant of you. . . .

[n.d.] I said to my wife, Our actions are surprising. I approach you like a lover, but you don't respond like a wife. We find fault with each other and speak harshly to each other. This has been our way since the beginning. I am tired of your frequent scoldings. I want for us to separate because of your complaints about my smoking and not buying good clothes for you when our friends buy good clothes for their wives. I told her it would be a blessing if we separated and end her being tired of me and me of her. It was in the night that we talked of this. She told me she had simply assented to the chiefs' wishes that I be her husband.[189]

May 21, 1849. I told my wife that she should get some lumber for her father to make into a trough because I have only one piece. She answered sharply that Paluina [Reverend Dwight Baldwin] would make her father a trough—that was how poor people got things done.

She and Poli had a few dollars, \$5.00, for washing clothes.[190]

May 22, 1849. Kale spoke provokingly to his mother concerning the poi she had given to Kaikena. There was only a little taro, and

no money to buy more. His mother told him, The poi was mine; from my own land. Where is yours? Go mix it.[191]

June 2, 1849. My wives [sic] laughed at me because I was searching for the quill pen. It belonged to all of us anyway.[192]

September 19, 1849. Paupau spoke to me saying Hapaha (\$.25) shall be the payment on your breadfruit trees. I protested, saying No. My land is taxed \$.50; hapawalu (\$.12-1/2) should be the tax on the trees. He insisted on \$.25. I agreed to this if the konohiki [headman of a land division] would give me water for my plants. He consented to give me water for cultivating within my enclosure, however it would flow through their land onto my parcel.[193]

Translator Kekahuna noted that the following transactions did not specify bags, pounds, or packages, and that he chose to use "bags".

October 1, 1849. Four bags of salt have gone for nothing, just been used up. Palau took two bags of salt; did not pay for them. Four bags sold for a quarter apiece, one bag for three hapawalu [\$.37-1/2]; altogether 11 bags, worth \$1.62.

October 1, 1849. Nine bags of salt have gone for nothing, just been used up. Two to Palau were not paid for. Four were sold for a quarter apiece and one for three eighths of a dollar; a total of 15 [16] bags. . . .[194]

There is only one entry for the year 1851. It was a year of some importance to Kahikona, however, for it was in that year that he divorced Lonokahikini. The divorce proceedings were held in Honolulu on June 16, 1851, before Judge William L. Lee. Lonokahikini confessed that she had been separated from her husband "a great many years," and that she had had illegitimate children by Kauli, "who has sailed to California." A witness testified that Lonokahikini and Kahikona had been married by Mr. Richards, had lived together for one year, and had been separated for twenty-three.³⁶

Also in this year, Kahikona was one of the 25 signers of a petition to the 1851 Legislature requesting that Kalepolepo be

allowed to become a trading port. Among his fellow signers were David Malo, Ilae Nāpōhaku, Akuila Moku, and P. Nahaolelua, soon to become Governor of Maui. The petition cited the difficulty of bringing potatoes to market at Lahaina by rowboat, that the potatoes rotted because of being wet by the sea, and also because "it is hard work."³⁷

December 30, 1851. This is a document to Kalaikini explaining that he is to be the caretaker of my cattle so that there will be no uncertainty about it. I have three breeding cows and three calves. One calf will perhaps be sold to pay [the tax] for these cattle, leaving five.

Kalaikini told me to make out this statement.

By Kahikona[195]

March 10, 1852. I told Elia that Taua and I are partners. Elia and Piopi ma form Elia's company. Elia did not take his horse there to their land. His horse was let into my enclosure. Twice he let his horse into my enclosure. I regret the trampling of my enclosure by their big animals. The earth will perhaps be hard to cultivate, for one thing.

For another thing, I spent \$10.50 for a title [to my land]. Six dollars went to the man who did the surveying.³⁸ The owners of the horse and cattle did not help me pay for this. I alone paid.

It was the right of the stranger—the right of the malihini [stranger, newcomer] Polena—to be taken into the house, perhaps because it was raining. He was given help, this malihini. He was bidden to sleep on my good bed, without asking permission of me. Perhaps that was to irritate me.[196]

March 7, 1852. That night Kale was haunted by a wandering ghost, right at the door of our house. How sad for him to see that evil thing. He was strongly affected by it. He staggered about, throwing pebbles at it and calling out loudly. His voice was almost gone by the time I got out of the other house. I had not seen such a thing since I was a small child. In the morning Kale's voice was gone. He has been afraid of such a thing happening since he was little, and now it has happened.[197]

Kahikona, understandably, again goes back to the time of his beloved son's birth:

August 8, 1839. This is the month, day, and year in which Kale was born. It was at the time when the money of the king was taken by the French. The sum was \$2,000 [\$20,000]. [198]

Kahikona now reviews the events of 1840 involving his claim to the land of Kumimi, Moloka'i, his dispossession by Kekauluohi, and his imprisonment. The account here is a copy of a letter written to the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, and it was probably written after Kahikona had gone through the procedure established by the Board requiring that claims to lands be made before February 7, 1848, and to be attested to by witnesses.³⁸ No action seems to have been taken on the statement by the Land Board.

Auheha oukou e na luna ho ona kumu kuleana aina—

I was imprisoned by the chiefs of the Hawaiian Islands. I, Kahikona, have a claim to land on Molokai, Kumimi by name. I received it from Kaahumanu and Hoapili in the year of Our Lord 1827, on June 29th. The land was in my possession for thirteen years, during which time I occupied Kumimi. I occupied it until 1840. Then I was removed from the land because of the death of Hoapili, husband of Hoapili-wahine. At that time [January, 1840] the lands of the deceased were divided up, setting apart the king's share of Molokai, Lanai and Makawao [Maui] from that of the heirs. . . . [200]

At this time Hoapili-wahine said to me, Listen, Kahikona, you go and get our piece of land before someone else asks for it. I agreed. I went and found the king at Namaau's residence. I told him that our chiefess had ordered me to see about our piece of land known by the name of Kumimi on Molokai. The king said to me, What belongs to you two belongs to you two. Who, indeed, is going to take away your property? However, you are under me. I spoke again, saying Let there be a written statement of possession. He replied, I am the statement. I returned and told Hoapili-wahine the king had consented. She said, It is well. [201]

February 2, 1840. I went again to the king. I said, I hear that you are going to give away our piece of land. He denied it, saying, I will not give it to anyone else. What belongs to you two belongs to you two. I returned to my place.[202]

March 10, 1840. I went again to the king. I said to him, I am going to Molokai to put my land in order, to plant it, and to see about the taxes of the tax assessors. The king said, I thought you had already gone. I said, I have been ill. This is the first time since then that I have been able to travel. The king assented to my intentions, saying, Go and attend to our piece of land. That's what he said.

I said to the king, Don't give my land to someone else. He agreed that he would not, saying, I will not give away what is yours. I said, If you give the land to someone else I will hold on to it. The king said, Hold on to it. If someone comes, drive him away. I spoke boastfully, and so did he as we two talked. I said, The matter is settled. Then I went to Molokai.[204]

May 6, 1840. I was on Molokai two weeks when written statements of eviction came—seven of them. When I received the seventh one, I said to the bearer, Who do these notices come from? He said, They are from Kekauluohi, the premier. I said to him, Wait before you evict me until I see if what we two [Hoapili-wahine and I] talked about with the king at Lahaina is so. My land came from the king, and it is for the king to dispossess me because we two agreed with him that if the land were given to someone else I was to hold it. My possession comes from the king and I am not going to give up the land until I learn what the king considers right and good. Then the matter will be settled.[205]

June 10, 1840. The messenger came again to evict me. It was Kekauluohi who gave him the order. I said to him, My land is not from Kekauluohi but from the king. Therefore Kekauluohi found fault with me.

I was put in prison. Kekauluohi said that I had refused to do the will of the Royal One, and to obey the law. The mistake that I made was to state that my land had not come from Kekauluohi but from the king. Thus the land was permanently taken away from me. I did not know when it was taken, because I was

imprisoned in the fort, and so did not hear that it was gone. My association with people had ended.[206]

June 23, 1840. This is the day that I was imprisoned. I was not properly tried. Questions were asked, and that was all. I was imprisoned in hunger for 49 days. I was released on August 11, 1840.[207]

In 1852, at the time when many of the Land Board awards were being finalized by survey and payment of commutation fees, Kahikona made one last attempt to regain Kumimi. He and his friend Tauā wrote a joint letter to the Reverend Baldwin, then in Honolulu, repeating the story of Kahikona's imprisonment and requesting that Baldwin ask the King to reinstate Kahikona as the owner of Kumimi.³⁹ No last minute appeals were effective; John Stevenson received title to Kumimi.⁴⁰

The journal resumes.

September 5, 1852. Polena was most unreasonably angry. He is a Tahitian. It was the anger of the ancient time of ignorance in our land, before our time. It was evil and disgusting.[208]

September 10, 1852. I paid a dollar for a shirt, four dollars for a jacket of blue serge, four dollars for a jewsharp. Altogether \$42.50 went to [the wife] Kamaka, plus \$2.50 more.[209]

By October 26th the total to her was \$49.66.[209]

Some 20 years after his excommunication from the church, Kahikona shows evidence of having reverted to the teachings of his Christian youth and of turning to the Bible for comfort:

[n.d.] . . . He shall minister judgment to the people in uprightness (Psalms 9:8).

. . . the wicked is snared in the work of his own hands (Psalms 9:16).

. . . the expectation of the poor shall not perish forever (Psalms 9:18).[210]

April 29, 1853. I went to Oahu [in Kula]. Maua stayed to watch the place. Kale told me a Tahitian had taken my book. Maua did not know it had been taken.[126]

September 15, 1853. I gave Kale some fatherly advice. He had said in jest to an elderly person: May you be roasted in an underground oven. Those were the words that were resented and caused my advising him. They call Kale a half-haole, half-pig excrements.

I told him to keep away from some bad girls who come about at night.

He would not listen to my advice and answered me saucily, saying I was just angry.[216]

September 24, 1853. Kamaka asked me to let her go off to enjoy herself, saying that when she was through she would return and stay with me permanently, not going off again. She persisted, saying: You had better let me go for the good of us all.[127]

October 18, 1853. Maelehia stayed with me, saying that we should live together for good, in love and good fortune. . . .

May 6, 1854. This day Maua spoke strong words to me because of my vomiting. He said it was a very bad thing. He did not realize that the cause of my vomiting was intoxication.[217]

There follows a copy of Kahikona's authorization to proceed with his claim to the award received in the Māhele before the Land Board:

For Kahikona
Ahupuaa of Pueopaku, Hilo, Hawaii
Settle your claim.

Palace Building, February 7, 1848
S.P. Kalama, Secretary.[182]⁴¹

August 7, 1854. Kale entered Mr. Lee's English-speaking school last Monday.[183]⁴²

[n.d.] I owed Kahulanui a dollar and a half. I paid half a dollar; a dollar remains to be paid.[185]

August 2[?], 1854. I drove out my beloved son Kale because of my disapproval of his not attending school to gain knowledge. Therefore I drove him away, like the erring children were driven out in the Word of God.[181]

January 5, 1855. Four dollars went to Kamaka. A blanket cost \$8.00.[211]

March 1, 1855. Kamaka got \$12.67 when she came back again.[212]

May 10, 1855. Maua grumbled because Haili sold some bananas for fifty cents; Maua wanted seventy-five cents. The price was all right; bananas are now selling for only a quarter.[218]

May 12, 1855. Kamaka came back again. Twenty-five cents went to her to buy coconuts. I got five hapawalu (\$62-1/2) for a barrel of poi I made for Kanela.[213]

August 2, 1855. Kamaka came back again. A woolen shirt cost a dollar. One dollar went to Haili for bananas; \$3.50 went to a man from Oahu [in Kula]; \$2.87-1/2 went for beef, and \$.37-1/2 for a canoe paddle.[214]

August 13, 1855. I advised Kamaka not to make a mistake about the reddish-haired (ehu) man who had come from Kohala and was staying with Ninia ma. He is a friend of Poomoo. She was irritated, and suddenly said she would return to Ninia's place. Many words of counseling have been given her before this, but they have not been heeded.[220]

August 17, 1855. Kamaka complained, calling me absurd—three times she called me that.[221]

August 19, 1855. She fornicated with a different man, Kahele, a prison guard. His companion is a negro. I was told that these were the two with whom she enjoys adultery.

Contentiousness is a great fault of Kamaka's. She has to have her way, not letting her husband have a say. She ridiculed me about husbands and wives. They are of one blood, according to the Word of God. This is what He says, The two will become one flesh.

Everyone in the house heard our noisy talk and quarreling.[222]

August 21, 1855. She will not settle matters by word of mouth. She must be the only one to have a say; no one else has a right to one. One of the things she does is to spatter spit.[223]

August 25, 1855. Here is another thing: she finds fault with everything I say. If you continue, I told her, your man may get my possessions, which I have worked for myself. This was because of her giving things to the man. . . .

They two had some aku that evening. But the source of the money that bought the fish was not apparent. Where did it come from? Perhaps Kamaka prostituted for it.[224]

August 27, 1855. I questioned one of Kamaka's men named Punilio, What are you to Kamaka? He answered that he was a brother. Later others told me he was not related to her. Paakaua was one one who told me he was a brother, and Kamaka said so too. He came and they sat together on a bed.[225]

September 14, 1855. I was embarrassed by Kamaka's nasty words, calling me useless and sickening. She used harsh words, calling me an arrogant old man. She went on to ridicule me, saying those things in a way to make me laughable. There remains only for her to call me worthless.[226]

September 17, 1855. Kamaka and I separated today. We divorced ourselves by the words of our own mouths, and by the thoughts we expressed. There is nothing to hinder our separation it is clear, since we had not been united in marriage.

There is regret for the days of our dwelling together affectionately as man and wife. Perhaps our good relationship will return when we are just friends, or perhaps not. Alas, it is over. It was settled today.[229]

October [n.d.], 1855. There are rapists among my Tahitian race. Here are their names: Pone, Papala and Rua.[227]

[n.d.] I, Kahikona, was 34 years of age and living in my homeland when I left to come here. I left my homeland and landed in Hawaii in the year of the Lord 1819. I have been here 37 years.[184]

March 19, 1858. Palala spoke to me sarcastically because Peni [Ben, Tauā] had given me a piece of dark pork. I told Palala that

he was to fetch it. This caused him to speak rudely, calling me an old haole from a distant land. I shall therefore break off my friendship with him.[186]

December 28, 1859. I turned to the righteousness of God.[230]

January 2, 1860. Kauhi and I leased some coconut trees for five dollars. There were two coconut trees, at \$2.50 apiece.[231]

May 9, 1860. On this day I coopered some barrels for Paluina (Mr. Baldwin). Two barrels were coopered in order to brace them so that they would retain water for the Baldwins to drink.

A big concern in Lahaina is a supply of water in barrels—good water.

The payment was seventy-five cents.[232]

July 5, 1863. Mr. Baldwin was on Oahu for over a month, and then came back. He said the brethren had been replaced.[233]⁴³

July 7, 1863. Mr. Baldwin inquired about the grave trouble [the rise of Catholicism] back here in Lahaina. I stood up and spoke the Word of God according to the Proverbs of Solomon, Chapter I Verse 26: I also will laugh at your calamity. . . . They have gone on the new ways of the people of the Pope and the feasts of the bishop. Hanunu, Kawiau and others were the [Catholic] teachers.

July 15, 1863. I again stood up in the congregation of the church because of my love for the teacher. Because his salary had been withdrawn in America, I said to the church members, Let us restore his livelihood with one hundred dollars a year. I was joined by Kahookano.

That month the teacher left the Sunday School and the Wednesday Bible School.[234]

June 3, 1867. This day I went to Uwilama, the Judge at Lahaina.⁴⁴ I went to him to complain about Kanaina, because he is planting his banana shoots right up against my fence. I believe that if he digs a ditch right beside my fence so his bananas will grow the water will cause my fence to fall.

On this day I marked the boundaries of the plots of land [at Puakō and Wai'anae in Lahaina] at the corners. Eight bottles were set in the ground to mark the eight corners of the boundary lines.[239]⁴⁵

This is Kahikona's last journal entry, and it ends the story of this Tahitian, who was one of the very first teachers of Hawaiian chiefs. One wishes he had written of his work with them and that he had been more explicit about his livelihood. As it is, we have only a tantalizing glimpse into his life, which reflects that of the "common man" of his times. Kahikona's unhappy marriage to Lonokahikini seems to have haunted him all his long life, and as it neared its end he remembered well his "beloved former wife," as we see the record of land deeds which follows.

DEED. February 14, 1867. Kahikona of Lahaina conveys to Lonokahikini, "my beloved former wife," my land at Puako and Waianae, Lahaina, LCA 395/RP 1881, for \$1.00. If she should die before me, the land comes back to me; if I die before her, it is hers.⁴⁶

DEED. April 6, 1869. Kahikona of Lahaina conveys to Lonokahikini, "my beloved former wife," my one-half ahupuaa of Puapaku [Pueopākū], Hilo, Hawaii, LCA 7753/RP 7716, for \$2.00.⁴⁷

DEED. January 30, 1873. Lonokahikini and husband John Aalaioa of Honolulu, "for love of our beloved younger sister Kamaka," and \$5.00, convey to her our two parcels of land, Pueopaku, and Puako-Waianae bought of Kahikona of Lahaina on February 14, 1867.⁴⁸

DEED. February 1, 1873. I, Kamaka, "because of my *aloha* and of my own wish" and \$10.00, convey to my beloved brother John Aalaioa, Pueopaku, LCA 7753 and Puako-Waianae, R.P. 1681.⁴⁹

DEED. December 31, 1877. For \$400.00, Aalaioa and Peleki [Persis], convey to Mrs. Ida B. Castle, one half of the ahupuaa of Pueopaku, LCA 7753, "being the same premises conveyed by Kahikona to Lonokahikini recorded in Book 28 page 289, by said Lonokahikini and Aalaioa her husband to Kamaka recorded in Book 36 326 and by Kamaka back to said J. Aalaioa by deed recorded in Book 36 page 302." Peleki [Persis], the wife of Aalaioa, releases her dower right.⁵⁰

NOTES

- ¹ Dorothy Barrère and Marshall Sahlins, "Tahitians in the Early History of Hawaiian Christianity: the Journal of Toketa," *HJH* 13 (1979): 19-25.
- ² Helu 9795-E, Native Register 6:507, Native Testimony 5:71, Foreign Testimony 7:189: Records of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, AH; hereafter called Land Board Records.
- ³ Journal of Auna, trans. William Ellis, 16 June 1822, ts., Donald Angus Collection, HHS.
- ⁴ S. Whitney in Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Huntington, 1847) 242.
- ⁵ C. S. Stewart, *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1839) 266.
- ⁶ Levi Chamberlain, Journal, 22 Oct., 5, 12, and 29, Nov. 1826, HMCS and *MH* 1828, 24(1):11.
- ⁷ Barère and Sahlins, "Tahitians" 23.
- ⁸ Bingham 284-89. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854 *Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: U of Hawai'i P, 1947) 122-23.
- ⁹ Bingham 267-68.
- ¹⁰ Helu 395, Native Register 2:128, Native Testimony 2:188: Land Board Records, AH. Land Commission Award 395, 1.55 acres, 1 parcel: hereafter referred to as LCA; *Indices of Awards made by the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles in the Hawaiian Islands* (Terr. of Hawaii, 1929) 230: hereafter referred to as *Indices*. . . .
- ¹¹ Lahaina Church Records, HMCS.
- ¹² Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: 151-52 and 165-66.
- ¹³ Entry 201 details this attempt by Kahikona to receive the King's confirmation of the gift of the land by Hoapili-wahine (Kaheiheimalie). His further attempts to secure Kumimi to himself recur throughout the journal.
- ¹⁴ Kaleleiki was a *konohiki* (land manager) of the King in Lahaina. With the consent of the tax assessors and of the *kuhina nui*, or premier, Kekāuluohi (Auhea), Kahikona commuted his labor tax, that is, his "Friday" workdays for the *konohiki* and King, by the payment of \$9.00 per year: Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: 272.
- ¹⁵ Kamanā, "Carpenter," was the name given by the Hawaiians to Thomas Phillips who received the *ahupua'a* of Launiupoko in Lahaina district from the King in 1840: Claim 82, Foreign Register 1:92; Foreign Testimony 2:432 and 3:43; Land Board Records, AH, and LCA 82, 3778 acres; *Indices* . . . 617.
- ¹⁶ For the law "Respecting mischievous beasts," passed 23 Apr. 1841, see Lorrin A. Thurston, *The Fundamental Law of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1904), chapter XIV, pp. 62-5.

- ¹⁷ Helu 6467: Native Register 6:386, Native Testimony 5:6, Foreign Testimony 7:114. Land Board Records, AH.
- ¹⁸ Stephen Pupuhi (Popohe), a Tahitian educated at the Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. He came to Hawaii'i with the Second Company of American Protestant missionaries, and was in the service of Boki until the latter went to England with Liholiho in November of 1823. He then entered the household of Boki's brother Kalanimōkū and after Kalanimōkū's death in 1827 Pupuhi went to Maui.
- ¹⁹ The *ahupua'a* of Hāli'imaile was one of the large holdings of Kekau'ōnohi at the time of the Māhele, which she received as LCA 11216, Apana 27, 4260 acres: *Indices* . . . 69.
- ²⁰ Luana Maueau of Borabora translated this totally irrelevant entry, which seems to refer to a battle at Feipi on Tahiti between Tahitians and Raiateans.
- ²¹ Hāli'imaile plantation was acquired by A.W. Parsons who died suddenly on 4 Apr. 1852. His obituary described him as "A resident of Lahaina for the last three years, at first the District Judge of that town, afterwards her representative in the Legislature, and finally the District Attorney for the island of Maui": *P*, 10 Apr. 1852.
- Parsons sold a half interest in Hāli'imaile Plantation to Stephen Reynolds in 1849 (Stephen Reynolds Journal, 3 Dec. 1849, mf., HHS. He sold his remaining half interest to Samuel Perry in 1850. Reynolds became sole owner in 1852. In 1856, the trustees of the Reynolds Estate sold the plantation to Charles Brewer II and Captain James Makee for \$14,000, and it became known as the Brewer Plantation: Josephine Sullivan, *A History of C. Brewer & Company Limited*. (Boston: Walton, 1926) 111-12.
- ²² Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom*, vol. 1, 1778-1854: 213-21.
- ²³ British Commission Land Claims Document 91, 13 May 1843: F O & Ex, AH. Kahikona's dates here should read 1828 and 1829.
- ²⁴ British Commission Land Claims Document 91, 18 May 1843: F O & Ex, AH. This document is annotated as having been translated into English for Kahikona by James M. Steele. The gift of Kumimi by Hoapili-wahine in 1827 was confirmed in the King's name by Ka'ahumanu in 1830.
- ²⁵ The first notice of James Steele is as a journeyman printer who acted as the Mission printer from March 1839 to June 1840: H.M. Ballou and G.R. Carter, "History of the Hawaiian Mission Press," HHS Paper 14, 1908: 42. The next notices of him are on Maui, where he leased a house lot at Kelaweā. Lahaina in 1844: Native Register 2:187, Land Board Records, AH. He was a translator in the court of Judge A.W. Parsons: Second Circuit Court Civil Cases, 1848. He was also a schoolteacher, leaving that position in 1848: Board of Education Reports, Maui, 1847 and 1848, and letters Steele to Armstrong 28 July 1848 and reply 18 August 1848: Board of Education.

- ²⁶ Kukuipuka was an 'ili land in Kahakuloa, Kā'anapali. In 1848, Kahikona claimed that Hoapili had given him the land: Helu 6467, Native Register 6:386, AH. Kaua (Tauā) testified that it had been given to Kahikona by Kahikona-wahine (an aunt of Kekau'ōnohi's) in 1841: Native Testimony 5:6, Foreign Testimony 7:114, AH. The land was not awarded to Kahikona.
- ²⁷ Helu 6467, Native Register 6:386, Native Testimony 5:6, Foreign Testimony 7:114; Land Board Records, AH. Kahikona's claim to a portion of Paleileiha, and the supporting testimony of his witness Z. Kaauwai, himself a member of the Land Board, were disregarded; the land went to Charles Kanaina as LCA 8875, .96 acres, 1 parcel: *Indices* . . . 1929:254. This entry clearly reveals that Kahikona by no means wrote of events at the actual time of their happening; this explains many of his erratic dates.
- ²⁸ *Hapawalu*: eighth part; a coin worth 12-1/2 cents, one-eighth of a dollar. Kahikona often used the synonym *walu* in place of *hapawalu*.
- ²⁹ *Uhaloa*, a small, downy, indigenous weed *Waltheria americana*; *nohu*, a prostrate, hairy indigenous perennial *Tribulus cistoides*. This is the first of a number of remedies inserted in his journal by Kahikona; most of them have been omitted from this translation. They may be seen as entries 99, 110, 115-125, 128-163, 219, 228, and 235-238, in the earlier translation of the journal in the ledger captioned "Historical Accounts, Contemporary Life, and some Kahuna Lapaau, in the Sandwich Islands . . .": Ms. Collection, Item 146, AH.
- ³⁰ Akuila Moku was the tax assessor at Lahaina from 1847 to 1855: ID 4 Sept. and 6 Dec. 1847 and 24 Dec. 1855, AH.
- ³¹ Kalaikini, ancestor of the "Campbell girls" of Honolulu, daughters of James Campbell (1826-1900) and Abigail Kuaihelani (1859-1908), came to Lahaina from Kona, Hawai'i in 1832, presumably to enter Lahainaluna School: Sereno Bishop, *Reminiscences of Old Hawaii*, (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1916) 15. His name, however, does not appear on the roster of students there: *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 19 May 1859. Instead, he became a mason and builder. He built the stone house called Lua'ehu for Hoapili-wahine in Wai'anae, Lahaina, and he also was in charge of Lot Kamehameha's cattle for Kekuanao'a: Foreign Testimony 7:10, Land Board Records, AH. For these and other services he received some 16 acres of lands in Kelaweā and Olowalu, Lahaina: LCA 347, 5124, 6408, *Indices* . . . 232.
- ³² The date is uncertain. This refers to the start of A.W. Parsons' plantation at Hāli'imaile (see note 21).
- ³³ This obscure passage may possibly refer to the sale of produce Kahikona had received from his Hilo land, Pueopākū.
- ³⁴ This concerns the land of Onouli in Kona which had been given to Kahikona in 1821 by Kuakini (see note 2). Onouli was apparently included as part of Kuakini's estate when he died in 1844, and the land came to Lunalilo through his mother Kekāuluohi, one of Kuakini's heirs. A witness for

Kahikona's claim for the land in 1848 quotes him as saying that Kanaina had ordered him to live under Lunalilo but that his agreement to do so was broken by Kana'ina: Native Testimony 5:71, Land Board Records, AH. Onouli was relinquished by Lunalilo in the Māhele: Māhele Book 18, AH. It became a Crown Land: *Indices* . . . 25.

- ³⁵ Ninito Tera'iaipo (?-1898), was a Tahitian high chiefess, niece of the Tahitian missionary Tute Tehuiari'i who became the private chaplain of Kamehamehas III and IV. Hawaiian tradition and a 19th century newspaper reference (*PCA* 22 July 1898) say that Ninito came to Hawai'i to marry Moses Kekuaiwa. In 1926, a Tahitian informant, Madame Marau, gave Alexander Liholiho as the prospective husband: "*Niniko*" (*Place of Rest*), (Honolulu: Privately Printed, 1926) 8. Both chiefs were sons of Kekuanao'a and Kina'u. Moses died 24 Nov. 1848 at the age of 19 years and 6 months (*P* 25 Nov. 1848). This was a marriageable age, whereas in November of 1848 Alexander Liholiho was not yet 15 years of age. Madame Marau gives Ninito's birthdate as 1821: "*Niniko*" (p. 8); Alfons Korn, *News from Molokai* (Honolulu: UP of Hawaii, 1976), gives 1838 (p. 135).

Sources that do not give references for their statements (Marau, "*Niniko*", 6, *HA* 8 Feb. 1927, and Korn, *News* . . . p. 135), say that Ninito arrived in August of 1849 on the French frigate *Poursuivante* under the command of Rear Admiral de Tromelin, commander-in-chief of the French naval forces in the Pacific. There is no mention of Ninito being in the entourage of de Tromelin when he came to Hawai'i from Callao, Peru in 1849 in the referenced works of the historians Ralph S. Kuykendall and Gavan Daws. It is far more likely that Ninito and her company came on either of the French schooners *Sophia* or *Ann*, which arrived from Tahiti on 9 and 16 Jan. 1849, respectively: *F* Feb 1849. These ships would have left Tahiti before news of the death of Moses Kekuaiwa had reached there.

- ³⁶ Divorce 1269, First Circuit Court, 16 June 1851, AH.
- ³⁷ Legislative Petition, Maui, 1851: Legislative Files, 1851 Petitions, AH.
- ³⁸ The surveyor was John Richardson, the land was a parcel of 1.55 acres at Puakō and Wai'anae, Lahaina, Kahikona's LCA 395. Upon his payment of \$10.50, Kahikona received Royal Patent No. 1681 on the land: Award Book 1:440, AH.
- ³⁹ On 1 Feb. 1848, Kahikona claimed Kumimi in his Helu 6467, saying in part, "I have not stopped believing Kumimi is mine, as I was not judged in court. Kekauluohi treated me like a pig-stealer": Native Register 6:386, Land Board Records, AH. His main witness Tauā testified, "Hoapili-wahine gave it to him in 1827. No one contested it until 1840, then Kekauluohi took the land and put him in irons. William Richards and I went to effect his release. Thus was his land just taken, and his health impaired": Native Register 5:6, Land Board Records, AH. The Foreign Testimony record amplifies Tauā's

remarks: "He . . . held it up to the year 1840 in peace, when Kekauluohi drove him from it, because he said he had not received his possession from Kekauluohi. This was like denying that great chief. Upon this she sent her man to drive him from the land. He went to the king, and he told him to remain on his land. He did so, but Kekauluohi pursued him and threw him into prison and kept him in irons because he denied her. At last at the entreaty of Mr. Richards he was let out of prison but his land was never restored. It was given to John Stevenson who has held it to this day. Kekauluohi was the Premier, and prevailed over the King, he being young": Foreign Testimony 7:114, Land Board Records.

- ⁴⁰ Kaula and Kahikona, letter (in Hawaiian) to Paluina (Baldwin), 15 May 1852, HMCS.
- ⁴¹ Kahikona's Māhele award was to one-half of Pueopākū, the Government receiving the other half. The division of his land perhaps set the precedent for divisions of other *ahupua'a*: "Some of the people wish to buy on Pueopaku. One half of Pueopaku belongs to Kahikona, but the land has not been divided yet. Of course the Konohiki will wish the makai [seaward] half, but the people wish to purchase on *that* half. Will His Highness [John Young, Minister of the Interior] please to direct what shall be done": H.M. Lyman, letter to A.G. Thurston, 21 Nov. 1851, ID Letter Book 3, AH. The reply was, ". . . if possible divide lengthwise of the land, and they the natives may get a chance near the sea": (Asa) Thurston to (H.M.) Lyman, 8 Jan. 1852, ID Letter Book 3.
- ⁴² For a discussion of the development of English language schools in Hawai'i see Benjamin O. Wist, *A Century of Public Education in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Hawai'i Educational Review, 1940) 68-73.
- ⁴³ A reference to the passing of control of mission affairs from the ABCFM to the newly reorganized Hawaiian Evangelical Association: Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom 1854-1870*, vol. 2, *1854-1874 Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: UP of Hawai'i, 1953) 99-100.
- ⁴⁴ Uwilama was William ap Jones, an Englishman who became a naturalized citizen of Hawai'i in 1844: Naturalization records book A:7, AH. Employed by the Government, he was sent to Maui in 1849 as Recorder for the island in place of A.W. Parsons, who had resigned: ID, Book 2:332, AH. Jones was appointed Police Magistrate at Lahaina about 1852 and held the office until his death on 28 May 1871: *F* July 1871.
- ⁴⁵ No definite boundary lines of these parcels are shown on Hawaiian Government Survey Map of Lahaina surveyed and drawn by S.E. Bishop in 1884: State Survey Office, Kalanimoku Bldg., Honolulu.
- ⁴⁶ Book 28:234. Deed recorded 3 Aug. 1869. Bureau of Conveyances.
- ⁴⁷ Book 28:289, recorded 6 Apr. 1869. Bureau of Conveyances.

- ⁴⁸ Book 36:326, Bureau of Conveyances. The dates of the conveyances and recordations indicate that Kahikona died sometime between 6 Apr. and 3 Aug. of 1869. He was 85 years old. Lonokahikini remarried, perhaps near the end of 1872. As a married woman, any property she held had to be in the name of her husband, hence the conveyance from Lonokahikini to her unmarried sister Kamaka, who then transferred title to the lands to the husband Aalaioa.
- ⁴⁹ Book 36:302, Bureau of Conveyances.
- ⁵⁰ Book 53:189, Bureau of Conveyances. Was "Peleki" [Persis] another wife of John Aalaioa's, or was she Lonokahikini with the Hawaiianized Biblical name Persis?