

## Tahitians in the early history of Hawaiian Christianity: the journal of Toketa

Dorothy Barrère and Marshall Sahlins

### THE MANUSCRIPT

In the manuscript collection at the Archives of Hawaii is a journal ledger bearing the title "Historical Accounts, Contemporary Life, and some Kahuna Lapaau in the Sandwich Islands . . . 1819-67." There is no accession record for the ledger, but it is known to have come to the Archives before 1934. The ledger had been rebound, and the title stamped on the cover in gold leaf further declares that the accounts were written by "Toketa of Bora Bora, and Kahikona of Norway." The composer of the title erred in referring to Kahikona as being from Norway, an error occasioned by mis-translating the word "Nowesi" as "Norway" in Kahikona's statement that he had come to Hawaii from the land of his birth (Tahiti) by way of "Nowesi." The word Nowesi, with variant spellings of Noweke, Nouweki, and Nouwaiki, has been found in other contexts; it is a transliteration of "Northwest", and refers to the Northwest Coast of America, the area once known as Russian America.

The journal entries show a distinct change of handwriting at the point of changeover between the two writers, Toketa and Kahikona, both of whom were Tahitian converts and teachers of reading, writing, and Christian doctrine—in short, the *palapala*—in the schools of the Hawaiian chiefs in the 1820's and 30's. That of Toketa, written in 1822, is very likely the first manuscript written in the Hawaiian language by any Polynesian and perhaps the first ever in that language.

Early in the 1930's a typewritten copy of the journal ledger was made at the Archives of Hawaii. The typist was obviously unversed in the Hawaiian language, for the copy was typed entirely in syllables, even when there could be no doubt as to the word. In the original, entries were headed by a continuous

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repetition of the days of the week, regardless of actual continuity in time or of the date of the month. The copy typist added numerals to further delineate the entires, and this arrangement was retained in the translated manuscript of the Hawaiian archaeologist Henry Kekahuna, who was employed at the Archives in 1934. One suspects that Kekahuna's longtime associate Theodore Kelsey assisted him in phrasing this translation as he had in most of their collaborations. The present translation is based upon the 1934 translation, and the numbering of paragraphs has been retained. Some changes have been made in phraseology, and others as corrections where subsequent study indicated a more precise translation was possible. Such study included research into dates and persons mentioned in the text. Bracketed material has been inserted for clarity.

### TOKETA

A Tahitian convert to Christianity and teacher to Hawaiian chiefs, Toketa arrived in Hawaii in 1818. The exact date of his arrival and the ship on which he arrived are not known. Probably he landed on the island of Hawaii, for our first notice of him is as a member of the household of the chief John Adams Kuakini, at that time a prominent figure in the court of Kamehameha I in Kailua, Kona.

Toketa made a visit to Honolulu with Kuakini in January-February of 1822, where the American missionaries there found him to be one of three Tahitians in Hawaii who had learned to read and write in their own language. This indicates that Toketa had received missionary instruction in his homeland, and while perhaps not yet fully converted, that he had been exposed to Christianity to some degree.

By the time of Kuakini's visit to Honolulu the missionaries had chosen an alphabet to reproduce the phonetic sounds of the Hawaiian language. On January 7, 1822, the missionary-printer Elisha Loomis struck off the first printed sheet in the language in the presence of the king Liholiho, Kuakini, and other chiefs. Of February 8th, Toketa, who had learned to read Hawaiian after an hour's instruction, wrote a letter for Kuakini to Hiram Bingham, requesting copies of pages of the spelling book being assembled.<sup>1</sup> The letter was answered in the same language by Bingham, who said of the incident, "This may be considered the commencement of epistolatory correspondence in this language."<sup>2</sup> Upon his return to Hawaii island where he was governor, Kuakini took with him spelling books and printed lessons given him by the missionaries—and Toketa to teach him to read them.

Toketa wrote his journal while on Hawaii with Kuakini. It is clear from his entries that he began it soon after the return from Honolulu, but it is not clear when he discontinued it. From the paucity of entries it would appear to be within three or four months. It at least covered the period of a tour of the island by Kuakini's sister the regent Ka'ahumanu and her husband Kaumuali'i the ex-king of Kauai in May-July of 1822. In their party was the recently arrived Tahitian missionary Auna, who recorded that during their 12-day

sojourn at Kailua in June, Kuakini and Toketa had attended his worship services.<sup>3</sup>

Later in 1822 the missionaries recorded that Kuakini's interest in learning to read had not abated, and in August noted that the governor was still studying under Toketa. Kuakini's continued interest led him to request that the missionaries send him more books and teachers. In response, Elisha Loomis was sent to Kailua in mid-October to organize a school. He returned to Honolulu on November 9th, reporting that he had left a school of some fifty pupils under the care of Governor Adams and Toketa, the latter being "sufficiently qualified to take charge of it for a season till a teacher could be sent from Honolulu."<sup>4</sup> Within a few weeks Thomas Hopu, a Hawaiian youth trained as a teacher by the American missionaries, was sent to Kailua and put in charge of the school.

During his residence in Hawaii of 1823-24 the Rev. William Ellis mentioned Toketa several times in his journal and letters. From this source we know that Toketa remained with Kuakini in Kailua at least until October of 1823.

On November 5, 1823, the Rev. Asa Thurston arrived at Kailua to re-occupy the mission station he had originally started there in 1820. Thomas Hopu remained as a helper and teacher, joined by John Honoli'i. These two Hawaiian youths had been educated at the Cornwall School in Connecticut and had returned to Hawaii in 1820 with the First Company of missionaries. There is no further mention of Toketa at Kailua. It must have been at this time that he moved to Maui, where he entered the service of Hoapili, a high chief of great note and foster father of the princess Nahi'ena'ena.

While on Maui Toketa taught classes for the chiefs and helped in the translating of the Scriptures. He also represented the missionaries on the occasion of the incident at Lahaina in July of 1824 when a woman claiming to be Pele was admonished and persuaded to give up her pretensions.<sup>5</sup>

Early in 1824 Toketa had requested baptism, as we learn from the Rev. Charles Stewart at Lahaina:

Sabbath. Feb. 22. The most interesting circumstance of the day, is an application for baptism from Kaikioewa and wife, from another chief and wife, Toteta [sic], a Tahitian in the family of our patron Hoapili, and from our friend the blind man, or Bartimeus, as he is sometimes called by us.<sup>6</sup>

On this subject William Ellis wrote some months later.

He [Toketa] continues a favorite with the chiefs, a diligent teacher and has given pleasing evidence of piety. He and several others would probably have been baptized before this had it not been for the difficulties that lie in the way respecting some of the chiefs who have requested baptism but which we hesitate to comply with and who would probably take great offence were any to be admitted to that ordinance before themselves.<sup>7</sup>

The missionaries' friend Blind Bartimeus was baptized at the dedication of the church at Lahaina on July 25, 1825. To date, we have been unable to find any record of the baptism of Toketa.

Toketa kept another journal while on Maui; it dwelt upon the character and pious behavior of the princess Nahi'ena'ena. This was translated by the Rev.

William Richards, and published in the *Missionary Herald* in 1826. Mr. Richards wrote, "The above journal was kept by Toteta, who has been frequently mentioned, and is a man of considerable discernment and discretion."<sup>8</sup> To this comment the editors of the *Herald* added,

. . . as specimens of thought and composition in a South-Sea islander—as indications of what may be expected from Polynesian minds, brought under the influence of the Gospel, (and Toteta comes no higher than *mediocrity*, on the intellectual scale of those islands), and as, on the whole, a credible record of facts, in relation to a young female, who, if she lives, must stand at the head of society in the Sandwich Islands:—these extracts from the journal of Toteta will not be thought to be too much extended.<sup>9</sup>

The next notice we have of Toketa, and indeed the last found to date, is from Levi Chamberlain in November of 1825. Toketa was then in Honolulu, still engaged in teaching the *palapala* to the chiefs. Chamberlain wrote,

Some very interesting classes were examined. The classes of Toteta and Haalilio were particularly so. In the former class were Boki, Kekauluohi, Kekauonohi, Liliha, Akahi, and other chiefs of high grade. In the latter were Kaahumanu, Opiia, Tapule, and others.<sup>10</sup>

We do not yet know of Toketa's movements after this date, nor do we know when his original journal ledger passed into the hands of his fellow Tahitian Kahikona. Kahikona's first entry refers to incidents of 1838 and may indicate the time of Toketa's death or perhaps his return to Tahiti. We believe one or the other to have occurred at some time before 1843, for Toketa's name does not appear in the land records of the British Commission in that year. The other Tahitians who were employed as teachers by the Hawaiian chiefs are found in those records as having received lands from them, and Toketa surely had not been an exception. Investigation into sources not presently available to us may divulge the information needed to complete the story of Toketa's life in Hawaii.

#### HISTORICAL SITUATION OF THE JOURNAL

If Toketa's journal was a unique document, his position as a Tahitian teacher of Christianity in the entourage of Hawaiian chiefs was less unusual. He was but one of a number of Tahitians in such a position during the 1820's and 30's. The earliest, and model for the rest, was the Tahitian missionary Auna who came to Hawaii with a visiting English delegation of missionaries in 1822. At the urgent request of the Hawaiian chiefs Auna was permitted to remain, and for well over a year Auna and his wife lived in the household of Ka'ahumanu, teaching reading and writing and explaining Christian doctrine to the king and chiefs. Auna left a school of sixty pupils when the couple returned to Tahiti in 1824. His school was taken over by Kaomi,\* the son of

\* Kaomi had been educated in the *palapala* by Hiram Bingham, and in Hawaiian healing arts by Boki and other medical experts. He was attached to Ka'ahumanu's household, but after her death in 1832 he fell away from the church and became a leader among the companions (*Hulumanu*) of Kauikeaoli who fostered the king's rebellion against the moral restraints urged by his Christian-minded chiefs and teachers. Kaomi so influenced the king that he was called by the Hawaiians *mō'ī ku'i*, joint king. His days of influence ended when the king returned to Christian ways in 1835.

his wife's brother Moe, a Tahitian long in the service of Ka'ahumanu's brother Ke'eumoku the governor of Maui.

Others among the Tahitian teachers were Tau'ā and his wife Tau'āwahine and a female teacher, Ka'aumoku, who came to Hawaii with William Ellis when he returned in February of 1823. The three were taken into the household of the queen mother Keōpūolani and after her death that September, into that of Hoapili on Maui. Stephen Pupuhi (Popohe), a Tahitian youth educated at the Cornwall School, accompanied the Second Company of missionaries to Hawaii in 1823. He entered the service of Boki, governor of Oahu, and later that of Kalanimōkū, the prime minister. We have mentioned Kahikona, who took over Toketa's journal ledger. He seems to have entered the service of Keali'iahonui, son of Kaumuali'i, upon his arrival in Hawaii in 1819. By early 1825 Kahikona is mentioned in missionary records as this chief's teacher and chaplain. He remained with Keali'iahonui and his wife Kekau'ōnohi well into the 1830's.

The best remembered of the Tahitian teachers of Christianity in Hawaii was Tute (Kuke), who came here in 1826 as a missionary upon the request of the prime minister Kalanimōkū.\* In 1827 he became the tutor and chaplain of the young king Kāiūkeaouli and remained as such until the latter's death in 1854. Tute died in 1859 after 33 years of service to the Hawaiian chiefs.

Considering the strategic value of such people, we begin to realize how biased may be our understanding of the early history of Christianity in Hawaii, since we know it primarily as the work and sufferings of the American missionaries, about which they themselves never ceased to write. But the influence of the Tahitian teachers, though it would leave little written trace, was for a while at least as effective. Behind that effectiveness lay the particular cultural values these Tahitians represented to the Hawaiian chiefs.

The privileged position of the Tahitians among the Hawaiian aristocracy is only partly explained by the sponsorship and encouragement given by the European missionaries. Partly also it was an Hawaiian appropriation of Christianity, consistent with political uses of religion that are entirely traditional, and with the legendary concept of Kahiki ("foreign lands", "Tahiti") as a main source of religious cult. The chiefs' eagerness to attach Tahitian teachers to their persons was, of course, reminiscent of their customary relations to religious figures. Political and religious conditions in the early 1820's, moreover, would make these Tahitians doubly valuable. In acting as those priests (*kahuna*) of old whose ceremonial functions and inspired counsels were indispensable to chiefly rule, the Tahitians would help fill the sacerdotal void created by the celebrated abolition of the tabus in 1819. The chiefs had thought to cast the American missionaries in the same role, including Hiram Bingham, whom they sometimes spoke of as the *kahuna nui* ("high priest"). But the Tahitian preachers were not only more amenable culturally, they were more suitable mythologically.

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\* Bingham lists Tute as arriving at the same time as Tau'ā, that is, 1823;<sup>11</sup> however, Levi Chamberlain's Journal entry of July 24, 1826, is specific as to Tute's arrival on that date.

As mediators of a new and more powerful religious cult, the Tahitian Christians recreated the traditional function of famous forbears. Notably they reproduced as history the legendary sojourn of Pā'ao, priest from Kahiki credited with the introduction, many generations since, of the ancestor of Hawaiian ruling chiefs, along with rites of human sacrifice that constituted their legitimacy. Kahiki thus had a special cosmological significance. For it was beyond the limits of the visible world. At those limits, at the horizon, earth and heavens meet, so that Kahiki was at once the realm of the invisible and the "above," in brief, a place of gods. From there came not only priests and cults but usurping chiefs who figure in myth and chant as cannibal sharks come ashore to devour the land. But then, it was not only Tahitian preachers who recreated the myth: these powerful white strangers from distant lands now loose upon the Islands were a kind of dangerous presence the Hawaiians had known before. Moreover, the Hawaiian chiefs who incorporated the Tahitians, Ka'ahumanu, Kuakini, and the rest, for their part saw their own authority as an appropriation of European power. ". . . As for me and my people," Ka'ahumanu had said in declaring her wish to abandon the traditional tabus, "we intend . . . to live as the white people do."<sup>12</sup> Although the Ka'ahumanu group could trace a connection to both the Maui and Hawaii dynastic lines, they owed their position principally to Ka'ahumanu's marriage to Kamehameha; they had neither the genealogy nor the tabus to rule on a traditional basis. Their power was also a type of usurpation.

We can now see the complex of Hawaiian values accruing to Christianity and to Tahitian teachers such as Toketa in particular. As the religious basis of foreign power, Christianity had to be encompassed and controlled. At the same time, it could serve as a new ground of legitimacy for the chiefs who had risen to authority as the economic and cultural brokers of this European power, but who could not claim the traditional sanctions of rule. Hence the Tahitian converts fit the historic situation like the idea whose time had come. In their capacity of Christians from Kahiki, they might at once domesticate the foreign usurping power, and usurp the domestic Hawaiian power.

The opening passages of Toketa's journal document the ascendancy of the Ka'ahumanu group (Ka'ahumahu *ma*). Liholiho is king (Kamehameha II), but the islands are effectively governed by the brothers and more distant collateral relatives of Ka'ahumanu. Ka'ahumanu herself was a kind of co-head of state (*kuhina nui*) with Liholiho, presumably according to the wishes of the dying Kamehameha. Hawaii Island was governed by her brother, Kuakini, to whom Toketa was attached at the time he kept his journal and about whose affairs he writes. Note that as the senior sibling of her chiefly kindred, Ka'ahumanu is said to hold the land of Hawaii (*ka mea nona ka 'āina*). But as well known, Kuakini exercised a highly independent authority in the island until his death in 1844. Some of the good he was able to make of this may be

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*A page from Toketa's original journal.*



[illegible]

*si b'ia*

La me ha me ha

E hōkū ni, kahi: Maunā, Hea nā te kaniā ni, na  
 Pōpō, Kaniā, ia Hualā ni, ia oia kahi te aia.

Ph. Li. Ho

Feb. 1864

1. La Harve

[illegible]

*N. keta* *Storia* *antico*

[illegible]





judged from the large estate left by his own heir, Leleiohoku, a few years later.<sup>13</sup>

Kuakini in his youth had been a close companion of Kamehameha, and after the return to Hawaii in 1812, served the king as his representative in meeting foreign ships that came to Kona. He continued in that capacity for Liholiho. In his years of exposure to foreigners, he picked up a knowledge of English, and by 1828 could also write in that language. When Liholiho moved the court to Honolulu in 1820, he left Kuakini in charge of Hawaii, saying to him, "Here is the land of Hawaii . . . take it and eat."<sup>14</sup> This Kuakini, or Governor Adams as he was called, proceeded to do for the remaining 24 years of his life. Early in the 1820's Kuakini had become a Christian convert and, reminiscent of the practice of former paramount chiefs, he built an important church (*luakini*) in five of the six districts of Hawaii.<sup>15</sup> Kuakini's love of the good life, however, led to his "backsliding," and when he died it was with Hawaiian, not Christian, rites that he was buried.

#### THE JOURNAL

1. On Friday, in the month of May [1822] is written this account concerning Hawaii. Liholiho is the king. He is over Ka'ahumanu, who is the landholder (*ka mea nona ka 'āina*). Her brothers act for her (*noho wale aku*), looking after affairs [literally, after "the good and the bad," *ka pono me ka hewa*]. Kalaimoku holds Oahu.

2. Liholiho is king; Ke'eaumoku holds Maui. The six districts of Hawaii [Hilo, Puna, Ka-'ū, Kona, Kohala, Hamakua] are Kuakini's as landlord (*haku 'āina*).

3. Hawaii is the name of the island; Kailua the place of residence of the chiefs. Kamehameha the king enjoyed there the calm and tranquility of Kona. There he dwelt until sickness caused his death. When he died, his body was concealed in Ahu'ena Heiau.

4. By Toketa. Aloha to you all.

The Book of Acts and [the Gospel according to St.] Mark were put into Hawaiian in order that they might be understood.\*

After Kamehameha died, Liholiho became king. His is a good kingdom; the land prospers in peace, freed from the eating tabu, and there has been no famine due to natural disaster.

5. Saturday, in the month of May. These words are being written by Toketa, a Tahitian who has lived in Hawaii for four years. These are words written in Hawaiian for the chiefs, and it would not be wrong to say: Look to the words of the Scriptures, for they are good to know.

6. Sunday, in the month of May. Kuakini lives on Hawaii. There is no warring, and he lives in peace and prosperity.

\* Believe this to be a reference to sermons heard in Honolulu in Jan.-Feb. 1822.

The family itself had agreed that Kuakini should reside on Hawaii and take charge of the land for their king, attending to its revenues and exercising jurisdiction over its affairs. It was the command of his sister Ka'ahumanu, who holds the land. It is said that all that is above, all that is below, all that is upland, all that is seaward is Ka'ahumanu's. She has about five in her train, three women, two boys, and three girls. They had all been in the train of Kamehameha. Liholiho is their king.

7. On Monday, in the month of May, at Kailua are written these words of those who regard the laws of right and wrong, depravity and purity (*ka po'e kāōhi 'ōlelo o ka pono me ka hewa, ke kolohe me ka noho malie*). Consider the meaning of their words: "On the side of righteousness is that which is good" and "The way to life is through pure living and good thoughts." Without these three, countless sins arise, most of them proceeding from wickedness. Concerning death: "The place is not known, nor the place where thy feet shall stand." No man has known who has said "Tomorrow I shall die." If it were so, that might be fine.

The genealogists do right, perhaps, in collecting and putting forth the ancient records. Like those whose moral thoughts ('opū)<sup>16</sup> come from the Scriptures (*Palapala*), so they regard those of the genealogical records, 'ōlelo ku'auhau, as they are called.

8. Tuesday, in May. I speak of the wasting of time of the Hawaiians, a nation of pleasure-seekers. There is no end to the pleasures they indulge in. They enjoy foot racing (*kūkini*), flirting (*ha'iha'i*), dancing (*hula*), fornicating (*ai kohe*), drinking (*inu lama*), bowling stones (*maika*), sliding darts (*pahe'e*), surfing (*he'e nalu*), "checkers" (*kōnane*), and boxing and wrestling (*moko-moko*).

Not all the time-wasting activities of Hawaiians have been listed; there is no end to their pleasure-seeking.

9. Wednesday, in the month of May. Kona is one of the divisions (*pu'āli*) of Hawaii. So is Waimea, Kohala, as far as Ke-ahu-a-Lono;<sup>17</sup> it is an 'okana division. So is Kona as far as Kailua. There are 4 times 40 plus 26 *ahupua'a* land divisions in Kona.<sup>18</sup>

10. Manukā is the boundary; beyond is Ka-'ū, an entire district that had been Keawe-a-Heulu's.<sup>19</sup>

11. Kuakini is the landlord of Kona. Keauhou is the place in which he lived for a long time, and which he loves. He loves the sea breeze, the 'Eka, and the gentle land breeze, the Kēhau. The 'Eka carries one to Kailua and from Kailua to Kawaihae, where the strong land wind, the Mumuku, blows. He loves those winds.

12. Those of Kona are "children of calm waters" (*keiki i ka pohu*).

It is said of rough, clinkery *aa* lava that it flows like a fiery river, and becomes the "water" (*wai*) of Hawaii. It hurts the feet to walk on it. The main paths are over *aa*, and there is little relief from it. One is fortunate to find a smooth section, or a place with sand along the path.

13. Kī'ope is the name of a bathing place that enhances Kailua. The water is brackish. Smooth lava, *pahoehoe*, is on all sides. The bathing waters of Kona are brackish from one end of the district to the other. There is drinking water, but it is very far away, at the forest belt. It takes nearly all day to go up for it. If one starts early in the morning he arrives back, not by noontime, but in the evening.

So much for drinking and bathing water.

14. Thursday, in the month of May. We were sitting in a *lanai* at Kamakahonu<sup>20</sup> at noontime, watching Kuakini sew on his trousers. Four men were playing *kōnane* ("checkers"), using twenty pebbles apiece.<sup>21</sup>

15. Friday, in the month of May. The lava of Kaniku is *aa*.<sup>22</sup>

16. Saturday, in the month of May. We got ready to plant Kuahewa,<sup>23</sup> an uncultivated field (*māla mahakea*) that had been Kamehameha's. Kuakini is going to clear it. It was not yet daylight when we roused ourselves to go up to weed it.

Those of Hawaii talk much—day and night—about farming. In the cultivation of the land there is life. But it must be done continuously, otherwise death comes. They make great efforts in cultivating. There is no land which they do not ready for planting—they even raise taro (*'ai*) on *aa* lava.

17. Sunday. As we were going along, myself in the rear, we came upon Keōua<sup>24</sup> and her company halted at a resting place. Her legs were tired, and she was breathing hard as she rested on the rock with her women. I left them there and went on to look for Kuakini, who had gone on before on horseback. I went on foot, strolling along to the field. I came upon a cave known as Paepae Cave, and in the cave was a woman feeding pigs. There were four pigs and two stone feeding troughs. There were quite a number of people about, some of whom were bathing and some just sitting around. I looked about and saw Kuakini sitting among our company. I went to him, and when I returned, I saw Kuakini was asleep.

Keōua and her company came up, arriving long afterwards. They came up through the land of Lanihau, whereas Kuakini and his company had come up through Keōpū.

Kuahewa is the field, and these words, written on Sunday, concern it. Hualālai lies inland.

18. Monday, in the month of May. We spent the first night in the upland. In the morning, a man who had been a farmer for Kamehameha came up with his men. He had a contemptuous look. All began to clear the field, but had done only a small part when rain came. Most of the men stopped working, and went to pull taro. Six of his men remained, and the chief Kuakini said to them, "Leave off clearing, and go for taro first." One of the men replied, "Why? It will only dry out. My advice is, keep on clearing."

We, Kuakini and his men, just looked on at their cultivating that day.

19. Tuesday, in the month of May. We had two pigs, six calabashes of poi, and seven dogs [for food] today.

20. Wednesday, in the month of May. We cultivated this day, clearing until evening. "It is time to stop; it is evening," said Kuakini. A man named Ka'ao'aokapu said, "Let's not stop and have to begin again." The men agreed with him, and we continued to weed, rather than have to anticipate weeding again. The men were anxious to go home, as they were tired, and their hands hurt. There were 37 men, and nine of their own people. We finished clearing eight 'ili sections of the field that day.<sup>25</sup> Kuaheua, belonging to Kuakini, is the field (*māla*).

21. Thursday, in the month of May. I went over to Kokomo, where Kanuha<sup>26</sup> and his wife were staying. I drank liquor there. Kanuha and his wife quarreled because he had misplaced his tobacco pipe and she kept asking for it. His wife belongs to Kokomo.

22. Friday, in the month of May. Our people cultivated that day, while we cut taro in one of our shelters. While this work of Kuakini's was going on, a certain taro-pulling company pulled up a great deal of taro. In their midst was Ka'ilimalā'ō, who called out idle men to work on farming days. Ka'ilimalā'ō ordered them to bring in the taro, and we cut off the tops.

Keōua and the wife of Ho'omākaukau were drinking, and talking about the rain of Kuaheua, and the mist and cold there. Hawaii is a land of fog and mist. It was very dark towards Hualālai.

23. Saturday. Kuakini is the chief of whom this is written. Where are you, O chiefs and people? We did not commemorate our festival (*la nui*) because we were busy farming. This is the day when guns are fired—*Hoku*, the day on which Kamehameha died.<sup>27</sup> It is a day commemorated by the chiefs from Hawaii to Kauai. They consider *Hoku* their festival day.

24. On Sunday, Kuakini felt ill. He had an itch, and he was quite depressed. He stayed outdoors for a while, then lay down to sleep in one of our shelters, where I was sitting. When he awoke, he went out again, suggesting to me that I fetch some food. I did, and we ate together. The sun was high, and it was afternoon when we ate. His servants (literally, "children," *kamali'i*) were cooking taro during all that time.

25. Monday. We were talking about our return on Sunday evening from our farming at Kuaheua. We had been the first to reach our houses at Kamakahonu. We were drinking at the house of a foreigner (*haole*), and had not been there long when a canoe arrived with about 400 *akule* fish.<sup>28</sup>

26. Tuesday. We interpreted the words that had been spoken concerning life and death, but mostly about death.

Many are the places in the world of darkness—*Po* where the souls of evil men go after death. Fire is one place, and hell (*po*) is another. The soul of a man whose thoughts are evil in this world shall not be spared in death. Lying, stealing, evil language, murderous thoughts against another, secret plotting, envy of the possessions of others, are sins of great darkness of the heart (*'opū\**). Entirely different is [the fate of] the mouth that speaks good of us all.

\* See Note 16.

27. The greatest thing of value is the realm of light—*Ao*—of the god Jehovah. The man of evil shall not be saved and reach there. His place will be that of the sinful, a place of repentance, of regrets, a place full of pain—ceaseless pain—where there is no rest. Only the good may go there [to *Ao*]; the sinful man goes to *Po*. There are two roads souls travel after death—the soul of the sinful man goes to his dwelling place in the *Po*, and that of the good man to the *Ao*. His is the blessed world of God in heaven. The soul without sin lives on in God, and the good man shall live with Him. If we believe in Him, He shall live in us, and listen to us.<sup>29</sup>

28. Wednesday. Drinking is the main amusement in Kailua these days, and those of Kona from one end to the other indulge. The liquor is made from sugarcane. Thoughts are on pleasure-seeking, and they get intoxicated with the liquor.

29. Thursday. Ko'okā.<sup>30</sup> I stood watching the surfing on the long cresting waves there. One comes to land through a narrow channel called Kohepuka.

30. There are three lands which bear the name Pua'a, but they are one *ahupua'a*.

Ki'ope is a spring at Kailua. There are surfing places there where women and children surf.<sup>31</sup>

31. Friday, Kuakini and I were sitting in the canoe shed called Ka-'ōpuaua.<sup>32</sup> There are ten canoes in the shed, and four others not yet hewn out. One of them was being worked on by canoe-building experts, former canoe builders of Kamehameha's. Some of the canoes within the shed are watched over by canoe builders from Hilo. These are the old canoes of Kamehameha. Ka'ōpuaua shed also was his. The rafters within are good and straight.

32. The chiefs' favorites (*kānaka punahele a na li'i*) were talking, saying that a favorite, a *punahele*, who conducts himself well does right; he is a man who brings honor to the household of the chief. There are favorites who act wrongly, however, and they think I am one of those. They say I am haughty and deceitful. The way they extend themselves to oppress me is a great wrong. These cruel people know I am a *punahele*, and look upon me with jealousy. Perhaps being a favorite of the chiefs has made me haughty.<sup>33</sup>

Kuakini has a white man, a *haole*, as a cooper.

33. Sunday, in the month of May. On this night some white men who are deserters from a whaling ship had diarrhea in our house. Kauaiwi and his wife cleaned out our ti-leaf house. This happened at Kamakahonu.

34. Monday. Today we had *akule*, *mālolo*, and *hāpu'u*<sup>34</sup> for our fish (*i'a*), and for vegetable food (*'ai*) we had sweet potatoes and *poi*.<sup>35</sup>

Kalaikuauiwa came from Kahalu'u with some food—coconuts, pigs, and chicken. There was a lot left over because he brought so much. Kalaikuauiwa is a very handsome man.

35. Tuesday. Kailua, in the *ahupua'a* of Lanihau, is a place with many names, as the chiefs give it new ones.<sup>36</sup>

We of Kailua went to the sled racing (*he'e holua*) today.<sup>37</sup> Kaiwi and Ka'ilimalā'ō bet originally, and our people here and there made secondary bets. There were two slides for each man, and Ka'ilimalā'ō defeated Kaiwi. Some of us lost, others won. Some of Kuakini's people were attracted to this amusement because of our lack of interesting things to do. There is no place of enjoyment (*wahi walea*) at Kuakini's.

36. Wednesday is the day these words are written. We returned from farming in the upland in the evening. Kuakini has given me two dollars to take care of. It is money a man paid for a canoe. "Since it was dark when you were given the money, you have given it to me to take care of" [I said to myself].

37. Thursday. There were a hundred people living in Liholiho's household when I saw them at the time we were staying on Oahu.<sup>38</sup> The chiefs said it would be all right for us to converse together.

"We dwell here unenlightened, and perhaps you blame us for this" [they said]. "Take pride in learning, and be kind to those who will come after us who are ignorant. We were not like that. Many of us were killed, as the people of old (*ka po'e kahiko*) were deeply ignorant, and slaughtered men. It was Kamehameha who brought righteousness (*pono*) and it is because of this that we now live."

38. Friday. We heard that Ka'ahumanu and Kaumuali'i are on Maui.<sup>39</sup> We heard this from Keaka, the man in command of Kuakini's sailing canoe.

39. Saturday. We enjoyed the day just taking our ease.

40. Sunday. It is said that 1822 years have passed since the spread [of mankind] from Noah. And we who live today will see a further spread.

41. Monday May 31 is the day. The month ended today. This month has three times ten days and one over.<sup>40</sup> Another month begins, June.

Pity us who dwell on every hand. Death will spread among us if righteousness does not prevail. These are the words of God.

## JUNĒ

42. Tuesday. The woman Kapipi has arrived at Kailua. She says that Ka'ahumanu and Kaumuali'i have been at Kawaihae.<sup>41</sup>

43. Wednesday. We were greatly in need of fish. Fortunately we had some goat meat, which substituted for fish and sustained life. The following morning beef arrived for us from 'Āmala, who had butchered it at Kainaliu.

44. Thursday. These are stormy days. The sea is raging very high from one end of Kona to the other.

During these days we talked hopefully about getting a little fish when the sea calmed. While the sea was raging, we were famished for fish. We filled up on *lau'ele* and *popolo*<sup>42</sup> greens and salt.

45. There are three times ten days in this month just ended [?]June].

Friday. Where are you, O lords? When shall we offer our prayers to the god Jehovah who made the heavens, the sea, the earth, and man. He made them all; what is there he has not made? Let us pray to God for goodness while the body is well, and learn right from wrong. Let us not wait until the body is weak, and then try to put things aright, for that is not the correct thing to do. That is like having a broken canoe which cannot be mended. There is only one place then after death—the *Po*. A soul without life who petitions God, if he has done wrong in this world, shall not be heeded.

46. Saturday. We went drug-fishing (*holahola*) with Kuakini along the cove at Ahu'ena and got *manini* and *'upāpalu*<sup>43</sup> to eat. That gave us and the servants of Kuakini relief from hunger that day.<sup>44</sup>

47. Sunday. Kilauea is the pit where Pele dwelt at Hu'ehu'e.<sup>45</sup>

48. Monday. We had a fight on this night. Keōua was the one who got angry. She mistakenly thought that Kuakini had secretly taken (*ai malū*) one of her women. Our storehouses were almost burned down that night.<sup>46</sup> The stewards (*'ā'ipu'upu'u*) were pelted with stones, and they fled. The servants of Kuakini fled too. They all fled. Great was the anger aroused by the drinking of sugarcane liquor. That was what had inclined them to quarrel and fight that night, and to seize each other's possessions.

I was the one appointed to hold the possessions of the two of them, and the next day they were turned over to Pakai, a former steward of theirs.

49. Tuesday. Napua and I were conversing this evening. He was drunk on sugarcane liquor. In his conversation with me, Napua almost cursed me. At first I enjoyed his talking, but my pleasure was ruined when he began talking of sorcery (*'anā'anā*). I wanted him to quiet down; I was annoyed, and wanted to leave and go somewhere else. But Napua kept repeating his remarks. I said defiantly that some, perhaps, could be preserved from such a death. He denied it saying, "No; the prayers of Hawaii are very powerful." When Napua said I was going to waste away and die, I got frightened.

50. Wednesday. The one who spoke to me so is living a wickedly lazy life (*molowā 'ino*).<sup>47</sup> Those who do so are given to heedless and loose words. Reviling words are lies. They are told in jest, but they stimulate the desire to fornicate and to otherwise do wrong (*li'a i ke ai, i ka hewa*). Jestings has only one aim—to amuse. But when persisted in, quiet enjoyment (*walea*) leads to active pleasure-seeking (*le'ale'a*). There is one thing to watch out for—that the wrongdoing cause resentment and become the cause of fighting and quarreling.

51. Thursday. We polished canoes today. These are old canoes of Kamehameha's. There were eighty of us. The canoe that we polished was a long one, twelve fathoms in length. Kuakini was there also. He called for the work to stop, and we ate first while Pakai went for food for the canoepolishing men. They had hard poi (*pa'i 'ai*) and *aku* fish.<sup>48</sup> The food was given to us to distribute. Ka'ao'aokapu and Pakai carried the food about, and I handed it out.



52. Friday. We were talking about our trip down to the foreigner's ship that had anchored at Ka'awaloa. Kuakini went out to it on the rowboat (*wa'apā*) and I followed on the stewards' canoe. When we were off Keauhou I said to our people, "Let me off; I wish to see Kuamo'o." So they put me ashore.

I went sightseeing (*māka'ika'i*) at Kuamo'o,<sup>49</sup> where I came upon Kaniho. He showed me where Kekuaokalani had been killed. It was in a hollow near the path.

53. Saturday. I went to bathe at the spring of Kapu'a<sup>50</sup> and on my way back, I met Ka'aipūhi, a white haired man, who had just returned from fishing. He was working on his canoe. I said to him, "Your hair is all white." He answered, "It has been so since I came from my mother's womb." "Perhaps you were 'ehu'ehu<sup>51</sup> in the beginning," I said. "Yes," he agreed, "and now that I am getting older it is very white."

54. Sunday. A whaleship was seen off Kailua in the evening, and the next morning it came to anchor. Kuakini was one of those who slept aboard the ship, and it was he who brought it in to Kailua so that it would be nearby for bartering (*ku'ai*). The white men did not wish to anchor at Kailua, but because of Kuakini pursuing them they came in to Kailua. They had wanted to go to Ka'awaloa at Kealakekua, where Lono [Captain Cook] had been killed.

55. Monday. This concerns those who drank sugarcane liquor. When Keōua was drinking at Pualoa, many people got drunk. Some of the drunken men and women had sexual relations. The woman Kamaua fornicated with Kaio.

56. Tuesday. Keawe-nui-a-'Umi and [his grandfather] Liloa were ancient chiefs [of Hawaii island].

57. Wednesday. Lepau was an ancient chief of Maui.

58. Thursday. We had evil thoughts that day. We fought with the white men of a British whaleship, and one of them was badly hurt. The reason we were stirred up to fighting was that they had fled upland and hidden. The master of the ship asked Kuakini to have us get them. We went after them, and when we arrived we found them all drunk.

#### NOTES and REFERENCES

<sup>1</sup> MH, 1823, vol. 19, pp. 182-183.

<sup>2</sup> Hiram Bingham, *A Residence of Twenty-One Years in the Sandwich Islands* (Hartford: Huntington, 1847), p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> Auna, "Journal of Auna," trans. William Ellis. Entry of June 16, 1822. Donald Angus Typed MS Coll., HHS.

<sup>4</sup> Elisha Loomis, Journal entry of June 22, 1824. Typescript copy HMCS.

<sup>5</sup> MH, 1826, vol. 22, pp. 239-240.

- <sup>6</sup> Charles S. Stewart, *A Residence in the Sandwich Islands* (Boston: Weeks, Jordan, 1839), p. 201.
- <sup>7</sup> William Ellis, Letters to the London Missionary Society, Oct. 26, 1824. Donald Angus Typed MS Coll., HHS.
- <sup>8</sup> MH, 1826, vol. 22, p. 172.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>10</sup> Levi Chamberlain's Journal, Nov. 23, 1825. Bishop Museum.
- <sup>11</sup> Bingham, p. 181.
- <sup>12</sup> W. D. Alexander, "Overthrow of the Ancient Tabu System in the Hawaiian Islands," *25th Ann. Rep. of HHS for the year 1916*, 1917, pp. 37-45, p. 40.
- <sup>13</sup> Probate 597, 1st Circuit Court, Honolulu, AH.
- <sup>14</sup> Samuel Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii* (Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools Press, 1961), p. 390.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>16</sup> "The Hawaiians suppose the seat of thought, intelligence, etc., and also the seat of moral powers, as the choice and practice of good and evil, to be seated in the small intestines; hence, *naau* or *pou* (the small intestines) is used for what we should call the *heart*, i.e., the seat of moral powers." Lorrin Andrews, *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language* (Honolulu: Whitney, 1865), p. 110. This is, of course, a widespread Polynesian conception.
- <sup>17</sup> Ke-ahu-a-Lono, a mound of rocks, the traditional boundary marker between Kohala and Kona districts (Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*, Bishop Mus. Memoirs, vol. 4, 1917, pp. 360-363).
- <sup>18</sup> The maximal land divisions of an island, such as Kona or Kohala on Hawaii, are usually known as *moku*, *moku'āina*, or *kalana*. There is in the Hawaiian land system some structural constraint that they number six. This probably accounts for Toketa's use of the more ambiguous or generic term '*okana*', since the discussion refers to the large district of Waimea, which tended to function as a seventh *moku*, outside the normative six. The *moku* were normally divided into *ahupua'a* segments, the main tax units assigned to the charge of various chiefs or to their land overseers (*konohiki*). Given traditional descriptions of Hawaiian tenure (e.g., C. J. Lyons, "Land Matters in Hawaii," *The Islander*, 1875, July 2, 9, 16, 23, 30; Aug. 6, 13, 30), Toketa's count of 186 *ahupua'a* in Kona seems excessive. Yet the records of the Land Commission of 1846-1854 do show about 150 named units in Kona that could be construed as *ahupua'a*. The explanation appears to be that many Kona lands, as well as others in western Hawaii, were subjected to an extreme partition by Kamehameha, and perhaps by earlier paramount chiefs, as compensation to the warriors of successful campaigns. Thus what is here called *ahupua'a* may be equivalent in scale to what is elsewhere a subdivision ('*ili'aina*) of the *ahupua'a*. A later mention in this text of the Kona land Pua'a would be consistent with this interpretation. "There are three lands which bear the name Pua'a," Toketa writes [Par. 30], "but they are one *ahupua'a*." An analogous complication of the land system occurs in eastern Maui, prize of repeated battles between Maui and Hawaii Island chiefs.
- <sup>19</sup> Keawe-a-Heulu had been one of Kamehameha's warrior chiefs and counsellors, and had been rewarded for his services with large, irrevocable tracts of land (Kamakau, p. 175). He died on Oahu in 1804 at the time of the *oku'u* epidemic (*Ibid.*, pp. 189-190).
- <sup>20</sup> Kamakahonu was a parcel of land about 5 acres in extent at Kailua, Kona, where Kamehameha spent the last years of his life (Dorothy Barrère, *Kamehameha in Kona*, Bishop Mus. Anthro. Dept. PAR No. 23, 1975, pp. 1-47).

- <sup>21</sup> *Kōnane*, a game commonly described as resembling checkers, was played on a board or a stone slab pitted with holes of varying numbers to hold "men," black and white pebbles of stone and coral. No complete description of the ancient rules of play has survived.
- <sup>22</sup> The lava flow of Kaniku is on the north side of the 'ili of Anaeho'omalū in North Kona.
- <sup>23</sup> A large planting field about 5 miles above Kailua Bay. It was planted to taro by Kamehameha late in 1812 (John Papa Ii, *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, Honolulu: Bishop Mus. Press, 1973, pp. 110, 114). The area had long been in cultivation, and was seen and described by Menzies in 1792 (Archibald Menzies, *Hawaii Nei 128 Years Ago*, W. F. Wilson, ed., Honolulu, 1920, p. 154). A description of dryland taro planting in Kona is given by Handy (E. S. C. Handy, *The Hawaiian Planter Vol. 1*, Bishop Mus. Bull. 161, 1940, pp. 48-51).
- Toketa's references to the work at Kuaheua in this and succeeding passages provide valuable evidence of the Hawaiian practice of corvée labor—including the manner of phrasing the project as if it were the personal activity and accomplishment of the chief (Kuakini). Later paragraphs will suggest that at least some of the time Kuakini and his people were onlookers only; on the other hand, the food provided during the work, presumably by the chief, was festive in quality (pig and dog).
- <sup>24</sup> Keōua-wahine, a granddaughter of Kame'eiamoku, another of Kamehameha's warrior chiefs and counsellors, was the wife of Kuakini.
- <sup>25</sup> For an early description of the 'ili land section in Kona, see Menzies, p. 177.
- <sup>26</sup> Kanuha was a lesser chief of Kona who later became Kuakini's assistant, or deputy governor, of Hawaii Island.
- <sup>27</sup> The fifteenth night of the Hawaiian lunar month. When Kamehameha died in May of 1819, the night of *Hoku* fell on May 8th. Memorial celebrations of Kamehameha's death were held annually until 1823. After the abolition of the tabus in October 1819, these festivities seem to have replaced the annual "harvest" fete (*Makahiki*) as the main holiday of the Hawaiian year. For a description of the festivities of 1823 see Stewart, pp. 91-95.
- <sup>28</sup> *Trachurops crumenophthalmus* (W. A. Gosline and V. E. Brock, *Handbook of Hawaiian Fishes*, Honolulu: Univ. Hawaii Press, 1965, p. 173).
- <sup>29</sup> In the traditional Polynesian cosmology, *Po*, the "realm of darkness," was at once the earliest time and the place of spirits of the dead, in the latter capacity associated with the underworld. By contrast *Ao*, the "realm of the light," was the time and place of high gods and/or living men. This basic opposition fitted well with the missionaries' distinction between heathen "darkness" and the "light" of Christianity. The syncretic results of the two systems are exemplified in Toketa's text. On the persistence of these concepts in Tahitian Christianity, see Robert Levy, *Tahitians* (Chicago and London: Univ. Chicago Press, 1973), pp. 149, 161.
- <sup>30</sup> Name of a surf at Pua'a, a land south of Kailua. John 'I'i described *lele wa'a* (canoe-leaping) surfing there (p. 133).
- <sup>31</sup> Kī'ope is mentioned as a bathing place in Par. 13. 'I'i also commented on the surfing of women and children there (*Ibid.*).
- <sup>32</sup> Ka-'ōpua-ua, Kamehameha's canoe shed, was located at Kaiakēkua, adjacent Kamakahonu in Kailua, Kamehameha's shipworks were described by Freycinet in 1819 (Louis de Freycinet, *Hawai'i in 1819*, Bishop Mus. Anthro. Dept. PAR No. 26, Ella Wiswell, translator, 1978, p. 8).
- <sup>33</sup> Toketa is here reflecting on a difficulty that is as much sociological as psychological. The precarious position of the chief's favorite or *punahēle* is legendary (for example, see the story of Paka'a, Abraham Fornander, *Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-Lore*,

- Bishop Mus. Memoirs, vol. 5, 1918, pp. 72-75). In John Law's journal of Cook's voyage there is even notice of such hostility to Palea, favorite of the ruling chief Kalani'ōpu'u, on the part of Kamehameha, the chief's nephew (John Law, "Journal of John Law," British Museum Add. MS 37327, journal entry of January 27, 1779). As a man risen to favor from the lesser ranks, the *punahele* was especially subject to the antagonism of closer relatives of the chief, who were thus displaced from power.
- <sup>34</sup> *Trachurops crumenophthalmus*, Family Exocoetidae, and *Epinephelus quernus* (Gosline and Brock, pp. 173, 130, 157).
- <sup>35</sup> *Poi*: cooked taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) corms, pounded with water into a paste.
- <sup>36</sup> 'I'i named Kamakahonu, Kaiakēkua, Pā-o-'Umi, Niūmalu, and Kalāke'e as bordering Kailua Bay (p. 110). Kailua was originally just one locality on the shore (*Ibid.*, p. 118).
- <sup>37</sup> For a description of *holua* sledding and sleds see David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (Bishop Mus. Spec. Publ. 2, 2nd edition, Honolulu: Bishop Mus. Press, 1971), pp. 224-225.
- <sup>38</sup> January-February, 1822 (Bingham, pp. 156-158).
- <sup>39</sup> This tour of Ka'ahumanu and Kaumuali'i among the windward islands took place from May to July, 1822. They were on Maui May 12-17; at Kawaihae, Hawaii, May 20-26; at Hilo, May 28. Continuing around the island, they landed at Kailua on June 16, where they remained until the 28th, and arrived back in Honolulu on July 3 (Auna, Journal).
- <sup>40</sup> Toketa accounts for 32 days in his month of May. The month of May, 1822, ended on a Friday.
- <sup>41</sup> See Note 39.
- <sup>42</sup> *Asclepias curassavica* and *Solanum nigrum* (Marie Neal, *In Gardens of Hawaii*, Bishop Mus. Spec. Publ. 50, Honolulu: Bishop Mus. Press, 1965, pp. 697, 744).
- <sup>43</sup> *Acanthurus sandwicensis* and *Apogon* spp. (Gosline and Brock, pp. 245-246, 162-165).
- <sup>44</sup> The periodic difficulties of provisioning on the Kona coast, even for chiefs, have been remarked by others, but these passages also seem to testify to a particular Hawaiian concept of hunger, viz., absence of the fish or flesh (*i'a*) complement to the meal. Despite that root crops are, generically, "food" (*'ai*), it appears to have been fish that especially "sustained life."
- <sup>45</sup> Kilauea crater, the pit of the fire goddess Pele, is in Keauhou, Ka'ū, rather than at Hu'ehu'e, a locality near the hill Akahipu'u in Makalawena, North Kona.
- <sup>46</sup> The burning of houses on the part of a chief aggrieved by adultery was not an idiosyncratic reaction. Kuakini himself owed his lifelong limp to a famous incident of this kind (Kamakau, p. 389).
- <sup>47</sup> Laziness was a sin in the eyes of the Calvinist missionaries. Moreover, the normal Hawaiian patterns of work and leisure were deemed by them to be "laziness."
- <sup>48</sup> *Katsuwonus pelamis* (Gosline and Brock, p. 257).
- <sup>49</sup> The battlefield in Keauhou, Kona, where the chief Kekuaokalani and his party, who advocated the continuance of taboo eating, were defeated (Kamakau, pp. 226-228).
- <sup>50</sup> At Kahalu'u, Kona.
- <sup>51</sup> "Reddish tinge in hair, of Polynesians and not of Caucasians" (M. K. Pukui and S. E. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, Honolulu: Univ. Hawaii Press, 1971, p. 36).