

No ka Baibala Hemolele: The Making of the Hawaiian Bible¹

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‘Ōlelo Hō‘ulu‘ulu / Summary

Noelo ‘ia ma nei ‘atikala ka mo‘olelo o ka unuhi ‘ia ‘ana o ka Baibala Hemolele a loko o ka ‘ōlelo makuahine a Kānaka. Ho‘okolo ‘ia nā kāhuna pule ABCFM² nāna nā palapala Baibala kahiko i ho‘ohawai‘i mua—he Hebera ‘oe, he ‘Aramaika ‘oe, he Helene kahiko ‘oe—a me nā ali‘i a kākā‘ōlelo ho‘i nāna i ho‘oponopono ia mau kāmua ‘ōlelo malihini a kū i ka ‘ōlelo kanaka i ho‘opuka ‘ia e nā ali‘i. Ho‘okolo like ‘ia ka mākaukau kamaha‘o o ia po‘e kāhuna pule ma nā ‘ōlelo kahiko o ka Baibala, a me kā lākou kumu ‘ōlelo, ‘o Moses Stuart ka inoa, ka makamua o nā akeakamai ‘ōlelo Beretānia nāna i lu‘u a lilo i ka ‘ike kālai‘ōlelo hou loa i loa‘a i ke akeakamai Kelemānia keu a ka mākaukau, iā Wilhelm Gesenius. Hō‘ike pū ‘ia ke ‘ano o ka hana alu like a nā pū‘ulu ‘elua (nā kāhuna pule a me nā kānaka ‘ōiwi ho‘oponopono ‘ōlelo). Ma ka ho‘oikaika like, ua puka mai ka heke o nā unuhi Baibala o ia au.

This article delves into the making of the Bible in Hawaiian. The American ministers who first translated the ancient texts from Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek are identified, as well as the Hawaiian chiefs and advisors who took their initial and often clumsy drafts and turned them into chiefly Hawaiian. Next, the reasons for the surprising linguistic competence of the American ministers in ancient languages are explored, including the story of their teacher, Moses Stuart, the first English-speaking scholar to immerse himself in the new research in Hebrew coming out of Germany, pioneered by the still famous Hebraist Wilhelm Gesenius. Finally, the nature of the cooperative effort of the two groups, American ministers and Hawaiian advisors, is considered, a collaborative effort that resulted in one of the great Bible translations of the era.

Introduction

The Hawaiian translation of the Bible (Baibala in Hawaiian) remains the largest single volume ever printed in Hawaiian, with over 1,400 densely packed pages in its most recent incarnation (2012), slimmed down from an original (and unwieldy) 2,300 pages (1837–39). It is probably also the largest and most demanding single literary project since Hawaiian became a written language, requiring the active involvement of at least nine regular participants (four American ministers and five Native scholars) and numerous others who contributed to a lesser, but significant, degree over a period of more than ten years.

The participants were the elite scholars of their nations: the Americans were the best-educated men of their generation, skilled to a surprising degree in the ancient biblical languages, while the Hawaiians were among the highest-ranking *ali‘i* ‘chiefs’

and *kākā'ōlelo* 'chiefly advisors', each one a profound scholar in the language and oral literature of Hawai'i. The result of their long and fruitful cooperation was a superb Bible translation, far exceeding what either group could have produced on its own.

Two of the qualities that mark a good translation are fidelity and readability. The ideal translator has a firm and nuanced command of the source language (in this case, Hebrew, Aramaic, and ancient Greek) and is, ideally, a well-educated native speaker of the target language (here, Hawaiian). Not one of those who worked on the Baibala possessed both of these qualifications.³

No missionary raised in America would have been mistaken for a native speaker of Hawaiian, although missionary Hawaiian eventually was efficient and generally both correct and clear.⁴ Missionaries had not, however, been raised on *mele* 'Hawaiian poetry', *mo'olelo* 'Hawaiian history and literature', and *ka'ao* 'Hawaiian folklore and legends', and used Hawaiian only when they could not use English.⁵ They were incapable, on their own, of producing a translation that would both effectively convey the meaning of the original and be attractive to a Hawaiian reader.

Conversely, none of the Hawaiian scholars possessed a reading knowledge of the biblical languages and only a few spoke any English, much less read complex philological works in other European languages. The framework for studying the ancient tongues through Hawaiian did not (and still does not) exist.⁶

The result of their collaborative efforts is a testament to both. This article sets forth the history of the translation and the qualifications and organization of the translators and Native editors.

BACKGROUND

The making of the Baibala, the Hawaiian translation of the Hebrew Bible and Greek New Testament, has been described before in missionary accounts (Bingham 1849:531–32; Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844:74–75), Hawaiian-language newspapers and church publications (e.g., "No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857), articles by missionary descendants (Judd 1889; Coan, *The Friend*, December 1, 1902; Damon, *The Friend*, May 1, 1939), and a very few modern scholars.⁷ There are also numerous references, both by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians, extolling the beauty and insight of the translation (e.g., Pukui, *The Friend*, May 1939:87; Green, *The Friend*, May 1939:86).

None of these, however, is more than a few pages long, and only one English (Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844) and one Hawaiian-language article ("No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857)⁸ provide a clear picture of how the work of translation was carried out. None discuss the remarkable qualifications of the two participating groups.

All of the English-language missionary accounts (other than Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844) are both brief and modest, while those by their descendants tend toward hagiography and oversimplification.⁹ Worse still, the English-language accounts by missionaries and their descendants either fail to mention the critical role played by *Kānaka* scholars, or make only a brief, and in one case deprecating, allusion thereto.

Readers familiar with Hawaiian language and history will be impressed by the caliber of the named Hawaiian participants: governor of Hawai'i Island John Adams Kua-kini; governor of Maui Ulumeheihei Hoapili; the *ali'i nui* 'high chief' Kēlou Kamakau

of Ka'awaloa; the *ali'i* advisor to kings and foreigners Ioane Papa ʻĪʻī; and the learned and brilliant commoner Davida Malo. It would have been difficult then, and impossible later, to assemble a more eloquent, accomplished group of Hawaiian speakers. Curiously, no English-language account makes more than a passing mention that Hawaiians were even involved in the project, as though the Americans' command of literary Hawaiian was such that they needed no help.¹⁰

Equally surprising to the modern reader is the remarkably high level of scholarly attainment by the American missionaries. Whatever their merits (or demerits) as conveyors of truth or as societal reformers, they were profoundly well schooled in the leading biblical scholarship of their day, the first generation of Americans (or Englishmen) to have been exposed to critical German biblical scholarship, and far in advance of most seminary-trained scholars (and many PhDs) either before or since.¹¹

THE BIBLE AND THE PROTESTANT MISSION

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries who sailed to Hawai'i were the religious heirs of the English Puritans who immigrated to New England during the seventeenth century. They were committed to the Protestant ideas of *sola gratia* 'by faith alone', *sola fide* 'through faith alone', and, what concerns us here, *sola scriptura* 'by the Scriptures alone'.

The Protestant understanding of the Christian faith rejected the authority of popes, church councils, and tradition. Doctrines and practices unsupported by the Bible, at least in theory, could not be considered authoritative. If, therefore, the Protestant understanding of Christianity was to be embraced by Hawaiians, then a Bible in the language of the people was indispensable.¹²

The importance of the Bible for zealous Protestants of their era can scarcely be overstated. Rev. Artemas Bishop, one of the American translators, began his account of the history of that work with the famous quote of Chillingham,¹³ "The Bible, and the Bible alone, is the religion of Protestants." They believed that their religion was the religion of the Bible (Bingham 1849:22, 56, 108, 145, 272, 312 *inter alia*), that their doctrines, precepts, and forms of worship were those prescribed in the Bible. For them, the Bible was the very voice of God, and any manifestation of religion without a Bible to depend on would quickly go astray and soon become only one more man-made religion. Had they converted all Hawaiians, but left them without a Bible, their mission, by their own standards, would have been incomplete and, in the end, doomed to failure.¹⁴

For these Protestants, it would not do to create a Hawaiian Bible translated from English, Latin, or any modern language. Having exalted the Bible to a position of exclusive authority, Protestants around the world threw themselves into the study of the ancient texts: languages, history, customs, and, later, archaeology were all tools that could be applied to wring more meaning from the sacred tomes.

The Old Testament would have to be translated from its original Hebrew and Aramaic, the New Testament from ancient Greek (see "No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857; Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844). While a knowledge of ancient Greek was not uncommon for seminary graduates of that era, the newly ordained ministers of the Sandwich Islands Mission, first Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston, arriving in 1820, followed by William Richards and Artemas Bishop in 1823, were the first stu-

dents in any English-language institution to have profited from the revolutionary work of Wilhelm Gesenius, the founder of the modern study of Hebrew.

While all four seminary-trained ministers brought a sound knowledge of biblical philology, none knew more than a very little Hawaiian when he landed. It had been hoped that the Hawaiian graduates of the Cornwall school (John Honoli‘i, William Kanui, and Thomas Hopu), supposedly fluent in both English and Hawaiian, would make up for their deficiency. This hope proved false.¹⁵

Many a sailor and explorer had returned from Polynesian islands with the report that islanders spoke the tongues of children, that anyone could learn them quickly.¹⁶ The would-be translators, however, soon learned otherwise. When they set about to collect words, the lists grew like a science experiment gone awry.

More difficult still, Hawaiian did not operate like any other language they had studied. Not only were there no grammars nor dictionaries to guide them, their own investigations yielded no declensions, no conjugations, no clear distinction between nouns, verbs, adverbs, or adjectives. Even more troublesome, two verbs essential to the simplest English sentences, *to have* and *to be*, have no Hawaiian equivalent.

For the first two years, progress was discouragingly slow, until William Ellis, a longtime missionary in Tahiti, along with several Tahitian Christians (Keohokana, *Ka Elele*, June 2, 1854; Bingham 1849:181)¹⁷ came for an extended stay in 1823 (Ellis 1826:32ff.; Bingham 1849:167). Ellis was fluent in Tahitian and, unlike the Americans, able to effectively converse with Hawaiians shortly after his arrival. He helped teach the language to the Americans both in person and through his sermons.

Several missionaries, like William Richards in Maui, sat for hours each day with court advisors and orators unwinding the intricacies of the language. While the Americans eventually acquired the ability to produce clear, intelligible sermons, tracts, books, and hymns, none, even after years in Hawai‘i, was in a position to translate 2,300 pages of ancient Hebrew and Greek into a Hawaiian that was lucid, forceful, and appealing to *Kānaka*.¹⁸

FIRST STEPS AT TRANSLATION

As early as October 1824, some of the missionaries were making their first private attempts at Bible translation.

In October, 1824, Mr. Bingham began a translation of the Gospel of Matthew, spending a portion of each day in comparing the Latin, English and Tahitian versions with the original Greek, and endeavoring to produce an Hawaiian version as clear and correct as the genius of the language and his acquaintance with it would admit. He completed the *first chapter* on Oct. 21, 1824, *after three weeks' labor*.

At Lahaina, Mr. Richards also commenced on the same Gospel. In the morning, he took Knapp's testament, Schleusner's lexicon and a few other helps, and strictly examined the passage he desired to translate. In the afternoon, he gave the passage to Maro [Malo] in the Hawaiian language, and Taua, the Tahitian, did the same from the Tahitian translation. Then Maro [Malo] returned it to Mr. Richards in pure Hawaiian. This was written down for further inquiry and to be read to the chiefs and people with a view to ascertain how they understood it. Other translations were

made at different stations, Messrs. Thurston and Bishop being assisted by Gov. Adams [Kuakini]. (Ballou and Carter 1908:16–17; emphasis added)¹⁹

Richards left a particularly interesting description of how he went about the work, and at the same time improved his knowledge of Hawaiian.

My inability has lain in my ignorance of the language. . . . The course I pursue is this. In the morning I take Knapp's Testament, Schleumen's Lexicon, Dodnedge's exposition and a few other helps and strictly examine the passage I design to translate. In the afternoon, Maro [Malo], my teacher comes, and Taua, the Tahitan [sic]. I give the passage to Maro according to the best knowledge I have of the language. Then Taua gives it to him from the Tahitan translation, then Mano [sic: Maro] puts it into pure Hawaiian & I write it down. When he uses a hard word I put the word in my vocabulary and carry it to the chiefs so as that I may be sure to get its correct meaning. I then read the translation to a number of people to see whether they understand it. . . . In this way I learn the language faster than by any course that I can pursue. Since I began this translation. I have learned about two thousand new words. (Quoted in Charlot 2005:616)

During the annual meeting of that year, 1826, it was determined that the time had come to begin the work of translation in earnest. According to Artemas Bishop's August 1, 1844, account in *The Friend*,²⁰ the four seminary-trained ministers, Bingham, Thurston, Richards, and Bishop himself, gathered in Kailua, Kona, together with two eminent and learned Hawaiians: the governor of that Island, John Adams Kuakini, younger brother of the regent Ka'ahumanu, and [Kēlou] Kamakau, the ruling *ali'i* of Ka'awaloa.

They began with the first ten chapters of the Gospel of Matthew, often completing only one or two verses in an entire day. Challenges arose on every side: the unseen world of traditional Hawaiian religion was a very different place from that imagined by New England Congregationalists. Words and concepts taken for granted in Massachusetts were simply not available in Hawaiian,²¹ nor was the world of nineteenth-century *Kānaka* much closer to that of first-century Jews than it was to that of New England. Traditional Hawaiian understanding of sexuality, social structures, and especially religious attitudes and expectations had far more in common with the Greco-Roman society vilified in the book of Revelation than it did with nascent Christianity, Hellenistic Judaism, or, especially, New England Puritanism.

Missionaries compared their draft translations from the Greek, pondered the latest scholarship from Germany, America, and England, and consulted lexicons, commentaries, and other translations of the New Testament (e.g., Latin, English, and Tahitian). The real test came when *Kanaka* scholars reviewed their work. Was the intended meaning clear and forcefully stated in the Hawaiian? Were the words and grammar not merely correct but the best way to convey the desired meaning?

Each verse would be reworked, each phrase debated, each word carefully weighed. As there are over 30,000 verses in the Bible, it quickly became clear that the project would not be completed for many years.

A further difficulty was that many parts of the New Testament, particularly the letters of Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, involve complex Greek rhetoric and vocabulary, much of which was beyond the ability of the missionary translators to approxi-

mate in their limited Hawaiian. Thus, as we shall see, once missionaries had given what they believed to be competent explanations of difficult passages to the Hawaiians, they were often unable to gauge the final result.

The Hawaiians, in turn, were reliant on missionaries to express complex ideas in their non-Native Hawaiian. Ambiguous and poorly articulated explanations would result in inaccurate renderings. By 1830, there was still no one person who knew with certainty that the Hawaiian rendering of a difficult text accurately conveyed the meaning aimed at. As it turned out, many years of revision lay ahead.

At the end of these first meetings in Kailua, each minister returned to his station, Bingham to Honolulu, Richards to Maui, and Thurston and Bishop to Kona. Their practice over the next ten years was to do apart what they had done together. Each worked closely with one or more Native scholars: Bingham with Ioane Papa ʻĪʻĪ, Richards with Davida Malo and Governor Hoapili, and Thurston and Bishop with Governor Kuakini and Kēlou Kamakau. Other Native scholars likely contributed, but we do not yet know their names.²²

The method was simple but rigorous. Each group was assigned a book or group of books from the New Testament. The missionary translator(s) would work through the Greek and prepare a draft. He and the Hawaiian-language expert would correct the draft until they were satisfied that the meaning was clear and the language was appropriate. A rubric was developed to aid in the choice of vocabulary, and, when necessary, to guide in the borrowing or coining of words.

The five Hawaiian monitors were the guarantors that the language of the Baibala would be clear, stately, and, to the degree possible, reflect the language as spoken by the *aliʻi* (see Andrews 1836:18).²³ During the annual meetings, the translators and editors would collaborate in person much as they had done in Kailua (see Levi Chamberlain's journal entry for September 8, 1828, below).

As one group finished a book or group of books, their work was copied and sent to each of the other groups. These, in turn, would go over the translations, the missionary comparing every verse with the Greek while the Native consultant would evaluate the Hawaiian. The missionary would then write in corrections, suggestions, questions, and comments and send it on to the next team.²⁴ Once the drafts had gone through all the groups they were returned to the original team, which would incorporate appropriate changes, make new copies, and send them off to the printer.²⁵

TRANSLATORS AND ADVISORS

The nature of the discussions of the translators and the Hawaiian-language experts can be pieced together from several disparate observations.

Levi Chamberlain (September 8, 1828)

Monday 8th. Mr. Richards commenced this day to review the ms. [manuscript] tracts from Genesis by Mr. Bishop sent up from Oahu. He sets down with Messrs. Andrews & Green & they all critically look over the Hebrew & compare the text with the translation. The brethren seem to be very much interested in the work[.] *Malo is invited to be present to correct the native language & to decide upon the proper use of words.* (Emphasis added)

Artemas Bishop (The Friend, August 1, 1844:74–75)

The labor of obtaining the true interpretation of obscure passages was comparatively easy, to that of finding suitable words and phrases by which to express it in the Hawaiian language. We constantly availed ourselves of the best native aid we could procure, to put each sentence into the true idiom of the language. But as the native monitors often mistook the true idea of the sacred writer, as conveyed to him through the medium of his own language, he was liable to give us a wrong sentence according to his own conception of the idea. A constant vigilance was therefore necessary on our part, in order to detect his mistakes, and take nothing for granted as correct which the native assistant proposed, and much effort and ingenuity was often required to get him to comprehend the true meaning which we wished him to clothe in suitable phraseology. Many hours have occasionally been thus spent on a single sentence, while we seemed to make little or no progress on the work, through the seeming uncertainty of words suited to the idea. But perseverance usually enabled us to overcome the difficulty, and each conquest of this sort, when once attained, but smoothed the way for our future onward progress, and settled the meaning of terms in the language.²⁶

“No ka Unuhi ana” (Ka Hae Hawaii, July 8, 1857:57–58)

Houluulu mua lakou eha, ma Kailua, Hawaii, me Kuakini a me Kamakau, i mau kokua Hawaii, e hooholo i ke ano o na huaolelo nui, e pono ke kakauia maloko o ka palapala. . . .

. . . I ka wa e hana ana lakou, ua koho ka mea unuhi i kanaka akamai ma ka olelo Hawaii, e kokua mai, i pololei ka olelo. *Haawi no ke kumu i ka manao, e like me ke ano o ka olelo a ke Akua, me ka pahemahema nae o na hua Hawaii, a loa pono i ke kokua, ke ano o ka manao, alaila, lawe kela i keia manao, a hoonohonoho i na hua me ka pololei iloko o ka olelo maoli.* (Emphasis added)

They [the four missionary translators] first assembled in Kailua, Hawai‘i, with Kuakini and [Kēlou] Kamakau, as Hawaiian assistants to decide upon the appropriate Hawaiian wording in order that the work might be properly written. . . .

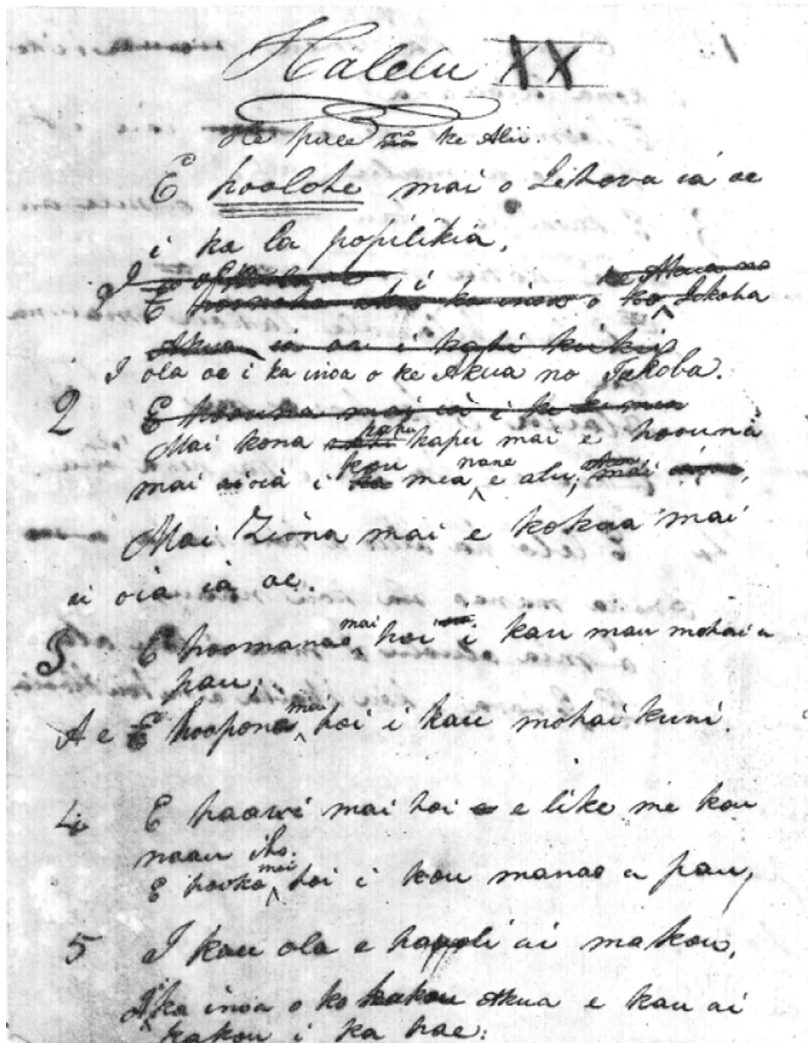
. . . In the course of their work, each translator chose a native accomplished in the Hawaiian language who would help to ensure that the language was correct. *The teacher [kumu] would give the basic meaning as he found it in God’s word, but in awkward Hawaiian; once the assistant got the right sense of it, he would take that meaning and arrange the words in such a way that it would be correctly expressed in the native language.* (Emphasis added)²⁷

These accounts seem to describe a similar picture, even though Bishop has managed to blame the Hawaiians for missionary ineptitude in providing clear explanations of the meaning of the original text. The weak link, as described above, meant that missionaries had to explain the ancient and foreign texts in such a way that Hawaiians could correctly reformulate them. Bishop’s frustration shows that this was no simple task.

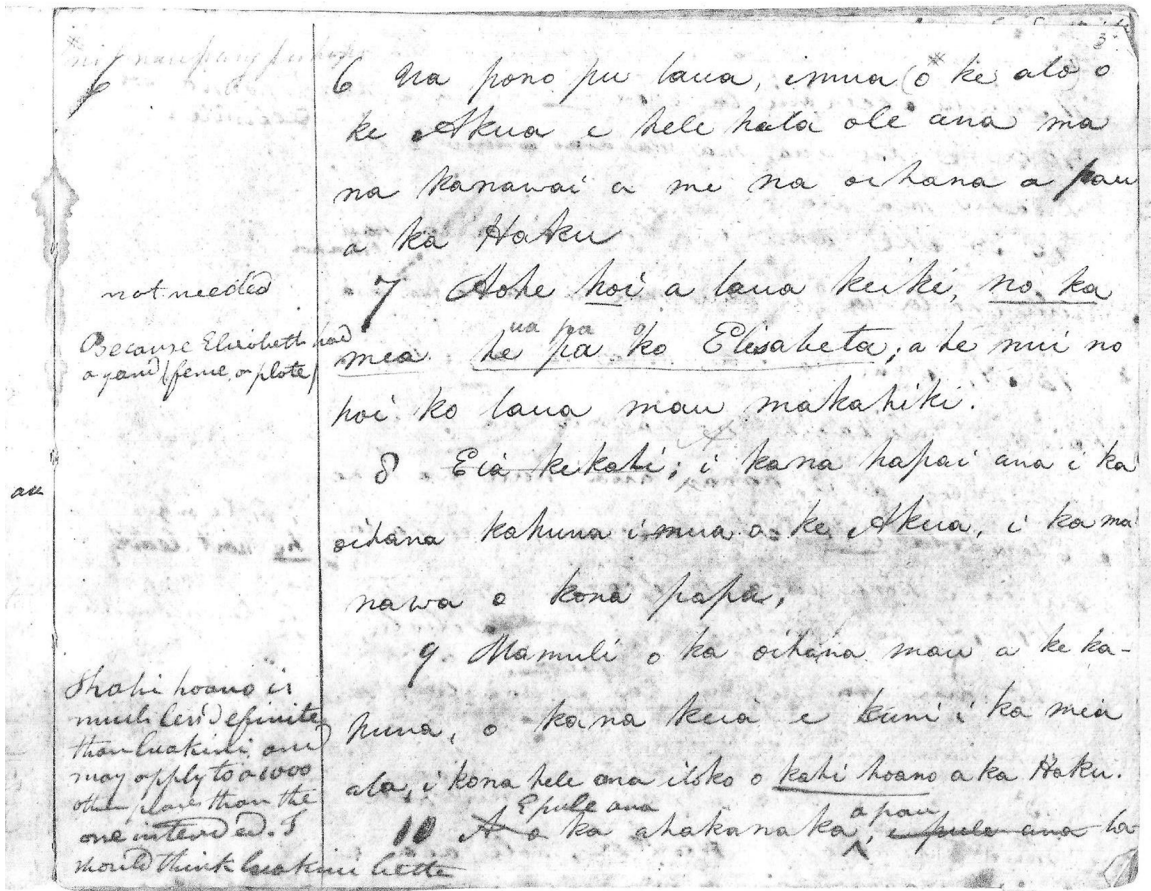
The Hawaiian experts named above were an exceptionally well-educated and articulate group; if, therefore, they failed to understand what a missionary translator was trying to say, it is one more indication that missionaries were still a long way from a refined and articulate command of the language. On the other hand, all accounts make

it clear that it was the Hawaiians who wielded ultimate authority on the vocabulary, grammar, and style of the final product (excluding the chapter summaries), although it should be remembered that the language of the Baibala reflects what they understood of explanations that were sometimes unclear or even misleading.

As Bishop made clear, it was a process prone to error, especially during the first several years. The earliest translated texts had to be redone and then done again, with the result that the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Romans required double and triple the work of most other Bible portions.



A heavily edited draft translation of Psalm 20. This might be an early draft of Bingham's with corrections based on his collaboration with 'I'i (Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives).



A page from the circulated draft translation of Luke (1:6–10). The draft translation is on the right while comments by other translators are on the left. The note at the bottom left says, “Kahi hoano [the holy place] is much less definite than luakini and may apply to a 1000 other places than the one intended. I would think luakini better” (Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives).

THE BAIBALA PROJECT AT FULL THROTTLE

Starting in 1830, newer members of the mission, Sheldon Dibble, Lorrin Andrews, Jonathan Green, and Ephraim Clark, began to work on the translation, at first in cooperation with one of the other translation groups, and later taking responsibility to translate sections on their own. We do not know of other *Kanaka* scholars who joined the project, but since much of the work was done at Lahainaluna, it would be surprising if missionary translators did not regularly consult some of the well-known scholars who were studying there as adults, such as S. N. Hale’ole or S. M. Kamakau, especially when Hoapili or Malo were away on one of their frequent travels.

The last books of the New Testament were printed in 1832, and a complete copy was quickly bound together in red morocco leather to be presented to the dying Ka’ahumanu,

who had done more than all others to secure the place of the Baibala in the Hawaiian Kingdom (Bingham 1848:432).

Work on the Old Testament proceeded at a faster pace. There was a gap of three years between the printing of the last books of the New Testament (Colossians through Revelation, all printed in 1832), and the first books of the Old Testament (five of the historical books were published in 1835), although the story of Joseph had been printed separately in 1828 (see the note below on James Ely), and Lorrin Andrews had published parts of his translation of Proverbs in the Lahainaluna student newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, in 1834.²⁸

The switch from Greek to Hebrew would probably have afforded some relief. As Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia observed,²⁹ Hebrew and Hawaiian have far more contact points, particularly in syntax and verbal modes, than do Hawaiian and Greek (or English). Sentence structure is less convoluted and, like Hawaiian, is mostly paratactic. While Hebrew poetry (about one-third of the Hebrew Bible) employs an extensive vocabulary, Hebrew prose, much like Hawaiian prose before the 1860s, makes use of a fairly small lexicon.

Consequently, although the Old Testament is nearly four times as long as the New, the translation was completed by 1838. Other factors were a much-improved proficiency on the part of the missionaries after a decade or more in Hawai‘i, and that many of the most common or difficult translation issues had been resolved while working through the New Testament.³⁰

The last book of the Old Testament was published in 1838, and 1839 saw the first printing of the complete Baibala. It was not a pretty volume (actually three volumes)³¹—cumbersome, crudely printed and bound—but still a landmark. The work, however, was not yet done. The text contained many misprints and widespread use made it clear that the rendering of many passages could be improved. Bingham and Bishop were assigned the task of revision, but when Bingham returned to America in 1841, the task fell to an ungrateful Bishop. The first revised Baibala was published in 1842. Bishop did not name the Hawaiians, if any, who worked with him on the revision.³²

The next and final revision of the Baibala was carried out by Ephraim Clark in 1868. Clark had returned to America but remained active in the editing and publication of missionary texts in Hawaiian. He translated a Bible dictionary into Hawaiian, wrote a commentary on the Gospel of Matthew, still one of the few complete biblical commentaries in Hawaiian, and worked on a revision of the 1842 Baibala.³³

The full extent of either the 1842 or 1868 revision has not been sufficiently studied, but comparisons of several chapters indicate that the 1868 revision focused more on greater fidelity to the original text rather than the quality of the Hawaiian. It is interesting that no Hawaiians are mentioned in connection with either revision. For the 1842 revision, Bishop at least had free access to Hawaiian scholars, especially Ioane Papa ‘Īī. Clark, on the other hand, was living in America when he did his work.

No further revisions have been made since 1868, other than the repair of old misprints and the creation of many new ones.³⁴ In 2012, the 1868 Baibala was republished in modern orthography, and this edition is now also part of a website (<http://baibala.org>) that also includes texts and photographs of the 1839 text, the 1868 revision, and the 1994 reprint of the 1868 revision.³⁵ The 1842 revision is not currently represented.

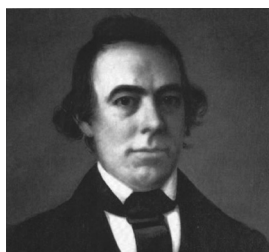
THE MISSIONARY TRANSLATORS

Although the first attempt at Hawaiian Bible translation was made by a Hawaiian, Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia (often anglicized as Obookiah), while attending the ABCFM training school for indigenous students at Cornwall, Connecticut,³⁶ we know very little of his work, nor do we possess as much as a single fragment of the translation; we do, however, know he translated at least Genesis from the Hebrew. Although ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia was the immediate inspiration behind the Sandwich Islands Mission,³⁷ his pioneering work was unavailable to the Bible translators and has since disappeared.³⁸

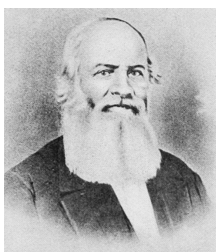
In the brief biographical sketches below,³⁹ I show in parentheses the names by which the American ministers were known to Hawaiians. I also show the seminary each attended. For reasons that will be discussed later, it is significant that most of them were graduates of Andover Theological Seminary. The first four were responsible for preparing approximately 90 percent of the draft translations from the original Greek and Hebrew texts, while the latter four assisted in reviews and produced the remaining ten percent of the draft translations independently.

Rev. William Richards (Rikeke, Rikada), Andover Theological Seminary

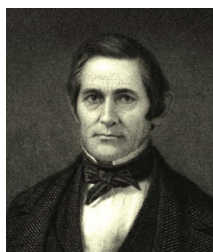
Richards arrived in Hawai‘i in 1823 at the age of thirty. He was responsible for approximately one-third of the original draft translations of the Bible, more than any other



William Richards



Asa Thurston

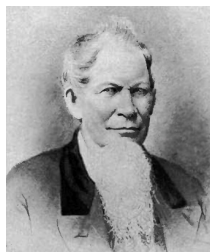


Hiram Bingham



Artemas Bishop

The four principal translators.



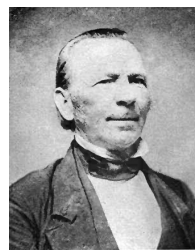
Lorrin Andrews



Sheldon Dibble



Ephraim Clark



Jonathan Green

The later missionary translators. All were in their late twenties or early thirties when they began work on the Baibala. Not pictured: James Ely. (All pictures courtesy of Hawaiian Mission Houses Historic Site and Archives.)

translator in spite of having arrived three years after the first company. Nearly all of his work as a Bible translator was carried out while at Lahaina. After working nearly twenty years as a translator and minister, he was asked by the chiefs to become their personal tutor in matters relating to *kālai‘āina* ‘political economy’. It was he and Timoteo Ha‘alilio who travelled to Washington, London, and Paris in order to secure recognition of Hawaiian sovereignty.

Davidā Malo, the great *maka‘āinana* ‘commoner’ scholar and advisor to the chiefs, was both his friend and his teacher for Hawaiian language and history. S. M. Kamakau (2001:260), even years after he had left the Protestants to become a Catholic, said of Richards, at the end of a lengthy account of his many deeds:

Ua lilo kāna mau hana i mau kumu alaka‘i e pōmaika‘i ai ka lāhui holo‘oko‘a. ‘O wai auane‘i ka po‘e e ku‘ihē a kānalua i nā pono a Mika Rikeke?

His deeds have become guiding examples through which the entire [Hawaiian] people has been blessed. Who could ever entertain doubts about the virtue of Mr. Richards?

Rev. Asa Thurston (Kakina, Tatina), Andover Theological Seminary

Thurston arrived in Hawai‘i in 1820 at the age of thirty-one and was directly responsible for approximately 25 percent of the first drafts while serving as pastor in Kailua, a position he held almost until his death over forty years later. His language advisors and editors, as mentioned earlier, included Governor Kuakini and the chief Kēlou Kamakau of Ka‘awaloa. Thurston was much admired by his missionary brethren for his pronunciation and command of Hawaiian.

Rev. Hiram Bingham (Binamu), Andover Theological Seminary

Bingham arrived in Hawai‘i in 1820 at the age of thirty-three. He was responsible for approximately 20 percent of the draft translations while serving as pastor of Kawaiaha‘o Church. He was widely considered to be the leader of the mission during his twenty-one years in Hawai‘i and wrote voluminously about his time there (see Bingham 1848 and Miller 1988). Bingham, who left Hawai‘i shortly after the Bible translation was completed, was, in many ways, the Christian analogue of the old *kahuna nui* ‘high priest’, and he worked closely with the ruling chiefs, particularly the regent and reformer Ka‘ahumanu and her successor, Kīna‘u.

Rev. Artemas Bishop (Bihopa), Princeton Theological Seminary

Bishop arrived in 1823 at the age of twenty-eight. He oversaw about 14 percent of the draft translations but did the greatest part of the first revision, following the 1839 printing. He and Bingham were originally assigned this task, but it fell exclusively to Bishop when Bingham returned to New England in 1841.

Bishop subsequently took over many of Bingham’s duties and infuriated King Kai-keaouli (and a great many other chiefs and commoners) by his public criticism of the king’s drinking. Bishop wrote a brief article, printed in *The Friend* on August 1, 1844, about how the translation was made, and he is possibly the author of the July 8, 1857, article “No ka Unuhi ana,” printed in *Ka Hae Hawaii*, about the Bible translation (see the appended text and translation later in this edition of *Palapala*).

As already mentioned, the above four worked on approximately 90 percent of the Baibala. The remaining portions fell to four other seminary graduates who arrived between 1823 and 1828.

Rev. Lorrin Andrews (Anaru), Princeton Theological Seminary

Andrews arrived in 1828 at the age of thirty-two, the only non-New Englander among the missionary translators. He printed his draft of Proverbs in 1834 in Hawai'i's first newspaper, *Ka Lama Hawaii*, the student newspaper of the Lahainaluna school where he served as principal until he resigned from the ABCFM because it accepted donations from slave-holding states. Andrews later published the first full grammar and dictionary of Hawaiian and also prepared an unpublished translation of Davida Malo's *Ka Mo'olelo Hawaii'i*.⁴⁰

While serving as a judge on O'ahu, Andrews published translations of ancient *mele* as well as the first scholarly articles on Hawaiian poetry. We do not know who served as his advisor, but since he was the principal of Lahainaluna, it is probable that he was helped by Malo, the high chief Hoapili, and other eminent scholars who were there at the same time. His dictionary (Andrews 1865) remains the best resource for the vocabulary of the Hawaiian Bible.

Rev. Jonathan Green (Kurina), Andover Theological Seminary

Green arrived in 1828 at the age of thirty-two. He translated four books of the Old Testament, including Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon. He served as a longtime pastor in Makawao, Maui, where he remained even after resigning from the ABCFM over the issue of donations from slave-holding states. His daughter, Laura Green, child of his old age, grew up as a fluent speaker of Hawaiian and English and worked closely with Mary Kawena Pukui on many literary projects.

Rev. Ephraim Clark (Kalaka), Andover Theological Seminary

Clark arrived in 1828 at twenty-eight years of age. He worked with Bingham on the translation of I Kings and later supervised the last revision of the Baibala in 1868 after he returned from Hawai'i for health reasons. While living in the United States, Clark also translated into Hawaiian the *Dictionary of Bible Words* (published as *Buke Wehiwehi* [sic: *Wehewehe*]⁴¹ *Huaolelo Baibala*) and other Bible study aids. While Clark provides a list of the non-Hawaiians who advised and assisted him in the 1868 revision, including W. D. Alexander, he does not name any Hawaiians.

Rev. Sheldon Dibble (Dibela), Auburn Theological Seminary

Dibble arrived in 1831 at the age of twenty-two. He was a ferocious opponent of all things he considered heathen while at the same time founding the first Hawaiian Historical Society, sending out students to collect pre-Christian Hawaiian knowledge before it passed away. He translated Nehemiah and also supervised and edited *Ka Mooolelo Hawaii* (Dibble 1838), a book printed at Lahainaluna, and soon after wrote his own *History of the Sandwich Islands* (1843).

Dibble's first wife died while he was a teacher at Lahainaluna in 1836, and he

returned to the United States in 1837 to remarry and restore his weakened health. He died on Maui in 1845 at the age of thirty-six, never having recovered his strength.

A NOTE ON JAMES ELY

Although not directly responsible for any specific part of the 1839 Baibala, James Ely deserves mention for his 1828 tract, a translation and adaptation of the story of Joseph from Genesis. One of the few non-seminarians of all the early missionary pastors, Ely had taken great pains to educate himself in the biblical languages (Davey 2015:17–25), though he had some tutelage from other members of the mission.

A classmate of Henry ‘Opūkaha‘ia and Thomas Hopu at the Cornwall School, Ely landed in Hawai‘i with at least some knowledge of Hawaiian and, during the few years before his return to America, worked closely with Hopu and Kēlou Kamakau while serving as pastor at Ka‘awaloa. Ely also worked with Thurston and Bishop on early drafts of the Gospel of John (Davey 2015:6).

THE HAWAIIAN ADVISORS

A number of Hawaiians accompanied the first and second companies of missionaries in 1820 and 1823. They were assumed to be fluent in English and Hawaiian, had received extensive training, and were expected to serve as translators. Mostly, it did not turn out so.⁴² The Bible translation would have to wait until missionary Hawaiian was competent enough to prepare draft translations from the Hebrew and Greek, and also explain those drafts to the Hawaiians who were responsible for making the Baibala speak good Hawaiian.

A number of missionary letters and journals mention in passing that the missionary translators received assistance from a particular Hawaiian. Malo is mentioned by both Richards (Charlot 2005:615ff.) and Chamberlain⁴³ and talks about it himself in a letter to an American supporter of the mission (Malo 2006:xi). Dibble was teaching at Lahainaluna while Ulumeheihei Hoapili was governor in Lahaina, but in his book he never discussed the making of the Bible translation. The questions are, then, who were these editors and advisors, and what was their connection with the various translators?

The only source I have yet seen that contains more than a single name and also provides the identity of the translators with whom they worked is the July 8, 1857, article in the newspaper *Ka Hae Hawaii*, “No ka Unuhi ana i ka Palapala Hemolele iloko o ka Olelo Hawaii” ‘Translating the Holy Scriptures into the Hawaiian Language’.⁴⁴ Unlike the accounts written for American audiences, the author makes both the names and their roles clear to his Hawaiian audience.

Eia kekahi mau kokua i ka unuhi olelo ana, o Keoni⁴⁵ Ii ia Binamu, o Davida Malo me Hoapili ia Rikeke, a o Kuakini me Kamakau ia Tatina ma i Kailua.

Here are some names of those who provided assistance in the translation: Keoni ‘Īī with Bingham, Davida Malo and Hoapili with Richards, while Kuakini and Kamakau assisted Thurston and his associates in Kailua.

While this does not claim to be a comprehensive list (“kekahi mau inoa” ‘some names’), it is clear that each American translator worked with a language expert or experts (also called monitors or helpers), and, as the list shows, it would have been difficult to find a group of experts with better credentials.

Dibble’s chart (see below) of who translated what should be supplemented with this information. It is these men who were responsible for the quality of the Hawaiian. Many of the missionary translators rendered other books into Hawaiian, usually after they had spent several years on the Bible translation. While the Hawaiian of these volumes is generally clear and correct, it is decidedly not on a par with what we find in the Baibala. The missionary translators were responsible for the accuracy and fidelity of the translation, but it was the Hawaiian scholars who crafted the language.

The greatest of all English Bible translations, the Authorized Version of 1611 (also known as the King James Version), is justly famous for its beauty, its balanced cadences, and the dignity of its language. While the translation was as accurate as scholars of that era could make it, it is the quality of its English that continues to commend it to us today, long after its scholarship has become outdated. It is the same with the Hawaiian Bible. It was as accurate as Richards *mā* could make it, but it was Malo *mā* who made it speak ‘*ōlelo kanaka* instead of ‘*ōlelo malihini*.⁴⁶ Nineteenth-century biblical scholarship is now often out-of-date, but the Hawaiian remains forceful, clear, and dignified.⁴⁷

Readers should pay particular attention to the caliber of the Native scholars who provided the Hawaiian-language expertise for the Baibala. While the missionaries described above represent the upper echelons of education in America of the 1820s, the Hawaiians described below were quite simply the finest scholars of the language of their age. That such scholars, all chiefs or advisors to chiefs, devoted so many years to the production of the Baibala tells us much about their (and the nation’s) commitment to and expectation of having a Bible that spoke their language and spoke it well. As Mary Kawena Pukui commented, the Baibala was “translated beautifully” (Pukui 1936:87).⁴⁸



Davida Malo



Gov. Kuakini



Gov. Hoapili



Ioane Papa ʻĪʻĪ



Thomas Hopu

The Hawaiian editors (no picture available for Kēlou Kamakau).

KĒLOU KAMAKAU (1770?–1838), KAʻAWALOA, HAWAIʻI ISLAND

After the mid-1820s Kēlou Kamakau was regularly referred to as “Kamakau of Kaʻawaloa” to distinguish him from S. M. Kamakau, his younger contemporary. He was also known as Kamakau Nui, Kēlou, and Kamakau of Kamehameha. The name Kēlou,

meaning ‘hook’, was said to come from the name of the figurative *makau* ‘hook’ used by Kamehameha to unite the Hawaiian Islands.

Kēlou Kamakau was the son of the ruling *ali‘i* of Nāpo‘opo‘o, Kanuha Nui, and the *ali‘i wahine* Pamahoa, a famous poet (Ohana, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, August 13, 1909). Kamakau was a youth during Captain Cook’s fatal visit to Ka‘awaloa in 1779, and was the ruling chief there until his death in 1838. He was an expert in religious ceremonies, as evidenced by his detailed written account of pre-Christian religion, and was said to have been a chanter for Kamehameha (Kamakau of Ka‘awaloa 1919–20: 6:1, 2–45).⁵⁰

Rev. William Ellis mentions K. Kamakau repeatedly in his 1823 account of a tour of Hawai‘i Island. He found Kamakau to be one of the most remarkable of all of the Hawai‘i Island chiefs, commending his hospitality, intelligence, governance, aptitude in reading and writing, and devotion to the new religion (Ellis 1826:32–37, 99, 106–7, 413). Elisha Loomis came to a similar conclusion, saying that Kamakau, Kapi‘olani, and Nāihe were thought of as the leading candidates for baptism (Loomis, *Journal*, July 22–24, 1824). While he was a devoted Christian and an enthusiastic supporter of literacy, he was not devoted to all things new. In the announcement of his death, the foreign writer (C. F., *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, May 23, 1838) attributed his demise to listening to medical *kahuna* instead of following the advice of Dr. Andrews.

ULUMEHEIHEI HOAPILI⁵¹ (1775?–1840), HAWAI‘I ISLAND AND LAHAINA, MAUI

Ulumeheihei Hoapili was the son of the sacred twin Kame‘eiamoku, one of Kamehameha’s war chiefs. As a young man he too became a member of Kamehameha’s inner circle and was given the name Hoapili ‘intimate friend’ because of the Conqueror’s complete trust in him. When Kamehameha took the sacred chiefess Keōpūolani as the wife by whom his successors would be born, she actually lived together with Hoapili, her *kāne i ka ‘ili* ‘husband of the skin’.⁵² It was to Hoapili that Kamehameha gave the task of secreting his bones (*hūnākele*) after his death. S. M. Kamakau (2001:140) described their relation thus:

I nā lā hope o Kamehameha, a i nā lā o ka ‘elemakule a me ka nāwaliwali, a e kokoke ana paha i kona mau lā e make ai, ‘a’ohe mau ali‘i i hilina‘i nui ‘ia e Kamehameha, a i paulele ‘ia e Kamehameha no kona mau lā hope. ‘O Ulumeheihei wale nō, iā ia ‘o loko, iā ia ‘o waho.

In the last days of Kamehameha during his old age and infirmity, as he recognized his death drawing nigh, there were no other *ali‘i* who enjoyed his confidence and wholehearted trust. Everything was put into the hands of Ulumeheihei and his alone.

During the reign of Kamehameha’s heir, Liholiho, Hoapili was given charge of the government’s forces in suppressing a revolt of the *maka‘āinana* in Waimea (Hawai‘i Island), and again, under Kauikeaouli, he led an army to Kaua‘i to put down the revolt of Humehume, son of Kaumuali‘i.⁵³ As the governor of Maui, Hoapili soon became one of the most stalwart supporters of the mission, providing lands for churches, houses, and schools not only on Maui, but throughout the archipelago. In 1831, when his

own daughter, Liliha, fell afoul of the regent Ka‘ahumanu, Hoapili strongly backed Ka‘ahumanu and her decision to remove Liliha as acting governor of O‘ahu and *kahu* of the young king, Kauikeaouli.

In addition to his role in the translation of the Baibala, he was an avid Bible reader and a great authority on Hawai‘i’s past. His expertise in traditional lore was beyond question (Kamakau 2001:142).

‘O nā mo‘o ali‘i kū‘auhau kekahi, ua mākaukau ‘o Ulumeheihei, a ua loa‘a iā ia kekahi mau mea pohihihi[.] aia a pohihihi ke kū‘auhau ali‘i iā Davida Malo mā, a laila, hele i mua o Ulumeheihei, a nāna nō e hō‘ike mai.

Ulumeheihei was deeply learned in the genealogical lore of the *ali‘i* and could resolve even the most arcane difficulties. When genealogists such as Davida Malo had a particularly difficult question, they went to Ulumeheihei and he would provide the answer.

Hoapili made frequent trips to O‘ahu and elsewhere, whenever the ruling chiefs convened for important decisions. His regular residence, however, was Lahaina, where he assisted Richards and Dibble (probably Andrews and Clark too) in shaping the language of the Bible translation. S. M. Kamakau, a student at Lahainaluna during Hoapili’s time as governor, commended him for his justice, his generosity, his strong support for the Bible, and his learning. He died shortly after the first publication of the complete Bible translation.⁵⁴

JOHN ADAMS KUAKINI (1792–1844),⁵⁵ KEAUHOU AND KAILUA, HAWAI‘I ISLAND

The child of Ke‘eaumoku, the great war chief of Kamehameha, and Nāmāhana, daughter of the *ali‘i nui* of Maui, Kalaniku‘ihonoikamoku, Kuakini was, along with his older sister Ka‘ahumanu, the progeny of the highest *ali‘i* lines of the islands of Hawai‘i and Maui. He, like Malo, was born in Keauhou, Hawai‘i Island. While still a young child, his father had him trained as a “kanaka haipule no na akua laau” ‘a man observant in all details of the service of the wooden gods’ (Malo, *Ka Nonanona*, January 7, 1845). This means he was thoroughly trained in the rites, prayers, and observances of the old religion, a rigorous and demanding way of life wherein he was responsible for maintaining the *heiau* of all of Kona. Because of his faithful observance, he was given the name of Ki‘ipalaokū, meaning ‘fetcher of *pala* for Kū’.

Of a reflective nature (*no‘ono‘o*) from his youth, Kuakini returned with his parents to Maui for a time, and later lived at court with Kamehameha I and became closely attached to him. Following Kamehameha’s death, he was appointed governor of Hawai‘i Island, a position he retained until his death, in spite of the threat of his older sister, the regent Ka‘ahumanu, to replace him with Malo because she considered some of his actions too oppressive of the commoners.⁵⁶

Although Kuakini was not one of the earliest adherents of the mission, he did become a strong supporter of the new faith, including building a church at Kailua. He was appointed governor of O‘ahu in 1831 (while still remaining governor of Hawai‘i) in the aftermath of Liliha’s deposition by Ka‘ahumanu, but returned permanently to

Hawai'i in 1833. He died in 1844, a convinced Christian, spending his final days in conversation with his minister, Asa Thurston, and his longtime *kanaka* and friend, Davida Malo,⁵⁷ who called him the last of *na'lii kahiko* 'the old chiefs'.⁵⁸

IOANE (KEONI/JOHN) PAPA 'Ī'Ī (1800–70), 'EWA AND HONOLULU,
O'AHU (CONTRIBUTED BY MARIE ALOHALANI BROWN)⁵⁹

The *ali'i* John Kaneiakama Papa 'Ī'Ī began serving in the royal household of King Kamehameha I as a *kahu ali'i* 'attendant or guardian for an *ali'i*' in 1810, when he was ten years old. He was the third generation of the distinguished Luluka clan to do so. He went on to become an influential statesman. His appointments include privy councilor, member of the House of Nobles, kingdom treasurer, justice of the Supreme Court, quiet land title commissioner, commissioner of Kamehameha III's privy purse, and executor of Kamehameha III's last will and testament. 'Ī'Ī's various positions and his good standing with those he served afforded him a certain degree of influence. Gorham D. Gilman (1970:128) stated, "All in all—he is the man and his place cannot be filled by any other native living—either in his social, religious, or political relations & influence." 'Ī'Ī was also a life writer who depicted key events from his own life and the lives of others during the time that he served his king, his nation, and his people. As a spectator and participant, his accounts of Hawaiian aristocracy and insights into early nineteenth-century Hawaiian cultural-religious practices are perhaps unrivaled.

'Ī'Ī's linguistic skills in Hawaiian reflected his education. 'Ī'Ī knew hundreds of chants, and he was equally skilled at composing them, having been trained in this art by his mother. The quality of the education he received from her in this area is suggested by her recognition at court for her chanting prowess ('Ī'Ī, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, January 29, 1870). An obituary for 'Ī'Ī stated, "Ua piha kona waihona hoomanao i ka paanaau i na mele olioli o na wa kahiko a me na mele a na'lii i haku ai, a ua lawe pu aku la oia me ia mau buke mele" [His mental library was filled with chants of olden times and mele composed by *ali'i* that he had memorized and which he took with him] ("Ka Make ana," *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, May 7, 1870). The article also recalled, "I ka make ana o Kamehameha IV, ua olioli mele ia e ia kekahi po holookoa mai ke ahiahi a wehewehe kaiao" [When Kamehameha IV died, he chanted an entire night, from dusk to dawn] (*ibid.*). Chanters were known for their linguistic expertise (Pukui 1949:247). As 'Ī'Ī's articles show, he was also well versed in *mo'olelo*. That plus his oration skills, for which he was famed (Dibble 1843:407; Bingham 1849:604), would have also contributed to his linguistic repertoire.

'Ī'Ī's intellectual foundation served him well in the translation project, which required him to navigate between and translate across vastly different epistemic systems, and at times coin new Hawaiian terms to bridge the gap ("No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857). 'Ī'Ī's childhood exposure to his parents' deep philosophical conversations on human nature would have stood him in good stead in these deliberations on the Scriptures because his mind had been trained to think deeply ('Ī'Ī, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, July 17, 1869). Through these close readings and deliberations, 'Ī'Ī also benefitted from the missionaries' knowledge of and training in interpreting the Scriptures, and this informal Bible training increased 'Ī'Ī's understanding of the same. Because of his proficiency in these sacred texts and expertise in the art of chanting,

‘Īī became adept at composing sermons, so much so that he could offer a sermon extempore (Cooke n.d.:7, 132).

DAVIDA MALO⁶⁰ (1795⁶¹–1853), KEAHOHOU, HAWAI‘I ISLAND;
LAHAINA AND KĒŌKEA, MAUI

Malo was born at Keauhou, Hawai‘i Island, but spent most of his adult life on Maui. He was a commoner whose intelligence and talent raised him to the role of advisor to the highest chiefs, first in the court of Governor Kuakini of Hawai‘i and later to Keōpūolani, Ka‘ahumanu, and many of the missionaries. As mentioned previously, Ka‘ahumanu considered appointing Malo as governor of Hawai‘i Island in place of her own brother (Kamakau 2001:75).

He was recognized by all for his remarkable knowledge of *hula*, the ancient *mele*, and the history of his nation, and was the only commoner selected to work on the Bible translation. He later incurred the displeasure of some of the younger chiefs for advocating that non-Hawaiians not be allowed to own land, become citizens, or serve in the government. While he is famous today for his Hawaiian ethnography *Ka Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*—the first detailed account of classical Hawaiian society—the work was never published in his lifetime.

Malo, like ‘Īī, published a number of articles in the early newspapers, including several elegant and moving *mele kanikau*, poems of mourning.⁶² Malo was also a powerful speaker, a cogent and pithy advisor, and a force to be reckoned with because of his influence among the *maka‘āinana*.⁶³ He was the first superintendent of schools, served in the first legislature, wrote or co-wrote many laws, and was considered by some the most intellectually capable man in Hawai‘i (Alexander 1953:67).

Malo was a close friend and associate of William Richards, whom he saved from serious punishment in the Buckle affair and who also referred to Malo as “my teacher.” After he was forced out of government service for his perceived radicalism, he became the third Hawaiian to be ordained as a Protestant minister. He died on Maui at the age of fifty-eight.

A NOTE ON THOMAS HOPU

Hopu had been a fellow student of Henry ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia and James Ely at the Cornwall School in Connecticut. When the first company of missionaries landed in 1820, Hopu performed important duties as a translator and intermediary between chiefs, people, and the newly arrived foreigners. While serving with his old schoolmate James Ely at Ka‘awaloa, he aided Ely in producing a competent and often idiomatic rendering of the story of Joseph (Ely 1828; Davey 2015). Despite his fluency in both English and Hawaiian, he does not seem to have been consulted by other translators, who depended entirely on chiefs and chiefly advisors.

Who Did What?

The first, and probably the most authoritative,⁶⁴ list of who did what on the Bible translation comes from Sheldon Dibble’s *History of the Sandwich Islands* (1843:435–37). As is true, however, of many English-language accounts, Dibble’s made no mention

of the *Kanaka* scholars who had the final say on Hawaiian words and usage. It is difficult to imagine foreign speakers, clearly conscious of their limited control of the language, rejecting the linguistic and stylistic advice of a Malo or a Kuakini. This was, of course, no guarantee that the translation was accurate, only that the Hawaiian effectively reflected the meaning communicated by the American translator to his Hawaiian counterpart(s).

Thus, based on the account in the *Ka Hae Hawaii* article (“No ka Unuhi ana,” July 8, 1857), we can tentatively supplement Dibble’s account of what parts were translated by whom. In the following chart I have copied Dibble’s information (repeated by Clark in 1868) and replaced the column that showed where each section was first printed with the probable identity of the Hawaiians who helped shape the text. I say “tentatively” because some of this will only be known for certain after a thorough scrutiny of letters and journals pertaining to the translation, and some will probably never be known. In each case, however, it is likely that the named Hawaiian scholars had at least some role in the production of that book, if only as a reviewer of the draft translation.

Table 1. The New Testament (1826–32)

Portion	Translator(s) ¹	Probable Hawaiian Consultant(s) ²	Year Printed ³
Matthew ⁴	Bingham Thurston	‘Ī‘Ī ⁵ K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1828*
Mark	Bingham	‘Ī‘Ī	1828*
Luke	Bingham	‘Ī‘Ī	1829
John	Thurston	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1828
Acts	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1829
Romans	Thurston and Bishop	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1831
I Corinthians	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1831
II Corinthians	Thurston	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1831
Galatians	Thurston and Bishop	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1831
Ephesians			
Philippians			
Colossians	Bingham	‘Ī‘Ī	1832
I, II Thessalonians			
I, II Timothy			
Titus			
Philemon			
Hebrews			
James	Richards and Andrews	Hoapili, Malo	1832
I, II Peter	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1832
I,II, III John	Richards and Andrews	Hoapili, Malo	1832
Jude			
Revelation	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1832

Table 2. The Old Testament (1828–39)

Portion	Missionary Translator(s)	Probable Hawaiian Consultant(s) ²	Year Printed ³
Genesis ⁶	Ely	Hopu, K. Kamakau, Malo ⁷	1828
	Thurston and Bishop Richards and Andrews	K. Kamakau, Kuakini Malo, Hoapili	1829 1836
Exodus	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1836
Leviticus	Bingham	‘Īī	1836
Numbers	Thurston and Bishop	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1836
Deuteronomy			
Joshua	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1836
Judges	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1835
Ruth			
I Samuel	Thurston	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1835
II Samuel	Bishop	K. Kamakau, Kuakini	1835
I Kings	Bingham and Clark	‘Īī	1838
II Kings	Thurston	[K. Kamakau,] ⁸ Hoapili	1838
I Chronicles	Bishop	K. Kamakau, Kuakini ⁹	1838
II Chronicles	Green	[Malo] ¹⁰	1838
Ezra	Thurston	[K. Kamakau,] ⁷⁰ Kuakini	1839
Nehemiah	Dibble	Hoapili, Malo	1835
Esther	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1835
Job	Thurston	[K. Kamakau,] ⁷⁰ Kuakini	1839
Psalms 1–75	Bingham	‘Īī	1831–39
Psalms 76–150	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1839
Proverbs	Andrews	Malo	1836
Ecclesiastes	Green	[Malo] ⁷²	1836
Song of Solomon			
Isaiah	Richards	Hoapili, Malo	1836–38
Jeremiah			
Lamentations			
Ezekiel	Bingham	‘Īī	1839
Daniel	Green	[Malo] ⁷²	1839
Hosea	Thurston	[K. Kamakau,] ⁷⁰ Kuakini	1839
Joel			
Amos			
Obadiah			
Jonah			
Micah			
Nahum			
Habakkuk			

Continued on next page

Table 2. *Continued*

Portion	Missionary Translator(s)	Probable Hawaiian Consultant(s) ²	Year Printed ³
Zephaniah Haggai Zechariah Malachi	Bishop	[K. Kamakau,] ^{71, 70} Kuakini	1839

SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES

Translators who are not native speakers of their target language can only rarely convey the force of the translated text without awkwardness and with some semblance of the experience of an author's original audience. As noted above, none of the Hawaiian consultants were Hebrew or Greek scholars and none of the missionaries were native speakers of Hawaiian, a beginning that was anything but promising.

One of the reasons that this deficiency did not result in a clumsy translation is that nearly 80 percent of the Bible is written in what is now called biblical Hebrew (in distinction from mishnaic, medieval, and Israeli Hebrew). Also, many sayings in the Gospels were originally uttered in Palaestian Jewish Aramaic, a language closely related to Hebrew, and many other New Testament passages were influenced by Semitic speech patterns.

A number of serendipitous similarities between biblical Hebrew and Hawaiian verbal structures, prose styles, and poetry contributed to a translation that would be faithful to both the ancient sources and to the language of a Hawaiian-reading audience, but only because those working with the Hebrew texts had a competent working knowledge of Hebrew grammar, syntax, idioms, and lexicon.⁶⁵ One of the reasons, as we shall see, that the Baibala reads as well as it does, especially in Old Testament narrative and poetry, is because Richards, Thurston, and Bingham had been trained under the pioneering Hebrew scholarship of Moses Stuart of Andover Seminary.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, American and British Hebrew scholarship had reached its nadir. While Hebrew had been a required subject at Harvard College until the late eighteenth century, interest was very low and the means for learning it were getting worse instead of better.

Eliphalet Pearson, who taught Hebrew at Harvard from 1786 to 1806, spent most of his time in the department of English. His successor, Sidney Willard, professor of oriental languages from 1807 to 1831, bemoaned the small size of his classes and the lack of progress of his students, and then said, "I suppose there were and are scholars who might excite some zeal in the study of the oriental languages; but the general impression is, and ever has been, at our University, that the value of such learning does not repay the labor and pains necessary to be undergone in its acquirement" (Torrey 1897:249). Moses Stuart was that scholar, and he would train scholars and future Bible translators at Andover.

One of the reasons Hebrew scholarship had fallen so low, especially in America and England, was the distinctively Puritan doctrine of the inspiration of the Old Testament

text. Many Puritans had come to the conclusion that only the ancient consonantal text of the Hebrew Scriptures was inspired,⁶⁶ and that the centuries of Jewish learning, which had gone into the making of the Masoretic text (the standard text of the Hebrew Bible), especially the vowel markings, reflected the creations of men and were not part of the inspired word of God.

This vast storehouse of Jewish learning, therefore, went unmined, and the result was linguistic chaos. Every would-be authority had his own system of pronunciation and grammatical analysis, with the result that knowledge was moving backwards. There were no competent grammars, dictionaries, or pedagogical tools available to the few English speakers who did want to learn the original language of over three-quarters of the Bible.⁶⁷

On the other hand, there was a great deal of creative and industrious Hebrew scholarship being carried out in Germany, very little of which reached England due to the Napoleonic wars, and even less found its way to America in the aftermath of the Revolution and the War of 1812. In the common instructional text used in England and New England in 1807, students were presented with an unvocalized (i.e., no vowel markings) Hebrew text of Zephaniah 3:8, followed by a transcription in Roman characters and a grammatical analysis.⁶⁸

לכן חכו לי נאם יהוה ליום קומי לעד כי משפטי לאסף גוים לקבצי
ממלכות לשפך עליהם זעמי כל חרון אפי כי באש קנאתי תאכל כל הארץ

Lèkèn hèkô lî nâm iēōē lîôm quômî lōd kī mèsphèthî lâshōp gōîm lèquèbzhî
mèmèlkôt lèsphèk ôlîēm zōmî kèl hērôn âpî kī bās quènâtî tâkèl eârèzh

While there are several different ways to pronounce Hebrew—Ashkenazi, Sefardi, Temani, restored classical, or Israeli—this transcription would not only be unintelligible to all, but manifests a woeful ignorance of nearly every phonetic and morphological aspect of the language.⁶⁹ The decision to throw out man-made (i.e., Jewish) traditions about Hebrew had resulted not only in stagnation, but in ignorance. No scholar trained in such a system would have been qualified to translate the Bible from the original Hebrew.

WILHELM GESENIUS

While English and American Hebrew scholarship was stagnating, scholarship in Germany was moving ahead by leaps and bounds. Wilhelm Gesenius of Halle, a scholar of Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic, Ethiopic, as well as classical languages, had carried the study of Hebrew into the modern age. Making full use of traditional Jewish learning, but combining it with a precise knowledge of Semitic linguistics, particularly Classical Arabic, he made it possible for German scholars to penetrate the mists connected with the study of Hebrew and put it on a firm scholarly footing. His grammar (1813) and lexicon (1817) are appropriately considered the beginning of the modern era in the study of Hebrew.

Like many scholars of his day, Gesenius had broken with the tradition of writing all of his scholarly work in Latin, and, as a result of the isolation of English and Ameri-

can scholars from much of continental scholarship, few English and American scholars could read German.

ANDOVER SEMINARY AND MOSES STUART⁷⁰

Andover was founded by the Congregationalists of New England as a result of the raging Unitarian disputes of the day. When the liberal Henry Ware was appointed to the Hollis Chair of Divinity at Harvard College in 1805, it was the last straw for many of the traditional churches, which then created their own school, now the oldest graduate school of theology in the United States. The seminary opened in 1807 and most, though not all, of its students already possessed their baccalaureate degree, making Andover graduates among the best-educated, or at least longest-educated, clergy in America.

In Andover's first year, Eliphalet Pearson, Harvard's professor of Hebrew, assumed the duties of Hebrew pedagogy but retired after one year. Moses Stuart, a brilliant young pastor serving in New Haven, Connecticut, was asked to assume his post. Stuart, writing thirty-four years later, said, "I came here with little more than a knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet, and the power of making out, after a poor fashion too, the bare trans-



Professor Moses Stuart of Andover Seminary.

lation of some chapters in Genesis, and a few Psalms, by aid of Parkhurst's Hebrew Lexicon, and without the vowel-points. I had not, and never have had, the aid of any teacher in my Biblical studies" (Torrey 1897:254).

During his first year at Andover, Stuart continued to use the same grammar as his predecessor, but he was aware that a new age of Hebrew scholarship had dawned in Germany, and so he taught himself to read German. He soon abandoned the old approach and became an avid student of the new learning, which he soon passed on to his students, including those who would work on the Baibala.

Stuart incorporated Gesenius' work into his seminary lectures, eventually publishing, in 1821, a 400-page adaptation and rearrangement of Gesenius' 900+-page German original, the first modern grammar of Hebrew ever printed in English. In the years when Hiram Bingham and Asa Thurston were his students, Stuart inculcated Gesenius' learning through lectures and notes, while William Richards (graduated in 1822) would have had access to Stuart's published text, as did all the remaining Andover graduates who came to Hawai'i.

Other schools, particularly Princeton, whence came Artemas Bishop and Lorrin Andrews, quickly adopted Stuart's book into their own curricula, and, as a result, well over 99 percent of the Hawaiian Bible was first translated by those trained directly or indirectly by Moses Stuart. It is no accident that all the great American semitists of antebellum America (e.g., Josiah Gibbs and Edward Robinson) had been Stuart's students and protégés.

This meant that the ABCFM Bible translators were among a very select few who were on the cutting edge of the biblical scholarship of their day. Although they remained deeply conservative in their theological outlook, they were among the educated elite of the era, and, in terms of biblical scholarship, strove to keep that scholarship current as new learning poured in from the Continent.

As new scholarship became available, books were soon dispatched to Hawai'i, such as Gibbs' admirable Hebrew lexicon and Stuart's translation of the 14th edition of Gesenius' grammar. Their bookshelves included the writings of the giants of European and American scholarship—Rosenmüller, Michaelis, Gesenius, Knapp, Griesbach, Bloomfield, Doddridge, Stuart, Gibbs, Robinson, Macknight, and Campbell. No effort was spared in the attempt to wring a clear meaning from the ancient texts.

Knowledge of Greek was less of a problem for the Baibala translators because the study of ancient Greek, renewed in Western Europe during the Renaissance after a hiatus of centuries, had not waned and had migrated intact to the universities of America. Greek scholarship at Andover was of a high standard, but on a par with that of other institutions.

One advantage, however, of Andover students was that Andover was a graduate school. The candidates for admission were required to possess a working knowledge of Greek that was subsequently strengthened over their three years of study. All students were examined yearly by the faculty to evaluate their progress in biblical languages. Other languages, particularly Latin and occasionally French, to which some missionaries added a reading knowledge of Tahitian, were also part of their scholarly equipment. Old Testament translations from the Hebrew were regularly checked against the ancient Greek and Latin versions, as well as modern translations in Tahitian and English.

THE RECEPTION OF THE BAIBALA

During the first three decades following the arrival of the ABCFM in Hawai‘i, cash was a scarce commodity for many families. Much of the internal economy continued to be based on exchange and barter,⁷¹ and yet sales of Baibala portions, New Testaments, and, eventually, whole Bibles were far beyond what could have been expected of a mostly rural population living a traditional lifestyle within the confines of the *ahupua‘a*.

When the Baibala project was begun, the population of Hawai‘i was about 120,000, down to probably under 95,000 (Schmitt 1964:150) by the time of its completion. Even so, overall demand for the Baibala, in terms of total pages, actually increased in spite of the frightening rate of depopulation. When cash was not to be found, “arrowroot . . . taro, [sweet] potatoes, cabbages, bananas, cocoanuts, sugar cane, eggs, firewood, fish, and even canoe paddles” would be exchanged for the latest Baibala portion.⁷²

Here follows a list detailing the remarkable numbers of Baibala publications prior to 1850, numbers that, on the whole, would have been indicative of a much larger population living in a money economy.⁷³ Also, it should be remembered that most texts in Hawaiian, other than larger volumes, would be used, or even memorized, by many different readers; thus a printing of 10,000 could easily represent a readership many times larger (Bingham 1849:370).

Table 3. Baibala print runs prior to 1850

Year	Text	Copies Printed
1827	Sermon on the Mount	18,000 ⁷⁴
1827	Gospel of Luke	20,000
1828	Gospel of Matthew	15,000
1828	Sermon on the Mount	25,000
1828	The Story of Joseph	16,000
1829	Gospel of John	15,000
1829	Gospel of Mark	15,000
1829	Genesis (Creation only)	20,000
1829	Exodus	10,000
1829	Acts of the Apostles	10,000
1830a	Gospel of Luke	10,000
1830b	Gospel of Luke	10,000
1830	Psalms (part 1)	10,000
1830	Story of Joseph	10,000
1831	Joshua	10,000
1831	Romans	10,000
	I Corinthians	
	II Corinthians	

Continued on next page

Table 3. *Continued*

Year	Text	Copies Printed
1831	Galatians Ephesians Philippians Colossians I & II Thessalonians I & II Timothy Titus Philemon Hebrews James	10,000
1832	Acts of the Apostles	5,500
1832	I, II, III John I, II Peter Jude Revelation	10,000
1833	Deuteronomy	10,000
1833	Numbers	10,000
1833	Acts of the Apostles	10,000
1833	Romans	10,000
1834	I Samuel	10,000
1834	Judges Ruth	10,000
1835	New Testament	10,000
1835	Nehemiah ⁷⁵	1,000
1836	Genesis	10,000
1836	Nehemiah Esther	10,000
1837	New Testament	10,000
1837	II Chronicles	1,000
1838	Ecclesiastes Song of Solomon	1,000
1838	Esther	1,000
1838	Proverbs	1,000
1838	Bible part 1	10,000
1838	Bible part 2	10,000
1838	Isaiah Jeremiah (incomplete)	1,000
1841	New Testament	10,000
1843a	New Testament	2,000 ⁷⁶
1843b	New Testament	2,000
1843a	Bible	10,000
1843b	Bible	500
1849	New Testament	10,000

The New Testament was reprinted again in 1857, 1859, 1860, 1868, 1869, 1871 (twice), 1884, as well as several times in the twentieth century. The complete Baibala was reprinted again in 1868, 1872, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1886, and throughout the twentieth century (as late as 1994) and now again in 2012. The Baibala has rarely been out of print.

The widespread acceptance of the Baibala brought in its wake a host of other books, both translations and original compositions, such as multiple catechisms, geographies of the Holy Land, Sunday-school lessons and manuals, timelines, Bible dictionaries, commentaries, and, of course, sermons. In some areas, especially Ni‘ihau, the Bible and the hymn book are as pervasive and influential now as they were throughout most of Hawai‘i 150 years ago (Wong 2014:28ff.).

The Baibala entered the life of *Kānaka* as no other book, save perhaps Makua Laiana’s hymn books and a few song collections. In addition to public and private reading, memorization, and singing, other uses include family devotions (*pule ‘ohana*), the practice of *wehe i ka Baibala*,⁷⁷ warding off unwanted spirits by placing it under the pillow (in place of *kī* leaves), and as a valued part of *ho‘oponopono*. It became language teacher,⁷⁸ textbook, prophet of coming events,⁷⁹ source of inspiration and knowledge, and protector from evil. While the religion of Hawaiians after 1819 has taken many different paths, many of those who retained the use of Hawaiian as their day-to-day language have also retained the Baibala as an important part of their religious expression.

Hawaiian writers of the nineteenth and twentieth century, such as S. M. Kamakau (Catholic), J. M. Poepoe (Mormon), and Stephen L. Desha (Congregationalist), frequently allude to biblical passages in stories unrelated to church worship⁸⁰ in a way that amply demonstrates just how familiar their reading audience was with the language and content of the Baibala.⁸¹ In addition to newspapers dedicated to religious topics, several secular papers carried Baibala lessons and questions as a regular feature.⁸²

When the Hawaiian language began to be endangered, reading the Baibala and worshipping at Hawaiian-language churches served as *kīpuka* ‘protected islands’ in the onslaught of English. For Ni‘ihau families, the Baibala continues to be widely read, memorized, and sung (Wong 2014:28ff). More than one of the Hawaiian elders interviewed on *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*, the Hawaiian-language radio program begun in the 1970s, described the role played by the Baibala in their learning of the language. Most of them grew up in the midst of an English-speaking world, yet they were often required to read the Baibala aloud to parents and grandparents. Indeed some of these Hawaiian elders have said that the best Hawaiian to be found is that in the Baibala Hemolele.⁸³

MANA‘O PANINA / CONCLUSION

In spite of its unparalleled significance in the religious and literary history of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Hawai‘i, research into the Baibala has been conspicuously absent. And yet for decades, thousands of Hawaiians read it daily (as some continue to do), memorized lengthy portions of it, composed chants and hymns from its language, and ventured to distant islands and sometimes hostile shores as missionaries themselves.

In Hawaiian-language circles, even though the language of the Baibala was shaped by the most eminent Native scholars of the day, it is often considered a strictly mis-

sionary production, and therefore of little worth in the study of literary Hawaiian of the early nineteenth century. The content is ancient Israelite and Greco-Roman, the interpretation is early nineteenth-century Protestant, but the language is, by and large, the Hawaiian recommended by the highest-ranking chiefs and advisors of the 1820s and 1830s.

For the study of the Baibala, we still lack an adequate dictionary. Andrews incorporated a great many passages from the Baibala in his 1865 work, only a portion of which made it into the Pukui-Elbert dictionary. There are hundreds of examples of old meanings of words that cannot be understood using Pukui-Elbert alone,⁹⁴ and a few words not found in either.

While I plan to discuss at greater length the nature of the *‘ōlelo Baibala* in a subsequent article, a careful use of the Baibala is a valuable tool in evaluating the older use of words, especially those labeled “rare” in Pukui-Elbert or found only in Andrews’ dictionary. We cannot ask Malo or Hoapili how to say a thing, but we can, through the Baibala, learn how they actually did say a great many things.

Neither of the two very different groups of people who produced the Baibala—the missionary scholars working with ancient texts and the Hawaiian chiefs and advisors, guardians of a millennium of traditional *Kanaka* learning—could have produced even a pedestrian Bible translation on their own. Together, through over a decade of incessant and mostly fruitful labor and cooperation, they created a work for the ages, among the best Bible translations of their century, and an enduring literary monument today: Moses and David, Jesus and Saint Paul, all speaking the courtly language of the sons and daughters of Papa and Wākea.

NOTES

1. This article forms part one of a series on the Hawaiian Bible. Part 2, “Ka ‘Ōlelo Baibala: The Language of the Hawaiian Bible,” is planned for a subsequent issue, as is Part 3, “Ka ‘Ike Baibala: The Knowledge and Influence of the Baibala in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Hawai‘i.”

2. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

3. Lorrin Andrews, who worked on the Baibala project, was well aware of this fact, as evidenced by his statement: “It is my opinion that the Sandwich Islanders will never have a good translation of the Bible until some of them shall be able to read the originals” (Charlot 2005:617, 644).

4. The only accolades of early missionary Hawaiian come from other missionaries and mission descendants. A very few mission descendants, such as Rev. Henry Parker, born in Hawai‘i and longtime pastor of Kawaiaha‘o Church, and Laura Green, daughter of translator and longtime pastor at Makawao, Maui, Jonathan Green, were, at least in conversation and writing, equally fluent in Hawaiian and English. See Lyon 2011 for an analysis of the Hawaiian of one mission son, Nathaniel Bright Emerson, born in 1842 in Waiāluā, O‘ahu.

5. Missionaries wrote to one another in English, and their general meetings were conducted in English. Rev. Dwight Baldwin (who did not participate in the Bible translation) did occasionally write to his daughter living in America in Hawaiian lest she forget the language.

6. Greek was, for a short time, taught at Lahainaluna Seminary on Maui by Lorrin Andrews, but without grammars, dictionaries, or other pedagogical aids, it would have been nearly impossible for the students to make much progress (Charlot 2005:41, 644).

7. Most of these are cursory (e.g., Kuykendall 1938:105). John Charlot's (2005:615ff.) admirable discussion is, while brief, far and away the best. Charlot has carefully examined both missionary and Hawaiian-language sources, appropriately noted the cooperative nature of the venture, and provided insightful discussion on the complexities of the work.

8. A complete transcription of the Hawaiian together with an English translation appears later in this edition of the journal.

9. Neither Lydia Bingham Coan (*The Friend*, December 1, 1902) nor Ethel Damon (*The Friend*, May 1, 1939) make any reference to the remarkable scholarship of the missionaries, and they make only the briefest mention that Hawaiians participated in the project.

10. This refers to published works for an audience that read English. Private letters, on the other hand, do make reference to the work of Hawaiians in the choice of words and the shaping of the language, particularly Richards' work with Malo (Charlot 2005:616). Also, there are many indications, not yet fully explored, of lessened readability as the confidence of American editors and revisors increased and they relied less on the insight of highly educated native speakers. (See Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844:75.)

11. The percentage of Americans holding a BA in 1820 was minuscule. The ABCFM ministers held not only a BA but also an AM (*Artis Magister*, an MA in today's terminology), a three-year graduate degree in theological studies, much of which was devoted to biblical criticism and the intense study of the original languages. As we shall see, their teacher and mentor was the first great American scholar in what was then called "oriental languages," i.e., languages of the Ancient Near East.

12. Bingham's comment on the role of the Bible in the mission is unambiguous: "God's Word, the finishing sheet of which was struck May 10, 1839, has, from the commencement of our mission, been prominent in our teaching-prominent in all the schools, taught or superintended by our missionaries" (Bingham 1848:531).

13. Bishop incorrectly attributed this phrase to Stillingfleet (Bishop, *The Friend*, August 1, 1844:74).

14. An interesting corollary is the career of the contemporary English missionary William Carey (1761–1834), an early Protestant missionary to India who, after decades of toil, could claim only a few hundred converts. He is, however, memorialized to this day in missionary circles because he left translations of all or parts of the Bible in several Indian languages.

15. See Demos 2014 for a thorough, if somewhat disheartening, account of this school and the fate of many of its students.

16. The German scholar, novelist, and poet Adelbert von Chamisso had written, "The language of the Sandwich islands really appeared to us still more childish than the dialect of Tonga does in its grammar" (Elbert and Pukui 1979:1). Chamisso later amended his opinion and wrote the first grammar of any Polynesian language not based on a Latinate model.

17. Malo studied with Auna and Tau'ā. Bingham also gives the name Kuke, which must be a Hawaiianized nickname since Tahitian does not have the phoneme \k\.

18. Perhaps the most sophisticated Hawaiian produced by any of the early missionaries is found in William Richards' *No ke Kalaiaina* (1840), an adaptation of Francis Wayland's *The Elements of Political Economy* (1837). *The Elements of Moral Science* (1836), another volume by Wayland, a one-time Andover student who must have known Bingham and Thurston, was also adapted by Richard Armstrong as *Ka Hulikanaka* (1841). Armstrong and Dibble later edited and re-issued this work in 1847 as *Ka Wehewehe Hala, oia hoi, ka Hulikanaka*.

19. This account includes a citation from a letter by Levi Chamberlain who explicitly stated that the manuscripts of Richards and Bingham were later sent to Kailua to be revised by Thurston, Bishop, and Ely. Bishop (*The Friend*, August 1, 1844) and the Hawaiian-language account in "No ka Unuhi ana" (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857) claimed that Richards and Bingham went themselves to Kailua for two months to work on the translation of Matthew. No other account

other than Chamberlain's letter suggests that Mr. Ely was an active participant in the translation. While no mention was made here of the Hawaiian scholars who were helping Bingham, other sources indicate that he regularly consulted with learned Hawaiians, particularly Ioane Papa ʻĪī (see below). Richards, in his private letters, recorded with admiration Malo's thoughtful consideration of the biblical text and his patience in answering Richards' questions about the language (Charlot 2005:616).

20. The July 8, 1857, Hawaiian-language account "No ka Unuhi ana" (*Ka Hae Hawaii*) also stated that Richards and Bingham went to Kailua. This article might have been written by Bishop, since it appears to use the pronoun *kākou* incorrectly (we, including the speaker and the audience): "He 10 na makahiki a kakou e unuhi ana i ka Palapala Hemolele" (we [you folks and I] spent 10 years translating the Holy Scriptures). Bishop delivered a paper (in English) in 1844 before the Sandwich Islands Bible Society, and his audience would have certainly included some of the American translators. The Hawaiian account, however, was not a translation or adaptation of that paper, so that it seems likely that the odd use of the pronoun indicates that the writer was actively involved in the translation, but probably not a native speaker of Hawaiian.

21. The reverse was also true, although this was generally unrecognized by Americans and Europeans who persisted in calling Hawaiian either a barbarous or uncultivated language in spite of their inability to make much headway in *mele*, the most elegant form of literary expression in Hawaiian (see Andrews 1836:15; 1865:15; April 23, 1875:30).

22. Bishop (*The Friend*, August 1, 1844:75) stated that as the missionaries progressed in the language they needed less day-to-day help, but, rather, would collect a group of skilled Hawaiians and read through longer sections with them, incorporating their suggestions and corrections as they thought appropriate. Unfortunately, he does not mention the name of a single Hawaiian throughout his account. The Huntington Library of San Marino, California, has recently acquired many of Bishop's papers and letters; further investigation of these would likely yield more specifics (Dan Lewis of the Huntington Library, personal communication, July 29, 2014).

23. The brief content summaries printed at the beginning of each chapter of the Baibala, however, do not appear to have been corrected by native speakers and are, consequently, rife with non-standard grammar.

24. See the photograph later in this article of a page from a draft translation of Luke. See also the image of a draft page from Psalms that was so heavily corrected as to be nearly unreadable.

25. The Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and John were first printed at Rochester, New York, but printing outside of Hawai'i proved to be error-prone. The remaining portions, therefore, were printed at Lahainaluna or Honolulu where the work could be checked while it was still in press ("No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*, July 8, 1857).

26. It is curious that Bishop's mean-spirited account actually censures Hawaiians, rather than missionary ineptitude, and then praises his own and his ABCFM colleagues' "vigilance" in keeping the Hawaiians on track.

27. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

28. Draft translations of other portions were also distributed in smaller numbers (Day 1949:1).

29. ʻŌpūkaha'ia had discovered this on his own while studying at Cornwall. His translation (now lost) of the book of Genesis into Hawaiian from Hebrew was made years before the translation made in Hawai'i (Lyons 2004:50).

30. See, for example, Andrews' extensive discussion on the appropriate sources for words and the very limited conditions under which new words would be coined from Hebrew or Greek (Andrews 1836:18).

31. It was actually three volumes that some people bound into a single tome (Damon, *The Friend*, May 1, 1939).

32. More work is needed to determine the goals and extent of this revision.

33. Clark was actually the president of a revision committee, although he seems to have done most of the work. He wrote, “A committee was appointed to commence the work of revision. The work finally devolved mainly on myself, as chairman of this committee, assisted by Revs. W. P. Alexander, J. F. Pogue, D. Baldwin, Pres. W. D. Alexander, and Rev. A. O. Forbes” (Clark 1868:9). While all were fluent Hawaiian speakers, it is curious that no Hawaiians participated in the revision. Of these, only W. D. Alexander had learned Hawaiian as a child, but even he had received his education at the English-speaking Punahou, followed by a lengthy university education in America.

34. Clark (1868:10) gloomily predicted that “these plates [for the 1868 revision] will probably last as long as the Hawaiian people shall last as a people speaking the Hawaiian language.”

35. This last edition, particularly helpful to those unaccustomed to reading the old orthography, is accompanied by audio files read by Kuuipolani and Keola Wong, who speak Ni‘ihau Hawaiian at home but read the biblical texts using standard Hawaiian pronunciation. In at least one case, the orthography of this edition diverges from the usage intended by the translators. They (the translators) consistently used *kā* (*ka* in the old orthography) with ancestor names or *ko* with geographical names to indicate the members of a nation, e.g., *kā ‘Isera‘ela*, “the Israelites,” and *ko ‘Aigupita*, “the Egyptians.” The 2012 edition has *ka* (without the macron) with ancestor names, e.g., *ka Iseraela*, “the Israel,” which is both grammatically and semantically jarring, as Hawaiian does not use the singular definite article with personal names, but rather the particle ‘o (i.e., ‘o *Isera‘ela* instead of *ka Iseraela*). I have recently heard that there are plans to fix this in future editions.

36. See Demos 2014 for an excellent account of both ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia and the short, but fateful, history of the Cornwall mission school. See also Charlot’s (2010) interpretation of two early Hawaiian-Christian chants which provide insight into how some Hawaiians viewed aspects of the new religion.

37. The first cohort of the Sandwich Islands Mission was instructed, “You will never forget Obookiah. You will never forget his fervent love, his affectionate counsels, his many prayers and tears for you, and for his and your nation. You saw him die; saw how the Christian could triumph over death and the grave; saw the radiant glory in which he left this world for heaven. You will remember it always, and you will tell it to your kindred and countrymen who are dying without hope.” From the written instructions of the Prudential Committee of the ABCFM, 1819 (quoted in Miller 1988:141ff.).

38. See Lyons 2004:50.

39. There is a large body of literature about the missionaries, but much less about the Native Hawaiian language monitors. Consequently, my sketches of the latter are more detailed. Readers who would like to know more about the former are referred to the *Missionary Album* (Hawaiian Mission Children’s Society 1969).

40. See Lyon 2013. One chapter of Andrews’ translation was published anonymously, and while it was repeatedly announced in the English newspapers that it would be published serially, this never happened.

41. See Clark 1872. It is not clear why the word *wehewehe* in the title and on the title page is misspelt. We can suppose it is an error of the printer, for Clark’s Hawaiian, as demonstrated in this lengthy volume, was generally correct and competent. It is also written as *wehiwehi* in the first line of the introduction, but always as *wehewehe* in the body of the text.

42. Chamberlain (September 20, 1826) wrote that “with the assistance of Honorii [Honoli‘i], Mr. Goodrich had commenced the translation of the Gospel of John.” Honoli‘i was one of the companions of ‘Ōpūkaha‘ia at the Cornwall school, but due to poor health and a perceived weakness of mind and character, does not seem to have had any real hand in the Bible translation. Goodrich, likewise, does not seem to have been an active participant. According to

Dibble's chart, this Gospel was translated by Thurston. Hopu, on the other hand, before running afoul of missionary sexual standards, seems to have made important contributions to James Ely's translation of the Joseph story.

43. See Chamberlain's account earlier in this article, in which Malo was asked to correct the language and decide on proper use of words.

44. I would like to express my thanks to my colleague, Marie Alohalani Brown, who first brought this important article to my attention.

45. ʻĪʻi generally signed his Christian name as Ioane but was frequently (as in this case) referred to as Keoni by both Hawaiians and foreigners. Ioane derives from the Greek spelling of John as found in the Greek and Hawaiian Bible (Iōannēs/Ioane), while Keoni is the Hawaiian pronunciation of the English "John."

46. This is not to say that missionaries spoke bad Hawaiian. Most of their writings are clear and employ correct grammar, but no text written by a foreign-born minister before the 1860s rises above pedestrian prose. It is particularly interesting to compare the language of the Baibala and Artemas Bishop's contemporary translation (Bishop 1842) of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Bishop's translation accurately renders Bunyan's story, but with little of the charm of the original. The language and style of the Hawaiian Gospels, on the other hand, are often considerably more idiomatic than what is found in the Greek originals. Missionaries could and did write correct Hawaiian; they rarely wrote Hawaiian that could have been mistaken as the work of a skilled Native writer.

47. There are, of course, exceptions, where the Hawaiian is either unclear or, more rarely, nonstandard. The chapter summaries, in particular, do not seem to have been edited by a Native speaker of Hawaiian. Also, as missionary self-reliance grew, the missionary translators sought less help from Native speakers. More work needs to be done to understand the role of the 1842 and 1868 revisions in modifying the original work.

48. Mrs. Pukui provided several examples in this article, as did Laura Green in the same issue, of the surprising depth and nuance of the Hawaiian Bible.

49. Picture credits as follows. Davida Malo: "David Malo. A Native of the Hawaiian Islands." Lithograph from a drawing by Alfred Thomas Agate from the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–42. Published in Charles Pickering's *The Races of Man*, 1848. Gov. Kuaikini: "Kuakini, Governor of Hawaii." Sketch by William Ellis circa 1822, from his *A Journal of a Tour around Hawaii, the Largest of the Sandwich Islands*, 1825. Gov. Hoapili: "Hoapili-kane." Watercolor by C. C. Armstrong. Bishop Museum. Ioane Papa ʻĪʻi: Portrait circa 1851. Bishop Museum. Thomas Hopu: "Four Owhyhean Youths (Thomas Hoopu, George Tamoree, William Tenoe, and John Honore)." Engraving by Jocelyn circa 1822 from a painting by Samuel F. B. Morse.

50. This was related by Thomas Thrum, who appears to have received his information from W. D. Alexander, who copied out the now-lost original of Kamakau's "No na Oihana Kahuna Kahiko." Alexander's handwritten copy with some of his and N. B. Emerson's notes can be found in folder EMR58 of the Nathaniel Bright Emerson Papers at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

51. S. M. Kamakau (2001:139–45) devoted a full article to this high chief in the newspaper *Ke Au Okoa*, February 4, 1869. There he wrote Hoapili's name as Ulumeheihei, not as Ulumaheihei, the spelling often encountered in other sources. Davida Malo wrote it as Ulumaheihei (Langlas and Lyon 2008). In this article I have used Ulumeheihei. He was often called Hoapilikāne to distinguish him from his wife Kaheiheimālie, who took the name Hoapiliwahine when they were married.

52. After her acceptance of Christianity, she chose Hoapili to be her only spouse (Silverman 1983:65).

53. S. M. Kamakau (2001:140) describes Hoapili's victory in Kaua'i thus: "Ua pau ko Kaua'i i ka luku 'ia, a me ka ho'omāinoino 'ia, a ua kanu 'ia nā kupapa'u ma ka waha o nā pua'a, a ua lawe pio 'ia kekahi po'e" "The Kaua'i forces were utterly wiped out [in battle] or brutally executed, and the mouths of pigs were their places of burial. Some, too, were taken prisoner".

54. Ulumeheihei Hoapili died on January 2, 1840.

55. His birth name was Kaluaikonahale 'The grave vault at Konahale' (see S.M. Kamakau 2001:103). 1792 is the year given by Malo (*Ka Nonanona*, January 7, 1845) in his account of Kuakini's last days. There he states that Kuakini was born in the year of the battle of Kepūwaha'ula'ula, off the Hāmākua coast of Hawai'i Island.

56. Ka'ahumanu told Malo, "A ke mana'o nei au, aia a hui māua me Kuakini ma O'ahu, a laila, 'o 'oe nō ke kia'āina o Hawai'i" 'I think that when Kuakini and I meet again on O'ahu, then you shall be governor of Hawai'i' (S. M. Kamakau 2001:75).

57. See Malo's (*Ka Nonanona*, December 24, 1844) moving account on the death of Kuakini, particularly his and Kuakini's conversations in which they both demonstrate a profound grasp of Christian theology.

58. In other words, the chiefs of the time of Kamehameha and before (Malo, *Ka Nonanona*, December 24, 1844:86).

59. Brown, my colleague in the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa Department of Religion, has recently published a full length biography on ʻĪī (Brown 2016).

60. See Noelani Arista's (1998) MA thesis and especially her trenchant biographical sketch of Malo in the forthcoming two-volume edition of *The Mo'olelo Hawai'i of Davida Malo* edited and translated by Langlas and Lyon (forthcoming).

61. Malo himself wrote that he was born in 1795 in his 1827 *He Buke no ka Oihana Kula* (first printed in Malo 2006), but his close companion, Rev. S. Waimalu (*Ka Elele Hawaii*, January 5, 1854), wrote that Malo was sixty years old when he died in 1853 (my thanks to Noelani Arista for showing me this article).

62. The first of his published *mele*, a *kanikau* for Ka'ahumanu, was also the first Hawaiian poem ever published in a Hawaiian newspaper (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, August 8, 1834). Malo's poetry is intricate and difficult even for learned native speakers. See Lyons, *The Friend*, August 1895.

63. Of particular note was his advice to Ka'ahumanu during the Buckle affair (Dibble 1838:101ff.), his testimony in the Charlton case (Malo 2006:xvii), his call for the younger chiefs to live up to their predecessors (Malo, *Ka Nonanona*, January 7, 1845), and the above-mentioned petitions to exclude foreigners from government, land ownership, and even citizenship.

64. Some of the details vary in the Hawaiian-language account from July 8, 1857 ("No ka Unuhi ana," *Ka Hae Hawaii*), as is also true of Bishop's August 1, 1844, account in *The Friend*. Dibble's is, however, the closest in date to the actual events.

65. For this table and the following one, translators who are known to have worked together are joined by "and," otherwise they are listed on different lines.

66. This column, here and in the next table, contains considerable conjecture. It is based on the information found in the *Ka Hae Hawaii* article ("No ka Unuhi ana," July 8, 1857), which specifies the books worked on by each missionary, but, for the Hawaiians, only tells us the names of the missionary translators they generally worked with. I have separated the names of the conjectured Hawaiian language editors because we do not know that they ever worked jointly (unlike Thurston and Bishop).

67. The asterisk indicates that the printing was done outside of Hawai'i.

68. Accounts differ about the translators of Matthew, possibly because of the joint work in Kailua in 1826 and Bingham's early (1824) attempt to produce his own translation.

69. Bingham did not indicate who helped him in 1824 on his personal translation of parts of Matthew. While ʻĪī regularly worked with him later, this might not have started at such an early date. See Bingham 1848:374.

70. The translation of Kinohi (Genesis) was done in several stages. James Ely translated (and adapted) the the Joseph story in 1828 (Ely 1828), and that was revised by William Richards (with assistance by Lorrin Andrews) in 1830 as *Ka Hope o ka Mooolelo Kinohi*. The earlier chapters of Genesis were translated by Thurston and Bishop in 1829. Much of Ely's work survived in the Richards/Andrews revision, which was in turn largely incorporated into the version of Genesis that appeared as part of the complete Baibala translation. Levi Chamberlain expressly stated that Genesis was translated by Bishop and Thurston (Forbes 1999:508), but a comparison of Ely's 1828 tract with the 1839 version makes it clear that much of his adaptation remained intact. The complete text of Genesis never appeared as a separate publication. For a thorough investigation of Ely's work on the Joseph story, see Davey 2015:22–23.

71. According to Chamberlain (Journals, September 8, 1828), Malo assisted at the joint session of the translators in which they examined the revision of the translation of the story of Joseph—originally printed as a separate publication (Ely 1828).

72. K. Kamakau died in April 1838, but it is likely that the original draft translation had been completed well before that year.

73. According to the *Missionary Album* (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969), Bishop did all his translation work (other than the 1842 revision) while at Kailua, Hawai'i Island. He left there in 1836 for 'Ewa, O'ahu. It is likely, therefore, that the draft translation of I Chronicles was completed before he left Hawai'i Island and that he had the assistance of K. Kamakau and Kuakini. If the work was done while he was pastor in 'Ewa, it is likely that he worked with 'Ī'i since, at least in later years, he lived in Honolulu and travelled to 'Ewa to preach (Hawaiian Mission Children's Society 1969:46).

74. Green was at Wailuku from 1832 to 1842. None of the Native scholars mentioned in the July 8, 1857, *Ka Hae Hawaii* article lived in Wailuku, but Malo was at Lahainaluna (as were other Native scholars) at this time.

75. See the insightful comments of Bishop Patteson on the similarities of Polynesian verbal aspects to those of classical Hebrew (quoted in Driver 1892:6).

76. Hebrew, like most Semitic languages, was originally written with only consonants. The reader would have to know what vowels to supply to make sense of the text. Consider an English example: R Fthr which rt n hvn, hllwd b th nm (Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name). Native speakers can do this kind of reading with relative ease, while it requires years for foreign speakers to have sufficient knowledge to be able to supply the correct vowels. Long after Hebrew ceased to be a living language, Jewish scholars invented a system of dots and dashes written above and below the letters to indicate vowel sounds and even musical notations for chanting. It is this latter set of markings that were rejected by the Puritans. Unfortunately, they had nothing with which to replace it.

77. For those few willing to use them, some of the works of Renaissance and Reformation Christian scholarship, e.g., those by Reuchlin and Buxtdorf, still provided a difficult but navigable path to a reading competence in the language.

78. Based on C. C. Torrey's (1897:251) transcript. In the transcription here I use è where the original text had e with an upside-down circumflex accent.

79. A modern transliteration of this Zephaniah 3 can be found at <http://biblehub.com/interlinear/transliterated/zephaniah/3.htm>, and a clearly enunciated recording at <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/mp3/t2103.mp3>.

80. I am much in debt throughout this section to C. C. Torrey's (1897) detailed history of Hebrew at Andover. Torrey was himself an accomplished semitist in the best Andover tradition.

81. Even in the early 1850s when Malo was requesting books for the Kēōkea area, he proposed that students pay for books with food items (Malo 1852).

82. See Day (1949:1), based on his reading of the correspondence of W. P. Alexander on Kaua'i.

83. For the complete listings of Bible portions printed, see Ballou and Carter (1908) and Judd, Bell, and Murdoch (1978).

84. Loomis was forced to return to the United States because of poor health, so this first printing was carried out by Ioane Papa ʻĪī, Richard Kalaiula, and Kuaana (Ballou and Carter 1908:23).

85. Forbes (2000:102, 114) lists two printings of Nehemiah, first by itself in 1835, and then together with the book of Esther in 1835 or 1836.

86. Judd, Bell, and Murdoch (1978:95) shows two separate printings of the New Testament in 1843 but does not list the number printed for the former of the two. For the latter, it lists 2,000. It is not clear if this is the sum for both or if it applies only to the second printing.

87. ‘Open the Bible’, i.e., open the Bible randomly with the expectation that the passage will provide insight and guidance in a crisis or for the coming year (see Pukui, Haertig, and Lee, vol. 2, 1972:185). Some Hawaiians continue to do this today (Hiapo Perreira, personal communication, August 7, 2014). Also called *wāhi i ka Baibala* ‘break open the Bible’.

88. As recorded in the *Ka Leo Hawaiʻi* interviews conducted by Larry Kimura with Sarah Nākoa and Rev. Louis Grace.

89. See the Hawaiian apocalyptic movement of Iosepa Kaona at Kona, Hawaiʻi Island, in 1868 (Greenwell 1987: 67–76).

90. The writer Hoʻoulumāhiehie made biblical allusions and connections throughout his retelling of the Pele and Hiʻiaka story. A cursory look at the index of names (Hoʻoulumāhiehie 2008:477–82) yields the following biblical characters: Abraham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Job, Jonah, Joshua, Isaiah, Christ, Lazarus, Lucifer, and Moses.

91. Many of their biblical references are obscure to modern readers, e.g., Mataio Kekūānāoʻa’s reference to the adulterous partner in a marriage as a *kia paakai* ‘column of salt’ in reference to Lot’s wife. This term, in fact, was widely used in the 1860s and 1870s as a term for an adulterous spouse (S. M. Kamakau 2001:141 *bis*).

92. The earlier papers, e.g., *Ka Lama Hawaii*, *Ka Nonanona*, and *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, were dominated by missionary and religious writings, while the longest-running newspaper, *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa* (1861–1927), regularly devoted page 4 to religious matters.

93. See, for example, the interviews with Sarah Nākoa and Rev. Louis Grace. Such observations are, of course, often impressionistic and influenced by other factors but are still important indicators that the language of the Baibala was felt to be more elevated than that of common speech.

94. For example, *paka* with the meaning of clearly (ʻike *paka* in Acts 10:3, Col. 2:2, I Thess. 5:2, et al.).

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