# A COMMENTARY ON THE 1791 JOURNAL OF MANUEL QUIMPER BENITEZ DEL PINO

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Abstract

Since 1778 foreign mariners arrived at the Hawaiian archipelago bringing with them goods, firearms, and new behaviors. Their arrival at the archipelago, during a period of political change, afforded Hawaiian chiefs military advantages. The promise of victory did not cause chiefs to rely solely on the generosity of foreigners, however. Through the 1791 journal of Spanish mariner, Manuel Quimper Benitez del Pino, this thesis aims to shed light on the ways in which Hawaiian chiefs skillfully dealt with foreigners, adapting traditional beliefs and practices to not only obtain desired goods, but to protect themselves and valuable information. Manuel Quimper was the first Spanish naval officer to visit the Hawaiian archipelago and his first-hand, written account, supplemented by other visitor accounts and scholarly sources, helps to elucidate the complexities of Hawaiian politics and religion in the early 1790's.

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## Introduction

In 1791 Manuel Quimper Benitez del Pino was the first Spanish mariner to visit the Hawaiian archipelago. Since 1778 British and North American mariners arrived at the archipelago bringing with them foreign goods, firearms, and new behaviors. Their arrival, during a period of political change, afforded Hawaiian chiefs military advantages. The promise of victory did not cause chiefs to rely solely on the generosity of foreigners, however. I argue that Hawaiian chiefs skillfully dealt with foreigners by adapting traditional beliefs and practices, particularly *kapu* or prescribed behavior, in order to obtain desired goods, but also protect themselves and valuable information.

The purpose of this thesis is to elucidate some of the complexities of Hawaiian politics and religion in the early 1790's by commenting on portions of Manuel Quimper's journal, a primary, written account that has only been moderately examined. British, American, and one French account make up the body of the additional primary, written accounts dealing with explorations throughout the archipelago from 1778 to 1791.[1] Captains such as James Cook, Lieutenant King, Portlock, Dixon, Meares, and La Pérouse provided invaluable, yet at times wanting descriptions about methods of trade, provisions, the political situation, and religious beliefs and practices. I aim to provide the reader with a more inclusive and accurate understanding of Hawai‘i in the late eighteenth century by measuring Quimper's account against other primary accounts and scholarly works.

I will begin this thesis with a review of Quimper's manuscript and a short biography. I will then provide an overview of the Spanish Navy, which in the eighteenth century claimed

[1] Judd, *Voyages*, 1-3.

the largest geographic area in the world.[2] I will then summarize the colonial claims and conflicts that began on the Pacific Northwest Coast of the United States and continued on the Hawaiian archipelago with the arrival of Quimper and his British rival, Captain James Colnett. Next, a brief summary of the political events in Hawai‘i will be presented, including Kamehameha's rise to power on Hawai‘i island and subsequent battles with leeward island chiefs. A translation and commentary on portions of Quimper's journal constitutes the body of this thesis. The portions of Quimper's journal that I chose to translate and comment on are the portions of his journal that I believe are the most valuable for Hawaiian history. A commentary on Quimper's journal is necessary because, as the only Spanish account from the eighteenth century, it provides additional and new insights into the complex interactions of foreigners and Hawaiians.[3]

Manuscript

This thesis is founded on Manuel Quimper's manuscript that documented his visit to the Hawaiian archipelago from March 20th to April 18th, 1791. William Harvey Minson was the first scholar to translate the Hawai‘i portions of Quimper's manuscript. Minson's complete translation, written for his Master's thesis in 1952, has been particularly helpful in my research and translation. I chose to provide my own translation, however, because I found small errors in Minson's translation. Additionally, the process of translating allowed me the opportunity to examine the journal's content more intimately and caused me to be more sensitive to Quimper's language.

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[2] Harbron*, Trafalgar*, 2.

[3] Judd, *Voyages*, 4. Quimper is recognized as the first Spaniard to have visited the islands, however, he and others note that Juan Gaetano may have arrived at the archipelago in the sixteenth century, roughly two-hundred years before British Captain James Cook.

Minson revealed the history of Quimper's journal in his introduction, writing that Quimper kept a journal throughout his entire 1791 transpacific voyage from San Blas, Mexico to Macao, China, but only the Hawai‘i portions of his journal were transcribed.[4] In 1922 and 1923 Ralph S. Kuykendall, working with the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawai‘i, thought that Quimper's journal would be valuable for the body of literature about Hawaiian history.[5] In 1924 George A. Carter, head of the Historical Commission, arranged that only the portions about Hawai‘i from Quimper's entire journal be copied and sent to Hawai‘i. Anna Mary Blake, a specialist in copying Spanish manuscripts, supervised the transcription.[6]

Since only one copy of Quimper’s manuscript is available at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, Minson and I most likely worked same microfilm transcription. The transcription has been marked with a pen, however. Diacritical marks, such as accents and tilde marks, have been added and some typewritten words have been written over with pen.[7] The written edits could have been made to correct a typewritten error or by another person to clarify a word. Working with this transcription presented a few problems. First, I am uncertain if mistakes were made in the process of transcribing the original manuscript.

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[4] In the Fall of 2009 I contacted the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Mexico City, which housed Quimper’s journal to learn if Quimper's original, complete manuscript could be sent to Hawai‘i. The AGN responded that only a personal visit to Mexico City could possibly result in acquiring the manuscript since it was not catalogued in their library, nor were the librarians aware of its location within the AGN. Therefore, for this thesis I have relied solely on the portions of Quimper's manuscript that are on microfilm at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The microfilm consists of a fifty-eight page typewritten transcription.
[5] Minson, *Hawaiian Journal of Manuel Quimper,* 13.
[6] Ibid., 13.
[7] A tildes mark is *ñ*.

Second, it was sometimes difficult to decipher words due to the age of the microfilm, poor printing quality, and the added pen marks.

Quimper's inconsistent use of punctuation and spelling presented additional difficulties. He rarely used periods, but substituted commas and semi-colons. Quimper's phonetic spelling of Hawaiian names and terms presented additional problems because he seemed to only understand part of the word, making the word or person difficult to identify. For example, he spelled Kealakekua Bay as *Karakocoa*, and Keʻeaumoku as *Terimotu*. An example of Quimper's inconsistent spelling is found with the Hawaiian word *kahu*, meaning attendant. Quimper wrote *kahu* as both *tajua* and *tojoa,* which he interchanged throughout the journal. Although I had to conjecture the transliteration of some words, the majority of the time I was able to identiry the person or term Quimper recorded.

Communication was a problem for Quimper because he did not speak Hawaiian. He had minimal knowledge of Tahitian because he traveled to Tahiti with Don Domingo de Boenechea aboard *La Aguila* in either 1773 or 1774, which afforded him the ability recognize and comprehend certain words.[8] On board Quimper's vessel, *Princess Royal,* the American and second master, John Kendrick of Boston, was the mariner most familiar with the Hawaiian language.[9] Communication was also a problem for Quimper when he met and exchanged letters with British Captain James Colnett. Quimper did not speak English and again relied on Kendrick to translate.

In spite of the difficulties working with a manuscript such as Quimper's, it is a valuable record because it includes nearly accurate navigation coordinates and calculations,

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[8] Quimper, *Islas de Sandwich,* prologue.
[9] Quimper, *Journal,* 15.

along with important observations about provisions. Quimper also attempted to decipher the political situation, but communicating with Hawaiians proved to be a challenge. Quimper never revealed his exact purpose for visiting the archipelago, except to say that he went to examine it.[10] Captain James Colnett assumed to know Quimper's purpose for visiting however, writing that Spain desired a settlement in Hawai'i.[11] Quimper's navigation and provision observations attest to Colnett's assumptions. Quimper wrote with an eye to the benefits that his observations could provide the Spanish Navy and stated in his 1822 self-published pamphlet, *Islas de Sandwich*, that he intended to share his journal with his commanders.[12]

Quimper's Biography

The best sources for a biography about Quimper are his self-published pamphlet, *Islas de Sandwich*, and an appendix in John R. Fisher's book, *Bourbon Peru: 1750-1824.* Fisher's short biography cites Manuel de Mendiburu's eight-volume book, *Diccionario historio-biografico del Peru,* and governmental letters written by Quimper to various administrators in South America and Spain.[13]

Manuel Quimper Benitez del Pino was born in Lima, Peru in 1740. Birth in a Spanish colony outside of Spain meant that Quimper was either a *criollo*, a person of Spanish ancestry born outside of Spain, or *mestizo,* a person of mixed Spanish and indigenous ancestry. I suspect that Quimper was a *criollo* because he was educated in Spain and assigned to command the *Princess Royal*, which he most likely would not have been appointed to if he

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[10] Quimper, *Islas de Sandwich*, prologue.
[11] Colnett, *Journal*, 218.
[12] Quimper, *Islas de Sandwich,* prologue. Quimper's ship log has not been located.
[13] Mendiburu's book was not available and therefore I relied solely on Fisher's biography, which is probably more detailed than Mendiburu's.

was a *mestizo*. Quimper entered the Spanish Navy during adolescence between 1756 and 1760 and served forty-six years.[14] Despite his time spent in the Spanish Navy, Quimper lamented the discrimination he encountered from *peninsulares,* Spaniards born in Spain, throughout his naval career and later as an intendant for Spain. In the final statement in *Islas de Sandwich* Quimper writes

> *¡Este es el premio de la ilustracion y época de la libertad! ¡qué diran los americanos en cuyo suelo respiré el primer aliento y que me han visto servir con tanto entusiasmo persiguiéndolos bajo el execrable epiteto de insurgentes ó traidores! dirán... ¿qué dirán? que la rivalidad del español europeo busca medios como destruir el mérito y concepto del americano, aun cuando desempeñe sus deberes equilibrándose por aptitud á los peninsulares acreditados en el servicio de la nacion; y me lleno de dolor al contemplar poder ser el insturmento de la escuela de máximas políticas, de lo que protesto hallarme bien distante por el amor y respetos que tributo á la nacion.*
>
> This is the price of the illustration and era of freedom! What would the Americans say on whose soil I breathed my first breath and who have seen me serve with such enthusiasm pursuing them under the appalling epithet of insurgents or traitors! They would say...what would they say? That the rivalry of the European Spaniard seeks means to destroy the merit and concept of the American, even when he carries out his duties with equal aptitude as the *peninsulares* in the service of the nation; and it fills me with pain to contemplate that I could be an instrument of the school of *máximas políticas*, of which I protest to find myself at a good distance due to the love and respect that I have for the nation.[15]

After Quimper's retirement from the Spanish Navy, he was employed as an intendant of the Spanish government in Peru. In 1805 Quimper was transferred to Puno, Peru where, according to Fisher, "he was active in promoting the improvement of public administration, particularly through the enforcement of a *bando de buen gobierno,* although he also provoked complaints from local treasury officials of attempts to extort bribes."[16] In 1809 he

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[14] Quimper, *Islas de Sandwich*, 31.
[15] Quimper, *Islas de Sandwich,* 31-32. My translation.
[16] Fisher, *Bourbon Peru,* 190.

earned a proprietary title after he helped to put down a rebellion and maintain Spanish authority in La Paz. Quimper served a second term in Puno until 1814 when pre-independence military forces caused him to flee the city.[17]

In 1814 Quimper became the intendant of Huamanga, but two years later reported to Spain to face maladministration charges (a viceroy questioned his loyalty to Spain). He was found not guily and returned to Lima in 1821 where he lived even after Peru gained independence later that same year. Quimper continued to work in government in Peru until 1827. He died in 1844 at the age of 104.[18] In spite of Quimper's significant explorations, such as his 1790 exploration of the Strait of Juan de Fuca in the Pacific Northwest Coast of the United States, and the crew shortages from which Spanish Navy suffered, Quimper was never promoted above sub-lieutenant.

Additional Quimper Journals

Despite Quimper's static position in the Spanish Navy, which was most likely due to his social status as a *criollo*, his records show him to have been a reliable and competent officer. In addition to Quimper's 1791 journal, Quimper kept a journal during his voyage to the Pacific Northwest in 1790.[19] Besides Quimper's navigation observations, he recorded customs, trading, and personal exchanges. Quimper's journal's not only tells his story, but offers the reader a glimpse into the daily lives of the people he met.

Quimper's Hawai'i and Pacific Northwest journals reveal that Hawaiians and Pacific Northwest people, specifically the Wickananish and Clayoquot, shared similar customs. In

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca,* 82-135. Wagner provides a complete translation of Quimper's Pacific Northwest journal.

both places Quimper met high chiefs such as Maquinna and Kamehameha and they welcomed him with the traditional hospitality custom of paddling out in a canoe to his vessel with gifts.[20] Quimper described the homes of both peoples, but only in the Pacific Northwest did he observe burial customs, which involved placing the deceased in a canoe with their personal items and sending it down river.[21]

One practice that Quimper recorded the Pacific Northwest people and Hawaiians to have shared was exchanging names.[22] Quimper learned from other mariners that Wickananish chief, Cleaskinah, and British Captain James Hanna exchanged names. Exchanging names meant that Cleaskinah was called James Hanna, and Hanna, Cleaskinah. Quimper himself participated in exchanging names with Kamehameha. Exchanging names may have had different significance for each people, however. Derek Pethick notes that it signaled mutual respect for the Wickananish.[23] James Jackson Jarves writes that it was the strongest proof of friendship.[24]

Quimper's records reflect that he desired to establish friendships with people in both areas. When Quimper went to shore for a feast hosted by the Wickananish chief, Maquinna, the chief called Quimper his *amigo*, or friend.[25] Maquinna's use of *amigo* indicates that he had previously met Spaniards who taught him the meaning of the word. In Hawai‘i Quimper translated *aloha* as *amigo*. Quimper also defended Spain's reputation after the British made

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[20] Pethick, *Nookta Connection*, 30-31.
[21] Ibid., 28.
[22] Exchanging names may have not been a traditional practice in Hawai‘i, but this point will be more carefully considered in the section, Quimper and *Amejameja* [Kamehameha] Exchange Names.
[23] Pethick, *Nookta Connection*, 27.
[24] Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands,* 90.
[25] Pethick, *Nookta Connection*, 27.

negative claims about the Spanish Navy to Hawaiian chiefs. Quimper's records indicate that he desired to build friendships with the natives, but also provide the Spanish Navy with a glimpse into their daily lives.

The Spanish Navy

In order to acquire a more comprehensive view of Quimper's life and work, a brief history of the Spanish Navy will be reviewed. In 1513 Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and claimed that the entire Pacific Ocean and all of its coasts belonged to Spain.[26] Land claims were based on two rules. The first was "prior discovery," which meant the land belonged to the country that explored and claimed it first. The second was "effective occupation," or the country that was currently occupying the area.[27] Based on Balboa's prior claim of "discovery," Spain considered the Pacific Northwest to be their territory. From the end of the sixteenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth century Spain's empire touched almost every continent. In 1783 Spain's empire included all of South America, except for present day Brazil; all of North America from the West coast, including Washington, Oregon, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Florida, down to Central America; the Philippines; and smaller islands off the coast of Southeast Asia. The primary reason for Spain's acquisition and occupation of so many foreign lands was due to its large and victorious navy. The Spanish Navy had two major commercial fleets, one permanently stationed in the Caribbean and the *Manila Galleon*.[28]

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[26] Ibid., 9.
[27] Ibid., 8.
[28] Harbron, *Trafalgar*, 2.

The *Manila Galleon* began in 1565 and ended in 1815 due to Mexico's independence from Spain.[29] It sailed yearly from Acapulco, Mexico to Manila where Mexican silver was exchanged for Chinese silks and porcelain.[30] The *Manila Galleon* was not only the longest running fleet, but the most dangerous, claiming thousands of sailors lives.[31]

Charles III, King of Spain, was a major contributor to the Spanish Navy's success in the eighteenth century. During Charles III's reign, 1759--1788, Spain controlled the largest geographic region in the world and he encouraged the production of innovative ship designs and navigation techniques.[32] Under Charles III's reign, Spain may have taken the initiative to rival the British Navy in technology, but Britain's manpower far surpassed Spain's. Of the 50,000 Spanish naval personnel registered in 1759, only 26,000 were available for deployment. Of these 26,000 sailors many were unskilled and untrained.[33] Spain and Britian's rivalry was longstanding and often became personal.[34]

Religious differences were one of the leading tensions between Spain and Britain. John Harbron writes, "By the mid-eighteenth century, only the Spanish continued to christen warships with names that implied other-worldliness, religious mysticism and a certainty that Spain could still count on God if not on great sea victories."[35] Such Catholic enthusiasm caused the Protestant British to label Spain decadent and old, in contrast to Britain, which by

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[29] Schultz, *Manila Galleon*, 15.
[30] Harbron*, Trafalgar*, 9.
[31] Schultz, *Manila Galleon,* 15.
[32] Harbron, *Trafalgar*, 2.
[33] Ibid., 88.
[34] Ibid., 10.
[35] Ibid., 1.

their own account, was progressive, modern, and reformist.[36] Harbron describes Charles III's reforms to the Spanish Navy, noting the portrayal of Spain in British history.

> The many reforms of Carlos III were not necessarily a measure of a 'new Catholicism' in Spain any more than improved ways of governing the British nation and managing the Royal Navy were part of a 'new Protestantism' in Georgian Britain. And yet, the Spanish remain in British history more villainous, treacherous and cruel than Britain's other enemies.[37]

Spain's rivals extensively criticized Spain's treatment of indigenous people in historical literature. In the early twentieth century Julián Juderías and Rómulo D. Cabria defended the Spanish character and termed the exaggerated negative historical literature about Spain, *La Leyenda Negra*, the Black Legend.[38] Charles Gibson writes, "The subtle phrase "Black Legend," (...) says in effect that the record of anti-Hispanic criticism is exaggerated, tendentious, excessively critical, and factually and ethically wrong."[39] Before the term "*La Leyenda Negra*" was coined, Quimper struggled to defend the Spanish character, explaining to Hawaiian chief, Keʻeaumoku, that the country protected men and did not take another's property. At the same time, Captain Colnett warned the Hawaiians that the Spanish were coming to the archipelago to enslave them.[40] In the end, Spain never pursued a settlement at the Hawaiian archipelago.

Pacific Northwest Claims and Conflicts

The Pacific Northwest Coast of the United States was of particular interest to Spain and Britain in the eighteenth century. As mentioned earlier, Spain claimed the area based on Balboa's 1513 declaration, but by the eighteenth century other countries, like Russia, had

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[36] Ibid., 2.
[37] Ibid., 79.
[38] Gibson, *Black Legend*, 8.
[39] Ibid., 5.
[40] Colnett, *Journal*, 224.

already established trading posts along the coasts and the inland waterways. The major attraction was the profit earned from otter skins. In his book, *The Nookta Connection: Europe and the Northwest Coast 1790-1795,* Derek Pethick writes, "This was to open a new chapter in the economic and political history of mankind. Choice furs found a ready market in both China and Europe...."[41] In 1785 British Captain James Hanna arrived to the Pacific Northwest and acquired 560 otter skins, which he sold in Canton for $20,000.[42] The large, potential profit gained from political control of the Pacific Northwest, specifically Nookta, nearly caused a major war between Spain and Britain.

In 1789 Spanish commander Estebán Martinez arrived at Nookta Sound and encountered two American vessels and four British vessels: the *Iphigenia* captained by William Douglas, the *North West American* captained by Robert Funter*,* the *Princess Royal* captained by Thomas Hudson, and the *Argonaut* captained by James Colnett. Spanish commanders escorted the two American vessels out of the sound, but held the British vessels captive. The *Princess Royal* was eventually released, but soon afterwards Captain Hudson decided to return to the sound, at which time the vessel and its crew were recaptured.[43] The *Argonaut*, its crew, and Captain Colnett, along with the *Princess Royal,* were taken to San Blas, Mexico where they were held captive for almost a year. The agreement, which enabled their release, is known as the Nookta Convention. It stated that both Spain and Britain would be allowed to trade freely in Nookta Sound and Spain would return the two captured vessels

[41] Pethick, *Nookta Connection*, 5.
[42] Ibid.,13.
[43] Ibid., 22.

and pay a fine of $210,000.[44] Quimper was appointed to return the *Princess Royal* to the British.

While terms of the Nookta Convention were being discussed in 1789 and 1790 the *Princess Royal* was used by the Spanish Navy to explore the Strait of Juan de Fuca in the Pacific Northwest. Francisco Eliza, commander of Nookta, received orders from Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra in Mexico City to assign Quimper command of the *Princess Royal*. Quimper was ordered to explore the inner waterways of Nookta and aimed to find the Northwest Passage to the Pacific Ocean. Quimper was instructed to return to Nookta by August 15th, 1790 so that the *Princess Royal* could be returned to the British.[45] Discrepancies exist regarding the reasons why Quimper did not return the vessel to the British at Nookta, but he eventually returned to San Blas, Mexico with the *Princess Royal*.[46]

The failed meeting at Nookta caused a personal rivalry to develop between Quimper and Colnett. After Colnett celebrated, "the day and hour of release of a twelve month and four days cruelty, robbery and oppressive treatment of the Spaniards of New Spain," he resumed command of the *Argonaut*.[47] Spanish Naval officials in Mexico ordered Quimper to sail the *Princess Royal* from San Blas to Macao, where he would meet Colnett and transfer the sloop and compensation. First, however, Quimper would stop at the Hawaiian archipelago. It was at Kailua Bay where Quimper and Colnett unexpectedly met, almost engaging in armed conflict.

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[44] Ibid., 22-23.
[45] Ibid., 25-6.
[46] Ibid., 30-1.
[47] Kuykendall, *James Colnett*, 45.

Quimper and Colnett's journals reveal slightly different accounts of their meeting at Kailua Bay. After exchanging letters and preparing their vessels for armed conflict, Quimper boarded the *Argonaut* to discuss terms. Colnett desired the *Princess Royal* to be immediately returned to his command and that Quimper follow him to Macao. Quimper refused and insisted that the original agreement remain. In the end, armed conflict was avoided and the original agreement honored. Quimper continued his tour of the Hawaiian archipelago. When the *Princess Royal* finally arrived in Macao, the British refused to accept the sloop because it was severely damaged by storms. According to Ralph Kuykendall, the Spanish may have sold the *Princess Royal* at auction in the Macao, but there is no written evidence of the sale.[48] Quimper's exploration of the Hawaiian archipelgo occurred during a period of political change for Hawaiians. Next, a brief summary of the political events of the late eighteenth century in Hawai‘i will be reviewed.

Hawai‘i in the Late Eighteenth Century

Captain James Cook first arrived to Hawai‘i in 1778, thirteen years before Quimper. Since that time, Hawaiian *ali‘i*, chiefs, had become familiar with the advantages foreign weapons gave them in battle. Just prior to Quimper's arrival, a decisive battle, *Kaua o Kepūwaha‘ula‘ula*, Battle of the Red Mouth Cannon, was fought between Kamehameha, a Hawai‘i island chief, and Kahekili, the high chief of Maui, and Kahekili's half-brother, Kā‘eo. The battle occurred in canoes off the coast of Waipi‘o on Hawai‘i Island. In Steven Desha's book, *Kamehameha and His Warrior Kekūhaupi‘o*, he writes that loud cannons and muskets were the reason the battle was called *Kaua o Kepūwaha‘ula‘ula*.[49] Desha also

[48] Ibid., 52.
[49] Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior,* 300.

writes that Kamehameha flew a British flag on his ship.[50] In this battle Kamehameha not only relied on foreign weapons, but foreign military advisors John Young and Isaac Davis.[51]

*Kaua o Kepūwahaʻulaʻula* was one of many battles between chiefs of the archipelago since the death of the Hawaiʻi island high chief, Kalaniʻōpuʻu, in the summer of 1782. When Kalaniʻōpuʻu died he bequeathed the rule of Hawaiʻi Island to his son, Kīwalaʻō, and the coveted war god, Kūkāʻilimoku, to Kamehameha. Hawaiian historian Samuel Kamakau wrote that during that time the kingdom and the war god were considered posses equal power.[52] The tradition of transferring the kingdom to one descendent and the war god to another began in the time of Līloa. Līloa passed the kingdom to his son Hākau and the war god, Kūkāʻilimoku, to ʻUmi.[53] Kūkāʻilimoku means the "island or district snatcher". ʻUmi eventually killed Hākau and ruled Hawaiʻi island until his death. This same inheritance and conquering pattern lasted for five generations until Kekuaokalani, the receiver of Kūkāʻilimoku from Kamehameha, was killed by Liholiho's forces, Kamehameha's son, in 1819.

Land distribution disputes after Kalaniʻōpuʻu's death led to the battle at Mokuʻōhai around 1783. Kalaniʻōpuʻu's son, Kīwalaʻō, was killed by Keʻeaumoku, Kamehameha's relative and supporter. Hawaiʻi Island was then divided between three ruling chiefs. Kamehameha ruled Kona, Kōhala, and part of Hāmakua. Keōua ruled Kaʻū and parts of Puna, and Keawemauhili ruled Hilo and the remaining parts of Hāmakua and Puna.[54] After

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[50] Ibid., 299.
[51] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 37.
[52] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 209.
[53] Ibid., 9.
[54] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom*, 33.

the battle at Mokuʻōhai there was roughly a ten-year period of inconclusive warfare between Kamehameha and Keōua.

Around the early 1790's, Kamehameha and the people of his district were building the Puʻukoholā *heiau*, temple. It was prophesied by Kauaʻi seer, Kapoukahi, and additionally advised by the high priest, Hewehewa, that Kamehameha build the *heiau* in order to eventually rule over the entire archipelago. Sacred *heiau*, such as Puʻukoholā, had to be consecrated with a human sacrifice known as *poʻo kanaka*.[55] Soon after Quimper's visit to the archipelago the Puʻukoholā *heiau* was consecrated with Keōua, Kamehameha's cousin and last adversary on Hawaiʻi Island. Earlier, Keōua had killed Keawemauhili and therefore upon Keōua's death Kamehameha was the *ali'i nui*, sole high chief, of Hawaiʻi Island. Abraham Fornander gives a good summary of the political situation throughout the archipelago around the time of Quimper's visit.

> The political situation of the islands of this group at this period may be concisely stated in this way. On Hawaii *Kamehameha* and *Keoua Kuahuula* were still contending for the sovereignty of the island, though *Keoua's* strength was gradually being exhausted. The great Heiau of Puukohola had been built, yet *Keoua* stubbornly defended himself, and his subjections by war seemed as distant as ever. By false representations and promises of safety he was induced during the fall of this year of early in 1792 to go to Kawaihae to confer with *Kamehameha*, and on his arrival was treacherously killed and sacrificed at the Heiau. On Maui, Molokai, and Oahu, *Kahekili* was still recognised actual sovereign, but owing to his great age and feeble health the regency of Oahu and Molokai was intrusted to his son *Kalanikupule*; and his brother *Kaeokulani* remained with him on Maui to administer the affairs of that island, while the government of Kauai and the guardianship of *Kaeokulani's* son, *Kaumualii*, the legitimate Moi of Kauai, was intrusted to a high chief named *Nakaikuaana.*[56]

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[55] Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior,* 303-4.
[56] Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, 245.

Quimper dealt with the challenge of attempting to decipher the political situation throughout the archipelago and his observations were accurate only some of the time. With the Spanish-British rivalry and Hawai‘i context in mind, I will now provide a detailed commentary on selected portions of Quimper's Hawai‘i journal.

## Commentary on Quimper's Journal

In this thesis I do not provide a complete translation of Quimper's journal. Instead I have chosen to translate and comment on the portions that I think are of particular interest and value to Hawaiian history. I will first provide a copy of the microfilm transcription in Spanish, then my translation, and lastly a commentary. For the portions of the journal that I did not translate I will give short descriptions under the heading "Interim," to allow the reader a more thorough review of Quimper’s journal.

Through the lens of Quimper's journal the reader may find that two stories are revealed. The first story informs the reader about Quimper's personal sentiments about his experiences at the archipelago. The second story is Quimper's interpretation of the circumstances in Hawai‘i. To further elucidate and provide a more accurate and in-depth examination about Quimper's story and Hawai‘i in 1791, I have relied on numerous scholarly works including but not limited to: Mary Kawena Pukui, Davida Malo, E.S. Craighill Handy, Elizabeth Handy, Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Steven Desha, Ralph Kuykendall, Marshal Sahlins, Valerio Valeri, and John Charlot. Additionally, I will compare Quimper's observations to other first-hand, foreigner accounts such as James Colnett (1791), Lieutenant King (1778), Archibald Menzies (1793), and Thomas Manby (1793).

The First Entries

Quimper's first sighting of the Hawaiian archipelago was on Sunday, March 20th, 1791. For the next three days Quimper sailed around the northernmost point of Hawai'i Island, turning south in order to travel along the western coast. While under sail, numerous canoes filled with food, such as hogs, chickens, watermelons, sweet potatoes, yams, fish, and taro, paddled out to greet Quimper and exchange provisions for iron.[57] After only two days, Quimper had traded a chest-and-a-half of iron with Hawaiians. He wrote that he brought the iron specifically from San Blas for the purpose of trade.[58] On March 23rd Quimper attempted to sail for Kealakekua Bay, but was persuaded to anchor farther north. He recorded the latitude at 20º 6" North, which would place his anchorage at Kawaihae Bay.[59] In this bay Quimper counted one hundred and seventy six canoes in the water. The following day Quimper traded with a *tajua* or *kahu*, a captain, who he called *Nuijanua*.[60] Quimper was anchored at Kawaihae Bay for one week.

Quimper Meets Chief *Tamenaba* [Kamanawa]

Friday, March 25th, 1791

*A las 10 llego a bordo una gran canoa doble con cubierta para resguardo del agua, su gran vela de Petate, y en el extremo de la Botauara una especie de trenzas formadas de plumas de varios colores que les servia como Gallardete, o distinctivo del caracter del Ery que conducia; Este era un viejo respetable, todo su cuerpo lo tenia cubierto de una especie de escama, original del alba,*

[57] Quimper, *Journal*, 4.
[58] Ibid., 6.
[59] Ibid., 7-8.
[60] A Hawaiian who I have not been able to identify. Jeffrey Lyon sugessted a transliteration of Nuihonua.

*bevida formada de raices, con destino solamente para los Eries, tajuas, y tajunas, estos ultimos son los Sacerdotes destinados al culto de sus Ydolos, a quienes venera toda especie de Yndio: se llamaba el expresado Ery* tamenaba*: era tio del principal Ery de la Ysla nombrado* Amejameja*, venia con sus dos Mugeres, y mas de 40 Remeros. Le hice a subir a bordo a su solicitud, como tambien sus mugeres, le hice un quanttioso regalo, como tambien a los que le acompanaban a proporcion de Sus clases.*[61]

Translation

At 10 o'clock a great double canoe with a cover to guard against the water arrived along side the sloop. She had a great sail of mat and on the end of the boom there was a kind of braid formed of various colors of feathers, which served as a distinctive pennant for the *ery* [*ali'i*] that commanded it.[6263] This was a respectable old man. All of his body was covered with a kind of flake, originating from kava, a drink made from a root, which was reserved only for the *eries* [*ali'i*], *tahuas* [*kahu*] and *tahunas* [*kahuna*].[64] The latter are the priests devoted to worship their idols, which all Indians venerate.[65] The *ali'i* said his name was *Tamenaba* [Kamanawa]. He was the uncle of the principal

[61] Quimper, *Journal,* 9-10.
[62] Quimper uses *botauara*, which is most likely *botavara*, or boom. The boom on a sailing canoe would extend horizontally, parallel to the deck. I believe that Quimper was referencing the vertical portion of the boom, which attached to the mast. This is the place where Hawaiian chiefs traditionally placed their feather pennants.
[63] Quimper consistently wrote *ali'i,* the Hawaiian word for chief, as *ery.* In the following instances I will only write *ali'i* and omit *ery.*
[64] *ali'i* is a chief; *kahu* is an attendant or guardian (Pukui*, Nānā I Ke Kumu* I, 112); and *kahuna* is a specialist in healing or religious matters (Ibid., 27).
[65] In my translation I chose not to replace *Yndio* [Indian] with Hawaiian.

> *ali'i* of the island named *Amejameja* [Kamehameha]. He came with his two wives and more than forty paddlers. I let him and his wives come aboard upon his request. I gave him a substantial gift and also to those who accompanied him, in proportion to their rank.

Commentary

At sunrise on March 25th canoes began to arrive alongside the *Princess Royal* with the intention to barter. Quimper distinguished chief Kamanawa's arrival because of the distinctive characteristics of his canoe and the large number of Hawaiians with whom he traveled. Kamanawa was the first Hawai'i island high chief that Quimper met who can be positively identified by his orthography and his description of Kamanawa's relationship to Kamehameha. Kamanawa was the *makua hoahānau*, uncle or elder cousin, of Kamehameha.[66] Quimper wrote that Kamanawa arrived in a large double-hulled canoe with a cover, or protective shelter, to guard against water. The cover could have been a small hut in the middle of the canoe, which was used to store provisions. The sail was made of mat, probably *hala* leaves.[67] Quimper described a feather pennant that flew at the top of the mast, but he did not mention the color of it. The pennant may have been made of red and yellow feathers, which were colors reserved for chiefs.[68] Birds with tufts of yellow feathers, such as the *'ō'ō*, which only lived on Hawai'i Island, and *mamo*, were rare and their feathers most

[66] Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior,* 45.
[67] Malo, *Mo'olelo*, 16:14, and 34:32.
[68] Kalākāuā, *Legends and Myths,* 32.

valued.[69] An image of a similar canoe with a feather pennant is depicted in Herb Kane's painting, *A Wa'a Kaulua of Hawai'i*.[70]

After Kamanawa approached the *Princess Royal* Quimper observed the effects of kava, or *'awa* in Hawaiian. Quimper transliterated *'awa* as *alba,* which is one example of the phonological issues found in Quimper's journal. Quimper was certainly identifying kava because he described Kamanawa's skin as flakey. James Jackson Jarves writes, "'*Awa*'s effects were very pernicious, covering the body with a white scurf, or scaliness, like the scurvy, inflaming the eyes, and causing premature decrepitude."[71] Quimper did not reveal the source of his knowledge about kava, but it is likely that he was introduced to the drink while in Tahiti about twenty years before.[72] It is also possible that Kamanawa told Quimper about kava's effects.

Earlier foreign accounts, such as from Lieutenant King's of the Cook expedition, may have convinced Quimper of the notion that kava was reserved for chiefs and priests and forbidden to commoners. Lieutenant King writes, "It is fortunate, that the use of it is made one of the peculiar privileges of the Chiefs."[73] Contrary to Quimper's assumption, E.S. Craighill Handy and Elizabeth Handy write that there was a large supply of kava available in Hawai'i, which may indicate that it was not restricted for commoners.[74] Frequent consumption of kava was observed in the chiefly and priestly classes, however, and caused these Hawaiians to suffer the symptoms Quimper witnessed with Kamanawa, such as flakey

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[69] Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i*, 217.
[70] Herb Kane, *Voyagers,* 18.
[71] Jarves, *History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands,* 49.
[72] Salmond, *Trials,* 469.
[73] King, *Cook Journal* III (1784), 126. Handy and Handy, *Native Planters*, 191.
[74] Handy and Handy, *Native Planters*, 190.

skin. In place of personally investigating kava's use in Hawai‘i, Quimper's knowledge about kava most likely came from his observations in Tahiti and the information he was provided (most likely heard) by other foreigner accounts, particularly Lieutenant King's.

Next, Quimper projected his Catholic understanding of the function of a priest onto the Hawaiian *kahuna*. A *kahuna*, or specialist, did not only denote a priest or someone who venerated the gods, but it was also a title for a person possessing a special skill, such as healing.[75] Quimper limited the *kahuna*'s function to a person who venerated "idols." Quimper

wrote that these priests cared for gods that all Hawaiians venerated, but Hawaiians venerated different gods depending on their gender, occupation, and social class. For example, canoe makers worshipped Kūpulupulu, among others. Their wives worshipped Lea, a female deity. Hawaiians who danced hula worshipped Laka and thieves worshipped Makua‘aihue.[76] Davida Malo confirms in his writings, however, that there were a few gods like Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa, that all Hawaiians worshipped.[77]

Quimper went on to observe other characteristics that distinguished Kamanawa as a high chief, such as his close relation to Kamehameha. Quimper, familiar with the protocol of the Spanish monarchy, was aware of the importance of favorable exchanges and correct hospitality and thus offered many hospitable gestures in the hopes of laying the foundation for a friendships with Hawaiians.

No interim

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[75] Pukui, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* II, 27.
[76] Malo, *Mo‘olelo*, 23:7-14.
[77] Ibid., 72.

Quimper Meets *Amejameja* [Kamehameha]

Friday, March 25th, 1791 continued

*A las 11 me avisaron los Yndios venia su principal Ery* Amejameja*; Este llego con ygual pompa que su tio, y note que al atracarse a bordo se separaron todas las canoas por boces que daba* tamenaba*, y otros de los principales Yndios, lo recibi con muestras de mucho agrado, regalandolo con un Sable, de mi uno, pero no lo admitio, y mando a sus Sirvientes subiesen el Regalo destinado para mi: Este se componia de un gran Morrion, Manto y esclavina texido de plumas encarnadas, amarillas y algunas negras, a lajas dignas por su primor de un soverano: todo lo referido me lo fue poniendo por sus manos; ynmediatamente hice subir un caxon de hachas, hanzuelas, y de todo quanto traia para obsequio de sus Naturales, y se lo presente, el que ygualmente que el Sable desprecio, diciendome que todas las envarcaciones que fondeaban en su Ysla, le havian regalado Pedreros, y Fucilos; en esta situacion, dettermine darle una pistola de las ynutiles, la que le di, ygualmente que el expreado caxon, y sable, pero note miraba con desprecio el regalo, y a fin de grangear su voluntad pregunte al condestable si havia algun fusil ynutil, y contextandome que havia dos, hice me traxesen uno, y se lo di con todo los demas expresado, con lo que quedo sattisfecho. Poco despues solicite ver la camara, y haviendolo conseguido, me pido una sobrecama que tenia en el catre, y fue preciso acceder a su ruego.*[78]

Translation

[78] Quimper, *Journal*, 10.

At eleven o'clock the Indians informed me that their principal *ali'i Amejameja* [Kamehameha], was coming. He arrived with the same pomp as his uncle and I noted that as they approached to board the sloop *Tamenaba* [Kamanawa] and other principal Indians ordered all of the canoes to separate. I received him with tokens of great pleasure, presenting him with a saber of mine, but he did not accept it. He ordered his servants to bring the gifts intended for me. This was comprised of a grand helmet, cloak, and cape made of red, orange, and some black feathers, treasures worthy for their beauty of a sovereign. All of theses gifts which I have mentioned he put on me himself. Immediately I ordered a case of axes, *hanzuelas*, and other items I brought to give to the natives.[79] I presented these gifts to him, but like the saber, he refused them, telling me that all of the vessels that anchored on his island had given him swivel guns and muskets. In this situation, I decided to give him a pistol from among the useless ones along with the case and saber. I noted that he looked at the gift with disdain. In the end, to win his good will, I asked the sergeant if there was another useless musket. Having answered me that there were two, I had him bring me one. I gave him this along with the rest of the items I mentioned and he was satisfied. A little while later I invited him to see the cabin and having done so, he asked me for the bedspread that was on the cot, and it was necessary to comply with his request.

[79] The transcription reads *hanzuelas*, but the word might be *anzuelos*, which is fish hook. Minson translates *hanzuela* as hatchet, however.

Commentary

Since Kalani‘ōpu‘us death in 1782, Hawai‘i Island chiefs battled to rule land divisions, either defending their own or conquering another chief’s. When Quimper arrived at the archipelago, thirteen years after Kamehameha first observed the power of firearms during an over-night stay aboard Captain Cook's vessel, chiefs were already well aware of the advantages firearms provided them.[80] Hawaiian chiefs began to rely more and more on foreign weapons and foreign military advisors to triumph over their opponents in battle. The only method for Hawaiians to obtain coveted firearms, however, was through exchanges with foreigners who visited the islands. With this end in mind, Hawaiians aimed to build friendly relations with foreigners.

In this portion of Quimper's journal Kamehameha and Quimper meet for the first time and exchange gifts. At first, Quimper presented Kamehameha with a saber, but the he rejected it. Instead of immediately requesting firearms, Kamehameha presented Quimper with valuable feather work items including a helmet, cloak, and cape made of red, orange, and black feathers. Quimper used the Spanish term *alaja* most likely *alhaja*, which means treasure, to describe the gifts. In John Charlot's article "The Feather Skirt of Nāhi‘ena‘ena: An Innovation in Postcontact Hawaiian Art," he writes, "beauty has a religiopolitical significance in Hawaiian culture; it is not superficial, but a fundamental category and concern of thinking and practice."[81] In Hawaiian language, feather work cloaks and capes are called *‘ahu‘ula*, loosely translated as red garment. As mentioned in the previous section, yellow feathers of the *‘ō‘ō* and *mamo* bird were valuable because the birds were scarce, but red

[80] Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior,* 51-55.
[81] Charlot, "Feather Skirt," 122.

feathers were emblematic of chiefs and gods.[82] Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), author of *Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i*, writes that feather work capes and cloaks distinguished a chief 's rank and were a sign of royalty. Commoners and women were prohibited from wearing them.[83] Kamehameha's bestowal of such valuable gifts to Quimper indicates that the chief thought of Quimper as someone of rank. Additionally, Kamehameha set the bar for Quimper by giving him such valuable gifts. Quimper then, was expected to give a quality gift to Kamehameha in return. Quimper not only appreciated the gifts, but also the manner in which they were presented to him.

Quimper's description of Kamehameha having placed the feather work items on Quimper himself suggests that Quimper felt privileged. Quimper states that the gifts were destined for him, but it is suspicious that Kamehameha would present such valuable gifts to a Spanish sub-lieutenant. During Lieutenant Cook's visit to Hawai'i Island, Kalani'ōpu'u adorned Cook in his own feather cloak, a helmet, and gave him five or six additional feather cloaks. Cook, however, was considered to be the incarnation of the god Lono thus deemed deserving of such gifts.[84] In 1793 Kamehameha presented Captain George Vancouver of Britain a feather cloak, but announced to Vancouver and his crew that the gifts were specifically destined for King George. Archibald Menzies, a crew member aboard Vancouver's vessel, the *Discovery*, recounts the event.

> He [Kamehameha] told Captain Vancouver in the hearing of the officers, that the feather robe he had then about him must be carefully conveyed to King George of Britannee, as it was the most valuable present he could send him, being the only one of the kind at these islands and the richest robe any of the kings of Hawaii ever wore, but as it was on that account most solemnly

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[82] Buck, *Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i*, 216-17.
[83] Ibid., 217.
[84] Cook, *Journal*, 512.

> tabooed, he would not leave it on board till the day of our sailing, when he would see it packed up himself. He gave the strictest and most solemn injunctions that it should not be put about any person's shoulders till it was delivered to King George in Britannee.[85]

It is possible that Kamehameha did not begin to give gifts to the ships' captains, on behalf of their country's king, until after Quimper's visit. This may account for Quimper's claim that the feather works items were destined for himself. It might also be suggested that Quimper did not understand Kamehameha's desire for the feather work items to be presented to the Spanish King upon his return to Spain. As evidenced by Kamehameha's clear announcement to Vancouver's crew, however, I do not believe that any person except Quimper was destined to receive the gifts. Lying about such valuable gifts from the sovereign of the island would put Quimper's career at risk as well.

Additionally, Kamehameha knew that he could immediately obtain firearms directly from Quimper. In 1788 Kamehameha presented Captain Douglas, commander of the *Iphigenia*, with a feather fan and two cloaks. Upon receiving these gifts Captain Douglas gave Kamehameha a swivel gun.[86] It was not until Captain George Vancouver's visit to Hawai'i in 1794 that Kamehameha came to benefit from greater advantages that foreign relations provided him. Captain Vancouver helped Kamehameha build the forty-ton vessel, *Britannia*. At the time Quimper arrived Kamehameha was still relying on the smaller goods, such as pistols, he received from foreign captains.

Quimper first presented Kamehameha with iron weapons, such as axes, hatchets, and sabers, but Kamehameha refused them. Instead of directly requesting firearms, Kamehameha told Quimper that other captains had presented him with swivel guns and muskets. Quimper

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[85] Menzies, *Hawai'i 128 Years Ago*, 68.
[86] Ibid., 337, and 354-55.

understood the implication for firearms and wrote that he gave Kamehameha a pistol that was *ynutil*, useless.

Quimper describes the pistol as *ynutil*, but the word appears ambiguous at first sight. It might be suggested that Quimper was opposed to Hawaiians acquiring properly functioning firearms. This assumption, however, is contradicted because while Quimper was on Kauaʻi he repaired a musket for chief *Trajuitotoa*, which demonstrated that he was not opposed to chiefs having firearms.[87] Additionally, it is highly unlikely that Quimper would have risked giving Kamehameha a pistol that did not fire because after roughly a decade since their introduction to the archipelago Kamehameha or one of his warriors, certainly his foreign advisors John Young and Isaac Davis, would have been familiar with how the pistol fired. Quimper may have recorded the pistol as *ynutil* in order to cover himself in case the Spanish Navy objected to him giving firearms to the native people. I argue that Quimper's use of the term *ynutil* meant that the pistol was not needed by him.

Kamehameha made it known to Quimper through a look of disdain that he was not completely satisfied with the pistol and for that reason Quimper decided to give him an additional musket and a chest of iron. Afterwards, Quimper gave Kamehameha a tour of the cabin of the *Princess Royal* at which time Kamehameha caught sight of a bedspread, which he requested and to which Quimper agreed. According to Hawaiian belief, attaining the bedspread from Quimper's cot meant that Kamehameha acquired some of Quimper's *mana*, or personal power.[88] Since the bedspread touched Quimper's body it contained some of his *mana.* There were restrictions that prohibited a person from wearing another's clothes

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[87] Minson, *Hawaiian Journal of Manuel Quimper*, 82. Minson translates *Trajuitotoa* as Nākaikuaʻana, but this translation is unlikely.
[88] Pukui, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* I, 91.

because clothing may have been used in sorcery. Quimper would have been unaware of such a Hawaiian belief, however, and Kamehameha's opinion of the bedspread may never be known.

Mary Kawena Pukui writes that it is acceptable for a person to admire the qualities of an item, but that it is considered rude to convey one's desire for the item.[89] This courtesy probably did not apply to Kamehameha the same way it did to commoners because, as high chief, it would have been acceptable for him to bluntly request items. Additionally, Hawaiians observed that they did not share the same prescribed behavior and customs with foreigners. For instance, Kamehameha found that strongly implying or asking for an item was not considered rude, but a necessary and regular action to attain the military goods he needed. Moreover, most foreigners were not familiar with traditional Hawaiian customs relating to politeness and therefore found no fault in Hawaiians' outright request for them.

Through the lens of Quimper's account, both he and Kamehameha seemed to have been satisfied with the exchanges. Quimper felt a degree of esteem or privilege after Kamehameha placed valuable feather work items on him. After implying to Quimper his desire for powerful firearms, Kamehameha obtained a pistol and musket, along with a chest of iron. Although the exchanges concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, Quimper and Kamehameha are found to have adapted their traditional customs or rules. Quimper's adaptations include giving firearms to Kamehameha, an action that was possibly prohibited by his superiors. Kamehameha's adaptations related to traditional politeness and hospitality customs.

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[89] Pukui, *Family System in Ka'u*, 185-187.

Interim

Per Quimper's request, Kamehameha chronologically recounted the seventeen foreign captains that arrived at the archipelago before Quimper. Quimper was particularly curious about two British mariners, John Young and Isaac Davis. Kamehameha was quick to respond that he did not know anything about them. Kamehameha informed Quimper that there were other British men who lived with chiefs on Maui and Kaua'i.

Quimper and Kamehameha Exchange Names

> Friday March 25th, 1791
>
> *Me hizo traer de tierra una Gran Canoa llena de los frutos de la Ysla, y desde este dia me nombro* Amejameja*, y el se llamo* Manuel Quimper*, por cuios nombres nos conocian a ambos los Naturales de la Ysla.*[90]

Translation

> He ordered a great canoe to be brought from land full of the fruits of the island, and from this day he named me *Amejameja* [Kamehameha] and he called himself Manuel Quimper, by which names the Natives of the island knew us both.

Commentary

As mentioned earlier Quimper wrote that exchanging names was a practice found in the Pacific Northwest and in Hawai'i. It was only on Hawai'i Island, however, that Quimper personally participated in the exchange. It is important for the reader to note that the act of exchanging names has only been recorded in a few traveler accounts and in James Jackson Jarves' book. Jarves claims exchanging names constituted the strongest confirmation of

[90] Quimper, *Journal,* 11.

friendship.[91] Because additional evidence has not been found that exchanging names was a traditional Hawaiian practice, it is possible that Hawaiians began to practice exchanging names after foreign contact, meaning that Hawaiians only exchanged names with foreigners, after they had insisted on the exchange. Furthermore, the only two chiefs who are recorded to have participated in exchanging names were Kalani‘ōpu‘u and Kamehameha.

While Mary Kawena Pukui does not indicate that Hawaiians exchanged names, she does provide a noteworthy detail about the significance of a Hawaiian's name. Pukui writes that a Hawaiian's name was one of the few possessions they considered personally theirs. She writes that a name possessed special significance and power, and once spoken "took on an existence, invisible, intangible, but real. An *inoa,* personal name, could be a causative agent, capable of marshalling mystic elements to help or hurt the bearer of the name."[92] According to Pukui's description, when Quimper and Kamehameha exchanged names portions of their *mana* were transferred to the other person meaning that one could use the other's name as they desired, either for benefit or harm.

The significance of exchanging names is certain to have been viewed differently by Quimper than it was by Kamehameha. According to Hawaiian belief, Quimper would have been able to use Kamehameha's name in different ways, such as acquiring something material or spiritual. Kamehameha might have also thought he could use Quimper's name in a more political way to attain either a desired good or to initiate a relationship with another foreign captain in the future. Although Kamehameha would have been aware of the power gained from exchanging names, it is uncertain if Quimper was aware of it. Another

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[91] Jarves, *History of Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, 90.
[92] Pukui, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* I, 94.

uncertainty is whether or not Kamehameha considered exchanging names with a foreigner to possess the same religious power as it did when the exchange was made with a Hawaiian, but no examples of Hawaiians exchanging names with one another has been found.

Another purpose for exchanging names may have been to commemorate the meeting of Kamehameha and Quimper. Pukui writes, however, that at commemorative events names were given without any mention that names were exchanged. The commemoration of a personal meeting or of an event is called *inoa hoʻomanaʻo.*[93] Whether the exchange was initiated to transfer power or to commemorate their meeting, Kamehameha's initiation of the exchange seems to indicate that he was fond of Quimper.

It is in Lieutenant King's journal that the earliest example of exchanging names in Hawaiʻi is found. It occurred between Cook and *Terreeoboo* [Kalaniʻōpuʻu]. King writes, "In a short time after Captn Cook had exchanged names with Terreeoboo & ratified a firm friendship [*sic*]..." In this passage King attributes exchanging names to signify the proof of friendship just like Jarves indicated, but exchanging names was not a European practice. By the time Cook arrived to Hawaiʻi he had been sailing in Polynesia for roughly ten years and probably first learned about the practice of exchanging names while in Tahiti. In Anne Salmond's book, *The Trial of the Cannibal Dog,* she writes, "The local people [Tahitians] were eager to exchange names with the British, regarding this as a mark of great friendship, and generously supplied them with pigs and other provisions."[94] Cook personally exchanged names with chiefs, Ori and Reo in Tahiti, and a lower chief, Ataongo, in Tonga.[95] Since no earlier reference to the practice has been found, it may be suggested that Cook initiated the

[93] Ibid., 95.
[94] Salmond, *Trial,* 98.
[95] Ibid., 98, 208, and 215.

exchange of names with Kalani‘ōpu‘u and that he went along with Cook's request. Due to the fact that a Hawaiian's name was considered so sacred and powerful such a request would have been bold. At the same time, some Hawaiians chiefs considered Cook to be the incarnation of Lono and therefore exchanging names with him would mean that they would have acquired powerful *mana*.

The second example of exchanging names is found in Captain Meares' journal. In December 1788, Kamehameha exchanged names with Captain Douglas of the *Iphigenia.* Meares writes that the exchanged "prove[d] the sincerity of his regard."[96] In Meares' account, like King's and Jarves', the captain attributed the significance of the exchange to proof of friendship. Meares and Quimper may have included accounts of exchanging names because it was an action that preceded them with Cook. Throughout Quimper's journal remnants of observations and anchorages of the Cook expedition are found. Quimper could not read or speak English, but he certainly learned about the details of Cook's expedition. It is possible that Hawaiians imitated the unprecedented exchange of names between Cook and Kalani‘ōpu‘u with other foreigners like Douglas and Quimper. It is possible that the act of exchanging names in Hawai'i first began with Cook and only occurred between chiefs and foreigners in order to demonstrate proof and sincerity of friendship. Therefore exchanging names may be another example of Hawaiians adapting or adding practices after contact with foreigners in order to attain more lucrative goods. The other possibility is that exchanging names was indeed a Hawaiian custom, but one that has not been mentioned or yet uncovered in written literature.

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[96] Meares, *Journal*, 338.

Interim

Kamehameha, his attendants, and other chiefs spent the next two days on board the *Princess Royal*. Quimper was given bark mats, produce, and some wood, which he attempted to indentify.

Quimper Goes to Shore and Must Observe a *Kapu*

Monday, March 28th, 1791

*A las 3 de la tarde mande armar la Lancha, y baje en tierra con el fin de reconocer el terreno, el que encontre mui pedregoso, sin ningun Sembrado, arboleda exepto palmas de coco, de las que se halla sembrada la poca tierra llana, y ensenadita fontera de nuestro fondeadero, pero las faldas y sierras serian trancitables sino fuera por las piedras sueltas que se notan en ellas que con poca dificultad entaba vencido este ympedimento.*

*Luego que atraco la Lancha a tierra vino a Reciuirme el Ery* Amejameja *con todos sus Capitanes, y multitud de Yndios, cuio numero podia ascender a dos mill. Al llegar a saldarme el mencionado Ery con la palabra Aroja, que significa Amigo, a largue la mano para tomar la suia en prueba de Amistad, costumbre que he encontrado tambien en estos Naturales, pero* Amejameja *retiro la suya, diciendome tabu, que significa prohibicion, y no llego solamente el tabu a dexar de tomar la mano, por que haviendo encontrado formadas sobre la arena una fragata y una Goleta senaladas con perfeccion respecto a ellos, note solamente tenia la fragata mal colocados los palos, por que el de trinquete tenia por Mesana, lo que adverti al Ery demonstrandose lo con lapiz sobre un pliego de papel, el que tomo para hacerse en cargo de lo*

*que miraba en el para hacerle mejor explicacion, quese tomar de sus manos el papel, y lo defendio con la expresada palabra tabu diciendome por palabras, y demostraciones que haviendolo ya el tomado, no podia boluer a mis manos; Apure la dificultad hasta saver si en tierra nadie podia llegar a su persona, haciendole varias preguntas sobre el partticular, pero me contexto que solamente por aquel dia, y Otros senalados para el tabu havia esta prohivision.*[97]

Translation

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon I ordered the longboat armed and I went ashore in order to examine the terrain, which I found very rocky, uncultivated, treeless except for coconut palms planted on the scarce level land and inlet cove in front of our anchorage. The slopes and mountains, however, would be passable if not for the loose stones that were observed on them, which with little difficulty we could overcome this obstacle.

After the longboat was tied up on shore, the chief *Amejameja* [Kamehameha] came to receive me with all of his captains and a multitude of Indians, whose number could have amounted to two thousand. Upon my arrival the mentioned chief greeted me with the word *aloha*, which means friend. I extended my hand to take his in the proof of friendship, a habit that I have encountered with the natives as well, but *Amejameja* [Kamehameha] withdrew his hand, telling me tabu [kapu], which meant prohibition. The tabu [*kapu*] did not only prohibit me from shaking his hand, but also extended to

[97] Quimper, *Journal*, 13-4.

> other objects he had touched. Since I having found a frigate and a schooner drawn in the sand with perfection--I only noted that the frigate had the masts poorly arranged because the foremast had the mizzen-- of which I advised the *ali'i*, demonstrating it with a pencil on a sheet of paper, which he took in order to make note of the drawing he saw on the paper so as explain better. I wanted to take the paper back from his hands, but he protected it with the expression *tabu [kapu]*, telling me by words and demonstrations that having already taken it, he could not return it to my hands. I inquired about this difficulty until I found out if on land no one could approach his person, having asked various questions about this, but he told me that only that day and other days marked for the tabu [*kapu*] had this prohibition.

Commentary

Quimper had not gone to shore since his arrival at the archipelago until this day when he went to examine the land, which he described as rocky, uncultivated, and sparsely populated with coconut trees. Quimper's account indicates that his previous meetings and exchanges with Kamehameha aboard the *Princess Royal* were amiable, however, he was cautious about approaching the shore and ordered the longboat armed. It was most likely protocol to arm the longboat because Quimper was informed about the dangers to foreigners.

In this portion of Quimper's journal his description and interpretation points out the stark differences he witnessed in Kamehameha's actions while on land in contrast to Kamehameha's actions at sea. I propose two reasons for Kamehameha's distinctive actions on land. The first is that Kamehameha implemented the *kapu*, prescribed behavior, based on circumstance in order to emphasize authority and protection. The second is that

Kamehameha, and possibly all of the Hawaiians were under a customary *Luakini kapu*, the *Kapu Kāloa*.

The suggestion that Kamehameha implemented a *kapu* based on location derives from my interpretation of Quimper's written reflections and observations. On land Quimper was not allowed to touch Kamehameha or any material item after the chief had touched it. When Quimper arrived on shore at Kawaihae Bay he was greeted by Kamehameha, his captains, and over 2,000 Hawaiians. Kamehameha greeted Quimper with the word *aloha,* which Quimper translated to mean friend. Quimper then extended his hand to Kamehameha, but the chief withdrew his hand and told Quimper "tabu" (or *kapu* in Hawaiian) which Quimper translated as prohibition. Quimper first used the term "tabu" in the March 21st entry, and it is likely that he was first introduced to this term in Tahiti. Tabu would have an almost identical meaning in Tahiti. Quimper was surprised to learn that shaking hands with Kamehameha was a prohibited action because he wrote that shaking hands was a common greeting he observed between Hawaiians and foreigners. Since foreign contact in 1778 Hawaiians had adapted their traditional greeting, *honi*, touching noses and sharing breath, and instead greeted foreigners with a hand shake. Kamehameha's rejection of Quimper's hand shake was the first indicator to Quimper that Kamehameha's actions were different on land than they were at sea.

Quimper recorded a second example of a *kapu* relating to touching when he recorded that Kamehameha prohibited him from taking back a piece of paper after the chief had touched it. Quimper found a frigate drawn in the sand, but he noted that the masts were incorrectly arranged. Quimper drew the correct arrangement on a piece of paper and gave it to Kamehameha. Quimper then requested the paper back, but Kamehameha demonstrated to

Quimper through actions and the word *tabu* [*kapu*] that he could not return it. Due to Quimper's inability to communicate proficiently with Kamehameha, he may have misunderstood the chief. Quimper continued to inquire about the reason for the *kapu.* He specifically asked Kamehameha if *kapu* related to him coming on land, but Kamehameha responded that the *kapu* was attributed to that particular day and other ones like it. This indicates that is was a customary *kapu* day.

Various times in his journal Quimper requested to keep papers that informed Hawaiians of foreign knowledge, such as ship building, and reference letters that had been issued to Hawaiians by British captains. Quimper's insistence on keeping documents is curious because he did not reveal his motives. In Jean Charlot's article, *Post Cook Discovery in Petrogylphs,* he describes a petrogylph found in Nu‘uanu Valley of George Vancouver's vessel*,* the *Discovery*, and a Hawaiian man shooting a musket. The petroglyph demonstrated the correct mast and rigging arrangement, which would have been valuable to Hawaiians. Charlot claims that the petroglyph would have been drawn from memory and useful for potential future ship building efforts in the islands.[98] Quimper may have requested the drawing back from Kamehameha to protect foreign knowledge about ship building.

Quimper specifically noted the difference in Kamehameha's actions between land and sea, but *kapu* relating to chiefs are not found to have been based on location because they applied at all times. Hawaiian scholars such as Pukui and Malo offer specific examples of *kapu* relating to chiefs and their possessions. Pukui writes that all of the personal possessions of the chief were *kapu*, but she does not mention a restriction prohibiting others from

[98] Charlot, "Petrogylphs," 27.

touching him.[99] Traditionally chiefs had different statuses depending on their birth, which prescribed them to different *kapu*. Kamehameha had the *kapu wohi*, which was similar to the *kapu moe*. Chiefs with the *kapu wohi* were not required to prostrate for *kapu moe* chiefs. [100] The highest ranking chief with a *kapu moe*, was born from a *nīʻau piʻo,* a sister and brother union. This chief was restricted from going abroad during the day and all Hawaiians, except those with the *kapu wohi*, were required to prostrate in his presence and when his personal items passed by.[101] General restrictions prohibited Hawaiians from crossing a chief's doorway, allowing their shadow to fall upon a chief or any of his possessions.[102] These were general restrictions implemented at all times, but Kamehameha specifically attributed the touching restriction to that day.

In Malo's text, *Moʻolelo Hawaiʻi*, he outlines Hawaiian affairs relating to rituals and seasons. The year was divided into two ritual periods, *Makahiki* and *Luakini*. The Makahiki period began when the constellation Pleiades was first seen on the horizon, about October. Makahiki lasted for roughly four months until January or February.[103] During this period, commoners participated in games such as boxing. Chiefs toured the entire island with *Lonomakua*, a white *tapa* banner attached to a cross shaped pole arrangement.[104] During the Luakini season, roughly February to October, *luakini*, temples, were built and dedicated to the gods Kū and Lono. Malo writes, "The building of the *luakini heiau* by the ruling *ali'i nui* was a very great undertaking. That religious ritual of the ruler was a strenuous task, a very

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[99] Pukui, *Nānā I Ke Kumu* I, 202.
[100] Malo*, Moʻolelo,* 18:33.
[101] Ibid., 18:12, and 18:32
[102] Ibid., 18:28.
[103] Ibid., 36:4-5.
[104] Ibid., 36:21..

harsh task."[105] Quimper arrived at the archipelago during the *luakini* season and his observations reflect the activities performed during the *luakini* recorded by Malo.

According to Malo, Quimper may have been subject to a *kapu* on this particular day and thus he was prohibited from touching Kamehameha. Correlating Gregorian calendar dates with the Hawaiian lunar calendar raises a few uncertainties. To be sure that Quimper's dates correlated with Gregorian calendar I examined Colnett's journal. Colnett's journal was not dated as clearly as Quimper's, but their dates seemed to match. Correlating current available lunar calendars, such as the one available on the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) website, with the Hawaiian lunar calendar that Malo provides not does ensure exact accuracy.[106]

According to the NASA lunar calendar Quimper would have gone to shore on the day of *'Ole-pau* which falls in the *Kapu Kāloa* period. The *Kapu Kāloa* period was one of the four *kapu* periods in one lunar month. During the period of *Kapu Kāloa* Hawaiians worked to purify the land. They cleared the upland road and built a stone alter in each *ahapua'a*, district, all around the island.[107] On this day Quimper would have not been permitted to touch him because Kamehameha was participating in purification rites. Another general restriction on *kapu* days was the prohibition of Hawaiians entering the ocean, either swimming or by canoe. Quimper, however, recorded contradictory observations. On March 28th Quimper wrote that canoes came out to trade with him at sunrise. Later that same day,

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[105] Ibid., 37:1; Langlas and Lyon translation,132.
[106] NASA, Moon Phases (accessed 1 March 2011) http://eclipse.gsfc.nasa.gov/phase/phasecat.html/.
[107] Malo, *Mo'olelo,* 37:24-28..

upon his return from shore, Quimper found chief Keʻeaumoku waiting alongside the sloop.[108] Quimper's observations reveal that some Hawaiians broke *kapu*.

Archibald Menzies and Thomas Manby give additional observations that demonstrate Hawaiians breaking *kapu*. Archibald Menzies, a crew member aboard Captain George Vancouver's vessel, the *Discovery*, in 1793 recorded his observations about the *kapu pule*. This *kapu* forbade canoes from entering the ocean. Menzies writes, however, that two Hawaiians were seen in the water. They swam to the vessel and requested that a small boat be brought to shore so that chief Kaʻiana could visit the *Discovery*. Menzies attributed the prohibition of Kaʻiana paddling his own canoe to Vancouver's vessel to the *kapu pule*.[109] Kaʻiana cleverly attempted to elude the *kapu*, however, by departing from shore in one of Vancouver's boats, a foreign boat. Additionally, while on Vancouver's vessel Kaʻiana would not have been prescribed to the same behavior he would have been prescribed to on land. Kaʻiana's request also indicates that even Hawaiian chiefs looked for ways to get around traditional *kapu*. Marshall Sahlins writes, "The Hawaiian chiefs, for good and traditional reasons, consistently used the power of tabu in an unprecedented manner to accumulate property in trade."[110] Sahlins points to the fact that chiefs adapted the ways in which traditional *kapu* applied to people, items, places in order to satisfy their needs and desires at the time.

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[108] I am very grateful to Jeffrey Lyon, who worked with me in researching the activities that occurred on *kapu* days.
[109] Menzies, *Hawaiʻi 128 Years Ago,* 70.
[110] Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors*, 71.

Sahlins claim is evidenced in Thomas Manby's account. Manby was a crew member aboard the *Chatham* under Captain Vancouver in 1793. He observed a *kapu* that lasted for ten days and wrote on February 15th, 1793

> From Young we learnt that a general Taboobowar [*kapu pule*] now existed through the Island: it had been in force eight days and would not expire til two more were past: this was unpleasant news, as it precluded both men and women coming afloat. During these days of penance the King and nearly all of the Chiefs reside in the Morai or place of worship. Animals and vegetable sacrifices are offered every morning to some particular Deity.[111]

In this passage Manby may have been describing the ten-day *kapu* period that began on *Hilo*, the first night the moon was visible after a new moon, and ended on *Huna* because Manby's dates correlate to those *kapu* days. During this period the luakini was *kapu* and the Kū image was erected and dressed in a malo.[112] This *kapu* period also prohibited Hawaiians from entering the ocean, as Manby noted. Manby went on to write that the following day, February 16th, Kamehameha and his attendants canoed out to greet the *Chatham* and shook hands with the crew. Both of these actions, according to Hawaiian traditional *kapu*, would have been prohibited. I suggest two reasons for this discrepancy. Either Manby misunderstood the length of the *kapu* period or Kamehameha did not observe the *kapu*. Manby recorded that only Kamehameha's canoes came to greet the vessel on that day, and it was not until sunrise on the seventeenth that "the vessel was surrounded by Canoes [*sic*]," which would indicate that the *kapu* was then off.[113] Inconsistencies can be seen with respect to the *kapu* period and Kamehameha's actions; suggesting that if Manby's *kapu* day calculations were correct, Kamehameha adapted traditional *kapu*, and possibley ignored them completely, in order to

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[111] Manby, *Journal,* 39.
[112] For a complete description see Malo, *Mo'olelo,* chapter 37.
[113] Manby, *Journal,* 40.

interact and trade with foreigners. These foriegner accounts demonstrate that Kamehameha adapted traditional Hawaiian practices to obtain the goods and foreign relations he desired.

Interim

On that same day, March 28th, Quimper observed that most Hawaiians lived inland, in small grass houses and a few lived in their canoes. Quimper described the doorway of the Hawaiian house to be similar to an oven, a observation that Captain Cook also included in his journal.[114]

*Teirmotu* [Ke'eaumoku] Visits the *Princess Royal*

Monday, March 28th, 1791 (continued)

*Luego que llegue a Bordo encontre que me esperaba un respettable viejo tio de* Amejameja *nombrado* Teirmotu*, tenia al costado de la balandra su gran Canoa doble, semejante a las que llevo referidas; luego que me vio, me dio la mano, y saludo con la palabra Aroja (que como llevo dicho Significa Amigo, haciendo uso de ella en primera vista, y al despedirse) me presento una cartta en Ydioma Yngles, y traducida en el nuestro por el segundo Piloto Don Juan Kendrick de Boston es el los terminos siguientes.*

*Gustavo tercero. Juan Enrrique Cos al ancla en la Bahia de Kara-Kacoa en la Isla de Guaju 21 de Septiembre de la que salio el 24. para la Costa de America, en cuio tiempo este hombre lo dexe con* Tayana *(quien acompano al Capitan Meas a China, y bolvio con el a este lugar) al que recomiendo a la politica, y carifio de todos los Comandadantes de qualesquiera Barco que*

[114] Cook, *Journal* vol. II, 223, 234.

*pueda llegar a este lugar, por ser un Gefe de la primera consequencia en este Ysla, y en quien se puede poner la maior confianza.*

*El Expresado Yndio, despues de haver leido la carta solicito se le dobolviera, pero le hice ver era necesario quedarme con ella, que le daria otra de mejor recomendacion, a fin de que la agardjasen, y regalasen, todos los capitanes de las Envarcaciones que tocansen en la Ysla y haviendole obsequiado con dos hachas, dos hazielas, y un machete, quedo mui sattisfecho lo que acredito suplicandome lo dexaso dormir a bordo, lo que se verifico haviendo consequido me diese el aviso que el Capitan Dublas, y el Capitan Medcharf havian ynformado a todos los Eries de la Ysla ser los espanoles mala nacion ladrones, y hombres de mala fee, que se guardasen de ellos, por que tomaban quanttas Envarcaciones veian y que mui prompto llegarian a su Ysla: En compania del Segundo Piloto, que era de los mas ynstruidos en el Ydioma Yndio, le hice ver a* Teyumotu *lo mal ynformado que estaba de esta Nacion, pues el caracter Espanol era de favorecer a toda especie de hombre, y bian mui lexos de quitar los vienes de otros que havia llegado en este pequeno Buque a la Ysla solamente por tratarlos, y Regalarlos, sin tener necesidad de sus Puercos, cuio destino traian solamente las Envarcaciones Mercantiles Ynglesa que de la tierra que sali que es del Ery grande de Espana, aaque todo bastimento y tenia en ser, por ser mui cerca de su Ysla que con solo una luna*

*se podia venir a verlos: En esta conversacion pasamos partte de la noche hasta que se fue a descansar, y vencimos el resto de ella con toda felicidad.*[115]

Translation

After I arrived on board I found waiting for me a respectable old uncle of *Amejameja* [Kamehameha], named *Terimotu* [Ke‘eaumoku]. He had alongside of the sloop his great double-hulled canoe, similar to those I have mentioned. After he saw me, he gave me his hand and greeted me with the word *aloha*, which I have said means friend and is used at first sight and when departing. He presented me with a letter in the English language, which was translated by our second master, John Kendrick of Boston. It read

> From the Gustavus III[116]
> John Henry *Cos* [Cox] anchored in *Kara-Kacoa* [Kealakekua] Bay on the island of *Guaju* [Hawai'i] on the 21st of September. I sailed on the 24th for the coast of America, at which time I left with this man *Tayana* [Ka‘iana] (who accompanied Captain Meares to China and returned to this place). I recommend him to the courtesy and kindness of all the commanders of any vessel that arrive to this place because he is a leader of first importance in this island, and in whom one can put the greatest confidence.

The aforementioned Indian, after I had read the letter, requested that it be returned to him, but I made him see that it was necessary for me to keep it, that I would give him another, better recommendation so that the all captains of the vessels that touched the islands would receive him and treat him kindly.[117] Having presented him with two axes, two hatchets, and one

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[115] Quimper, *Journal,* 14-16.
[116] *Gustavus III* was also called the *Mercury,* see Judd, *Voyages*, 3-4.
[117] Minson, *Journal of Manuel Quimper,* 40. He translates *agardjasen* as "treat kindly."

> machete, and I testify he was satisfied since he begged me to sleep on board, which indeed took place. Having convinced him to tell me about Captain *Dublas* [Douglas] and Captain *Medcharf* [Metcalf] on how they had informed all of the *ali'i* of the island that the Spanish were a bad nation of thieves and men of bad faith, and that they should guard against them because they took all of the vessels they saw, and that very soon the Spanish would be coming to his island, in the company of the second master, who had better knowledge of the Indian language, I made *Terimotu* [Ke'eaumoku] see that he was poorly informed and that the Spanish nation and the Spanish character was to protect all kinds of men, and they were far from taking what was another's. And that I had arrived on this small boat only to meet them and give gifts, without any need for his hogs, which were the only reason for the arrival of the English merchant vessels. And that I had all of my provisions from the land from which I departed, which belonged to the great King of Spain, and that his land was very close to his island, for in one month's time he could arrive to see it. With this conversation we happily spent the night until he fell asleep.[118]

Commentary

When Quimper returned to the *Princess Royal* around 5 p.m. on March 28th, Ke'eaumoku was waiting for him in a double-hulled canoe Ke'eaumoku was a renowned warrior and the father of Kamehameha's wife, Ka'ahumanu. Ke'eaumoku killed two of Kamehameha's rivals, Kīwala'ō and Keōua, which enabled Kamehameha to become the *ali'i nui*, high chief, of Hawai'i Island. Ke'eaumoku boarded the *Princess Royal* and extended his hand to shake

[118] Quimper, *Journal,* 14-16.

Quimper's, a greeting that Kamehameha refused earlier that same day. Keʻeaumoku, however, was probably not subject to the same *kapu* as Kamehameha.

Keʻeaumoku presented Quimper with a letter of recommendation written by British Captain John Henry Cox. This is a significant event for two reasons. First, it is interesting that Keʻeaumoku possessed this letter, but also seemed to understand its value to foreigners. Second, it is important to note that most, if not all Hawaiians, were illiterate at this time, yet Keʻeaumoku understood the contents the letter enough to share it with Quimper as a mechanism to initiate a friendship.

Although Keʻeaumoku posessed the letter, Cox may have written the letter for Kaʻiana. Keʻeaumokuʻs name was not stated in the letter. Colnett's journal reveals more evidence pointing to the probability that the letter was not intended to recommend Keʻeaumoku, but instead Kaʻiana.

> I weigh'd in the Evening being apprehensive the Spaniards might Get to Atooi [Kaua'i] before me, at which place I expected letters, and if they got them would keep them or destroy them, and leave any paper they chose in lieu. This action in some degree I was privy to, and by accident got sight of a paper in the Possession of Mr. Quimper, that he had taken from a Native of Owyhee, name Tiana, and Left by the Commander of the Ship called the Gustavus.[119]

The letter referenced by Colnett is most likely the same letter that Keʻeaumoku presented to Quimper. The letter was written by Cox, commander of the *Gustavus,* which anchored in the islands in September 1789. Colnett wrote that Quimper had taken the letter and that it was addressed to Kaʻiana. I posit that Keʻeaumoku had obtained the letter and unknowingly (Keʻeaumoku could probably not read) misrepresented himself by giving it to Quimper.

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[119] Colnett, *Journal*, 221.

After thirteen years of interacting with various foreigners Keʻeaumoku had learned that negotiations and trade were more easily conducted when foreigners were provided written proof of his positive characteristics. Letters might have allowed Hawaiian chiefs who had them more advantages in trade because foreign captains could rely on each other to provide trustworthy information about chiefs.

Quimper told Keʻeaumoku that he would have to keep the letter and promised to write him another, "better" letter, but Quimper's motives for doing this are questionable. Unlike the drawing of the frigate Quimper gave to Kamehameha, Keʻeaumoku's letter did not share details about a specific foreign technology like ship building. Thus, Quimper must have had other motives for keeping the letter.

For instance, it is possible that recommendation letters asserted a counrty's claim, however large or small, to the Hawaiian archipelago. If Hawaiians shared letters written by a British captain it would indicate to other captains, such as the Spanish, that the British had a place or some degree of colonial claim in Hawaiʻi. Perhaps Quimper kept the letter in the attempt to curb Hawaiians' relationship with the British and carve a potential space for Spain. Sincere attempts by Quimper to impress Hawaiian chiefs are found in the next entry when Quimper intentionally greeted Kaʻiana with great kindness so that the chief would not be surprised by the hospitality of the British, although Kaʻiana had previously spent over a year with British captains such as Meares. Quimper's overtly kind greeting and desire for Hawaiians to share recommendation letters written by Spanish commanders illustrates Quimper's concern about Spain's position in Hawaiʻi. By providing Hawaiians with recommendation letters Quimper not only heighten Hawaiians' awareness of Spain, but hinted at a possible and immediate Spanish presence in Hawaiʻi to British captains.

Quimper permited Keʻeaumoku to sleep on board and defended Spain's reputation when Keʻeaumoku confirmed his suspicion that British captains Douglas (1789) and Metcalf (1790) warned Hawaiians to avoid any dealings with the Spanish. According to Ke'eaumoku the British captains said that Spain was a nation of thieves, not to be trusted, and accustomed to stealing vessels. Similar warnings are found in Colnett's journal when he impressed upon unidentified Hawaiian chiefs that the Spanish were coming to their islands to make them slaves.[120]

Quimper relied on the second master, John Kendrick, to translate his reasons why Keʻeaumoku should trust the Spanish. Ignoring the fact that Spain had conquered the largest geographic area in the world by the eighteenth century, Quimper told Keʻeaumoku that the Spanish nation protected men. He explained that Spain did not take another's property; this was a false claim. Not only did Spain claim land, but seized valuable resources like Mexican silver. Spain also participated in the tradition of capturing their enemies' vessels. In fact, Keʻeaumoku was sleeping on a British vessel, captured by Spain two years before. Quimper then told Keʻeaumoku that he had only sailed to the archipelago to trade and bring gifts, but according to Colnett's journal, Quimper was sent to "discover the properest (most proper) place to make a settlement [*sic*]."[121] Finally, Quimper told Keʻeaumoku that he had received all of his provisions from the land belonging to the Spanish King, Mexico, but in fact Quimper had received many provisions, such as food, water, and wood, from the Hawaiians. As evidenced by his actions, Quimper was acting as a loyal subject to Spain by attempting to debunk the negative claims made by the British. His efforts seemed to be in vain however,

[120] Ibid., 220.
[121] Ibid., 218.

because when Colnett and Quimper met during the following days most all of the Hawaiians, except for Keli‘imaika‘i, sided with Colnett. They stayed beside the *Argonaut* and promised alliance to the British.

Interim

The following day, March 29th, Kamehameha and chief *Namareja* [Nāmakehā] visited the *Princess Royal*. Quimper recorded that a *kapu* prohibited the first master from going into the mountains. Chief Ka‘iana visited Quimper and presented him with a recommendation letter by British captain John Kendrick of the *Lady Washington*. Quimper kept this letter and gave him another he wrote in return. Quimper attempted to sail to Maui, but anchored at Kailua due to poor weather. Keli‘imaika‘i, Kamehameha's younger brother, greeted Quimper and presented him with two mats and a feather work item.[122] On April 2nd, Quimper learned that Colnett was anchored to the south. Throughout the day the captains exchanged letters and Colnett took Quimper's second master, John Kendrick of Boston, prisoner. Colnett and Quimper made preparations in case of a conflict. Keli‘imaika‘i demonstrated his loyalty to Quimper by refusing to the leave the *Princess Royal*. Quimper took the longboat to visit Colnett and they decided not to engage in conflict and honor the original agreement to turn over the *Princess Royal* in Macao.

*Tuyana* [Ka‘iana] Imposes a *Kapu*

Sunday, April 3rd, 1791

*Este dia se matubieron las Canoas de Yndios al costado del Argenot, por haverles ympuesto el Ery* tuyana *tabu, prohivision de comerijo, o auxilio a la*

[122] Minson, *Journal of Manuel Quimper*, 47, footnote 88. The items may have been a *kahili* or *lei.*

*Balandra: El antecedente dia havia prometido el mendionado Ery mi caveza al Capitan Colnet en caso de convate, y saviendo havia llegado a mi noticia su ynformacion por aviso que me dio el Hermano menor de Amejameja nombrado* Teugi*, se retire e ympuso a todos los demas el tabu.*[123]

Translation

This day the canoes remained at the side of the *Argonaut*, as chief *Tuyana* [Kaiana] had imposed a *tabu* [*kapu*], prohibiting trade or assistance to the sloop. The previous day the chief had promised my head to Captain *Colnet* [Colnett] in case of combat. Having learned that said information had reached me through the younger brother of *Amejameja* [Kamehameha], [*Teugi*] Keliʻimaikaʻi, he withdrew his canoes and imposed a *kapu* on all of the rest of the canoes.[124]

Commentary

This was the first day since Quimper's arrival that he mentioned a *kapu* which prohibited canoes from trading. On April 2nd, one day before, Colnett wrote that the *kapu morea* prohibited trade, but not canoes from entering the water.[125] Colnett did not organize his entries as clearly as Quimper so it is possible that Quimper and Colnett witnessed the same *kapu*, but recorded it to have happened on different dates.

Quimper's record indicates that two *kapu* were implemented. The first restricted trade and the second was implemented after Quimper learned about Kaʻiana's alliance with Colnett. Quimper's date, April 3rd, correlates to the *Kapu Kāne* day during the *Luakini*

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[123] Quimper, *Journal,* 28.
[124] Minson, *Hawaiian Journal of Manuel Quimper,* 47 translates *Teugi* as Keliʻimaikaʻi.
[125] The *kapu morea* may have been the *kapu pule*. Colnett, *Journal*, 221, footnote.

season. It is possible that on this day canoes were prohibited from trading with foreign vessels, but not prohibited from entering the water. David Malo writes that during the *Kapu Kāne* period priests worked to purify the land by slathering wooden pig images with *alaea*, red coloring.[126] The *kapu* about which Quimper writes may have been implemented because it was the *Kapu Kāne* day, or because Ka‘iana was concerned about protecting his alliances and relationship with Quimper.

A *kapu* that prohibited canoes from approaching Quimper's vessel would restrict the crew's knowledge of exchanges and alliances made between the Hawaiians and British. The *kapu* restricted communication and protected the chief and his relationships with foreigners. A similar example is found in Colnett's journal when he inquired about the source of otter skins that he purchased from Hawaiian chiefs. Colnett suspected the otter skins came from the *Fair American*, but Hawaiians refused to affirm his suspicions. He writes "They took every method to prevent our knowing of it for a Certainty, by a curious kind of Taboo laid on [*sic*]..."[127] Foreign accounts of *kapu* point to the notion that chiefs implemented *kapu*, which were not related to a traditional *kapu* day, in order to protect themselves, relationships, and political status, among other things.

Interim

Quimper ordered the second master, John Kendrick, to go to shore in the longboat to obtain firewood. Upon his return he told Quimper about the terrain and houses.

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[126] Malo, *Mo‘olelo*, 37:24.
[127] Colnett, *Journal,* 222.

Quimper Investigates the Source of Pacific Northwest Otter Skins

Monday, April 4th, 1791

*Estte dia por darme sattisdaccion de Ery* tyana *suspendio el tabu, y suplico al segundo piloto me dixese era mi amigo, y que jamas penso enconttrarme la garganta como me havian ynformado, y que de temor no venia a verme, y havia dexado de obsequiarme con cinquenta puercos que tenia listos para el tiempo de mi parttida.*

*Entre las muchas Canoas que han estado al costado de la Balandra, vino con la suia doble el Ery* tamenaba*, el que me havia promettido desde el otro fondeadero un sombrero cubierto de plumas, pero mudo de dictamen luego que llego el Paquebor, que lo regalo al Capitan Colnet, y contemplando estaria Yo disgustado por el engano, me presento quatro cueros de Nutria, quedando en su poder todavia cerca de veinte, lo que me admiro y pregunte de donde havia sacado eses Capas de Nuca, que asi las nombraba el, a lo que me conttexto que se las havia regalado el Capitan Yngles Dublas (aquien ellos llamen tane) no satisfecho con la respuesta, haciendome el cargo que estiman demasiado los Yngleses estas pieles para haverlas obsequiado en mun. cecido a este Ery, a pure la difficultad, haciendoloe nuevas preguntas, pero el con desagrado me decia no me enttendia, y se fue ynmendiatamente.*

*Tambien note enttre los demas Eries tenian Nutrias, por haverme regalado otras tres pieles a ymitacion de tamenaba, lo que me hizo entrar en recelo de que estos Yndios havvia tomado la Goleta Americana Ynglesa que salio de San Blas con destino a estas Yslas por ser un Buque mui chico, y ser*

*solament el numero de cinco hombres su tripulacion, y por que haviendo solicitado repetidas veces a Amejameja, y demas Eries si havia tocado en la Ysla respondian con desagrado que no, y siempre mudaban de conversacion, y al mismo tiempo haver tenido noticia por los Yndios de la partte de N. de la Ysla havien en ella dos Yngleses, llamdo el Uno Arojana, y el otro Aitate, lo que nego Amejameja quando le pregunte por ellos, diciendome se havian ydo a Macao; pero no onstante todas estas reflexiones, suspendi el jucio, y dexe en duda mi dictamen, pues aunque procure averiguar el hecho todo este dia, jamas saque de hombres, Ninos, y Mugeres a quienes examine, obsequiandolos, y prometiendoles muchas dadibas si me confesaban la verdad, diciendo de donde eran cogidas las capas de Nuca.*[128]

Translation

On this day, to satisfy me, *ali'i Tyana* [Ka'iana] suspended the *tabu* [*kapu*] to my satisfaction. He begged the second master to tell me that he was my friend and that he never intended to cut my throat as I had been informed and fearing me he did not come to see me and left orders for me to be presented with fifty hogs that he had ready before my departure.

Amoung the multitude of canoes that had come alongside the sloop, *ali'i Tamenaba* [Kamanawa] arrived with his double-hulled canoe, the same *ali'i* that had promised me a hat covered in feathers, but he changed his mind after the arrival of the [British] packet and he gave it to Captain *Colnet* [Colnett]. And thinking that I would be displeased by the deception he

[128] Quimper, *Journal,* 29-30.

presented me with four otter skins, leaving him with around twenty in his possession, which surprised me and I asked where he had received these "Capes of Nookta," which is the name he used, to which he replied that they were a gift from the English captain *Dublas* [Douglas] (who they call *Tane*). I was not satisfied with the reply, knowing that the English value these skins too highly to give so many of them to this *ali'i*. I made haste, asking him new questions, but he, with displeasure, told me he did not understand me, and left immediately.

I also noticed that other *ali'i* had otter skins, because they gave me three skins in imitation of *Tamenaba* [Kamanawa]. This made me suspect that the Hawaiians had taken the *American Inglesa* [English-American] schooner that had left from San Blas for these islands as it was a very small boat and had a crew of only five men. And having requested repeatidly from *Amejameja* [Kamehameha] and the other chiefs of the island if the schooner had reached the island, they answered no with displeasure and would change the conversation. At the same time I received news from the Indians on the north part of the island that there were two Englishmen, one named *Olohana* [John Young] and the other *Aitate* [Isaac Davis].[129] *Amejameja* [Kamehameha], when I questioned him, told me they left for Macao. In spite of these reflections, I withheld judgement and left the matter unresolved. Although I tried to ascertain this information all that day, none of the men,

[129] Minson, *Hawaiian Journal of Manuel Quimper*, 61. Identifies *Aitate* as Isaac Davis and *Olohana* as John Young.

children, or women that I questioned would tell me, even after promising them many gifts if they confessed the truth and told me where they obtained the Capes of Nookta.

Commentary

Before Quimper was given valuable otter skins, Kaʻiana suspended the *kapu* that was implemented the previous day. Kaʻiana promised fifty pigs for Quimper before his departure in order to mend their friendship. Kamanawa had promised Quimper a feather helmet, but gave it to Colnett instead. But like Kaʻiana, Kamanawa atoned for going back on his promise and presented Quimper with four Pacific Northwest otter skins. Otter skins were valuable goods, which fetched high prices in Asia. Quimper, like Colnett, was interested in the source of the otter skins.

Quimper claimed to have known that Kamanawa possessed twenty otter skins and questioned the chief about the way in which he acquired them. Kamanawa told Quimper that the otter skins came from Captain Douglas, but Quimper highly doubted that the British captain would have given the chief so many "Capes of Nookta." Quimper, like Colnett, suspected that the Hawaiians had taken them from the *Fair American*, a small schooner that was attacked by Hawaiians prior to Quimper's visit.

Despite Quimper's consistent curiosity, questions, and temptations that he offered commoners, they refused to confirm Quimper's suspicions regarding the source of the otter skins and the fate of the *Fair American*. Quimper received one concession from Hawaiians residing on the northern part of the island. They told him that ʻ*Olohana* and *Aitate*, the Hawaiian names for John Young and Isaac Davis, lived on the island. Davis was the only crew member of the *Fair American* to survive the attack and Young was detained by the

Hawaiians the same day so that news of the attack would not be known by foreign vessels. Most likely the commoners knew of the fate of the *Fair American*, but chiefs had prohibited them from discussing it with foreigners. Hawaiian chiefs would have been very concerned about protecting the vessel and the weapons they had acquired, along with their reputation. Additionally, Kamehameha had acquired Young and Davis as valuable military advisors. Commoners' refusal to inform Quimper about the otter skins and the fate of the *Fair American* indicates that they continued to obey *kapu*. It was their chiefs who adapted *kapu* in order to generate better trade.

Interim

On April 5th Quimper's crew member, Martin Mariano, deserted the *Princess Royal*. Quimper suspected that Mariano was on Colnett's vessel, but Colnett denied it. The next day a chief named *Taruney* visited Quimper. *Taruney* told Quimper that the other chiefs, such as Kamehameha, stayed alongside the British packet because they were informed about Spain's poor reputation. Quimper set sail for west Maui on April 7th, where Hawaiians urged him to anchor. Quimper did not anchor, but continued to trade. On the 9th Quimper sailed to O‘ahu and anchored on the island's southeast shore.

Quimper Meets Manono and Learns the Fate of the *Fair American*

Monday, April 11th and Tuesday, April 12th

*Pudo al medio dia al ancla con el tiemp claro, viento fresco, y mar gruesa de el. Esperando una cayadita para poder levantar medroso de perder el ancla A las 4 ½ de la tarde vino en una gran Canoa doble un Yndio tauna, o Capitan, anunciandome venia su Ery a verme, como en efecto se verifico a la 5 de la tarde que attraco a bordo en una gran Canoa pareada, con otras muchas*

*Sencillas que le acompanaban; Luego que subio a bordo el Ery que se nombraba Manono me presento un Penacho, y Esclavina de plumas de diferentes colores, quatro Petates pintados, unas mantas de corteza de arbol bien pintadas seis grandes puercos, una canoa cargada de todos sus frutos, y un canitito de cana con algunas perlas chicas, y preguntando le si eran todas las que se pescaban en las Yslas como las que me presentaba, me contexto que las havias grandes, pero todas las que tenian acopiadas se las havia llevado su Padre el Ery de Mogui nombrado tettiri, que pocos dias antes de mi llegada se havia rettirado a su Ysla de Mogui, en compania de los dos Yngleses que estan con el, los que recogen las Perlas, y que los malos tiempos no havian permitido que sus subitos entrasen a la pesca.*

*Tambien me noticio como el Ery de la Ysla de Guagi Amejameja havia apresado una Envarcacion chica de Espana (por decir Espana dicen Paniani) y que de los cinco hombres que traia, havian muerto con las lanzas tres de ellos, yncluso el Capitan, y que los dos restantes los tenian prisioneros y que la Envarcacion la tenian en una ensenada y que con ella havian ydo a Guerra a la Ysla de Mogui con su Padre tetiri, y que en la Refriega havia sacado una lanzada en una pierna el Ery de la Ysla de Atuy nombrado taeo auxiliar de su Padre que havia recivido la herida de mano del Ery tayana recelos sobre haver tomado los Yndios de la Ysla de Guaji la Golerra* (goleta) *Ynglesa que salio de San Blas para estas Yslas, y Macao, y si los Yndios la tienen por de Espana por la noticia que habran adquirido de los dos Prisioneros que tienen de haver salido de Fuertto de Espana.*

*El Ery Manono es de estatura corpulenta, grueso de buena fisonomia y bella yndole cuyas circunstancias me huvieran hecho reconocer el terreno de su Ysla, si el tiempo me lo huviera permitido, lo obsequie en los mismos terminos que a los de su clase, pero te cononiendo no le acomodaban las hachas, y hazuelas, y havia adquirido de este buen hombre las noticias que llevo expuestas, le di una pistola de las mas ynutiles que tenia a peticion suia.*

Translation

I dropped the anchor at mid-day and with clear weather, fresh wind, and rough seas. I waited for the weather to calm so that I could raise the anchor without fear that I would lose it. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon a *tauna* [*kahuna*], or captain in a great double-hulled canoe arrived, announcing to me that his *ali'i* was coming to see me as indeed happended at 5 o'clock in the afternoon when he came alongside in a large double canoe with many other single canoes accompanying him. After the *ali'i*, named *Manono* [Manono], came aboard he presented me with a plume and cape of different colored feathers, four painted mats and some cloth made of bark, nicely painted, six large hogs, a grand canoe full of all their fruits, and a little tube made of cane with some small pearls in it. I asked him if all of the pearls, like those he had given me, had been collected in the islands. He answered that there were large ones that had all been gathered and his father, who is the *ali'i* of *Mogui* [Maui] named *Tetiri* [Kahekili], had taken them with him. A few days before my arrival he [Kahekili] returned to his island of *Mogui* [Maui] with two Englishmen, who

were the ones who collected the pearls, and that the bad weather had not permitted them to continue to fish for the pearls.

He also told me that the chief of the island of *Guaji* [Hawai'i], *Amejameja* [Kamehameha], had seized a small Spanish vessel (to say Spain they say *Panipani* ) and that of the five men on it, three had been killed with lances, including the captain and that the remaining two were taken prisoner. He added that they kept the vessel in a bay and with it went to war against his father, *Tetiri* [Kahekili], on *Mogui* [Maui]. During the battle the chief of *Atuy* [Kauaʻi], *Taeo* [Kāʻeoʻ, received a lance in the leg. He was helping his father and received the wound at the hands of the *aliʻi Tayana* [Kaʻiana]. There were suspicions about the Indians of Hawai'i Island having taken the English schooner that departed from San Blas for these islands and Macao. To the Indians the vessel would have been Spanish because it sailed from a Spanish port because they had recieved that information from the prisoners that had been captured.

The chief Manono is of corpulent stature, thick, of good physical features and good nature, whose circumstances would have made me reconnoiter the terrain of his island, if time would have permitted. I presented him gifts in the same terms of his class, but he was not content with the usual axes and hatchets, and having acquired such news as I have related from this good man, by his request I gave him one of the more useless pistols that we had.

Commentary

Anchored off Maunalua Bay on O‘ahu Quimper received information from Kahekili's son, Manono, about the fate of the *Fair American*. Manono arrived to meet Quimper and presented him with a plume of feathers and a feather cape. The plume of feathers may have been a *kahili*, a tall staff with feathers on one end, which was carried by a chief's attendant. Malo writes, "The *kahili* was another item that served to glorify the *ali‘i*. It was a thing that marked them out. Wherever the *ali‘i* went, there also went the *kahili* bearer; ... if the *ali‘i* slept, his sleep would be fanned with the *kahili*. The *kahili* was considered a valuable possession associated with the *ali‘i*."[130]

Quimper did not write as enthusiastically about the beauty or presentation of Manono's gifts as he did with Kamehameha’s gifts. Manono's gifts were plentiful, however. In addition to the feather work items, Manono brought Quimper mats, painted bark cloth, hogs, a canoe full of fruits, and a tube of small pearls. Gift-giving was a common hospitality practice throughout the archipelago, but Manono's gifts, like Kamehameha's, may be considered extravagant. It seems that they were also given to entice Quimper to provide chiefs with valuable goods, such as firearms.

Rivalry between chiefs of different islands influenced the manner in which they received and treated foreigners. For instance, a pattern is seen to emerge in Quimper's journal: the more generous a chief's gift-giving and willingness to provide Quimper with information, the more inclined Quimper was to give him firearms. Firearms provided chiefs advantages over their opponents in battle. Historians such as Abraham Fornander and Stephen Desha attribute a great portion of Kamehameha's victory at the Battle of the Red

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[130] Malo, *Mo‘olelo,* 69.

Mouth Cannon to his possession of the *Fair American* and his military advisors Young and Davis.[131] With the end result of obtaining firearms in mind, Hawaiian chiefs presented Quimper with valuable gifts, which were traditionally only reserved for chiefs. The valuable gifts that chiefs presented Quimper indicated that they liked him, but also were given with an eye to the gifts they could get in return.

Manono, unlike the Hawai‘i Island chiefs and commoners, readily told Quimper the story of the fate of the *Fair American*, along with the events that occurred at the Battle of the Red Mouth Cannon. Manono confirmed Quimper's suspicions that the *Fair American* was seized by Hawai‘i island chiefs. Quimper writes that Kamehameha attacked the vessel, but it was actually his warrior, Kame‘eiamoku, who sought revenge on foreigners after he was whipped on the back with a rope. Manono told Quimper that two of the five crewmembers survived, but all other historical accounts record Isaac Davis as the only survivor. That same day, John Young, a crew member aboard the *Elenora,* was purposefully detained by Kamehameha while on shore because the chiefs were concerned that news of the attack might have ignited another conflict.

Manono told Quimper that Kamehameha also used the *Fair American* in a battle against his father, Kahekili, and uncle, Kā‘eo. He informed Quimper that Kamehameha sailed to Maui to attack his relatives, but in fact it was Kahekili and Kā‘eo who sailed from Hana, Maui to Waipi‘o, Hawai‘i to attack Kamehameha. Abraham Fornander gives a good account of this battle, which he believed to have occurred in early spring 1791.

> His [Kamehameha] preparations to repel the invasion were not long in being perfected. Collecting a large fleet of double canoes, many of which were filled

[131] Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 243-44; and Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior,* 299-301.

> with small cannon obtained from traders, and with the sloop which *Kameeiamoku* had captured from the ship "Elenora" the preceeding year, he started from Waipio, placing John Young and Isaac Davis in command of his artillery.[132] Not far from Waipio, near the Pali Hulaana of Waimanu, the hostile fleets met, and the first naval battle was fought in Hawaiian waters in which modern gunnery formed a conspicusous element of strength on both sides. No particular of this battle have been handed down; no chief of any prominence lost his life in this engagement. It is said, however, to have been sanguinary, and many lives and not a few canoes on either side were lost of whom Hawaiian fame had made no note; but the artillery of *Kamehameha* seems to have been too heavy or too well served for his foes, as he remained master of the situation; and *Kahekili* and *Kaeokulani* returned to Hana in Maui with their shattered fleet, and with no farther thoughts of invading Hawaii, fortunate if they might be able to defend Maui from the retaliatory invasion by *Kamehameha*, which they certainly expected, and which they are known to have strained all their resources to frustrate.
>
> This sea-fight off Waipio is remembered by the natives under the name of "*Ke-pu-waha-ula-ula"* and also of "*Kawai."* It occurred in 1791, before the death of *Keoua Kuahuula.*[133]

Manono's account, as Quimper recorded it, was not exactly aligned with other historians, but the discrepancies may be attributed to misunderstandings because Quimper had little knowledge of the Hawaiian language. For example, Manono mentioned that his uncle, Kā‘eo, chief of Kaua‘i, received a lance in the leg by Ka‘iana, but I have found no other reference to this injury. Additionally, Manono told Quimper that Kamehameha attacked Maui, but he may have said this so that Quimper would sympathize with the leeward chiefs and not Kamehameha. Foreign alliances provided chiefs advantages and a potential future victory over Kamehameha would have been motivation for Manono's story.

Quimper agreed to give Manono a firearm after the chief was not content with iron weapons. Quimper also admitted that he wanted to show his appreciation for Manono's information about the fate of the *Fair American*. He also recorded Manono to have an overall

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[132] This sloop is the *Fair American.*
[133] Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, 243-44.

good disposition towards him. Both Quimper and Manono obtained the information and goods they individually desired, even though Quimper may have misunderstood some of Manono's story. It is possible, however, that Quimper's entry may reveal a few unknown details about the injuries that occurred at the Battle of the Red Mouth Cannon.

Interim

Quimper departed Oʻahu and sailed to Kauaʻi. He permitted an unidentified Hawaiian named *Oiqueroa,* to sail with them. Quimper again sought the same anchorage as Captain Cook, and eventually anchored on the southwest side of Kauaʻi, where he could see Lehua Island and Niʻihau.

Quimper's First Master Meets *Tamuery* [Kaumualiʻi]

Thursday, April 14th, 1791

*A las 3 de la tarde mande la lancha con el primero Piloto Don Estevan Mondofia a Reconocer el desenvarcadero, Rio, y terreno. A las 4 vino uno de los principales Eries nombrado* trajuitotoa*, o* trautotoa*, y su hijo nombrado* traguiri*, el que me presento quarto Manttas de Cortteza de arbol, dos perrattes, y quatro Puercos, haciendome mucha ynstancia para que bajase a tierra a ver el principal Ery llamado* Tamuery*, por no poder este venir a bordo a verme, por ser muchacho de 9 a 10 anos, Este Joven es Cunado del Ery taeo principal de esta Ysla, a el que por haver ydi a la Ysla de Mogui a unirse con el Ery de ella para hacerle guerra a Amejameja Ery de Guaji, lo han repudiado sus Capitanes, dandole el govierno a su Cunado* Tamu-ery*, con el pretexto de haverse detenido mucho tiempo fuera de su jurisdiccion, y segun noticia de los Eries de la Ysla de Guaji, taeo no era legitimo Ery de*

*Atuay, sino tirano, por haverse levantado con el mando, quitando la vida al verdadero Senor de ella, y en la Ocasion es desposeido de los mismos Capitanes que le favorecieron en su revelion.*

*Al mencionado Trautotoa, y su hijo regale en los mismos terminos que a los demas de su clase de las antecedentes Yslas.*

*A las 5 de la tarde se rettiro a su rancheria, y regreso la Lancha con el Primero Piloto, el que me dio parte haver desenvarcado en una Canoa por que la mucha Mar no permitio que la Lancha atracase a la playa; que fue perfectamente recivida del Joven Ery, que lo condujo a su casa, en donde lo obsequio con un puerquito mui bien asado, y sandias exquisitas, y despues a su peticion lo llevo a pasear, y reconocer el Rio, cuias Riveras estan sembradas con Canas dulces, baros, Sandias y otras Raices, todo en buen Orden, dexando veredas enttre los sembrados para transitar la tierra sin danar estos la que se extiende llana por la quebrada que forma el Rio como 1 1/2 milla, que la boca del Rio tiene su barra, y las aguas con salobres por la comunicacion con las saladas, pero ynternado como una cable adenttro es la agua cristalina, y delicada; que tiene de produndidad el Rio de la barra para adrenttro como dos brazo que la mucha mar no le permitio sondar en ella, y que todo el tiempo que le acompano el Ery no le yncomodo la multiptud de Yndios por haver mandado este se pusieron unos palitos clavados en tierra por todos el sitio donde cruzaban, de los quales no podia pasar la multitud sin riesgo de sus vidas, o ser castigados por ser tabu, que prohivision ympuesta por el Ery y que ciegamente observan los Yndios por temor de sus Leyes. (...)*

*Y que tenian a una lado del Rios Salinas, formadas las posas sobre las piedras, mui bien hechas y qunoto en todos los Yndios grande gozo, manifestando ser de la mejor yndole.*[134]

Translation

At 3 o'clock in the afternoon I ordered the longboat with first pilot, Don Estevan Mondofia, to examine the landing place, the river, and the terrain. At 4 o'clock came one of the principal *ali'i* of the island named *Trajuitotoa* or *Trautotoa*.[135] His son was named *Traguiri*. He presented me with four cloths of bark, two mats, and four hogs, insisting I go to land to see the principal *ali'i* named *Tamuery* [Kaumuali'i], for he could not come on board to see me because he was only nine or ten years old. This youth is the brother-in-law of the *ali'i*, *Taeo* [Kā'eo], the principal *ali'i* of this island. *Taeo* [Kā'eo] had left for the island of Maui to unite with the *ali'i* there [Kahekili] in order to make war on *Amejameja* [Kamehameha], the *ali'i* of *Guaji* [Hawai'i], for which action his captains had condemned him. He gave the government to *Tamuery* [Kaumuali'i] with the pretext that he was gone from his jurisdiction for a long time. According to news from the *ali'i* of the island of Hawai'i, *Taeo* [Kā'eo] was not the legitimate chief of *Atuay* [Kaua'i], but a tyrant, having rose to power by killing the true ruler of the island, and currently was renounced by the same captains who favored him in his rebellion.

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[134] Quimper, *Journal*, 43-45.
[135] Minson, *Journal of Manuel Quimper,* 82. Minson identifies the chief as Nākaikua'ana.

I gave gifts to *Trautotoa* and his son in the same terms as the rest of their class on the previous islands. At 5 o'clock in the afternoon he went back to his village, and the first master returned with the longboat who told me that he disembarked in a canoe because the large seas did not permit the longboat to approach the beach. He was perfectly received by the young *ali'i*, who led him to his house, where he presented him with a little pork well cooked, and exquisite watermelons. A little later he [Kaumuali'i] asked him to take a walk and reconnoiter the river, which banks were planted with sugar cane, taro, watermelon and other roots, all in good order. In order to walk in the fields without hurting they plants they made paths in between the plants. The fields extended for about a mile and a half in the ravine, which the river formed. The mouth of the river had a sand bar and the waters were brackish due to the contact with salt water, but further inland, about one cable, there was clear and delicious water.[136] Behind the sandbar the river is about two *brazos* deep, but the sea conditions did not allow us to perform a sounding.[137] The whole time that he accompanied the chief, the multitude of Indians were not annoying because he ordered that little sticks be driven into the ground for all the sites that they crossed. These sticks prohibited the multitude of people from enter the area without risking their lives or being severely punished by the tabu, which is a prohibition imposed by the chief that the commoners observe blindly for fear of his laws. (...) And next to the river they have salt pans

[136] One cable is about 500 feet.
[137] A *brazo* is the length from finger-tip to finger-tip when a person's arms are extended nintey degrees.

formed on rocks, well made. He noted a great joy in the Indians, showing them to be of the kindest nature.

Commentary

Quimper was anchored near the mouth of the Waimea River, which is on the southwest shore of Kauaʻi. Soon after anchoring *Trajuitotoa* or *Trautotoa*, Kaumualiʻi's guardian, arrived at the *Princess Royal*. He gave Quimper bark cloths, mats, and hogs. *Trajuitotoa* wanted Quimper to go to shore to meet Kaumualiʻi, a high chief, who was about nine or ten years old. Quimper writes that Kaumualiʻi was restricted from going abroad due to his young age, but it might have been due to his *kapu* as well.

Kaumualiʻi had the *kapu moe*, which would have prohibited him from going abroad during the day, unless his attendant carried a flag and announced his *kapu*. This *kapu* also required commoners and chiefs, except chiefs with the *kapu noho* or *kapu wohi*, to prostrate themselves.[138] Stephen Desha writes, "When Kaumualiʻi boarded his double canoe, his *kapu* emblems, which were the *kapu kahili* of Kaʻulaniʻau *mā*, were all set up. His *makaʻāinana* [common people] prostrated themselves as he went down to board his double canoe."[139] Thus, it is highly likely that Kaumualiʻi's *kapu* restricted him from traveling to Quimper's vessel along with his young age.

While on Kauaʻi Quimper continued to observe the political situation which he had paid close attention to since his arrival to the archipelago. When Kāʻeo, the chief of Kauaʻi, departed to unite with Kahekili on Maui, he delegated rule to his son, Kaumualiʻi.[140]

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[138] Malo, *Moʻolelo,* 18:32-33.
[139] Desha, *Kamehameha and His Warrior*, 436.
[140] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 48; and Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race,* 298.

Quimper recorded that Kā‘eo's own captains condemned him for leaving Kaua'i and that they considered him a tyrant because he came to power through rebellion. These were opinions that Quimper had learned from Hawai'i island chiefs, however, not Kaua‘i natives. Ralph Kuykendall recounts Kā‘eo's and Kaumuali‘i's rise to power.

> It will be remembered that in 1779 the boy chief Keawe was placed on the throne by his mother Kamakahelei and her newly acquired husband Kaeo. Shortly afterwards, probably in 1780, a son, Kaumualii, was born to Kaeo and Kamakahelei. Thereafter, it appears, Kaeo maneuvered to place Kaumualii on the throne of Kauai. Visitors to the islands from 1786 to 1791 speak of Kaeo as king of that island. Evidently he had displaced Keawe and was perhaps acting as regent for his son Kaumualii. About the beginning of 1791, Kaeo left Kauai to help his brother Kahekili and as matters turned out he did not return.[141]

Although Quimper's observations provide a glimpse of the political struggles throughout the archipelago, the details are not consistent with other historical accounts of the same event. Again, the inconsistencies can be attributed to Quimper's lack of understanding of the Hawaiian language.

When the first master, Estebán Mondofía, returned to the *Princess Royal* after he went ashore to examine the land, he told Quimper about his time spent with Kaumuali‘i. Kaumuali‘i greeted Mondofia and fed him a meal of cooked pork and watermelons at his home. Kaumuali‘i took Mondofía to examine the river and the cultivation along its banks. Mondofía noted that the farmers had organized the crops in rows and built walkways in between the rows. This design prevented any damage to the crops. Similar observations about the neat organization of the fields around Waimea River are found in Cook’s, King’s, and Vancouver's journals.

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[141] Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Kingdom,* 48, footnote 51a.

Mondofía informed Quimper that while examining the fields with Kaumualiʻi little sticks were driven into the ground to prohibit commoners from entering that area. These were *kapu* sticks that prohibited the people from passing into a restricted area.[142] In this section Quimper goes into more detail than he previously had in describing *kapu*. He noted that if a Hawaiian crossed into the area marked by *kapu* sticks, they risked the penalty of death. He goes on to say that Hawaiians observed *kapu* "blindly" because they feared the chief's laws. Quimper's observations about *kapu* were correct in one sense because it is prescribed behavior, and any actions contrary to that behavior warranted the penalty of death.

Mondofía told Quimper about shallow pools which were located along the river on rocks. The shallow pools were used to collect salt. Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa) cites Lieutenant King's description of salt pans near the ocean. King writes, "Their salt pans are made of earth, lined with clay; being generally six or eight feet square, and about eight inches deep. They are raised on a bank of stones near the high water mark, from whence the salt water is conducted to the foot of the necessary process of evaporation."[143] Natural salt pans existed, but King seems to be referring to man made depressions in the rock. Buck also confirms that Hawaiians had smaller salt pans made of rock located near their homes, which they used to dry salt.[144]

Mondofía told Quimper that he found the Kauaʻi people to be cheerful and good-natured. This observation is consistent with Quimper's descriptions of almost every Hawaiian he met. Quimper only encountered hostility on the island of Hawaiʻi with chief Kaʻiana. The rest of his entries, however, reflect a positive and respectful attitude towards Hawaiians.

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[142] Kamakau, *Ruling Chiefs,* 7; and Malo, *Moʻolelo*, 124.
[143] Cook, *Journal* vol. III, 151. Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts*, 72.
[144] Buck, *Arts and Crafts*, 72.

Quimper's Final Entries

Quimper concluded his journal with a description of the foods of Niʻihau and an exchange with a Niʻihau *kahuna.* The *kahuna* told Quimper of a ship wreck that occurred some years earlier and Quimper requested that he bring a piece of wood to him as evidence. Quimper was disappointed when the *kahuna* returned the following day with a piece of drift wood, which led Quimper to conclude that the *kahuna*'s claim was false. Quimper set sail on April 18th, 1791 for Macao, China.

## Conclusion

Throughout this thesis, I have shown that Hawaiian chiefs adapted traditional *kapu* after contact with foreigners in order to obtain foreign weapons, but also protect valuable information and themselves. Quimper witnessed and was subject to the new ways in which *kapu* was implemented. For instance, Kaʻiana prohibited canoes from approaching Quimper's vessel so that news of his alliance with the British would not be known to Quimper. Quimper respected the *kapu* because he was well aware of the importance of favorable exchanges if Spain desired a future settlement on the archipelago. With this end in mind, Quimper recorded observations about the political situation, which were not always accurate, and kept careful record of navigation and the availability of provisions. Quimper's journal gives insight into the complexities of Hawaiian life in 1791 and Quimper's own experience as a mariner in the archipelago.

Throughout Quimper's journal some of his cultural observations and navigation plans are seen to parallel those of Captain Cook's expedition, thirteen years earlier. Quimper seemed to have knowledge of Cook's anchorages and cultural observations, even though he did not speak English. For example, Quimper, like Lieutenant King, mistakenly recorded that

kava was reserved only for the *ali'i* and *kahuna*. He also attempted to anchor in the same locations as Cook, which may indicate that Quimper had a map of Cook's anchorages. Quimper, unlike Cook, was not considered by Hawaiians to be an incarnation of the god Lono, yet chiefs gave valuable gifts to Quimper with an eye to the military benefits Quimper could in turn provide them.

Hawaiian chiefs like Kamehameha and Manono skillfully dealt with Quimper, presenting him with valuable feather work items that were traditionally reserved for chiefs, large amounts of provisions, and previously undisclosed information about the fate of the *Fair American*.[145] They did this to entice the exchange of firearms. Quimper probably acted contrary to Spanish protocol by giving firearms to the Hawaiians. However, throughout his entire visit he only gave out three firearms and repaired a musket, which *Tautota* already possessed. Quimper did this for the purpose of establishing good relations with Hawaiians.

Quimper may have known that Spain intended to establish a settlement on the archipelago, but it was not explicitly revealed in his journal. Quimper did his best to leave a lasting impress and satisfy chiefs like Kamehameha and Ka'iana. Quimper made gestures of hospitality and sought to debunk negative claims the British had told Hawaiians about the Spanish. He adamantly refuted Ke'eaumoku's suggestion? that Spain seized property while, ironically, Quimper was commanding the *Princess Royal,* a captured British vessel. As the first Spaniard to visit the archipelago, Quimper did his best to make favorable exchanges with the chiefs and defend the Spanish character against the claims of the British in order to carve a potential, colonial place for Spain in the islands.

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[145] Hiroa, *Arts and Crafts of Hawai'i*, 216-217.

Quimper continued to promote Spain's colonial presence in Hawai‘i when he refused to return recommendation letters to the chiefs. Ke‘eaumoku and Ka‘iana showed Quimper recommendation letters written by British captains, which testified to their positive characteristics. Quimper told the chiefs that he must keep the letters, but he did not reveal his reasons for doing so. The letters did not disclose valuable information about foreign ship design and thus Quimper's insistence on keeping the letters is curious. It is possible that recommendation letters asserted a nation's influence, however large or small, on the Hawaiian archipelago. If Hawaiians shared letters written by a British captain it would indicate to other captains that the British had some degree of colonial claim in Hawai‘i. Perhaps Quimper attempted to curb the impression of a British colonial claim.

Hawaiian chiefs, such as Ke‘eaumoku and Ka‘iana, valued the recommendation letters because they provided them advantages over other chiefs. Although the chiefs were most likely illiterate, the letters were written proof of their positive characteristics that they could share with foreigners. Chiefs with letters probably had more advantages in trade because captains could rely on one another to provide information about a chief's character. Hawaiian chiefs valued not only material goods, such as firearms, but foreign opinion because it provided them the opportunity to have better relations and exchanges with foreign captains.

Some of the most important observations obtained from a close reading of Quimper's journal deals with *kapu*. Some chiefs such as Kamehameha insisted upon traditional *kapu*, such as the *Kapu Kāloa.* Quimper went to shore on the *luakini kapu* day ‘*Ole-pau* and he was not permitted to touch Kamehameha. At the same time, however, Quimper's account indicates that chiefs adapted *kapu* and implemented it at their discretion in order to protect

valuable information and themselves. Ka‘iana implemented a *kapu* that prohibited canoes from approaching Quimper's vessel after news of his alliance with the British reached Quimper. Quimper's account does not give explicit examples of chiefs breaking traditional *kapu* like Menzies' and Manby's accounts in order to attain firearms. Instead, Quimper's examples deal with the adaptations of *kapu* that relate to protection. Marshall Sahlins' conclusion that chiefs adapted *kapu,* "in an unprecedented manner to accumulate property in trade" may be broadened to include not only the accumulation of goods, but the protections of items, persons, and information. [146]

Although chiefs adapted *kapu*, commoners continued to obey chiefly authority by observing *kapu*. Quimper provides two examples of commoners strictly observing *kapu.* Hawai‘i Island chiefs were certainly concerned about the news of the attack on the *Fair American* reaching foreigners and therefore any communication about it was strictly forbidden. In spite of Quimper's persistence and promise of gifts, commoners would not inform Quimper of the fate of the *Fair American*. By refusing to inform Quimper of the vessel's fate, the commoners were protecting the chiefs and their political relationship with foreigners. Commoners also observed traditional *kapu* when Quimper's first master, Mondofia, went to shore at Waimea, Kaua‘i. Mondofia told Quimper that small sticks (*kapu* sticks) were driven into the ground to prevent commoners from entering the area. Quimper went on to record his opinion, stating that commoners "blindly" observed these laws for fear

[146] Sahlins, *Historical Metaphors,* 71.

of the chiefs. In spite of the chiefs' adaptations of the ways in which *kapu* applied, commoners continued to observe the authority of the chiefs.[147]

Another important observation found in Quimper's journal is the act of exchanging names. Quimper exchanged names with Kamehameha, meaning that Quimper was called Kamehameha and Kamehameha was called Manuel Quimper. Exchanging names may have not been a traditional Hawaiian practice, but rather one that was introduced after foreign contact. Examples of Hawaiians exchanging names with foreigners are only found in a few visitor accounts and James Jackson Jarves' book. I have found no examples of Hawaiians exchanging names with one another. Furthermore, the only chiefs who participated in exchanging names with foreigners were Kamehameha and Kalaniʻōpuʻu. Cook was the first foreigner to exchange names with Kalaniʻōpuʻu, but Cook had previously exchanged names with chiefs in Tahiti and Tonga. He was probably aware of the power that Polynesians attributed to names, and he may have introduced the practice to Hawaiian chiefs. Kalaniʻōpuʻu would have been willing to exchange names with Cook because Cook was considered the god Lono and Kalaniʻōpuʻu would have received some of his *mana.* Exchanging names may be seen as another example of the ways in which Hawaiians adapted and added practices after foreign contact in order to attain more lucrative goods or status. The other possibility is that exchanging names was indeed a Hawaiian custom, but one that has not been mentioned, except by Jarves, or fully uncovered in written literature.

A carefully analysis of Quimper's journal reveals a unique interpretation of Hawaiʻi because it is the only Spanish mariner's account from the eighteenth century. Quimper's

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[147] There are examples in other visitor accounts of women eating *kapu*, forbidden, food while visiting foreign vessels at sea.

journal has its shortcomings, but supplemented with other visitor accounts and scholarly works the reader may find that his journal reveals valuable insights into the ways in which Hawaiians skillfully dealt with foreigners by adapting traditional *kapu*. Analyzing foreign accounts, such as Quimper's, has the potential to bring to light previously unexamined practices and help to elucidate the complexities of Hawaiian politics and religion in the early 1790's.

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