

DAVIDA MALO, NATHANIEL EMERSON, AND THE “SINS” OF HAWAIIANS: AN ANALYSIS OF EMERSON’S *HAWAIIAN ANTIQUITIES* AS A GUIDE TO MALO’S *MO’OLELO HAWAI’I*

Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon

Chapter 21 of Davida Malo’s *Mo’olelo Hawai’i* is a carefully organized treatment of socially approved and disapproved behaviors as understood in pre-Christian Hawai’i. Malo weaves into his essay traditional, hierarchical word lists such as were widely used in classical Hawaiian education and also provides some emendations to the lists based on the acceptance of Christianity. After examining the language and structure of Malo’s Hawaiian essay, this article will look at how the essay was understood and presented in Nathaniel Emerson’s famous translation of Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Finally, using Emerson’s own unpublished papers from the Huntington Library, this article will survey Emerson’s views on the Hawaiian organization of knowledge as well as his analysis of Malo as a writer and provide an appraisal of Emerson as a guide to Malo.

CORRESPONDENCE MAY BE SENT TO:

Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon, Department of Religion, University of Hawai’i–Mānoa
Sakamaki Hall A311, 2530 Dole Street, Honolulu, Hawai’i 96822

Email: lyonj@hawaii.edu

Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being Vol.7 (2011)
Copyright © 2011 by Kamehameha Schools.

It was over a century ago that the names of Davida Malo and Nathaniel Emerson were first linked through Emerson's translation of Malo's ethnography of ancient Hawai'i, *Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i*.¹ Malo (1795–1853), native advisor to chiefs and foreigners, teacher, government agent, clergyman, and kū'auhau (traditional historian), was, in his time, widely acknowledged to be the preeminent expert on Hawai'i's pre-Christian past. Nathaniel Bright Emerson (1839–1915), missionary son, civil war veteran, physician, political figure, and literary man, has long been considered, through his translation of Malo and other works on hula (dance) and mele (songs), an indispensable guide to that same past.² His translation of Malo has been canonized to the degree that wherever the ancient life of kānaka (Native Hawaiians) is studied, *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1903/1951) is one of a handful of books sure to be cited.

The purpose of this article is to consider Emerson's *Hawaiian Antiquities* as a guide to Malo's original work in Hawaiian. In the course of editing Malo's own manuscript over the past 8 years, *Hawaiian Antiquities* has been my constant companion,³ and while I have often admired Emerson's articulate and often elegant translations, other aspects of his work have proved alarming. In order to lay these concerns before the reader in a concrete manner, this article will take a close look at Malo's essay titled *No nā Hewa me nā Pono* (Concerning Things Which Are Hewa and Things Which Are Pono), Chapter 21 of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, and then compare this analysis with Emerson's translation and notes. This will include an evaluation of Malo's language, the rhetorical shaping of his essay, its overall organization, and also a new translation of the essay to show how I have understood Malo's Hawaiian. After examining the original essay apart from Emerson, I consider some aspects of Emerson's treatment in order to gain insight into his reading of Malo and the nature of the translation that has played such an important role in the subsequent understanding of pre-Christian Hawai'i. In this way, Chapter 21 of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* can serve as a basis for comparing the two works (Malo's original and Emerson's translation), a starting point for evaluating some aspects of Emerson's work as a translator and cultural interpreter. This article will conclude with some notes on Emerson's Hawaiian, his assessment of the Hawaiian language, his discussion of "the Hawaiian mind," and his view of Malo as a writer.

MALO’S BOOK, *KA MO’OLELO HAWAI’I*, PART 2

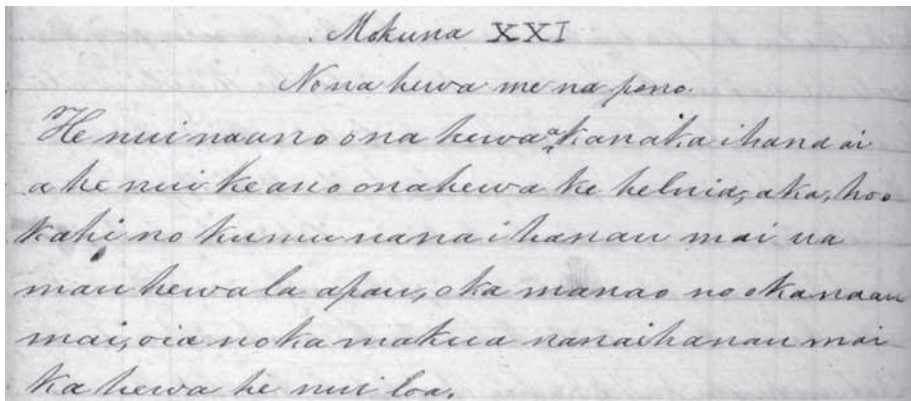
Malo was apparently the major contributor to the first *Mo’olelo Hawai’i*, a collection of mostly historic materials drawn from oral sources by students at Lahainaluna Seminary and published there in 1838.⁴ He seems to have then compiled an independent ethnographical complement⁵ to the earlier work. This later work, mostly copied out in Malo’s own hand, comprised 51 independent chapters⁶ each telling of some aspect of traditional Hawaiian belief, custom, material culture, ritual, or mo’okū’auhau (genealogical lore). While some of the topics might have been suggested by missionary teachers, there can be little doubt that the intended audience was the Hawaiian reading public, and, in particular, the highest ali’i (chiefs).⁷ The original manuscript has a curious history (see Chun’s editions of Malo, 1987, 2006). Although some of its materials were borrowed, unchanged and unacknowledged, in Rev. J. F. Pogue’s work, also titled *Mo’olelo Hawai’i* (1858), the unfinished and often unedited collection of essays, lists, and stories remained unpublished at Malo’s death in 1853 and remained unavailable to all but a very few until the publication of Emerson’s English translation in 1903.⁸ Malo’s ethnographical work is a representation of traditional Hawaiian culture presented in both new and traditional forms whose content can be summarized as follows:

- Introduction—preface describing the limitations of the work and an essay comparing oral tradition (lohe) and written history (kākau).
- List essays—essays centered around traditional categorized lists of the kind widely used in classical Hawaiian education. Such lists seemed to have served as a summary of organized knowledge and were probably a major part of Malo’s own education. In some of these essays Malo weaves his own commentary into the lists.
- Ritual accounts—more or less detailed descriptions of different kinds of rites.
- Social explanation—essays regarding traditional society and the roles of its constituent parts, such as those living at court (aloali’i) and those living in the countryside (kua’āina).
- Traditional kū’auhau accounts regarding ali’i nui (high chiefs) from Wākea to ‘Umialiloa. These stories (mo’olelo) are often retold in traditional and even archaic language and comprise the last several

chapters of the book. The final chapter on ‘Umialiloa breaks off in the middle of the story.⁹ We do not know what, if any, further accounts were planned by Malo.

MALO’S ESSAY *NO NĀ HEWA ME NĀ PONO*

FIGURE 1 The opening paragraph of Malo’s essay (page 84 of the Carter manuscript), written in Malo’s own hand



BISHOP MUSEUM

Malo’s original essay (Chapter 21 of the *Mo’olelo Hawai’i*), consisting of 28 numbered paukū (paragraphs), is given here in full (see Table 1). The left-hand column has Malo’s Hawaiian text in modernized orthography and punctuation,¹⁰ and the right-hand column contains a new translation intended to show how I have understood the essay.¹¹ Because the essay incorporates several lists of synonyms whose exact nuances are now very difficult to distinguish and whose precise meaning could only be approximated in any translation, the English is at best a rough guide to the original text. I have not translated the critical terms *hewa* and *pono* because, as a uniquely Hawaiian duality, there are no English terms that can be used consistently throughout the essay to adequately express them, especially since every paragraph within the essay relates specifically to the traditional Hawaiian understanding of *hewa* or *pono*. After some observations on the content and rhetorical shaping of the essay, I will return to examine the contextual meaning of *hewa* and *pono* as presented by Malo.¹²

TABLE 1 Malo’s Essay in Modern Orthography^a and a New English Translation

Mokuna XXI No nā Hewa me nā Pono	Chapter XXI Concerning Things Which Are Hewa and Things Which Are Pono
1. He nui nā ‘ano o nā hewa a kānaka i hana ai a he nui ke ‘ano o nā hewa ke helu ‘ia, akā, ho‘okahi nō kumu nāna i hānau mai ua mau hewa lā a pau: ‘o ka mana‘o nō o ka na‘au mai, ‘o ia nō ka makua nāna i hānau mai ka hewa he nui loa.	1. The list of <i>hewa</i> that people have committed is a very long one as is the listing of their various types, but all such <i>hewa</i> are born of one source: the thought which proceeds from the <i>na‘au</i> (gut). ^b This surely is the parent that begets a great many <i>hewa</i> .
2. Ma kahi a ka na‘au i mana‘o ai e hana hewa, e hewa ‘i‘o nō auane‘i, a ma kahi a ka na‘au i mana‘o ai [e] hana pono, e pono auane‘i, no ka mea, mai ka na‘au mai ka pono, mai ka na‘au mai ka hewa; akā, ua lelewale mai kahi hewa me kahi pono, he lelewale mai nō.	2. In whatever matter the <i>na‘au</i> is intent on doing <i>hewa</i> , <i>hewa</i> will eventually ensue. In whatever matter the <i>na‘au</i> intends to do <i>pono</i> , <i>pono</i> will eventually ensue, because both <i>pono</i> and <i>hewa</i> come from the <i>na‘au</i> . Some actions, however, both <i>hewa</i> and <i>pono</i> , come about spontaneously.
3. Inā i ‘ike ka maka i kekahi mea, ‘a‘ole na‘e i makemake ka na‘au, ‘a‘ole nō e pili ka hewa ma laila. Akā, i nānā ka maka a makemake ka na‘au i kekahi mea, e nui mai nō nā mana‘o ma loko o laila: ‘o ke kuko nō ke kumu, ‘o ka li‘a, ‘o ka ulukū, ‘o ka ho‘okaha, ho‘omakauli‘i, ka ‘i‘ini, halaiwi (me ka mana‘o e lawe malū a lilo iā ia). Ua kapa ‘ia kēia mau hewa he ‘aihue.	3. If the eyes behold a thing, but the <i>na‘au</i> does not desire it, no <i>hewa</i> will be attached to it. But if the eyes behold a thing and the <i>na‘au</i> does desire it, there are many possible dispositions: lust is the root member, and then there is yearning, a strong urge to possess, thoughts of extortion, feigning friendship with intention to steal, <i>halaiwi</i> , that is, examining a thing with the intent to pilfer it later on. These <i>hewa</i> fall under the general category of [nonviolent] theft.
4. Eia kekahi. ‘O ke kuko i ko ha‘i waiwai, he nui nā mana‘o i loko o laila: ‘o ka ho‘ohālua, maka‘ala, kia‘i, ho‘okalakupua, hō‘eleiki, ho‘opa‘ewa, ho‘opā‘ē‘ē (me ka mana‘o e pepehi a make loa ma kahi mehameha i loa‘a mai ai iā ia ua waiwai lā). Ua kapa ‘ia kēia mau hewa he pōā, he pepehi wale ke ‘ano o ia.	4. Moreover, coveting the property of another involves many possible dispositions: lying in wait, watchfulness, waiting, ambush, treachery, crooked dealing, leading a person astray (meaning beating him ^c to death in some isolated place in order to get that person’s property). These <i>hewa</i> fall under the category of robbery, an act involving violence.

^a Italics in the Hawaiian language column indicate that the pronunciation of the word is uncertain. Square brackets indicate letters or words supplied by the editor.

^b The *na‘au* (gut, intestines) is the seat of the intellect and the emotions and is used regularly in the Hawaiian Bible where English would use *heart* or *mind*.

^c Hawaiian has no gender-specific pronouns. English, however, compels the choice of gender in these descriptions, so wherever I have written “he, him, his, or himself,” accuracy, if not convenience, would require “he and she, him and her, his and hers, himself and herself” (or the reverse).

TABLE 1 continued

Mokuna XXI	Chapter XXI
<p>5. Eia kekahi. Inā i mana'o kekahi e nui nā mea e lo[a]a mai iā ia na ha'i mai, he nui nō nā mea ma laila: he pākaha [ka] mua, he lawe wale, he kipa wale, he hao wale, he uhuki wale, he kā'ili wale, he 'ālunu wale, a me nā hewa like 'ē a'e he nui.</p>	<p>5. Moreover, if someone intends to gain from another, this can involve many different dispositions: the first is cheating, and then simply taking, visiting to be entertained, plundering, pulling up crops, taking by force, extortion, and many other such <i>hewa</i>.</p>
<p>6. Eia kekahi. Inā i mana'o kekahi e 'ōlelo pū me kekahi ma nā mea 'oia'i'o, inā i like 'ole ke 'ano ma hope me ka 'ōlelo 'ana, he nui nō nā mea ma laila: he ho'opunipuni ka mua, he wa[ha]he'e, he 'alapahi, he pālau, he kūkahekahe, he palolo, he <i>kokahe</i>, he pahilau, a me nā mea like he nui nō.</p>	<p>6. Moreover, if one believed he was being told the truth and then found out that the reality was different from what he had been told, there are many possible dispositions therein: the first is deceit, and then lying, slander, exaggeration, telling tall tales, gossip, falsehoods, lies, untruths, and many other similar things.</p>
<p>7. Eia kekahi. Inā i mana'o kekahi e 'imi i mea e hewa ai kekahi, he nui nō nā mea ma laila: he 'aki ka mua, he 'ahi'ahi, he ni'ani'a, holoholo 'ōlelo, he makauli'i, ka'ameha'i, he kuene, he pou pou noho ni'o, he ho'owalewale, luahele, kumakaia, ho'olawehala, 'ōpū 'ino'ino, lawe 'ōlelo wale, pāonioni, a me nā mea like 'ē a'e he nui nō.</p>	<p>7. Moreover, if one intends to find a way to make another appear <i>hewa</i>, this involves many possible dispositions: first is maligning, and then slander, malicious gossip, tale bearing, finding fault, sorcery, detraction, telling of false tales, scrutinizing for faults, leading astray, seduction, taking revenge, accusation of wrongdoing, malevolence, spreading rumors, acting out of envy, and many similar things.</p>
<p>8. Inā i mana'o 'ino kekahi i kekahi, he nui nō nā mana'o ma laila: 'o ka huhū ka mua, 'o ka inaina, 'o ka 'a'aka, 'o ke kekē, 'o ka nanā, 'o ke kūkōna, 'o ka uahoa, mākonā, kala'ea, ho'olili, ho'omāku'e, ho'oko'iko'i, ho'oweliweli, a me nā mea like 'ē a'e he nui nō.</p>	<p>8. If one thinks ill of another, this can involve many possible dispositions: anger is the first, and then wrath, surliness, sharp language, snarling, sullenness, unkindness, hard-heartedness, rudeness, provocation of jealousy, provocation of fear, harshness, threatening, and many similar things.</p>
<p>9. Eia kekahi, inā e mana'o kekahi e pepehi i ka mea hala 'ole, he nui nō nā mea ma laila: 'o ka pepehi wale ka mua, 'o ka hailuku wale, 'o ka hahau wale, 'o ke kula'i wale, 'o ke 'umi wale, ku'iku'i wale, papa'i wale, hāko'oko'o wale, ho'okonokono wale, me nā mea like 'ē a'e he nui nō.</p>	<p>9. Moreover, if one thinks to do violence to another who is blameless, there are many dispositions therein: beating is the first, and then there is pelting with stones, striking with a club, knocking down, choking, hitting with the fists, slapping, shoving, provoking a fight, and many similar things.</p>
<p>10. He po'e hewa kēia a ua 'ike pono 'ia he hewa nui, akā, 'a'ole nō i ho'opa'i pono 'ia ka mea i hana i kēia mau hewa i ka wā kahiko. Inā nō i make kekahi i kekahi, ua make ihola nō ia; kāka'ikahi ka mea i ho'opa'i 'ia e like me kēia wā. He nui nō na'e ka ho'opa'i 'ole 'ia, no ka mea, 'a'ohe kānāwai o ia wā.</p>	<p>10. These were clearly seen to be great <i>hewa</i>, but the one who committed such <i>hewa</i> was not properly punished in former times. If one was killed by another, that murder was the end of the matter; rarely was anyone punished as happens today. Most were not punished, because there was no criminal law at that time.</p>

TABLE 1 continued

Mokuna XXI	Chapter XXI
<p>11. Eia kekahi. ‘O ka moe ‘ana o nā mea ka’awale, ka mea wahine ‘ole, ka mea kāne ‘ole, a me ka moe ipo a me ka moe ho’okuli^d a me ka moe ‘elua wāhine a kāne ho’okahi, a ‘elua kāne a ka wahine ho’okahi, a me ka moe ho’okamakama, ka moe aikāne, a me ka mea ma ka lima iho, ‘a’ole i kapa ‘ia kēia mau mea he hewa i ka wā kahiko. ‘O ke ‘umi kamali’i, ‘o ka ho’omana ki’i, ‘a’ole i kapa ka po’e kahiko he hewa nui ia.</p>	<p>11. Furthermore, sexual relations outside of marriage by either sex, taking a lover, sex in return for a gift, <i>ménages à trois</i> of either two women with one man or two men with one woman, sex for payment, homosexual relationships, and masturbation—none of these were called <i>hewa</i> in former times. Strangulation of infants and worship of images were not considered great <i>hewa</i> by the people in times past.</p>
<p>12. Eia kēia mau hewa, no ke kāne nō a no ka wahine ho’i: ‘o ke koaka, pakaulei, pāke[ʻ]a ‘ai, palaualelo, lomalomā, moloā, hāwāwā, ‘ae’a, kū’ono’ono ‘ole, limalima pilau, kō’ala’ala makehewa, a me nā mea like ‘ē a’e. He hewa nō kēia.</p>	<p>12. Here are some additional <i>hewa</i> pertaining to both men and women: dissoluteness, shifting from one mate to another, gluttony, talking instead of working, indolence, laziness, clumsiness, wandering from place to place, failure to provide for oneself, and other similar things. These are indeed <i>hewa</i>.</p>
<p>13. Eia nā mea ho’ohewa ‘ia e nā haku’āina: ‘o ka lilo i ka puni le’ale’a a pau ka waiwai, i ka no’a, pahe’e, maika, heihei wa’a, heihei nalu, heihei hōlua, kūkulu hale nui, moe wahine maika’i, ‘a’ahu kapa maika’i, hume malo maika’i. Ua kapa ‘ia kēia mau mea he ho’ohanohano, he mea e hemo ai ka ‘āina, no ka mea, he like ia me ka māwae huna ‘āina.</p>	<p>13. Here are the actions considered <i>hewa</i> by the landholders: addiction to various entertainments resulting in the loss of possessions at games, such as hiding the <i>no’a</i> token, throwing the <i>pahe’e</i> javelin, rolling the <i>maika</i> stone, canoe racing, surf racing or <i>hōlua</i> sled competitions, building a large house, sleeping with beautiful women, or donning beautiful <i>kapa</i> or <i>malo</i>. These were looked at as self-aggrandizement, and could result in being dispossessed of one’s land and were the equivalent of chipping off bits of land a piece at a time.</p>
<p>14. Eia kēia, inā he wahine hana ‘ole kā konohiki i moe ai, ua kapa ‘ia nā wāhine hana ‘ole he polo hana ‘ole. ‘A’ole kuku, ‘a’ole kāpala, he noho wale iho nō, ‘o kā ke kāne loa’a wale nō kāna e mana’o ai, he hewa nō ia e hemo ai ko ke kāne ‘āina. No ua wahine lā nō ka hemo ‘ana.</p>	<p>14. Furthermore, if the <i>konohiki</i>^e had as his mate a woman who did not work, such a woman was called a <i>polo hana ‘ole</i> (a fat, lazy parasite). If she did not beat <i>kapa</i>, or stamp <i>kapa</i> with designs, but simply sat about and depended on what her husband brought in, that was a <i>hewa</i> for which her husband might lose his land. The eviction would be because of her.</p>
<p>15. Akā, ‘o ka ‘ōhumu wale, me ka ho’ohalahala wale, a me kekahi mau pō’ino ‘ē a’e, he mau hewa lelewale mai nō na’e ia. He nui nō nā mea lele mai, ‘a’ole i pau ia’u i ka helu.</p>	<p>15. But complaining and fault-finding, among other unfortunate behaviors, are <i>hewa</i> that are committed spontaneously. There are many such things that occur spontaneously that I have not enumerated here.</p>

^d Emerson handwritten note (Emerson Collection, Box 2, EMR 49, p. 137 reverse): “moe hookuli: all sorts of artifices were employed to seduce the married woman.”

^e The *konohiki* was appointed by the landholder (i.e., whoever was appointed to receive the yield of the land) to oversee the labors of those who worked and lived on the land.

TABLE 1 continued

Mokuna XXI	Chapter XXI
<p>16. He nui nō ho'i nā mea i kapa 'ia he pono maoli nō a kānaka e hana ai; he nui nō na'e ka po'e hana pono, akā, ua lelewale mai nō kekahi pō'ino. Eia nō ka pō'ino, 'o nā mea a ka maka e 'ike ai, a makemake ka na'au i kā ha'i mea. E ho'omanawanui ka pono. Mai ki'i aku a lawe mai. E ha'alele loa, e ho'opoina, 'a'ole e ho'opā aku, 'o ia [i]hola nō ka pono.</p>	<p>16. There are many things too for people to do that are called genuine <i>pono</i>; there are many people that do <i>pono</i> but still commit spontaneous acts of improper behavior. Here is one cause of such behavior: the eye sees a thing that belongs to another and the <i>na'au</i> wants it. The course of action that is <i>pono</i> is to withstand temptation. Do not take it; abandon that desire; forget it without ever touching it. That indeed is <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>17. Eia kekahi, 'o ka hana pololei me ka lalau 'ole, me ka ho'opunipuni 'ole, me ka hele nui 'ole ma ko ha'i mau puka hale, me ka mākilo 'ole, me ke noi 'ole i kā ha'i mea, 'o ka pono ihola nō ia.</p>	<p>17. Furthermore, one should act correctly without going astray, without deceiving others, without passing frequently through another's doorway, without staring longingly, without asking for another's possessions. That is to behave with <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>18. Eia kekahi mau mea i kapa 'ia he pono: 'o ka ho'okū'ono'ono o ka noho 'ana, 'o ka 'ae'a 'ole, koaka 'ole, 'a'ole e pakaulei, 'a'ole e 'ai'ē i kā ha'i mea. 'O ka pono ia.</p>	<p>18. Here are some other things that were called <i>pono</i>: furnishing oneself well with possessions, not wandering from place to place, nor living dissolutely, nor shifting from one mate to another, nor borrowing the possessions of another. These are <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>19. Eia kekahi mea pono no ka noho 'ana o ke kāne me ka wahine, a pono me nā keiki a me nā makamaka a me nā haku'āina: 'o ka mahi 'ai, 'o ka lawai'a, kūkulu hale, kālai wa'a, hānai pua'a, hānai 'ilio, hānai moa. He mau mea pono ia.</p>	<p>19. Here are some things that are/were <i>pono</i> for a husband and wife, that their day-to-day lives with their children, neighbors, and landlord might be <i>pono</i>: farming, fishing, house building, canoe carving, raising pigs, raising dogs, raising chickens. Those things are all <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>20. Eia kekahi mau mea i kapa 'ia he pono, 'o ka puni le'ale'a 'ole, ha'alele i ka no'a, i ka pahe'e, i ka maika, i ke kūkini, i heihei wa'a, heihei nalu, heihei hōlua, a me ka pū kaula, a me ia le'ale'a aku ia le'ale'a aku.</p>	<p>20. Here are some other things that were called <i>pono</i>: not to be addicted to amusements, avoiding such games as hiding the <i>no'a</i> token, throwing the <i>pahe'e</i> javelin, throwing the <i>maika</i> stone, foot racing, canoe racing, surf racing, <i>hōlua</i> sled competitions, cat's cradle, and various other games.</p>
<p>21. 'O ko ke kanaka mau mea kēia e pono nui ai ka noho 'ana ma kēia ola 'ana. Ua nui nō ka pono o kēia mau mea.</p>	<p>21. The following are things by which a person's existence in this life is truly <i>pono</i>. They all constitute great <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>22. 'O ke kanaka mahi 'ai me ke kanaka lawai'a, he nui ko lāua mau 'ōhua, he nui nā mea e pono ma kā lāua hana. No laila, ua kapa 'ia kēia he mau hana pono loa.</p>	<p>22. The farmer and the fisherman have many dependents; there are many things that are <i>pono</i> through their labors. Therefore these kinds of work are termed very <i>pono</i>.</p>

TABLE 1 continued

Mokuna XXI	Chapter XXI
<p>23. ‘O ka ho‘omana ‘ana i nā akua ki‘i, ua kapa aku ka po‘e kahiko he hana pono nō ia, no ka mea, ua mana‘o nui lākou he akua ‘i‘o nō. No laila, makemake nui nā maka‘āinana i nā ali‘i haipule. Inā haipule ke ali‘i, mana‘o nui nā maka‘āinana e ola ana ia aupuni.</p>	<p>23. The worship of the gods was called a <i>pono</i> act by the people of old, because they firmly believed they really were gods. The commoners, therefore, greatly desired ruling <i>ali‘i</i> who were strict in their observance of the <i>luakini</i> rites. If the ruling <i>ali‘i</i> was strict in these observances, they believed his government would endure.</p>
<p>24. ‘O ke kālai wa‘a kekahi mea pono nui. He nui nā hana pono i ka wa‘a, ‘o ka holo ma ka ‘āina ‘ē a kaua ma laila. He nui nā mea e pono i ka wa‘a.</p>	<p>24. Canoe carving was another great <i>pono</i>. There were many activities that were <i>pono</i> because of the canoe, including sailing to another land and fighting there. The canoe was a source of much <i>pono</i>.</p>
<p>25. Eia kekahi mea i ho‘opono ‘ia, ‘o ke kahuna pule i nā akua ki‘i. Ua mana‘o nui ‘ia^f he mea mana nā kāhuna. Ke noi aku i ke akua ki‘i i nā mea [a] lākou e noi ai, e hā‘awi mai nō ke akua iā lākou i ia mau mea.</p>	<p>25. Another person who was thought of as <i>pono</i> was the priest who directed the services to the gods. It was strongly believed that those priests possessed real <i>mana</i>. Whenever they would ask their god for something, the god would surely grant them their requests.</p>
<p>26. ‘O ka po‘e kilo lani kekahi mea i ho‘opono ‘ia no ke kuhikuhi ‘ana i ka lā he‘e ma ke kaua ‘ana; ‘o ke kuhikuhipu‘uone kekahi i ho‘opono ‘ia no ke kuhikuhi i ka heiau pono e he‘e ai ka hoa kaua.</p>	<p>26. Those who observed the heavens were also esteemed as <i>pono</i> because they could foretell the day of defeat during warfare; the <i>kuhikuhipu‘uone</i> (<i>heiau</i> architect) was also esteemed as <i>pono</i> because he could indicate the proper <i>heiau</i> to bring about the defeat of an opponent.</p>
<p>27. ‘O ka po‘e kākā‘ōlelo kekahi i ho‘opono ‘ia no ke alaka‘i pono ‘ana i ke ali‘i; ‘o ka po‘e koa kekahi i ho‘opono ‘ia no ka ikaika i ke kaua ‘ana, me ka ho‘opio ‘ana i nā hoa kaua.</p>	<p>27. Those who were <i>kākā‘ōlelo</i> were also considered <i>pono</i> because they were the ones who led the ruling <i>ali‘i</i> to the proper course of action; the warriors were also considered <i>pono</i> for their strength in warfare and the capture of their opponent.</p>
<p>28. ‘O ka po‘e kā ‘upena a hilo aho kekahi i ho‘opono ‘ia no ka loa‘a mai o ka i‘a; ‘o ke kālai kua a hole i‘e kekahi i ho‘opono ‘ia no ke kuku kapa, a malo, a pā‘ū. He nui nō nā mea i kapa ‘ia he pono ma ka hana ‘ana a kēlā kanaka kēi[a] kanaka, kēlā wahine kēia wahine i nā hana pono. Pēlā nō nā ali‘i, he nui nō nā mea i kapa ‘ia he pono. ‘A‘ole i pau i ka helu ‘ia.</p>	<p>28. Those who made nets and braided lines were also considered <i>pono</i> because it was through such that fish were caught; those who carved <i>kapa</i>-pounding anvils and beaters were considered <i>pono</i> because they were used to beat <i>kapa</i>, <i>malo</i>, and <i>pā‘ū</i>. Many things were called <i>pono</i> in the work of each man and woman in the doing of activities that were <i>pono</i>. Likewise, for the <i>ali‘i</i>, many things were called <i>pono</i>. The list is incomplete.</p>

^f The word *ia* has been changed to *ai*.

Analyzing Malo's Essay

The contents of the essay can be summarized thus:

Paukū	Content
1–2	The source of hewa
3–9	Categorized lists of hewa
10	Excursus on the nonpunishment of hewa because of lack of organized judiciary
11	Behaviors newly considered as hewa
12	Additional hewa not specified in the previous lists
13–14	Hewa from the landowner's perspective
15	Spontaneous hewa
16	Pono as resistance to hewa
17–20	Lists of pono
21–28a	Activities and livelihoods that bring about pono
28b	Acknowledgment that many other lists on the subject could be given

The essay itself is a synthesis of both older and newer literary and pedagogical forms. Although the chapter adopts the newly introduced literary form of the essay, the body consists of traditional categorized lists of hewa and pono, with Malo's own introduction and interspersed commentary. The hierarchical lists of hewa can be summarized under numerous heads, such as nonviolent theft ('aihue), violent theft (poā), and appropriation. Most of the hewa lists include a primary member (kumu or mua), followed by a longer list of secondary characteristics or behaviors.

The pedagogical use of such lists in traditional Hawaiian education has been well documented in John Charlot's (2005) *Classical Hawaiian Education* in which Charlot also demonstrated that such lists are found in the work of many

19th-century native writers and were an essential element in the ho’opāpā riddling contests where life and death could depend on their mastery.¹³ Malo, like other writers cited by Charlot, takes the use of such lists in education for granted. These lists enabled one generation to pass on to the next its own understanding of the world in a compact and efficient verbal package that could be modified, rearranged, or combined with other lists as needed. To modern readers, the lists at first seem a chaotic amalgamation of loosely related synonyms. Their arrangement and hierarchy is rarely obvious to a modern reader, but there is always an interior logic that would have seemed obvious to Malo and those educated through the use of such lists. Their immediate purpose is to provide organization to the material and nonmaterial world in such a way that would benefit those growing up in traditional Hawaiian society. For example, in the chapter on trees (Chapter 9), the key to the organization of a longish list of trees is not height, nor color, nor leaf size, nor fruit, nor wood. As in most of the list chapters in Malo, the modern reader is often perplexed as to why Malo would write in such a disorganized manner. Further investigation, however, as with all of the list chapters, does reveal an inner logic. Malo’s lists are much like a modern database table that can be sorted by primary and secondary keys. The primary sorting key for trees, for example, is the altitude at which they grow. Other pertinent facts are also provided, such as fruits, use of wood, and so forth, but by sorting trees by the altitude at which they grow, the child who has mastered this list would immediately know where to go to obtain what these trees can provide, whether a type of wood, nut, or fruit.¹⁴ The list is eminently practical once we understand its interior arrangement and provides a firsthand glimpse into a traditional Hawaiian worldview.

The Title of the Essay

It is worthwhile to pay close attention to Malo’s title because every paragraph in the essay relates closely to it. Malo has provided a detailed understanding of the hewa–pono duality as understood in both pre-Christian Hawai’i and, less so, in his own day. This is not necessarily how this duality was understood by American Protestant teachers at Lahainaluna, if, in fact, the title of the essay was suggested by them.¹⁵ An indigenous society’s organization of knowledge, and therefore its philosophical and scientific categories, is almost always different from perceived Western equivalents. The Lahainaluna teachers likely had in mind the use of hewa and pono that is frequently seen in the Hawaiian Bible, where hewa serves as the regular equivalent for the common Hebrew חַטָּא (ḥēṭ’) and Greek ἁμαρτία (*hamartia*), both of whose semantic range are well covered by the English word

sin as seen in the English Bible in the sense of transgression against the law of God. Pono, in biblical language, was frequently used as its opposite. An early, unpublished English translation of Malo¹⁶ suggests that the English binary of *good* and *evil* might also have been behind the suggested title, which it renders as “Concerning Evil and Good.” While there is some degree of semantic overlap between these biblical binaries and the native use of pono and hewa, the details of the essay show that there are also significant differences.

One of the most valuable aspects of Malo’s essay is that it presents a traditional Hawaiian category in the native language as articulated by a thoughtful and highly respected thinker who was educated in pre-Christian Hawai’i. Western and Hawaiian organizations of knowledge had no external point of contact prior to 1778, and not even the seemingly simplest categories, for example *i’a*/fish, *manu*/bird, *‘ai*/food, correspond particularly well from one language to the other.¹⁷ Although Malo was involved in the Bible translation, he did not seem to have extensively studied either the original Greek or Hebrew texts¹⁸ nor did he ever become proficient in English. Consequently, his interpretation of this dualism appears to derive from his traditional Hawaiian education and native perspective.

Rhetorical Shaping

Because the central purpose of Malo’s essay is to contrast the Hawaiian binary of hewa and pono, it is perhaps useful to consider beforehand, by way of example, a better known Hawaiian duality that has extended into virtually all forms of English heard in Hawai’i today, that of *kai* and *uka*. It is not that English does not possess combinations of words that can adequately define individual meanings of *kai* and *uka*, but rather that the exact binary itself does not exist in English, and it is only as we see the words contrasted with each other that we begin to understand the semantic spheres covered by these words. English speakers have generally found it more convenient to borrow *kai* and *uka* than to engage in lengthy circumlocutions. So it is with my translation of the essay. In trying to understand Malo’s work, it is best if we maintain the Hawaiian terms rather than force them to fit within foreign categories. Both hewa and pono can be provided with suitable English equivalents in various contexts, but when contrasted with each other, as Malo has done here, we begin to see a uniquely Hawaiian classification of social behavior.

At first glance, the lists of hewa, like the tree list mentioned earlier, appear to the modern reader as a disorganized thesaurus with little formal arrangement. Closer examination, however, reveals that Malo has arranged his materials carefully. If we identify the various elements of the hewa lists, we see a recurring pattern:

- Root cause of all hewa
- General category
- Primary disposition or root member (kumu/mua)
- Secondary manifestations

When we consider the central role of genealogy in Hawaiian cosmology and epistemology, it is tempting to see a genealogical arrangement in this account as well. The patterned use of mua and kumu (source, or, in the language of genealogy, root member), and the double use of hānau (born) in paragraph 2 would seem to confirm the interpretation that the lists of individual hewa are set down in a recognized order indicative of precedence, that is, with both primary and secondary sorting keys. The exact nature, however, of this secondary precedence is now very difficult to determine because many of the words are rarely used, and the full context of their use is now obscure.

When we apply this form to the initial hewa list (21:3), we can fill in the details as shown below. The English glosses are provided as an aid in understanding the direction of Malo’s presentation, but, in important ways, they are impediments to a deeper understanding of the list itself, as it is likely that the secondary characteristics also have a hierarchical arrangement that is masked by our limited lexical tools and our ignorance of their nuanced use in traditional contexts.

1. Root cause: ‘Ike ka maka, makemake ka na‘au (the eye sees and the na‘au desires)
2. First category of hewa: ‘Aihue (nonviolent theft)
3. Root member of ‘aihue: Kuko (coveting, setting the mind on something)

4. Secondary characteristics (or behaviors)

- Li'a (yearning)
- Ulukū (desire to possess)
- Ho'okaha (extortion)
- Ho'omakauli'i (feigning friendship to gain proximity)
- 'I'ini (overwhelming desire to possess)
- Halaiwi (acquisition by stealth)

The first seven lists follow this format more or less closely, though not slavishly.¹⁹ The presentation of the materials in this manner demonstrates that Malo has incorporated traditional list forms, and this understanding is strengthened when we note that Malo felt the need to supply Hawaiian language definitions for some less common words in the lists, for example, halaiwi (21:3) and ho'opā'ē'ē (21:4).²⁰

That most of the lists throughout the essay antedate a Christian understanding of hewa and pono is made explicit in three ways.²¹

1. The addition of commentary informs the reader that the hewa presented in the initial lists were not consistently punished in former times (21:10–11).
2. The explicit classification as hewa of some actions that were formerly neither hewa nor pono shows that an older list has been modified (21:12).
3. The inclusion in the pono lists of some actions explicitly condemned under Calvinist Christianity (such as idol worship and astrological observation) refers to a time when these practices were considered pono.

It is also worth noting some differences of the new hewa compared with the old. Most, though not all, of the new hewa are sexual, and although these are presented as a list, they are not arranged in the same hierarchical format as the old hewa, possibly indicating that this new material is an ad hoc creation by Malo. This is also true of the list of hewa relating to both men and women (para. 12) that Malo includes even though they do not seem to be covered by the traditional lists.

Malo next turns to the listing of hewa from the perspective of the haku'āina (landholder), further subdivided into the hewa generally disapproved of by the haku'āina, and then some hewa specific to the konohiki (land manager). We should note that the condemnation here of devotion to hana le'ale'a (entertainments) is *not* ascribed to the Christian values of Malo's day. The produce of the land, and thereby its assignment to the haku'āina during any land redistribution, would be adversely affected if the people devoted their time and resources to such entertainments. Furthermore, as Malo tells us in the chapter on hana le'ale'a (XLI), all of these entertainments involved gambling and the resultant loss of property and life. The haku'āina would also consider acts of ho'ohanohano (self-aggrandizing or pompous behavior) to be hewa, and the list explicitly mentions pursuits that could involve the loss of time and property, such as wearing fine clothing, building an overly large house, or pursuing beautiful women. These are summarized as the equivalent of ka māwae huna 'āina, breaking off the land bit by bit, or the slow, but certain, loss of the land.²²

The konohiki, as opposed to the people, was considered to have done hewa in the eyes of the landholder by taking a wife who was considered lazy or unproductive. The laziness of such a woman could also result in the land manager's dismissal.

The discussion of hewa is concluded by an incomplete list of hewa that are designated lelewale (spontaneous). Malo indicates that the list is potentially a long one but provides only a few examples, perhaps as not being pertinent because they arise from a cause outside of seeing and desiring and also, perhaps, because he did not possess an organized traditional list.

The Contextual Meaning of Pono and Hewa

The rest of the chapter deals with pono. Pono not only is the conscious decision to resist hewa (para. 16) but also includes useful professions such as fishing, farming, canoe making, net making, and astronomy/astrology. Pono, in this context, comprises many actions that result in the benefit of friends, family, and neighbors. In other words, pono is very much a social virtue.

This gives us further insight into hewa as the paired opposite of pono. The latter clearly refers to all sorts of activities related to *well-being* and includes professions that result in the well-being and prosperity of the practitioner and those around him. Acts considered hewa result in the opposite. Hewa, in this context, also has social implications. The practitioner of hewa is a detriment to those around him, depriving himself and them of pono in relationships, sustenance, security, and reputation. In its opposition to pono, hewa is not strictly personal. This is shown most clearly in paragraph 7, which discusses ways to have others considered as hewa through slander and gossip. The victim of such tale bearing is in a state of hewa not because of anything he or she has done but is hewa nonetheless in the eyes of the community. To be hewa is to be in the bad graces of the community, and the opposite is true of pono.

The addition of new hewa to the lists seems to move in a different direction, indicative, perhaps, of some of the new religious Christian meanings of hewa. Malo splices into the traditional lists some behaviors, mostly sexual, that were not hewa before the arrival of Christianity but had become so at the time the essay was written. Most of the hewa in the earlier lists resulted in harm or loss to another. The sexual practices newly considered hewa (para. 12) either involve willing cooperation (ka moe ‘ana o nā mea ka‘awale, sex outside of marriage) or involve only the doer (ka mea me ka lima iho, masturbation) but no victim. This is a clear step in the direction of hewa as seen in the Hawaiian Bible. The understanding of hewa as revealed in the earlier lists, generally involved human victims but did not concern kapu, class relations, nor even the relationship between humans and gods. These hewa were, rather, the means whereby humans accrued the disapproval of other humans. Pono is its opposite. It is not, in this binary, the righteousness of humans before gods or even the possession of a good conscience but rather the attainment of favorable status within the human community.

These lists present a complex, uniquely Hawaiian dualism that, like *kai* and *uka*, cannot be fully comprehended by any single set of English antonyms. If we focus on the main lines of the meaning here, as opposites with strong moral and social implications, we should, perhaps, think of them not simply as right and wrong, but as *socially approved* and *disapproved* with clear implications of *socially beneficial* and *harmful*.

THE EMERSON TRANSLATION

We now turn to Emerson’s translation of the essay, which has been, for most readers of Malo, the primary version available.²³ Two fundamental questions are (a) how well has Emerson understood the essay? and (b) how well has he conveyed Malo’s original meaning to an English reading audience?

Emerson’s Understanding of the Essay

Emerson’s translation of the title is *Wrong Conduct and Right Conduct*, with a subtitle not found in Malo, *Concerning Ancient Morality*. To these he uncharacteristically appends Malo’s Hawaiian title *No na Hewa me na Pono*. The addition of the Hawaiian title is, perhaps, an indication that he felt the English title was not entirely adequate. Whatever the explanation, both Emerson’s title and subtitle give the reader the wrong impression of what lies ahead since no English reader will expect to see fishing, farming, and net making categorized as either right conduct or good morals. The impression gained is that Malo has wandered off from the subject, and it is an impression that is strengthened by Emerson’s notes following the essay.

Emerson, furthermore, shows no sign of having recognized the traditional forms used by Malo, particularly the hierarchical lists. This is not really surprising since it was not until Charlot’s groundbreaking work, published in 2005, that the systematic use of such lists in Hawaiian education was first made clear. Emerson, in one of his speeches, does acknowledge that a great body of learning was passed on to the younger generation by its elders, as is shown by a wistful description of a Hawaiian boy remembered from his childhood:²⁴

I wonder to how many of you it has been the good fortune, as to me, to live for a time in the wilds with one who was wilderness bred, a child of the forest, of the sea, of nature, some brown-skinned man or youth. He had a name for every plant and tree, for every grass and fern, for every bird and almost every flying or running, or creeping thing. He knew their various habitat, their habits and uses, how to gather and how to prepare them for food. He could, without the aid of lucifer match, build a fire in the dampest forest, construct a shelter impervious to the storm, find his way in the most tangled wood. What a companion this brown boy was! how cheerful, how courageous and honest, how tireless! chockfull of superstition, but religious to his very finger-tips. The lore of forest and mountain and plain, of river and sea, not to mention traditions and old myths of witches, spooks, heroes and gods—all taught him by the old folks at home—had quickened his imagination like his own mountain air, was a priceless heritage that civilization can not give and must not take away.

While appreciative of the education received by this boy, Emerson seems to have been unaware of the pedagogy used to impart it. Hierarchical lists, such as those seen here, were likely the basis of that education. With no explanation of the literary forms employed, the translated essay resembles a disjointed collection of synonyms listed under a rambling organization. This, again, is not entirely Emerson's fault. There are a great many words used here that appear to possess nuances that were poorly understood not only by Emerson but by anyone who was not taught these lists within a traditional context. Emerson had access to Andrews' dictionary and a number of native speakers, but much of the vocabulary is rare and archaic, as attested by the fact that Malo had to provide definitions for some of the words. For many of the list elements Emerson has, uncharacteristically, also shown the Hawaiian word underlying his translation. This, however, does little to clear the confusion felt by the reader. Emerson at no point tells the reader that Malo is describing the Hawaiian duality of hewa and pono, and that every paragraph in the essay relates to one or the other. Any translation that does not make this explicit will fail to communicate to the reader the main thread of the chapter. Only a careful explanation of the forms used by Malo accompanied by

an admission of our own ignorance about the precise nuance and hierarchical arrangement of many of the individual list elements could give the reader a reasonably clear idea of what Malo has presented. It is a case where the truism *traduttore traditore* (translator, traitor) really is true. *Hawaiian Antiquities* provides no such help here and, as we shall see, makes it seem that Malo has clearly failed to write an essay that lives up to its title.

Emerson believed that Malo’s writing lacked any real style (see below). As an accomplished literary practitioner, Emerson has attempted to improve Malo’s style by providing numerous English synonyms for *hewa* and *pono*. For *hewa* we find *wrong conduct*, *wrong*, *sin*, *evil(s)*, *ills*, and *faults*. In a few paragraphs, Emerson even uses the word *hewa* itself. For *pono* we find *right conduct*, *good*, *justly*, *worthy*, *virtue*, *virtuous*, *commendable*, *great service*, *useful*, *great benefits*, *highly esteemed*, *much thought of*, and *useful occupation*. While this does provide variety, it is a variety that misleads; the English reader has no idea just how focused Malo’s topic is and exactly what he is attempting to explain. Malo wrote an essay about *hewa* and *pono*: Every paragraph relates closely to one of these two words, and none are intended to be considered in connection to any other imagined contrastive pair, such as *kapu* and *noa* (restricted/unrestricted), or *hala* and *hemolele* (fault/faultless), much less any number of English language moral categories. Emerson’s repetition of the Hawaiian title “No na hewa a me na pono” might be of some help to those who read Hawaiian, but even such readers could not guess at the constant repetition of *hewa* and *pono* throughout the essay. We are left to wonder how well Emerson himself differentiated *hewa/pono* from the English binaries of *good/bad*, *sin/virtue*, or *right/wrong*. Emerson’s translation, in contrast to Malo’s original essay, is both vague and confusing: Having started off with *wrong*, *sin*, and *morality*, Malo appears to wander through *virtue*, *esteem*, finally ending up at *net making*. The reader is left to imagine the connection.

Specific Details of the Translation

In addition to the seeming vagueness of Malo’s essay, there are a number of places in which Emerson seems to have misunderstood Malo’s specific meaning. For example, in paragraph 7 he renders “Inā i mana’o kekahi e ‘imi i mea e hewa ai kekahi” as “If a person seeks to find fault with another...” This is clearly not what Malo meant, but rather, “If a person desires that another be considered as *hewa*.” Where Malo discusses the landholder’s disapproval of *hana le’ale’a* (sports and

entertainments), Malo summarizes with the analogy “he like ia me ka māwae huna ‘āina”—it is like breaking off pieces of land a little at a time, that is, it will eventually lead to the loss of all the land. This Emerson has rendered as “such practices were tantamount to secreting wealth.”²⁵ While Emerson was not prudish by the standards of his day, he here, as elsewhere, obscures,²⁶ or misunderstands, a sexual reference. In this chapter Malo describes a sexual practice that was not formerly considered hewa but that was hewa at the time of writing, namely “ka moe ‘elua wāhine a kāne ho‘okahi, a ‘elua kāne a ka wahine ho‘okahi,” which he renders as “bigamy, polyandry” but which, in this context, would seem to refer to *ménages à trois*, such as the one described so gleefully by the British Master’s Mate Thomas Manby during Vancouver’s visit in 1793.²⁷ While *moe* (lie down, sleep with) is often glossed in some contexts as *marry* or *marriage*, its sexual basis is never far from sight. In this passage all the other *moe* listed as hewa refer to coitus, such as

- ‘O ka moe ‘ana o nā mea ka‘awale—coitus engaged in by unmarried people
- ka moe ipo—coitus with a lover
- ka moe ho‘okuli—coitus in return for a gift²⁸
- ka moe ho‘okamakama—coitus with a prostitute
- ka moe aikāne—coitus with an *aikāne* (friend of the same sex)

These, together with the mention of *ka mea me ka lima iho*, masturbation, would seem to require that we understand sexual encounters rather than a polygamous or polyandrous marital arrangement.

In many passages throughout *Hawaiian Antiquities*, where Emerson has understood both text and context, his translation is facile and effective. For this entire chapter, however, it is appropriate to echo the criticism of Valerio Valeri (1985): “The comparison between the original [Malo’s Hawaiian] and the translation [*Hawaiian Antiquities*] reveals that Emerson often took liberties with a text he sometimes poorly understood” (p. xxiv).

Emerson's Evaluation of the Essay

Emerson's lack of appreciation for Malo's essay becomes clear through his endnotes. These offer almost nothing in the way of explaining what Malo has written but rather give Emerson's own views on what "ancient Hawaiians seriously regard[ed] as wrong."

(1) Sect. 1. What did the ancient Hawaiians seriously regard as wrong?

First: any breach of tabu or of ceremonious observance.

Second: failure to fulfill a vow to the gods or to make good any religious obligation.

Third: any failure in duty toward an *alii*, especially an *alii kapu*.

Fourth: for the *kahu* of an idol to have neglected any part of his duties, as feeding it or sacrificing to it. Under this same head should be put the duties of the keeper of the bones of the dead king; to have neglected such a duty would put a terrible load on the conscience. It is owing to the fidelity of the *kahu* that the hiding place of the great Kamehameha's bones is to this day a profound secret. The fidelity with which such obligations as these were kept is proof enough that this people had all the material of conscience in their make-up. It will be seen that the duties and faults that weighted most heavily on the conscience of the Hawaiian were mostly artificial matters, and such as in our eyes do not touch the essence of morality. But that is true of all consciences to a large extent. It should be remarked that the Hawaiian was a believer in the doctrine of the divine right of kings to the extremest degree. His duties to his *alii*, or *lani*, as the poets always styled him, [were] therefore, on the same footing with those due to the *akua*.

Fifth: I believe that the Hawaiian conscience would have been seriously troubled by any breach of the duties of hospitality. (Malo, 1903/1951, p. 76)

As an interpretation of Malo's work, these notes afford no help to the reader. What the notes do present, however, is Emerson's own opinion about Hawaiian attitudes on right, wrong, conscience, class relations, the divine right of kings, religious duties, interment practices, ancestors, and hospitality. None of these, except perhaps the last, form part of Malo's subject. They are questions in which Emerson was interested, and he has employed the venue of hewa and pono to teach the reader what Malo did not. That these subjects have very little to do with the duality of hewa and pono seems to have provided no hindrance.

There is little here to make us think that Emerson did more than mechanically translate the words before him with very little attention to the real thrust of the essay. Malo wrote about hewa and pono. Emerson, in apparent dissatisfaction with this as a treatment of right and wrong (which was not quite Malo's subject), asked the surprising (and condescending) question, "What did Hawaiians *seriously* regard as wrong?" [italics mine]. Since Emerson comments on a question relating to an English language binary that is by no means identical to hewa and pono, his answers lie mostly outside the realm of hewa and pono.²⁹

- Breach of tabu would probably have fallen under kapu/noa rather than hewa/pono.
- It is doubtful whether the fulfillment or nonfulfillment of a vow to a god would have fallen under hewa/pono. A more likely suggestion might be hala (transgression or failure), which would require some form of intervention to loosen (kala) the offence from the offender. Malo does mention that ho'omana ki'i (image worship) was not formerly considered under the category of hewa (para. 13) but rather pono, especially in the case of an ali'i nui. The failure of an ali'i nui to practice ho'omana ki'i as part of the luakini rites was seen as a serious hewa because it was perceived as bringing great harm to all his subjects (para. 23).

- Failure in duty toward an ali'i or an ali'i kapu was likely to result in death, not social disapproval. None of the hewa mentioned in Malo's essay relate to one's behavior toward the ali'i, especially an ali'i nui. Such a failure, especially in the case of an ali'i nui, would have been a violation of kapu (prescribed behavior). The traditional understanding of hewa/pono appears to have operated primarily in the sphere of socially approved and disapproved actions, not the realm of prescribed (or unprescribed) behavior relating to gods or sacred chiefs.
- Neglect of an idol also is probably not hewa but rather hala and would require not ho'oponopono (reconciliation, setting to rights) but kala (loosening, detaching). It is not one's neighbors and their opinions that would occupy the offender's concern in this case but rather the wrath of the god or ancestor.
- Emerson has introduced the European "divine right of kings" to explain Hawaiian attitudes of right and wrong in relation to an ali'i nui. The "divine right of kings" well expresses a European attitude, but does it really explain a Hawaiian value? Hawaiian prayers and chants speak of the real connection of the ali'i with the divine, not of their right. Emerson does, however, palliate his use of this term by pointing out the relationship of ali'i/lani and akua.
- The only item here that probably would have been considered under Malo's discussion of hewa/pono is the neglect of hospitality. It is covered, indirectly, in Malo's treatment in that one part of pono was to have enough to fulfill one's social responsibilities, few of which were more significant than hospitality. In fact, it might not have been mentioned as being too obvious to be part of any list.
- When missionaries first arrived in 1820, there was no word for conscience in Hawaiian, and it was deemed necessary to coin one (luna'ikehala). Emerson, in answering the question about Hawaiian attitudes about wrong, had felt the need to introduce one more element that formed no real part of Malo's subject and for which traditional Hawaiian culture had no word.

It might be argued that much of this information is supplemental; that Emerson is augmenting Malo with useful information gleaned elsewhere and meant to make Malo's text more intelligible. In some chapters, Emerson does just this, especially where he provides illustration of arcane mythological or historical references. I do not think this is what has happened here. Consider Emerson's complaint of Malo found in the introduction to *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1903/1951).

The result of Malo's labors would no doubt have been much more satisfactory if they had been performed under the immediate supervision and guidance of some mentor capable of looking at the subject from a broad standpoint, ready with wise suggestions; inviting the extension of his labors to greater length and specificness, with greater abundance of detail along certain lines, perhaps calling for the answer to certain questions that now remain unanswered. (p. xv)

By supplying what Hawaiians "seriously regard as wrong," adding comments about conscience and the divine right of kings, and not providing any explanation of Malo's framework nor even a brief comment on why a Hawaiian might have understood that farming, fishing, and net making were related to "Ancient Ideas of Morality," Emerson has not only supplied the perceived want of guidance but fundamentally changed the nature of Malo's work. The preceding quotation makes it clear that Emerson believed the book should have been written for a foreign reading audience and under the direction of a foreign mentor whose interests and questions were different from both Malo's and his intended Hawaiian readers. Rather than explaining what Malo wrote, Emerson has explained what he thought Malo should have written.

These endnotes provide clear evidence that Emerson understood the essay as an unsuccessful attempt to explain what English speakers would understand as right and wrong rather than what Malo understood by hewa and pono. The result is that Emerson's translation and notes have failed to communicate the essence of Malo's work. Not only does the reader miss out on the subtle organization of the hewa lists, he or she is left with no way to account for the pono-bearing professions with which Malo concludes his essay. Emerson has not only discounted Malo's essay as not providing an adequate explanation of Hawaiian attitudes, but, even more alarming, he has offered his own voice as expert testimony on what ancient Hawaiians seriously thought.

EMERSON’S HAWAIIAN

Having examined Emerson’s translation of *No nā Hewa me nā Pono*, we now consider the related question of Emerson’s qualifications as a translator of Malo. I do not mean “Was Emerson qualified to translate Malo?” He was in many respects eminently qualified. My questions are, “Was Emerson a native speaker of Hawaiian, and to what degree could he rely on his own intuitive understanding of Malo’s manuscript?” These are difficult, but not irrelevant, questions, nor is there abundant evidence to provide the answer; in spite of a literary career of several decades attested by thousands of pages of notes and drafts, the Emerson papers contain only a very few examples of Hawaiian written by Emerson himself.

Emerson was born in the Waialua district of the island of O’ahu in 1839, a time when there were only a few residents who spoke any language but Hawaiian. He would have heard the language regularly in his father’s church where the sermons, hymns, and Bible readings were all in Hawaiian. Much of this would have come from the Hawaiian Bible (for which Emerson shows a profound, and occasionally misguided,³⁰ admiration) as well as hymns and sermons composed almost exclusively by nonnative speakers of Hawaiian. His later papers indicate some interaction with native youth, and by this we can infer that, unlike many missionary children, he was not entirely segregated from contact with Hawaiian children. While a teenager, he was sent off to O’ahu College (Punahou) for an English-only education. In 1860 he began attending Williams College in Massachusetts, whence, after serving in the civil war and having received multiple wounds, he graduated in 1865. He then went on to medical school at Harvard, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of New York, and Columbia University,³¹ and then an active medical career. He did not return to Hawai’i until 1879, and his letters and diaries during this period show virtually no use of Hawaiian or even much evidence that he had once spoken the language. Thus, for a period of about two decades,³² such Hawaiian as he had once possessed appears to have been untapped.

Upon his return to Hawai’i he again began to use the language, but the rust showed.³³ His work on the board of health, his periodic stretches of private practice, and his work as police surgeon would have put him back in contact with Hawaiians, but it should be noted that his correspondence contains only a very few samples of letters sent or received in Hawaiian (the English language correspondence is considerable) and even less sign of active social contact with the Hawaiian-speaking community of Honolulu.³⁴ In addition to his published works

on hula and mele, his papers contain many as yet unpublished Hawaiian language stories obtained from throughout the islands. There are also notes from interviews with Hawaiians from which we deduce that the conversation must have been primarily in Hawaiian, although his notes are exclusively in English. He also taught Hawaiian language classes in the early 1900s at the Central YMCA in Honolulu. The most useful evidence, however, regarding his overall command of the language is found in a few short Hawaiian language speeches intended to be read or delivered to audiences of native speakers, probably at functions held at Hawaiian-speaking churches. These carefully edited and corrected pieces include occasional diacriticals to aid in pronunciation, for example, *kanaka/kánaka*,³⁵ including a few glottal stops. The reader who is familiar with Emerson's literary English is immediately struck with the simplicity of his Hawaiian. Emerson's English language speeches are elegant, articulate, and carefully crafted. His Hawaiian speeches are mostly devoid of literary style. The literature being produced in the Hawaiian language newspapers of the period is marked by the same love of elegant prose and poetry as is seen in Emerson's English. His Hawaiian samples show little of this.

An argument from style is impressionistic and could be explained in a number of ways. What is more difficult to account for in these speeches are some expressions employing nonstandard Hawaiian. For example, from his two-page speech about Kamehameha's kahuna nui, Hewahewa, half of which consists of long quotations from the Hawaiian Bible, we find these anomalies:³⁶

- “a iloko o ka pono oia i make” where we would expect *i make ai* (and it was in a state of pono that he died).
- “ku‘u kaikaina a me kona wahine” where we would expect *kana [kāna]* (my younger brother and his wife).
- “aole no paha o kakou i hiki e hoapono loa” instead of “aole no paha i hiki ia kakou ke hoapono loa” (we could probably not altogether approve).

Although these are not expressions that would have prevented his audience from understanding his meaning, they are clearly nonstandard Hawaiian. That they are not mere slips of the pen is shown by the many marks of correction and careful editing throughout the speech. They are all the kinds of mistakes

that native English-speakers make in Hawaiian but would be remarkable for a native speaker. What can we make of these anomalies? Malo himself writes “kona wahine” a number of times in his chapter on ‘Umialiloa where we would expect “kāna wahine.” For a native speaker like Malo, writing in an uncorrected, unedited text, errors of this sort (and other, related evidence), lead us to think that he was copying out his own work into a bound volume and either too sick or too tired to read what he was writing. In other sections that he edited, such errors were cleaned up. What should we make of these odd expressions in Emerson’s carefully edited and corrected typescript?

Hawaiians of Emerson’s day also made some surprising comments on this subject. We find the following comment in the issue of *Ke Aloha Aina* that appeared just after his death.³⁷

He haole makaukau loa o Emekona ma ka olelo Hawaii i kona mau la opio, aka mamuli o kona noho ana ma Amerika no kekahi mau makahiki loihi no ka huli naauao ana, ua ane poina kekahi mau mea iaia, aka i kona noho paa loa ana no Hawaii nei, ua imi ikaika loa hou oia. He nui kana mau kanaka Hawaii o ka hele ana e ninaninau ana no na mea e pili ana i na moolelo Hawaii, ua lawe pu ae oia ia mau kanaka Hawaii no kona home, a uku aku ia lakou no ko lakou luhi. Ua mahalo ae o David Malo ia Emekona no kona kakau ana i kekahi mau olelo Hawaii, aka he mau wahi pahemahema liilii no ma ka unuhi ana.

In his youth, Emerson was one of the most accomplished *haole* in the Hawaiian language, but because of his long stay in America, extending over many years, in pursuit of his education, he almost entirely forgot some things. When, however, he came back to stay, he made renewed efforts. He went out and interviewed many Hawaiians in matters regarding Hawaiian history and literature and brought them back to his home where he paid them for their trouble. Emerson appreciated David Malo for his Hawaiian language accounts, but there are a number of minor issues with the translation.

When we consider that this was printed in the article notifying the Hawaiian-speaking community of Emerson's death, the presence of even understated criticism is significant.

- He appears to have forgotten ('ane pōina...iā ia) a good deal of Hawaiian during his years in America. While stating that he did make considerable efforts on his return, there is no acknowledgment that he reached any particular level of mākaukau (accomplishment) in his speech thereafter.
- The statement about him and Malo is particularly noteworthy. Emerson felt appreciation (mahalo...iā 'Emekona) that Malo had written his account, but the resultant translation is not without problems (pāhemahema). This was not the first time that a native writer had offered this kind of criticism. In the telling of the Hi'iakaikapoliopole saga, the author, Ho'oulumāhiehie (1905–1906/2006a, 2006b), in the midst of offering a lengthy correction of one of Emerson's renderings of Malo, writes the following:

Ke hō'ike nei ka mea kākau i kēia mana'o i mea e alaka'i hewa 'ole 'ia ai ka no'ono'o o nā Hawai'i 'ōpio, ma kēia hope aku, i ko lākou heluhelu 'ana i kēia buke mo'olelo Hawai'i a Davida Malo i unuhi 'ia ai ma ka 'ōlelo Beretania. (p. 107 ff)

The writer presents this so that the thoughts of young Hawaiians are not misled in the future upon reading this Hawaiian history book by David Malo as it is translated into English. (p. 102)

What significance does all this have for Emerson's translation of Malo? Not only is it pertinent with regard to his understanding of Malo's grammar and sometimes archaic vocabulary, but, even more importantly, it demonstrates that Emerson could not safely rely on his own knowledge of the language and ancient culture in interpreting Malo. The above passage from *Ke Aloha Aina* and his own notes indicate that he sometimes made serious efforts to address this lack by working with informants, but his unpublished notes on Malo indicate that this collaboration focused on the meaning of individual words,³⁸ some older aspects of material

culture,³⁹ religion, and, of course, mele. In some cases, such as Chapter 21, he does not seem to have been aware of the limits of his own knowledge and perspective and his handwritten notes show little sign of deeper inquiry.⁴⁰

EMERSON, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND “THE HAWAIIAN MIND”

Emerson was a remarkably well-educated and articulate member of the Honolulu haole community. He was awarded the A.M. degree from Williams College, was an accomplished and learned physician,⁴¹ and maintained an active and diverse intellectual and political life right up to his death in 1915. As a modern, educated member of his society, he, like many intellectuals on the mainland and in Europe, was influenced by the theories of social evolution made popular through the anthropology of E. B. Tylor and James G. Frazer. According to the view of psychic unity, as described by Tylor, all human beings possess a more or less equivalent intellectual capacity, as is shown by the similarity of myths, motifs, and beliefs expressed by widely diverse cultures. What distinguishes societies from one another, according to Tylor, is not human evolution but rather the evolutionary progress of the society itself. Tylor considered this to be an entirely obvious conclusion and in one sample ranking of societies put his Polynesian example, Tahiti, near the bottom (see Tylor, 1871, Vol. 1, p. 4). It is a view that Emerson seems to have shared. While all of Emerson’s works are riddled with observations of this kind, he seems to have given the idea special consideration in the planned introduction to *Hawaiian Antiquities*, where, attempting to explain Malo’s limitations as a writer, he discusses what he considers to be the underlying limitations of the Hawaiian language and the Hawaiian mind.⁴²

Malo is said to have been a man of eloquence and power as a speaker. There is little evidence of his possession of these qualities as a writer, and one is led to seek for an explanation of this fact.

It is difficult for one who has no acquaintance with the Hawaiian, or any of its cognate languages, and who is not familiar with the peculiarities of the Polynesian mind, to appreciate a certain inefficiency in their manner of discourse and of reasoning, which I find myself unable better to

describe than to say that it seems to be a lack of power of definition which pervades their thinking and speaking. Ask a Hawaiian the meaning of a word which is the name of some common object; the chances are two to one that, no matter what his general ability and common sense may be, if he has not learned the English language and been specially schooled to think logically, to use words as instruments for the definition of thoughts and concepts, as well as of things seen, things heard, things felt and handled, he will utterly fail for a time to convey in his response any adequate idea or description of the thing under consideration. His answer will probably be somewhat like that of the school-boy, who, when asked by his teacher “what is a ladder?” answered, “a ladder—is a ladder.” The idea of describing its appearance, of giving its generic and specific qualities, of stating its uses, of comparing it to like things, and differentiating it from unlike things, seems never to have entered his head; and to impart to him the idea of making a true definition of anything is a most difficult task, and seems at first to be an impossibility.

When it comes to the definition and elucidation of some abstruse and difficult word, some archaic expression perhaps occurring in an old mele, then it is that the paralysis of definitive power shows itself in its most aggravated form. The answer will at first consist in a petition of the word or phrase or passage in its own connection, as much as to say, “Well, a—ladder—is—just—a—ladder.” “But what is the meaning, the kaona, the ano, the thought, mana, contained in it?” Such is perhaps the manner in which you urge the question for the hundredth time to the pundit, whose memory is crammed full of old lore. The answer at length comes, “It is a word used by the ancients;” or “It relates to the gods,” or, “It is the name of some place,” or, “It is a word used in a pule (prayer).” Putting your interrogation in a new form, you ask him to give some illustration of the use of the word or phrase by putting it in some new connection, hoping that he will make up a new sentence containing

the word in question. But this plan works no better than the previous method. At length, you ask, "Does it mean the same as this word?" suggesting a word which you can conjecture may be akin to it in meaning. "No it is not that;" and then he repeats again the original passage as if it were its own definition: "a ladder is a ladder."

How shall we define this mental condition? this rotatory action of mind? The difficulty seems to be capable of reference to two peculiarities or qualities of the Hawaiian mind and language. First the lack of terms in the language to express abstract ideas, and second in the feeble hold of their mind on the notion of cause and effect.

1. The Hawaiian language is very deficient in terms for the expression of abstract ideas and generic forms: it has names for a half a hundred different kinds of ferns, but none for fern in general; it has names for many colors, but no term expressive of color in general. Would you ask a Hawaiian, "of what color is the horse?" you must put your question somewhat as follows, "Is it a white horse, or a black horse? or what sort of a horse is it?" and this weakness pervades the language. This power of generalization and of abstraction, it is true, varies with the individuals, and occasionally you will meet with an exceptional mind that is able to catch the idea and to respond with the proper answer; but, as a rule, the power of abstraction and of definition is in a germinal state. From this it follows as a corollary that the Hawaiian is lacking in the power to explain the meaning of a word by pointing to its synonym: he cannot substitute a word of like, or similar meaning for another one in a sentence.

The power of comparison is akin to that of generalization. In the making of a sentence, thought is advanced by instituting a comparison or making a generalization: when the same thing has to serve both as subject and predicate there is no more gain than if a serpent swallows its own tail. *A clear prose style is only possible to him who has mastered the fundamental notion of a sentence, that it must have a beginning,*

*middle and an end. The prose style of Malo if his manner of writing can be said to have had any style, was lacking in all of these respects.*⁴³ (All italics are mine.)

It has long been noted that words, in the traditional Hawaiian view, were not considered random oral symbols representing some object or concept, but were, rather, intimately connected with the thing itself. We see this in Malo's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* (n.d., L18) in several places, for example, the use of he'e (squid) or kala (surgeonfish) in ceremonies that were meant to loosen (kala) a sickness or fault, or to make it slippery (he'e; 31:9). This conception confronts us everywhere in the *Kumulipo*, in chants of healing or sorcery, and is particularly apparent in stories of riddling contests such as that of Kalapana (Nakuina, p. 30, 1994). It is curious that Emerson saw this difference of perception as either a deficiency of the Hawaiian language or the result of the "feeble hold of their mind on the notion of cause and effect."

Emerson appears to have been much interested in the subject of race and culture. He had, unlike his own brother, Rev. Oliver Pomeroy Emerson,⁴⁴ moved far away from the regular mission denunciations of the hula and the supposed "filth" found in Hawaiian sexual attitudes.⁴⁵ His own writings, however, show that he had little sympathy for the traditional Hawaiian organization of knowledge or methods of categorization and, indeed, seems to have scarcely been aware of their existence. It is a serious deficiency in translating a book in which those elements are basic.

CONCLUSION

In both his introduction and his notes to *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Emerson raises many other criticisms of Malo and the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, most of which are not addressed here.⁴⁶ These criticisms have been largely responsible for Malo's much diminished reputation since the printing of *Hawaiian Antiquities* and explain, perhaps, the subsequent lack of interest in Malo's Hawaiian text.⁴⁷ At the very least, Emerson has pigeonholed Malo as an unreasoning Christian zealot who despised his own culture and whose testimony regarding the ancient culture is of only moderate value.

By examining the language and forms of Malo’s essay and then looking at Emerson’s translation and notes, we see that Emerson does not seem to have grasped its essential purpose, has confused or ignored its traditional organization and linguistic features, has applied a misguided sense of style that blurs Malo’s meaning, and, occasionally, has misunderstood the meaning of Malo’s language. More seriously, he has, in his notes, dismissed Malo as cultural expert and substituted himself.

This is not to say that Emerson’s translation is without value. No future translation or study of Malo can afford to ignore *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Conversely, if Chapter 21 is any indication, no serious student of ancient Hawai‘i should fail to be aware of Emerson’s serious limitations in conveying Malo’s thoughts and worldview. Malo was an articulate, able, and highly intelligent scholar who deserves to be heard on his own terms and in his own language. Emerson has sometimes not listened carefully enough to Malo’s voice. One result has been that Malo studies, which should have played a significant role in any understanding of ancient Hawai‘i are still in their infancy.⁴⁸

And what about the title of this article, “Davida Malo, Nathaniel Emerson, and the ‘Sins’ of Hawaiians”? Malo provided a comprehensive description of what he understood of behaviors that were *hewa* and *pono*. It remains an invaluable, firsthand account of ancient, and not so ancient, Hawaiian values and reminds us of the intensely social nature of ancient, and also not so ancient, Hawaiian society. Did *hewa*, in this context, mean to Malo what *sin* and *evil* meant to an English speaker? The answer would have to be no, and in that sense the title of this article is intentionally illusory. Malo, despite Emerson, discussed human behaviors and occupations that affected other humans but had little to do with God, gods, or class relations. A treatment of sins or evil would have required a very different essay.⁴⁹ Here, as elsewhere, Emerson has confounded Hawaiian and western values.

REFERENCES

- Andrews, L. (1922). *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language* (Revised by H. H. Parker). Honolulu, HI: Board of Commissioners of Public Archives. (Original work published 1865)
- Andrews, L. (2003). *A dictionary of the Hawaiian language*. Waipahu, HI: Island Heritage. (Original work published 1865)
- Arista, D. N. M. (1998). *Davida Malo, ke kanaka o ka huliau: David Malo, a Hawaiian of the time of change*. Master's thesis, University of Hawai'i–Mānoa, Honolulu, HI.
- Bastian, A. (1881a). *Die heilige sage der Polynesier: Kosmogonie und theogonie* [The sacred accounts of the Polynesians: Cosmogony and theogony]. Leipzig, Germany: F. A. Brockhaus.
- Bastian, A. (1881b). Aus einem Hawaiischen manuskript. In W. Koner (Ed.), *Gesellschaft für Erdkunde* (pp. 142–150). Berlin, Germany: Verlag von Dietrich Reimer.
- Bishop Museum Departmental Records. Acquisitions Notes, 1908.16. Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI.
- Charlot, J. (2005). *Classical Hawaiian education* [CD]. Lā'ie, HI: Brigham Young University–Hawai'i Press.
- Chun, M. N. (1993). *Na kukui pio 'ole: The inextinguishable torches*. Honolulu, HI: First People's Productions.
- Davis, E. H. (1979). *Abraham Fornander: A biography*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Emerson Collection. (1766–1944). Nathaniel Bright Emerson Papers (EMR 1–1323). Collection at the Huntington Library, Manuscripts Department, San Marino, CA.
- Ho'oulumāhiehie. (2006a). *Ka mo'olelo o Hi'iakaikapoliopole* (P. Nogelmeier, Ed.). Honolulu, HI: Awaiaulu Press. (Originally published serially in *Ka Na'i Aupuni* 1905–1906)
- Ho'oulumāhiehie. (2006b). *The epic tale of Hi'iakaikapoliopole* (P. Nogelmeier, Ed. & Trans.). Honolulu, HI: Awaiaulu Press. (Originally published serially in *Ka Na'i Aupuni* 1905–1906)
- Kamakau, S. M. (1868, October 24). Moolelo Hawaii. *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*.
- Kauhi, E. (1996). *He mo'olelo no Kapa'ahu* [Story of Kapa'ahu]. Hilo, HI: Pili Productions.
- [Lahainaluna Seminary students]. (1838). *Ka moolelo Hawaii* (S. Dibble, Ed.?). Lahainaluna, HI.
- Langlas, C., & Lyon, J. (2008). Davida Malo's unpublished account of Keōpūolani. *The Hawaiian Journal of History*, 42, 27–48.

- Malo, D. (n.d.). *Ka moolelo Hawaii*. Incomplete, unpublished, unattributed English translation. Bishop Museum manuscript HI.L.19a. Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI.
- Malo, D. (n.d.). *Ka moolelo Hawaii*. Unpublished Bishop Museum manuscript HI.L.18. Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI.
- Malo, D. (1951). *Hawaiian antiquities: Moolelo Hawaii* (N. B. Emerson, Trans. & Ed.) (Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum Special Publication 2). Honolulu, HI: Bishop Museum Press. (Original work published 1903)
- Malo, D. (1987). *Ka mo'olelo Hawai'i* (M. N. Chun, Ed.). Honolulu, HI: First People's Productions.
- Malo, D. (2006). *Hawaiian traditions* (M. N. Chun, Ed. & Trans.). Honolulu, HI: First People's Productions.
- Mohr, J. C. (2005). *Plague and fire*. Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Nakuina, M. K. (1994). *Kalapana, Ke Keiki Ho'opāpā o Puna*. Hilo, 1994. (Originally printed in the newspaper *Ke Au Okoa*, 13 November–18 December, 1865)
- Pogue, J. F. (1858). *Moolelo Hawaii*. Honolulu, HI: Hale Paipalapala Aupuni.
- Pukui, M. K., & Elbert, S. H. (1986). *Hawaiian dictionary: Hawaiian–English and English–Hawaiian*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Remy, J. (1862). *Ka moolelo Hawaii: Histoire de l'archipel Havaiien (Iles Sandwich)*. Paris.
- Tylor, E. B. (1871). *Primitive culture: Researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art, and custom*. London, England: John Murray.
- Valeri, V. (1985). *Kingship and sacrifice: Ritual and society in ancient Hawaii* (P. Wissing, Trans.). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jeffrey (Kapali) Lyon is an assistant professor in the Department of Religion at the University of Hawai'i–Mānoa. He received a BA in Greek and Biblical Literature at Biola University and an MA and PhD in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures from the University of California, Los Angeles. He is currently completing an MA in Hawaiian language and literature at the University of Hawai'i–Hilo (UHH) and preparing, in collaboration with Charles Langlas of UHH, a bilingual edition of Davida Malo's manuscript of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* with modernized Hawaiian text and a new English translation.

NOTES

1 The unsigned manuscript itself (L18 at the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, usually called the Carter manuscript) is written mostly in Malo's own hand. There is a second handwritten manuscript at the museum, L19, commonly called the Alexander copy, which appears to be copied directly from L18. The first several chapters (1:1–4:1) appear to have been partially copied by W. D. Alexander, and his name is written on the inside cover. *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* is also the title used by a number of early native and missionary works.

Throughout this article I have written Hawaiian words using modern diacritical markings except in the case of some longer quotations taken from Hawaiian language newspapers or Emerson's papers.

2 In addition to his four longer works—"The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians," a paper read before the Hawaiian Historical Society in 1893, and his books *Hawaiian Antiquities* (1903), *The Unwritten Literature of Hawaii* (1909), and *Pele and Hiiaka* (1915)—Emerson was active in collecting information on the old culture right up to his death. His papers include many still-unpublished stories in Hawaiian on mythical subjects (archived at the Emerson Collection at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California).

3 Charles Langlas of the University of Hawai'i–Hilo and I have been working for several years on a new edition of Malo's Hawaiian text as well as a bilingual edition with modernized Hawaiian orthography accompanied by a new English translation.

4 Remy (1862) claims that Malo is also the principal author of the 1838 work, "L'auteur principal est David Malo, mort en 1853" (p. ii).

5 This is my own conclusion, since Malo left no commentary describing the nature of his book. I use the word complement because it has virtually no overlap with the 1838 Lahainaluna work.

6 In *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Emerson has split up Malo's collected accounts of traditional entertainments (Chapter 41 in *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*) into multiple chapters (Chapters 41–54 in *Hawaiian Antiquities*), thus resulting in the 67 chapters of that book.

7 This is made particularly clear by such phrases as "o Ho'ohökū, ko kākou kupuna" (Ho'ohökū, *our* [including the reader] ancestor; *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* 27:9). This form of the possessive pronoun could not have been used if the audience

was considered to be non-Hawaiian. The ali'i seem to be particularly in mind in the essays dealing with chiefs and commoners where Malo freely offers his own advice as to the rule of an ali'i nui whose main concern was the welfare of the maka'āinana (commoners).

8 The original Hawaiian text fared even worse. It was not until Malcolm Nāea Chun published his personal typescripts (*Ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i* in 1987 and *Hawaiian Traditions* in 2006) that it became available to the public in any form. Kenneth Emory, in a preface to the 1951 reprint of Emerson's translation, encouraged interested readers to consult a publicly available copy of the original manuscript through University Microfilms, but University Microfilms lost track of the copy and could not distribute it. Emerson had prepared a typed version of the first several chapters of the Hawaiian text, probably with an eye to publication, but in the end, the Hawaiian text was not published by the Bishop Museum (Emerson Collection, Box 2). When even native authors, such as Ho'oulumāhiehie, refer to Malo, it is only through Emerson's English text. Pogue obviously had access to a copy of Malo's work. Prior to Emerson obtaining the manuscript in 1898, Adolf Bastian (1881a, p. 67; 1881b, p. 42) wrote that he had read through much of it during his 1-month stay in Hawai'i.

9 According to S. M. Kamakau (1868, p. 1), this essay was prepared for the *'Ahahui 'Imi i nā Mea Kahiko o Hawai'i nei* in 1841. He also confirmed that this was the story printed in Pogue's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* even though it was known to be incomplete. There is also a historical essay by Malo regarding the kapu chiefess Keōpūalani, written for the first Hawaiian Historical Society in 1841, but not, apparently, intended for inclusion in his *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* (Langlas & Lyon, 2008).

10 The Hawaiian text is taken from my forthcoming edition of Malo's manuscript of the *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, to be published by the Bishop Museum (L18). This entire chapter within L18 is written in Malo's own handwriting. The punctuation and diacritical markings shown here are my own. Malo's system of punctuation is substantially different from that employed today and often seems to reflect his own staccato style of speaking during the original oral delivery of the text. This punctuation is deserving of more study and will be available to the interested reader when the pictures of L18 are published as part of the new edition of Malo's Hawaiian text.

11 The translation provided here differs from the version currently being prepared by Charles Langlas of the University of Hawai'i–Hilo and myself. The one here is an ad hoc translation in that it was created solely as an aid to readers of this article.

12 The use of English verb tenses in the translation is necessarily inconsistent because it seems that Malo, except where he explicitly says otherwise, considers the categorization of the behaviors listed here as applicable to both the pre-Christian past and his own present.

13 See, for example, Nakuina's (1865/1994) long story of the boy Kalapana whose father had wagered his life at the ho'opāpā riddling game and lost. Kalapana completed his own education in ho'opāpā, defeated the Kaua'i chief, and avenged his father through the chief's death.

14 I am indebted to Joshua Urich, a student in my 2011 graduate seminar on Malo at the University of Hawai'i–Mānoa, for actually turning the tree list into a database table for his seminar paper and then manipulating it in various ways and with various sorting keys. By making it explicit that the trees are listed by descending altitude, he demonstrated that at least one of the trees in the list had been wrongly identified in the Pukui-Elbert dictionary because it had been confused with a tree that grows at a very different altitude from the ones before and after it in the list.

15 According to W. D. Alexander, Malo received "judicious advice as to his choice and treatment of subjects" (Malo, 1951, p. xvii).

16 See the unpublished partial translation of Malo's *Ka Moolelo Hawaii* (n.d., p. 70).

17 Hawaiian *i'a*, often glossed as *fish*, includes seaweed and can also be used as a general description of anything that lives under water. *Manu* (bird), anything that flies, can include any flying creature, such as butterflies and moths, while *'ai* (food) can refer to specific foods (such as *poi*) or simply the act of eating. The definitions change again when the words are used in contrast, such as *'ai/i'a*, which designate the primary vegetable food of a meal (*'ai*) and the main nonvegetable component (*i'a*), even when the *i'a* is not meat or fish.

18 The original languages were used as the source for the Bible translation, and some Greek was taught at Lahainaluna. There were, however, no lexica, grammars, or other Hebrew and Greek pedagogical aids translated into Hawaiian.

19 Most of the lists do not contain each element, nor would we expect them to. Malo appears to be taking traditional materials, the categorized lists, and using them in an entirely new literary form, the essay. The lists are similar enough to give us a good idea of the list-form as it might have been used in a more traditional context. Also, once the pattern is set, the reader or hearer can be expected to supply what is missing.

20 *Halaiwi* is not found in Pukui and Elbert (1986) but is defined in Andrews’ (1865/2003) dictionary using the explanation provided here by Malo. *Ho’opā’ē’ē* is found in Pukui and Elbert, but the definition provided there does not quite fit here and is perhaps an adaptation of Andrews’ definition, “A desire and an effort to obtain another’s property; a species of robbery” (p. 133).

21 Most of the lists were applicable to Malo’s own day as his own description indicates. The guiding purpose of the essay, however, was to illustrate former beliefs, and modern attitudes were introduced primarily for clarification.

22 The phrase *ka māwae ‘āina* is explained by Andrews (1865/2003), who might have asked Malo directly, as “breaking the land in small pieces. All practices of the people, such as gambling, betting, racing, &c., that induce laziness and its vices” (p. 389). This definition is not found in Pukui and Elbert (1986), which, in general, does not include Malo’s Hawaiian text as part of its base corpus, other than those Hawaiian words cited in the text and notes of Emerson’s English translation. There are a very few exceptions to this rule, wherein Malo’s language is quoted directly, though his name is not cited. These appear to have been provided to Samuel Elbert prior to the issue of the 1986 edition of the dictionary. Andrews’ dictionary, on the other hand, did include Malo as part of its base corpus and has many words and definitions specific to it. As a result, the Andrews 1865 dictionary and, to a lesser degree, the Andrews-Parker revision (Andrews, 1922), remain, on the whole, essential tools when working with Malo’s Hawaiian text.

23 This includes Hawaiian speakers as well, as demonstrated by references to Emerson’s book by such a distinguished Hawaiian writer as J. M. Poepoe, who apparently had no access to the original manuscript while writing his *Moolelo Hawaii Kahiko* in the newspaper *Ka Nai Aupuni* in 1906. See, for example, the February 7, 1906, issue where he says “‘O kēia mana’o kā Davida Malo i hā’awi i ka mahalo, e like me ia i ‘ike ‘ia ma loko o kāna *Mo’olelo Hawaii’i*, i unuhi ‘ia ma ka ‘Ōlelo Beritānia i kēia wā a i kapa ‘ia ho’i *Hawaiian Antiquities*” (Davida Malo supported this understanding, as is shown in his *Mo’olelo Hawaii’i* which was recently translated into English under the title *Hawaiian Antiquities*). In recent times, Malcolm Chun has made heroic efforts in publishing his transcriptions of Malo’s Hawaiian as well as his new translation. In spite of this, Emerson’s *Hawaiian Antiquities* remains, particularly in scholarly reference, the version of Malo best known both in Hawai’i and elsewhere.

24 Emerson Collection, Box 12, EMR 415, speech on “Ethnic Factors in Civilization,” page 20.

25 It is not clear why Emerson chose this rendering rather than the one found on page 389 of Andrews’ dictionary.

26 In some passages that contain sexual content, Emerson has either given a Latin rendering (notes to 18:7) or left the Hawaiian in place (cf. 18:7 and 66:4). This was a common practice in the translation of classical texts.

27 “Journal of Vancouver’s Voyage to the Pacific Ocean” (1791–1793, p. 49), printed in *The Honolulu Mercury*, August 1929. “These [the young women he called Phiavotos and Movinoo], oh, ye Gods, were the partners of my bed. Ten thousand execrations did I vent, on the dawning day, that compelled me to break from the Arms of these bewitching Girls so lovely and endearing.”

28 Andrews (1865/2003) defines *kuli* as “To give or pay something as a reward for adultery or fornication” (p. 311).

29 Had Emerson posed the question as “What did Hawaiians seriously consider to be *hewa* and *pono*?” he could not have avoided quoting Malo’s essay.

30 Emerson wrongly believed that the Hawaiian Bible was entirely the work of the missionaries and seemed not to have been aware that such stylistic virtues as are found there appear to have been due to the guidance and editing of articulate Hawaiians who furnished the required linguistic finesse. He thought Malo could have learned good Hawaiian style from it, without recognizing that it was Malo who instructed Rev. William Richards in Hawaiian and good Hawaiian style. Richards, in turn, was responsible for one fourth of the translation and was much aided by Malo (Malo letter cited in Chun’s translation of Malo, 2006, pp. vi, ix).

31 *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 23, 1915.

32 More, depending on the nature of his life at Punahou, where it is unlikely he spent much time with Hawaiians his age.

33 Compare the experience of Emma Kauhi (1996) in *He Mo’olelo no Kapa’ahu*, who, upon her return to Puna after many years in San Francisco, appeared to have forgotten how to speak Hawaiian and had to relearn the language. She had grown up in a Hawaiian-speaking household and did not leave Puna until she was an adult (personal communication with Charles Langlas, editor and translator of

the book *Mo'olelo no Kapa'ahu*). The same thing happened to Abraham Fornander while he was living in Hawai'i (Davis, 1979). Visitors from Sweden were forced to converse with him in English because he could no longer converse in Swedish, his native language. He left Sweden at about the same age as Emerson when he left Hawai'i for New England.

34 The situation changed dramatically a few years after the publication of *Hawaiian Antiquities*. During his work on Pele and Hi'iaka, he seems to have personally interviewed a continuous stream of Hawaiians, many at his own home and many whom he paid. See the following citation from *Ke Aloha Aina*.

35 Today written as *kānaka*.

36 None of these examples are drawn from the biblical quotations.

37 Emerson died on July 15, 1915, while returning from San Francisco to Hawai'i. The article appeared in *Ke Aloha Aina* on July 24, 1915. I am grateful to Noenoe Silva for pointing out to me the existence of this article. There is also a similar article on his passing in *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (July 23, 1915, p. 1), but it contains no similar evaluation of Emerson's Hawaiian language skills nor any mention of his work on Malo.

38 For example, the note “anahala, a word not known to Kapule, entirely new to him.” Emerson Collection, Box 2, EMR 46, notes on Chapter 31:6 of *Hawaiian Antiquities*.

39 The canoe seems to have been of particular interest. See Emerson Collection, Box 15, EMR 504, which contains, among other things, a list of vocabulary specific to canoes.

40 These words on the limitations of Emerson's Hawaiian are meant to apply only to his work on Malo. Emerson did not translate Malo as a labor of love but acted as a paid translator at the behest of W. D. Alexander. He received \$1,000 for the translation and then an added \$200 for the index (see Bishop Museum Departmental Records). His work on hula and mele lasted for many years, involved numerous native experts, and was the great literary project of his life.

41 See his quoted response in a lengthy 1894 *New York Times* article that discusses leprosy in Hawai'i (http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?_r=1&res=9C00EFDE1630E033A2575BC0A9629C94659ED7CF) in which he vehemently contradicts the belief that leprosy was fourth-stage syphilis, a belief held by many

leading physicians of his day. He was also a strong advocate of the new science of bacteriology, was president of the Hawai'i Board of Health from 1887 to 1890, was a frequent president of the association of physicians, and was part of the medical triumvirate that ruled Hawai'i during the bubonic plague crisis of 1900 (Mohr, 2005).

42 This section is found in the *Hawaiian Antiquities* folders of the Emerson Collection. It was not included in the final printed edition.

43 Emerson Collection, Box 2, EMR 45. Page numbering is inconsistent and repetitive, but these come from pages with the typed numbers of 13 and 14.

44 This brother returned to Hawai'i specifically to counter the "tidal wave of paganism" perceived by the leaders of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Kalākaua's revival of the hula (Emerson Collection, Box 1, EMR 24).

45 Such denunciations were also expressed by his brother Joseph ("The Lesser Hawaiian Gods," a paper read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, April 7, 1892, p. 1), and by W. D. Alexander, the overseeing editor of *Hawaiian Antiquities* for the Bishop Museum. See his note of disagreement with Emerson regarding the hula (Malo, 1951, p. 231n).

46 A subsequent article is planned to evaluate some of these criticisms, particularly that the value of Malo's work is seriously vitiated by his overzealous Christianity.

47 Malcolm Nāea Chun's various works are the obvious exception.

48 Denise Noelani Arista's 1998 master's thesis on Malo goes a long way in advancing Malo studies. Malcolm Nāea Chun's various works on Malo and Hawaiian history (e.g., see Chun, 1993) are also important contributions in furthering our understanding of Malo. Even with these significant contributions, much of Malo's work remains only partially understood.

49 Sin can be purely individual and internal, a secret relationship between a human being and God. Hewa, on the other hand, is social, visible, and recognizable by the community (John Charlot, personal communication, October 31, 2010).