

HIDETO KONO

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Observations of the First Japanese to Land in Hawai'i

HIRAHARA ZENMATSU WAS A JAPANESE SEAMAN who lived among the people of the island of O'ahu for about three and a half months in 1806. Zenmatsu was a native of the province of Aki, now Hiroshima prefecture, during the reign of the Tokugawa feudal government (1603–1867). He and seven others aboard the *Inawaka-maru*, a small Japanese cargo ship, were shipwrecked off Japan and remained adrift in the Pacific for more than seventy days.¹ An American trading vessel, the *Tabour*, sailing eastward in the northern Pacific on her return voyage from China, rescued the emaciated crew of the *Inawaka-maru* and deposited them on O'ahu on May 5, 1806. There they remained until August 17, when they departed from the island with the hope of returning to Japan.

This essay is based on the official record of Zenmatsu's testimony compiled in a document titled *Iban Hyoryu Kikokuroku*.² The testimony was given at the time Zenmatsu was summoned by Lord Asano of Hiroshima after he had finally returned to his homeland on November 29, 1807. This occurred six months after his arrival in Nagasaki, where he was severely interrogated by officials of the *bakufu* (shogunate government).

Hideto Kono and Kazuko Sinoto are members of the Joseph Heco Society of Hawai'i, which was organized in 1991 to undertake research on records of Japanese who touched the shores of Hawai'i prior to 1868, when the first group of Japanese was brought to the Islands to work on the sugar plantations.

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BACKGROUND

By 1806, O'ahu was being visited by explorers and trading ships from European and American nations following news of the "discovery" of the "Sandwich Islands" by Captain James Cook in 1778. Ships called at Honolulu harbor, where the bottom was deep enough to accommodate the deep-draft sailing vessels of the time. The harbor was used principally for provisioning vessels with fresh water and produce and as a site for minor repairs.

The principal Hawaiian Islands were already consolidated into a kingdom under King Kamehameha I. There were only a few foreign residents. The missionaries had not yet arrived. King Kamehameha I established a residence in Waikiki³ partly to maintain oversight on the fur-trading vessels that used Honolulu harbor as a convenient stopping point between the Northern Pacific fur-trapping region and China.

Japan in 1806 was under a feudal system of government headed by the Tokugawa shogunate, which had been in power for more than two hundred years, maintaining uneasy control over more than 250 semi-independent fiefdoms, each headed by a *daimyo* (feudal lord). Substantial effort of the Tokugawa family was focused on preventing the overthrow of its regime through possible alliances of *daimyo* accumulating sufficient resources by trading with foreign countries. Accordingly, one of its edicts was *sakoku* ("closed country"), a policy that discouraged overseas trading by limiting the size of vessels to be built; prohibiting Japanese from trading with foreign agents without specific authorization of Tokugawa officials; and barring its citizens from leaving the country subject to death upon their return. Only ships flying the Netherlands or Chinese flag were allowed to enter and trade in Japan and only through a single authorized port of entry, Nagasaki. For this reason, Japanese citizens who, by intent or by accident, spent any time in any foreign country risked their lives when they tried to return to their families in Japan.

ZENMATSU'S VOYAGE BEGINS

The *Inawaka-maru*, built in 1798 in Osaka and owned by Mansuke Motoya of Kitaniura, Hiroshima, was chartered by the Kikkawa fiefdom in Iwakuni (a district in the present Yamaguchi prefecture) to

transport floor mats and horse feed to the residence of the Kikkawa lord in Edo (Tokyo). The trip began in November 1805. The ship was manned by Captain Niinaya Ginzo, thirty-three years old; Master Ichiko Sadagoro, fifty-three; and four sailors: Hirahara Zenmatsu, thirty-four; Akazaki Matsujiro, thirty-four; Yumori Kasoji (Kasanji in some references), thirty-one (all from Kitaniura); and Wasazo, twenty-seven (from Higashinomura).

The ship departed from Kitaniura, Hiroshima, on November 7, 1805, and took on its designated cargo together with two officials of the Kikkawa fiefdom at Iwakuni. Before leaving for Edo, however, the ship returned to Kitaniura and then headed for Edo on November 27, 1805. On December 21, 1805, the ship arrived in Shinagawa, a port in Edo. After unloading the cargo, it headed southward, stopping at Kanagawa, Uruga, and Shimoda. On January 6, 1806, the vessel departed Shimoda for its final homebound voyage.

While crossing the Sea of Enshunada near Shizuoka prefecture, the *Inawaka-maru* encountered a snowstorm backed by a strong east wind. The snowstorm turned into heavy rain, and the wind became stronger. The ship was soon disabled and was blown toward the Eastern Pacific.

On January 7, 1806, due to the increased force of the wind, the crew cut the mast down, and the disabled ship began drifting further eastward.

On January 11, two rocky islets were sighted, but a decision was made not to make a landing. The ship continued drifting eastward. The supply of water ran out on January 20. Except for relief during an occasional rainfall, the crew often went without water for four or five days. Rainwater was collected by every means possible. At times they had to quench their thirst by sucking on cloth that contained some moisture.

By February 28, the supplies of rice and water were nearly exhausted. The last dinner was cooked with the last little supply of rice. They all prepared for death, hoping that their ship would take them to their Buddhist paradise.

On March 15, a flying fish jumped into the ship. Zenmatsu made a soup with it and shared it with the rest of the crew. They made hand-made hooks and used the innards of the flying fish to catch more fish. In this way they were able to regain their strength. Some fish were saved by drying.

RESCUED BY AN AMERICAN SHIP

On March 20, 1806, a foreign ship appeared. The crew of the *Inawaka-maru* climbed onto the deckhouse roof and signaled the ship by waving a mat and shouting for help. At first they seemed not to have been seen, but finally, the ship came closer and lowered her sails. Four foreigners, including one carrying a sword, who seemed to be the captain, came up on deck as the ship circled around the *Inawaka-maru*. Upon realizing that the Japanese vessel was disabled, they came aboard. Two sets of Japanese swords that belonged to the two officials from Iwakuni were found in a closet at the stern and were confiscated.

The captain asked the Japanese something, but they could not understand English. The Japanese asked for food by putting their hands on their stomachs, pointing to their mouths, and bowing with their hands together. The captain touched each one's stomach and took a look around the galley. When he realized that they had no food or water, he took all eight Japanese on board his ship, assisting them by taking their hands and putting his arms around them. Personal belongings of the Japanese were also transferred.

The rescuing ship was an American trading vessel, the *Tabour*, commanded by Captain Cornelius Sole. The Japanese had been rescued after being adrift in the Pacific for more than seventy days.

Aboard the *Tabour*, the Japanese were served a large cup of tea with sugar. It tasted so good that they asked for more, but the captain did not allow them to eat anything more on that day. On the following day, they were given two cups of sweetened tea followed by a serving of gruel. This was repeated for another three days. On the fifth day, when everyone gradually became well, they were served rice for breakfast and dinner and bread for lunch. The bread, tasted by the Japanese for the first time, was described by Zenmatsu as similar to a Japanese confection called *higashiyama*, which is shaped round like a cross-section cut of a thick *daikon* (radish).

The Japanese had no words to express their gratitude, and they were deeply touched by the kind treatment received from the foreigners.

THE FIRST JAPANESE ON RECORD TO LAND IN HAWAI'I

On May 5, 1806, the *Tabour* arrived in Hawai'i after forty-five days of sailing following the rescue. Zenmatsu reported being rescued by a foreign ship at 4,000 *ri* (9,760 miles) from Hawai'i and 1,000 *ri* (2,440 miles) from Japan. He also stated that the distance between Japan and Hawai'i is 5,000 *ri* (12,200 miles). (He seems to be considerably off in his estimation of distances. The actual distance between Japan and Hawai'i is 3,800 miles.)

According to Zenmatsu, nearly five hundred men and women onlookers gathered around them when they disembarked from the ship. They camped outdoors on the night of their arrival. Steamed potatoes (sweet potato or taro) were brought to them the following day.

On the second day after their arrival, Zenmatsu reported, the building of a house for the Japanese was started, probably on orders of the chief. More than fifty persons were engaged in cutting trees from the mountains and building a house with a thatched roof. Only four days after their arrival, the house was completed, and the eight Japanese moved in. People brought *kalo* (taro) and *uala* (sweet potatoes) in gourd containers while the house was being constructed.

A fence was built around the house when the Japanese moved in to prevent others from entering, and a cook was assigned to prepare meals for them.

Two Hawaiian guards were assigned since so many onlookers were gathering around the fence trying to look into the house. To satisfy the onlookers' curiosity, four Japanese in turn walked inside the fence. After a while, people started leaving, talking to each other. More and more onlookers arrived for almost two weeks, but their numbers gradually diminished to thirty to fifty a day.

The Japanese remained in Hawai'i for more than three months until an American ship offered to take them home. When the trading ship *Perseverance*, commanded by Captain Amasa Delano, arrived in Hawai'i, Delano learned that Captain Sole had left the Japanese under the care of King Kamehameha I (1795-1819) until another ship could take them back to Japan via China. Sole left one of the anchors from the Japanese wreck, forty axes, and some other articles to compensate for their living in Hawai'i. Sole also left a note describ-

ing the Japanese for anyone who could take them back to Japan. Thus, Delano offered to take them as far as China so that they could find their way back home on another ship inasmuch as only Dutch and Chinese ships were allowed to enter Nagasaki, the only port then open to foreigners.

DEPARTURE FROM HAWAI‘I

On August 17, 1806, all eight Japanese left O‘ahu with Delano aboard the *Perseverance*. Zenmatsu described the departure in personal terms:

The fifteenth of August was a day for festivities for our home village shrine. Everyone felt so homesick, longing to return home. On that same day, an American trading ship, the *Perseverance*, about 2,000 *goku* (300 tons), with a crew of sixty-three, arrived in Hawai‘i for their provisions. Learning of our presence, they came to see us. Upon seeing a banner-like object that was left by the captain of the rescuing ship, and after talking among themselves, they urged us to board their ship.

The Hawaiians, old and young, who had become friendly to us during our stay, brought taro, sweet potatoes, beef, pork, and chicken to the ship and stayed around us, and one by one bade farewell to us. When the ship left Honolulu on August 17, about five hundred Hawaiians came out to the shore, waving their hands and shouting “good bye.” They stayed to see us off until the ship was out of sight. We were so deeply touched that we all could not hold back our tears.

About 2,000 *ri* (4,880 miles) of sailing away from Hawai‘i, the Americans pointed to the north saying “Japan! Japan!” We became excited, purified ourselves, and bowed toward the direction of Japan. When we begged the Americans to take us to Japan, they indicated “no” by gesturing with signs signifying that we would be beheaded.

The *Perseverance* arrived in Macao on October 17, 1806. On December 25, the Japanese were sent to Jakarta, Java, on a Chinese ship. They were in Jakarta for more than four months and apparently contracted malaria and other tropical diseases. Thus, only three of the original eight finally reached Nagasaki on June 17, 1807, on board an American ship flying a Dutch flag. All others died in Jakarta or on the ship. Unfortunately, one more died soon after returning to Nagasaki, and another committed suicide during the official interrogation

there. Zenmatsu was jailed and underwent severe interrogation by officials as he had violated the *sakoku* edict, which prohibited Japanese subjects from leaving the country. Zenmatsu was kept in Nagasaki for five more months before being allowed to return to his village on November 29, 1807. Soon after his return, he was summoned by Lord Asano of Aki to report on his overseas experiences. He died six months after his return.

ZENMATSU'S OBSERVATIONS OF HAWAII IN 1806

The following observations are excerpts from a copy of one of the versions of the record of Zenmatsu's recollections made at the time he was summoned by Lord Asano of Hiroshima soon after his return to his home in 1807. These observations provide a significant historical and ethnological record. Zenmatsu's stay in the Islands occurred during the reign of King Kamehameha I, only twenty-eight years after the arrival of Captain Cook, before the arrival of the missionaries from New England, and before foreigners had had a significant impact on the Hawaiian people and their way of life.

Zenmatsu's observations are recorded in the spontaneous order in which he made them. Thus, remarks on similar topics are dispersed throughout the document. Here we attempt to represent Zenmatsu's observations as closely as possible but have grouped them into related topics arranged for the convenience of the reader. Except for the notes and comments included in parentheses, the observations are as stated by Zenmatsu.

Hawaii's Climate. The climate was warm without much seasonal change. It was comparable to early summer in Japan.

People's Physical Features. The physical features of Hawaiians are similar to those of the Japanese, but much different from those of the Americans.

Men looked a little taller than seven *shaku* (seven feet), and most women seemed to be more than six *shaku* (six feet) tall, and some were even seven *shaku* (seven feet) tall.

They looked heavily built, weighing as much as 30-40 *kan* (240-320 pounds). Both men and women had their hair cut very short.

Clothing. They wore no clothes. Only certain parts of their bodies

were covered with a six-by-six square paper-like material (*kapa*) as loin cloth or skirt. At times, the same material was put around the body, covering from the back to the chest and tied at the front.⁴

Chief. The status of the chieftain seems different from a lord or a magistrate in our country. People called him chief, and at times, "Karaimokui," which sounded like taro-eater in Japanese. (Probably for Kalanimōkū, prime minister of the Kamehameha government.) We decided to call him *taisho* (meaning, the Big Boss).

Housing. There were many houses everywhere we went, on the shores and in the valleys. The houses were free-standing and not arranged in any orderly manner. The houses had triangular grass-thatched roofs, were directly erected from the ground, and the dirt floor of about six by six to six by nine feet was covered with woven-grass mats called *moina*. There was a single entrance, without a door, at one end of the house. The doorway was covered with paper-like material (*kapa*).

After we settled in the house provided by Hawai'i's government, we started to look around the island. Later, when our excursions became more extended, such as more than 1-2 *ri* (2.5-5 miles), each of us was accompanied by a Hawaiian.

Land. From his long-distance walks, Zenmatsu estimated that the country, probably meaning only O'ahu, was about the size of Kyushu (an overestimation). There were no cultivated agricultural fields but their soil was black and was of a light texture.

Kalo (taro). Taro was growing almost wild and in abundance in the wetland areas. It was similar to *satoimo* (dasheen) of Japan but larger in size. A group of two or three people use bamboo scoops to dig out the tubers.⁵

Uala (sweet potato). *Uala*, *Ryukyu-imo* in Japanese, was growing in the open fields between the woods in both mountains and valleys.

Watermelon. Watermelon appeared in abundance but seemed to be uncultivated.

Gourds. Gourds were also abundant and varied in size. The large ones could hold 1.5 *koku* (70 gallons) of water. They were used as containers to carry water and food. A large container was carried by two men to bring home harvested *taro*, *uala*, and watermelon. No other containers besides gourds were seen for transporting such material.

Harvesting. When harvesting *uala*, the Hawaiians first dug up the

tuber with a bamboo scoop, cut off the vine just above it, and the vine was stuck into the ground and covered with soil to grow again.

Maia (banana). The fruit of the *manya (maia)* tree (banana) has an orange-colored skin and is shaped like *chimaki* (a Japanese sweet of steamed rice cake wrapped in bamboo leaves). The reddish, sticky textured inside tastes like rice cake and is sugary sweet. *Manya* is the most delicious among many fruits we have tasted.

Animals. There were numerous cows, pigs, and chickens on the island. Not many different types of birds were seen except chickens and a variety of crows. Beef, pork, dog meat, and chicken were wrapped with *manya (maia)* leaves similar to the leaf of the *basho* (banana tree) and steamed in an earth oven as taro and sweet potatoes were cooked. People also caught octopus, small fish and shellfish, and they were eaten raw.

Cooking Method. They did not have pots and pans. They had a fireplace (*imu*) four by six feet wide and one foot deep in the center of the floor of the house. They made fire with leaves and wood pieces to heat stones placed in the fireplace. When the stones were red hot, they were covered with layers of mats soaked with sea water over which taro and sweet potatoes, meat, and chicken were placed and covered with more layers of wet mats. At times, they sprinkled water over that. The food was cooked by steaming, and when it was done, the whole family gathered to eat.

Insects. There were no mosquitoes⁶ despite the warm climate, but the area was infested with flies and fleas.

Tools. The Hawaiians had iron axes, adzes, knives, and scissors. These tools appear to have been obtained from foreign ships that stopped over in Hawaii'i for provisions.⁷ No precious metals such as gold or silver were seen.

Language. While some features seem to resemble Japanese more than American, the Hawaiian language is distinctly different from either. However, the Hawaiians seemed to communicate well with the Americans.

Religion. The Hawaiians seem not to have faith in God or Buddha. They also do not have rituals celebrating the new year or holidays. A couple became husband and wife without a wedding ceremony.⁸

Way of Life. Those who belong to the chiefly class live apart in a group of three or four persons with men and women servants to

attend to them. An elderly man was observed living alone. He could not tell us his age because he could not communicate in numbers. We guessed that the white-haired old man was about seventy or eighty years old. They have a dark complexion, probably due to the warm climate. Their features somehow resemble those of the Japanese. They all have very good teeth. Even old people have perfect teeth. They pointed at Zenmatsu and laughed about his missing teeth.

Treatment of the Sick and the Dead. They treated the sick only by using their traditional remedies. They extracted juice of a vine by pounding on it and applied it all over the body. They had no other medicine. Even when one was seriously ill, someone remained at the bedside chasing flies to help the patient to recover. When one dies, the body is wrapped with paper (*kapa*) for burial. Men and women express their grief by wailing.⁹

Tax. There apparently is no annual tax as there is no established farming. Taro and sweet potatoes and even firewood were gathered only as much as they needed and from anywhere they were conveniently found. Since there is no competitive business, they are not greedy.¹⁰

Daily Pastime. Everyday, people just ate and slept and had sex. There were no particular ceremonial events or holidays since they seemed to have no deity.¹¹

Astronomical Observations. The way the sun and the moon rose and set, and the way the stellar constellations appeared, it was almost the same as those seen in Japan. (Zenmatsu's calculation of dates was based on the moon being full on the fifteenth day of the month.)

Making Fire. The Hawaiians did not have flints to start a fire. They fashioned two sticks out of wood that smelled like incense (probably sandalwood). When the well-dried sticks were rubbed against each other, their friction caused the smoke to appear first, and then the fire.

The Hawaiian Language. The Hawaiian language is quite distinctive, being different from either the Japanese or American (English). The following are the Hawaiian words and their meaning:

<i>kao kao (kaukau)</i>	to eat
<i>wai</i>	water
<i>baka (paka)</i>	tobacco

The following were among the words listed by Zenmatsu as used in Macao. (He must have been confused as they are certainly Hawaiian words.)

<i>alaha</i>	aloha
<i>kapa (tapa)</i>	bark cloth
<i>moi</i>	to sleep
<i>kanaya (kane)</i>	man
<i>wavine (wahine)</i>	woman
<i>keiki</i>	a child, children
<i>maitai (maikai)</i>	good
<i>eno (ino)</i>	bad
<i>palapala</i>	to write
<i>kala</i>	money

There were also words of English origin that were listed by Zenmatsu as being Hawaiian, probably because of the special pronunciation given by the Hawaiians.

<i>raishi</i>	rice
<i>wata</i>	water
<i>hoya</i>	fire
<i>sal</i>	salt

NOTES

The authors of this article wish to thank Mr. Toshio Takagaki, a retired teacher of English in Onomichi, Hiroshima, Japan, for kindly providing us copies of pertinent Japanese documents and sharing his research on Zenmatsu, including his interpretations in English, with us.

¹ According to Zenmatsu, eight people were on board the *Inawaka-maru*. It has been asserted that the original number on board was twenty-two but that this number was reduced to eight by cannibalism while drifting after encountering a storm. See Amasa Delano, *A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands* (Boston, 1817). Weighing against this assertion is the fact that, generally, a *sengokubune*, which had a capacity of ninety-eight gross tons, had a crew of about fifteen. The *Inawaka-maru*, half the size of such a vessel, could not have carried twenty-two people.

² The official record of Hirahara Zenmatsu's (Hirahara is Zenmatsu's family name) testimony is included in the Asano Collection of the Mihara City Library in Hiroshima, Japan. A copy of the testimony, transcribed by Mr.

Yoshiki Katsura of the Iwakuni History Institute, was obtained by Hideto Kono through the kindness of Mr. Toshio Takagaki. Hideto Kono provided general background information on Zenmatsu's sojourn on O'ahu and his return to Japan and described the conditions that prevailed in Hawai'i and Japan in 1806. Kazuko Sinoto translated the copy of Zenmatsu's testimony. As the statements made by Zenmatsu were randomly recorded, there were a number of redundancies in the testimony. For this article, Sinoto reformatted some of the contents of the document to make for easier reading. She also supplied the notes and comments that are enclosed in parentheses in an attempt to assist the reader to better understand Zenmatsu's testimony.

That first English-language publication of the Zenmatsu incident in the United States was probably Y. Soga's article, "Japanese Account of the First Recorded Visit of Shipwrecked Japanese to Hawaii" in *Papers of the Hawaii Historical Society* 18 (1931): 15-19. The article is a translation by Soga of a chapter titled "Account of the Drifting of Zenmatsu Hirahara of Geishu (Hiroshima)" from *Ikoku Hyoryu Kidanshu* (Tales of Castaways to Foreign Lands), compiled by Ishii Kendo and published in Tokyo in 1927.

At present, the following sources are known for Zenmatsu's account.

Geishu Zenmatsu Hokubei Hyoryutan. The official record of the interrogation of Zenmatsu at the Tokugawa shogunate's office in Nagasaki, 1807.

Geishu Zenmatsu Ikoku Hyoryuki. The above record was copied by Otsuki Gentaku (1758-1827), a well-known Dutch scholar, in 1808 and edited by his son, Otsuki Genkan (1785-1873), also a Dutch scholar, and titled *1806 Castaways to A Foreign Land*.

Ishii Kendo compiled and published *Ikoku Hyoryu Kidanshu* (Tales of Castaways to Foreign Lands), in which the above was included as a chapter titled "Geishu Zenmatsu Ikoku Hyoryuki," in Tokyo in 1927. It was later published as a section of *Edo Hyoryuki Soshu*, vol. 3, *Ishii Kendo Collection*, ed. Yamashita Tsuneo (Tokyo, 1992).

Tsuko Ichiran. A record of the Customs Office of Nagasaki indicating a Dutch ship brought back Japanese castaways. This is a record of three Japanese returnees, including Zenmatsu, without any other information.

Iban Hyoryu Kikokuroku. This is a handwritten copy made from the record of Zenmatsu's testimony when he was summoned by Lord Asano of Hiroshima on December 7, 1807, soon after he was finally sent to his home in Kitani, Hiroshima, on November 29, 1807. It is said that this copy is more detailed than others. The original handwritten copy is at Mihara Municipal Library as part of the Asano Collection. However, the copying date is uncertain. Takayama, *Edo-jidai Hawaii Hyoryuki*.

There are two more copies of *Iban Hyoryu Kikokuroku*. One is kept at Ehime Prefectural Library as *Masuda Monjo*. The other is kept at Onomichi City Office as *Amano Monjo*.

A copy titled *Geishu Kitani Zenmatsu Hyoryukiji*, copied by Murakami Tadaoki of Kitani, dated Sept. 6, 1808, kept at Choseiji Temple in Takehara, Hiroshima, is believed to be the oldest copy.

A copy titled *Iban Hyoryu Kikoku Mokuroku* kept by the Furukawa family at Kawachi-cho, Kamo-gun, Hiroshima, seems to have been copied around the late 1860s or early 1870s.

In 1993, Professor Takayama Jun found a hand-copied *Iban Hyoryu Kikoku-roku*, dated early December of 1808, in Kyoto. According to Takayama, it was certainly copied from the original record, yet its contents seem to be the most detailed among the known copies.

Takayama's book *Edo-jidai Hawaii Hyoryuki* (A record of Castaways to Hawai'i in the Edo Period) was published in 1997 in Tokyo. In the book, Takayama relates Zenmatsu's account to other records on Hawai'i left by foreign visitors around the same period. He also includes cultural and natural information on Hawai'i in those days. In this article, however, we have tried to reveal what Zenmatsu told of his observations within his limited knowledge and circumstances.

Shunsui Nikki (Diary by Shunsui), an appendix to *Rai Sanyo Zenshu*, ed. Kizaki Aikichi and Rai Narikazu, 1931, the diary of Rai Shunsui (1746–1816), the father of Rai Sanyo (1780–1832), recorded that Zenmatsu was invited to his house and told his experience to him and his son, Rai Sanyo, on December 8, 1808. Impressed by Zenmatsu's story, Shunsui composed a poem and presented it to Zenmatsu. Both Sanyo and Shunsui were well-known Confucian scholars.

³ After conquering O'ahu in 1785, Kamehameha I gradually moved his capital from Hawai'i to O'ahu. Before settling in Waikiki, he spent about a year in Lahaina. In 1809, he moved to a larger compound near Honolulu harbor. Richard Wisniewski, *Hawaiian Monarchs and Their Palaces* (Honolulu: Pacific Basin Enterprises, 1987).

⁴ Among the things Zenmatsu brought back to Japan was a piece of *kapa*, described as "paper from Hawaii, used for their clothing." Only the newly found version of Zenmatsu's account has this record. Takayama Jun, *Edo-jidai Hawaii Hyoryuki* (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1997).

⁵ He did not mention the cultivation method for taro. Hawai'i is well known for the intricate irrigation systems and the like used in the growing of taro.

⁶ A group of seven shipwrecked Japanese crew members of the *Choja-maru*, rescued by an American whaler, stayed in Hawai'i from June 6, 1839, to Aug. 1, 1840. One of the crew was Jirokichi, whose account of their experience is well known as *Bandan*. He mentioned that there were many mosquitoes in Hawai'i. Muroga Nobuo and Yamori Kazuhiko, *Bandan* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1965). It is said that mosquitoes were brought to Hawai'i by an American whaling ship, in 1826, from Mexico. D. L. Van Dine, *Mosquitoes in Hawaii* (Honolulu: Office of the Experiment Station, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1904). Thus, what Zenmatsu observed was true; there were no mosquitoes in Hawai'i in 1806.

⁷ Hawaiians had stone adzes, but Zenmatsu mentioned only metal tools.

⁸ As we understand today, the Hawaiians are very religious and their formality and rituals are well-known. This description seemed not to tell the facts because religious matters were so sacred among the Hawaiians that they might

have been *kapu* (tabu) to the Japanese. Also, staying in Hawai'i for such a limited time, they missed the *makahiki* season, lasting from October to December, when many religious rituals were held. David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Special Publication No. 2 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1971). The language barrier also probably impaired their understanding.

⁹ Hawaiian medical practice used various herbs and faith curers. Samuel Kamakau, *Kapo'e Kahiko*, Bishop Museum Special Publication No. 51 (Honolulu: Bishop Museum P, 1967); Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*.

¹⁰ Zenmatsu missed what he could have witnessed during the *makahiki* season (Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*).

¹¹ This appears to be a simplistic interpretation stemming from inadequate information. Hawaiians are very religious people and worship various deities. Kamakau, *Kapo'e Kahiko*, and Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*.