



Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission  
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***Na Mo'i O  
Kaho'olawe:  
The  
Administrators  
of Kaho'olawe***

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By:  
Edith McKinzie

**NA MO'I O KAHO'OLAWÉ**  
**The Administrators of Kaho'olawe**

**A study of the chiefly  
genealogies of the administrators  
of the Island of Kaho'olawe**

**By**

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## NA MO'I O KAHO'OLAWA

My assignment for this project was to trace genealogically a hand written list of names entitled: "Na Mo'i o Kaho'olawe," found in a clothbound ledger, page 9 labeled by the State Archives M-93 No. 202 - Liliuokalani's collection - Genealogy of the Royal Family. (Appendix 1)

In order to process this information, I extended my research to include the following:

- a. scanned the genealogies and mahele records in the State Archives and Bishop Museum
- b. checked the Hawaiian sources from Malo, Kepelino, Kamakau, Fornander and others for names of temple images
- c. checked to see what early laws were promulgated that banished people to Kaho'olawe
- d. reread the Long Voyages, Mo'olelo of Moikeha and Kila, Pa'ao and Hawai'i Loa migrations (Appendix 2) and Beckwith's Hawaiian Mythology
- e. reread Emerson on unihipili and aumakua, Buck, Randy, Alexander, Kamakau, and Goldman on religion
- f. prepared several lists of La'amaikahiki's wives, (Appendix 3).
- g. and finally prepared a short genealogical chart of Keawepoepoe's descendants and Kinimaka's connection thereto. (Appendix 4).

# Na Moi O Kahoolawe

"The Rulers of Kaho'olawe", a handwritten list of names found on page 9 of a clothbound ledger (document #202, M-93) in the Liliuokalani Collection at the Hawaii State Archives. The list is undated. The few dates inscribed on other pages of the ledger suggest that the list was compile sometime between the years 1894 and 1896. The letters "K" and "M" designate the sex of the individual, K standing for *kane* (male) and W for *wahine* (female).

## Na Moi o Kahoolawe

Pua Komo		K
Laamaikahiki		K
Keliihumuhumu		K
Kama		K
Kamakaihoolae		K
Nalimahaua		K
Laumaiaikahiki		K
Laaloa		W
Keauhouokalani		W
Kihapuniu		K
Kauuamahu		K
Kihapu		K
Peapea		K
Kamaole		W
Kuakawaiea		K
Kepookela	[Written in a different hand ]	K
Kepookalani	"	K
Mauliawa	"	K
Anoikapuakalani	"	K
Kiheahelani	"	K
Ouiakalani	"	K
Aheakalani	"	K
Hoakakalani	[Added in another, different handwriting ]	K

Since the islands of Kaho'olawe, Lana'i, and Moloka'i were the "panala'au" under the jurisdiction of Maui, my search began by first looking at Maui's dynastic ruling line which descends down through the line of Ulu. I prepared a list of the ruling chiefs of Maui commencing from the settlement period to the dynastic period all the way down to King Kahekili of Maui and his son King Kalanikupule. (See Appendix 5).

While comparing this list with the ruling chiefly line of Maui, I found two matching names, those being Kama/Kamalalawalu, son of King Kiha-a-Pi'ilani, and Pe'ape'a/Pe'ape'amakawalu, who descends from the line of King Kamehamehanui, son of King Kekaulike of Maui.

It was also necessary to determine what meaning had been assigned to the term mo'i. (See Appendix 6)

Since the term mo'i besides meaning king, or sovereign, also indicates the central image in a heiau, a search was conducted to locate the names of both male and female images used in connection with heiau rituals. Sources from Malo, Kepelino, Kamakau, and Fornander fail to match any of the names on this list.

As the term mo'i also indicates rank, 'I, meaning supreme authority, I examined the ranking system of the Hawaiian society to determine how a high chief or chiefess in that cultural setting was identified. He/she:

1. had to be a member of the aha-ali'i;
2. possess a family tree that traces back to the line of Ulu;
3. possess a name chant that recites the chieftains' birthplace, housesite, and burial place, the heiau. in which the chiefs' umbilical cord was cut and deposited, and the heiau where the afterbirth and navel string of the chieftains were deposited.

A search was conducted to locate a mele koihonua composed for anyone on the list of Mo'i of Kaho'olawe. To date I have been unable to find or confirm such a matching mele.

Another usage of the term mo'i would be: 'one who has administrative authority,' which should apply to the meaning that was assigned to the names on the list.

By accident, while going through the genealogy books in the State Archives, I found a match on the Moloka'i Mo'i list and the Lana'i list which indicated that administrative dispensations and authority were given to the priesthood lines of Kaiakea and Kahoali'i and there is no evidence of record that any individual or members of their ohanas cited in this lists were ever granted deeds to land on Kaho'olawe.

As studies have centered on the island's value as a religious site base on long standing use by Hawaiians of that island for religious purposes, I found no corroborating evidence that any of the names on the list can be traced to any of the

known lines of priesthood, which question the possibility that any of these names could have been used in the past to identify them with a religious function or purpose of respect to Kaho'olawe at least in connection with the major branches of worship i.e. Kane, Ku, and Lono. This does not preclude the possibility of other references to priest of lesser deities whose lineage are not as well known as those of the national religion..

La'amaikahiki appears on the list but as stated elsewhere in this report was from the island of O'ahu and not from the panala'au of Maui, which demonstrates that association with Kaho'olawe was possible for a person outside the panala'au if he was a participant of an Aha'ali'i or if he had obtained special rights of dispensation from the Mo'i of Maui.

Hence, it becomes necessary to establish and define the nature and function of Kaho'olawe in Hawaiian tradition.

Kaho'olawe and the earlier name Kohemalamalama both symbolically underscored that Kaho'olawe was identified as, Lit. the carrying away (by currents) (Pukui, Elbert & Mo'okini 1974:66). (Geologically, Kaho'olawe, Lana'i and Moloka'i were originally linked with Maui, and are thought to have become 'separated' as a consequence of the rising of ocean following melting of the last ice age, which flood low-lying valleys by which they were earlier connected.)



As Kaho'olawe was traditionally considered the last point of Hawaiian land before embarking on an ocean voyage to the south, and Kanaloa is always honored in Hawaiian Mythology as the deity presiding over voyages in the South Pacific, Kanaloa became circumstantially, effectively, and inextricably linked with the island of Kaho'olawe.

References to La'amaikahiki with respect to Kaho'olawe indicate recognition of the use of Kaho'olawe as a point of embarkation to southern seas by the aha-ali'i, who regarded Kaho'olawe as subject to the jurisdiction and responsibility of Maui.

There are records of social banishment to Kaho'olawe - including the seven year banishment of Kinimaka - (Kamakau 1861:357) for various social and political transgressions dating from the 1820's.

All evidence leads to the conclusion that the island of Kaho'olawe was never domesticated in any traditional sense, nor used as a base (or 'aina) for family reproduction. Nor was its ancient use other than fishing or voyaging southward.

According to Sir Peter Buck the four major gods (akua) brought from central Polynesia were Ku (Tu), Kane (Tane), Lono (Rongo), and Kanaloa (Tangaroa). These gods were worshipped by chiefs and commoners alike. The gods, though regarded as invisible spirits, were symbolized by material objects - usually consisting of natural wood or stone. (Appendix 7, Fig. 311 c

Temple Images, BPBM, pgs. 494-5, and Fig. 317, pgs. 502-3).

In Hawaiian mythology, Kane is considered the creator god although Kanaloa was worshipped as creator of the world and superior to other gods in the southern group, in Hawaii Kanaloa was not regarded as equal god to Ku, Kane, and Lono, (Fornander (a) Vol 1 1969:83-85), except as may have been the case with the tradition of Pahulu (Beckwith 1970:108, 441) which affected and linked Lana'i, Moloka'i, Maui, and Kaho'olawe.

Kanaloa is the deity in apposition to the God Kane, Kane being the creator god, god of life; whereas Kanaloa is embodied by the sea itself and many creatures of the sea such as the ray fish, porpoise, octopus and the whale. (Appendix 8).

Kanaloa is also mentioned as ruler of Milu, called in the Kumulipo "Kahe'ehauna-wela" (The evil smelling squid). (Beckwith 1970:60).

It is difficult to evaluate many of the artifacts on Kaho'olawe without assuming such artifacts are associated with Kanaloa or his brother Kane'apua who is the fish god immortalized in stone nearby in the bay of Kaunolu, Lana'i.

References in Beckwith (p. 363) and Fornander (a) Vol I p.84) appear to be in conflict with more recently verified archaeological data on the migrations to Hawaii - especially with respect to the introduction and incorporation of Kanaloa in Hawaiian cultural orientation. However, in the absence of any attempted correlation by Beckwith (including her references to

Fornander, Kepelino, and Thrum) to chronological time, it may be assumed Beckwith focus at least primarily within the mystic framework of the distant past.

As a large body of reference seems to reinforce Kanaloa's longstanding identification with the Marquesas, within the framework of chronological time, it is therefore reasonable to assume Kanaloa was probably introduced into Hawai'i with the earlier Marquesan migration and became identified with Kaho'olawe.

Until mythology and empirical chronology are integrated by the same proscription, legend and science will remain in conflict!

As Kanaloa was linked through various manifestation of the priesthood associated with Kaho'olawe, Lana'i and Moloka'i, where such manifestation as Kalaipahoa which was itself a latter day function of Pahulu (referenced earlier in this report) Kaho'olawe, and Kanaloa were probably primary focal points for the kind of practices sometimes described as magic or sorcery. Present and future use of Kaho'olawe should never fail to respect and defer to this fact and its pervasive function.

As the primary focus of my report was to attempt to verify genealogical linkage between the list entitled "Na Mo'i o Kaho'olawe and the main body of genealogical records, I have established that such linkage was tentative at best and in the main non-existent or undocumented. It is also necessary to

affirm that the list of "Na Mo'i o Kaho'olawe" was not in Queen Liliuokalani's handwriting but was found in a ledger contained in Queen Lili'uokalani's Collection. I found no evidence that Lili'uokalani made any attempt to verify or authenticate the list entitled "Na Mo'i o Kaho'olawe."

What is apparent is that the list does not represent genealogical linkage in a straight line descent as per existing documents but appears to be comprised of several separate persons with no proven blood ties.

I would like to share herewith a brief synopsis of the Mo'i from the time of Kamehameha I, until the formation of the constitutional government. With the formation and adoption of the constitutional government, the function of Mo'i became superseded by national administration and by appointments of governors to supervise each island respectively. The genealogical lines of the mo'i assigned can be found in Appendix 3.

Kamehameha I appointed Kahekili Ke'eaumoku, the son of his counselor Ke'eaumoku, and brother of Queen Ka'ahumanu and Kaheiheimalie, as Governor of Maui. He died in Honolulu on March 3, 1823.

Ulumaheihei Hoapilikane, son of Kamehameha's counselor Kame'eiamoku, was appointed by Kamehameha II as Governor of Maui in May, 1823. He was later married to Kaheiheimalie, widow of Kamehameha I, on October 19, 1823 by Rev. W. Richards. He died

on January, 1840. He was entrusted to hide the bones of Kamehameha I in accordance with ancient custom. He and his half brother carried out this sacred task. One of Ho'olulu's descendants bears the name of Ka-ha'awe-lani on account of this incident. He and his wife Kaheihei-malie the mother of Kina'u and Kamamalu were strong supporters of the missionaries who gave them the names of Hoa-pili kane and Hoa-pili wahine (equivalent to Mr. and Mrs. Hoa-pili). Hoa-pili's first wife was Ka-lili-kauoha, a daughter of King Kahekili of Maui. She became the mother of chiefess Kuini Liliha, the wife of Boki who accompanied Kamehameha II and Queen Kamamalu to England.

It is interesting to note that the three sons of Keawepoepoe served Kamehameha I as counselors and two of their heirs were assigned to the position of governor of Maui.

I offer this information to assist in understanding the Mo'i who had administrative responsibility over Kaho'olawe at an important time in its history. However, I should state that none of the persons above can be found to have had genealogical ties with any of the persons on the list found in Queen Lili'uokalani's collection entitled "Na Mo'i o Kaho'olawe."

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# Na Mo'i o Kahoolawe

Oua Komo	K
Laamaitakahi	K
Keliikumukumu	K
Kama	K
Kamakaihoolawe	K
Kalimakaua	K
Kauluomalama	K
Kaumaiakahi	K
Laaloa	W
Kauhoulakani	W
Kihakani	K
Kauaunani	K
Kihaku	K
Peapea	K
Kauaole	W
Kauakawaua	K
Kepo Kela	K
Kepo Kalani	K
Mauiaua	K
Anoikapekalani	K
Kihakani	K
Oia Kalani	K
Sheekalani	K
Hoakakalani	K



THE  
LONG VOYAGES  
OF THE ANCIENT  
HAWAIIANS

Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society  
May 18, 1893, by Dr. N. B. Emerson.

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## THE LONG VOYAGES OF THE ANCIENT HAWAIIANS.

[Read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, May 18, 1893, by Dr. N. B. Emerson.]

THE period embracing the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of the Christian era was one of great unrest and commotion throughout the island world of Polynesia. Some ferment was at work to stir up the energies and passions of wild and primitive men; it may have been the pressure of invading expeditions arriving from the west; hardly, as has been suggested, overpopulation and scanty food supply at home; more likely the outbreak of mutual jealousies and harryings of contiguous and hostile tribes, whose uncongenial elements had not yet found their equilibrium and become reconciled.

### DISTURBANCE IN SOUTHERN POLYNESIA.

The land must have been witness to great contention and violence, the ocean to many painful scenes of sudden departure and disastrous flight.

Accepting the evidence of the folk-lore and traditions of the period, it was throughout Polynesia a time of much paddling about and sailing to and fro in canoes; an era of long voyages between widely separated groups of islands, of venturesome expeditions in search of remote lands; an era that developed navigators whose deeds of skill and daring would not blush to be placed in comparison with those of the great Columbus, whose anniversary we of this generation are now celebrating.

We may compare the disturbance among the rude settlers of that ancient time to that which takes place when the breeding grounds of sea-birds are invaded by the later arrival of other migrating flocks. Their appearance upon the scene is at once the signal for clamorous disputes and new arrangements of territory. With each fresh arrival the jostling and contention

has to be renewed ; and thus the trouble spreads, until overcrowding or discontent compels flight to seek other resting places in which to resume the turmoil and strife.

Among the thickly bestrown archipelagoes of the South Pacific the movement and excitement were something more than can be described as an enterprising spirit of colonization or mere land-grabbing. It was a state of confusion and bloodshed as well among the restless, savage elements of humanity contending wildly among themselves for supremacy and advantage, and the possession of the various prizes that are grasped after wherever men meet men the world over.

It was about this time, according to the traditions of their inhabitants, that the Hervey Islands and New Zealand were being colonized.<sup>1</sup>

This condition of things is well illustrated in the relations that existed between the two chiefs, Karika and Tangiia, the story of whom is told in an article entitled "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga."<sup>2</sup>

#### STORY OF KARIKA AND TANGIIA.

The time was about twenty-five generations before the first quarter of this century, which, allowing twenty-five years to a generation, would place the events in the last part of the twelfth or early in the thirteenth century, or well within the period of intercourse of which this paper treats.

There was trouble in Tahiti between Tu-tapu and Tangiia, owing to which Tangiia and his people, to the number of four hundred, put to sea and steered for Rarotonga. On the way Tangiia fell in with Karika, who, like himself, was on the move with a large company of followers in search of a land to settle in. Then Karika, after his manner, was seized with anger and sought to kill Tangiia. But Tangiia was equal to the occasion, and with the most commendable prudence, gave royal names to Karika, saying, "I give the regal authority to you." A peace was patched up for the time, and the two parties joining forces, went on their way together. Before coming to land Tangiia

<sup>1</sup> "A Brief History of the Hawaiian People," W. D. Alexander, p. 21. Am. Book Co.: New York, Cincinnati, Chicago; 1891.

<sup>2</sup> "Genealogies and Historical Notes from Rarotonga," by Henry Nicholas Esq. Vol. I, No. 1 and 2, Journal of the Polynesian Society, April and July, 1892 Wellington, N.Z.

discovered that Karika was still plotting his death ; he was to be killed when the canoes reached Avaiki.<sup>3</sup> On learning this Tangiia again went through the form of conferring the royal authority on Karika, but what was more to the point, to his former speech he added these words, " Yours is the pile of food, the slaves, the short lip (the hog), the whale, the long hog to eat (man), yours is the canoe, and what remains is the sister's portion."<sup>4</sup>

This arrangement was highly satisfactory to Karika ; it was just what he wanted.

By absolutely submitting himself and all he had, Tangiia established peace between himself and Karika, a compact which was cemented by Tangiia's taking to wife Mokoroa-ki-aitu, the daughter of Karika.

#### KARIKA'S CHARACTER.

Now, this Karika is described as being, in his younger days, a bad and quarrelsome lad, and in his years of manhood, as affected with a frequent jerking or itching of his hand, which could be relieved only by the slaughter of his enemies.

After Karika had been settled in the land for a considerable time his hand jerked or itched, an omen which had its fulfilment in the arrival of a great double canoe full of warriors, and they must be slain. Karika ascends a mountain, and sees in the offing the great double canoe of Tangiia with its mast set and laughs with pleasure at the sight. He descends from the mountain, takes his weapon, *Ninaenua*,<sup>5</sup> and hastens to the beach to kill Tangiia. But Tangiia, under the wise promptings of Te Nukua-ki-roto and Tuiti, once more submits himself to Karika and secures confirmation of the peace.

#### DEATH OF TUTAPU.

The hand of Karika ceased not to have frequent attacks of itching, and each time is relieved by much shedding of blood.

<sup>3</sup> Avaiki, so called by the Rarotongans ; probably the same as Savail of Samoa. "Notes on the Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians;" S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S., Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891, p. 283.

<sup>4</sup> I conjecture that by this depreciating epithet, "sister," Tangiia meant himself.

<sup>5</sup> It was Polynesian to give a pet name to any favorite weapon, tool, or utensil "Arthur's Brand, Excalibur."

But from the time of their compact with each other, the hands of Karika and his son-in-law, Tangiia, must have been subject to the same affections in common, for after that event their forces, as we learn, aid each other in violence.

Among the victims of this alliance was Tutapu himself, the brother of Tangiia, whom we heard of early in the story as making trouble in Tahiti, and who seems to have at length drifted or been driven away from his old haunts and arrived at the same shores whither Tangiia had preceded him.

The story goes on to say, "From there he went on to Tuatea and ascended to Tukinuku, where Tangiia and Karika fell in with Tutapu, and Tutapu was killed, his feet having been wounded with a stone. Thence they went on to the harbor at Vaikokopu and smote the multitude of men on the great double canoe (belonging to Tutapu) and finished them. Then they took the god of Tutapu and brought it to Pounako, and called the name of the place 'The-god-of-Tutapu-at-Kiikii.'"

This story is of interest for the light it sheds on the conditions of human life—we cannot call it society—that prevailed in Polynesia during the thirteenth century; it pictures to our imagination that great ocean basin of the South Pacific as a caldron of human energy and passion during a portion at least of the so-called period of intercourse.

It was happy for Hawaii that she was far away from these scenes of violence. The fortunate distinction enjoyed by her of being the most isolated group of islands in the Pacific, and in the world, by which fact she was thousands of miles removed from the centres of ethnic storm, did not, however, prevent her from participation in their remoter effects. But when the expanding circles of this agitation had reached the shores of Hawaii, its waves seem to have lost the tinge of blood, and to have imparted only a healthy stimulus. The twenty-three hundred miles of ocean that separated Tahiti from Hawaii was sufficient to keep out the rabble of adventurers, but not enough to exclude useful human intercourse, or to forbid the passage of skilled and daring navigators.

Whatever may be the truth as to whether the first voyages that re-opened communication between Hawaii, in the North, and lands in the South Pacific, were of Hawaiian or of southern origin, we are left to conjecture. But certainly, it seems entirely

natural to suppose that the maritime enterprise and activity which during this period showed itself in Hawaii was in some manner started into life by the extraordinary ferment that was at work in the archipelagoes of the South; and that the long voyages made by Hawaiian navigators to the remote lands known in tradition as Tahiti, Laniakea, Havaiki, Vavau, Upolu, Holani, etc., were in answer to visits first made to them by their Polynesian kindred of the South.

#### THE STORY OF PAAO.

It is perhaps impossible to decide what name should be placed first in point of time in the list of those who played the role of navigators during the period of intercourse between Hawaii and the archipelagoes of the South. No doubt many names have failed to reach us by having dropped out of tradition, or having been so overlaid with mythical extravagancies as to effectually conceal the truth that lies at the bottom of their story. Of those that have survived, none seem more worthy to head the list, both as to importance and priority in time, than Paa.

The story of Paa so well illustrates the disturbed conditions of the times, and some peculiarities of Polynesian life, that it seems worth while to give it at length.

Paa and his older brother, Lonopele, were priests of Samoa, Paa being the *kahu* (keeper) of the god *Kukailimoku*. They were both men of authority and weight, highly accomplished in the arts of heathen life. Paa was also skilled in navigation, astronomy, and divination. Both of the brothers were successful farmers, and each of them had a son to whom he was greatly attached.

The relations between the brothers were by no means pleasant, and seem to have become so strained as to result in open violence.<sup>6</sup>

On one occasion Lonopele, having suffered from thievish depredations on his farm, came to Paa and complained that Paa's son had been stealing his fruit.

"Did you see him take the fruit?" said Paa.

"No; but I saw him walking on the land and I firmly believe that it was he that took it," said Lonopele.

<sup>6</sup> "Kipaku aku, kipaku mai." See "Moololo Hawaii," by E. Helekunihl (MSS), p. 14.

"If so, my son is in the wrong," said Pao.

"Yes, he is," said Lonopele.

"That being the case, I will cut him open," said Pao; "but if your stolen fruit is not found within him, what shall be done to you?"

"That is none of my affair," said Lonopele; "who ever heard of cutting open a man's stomach to decide such a question?" Pao then cut open his son's body, and bade Lonopele come and witness to the fact that the stolen fruit was not there.

Pao, beside himself with grief and regret for the loss of his son, immediately began to plan vengeance and to seek the death of the son of his brother, Lonopele.

True to the instincts and impulses of his Polynesian blood, he determined in disgust to abandon the scene of his strife and seek a home in other lands.

With this purpose in view, he at once set his *kahunas* at the task of constructing a large double canoe. The work neared completion, the top rails had been fitted and put in place, the three cross pieces (*iako*<sup>7</sup>), hewn into shape, the hulls of the canoes smeared with black paint, and there remained only the sacred task of binding firmly together the different parts with sinnet (*aha*).<sup>8</sup> Pao now ordered a tabu; for a month no fire was to be lighted, no person was to walk abroad, no one was to work on his farm or go a-fishing. At the opening of the second month Pao heard the noise of some one drumming on the canoes. On inquiry it proved that it was his nephew, a fine youth, the son of his brother, Lonopele, who was guilty of this impertinent breach of ceremony. Seeing his opportunity, Pao commanded his people to catch the boy and slay him. This was done, and the body of the hapless youth, after serving as a consecrating sacrifice, was buried under the canoe. The work of binding the lashings<sup>9</sup> was now accomplished, and the tabu declared at an end.

As soon as the days of tabu were passed, Lonopele started out in search of his missing son, and turning his steps towards the

<sup>7</sup> *Iako*—the sticks that connect two canoes, or the canoe to its outrigger.

<sup>8</sup> *Aha*—sinnet, or cord of cocoanut fibre, generally of three strands. The operation of binding an *aha* often reached the dignity of a sacred rite. Hence *aha* means a religious ceremony, also an assembly of worship, etc.

<sup>9</sup> Each lashing, or *aha*, had its own name; the one used on this canoe was called "*Atiomasoao*." MSS. by E Helekunibi, p. 16.

house of Paa'o, he came to the shed (*halau*), where the canoes were resting on their blocks (*lona*), and stopped to admire the elegance of their proportions. As he stood at the stern and passed his eye along to the bow in critical appreciation of their lines, his attention was drawn to a swarming of flies that had gathered. He removed a block from beneath the canoe, and, to his horror, there lay the dead body of his boy. His indignation and wrath vented themselves in bitter imprecations against the author of the atrocious murder, and in irony and derision he called the canoe *Ka-nalo-a-mu-ia* (the swarming of the flies).

As the preparations for his departure neared completion, Paa'o launched his canoe into the sea, and began to lay in supplies of food and water, all kinds of stores for a long voyage. The canoe was rigged with a mast and a triangular sail of braided pandanus leaf called a *la*, which was placed with its apex downwards. When the wind was contrary, or the weather so rough, that the sail could not be used to advantage, the mast and sail would probably be unshipped, folded up, and lashed to the *iakos*, or cross-pieces that held the two canoes together, and progress would then depend upon the use of the paddle. There were seats for forty paddlemen sitting two on a bench. Midships of the canoe was a raised platform (*pola*) screened off by mats, and protected against the weather by a roof, or awning, which was for the accommodation of Paa'o and his family party, including an older sister, Nama'u-o-Malaea.

Paa'o himself was the priest of the company, a most important office; Makaalawa, the navigator and astronomer (*kilo-hoku*)—upon him depended the course to be taken; Halau, the sailing master (*hookele-moana*); Puoleole, the trumpeter (*puhi-pu*); besides these are mentioned awa-chewers and stewards.

The most important piece of freight that Paa'o took with him was the feather idol *Kukailimoku*, which generations afterwards played such a distinguished role as the war god of the invincible Kamehameha I., who conquered the islands.

There is apparent reason to suppose that Paa'o also took with him the two large *maika*<sup>10</sup> stones, which popular tradition named "*Na Ulu a Paa'o*," and which only a few years ago Mr.

<sup>10</sup> *Maika* and *ulu*, separate names for the same thing, called also *ulu-maika*, the biconvex discs of stone or wood used in playing a game called by the same name.



Fornander<sup>11</sup> was instrumental in rescuing from the ruins of the *Heiau* of Mookini in Kohala.

#### VOYAGE TO HAWAII.

The departure of Paoa and his company was marked by appropriate religious ceremonies<sup>12</sup> to bring success to his venture in search of new lands. The canoe passed close under the bluff or promontory called Kaakoheo, and then struck boldly out to sea. When the craft was so far out that her sail was only a speck in the horizon, the great prophet and wizard, Makuakaumana, standing on the promontory, called in a voice which, from its remoteness, sounded to Paoa like the attenuated trilling of a spider's web:<sup>13</sup>

"Take me, too."

"Who are you?" shouted back Paoa, across the waters.

"A prophet."

"Your name?"

"Makuakaumana."

"The canoe is full," answered Paoa; "the only place left is the *momoa*" (a projection at the very stern of the canoe).

"I'll take it," said Makuakaumana.

"Jump aboard, then," said Paoa; and at the word the wizard made one jump, and catching hold of the *manu*,<sup>14</sup> seats himself on the *momoa*.<sup>15</sup> I have purposely restrained myself from weeding out this extravagance, that we may see how myths attach themselves to the plain narrative of historic events.

#### INCANTATIONS OF LONOPELE.

The voyage was stormy. No sooner did Lonopele learn that Paoa had cleared from the land than he brought all his incanta-

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11 As to the suggestion made by Mr. Fornander, that these two *maita* stones were the idols Paoa brought with him from Upolu. I do not think that the hypothesis will hold water. If the story of Kukuilimoku is to be credited, and the popular tradition accepted, which states that Paoa used them in playing the game of the same name, that settles the question. No devout Polynesian, such as Paoa was, would ever think of making playthings of his idols. (See "The Polynesian Race," Vol. 2, pp. 36-7.)

12 "Ua poiaia o Paoa no ka holo ana e imi aina "

13 "Lohe koluiliu puainawele, me he leo no ka hanehane i pai a hinihini ia ka nawele o Paoa "

14 The *manu* (bird) is the upright, beak-like projection at the bow and stern of a canoe.

15 The *momoa* is the horizontal projection at the stern of the canoe, part of the original log from which the canoe was made.

tions to bear to overwhelm him; he loosed against him the fierce south wind, *Konaku*, reinforced by the *Konauianiho*, *Moae*, *Konaheapuku*, *Kikiao*, *Leleuli*, and *Lelekuilua*, and shut him in with black rain clouds—a terrible storm.

But Pao had made wise preparations; his canoes were covered with deck-mats fore and aft, to prevent the entrance of the waves. Yet what was more to the point, to defeat the enchantments of his brother, he was accompanied by a school of *aku* and of *opelu*. These fish, that have ever since been held in peculiar reverence by the Hawaiian people, were his *aumakua*—ancestral divinities, beings that, in a popular sense, may be considered as something like a cross between a mascot and a guardian angel. When winds and waves threatened to swamp him, the peculiar movements of these fish acted as a charm to quiet the tempest. Lonopele next sent against his brother a cold wind from the north, called the *hoolua*, but this also was warded off, and Pao remained unscathed. As a last resource, Lonopele commissioned an unclean flying monster—a huge bird, called *Kekohakawaiwapoli*—to proceed against Pao and overwhelm the canoe with its filth. This last effort was also abortive; and Lonopele having exhausted his black arts, Pao went on his way without further molestation.

#### ARRIVAL AT PUNA.

Land was first reached in the district of Puna, Hawaii. Here Pao built a temple (*heiau* or *luakini*), significantly called *Waha-ula* (red mouth), in honor of his idol, *Kukailimoku*. His residence, however, was not fixed until he reached Kohala, where he built the large temple (*heiau*) of *Mookini* in a land (*Ahupuaa*<sup>16</sup>) called *Puupepa*, the ruins of which remain to the present day.

At this time the line of royalty (*alii*<sup>17</sup>) in Hawaii had become greatly debased by indiscriminate alliances with the common people. Intermarriages between chiefs and commoners, and commoners and chiefs, had become so frequent as to blur the line that separated the two classes from each other, and to impair the authority of the governing class. Individuals of

<sup>16</sup> An *Ahupuaa* was the unit of land division in the Hawaiian Islands. In ancient times, when the yearly taxes were paid, an altar (*ahu* or *ahua*, a mere pile of stones) was erected at the boundary of the land, on which was offered a pig (*puaa*). Hence the word *ahu-puaa*.

<sup>17</sup> *Alii*—king or chief.

the *Makaainana*<sup>18</sup> class had in some cases climbed into power, in the lack of an *alii* to sit on the throne; while, on the other hand, descendants of the *aliis* had lost their standing, and fallen to the condition of plebeians. The royal strata of Hawaii had become faulty. (" *Uu hewa na 'i'i.*")

However acceptable, or even desirable, this condition of affairs might be to the democratic spirit of this century, which believes in competition and the survival of the fittest, it was not to be tolerated by the Hawaiian of that age, who, above all things, insisted that the wine of aristocracy should not be diluted with the water of plebeianism. It was to correct this state of things, and to secure for Hawaii a ruler with blue blood in his veins, that Paa'o, after a few years, made a voyage to the South, in which he went as far as Tahiti.

Lonokaeho, a great chief and *kahuna*<sup>19</sup> of Tahiti, was Paa'o's choice for the position, and to him was addressed the following invitation as the canoes are lying near the shore in the Bay of Moaulanuiakea, the prophet and bard, Makuakaumana, whose acquaintance we have made before, acting as spokesman :

- (1) *E Lono! e Lono—e! e Lonokaeho!*  
O Lono! Lono! Lonokaeho!
- (2) *Lonokulani, alii o Kauluonana,*  
Lonokulani, king of Kauluonana,
- (3) *Eia na waa, kau mai u i,*  
Here are the canoes, come aboard,
- (4) *E hoi e noho ia Hawaii-kuauli,*  
Return (with us) and dwell in green-clad Hawaii,
- (5) *He aina loa i ka moana,*  
A land discovered in the ocean,
- (6) *I hoea mai loko o ka ale,*  
That rose up amidst the waves,
- (7) *I ka halehale<sup>20</sup> poipu a Kanaloa,*  
Midst the swamping breakers of Kanaloa,<sup>21</sup>

18 *Makaainana*—plebeian or commoner.

19 *Kahuna*—a priest, magician, sorcerer, or one skilled in a profession.

20 (Note below).

21 This 7th verse has been translated, "From the very depths of Kanaloa." ("The Polynesian Race," Vol. II., p. 18. A. Fornander) But this rendering does not seem to me to hit the thought. The sense turns on the meaning of the phrase, "*halehale poipu*" In Andrews' *Hawn. Dict.* I find this, "*Ha-le-ha-le, s.* A place deep down, a pit; *halehale poipu*, deep under the surf, *Lalck. 133*" From this I dissent. Mr. Fornander evidently founded his translation on the above definition. Tregear (*Comp. Maori—Polynesian Dict.*) has, "*Arcare*, overhanging, prominent. Cf. *whare*, a house. 2. Excavated, cavernous. Cf. *tarc-tarc*, surf" (See also in the same—C. M.-P. D.—*Arcarenga*.) In Hawaiian we have the intensive *aleale*, meaning a wild

- (8) *He koa-kea i halelo i ka wai,*  
A white coral left dry in the ocean,
- (9) *I lou i ka makau a ka lawaia,*  
That was caught by the hook of the fisherman,
- (10) *A ka lawaia nui o Kapaaahu,*  
The great fisherman of Kapaaahu<sup>22</sup>,
- (11) *A ka lawaia nui o Kapuheecuanuu-la,*  
That famous fisherman, Kapuheecuanuu.
- (12) *A pae na waa. kau mai;*  
When the canoes land, come aboard ;
- (13) *E holo e ai ia Hawaii, he moku;*  
Sail away and possess the island, Hawaii ;
- (14) *He moku Hawaii,*  
Hawaii is the island,
- (15) *He moku Hawaii no Lonokaeho e noho.*  
Hawaii is the island for Lonokaeho to dwell in.

Lonokaeho declined the invitation of Paa, and in his stead sent Pili Kaaiea, who proved an acceptable king to the people of Hawaii and established his seat of government in the fertile valley of Waipio.

#### CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF PAAO.

This story of Paa, after due allowance for mythical exaggerations and extravagancies, is valuable for the light it sheds on the institutions of Polynesia centuries ago. Paa himself is worthy of study, not only as the ripe fruit of thirteenth century Polynesianism, but as a root transplanted from the soil of Samoa in the South to that of Hawaii in the North; a man of strong and vengeful nature, shrewd and scheming, who, by his talents, easily steps into the position of greatest influence in Hawaiian affairs—that of high priest. As a *kahuna*, he was versed in the ceremonial and bloody rites of southern worship,

surf, a rough, billowy ocean—evidently derived from N.Z. *kare-kare*; also the causative form, *hoo-aleale* or *ho-aleale*, meaning to stir up, to "kick up a sea," as a seaman would say. Now the god *Kanaloa* was the Neptune of Southern Polynesia (see "Polynesia Mythology and Maori Legends," by Sir Geo. Grey; p. 5, 2nd Edition, 1885). Here, then, we have it. *Kanaloa* did not kick up a sea in the deep abyss, caverns of the ocean. That would be absurd. "*Poi-pu*" means covered, overwhelmed, swamped; or, actively, to cover, to overwhelm, to swamp, as "*poi-pu ka nalu i ka waa*:" the surf swamped the canoe. The meaning thus comes out as I have translated it—"Midst the swamping breakers of *Kanaloa*." The words *hale* (house) and *ale* (wave) seem to be closely related in thought and form, both in Hawaii and in Southern Polynesia. The resemblance is evidently found in the roof-like shape of the billow as it curls over. The aspirate in the Hawn. word *hale* (house) is perhaps the remains of the causative prefix *hoo* or *ho*.

<sup>22</sup> In this and the previous lines the reference is to the fishing up of pieces of coral which grew into islands, a feat generally ascribed to Maui. *Kapaaahu* was a sacred mountainous place in Tahiti. (See Story of Kila.)

acquainted with their arts of life, adept in the astronomical lore of the time, a practical marine architect, a skilled navigator, a magician, knowing how to mine and countermine in the domain of necromancy. We have no proof that he was a cannibal. The times were perhaps not ripe for the development of this quintessence of paganism and heathenism.

The advent of this all-round, accomplished heathen among the Hawaiians, who at the time were comparatively unsophisticated and untutored in the more advanced arts and rites of full-fledged heathenism, seems to have been the occasion for introducing into Hawaii a practice in closer conformity to the more rigorous and exclusive system of worship and tabu that prevailed in the South. There is evidence that with the intrusion of Pao and King Pili into Hawaiian affairs, there grew up a more rigid observance of tabu: the temple service was re-enforced with more cruel rites and there was probably a greater demand for human sacrifices. The form of the *heiau* seems to have been changed from that of an open stone platform, with its steps and central altar—after the fashion of the ancient Mexican *teocallis*—to a walled enclosure that shut out the view of the people.

To Pao is accredited the introduction of the *puloulou*, an insignia of the tabu.

#### PAAO'S CANOES.

As to the canoes in which Pao made his voyage of over 2300 miles, they are spoken of in the plural; but the probability is that there were two lashed together as a double canoe. It seems to have been the custom to speak of the double canoe in the plural number, and this custom holds to-day. As to the fashion of the canoe, whether a *one-tree* affair, like the Hawaiian canoe of to-day, or *built-up*, after the manner of the Marshal Islands and Paumotu, the account, though somewhat vague, favors the probability that each hull was of *one-tree*.

The office of high priest was probably hereditary in the family of Pao, the last incumbent being Hewahewa, who was high priest at the time of Kamehameha's death in 1819.<sup>23</sup>

It argues well for the vitality and native vigor of King Pili's

<sup>23</sup> The writer remembers Hewahewa as a silent and wrinkled old man, who lived in a retired valley in Waialua, Island of Oahu, about the year 1848. Hon. J. K. Joseph, of Hana, is a descendant of Hewahewa's sister five generations removed.

stock that twenty-one generations after him it was capable of producing such a lusty scion as Kamehameha I.

PAUMAKUA.

Among the famous navigators of this period was Paumakua, a name of historic celebrity, claimed as an Oahu king.

Paumakua is said in his voyages to have visited every land known to the ancients, and to have brought back with him on his return from the distant regions of *Kukulu o Kahiki* two white men of priestly office, named Auakahinu and Auakamea, also called Kaekae and Maliu, together with a prophet named Malela. This last was a wizard, or meteorologist, who had power over the winds—a function not altogether uncommon in those days, when the whole contents of Eolus' cave could be kept in one small calabash along with a dead man's bones. The description of these mysterious strangers as fair and tall, blonde giants in fact, stout and ruddy, with sparkling eyes,<sup>24</sup> tallies not with the well known appearance of natives from the American continent nor from the Spanish main; it is rather more suggestive of Vikings of the Saxon type. But it must be admitted that the priestly office is by no means in keeping with the traditional character of the piratical Norsemen.

Fornander says that a disputed legend ascribes to Paumakua the introduction of circumcision.

KAULU-A-KALANA.

Another great navigator of this period, celebrated in song and story, was Kaulu, surnamed a-Kalana, an Oahu chief. He is said to have visited all the lands known to the ancients and to have contended with the great whirlpool of Nolewai (*Mimilo o Nolewai*.)<sup>25</sup> His deeds are celebrated in a fragment of mele, quoted in part as follows:

" O Kaulu nei wau,  
 O ke Kama a Kalana,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 O lele aku keia o Wawau,  
 O Upolu, o Pukalia-iki,  
 O Pukalia-nui, o Alala,

<sup>24</sup> "O ka haole nui, maka alohilohi, ke a aholehole maka aa, ka puas keokeo nui maka ulaula." See MSS. of Helekunihii, p. 34, also *The Polynesian Race*, A. Fornander, Vol. II., pp. 23-26.

<sup>25</sup> Also called "Ka Mimilo o Manawalkeoo."

*O Pelua, o Palana, o Holani,  
 O ke kuina o Ulunui, o Uliuli,  
 O Melemele, o Hiikua, o Hiialo,  
 O Hakalauai; apo ka lani,  
 Apo ka po, apo ke ao,  
 Apo Kukulu o Kahiki,  
 Pau Kahiki ia Kaulu."* 26

\* \* \* \* \*

I am Kaulu,

Offspring of Kalana,

\* \* \* \* \*

This one has visited Wawan,

Upolu, little Pukalia,

Great Pukalia, and Alala,

Pelua, Palana and Holani,

The isthmus of Ulunui and Uliuli,

Melemele, Hiikua, Hiialo, and Hakalauai;

Has spanned the heavens,

Spanned the night, spanned the day,

Made the circuit of Tahiti,

Tahiti is traversed by Kaulu.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### MOIKEHA.

Moikeha is a name distinguished not alone as a great navigator, but also as the head of a family of navigators. He stands as the central figure representing the period of intercourse in the mid-height of its activity. By the time he appears on the stage Hawaii must have been able to form more definite conceptions of the countries that had been vaguely described as *Kukulu o Kahiki*. His story is of interest, not so much as opening up the log-book of an enterprising mariner, as being the record of a life checkered with the same passions and disappointments that affect mankind to-day.

The story of the voyage of twenty-three hundred miles to Tahiti is no longer charged with the early mystery and terror of the ocean; these have fallen into the back-ground and given place to the emotions that control human action at all times.

In Moikeha we see a man moving in the dim perspective of an age, remote and utterly foreign to us in all its thoughts, under the tragic influence of the passion of love. Moikeha and his older brother, Olopana, who was chief of a district that

included the Valley of Waipio on Hawaii,<sup>27</sup> loved the same woman, Luukia, she being the wife of Olopana.

" In Saturn's reign  
Such mixture was not held a stain."

If we remember that the time was five centuries ago, and the place dark Polynesia, we shall not be surprised at this Saturnian state of morals. The relations between the brothers was most friendly, and continued so. Moikeha was the highest subject in the land, the prime minister and trusted friend of King Olopana. Heavy rains and floods having brought desolation to the Valley of Waipio, the brothers embarked their all on a fleet and sailed away to *Kukulu o Kahiki*, where they settled, and Olopana gained sovereignty over a land, or district, called *Moa-ula-nui-akea*.<sup>28</sup>

The complex relations that existed between the two men and the woman Luukia were, of course, a constant invitation to a social catastrophe. It finally came in this manner. A Tahitian chief, named Mua, looked with jealous eyes on the beautiful Luukia, and set himself to sow discord between her and her lover, by persuading her that he had publicly made jest of her and defamed her. She at once severed all relations with him, and effectually barred herself against his approaches by a device which, as an ingenious and ornamental lashing used in rigging the canoe, has become famous in Hawaiian legend as "*ka pau o Luukia*."<sup>29</sup>

Unable to penetrate the secret of this unaccountable action of Luukia, or to extract from her any explanation or hint as to its motive, Moikeha, in mortification and despair, determines to gather together his followers and embark for Hawaii. "Let us sail away to Hawaii, said he, "because I am so agonized with love for this woman that I am ready to take my own life. When

<sup>27</sup> The Hawaiian language recognises this relation, and applies to the two men the name *punalua*.

<sup>28</sup> There have been much discussion and conjecture as to the location of the land bearing this highly significant name. There is, if I mistake not, an island or district on the Marquesan Group named *Omoa*. May not this be the same place as this *Moa-ula-nui-akea*?

<sup>29</sup> The *pa-u*, or skirt, of Luukia. The *pa-u* was the garment of modesty anciently worn by Hawaiian and Polynesian females, a roll or rolls of tapa cloth, or a fringe of leaves or bark, reaching from the waist to the knees. The lashing of the canoe called "*Pa-u o Luukia*" was an intricate and highly ornamental piece of weaving, done in different colors of sinnet, which joined the cross pieces, *talo*, to the float of the outrigger, *ama*.



the ridge-pole of my house, *Lanikeha*, sinks below the horizon, I shall cease to grieve for 'Tahiti.'

RETURN OF MOIKEHA TO HAWAII.

Kamahualele, his headman, stirs up the work of preparation, and in the early dawn, at the rising of the star, Sirius, (*Hokuhoo-kelewaa*,) Moikeha, with a considerable retinue of attendants and followers, puts to sea and steers for Hawaii. His adopted son, Laa, whom he had brought from Hawaii, he leaves to the care of his brother, Olopana, who, in the whole affair, seems to have remained in the back-ground.

It was early morning when the sea-worn voyagers of Moikeha's company found themselves floating in Hilo bay, and in wondering admiration saw before them the naked bosom of Hawaii, with her milk-stained breasts, *Kea* and *Loa*, pinked by the dawn, upturned to heaven, as if still in slumber.

Standing on the ample platform of the King's double canoe, its triangular sail and streamers of red tapa stirred by the air, the bard Kamahualele celebrates the occasion in song, which tradition has handed down to us :

KAMAHUALELE'S ADDRESS TO HAWAII.

- 1 *Eia Hawaii, he moku, he kanaka,*  
Behold Hawaii, the island, the nation,
- 2 *He kanaka Hawaii—e,*  
The nation Hawaii, oh,
- 3 *He kanaka Hawaii,*  
Hawaii is a nation,
- 4 *He kama na Kahiki,*  
The offspring of Tahiti,
- 5 *He pua alii mai Kapaahu,*  
A princely flower from Kapaahu,
- 6 *Mai Moaulanuiakea Kanaloa,*  
From Moaulanuiakea of Kanaloa,
- 7 *He moopuna na Kahiko, laua o Kapulanakehau,*  
Grandchild of Kahiko and Kapulanakehau,
- 8 *Na papa i lanau,*  
Papa begat him,
- 9 *Na ke kamawahine a Kukalaniehu, laua me Kahakauakoko.*  
The daughter she of Kukalaniehu and Kahakauakoko.
- 10 *Na pulapula aina i paekehi,*  
Fragments of land grouped together,
- 11 *Inonoho like i ka Hikina, Komohana,*  
Placed evenly East and West,

- 12 *Pae like ka moku i lalani,*  
Ranged uniformly in a row,
- 13 *I hui aku, hui mai me Holani.*  
Joined on to Holani.
- 14 *Puni ka moku o Kaialea ke kilo;*  
Kaialea, the seer, made the circuit of the group ;
- 15 *Naha Nuuhiwa, lele i Polopola.*  
Shattered was Nuuhiwa, a part flew to Polapola.
- 16 *O Kahiko ke kumu-aina,*  
Kahiko was the root of the land,
- 17 *Nana i mahele kaawale na moku;*  
He rent the islands asunder;
- 18 *Moku ke aho-lawaia a Kahai,*  
Parted was the fish-line of Kahai,
- 19 *I oki'a e Ku-Kanaloa;*  
That was cut by Ku-Kanaloa ;
- 20 *Pauku na aina, na moku,*  
Divided up was the land, the islands,
- 21 *Moku i ka ohe kapu a Kanaloa.*  
Cut by the sacred knife of Kanaloa.
- 22 *O Haumea<sup>30</sup> Manukahikele,*  
Haumea of the bird Kahikele,
- 23 *O Moikeha ka lani nana e noho,*  
Moikeha is the chief who shall occupy it.
- 24 *Noho kuu lani ia Hawaii—a—*  
My chief, shall occupy Hawaii.
- 25 *Ola! ola o Kalana, ola!*  
Long life to Kalana, long life !
- 26 *Ola ke alii, ke kahuna;*  
Prosper shall the king and the priest ;
- 27 *Ola ke kilo, ke kauwa;*  
Prosper shall the seer and the servant ;
- 28 *Noho ia Hawaii a lulana;*  
They shall dwell tranquilly on Hawaii ;
- 29 *A kani moopuna i Kauai.*  
Hear the prattle of grandchildren on Kauai.
- 30 *O Kauai ka moku—a—*  
Kauai is the island—
- 31 *O Moikeha ke alii.*  
Moikeha is the chief.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Haumea, a kupua (demigod), came forth from the head of his father, Wakea, and was then carried on the back of the bird, *Manukahikele*, from Kukulu o Kahiki to Hawaii.

Polikapu says that Haumea, when born, was taken out of his mother's head—he was a kupua—and was put on the back of a bird, "Kahikele," or "manu kahi kele," and brought to Hawaii, a very high god.

<sup>31</sup> S. M. Kamakau MSS. p. 22-23. Polynesian Race, A. Fornander, Vol. 2, pp. 10-11.

## MOIKEHA AT KAUAI.

As Moikeha coasted along on his way to Kauai, one and another of his company, enticed by the attractions that offered themselves, left him and settled down to enjoy the abundance of the land.

Arrived at Kapaa, on Kauai, Moikeha went ashore in style, and was cordially received by the resident chiefs of the district. His manly grace so captivated the hearts of two young women named Hooipoikamalanai and Hinauu, who were refreshing themselves with surf-bathing, the daughters of a chief named Puna, that they begged of their father to be permitted to become his wives, and the request was granted.

His days of adventure and active romance over, Moikeha settled down, and in due time found himself the happy father of five sons, the youngest of whom, Kila, was a boy of great promise.

## KILA.

If we may believe tradition, Kila at an early age displayed a decided taste for aquatic sports, which his surroundings were admirably fitted to gratify and develop. We are told that as a child Kila's chosen plaything was a toy-canoe. Near his father's residence flowed the famous Wailua River, which, as visitors to that romantic region will remember, after precipitating itself over the beautiful falls of the same name, offers for several miles—until it reaches the ocean—a fine stretch of slack water, along each bank of which grows a thick fringe of bulrushes. To an enterprising boy of Kila's tastes it must have been a veritable paradise, the best possible school for initiating him in the management of a canoe. It is easy to imagine what enthusiasm and ardor he must have put into the construction and launching of his first canoe of bulrushes,<sup>32</sup> by which he soon made himself acquainted with every nook and turn of this fairy stream.

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<sup>32</sup> The rushes, after being cut and slightly wilted in the sun, are made up into cigar-shaped bundles, tapering at each end, and tightly bound with cord or some substitute. I have often seen the tough stems of the koali vine (*convolvulus*), which grows to a great length, used for this purpose. These primary bundles are bound firmly into two or three parts of equal size, and these, in turn, are lashed together, side by side, to form the canoe. When taste and skill are used the result is a craft that will do excellent service for months, on which it is possible to venture with safety quite out into the ocean.

But it could not have been long that he remained content with this clumsy structure. His ambition must have sought early satisfaction in the possession of a genuine canoe dug out of a *koa* tree felled in the mountains, fashioned, rigged and consecrated with the scrupulous care that must have been regarded his due, as the favorite son of Moikeha, who had now become high chief, or king of the district. The possession of this new treasure, coupled with the nearness of the ocean, was an invitation to extend the range of his adventures that he could not have long resisted.

As Kila attained the dignity of paddling his own canoe, the fascinating sport of surf-riding (*pakaka-nalu*) became one of his favorite pastimes. This sport, though it resembles, differs materially, from *hee-nalu*, in which the swimmer enters the water and uses a surf-board, while in *pakaka-nalu* the player rides the surf sitting in his canoe. The canoe, poised on the inclined plane in advance of the wave, is carried shorewards at speed, so that it is possible to maintain this position and avoid broaching to and being upset, with the danger of breaking the canoe, only by a delicate adjustment of forces and great skill and judgment with the paddle. This pastime, in which there was a smack of danger, exactly suited Kila's taste, and he came to excel in it. Thus it was young Kila grew up expert in the use and management of the canoe and, true to the sea-faring instincts of his parents, learned to meet and master old ocean in all his moods.

In addition to this practical training, Kila was carefully instructed in navigation and astronomy. He was taught the names and positions of many constellations and the principal heavenly bodies, with the times of their rising and setting, for which purpose, no doubt, the services of the old bard Kamahualele were called into requisition as instructor. Another way by which Kila probably added to his store of knowledge on these matters was resort to the *halau*, or canoe-house, of some distinguished canoe-man (*kahuna-kalai-waa*), where were to be heard off-hand lectures and discussions by distinguished experts on the canoe and the art of navigation, with mention, no doubt, of *Kukulu o Kahiki*—a term that included what was known of foreign geography. Here, too, was discussed meteorology, not forgetting the study of the heavens.

However, much we may be inclined to hold in light esteem the knowledge of the heavenly bodies, which Kila was able to obtain from the best teachings of his elders, we should not forget that it proved sufficient to guide him over the trackless waters of the Pacific and bring him with precision to his desired destination, after a voyage of over twenty-three hundred miles, and this, without the aid of chart, compass or any instrument of precision known to modern science—solely by the educated use of his unspoiled senses.

In his old age, Moikeha, who had never ceased to think of his son Laa in Tahiti, determined to send an expedition to bring him, that he might look once more upon his face and possibly make him heir to his kingdom. He accordingly announced his intention to his sons, and informed them that, in order to decide with impartiality which one of them should head the expedition, he would submit them all to a competitive test of skill in handling the canoe. This being done, Kila proved himself so greatly their superior as a canoe-man that he was put in command, greatly to the chagrin and dissatisfaction of his brothers. It was wisely arranged that the sage Kamahualele, a veteran navigator, should accompany the young captain on his first voyage.

#### KILA'S VOYAGE TO TAHITI.

Great was the interest and curiosity of the natives in all the districts along which Kila passed on his way south. As he voyaged under the lee of Oahu, he drew in quite near to the sand-beaches of Waianae, and the people, at the unusual sight of a royal, double canoe in the offing, flocked to the shore and followed along from point to point. They hailed the company to know what distinguished personage was on board and whither they were bound. When they learned that it was Kila,<sup>33</sup> a son of Moikeha, on his way to Tahiti to fetch the chief Laa, there was instant inquiry how it fared with the old navigator, for the name Moikeha was evidently a household word with them. In accordance with instructions, at every point touched, Kila made diligent inquiry after the old comrades of his father who had come with Moikeha from Tahiti, and who, at their own

<sup>33</sup> In introducing himself Kila used this formula, "Owau nei o Kila i uka, o Kila i kai, o Kila pa-Wahine-i-ka-malanai, o kama wau a Moikeha,"—I am Kila of the inland, Kila of the shore, Kila the son of Moikeha and the beautiful Kamalanai."

request, had been left at various places, as previously mentioned. Several of them, moved by the sight of a canoe voyaging to their old home, begged to be allowed to join the company that they might re-visit Tahiti. Quite a reinforcement was thus made to the strength of his crew.

In this way Kila dutifully called and paid his respects to his aunts. Makapuu and Makaaooa, the sisters of Moikeha, living on Oahu, who had come with him from Tabiti, and after satisfying the inquiries of the old ladies as to the welfare of Moikeha in his home on Kauai, went on his way. Passing close under the lee of Molokai and Maui he arrived at Kau, in Hawaii, from the southern point of which, after making his final preparations, in the early morning of a clear, starry<sup>34</sup> night, Kila and his company put to sea, and trimmed their course for the distant lands of Kukulū o Kahiki.

Owing to the failure of food and water, due to the unexpected prolongation of the voyage from stress of weather, the voyagers were reduced to great extremity, and would have perished but for provisions obtained in some unaccountable, miraculous way, which their delirious imaginations credited to the aid of some ghostly being that came walking on the surface of the ocean.

Arriving at an uninhabited island, according to one account, they landed and proceeded to make an oven, as if for the cooking of food—though, in fact, they had none to cook—and on opening the oven, behold a marvel! they found it full of meat and vegetables—an appetizing feast for the time, with enough left over to maintain them until they reached their destination at Moaulanuika, where they arrived in a half famished state.

Kila called and paid his respects to the old lady Luukia, now Queen, who inquired after her quondam lover, Moikeha; and in answer to his questions as to the whereabouts of Laa, informed him that the prince lived concealed in the mountainous region of Kapaahu.

#### KILA'S SEARCH FOR LAA.

After many days spent in fruitless search for Laa, Kila, in despair, gave up the effort to find him as a bad job and commanded to prepare for the homeward voyage to Hawaii,

<sup>34</sup> As the starry heavens were compass and chart to the ancient Polynesian mariners, they always chose a clear night for the start on a long voyage.

declaring that by this time Moikeha would in his anxiety be sending an expedition to look them up. He was, however, dissuaded from this unwise resolve by the representations of the sage Kamahualele, who sought out a venerable prophetess and sorceress, Kukelepolani, whom Olopana had been wont to consult. From her Kila had assurance that his search for Laa would speedily be successful if he would but follow her directions. She reminded him that on the morrow would begin a period of tabu, and he must provide a human body as a sacrifice to be placed on a *lele*<sup>35</sup> at Lanikeha, the ancient temple of his brother, by the aid of which he would be able to approach him with safety—for Laa was a strict observer of the tabu, a very religious man—and these ceremonial duties accomplished, he might confidently seek out Laa and introduce himself, being guided by the sound of his drum to the eating-house (*mua*)<sup>36</sup> where Laa was performing religious ceremonies in honor of his god, Lonoikaoualii.

This was done. Kila entered the *mua* and concealed himself until a certain period in the service (*aha*) was reached, when he came forward and made himself and his errand known. On hearing that Moikeha still lived and wished to see him, Laa immediately prepared to return with Kila to Hawaii. He took with him his idol Lonoikaoualii and a considerable retinue of followers, including priests (*kahunas*), among whom was a celebrated sorcerer (*kilokilo*) named Naulamaihea.

The voyage to Hawaii, so far as tradition informs us, was without incident. One important piece of baggage that Laa-mai-kahiki, as he is from this time to be called, brought with him was his *kaekeke* drum, consisting of a hollow, carved log, covered, as to its open mouth, with a tightly drawn head of shark-skin. Laa-mai-kahiki seems to have set great store by his drum, his priests and his idol, and always kept them by him even in his travels.

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<sup>35</sup> A *lele* was a scaffolding or frame on which a human body or other sacrifice was placed after death, where it was allowed to remain until the flesh had fallen from the bones.

<sup>36</sup> For the perfect observance of the tabu (*tapu*), a domestic establishment in ancient Hawaii must consist of at least six houses: 1st, a *Aciau*, sanctuary, to house the idols; 2nd, *mua*, men's eating-house, both of them tabu to women; 3rd, *hale roa*, common sleeping-house; 4th, *hale a'na*, women's eating-house; 5th, *hale lua*, in which the women beat *tapa*, braided mats, etc.; 6th, *hale pea*, in which the women stayed during their periods of monthly defilement. The last was tabu to men.

On arriving off the coast of Kauai he made known his presence by beating a tattoo on his drum, greatly to the wonder of the inhabitants. Moikeha, thus apprized of his approach, made suitable preparations for his entertainment and accommodation. But after landing Laa-mai-kahiki seems to have preferred to go with Poloahilani, the high priest of the island and be lodged at the *heiau*, along with his idol Lonoikaoualii, to faring with Moikeha.

Long residence is claimed for Laa-mai-Kahiki at Kualoa in Koolau, Oahu, where he married three wives, Hoakanuikapuaihelu, Waolena and Mano, by each one of whom, singularly enough, the father was presented on the self same day with a son. The three boys were named respectively Lauli-a-Laa, Ahukini-a-Laa and Kukona-a-Laa. Mention is made of them in an ancient chant<sup>37</sup> of the time of Kamehameha.

THE TRIPLETS OF LAA-MAI-KAHIKI.

*"O na pukolu a Laa-mai-Kahiki,  
He mau hiapo kopu a Laa,  
Hookahi no ka la i hanau ai."*

"The triplets of Laa-mai-Kahiki,  
The sacred firstlings of Laa,  
On the self same day were they born."

It is also claimed that for a time Laa-mai-Kahiki lived on Maui, a fact commemorated in the name Kahiki-nui, where he resided; but driven from there by dislike for the violence of the wind, he moved to Kahoolawe and took his final departure for Tahiti from the western extremity of that island, which point for that reason has been named *Ke-ala-i-Kahiki*, the way to Tahiti.

LAA-MAI-KAHIKI'S SECOND VISIT TO HAWAII.<sup>38</sup>

Laa-mai-Kahiki<sup>39</sup> seems to have made two voyages from Tahiti to Hawaii. The second must have been after the death of Moikeha.

On his arrival the second time he made land at Kau in the night, and as usual woke the natives with the sound of the drum and other noisy instruments (a concert which the people

<sup>37</sup> By a bard named Paku. MSS. of S. M. Kamakau, p. 16.

<sup>38</sup> See MSS. of Kamakau, pp. 186-9.

<sup>39</sup> See MSS. of Helekunihl, p. 27.



thought was made by the god *Kupulupulu*<sup>40</sup>). They accordingly went off in their canoes at daybreak with an offering of food. The scheme worked so well that Laa-mai-Kahiki tried it again as he coasted along off Kona, and the result was equally successful.

Laa-mai-Kahiki was an ardent patron of the *hula*, and is said to have made a tour of the islands in which he instructed the natives in new forms of this seductive pastime, one of which was named the *hula kaeke* after the drum of the same name used in accompanying it. Altogether Laa seems to have been of a gay and artistic disposition and to have taken by storm the imagination of the Hawaiians, by much the same arts as a French dancing master would in modern times. On his final departure for Tahiti Laa is said to have taken with him the bones of Moikeha to deposit them in the sacred *heiau* of Kapaahu.

The drum, *pahu* or *pahu-hula*, of which there were various kinds, seems to have been used originally in religious ceremonies. Its use as an accompaniment to the *hula* was probably a later adaptation.

#### KAHAI, GRANDSON OF MOIKEHA.

Kahai, grandson of Moikeha, was a navigator worthy of distinguished and honorable mention. His father, Hookamalii, left Kauai and settled on the island of Oahu. It can be said to the credit of Kahai that his voyages to the South were more fruitful of benefits to Hawaii nei than anything done by the tinsel youth Laa-mai-Kahiki. To Kahai belongs the honor of introducing the breadfruit which he brought with him on his return from Upolu in Samoa, and planted in Kualoa, Island of Oahu.

There is evidently some confusion as to the identity of this Kahai, of Oahu, grandson of Moikeha, with the New Zealand Tawhaki, a celebrated hero of Polynesia who appears sometimes as a mortal, sometimes as a deity, but generally with supernatural powers.<sup>41</sup> It is evident, however, that they have nothing in common but their name.

<sup>40</sup> *Kupulupulu* is represented as a patron of the canoe, an old man with a long beard.

<sup>41</sup> See "TAWHAKI," Maori—Polynesian Comparative Dictionary; Edward Tregear, Wellington, N. Z.

The name Kahai is easily derivable from Tawhaki by making certain changes in accordance with well known philological principles, of which the Hawaiian language is a living example.

The New Zealand hero, Tawhaki, belonged to an age of myth and fable long anterior to the times of clearer tradition, verging into history, in which Kahai of Oahu, lived and voyaged.

The Oahu Kahai is also to be distinguished from that semi-mythological Kahai, son of Hema, who is represented to have started on a southern voyage to seek or avenge his father. The latter Kahai belongs to that remote age which tinted the deeds of its heroes with rainbow hues, as in the following remarkable poetical fragment :

*" O ke anuenuē ke ala o Kahai,  
Pii Kahai, koi Kahai;  
He Kahai i ke koi ula a Kane;  
Hihia i na maka o Alihi."<sup>42</sup>*

The rainbow was the path of Kahai ;  
Kahai climbed ; Kahai strove ;  
A Kahai with the mystic power of Kane ;  
He was ensnared by the eyes of Alihi.

#### CONCLUSION.

It was but natural that the Hawaiians, being but one branch of the Polynesian stock, while their southern cousins were many, should have received during this period of intercourse more numerous accessions of priests, chiefs and men of influence than they were able or desirous to return.

Polynesia of the South gave to Polynesia of the North, to Hawaii, of what she had. It is not to be supposed that the institutions, arts and inventions of the South were better and worthier than the productions of the North. They were different, oftentimes worse. The gods, trinkets and superstitions of Pao and Laa-mai-Kahiki added nothing of value to the possessions of Hawaii. Kahai's gift of the breadfruit outweighed them all.

The emigrant to Hawaii during this period of intercourse, as a rule, came to better his position, rejoiced to escape from the discord and anarchy that convulsed the archipelagoes of the South, and to share the comparative peace and prosperity that ruled in Hawaii.

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<sup>42</sup> The Polynesian Race, Vol. 2 p. 16.

If it was fortunate for Hawaii that she was far removed from the centres of riot and disturbance incident to the efforts of southern Polynesia to get her home-affairs settled, it was none the less a piece of good fortune that for a period of seven or eight generations she was able to hold frequent communication with the southern cousins, and to reciprocate with them the fruits of human ingenuity that had accrued to each during the ages in which they had fared separately.

Hawaii's people were of the same root and sap as those that settled New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti and Nuuhiwa, and it was fitting that, after centuries of separation, they should again meet, compare notes, exchange family records, greetings and gifts, before each settled down and girded himself to the task of working out his destiny with what light the God of nature had given him.

There was one item, however, in the bills of exchange that passed between Hawaii and her southern correspondents that has proved of the greatest value and deserves appreciative comment by the historical student. I refer to the unwritten tables or lists of genealogy which the historians of that period brought with them from the South and committed to the keeping of the trained experts in Hawaii. It is by means of these genealogies that the student is enabled, as with a measuring rod or sounding line, to calculate and determine the length of time that separates us from the events treated of in this paper.

The benefits to Hawaii of this period of Southern intercourse are evident. It stimulated enterprise and activity, and no doubt helped to foster in some degree industry and the arts; but, best of all, it must have liberalized the spirit of humanity in the Hawaiian, and given him broader and truer conceptions of the world.

With the cessation of intercourse between Hawaii and the South, which came to an end with the voyage of Kahai and the final return of Laa-mai-Kahiki to his adopted land in the South, the geographical knowledge of the Hawaiians retrograded, and their ideas became more vague and misty.

Tahiti, or Kukulū-o-Kahiki, literally the quarter or direction of Tahiti, came to mean any foreign country. As Prof. Alexander says, "It was in their minds a land of mystery and magic, full of marvels, inhabited by supernatural beings." Evidence

of this is abundantly found in the songs and poetry of later times, *apropos* of which I will quote in closing an extract from the famous "Song for Kualii," a king of Oahu who belongs to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries :

- 127 *O Kahiki, ia wai Kahiki ?  
Ia Ku no.  
O Kahiki, moku kai a loa,*
- 130 *Aina a Olopana i noho ai.  
Iloko ka moku, iwaho ka la,  
O ke aloalo o ka la ka moku ke hiki mai.  
Ane ua ike oe ?  
Ua ike.*
- 135 *Ua ike hoi au ia Kahiki,  
He moku leo pahaohao wale Kahiki.  
No Kahiki kanaka i pii o luna,  
A ka iwikuamoo o ka lani ;  
A luna keehi iho,*
- 140 *Nana iho ia lalo.  
Aole o Kahiki kanaka ;  
Hookahi o Kahiki kanaka—he Haole.  
Me ia la he Akua ;  
Me a'u la he kanaka,*
- 145 *He kanaka no, pa ia taua a he kanaka.*

\* \* \* \* \*

- 127 *Kahiki—to whom belongs Kahiki ?  
To Ku indeed.  
Kahiki, an island far across the ocean,*
- 130 *Land where Olopana dwelt,  
Within is the land, without is the sun.  
The sun recedes as you reach the land.  
Perhaps you have seen it ?  
I have seen it.*
- 135 *I, too, have seen Kahiki  
A land where the speech is strange.  
From Kahiki men climb up,  
Up to the back-bone of heaven ;  
Far above they trample,*
- 140 *Gazing on what is below.  
No men like us in Kahiki ;  
They were like gods,  
The only men in Kahiki are the haole.  
I only a man.*
- 145 *Yet they were men, touch them and they were human.*

As to the causes which brought to a close this remarkable era of Hawaii's intercourse with the lands of the South, it must be left to the investigations of future students to determine what they were. We can only suppose that to the Hawaiian the growing attractions of life on his own beautiful islands abundantly satisfied his desires and drove from his heart all ambition for foreign travel and sight-seeing.

N. B. EMERSON.

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The bulk of the information given in this paper has been obtained from the works, mostly in manuscript, of S. M. Kamakau, David Malo and E. Helekunihi.

In my desire to give credit where credit is due, I have endeavored, so far as possible, to indicate by foot notes, *en passant*, the sources of my authorities and indebtedness. But it was not possible to do this in every case. In addition to the names and sources of information mentioned, there still remain many persons to whom I have a lively feeling of obligation for valuable hints, suggestions and facts verbally communicated, and if I do not find it feasible to mention them by name, they will not charge me with ingratitude.

It was at first my intention to have treated in this paper of the physical features of the Hawaiian canoe and its fitness to stand the test of a voyage, such as the old navigators made between Hawaii and *Kukulu o Kahiki*, but I found that the matter demanded separate treatment. The subject of the Hawaiian and Polynesian canoe I reserve for further study.

N. B. E.

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Sister's portion .....	3
Song about Kahai-a-Hema .....	25
Song for Kualii .....	27
Song of Kamahualele .....	16-17
Son of Lonopele .....	6
Southern Disturbances a Stimulus to Hawaii .....	4
South wind .....	9
Storm at sea .....	9
Stormy weather .....	7
Story of Paa'o .....	5-10

	PAGE
Surf-riding .....	19
Swarming of the flies .....	7
Tabu ordered by Paoa .....	6
" strengthened in Hawaii .....	12
Tangiia pacifies Karika .....	2-3
" submits again to Karika .....	3
Tangiia's voyage to Rarotonga .....	2
Tawhaki vs. Kahai .....	24
Temple or heiau of Mookini .....	8,9
Triplets of Laa-mai-Kahiki .....	23
Tuatea and Tukinuku .....	4
Tutapu and Tangiia in Tahiti .....	2
" death of .....	3-4
Ulu, na a Paoa .....	7-8
Voyage of Kila to Tahiti .....	20-21
" " Paoa to Hawaii .....	8
" " Tangiia to Rarotonga .....	2
" South of Paoa .....	10
Wahaula, heiau or luakini of .....	9
Wailua River .....	18
Whirlpool of Nolewai .....	13
White Priests .....	13
Winds .....	9
Wives of Laa-mai-Kahiki .....	23

Gen. 34, Page 52 - Gomer Keola - Genealogy of Laamaikahiki  
Hawaii State Archives

Laamaikahiki	Halaula	Pueluula
Pueluula	Kila	Laapueluula
Laapueluula	Kepooaola	Kaluheaaaala
Kaluheaaaala	Huanuimakaukaina	Laakapu
Keawemahuilani	Huanuikееkeeheilani	Keawemahuilani
Kaialahua	Kalanikaikohokiki	Kaiewahua
Haokapokii	Makakua	Kaialahua
Piilanimakua	Hinakohilani	Haokapokii
Lonokauakini	Kapukaihaoa	Piilanimakua
Lonokahaupu	Kalanikauleleiawi	Lonokauakini
Keawepoepoe	Kumaaiku	Lonokahaupu
		Keawepoepoe
		Kaumaka 2
		Alapai
		Keeaumoku
	Kanoena	Kaulunae
		Kameeiamoku
Kameeiamoku	Kamakaeheikuli	Kamanawa
Kepookalani	Keohohiwa	Kepookalani
Aikanaka	Kamae	Aikanaka
Keohokalole	Kapaakea	Keohokalole
Kalakaua	Kapiolani	Kalakaua
Page 50		
Laamaikahiki	Waolena	Ahukini
Ahukinialaa	Haikamaio	Kamahano
Kamahano	Kaueanuiokalani	Luanuu
Luanuu k.	Kalanimoeikawaikai	Rukona
Rukona	Laupuamaa-a-	Manokalanipo
Manokalanipo	Nauekapulani	Kaumakaamano
		Kapunuiamamo
		Kuaanaiamano
		Kahaipulaniamano
Kaumakamano	Kapoinukai	Kahakuakane
Kahakuakane	Manukaikoo	Kuwalupakumoku
Kuwalupakumoku	Hameawahaula	Kahakumokupaweo
Kalanikukuma	Kapoleikauila	Kahakumakalina
		Ilihiwalani
Kahakumakalina	Akahiilikapu	Koihalawa w.
		Keliiohiohi
Koihalawai	Keawenui-a-Umi	Kanaloakuaana
Kanaloakuaana	Kaikilani	Keliiookalani
		Keakealani
Keliiookalani	Keakealani	Kalani-o-Umi
		Keamamahana
Keakamahana	Iwikauikaua	Keakealani w.
Keakealani w.	Kaneikauaiwilani	Kalanaikauleleiawi
Kalanikauleleiawi	Keawe	Kekuiapoewa
		Keaumoku
		Kekela

Gen. 9, Page 15, S. M. Kamakau - GENEALOGY OF LA'AMAIIKAHIKI  
Hawaii State Archive)

Laamaikahiki	Hoakanuikapuaihelu	Laulialaa
"	Waolena	Ahukinialaa
"	Manoopupaipai	Kukonaalaa
	Kauai Chiefs	
Ahukinialaa	Haiakamaio	Kamahano
Kamahano	Kaaueanuiokalani	Luanuu
Luanuu	Kalanimoeikawaikai	Kukona
Kukona	Laupuapuamaa	Manokalanipo
Manokalanipo	Naekapulani	Kaumakaamano
		Napuuamano
		Kahaiamano
Kaumakamano	Kapoinukai	Kahakuakane
Kahakuakane	Manukaikoo	Kuwalupauka imoku
	Kaponaenae	Kahekiliokane
		Kuonamauaino
Kualupaukamoku	Hameawahaula	Kahakumakapaweo
(Contemporary with	Liloa of Hawaii, Piilani of Maui and	
	Rukaniloko of Oahu)	
Kahakumakapaweo	Kahakukukoena	Kalanikukuma
Kalanikukuma	Kapoleikauila	Kahakumakalina
		Ilihiwalani
Kahakumakalina	Akahiilikapu	Keliiohiohi
		Koihalawai
	Kahakumai	Kamakapu
Kamakapu	Pawahine	Kawelomahamahaia
Kawelomahamahaia	Kapohinaokalani	Kawelemakualua
		Kaweloikiakoo
		Kooakapoko
		Kaawihioakalani
		Kawelolauhukia
Kaweloamakualua	Kaawihioakalani	Kaweloaikanaka
		Kawelopeekoa
Maihunalii	Malaiakalani	Kaweloamaihunalii
Kaweloamaihunalii	Kanewahineikiaoha	Kaneikaheilani
	-----	
Ilihiwalani	Kamili	Kauhiahawa
Kauhiahawa	Kueluakawai	Kaneiahaka
Kaneiahaka	Kealohi	Kapulauki
Kaina-a-Aila	Kapulauki	Kuluina
Kauakahilau	Kuluina	Lonokahaupu
Lonoikahaupu	Kalanikauleleia iwi	Keawepoepoe
	Kumuokaumehe iwa	Kaumehe iwa
Kaumehe iwa	Kaapuwai	Kahalemanuolono
		Kamakahalei w.
		Kewalu w.
Kiha	Kahalemanuolono	Kamaholelani
		Kauakahilau II k.
Kauakahilau II	Kahelekoa	Kawahinemakua
Kiko	Kawahinemakua	J. Piikoi

Gen. 34, Page 52 - Gomer Keola - Genealogy of Laamaikahiki  
 Hawaii State Archives

Laamaikahiki	Halaula	Pueluula
Pueluula	Kila	Laapueluula
Laapueluula	Kepooaola	Kaluheaaaala
Kaluheaaaala	Huanuimakaukaina	Laakapu
Keawemahuilani	Huanuikееkeehilani	Keawemahuilani
		Kaiewahua
Kaialahua	Kalanikaikohokiki	Kaialahua
Haokapokii	Makakua	Haokapokii
Piilanimakua	Hinakohilani	Piilanimakua
Lonokauakini	Kapukaihaoa	Lonokauakini
Lonokahaupu	Kalanikauleleiaiwi	Lonokahaupu
Keawepoepoe	Kumaaiku	Keawepoepoe
		Kaumaka 2
		Alapai
		Keeaumoku
		Kaulunae
	Kanoena	Kameeiamoku
		Kamanawa
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Manokalanipo	Nauekapulani	Kaumakaamano
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Kalanikukuma	Kapoleikauila	Ilihiwalani
		Koihalawa w.
		Keliiohiohi
Kahakumakalina	Akahiilikapu	Kanaloakuaana
		Keliiookalani
		Keakealani
Koihalawai	Keawenui-a-Umi	Kalani-o-Umi
Kanaloakuaana	Kaikilani	Keamamahana
		Keakealani w.
		Kalanaikauleleiaiwi
Keliiookalani	Keakealani	Rekuiapoiva
		Keaumoku
		Rekela
Keakamahana	Iwikauikaua	
Keakealani w.	Kaneikauaiwilani	
Kalanikauleleiaiwi	Keawe	

Kekuiapoiwa

Kekaulike

Kamehamehanuji  
Kalola w.  
Kahekiliahumanu

Page 51

Laamaikahiki  
Kukona  
Makohiea  
Kulaikini  
Lehiakumakaolua  
Kuahea  
Kamaloa  
Pualu  
Pihapualu

Waoaala  
Kahoukapu  
Uihau  
Kamahaopoo  
Kaulahine  
Kaohe  
Kaneikawahineokai  
Kahaieka  
Hinamoo

Kukona  
Makohiea  
Kulaikini  
Lehiakumakaolua  
Kuahea  
Kamaloa  
Pualu  
Pihapualu  
Lonoikahana  
Kaulanuinaaohemo  
Kapoleikauila  
Kuliaihauula

Lonoikahana  
Kaulanuinaaohemo  
Kapoleikauila

Kaponuu  
Ilo  
Kanikukuma

Kuliasihauula  
Kahakumakalina  
Koihalawai  
Keliiohiohi  
Akahiakameenoa  
Liloakaai  
Nuuanu-a-I  
Kaneikaailani  
Ikuaana  
Umiulaikaahumanu  
Umiaianaku  
Kamakaimoku  
Keoua k.  
Kamehameha  
Liholiho  
Kauikeaouli  
Nahienaena

Kahakumakalina

Akahiilikapu

Keliiohiohi

Amauakookoo

Akahiakameenoa

I

Kaneikaailani

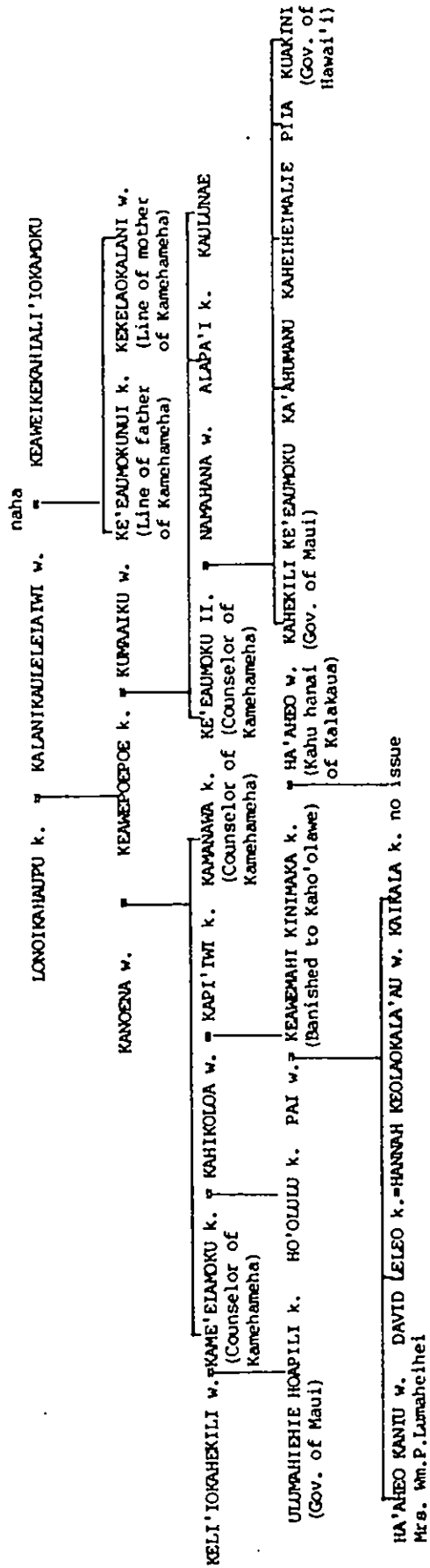
Mahiololi

Umiulaikaahumanu

Kuanuuanu

Kamakaimoku  
Keoua k.  
Kamehameha

Keeaumoku  
Kekuiapoiwa II  
Kalanikauikaalaneo



five issues

Note: (1) The only counselor of Kamehameha not shown on this genealogical list is Keawe-a-Heulu and his son Malya Nahihe which leads down to the line of King David Kalakaua and his sister, Queen Lili'uokalani. They descend from the line of Ahu-a-i.

Note: (2) The three counselors of Kamehameha I and their heirs descend from the line of Kalanikauleleiaiwi (sister of Keawe) whose grandchildren include King Kamehamehanui of Maui, Kalola, wife of King Kalani'opu'u of Hawaii, and King Kahakili of Maui.

Note: (3) Ulumehieho Hoapili and Ho'olulu are half brothers, they have the same father. Ho'olulu and Keawemahi Kinimaka are half brothers they have the same mother.



## DEFINITION OF WORD MO'I

- Puku'i and Elbert      n.    1.    King, sovereign, monarch, majesty, ruler, queen. (Perhaps related to - 'I, supreme. According to J. F. G. Stokes, the word mo'i king, is of recent origin and was first in print in 1832.)
- Temple image (Malo 162); lord of images (Malo 173); according to
  - Kepelino & Kamakau, a rank of chiefs who could succeed to the government but who were of lower rank than chiefs descended from the god Kane (For. 6:266) See iku nu'u. The term Mo'i was apparently not used in the Fornander legends collected in the year 1860s not in RC.
2.    Same as 'awa mo'i.
- Lorrin Andrews        s.        A sovereign; one in whom is supreme authority.
2.    Sovereignty; majesty; supremacy; it is applied to men and to gods, as haku alii and akua. In the old Testament it is applied to Jehovah. Heb 8:1. In the New Testament it is applied to Jesus Christ. Heb 1:3 Hoailona moi, a badge of supreme authority; applied to the Son of God. Heb. 1:8.
3.    The name of one of the gods in the luakini.
- adj.    Supreme; royal; lordly; pertaining to the gods; haku, alii, akua.
- s.        Name of a species of fish of a white color.
2.    White specks on a dark skin.

Kepelino and Kamakau      SEE ATTACHED DOCUMENT

Stokes                        SEE ATTACHED DOCUMENT

# Legend of Hawaii-loa.

COMPILED AND CONDENSED IN ENGLISH

FROM

KEPELINO AND S. M. KAMAKAU.

ACCORDING to an old Hawaiian tradition the *alii* of the genealogy direct from Kane were called "*ka hoalii*" and "*he 'lii poni ia*" (anointed chiefs), anointed with the "*wai niu a Kane*," and thus became "*na 'lii kapu-akua*." The chiefs below them in rank were called "*he 'lii noa*" (not anointed), but were still chiefs of the "*iku-nuu*," they could succeed to the government of the land and were then called "*he Moi*."

The chiefs (*ka hoalii*) had both temporal and spiritual power. Their genealogy (*papa alii*) was called "*iku-pau*," because it alone led up to the end or beginning of all the genealogies; no one reached further back than theirs. The chiefs of the "*papa iku-nuu*" could only have temporal power and be recipients of the ordinary "*kapu-alii*" awarded to other chiefs according to rank, whereas "*ka hoalii*" enjoyed both the "*kapu-akua*" and the "*kapu-alii*."

This often brought on dissensions and enmities between the chiefs of the *papa iku-nuu* and those of *iku-pau*. The former would often introduce the ancestors of the *iku-pau* upon their genealogies in order that they might be considered as springing from the *kapu akua* race and become also "*ka hoalii*" of the "*nuu-pau*" and "*iku-pau*."

The worshipers of Kane were called "*he papa laa*" or "*he papa Kane*." Those who worshiped images were called "*he pac kii*," and those who worshiped nobody were called "*he laa-luau*." The "*laa-luau*" were godless people, and in the time of Wakea and Papa, the first chiefs of the *iku-nuu* in this country, a number of worthless kapus were introduced to support the wickedness of Wakea.

In very olden times no human sacrifices were offered to Kane. "*He kapu ke kanaka na Kane*" was the settled law of that time, because the *kanaka* was considered sacred to Kane and like unto him. The idol-worshipers, and the followers of the "*lii noa*" (not of the Hoalii race) offered human sacrifices.

One of the ancient prayers was recited on the great festival days as follows:<sup>1</sup>

*The Priest:* O Kane me Ku-ka-Pao, E, oia 'nei?

*The Congregation:* Hooia, e, oia.

<sup>1</sup>For a translation of this prayer see Fornander, *Polynesian Race*, Vol. 1, p. 61.  
(266)

# THE HAWAIIAN KING\*

(MO-I, ALII-AIMOKU, ALII-KAPU)

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By JOHN F. G. STOKES

(Formerly Curator of Polynesian Ethnology and Curator-in-charge of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Honolulu)

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A study of the accounts of ancient and modern systems of Hawaiian government reveals a confusion in terms misleading to many of the non-Hawaiian members of this community. Apparent errors thus arising are being repeated in the official and unofficial text-books of Hawaiian history, and thus perpetuated in the schools. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some of the terms used for Hawaiian royalty, and the systems represented, and to offer such suggestions on their origins as the Hawaiian information in hand may warrant.

Today in the Hawaiian language the term *moi* (*mo-i*, pronounced in English, "moh-ee") indicates "king", "majesty", "supremacy", etc. Fornander (11, pp. 64-7) applied it in 1880 in particular to the ruler of a whole island through "some constitutional or prescriptive right" regardless of "territorial possessions or power." This opinion was accepted in good faith by Alexander (1, p. 26) in 1891, by myself (35) in 1909, and by Kuykendall (25, p. 370) in 1926.

Fornander (11, pp. 66-7) also regarded the right and the term as introductions into Hawaii consequent upon the migrations of 1100 to 1300 A. D., "employed to distinguish the status and functions" of the island ruler from those "of the other independent chieftains of the various districts of an island—the *Alii-ai-moku*, as they were called." Such conclusions were based on

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It is a pleasure to acknowledge assistance and constructive criticism of the paper from Dr. P. H. Buck, Messrs. Bruce Cartwright, K. P. Emory, and W. F. Wilson, from Bishop H. B. Restarick and Rev. H. P. Judd, and especially from R. S. Kuykendall of the History faculty in the University of Hawaii.

the absence of the term from the legends of the earlier periods, and the claim that "the very word itself, if it existed at all in the Hawaiian dialect, was never applied in the sense it afterward acquired. We look in vain through the Hawaiian dialect for any radical sense of the word *Moi*. It has but one concrete meaning, that of sovereign."

Other Polynesian philologists have also wondered about this term *moi*. It seems to belong as little to the rest of Polynesia as Fornander found it unattached to early Hawaii. In view of the fact that it was, and is, generally believed that the migrations mentioned were from southern Polynesia, the appearance of the term only in Hawaii has naturally been the cause of much speculation.

It is unfortunate that Fornander's views on this matter have had such wide acceptance. The present investigation indicates that: (1) The term *moi* was first applied to a Hawaiian sovereign, not about 1300 A. D. but in 1842, when it was used officially as a specific term for "Majesty." Its adoption was due to modern foreign influence. (2) On account of the native unfamiliarity with the new term, it was later applied indiscriminately for "majesty", "sovereign", or "king" and officially displaced the older term *alii* or *'ii*. (3) The term first appeared in print about 1832, in translations of the Scriptures, with particular reference to "The Divine Majesty" and thus may have been a recent introduction or adaptation from another language. (4) However, it may have been a Hawaiian sacerdotal or sacred term, unused in common speech, for the representation of the dominant Hawaiian god. (5) The Hawaiian term for "king" was *alii aimoku*, applied not only to the independent ruler of part of an island, but to the ruler of the whole of an island or of several islands. It pertained to the active or administrative side of Hawaiian royalty. (6) The "constitutional or prescriptive right" sought by Fornander may be found in the passive side of Hawaiian royalty, as the hereditary right of the *alii-kapu* or "divine chief."

It is also indicated by the present study that in Hawaii there were royal customs not found in other parts of Polynesia. Fornander seems to have sensed this fact although he did not state it.

*"Moi" not in early histories*

Had the term *moi* for "king" come into use by Hawaiians as

early as 1300 A. D., it should have occurred in early writings, particularly those in the Hawaiian language. I cannot find it in the accounts of voyages and travels or in histories published in English up to 1847. For works in Hawaiian by Hawaiians, it is absent from histories written up to 1863. These include (a) the important contribution written in 1840 (28, p. 18) by David Malo (27) who was born in 1793 and lived a quarter century under the old regime, and (b) the extensive collection of native manuscripts made by Fornander (12) probably between 1860 and 1875, and recently published by the Bishop Museum in three large volumes.

The histories in Hawaiian by Dibble (8) in 1838, and the enlarged edition by Pogue (29) in 1858 use *alii* instead of *moi* for "king", as do practically all the other missionaries in their translations. Green (14) in the "Church History" uses *alii* for the Roman Emperor, for the Christ, for modern European monarchs, and for the King of Hawaii.

#### *"Moi" a Scriptural term*

In the translations of the scriptures I have so far been able to find the term *moi* only eight times, as shown in the quotations in Table I. They do not confirm Fornander. One translation, by Richards, uses the term as equivalent to "supreme." Seven translations are by Bingham for whom *moi* had the primary sense of "Divine Majesty." For "majesty" the other translators used *nani*, *hanohano*, and *ihikihi*. Richards prefers *nani*, but uses all the synonyms, while Bingham himself employs *hanohano* and *nani*. The translations were published about 1832.

Later, in a manuscript translation of the New Testament, Rowell (32) discarded *moi* in favor of other terms, as shown in Table I.

The term *moi* is carried in Bingham's vocabulary of 1832 as "sovereign" and "supreme", and in Andrews' vocabulary of 1836 as "a sovereign, applied also to Jehovah", and "supreme". Authorities are not given but, later, in Andrews' dictionary of 1865, all the definitions identifying *moi* with "royalty" are dependent upon Biblical references. It might then appear that the term *moi* in this connection was an introduction by the translators, who were responsible for many Hawaiian neologisms required for adequate interpretation. Most of them were drawn

from Greek and Hebrew. However, friends searching these languages for the derivation of *moi* have so far reported against the probability of finding it there.

The possibility of its being derived from a Hawaiian sacerdotal term will be discussed below. For the present, it seems certain that as found in use it was an introduction or adaptation in 1832 for translations of the Bible. We may now follow its official adoption.

#### *Official introduction*

When Kamehameha I consolidated the island kingdoms under one head, a new term might have been expected for "the king" if the Hawaiians themselves were neologically inclined. However, Kamehameha I and Kamehameha II apparently were content to remain *Ke Alii*.<sup>\*</sup> Kamehameha III was equally so, but in the latter part of his reign, apparently, it was decided that the dignity of Hawaiian royalty required bolstering up, and the term *Ka Moi* was officially introduced to indicate "His Majesty." This was after Kamehameha III had voluntarily yielded his absolute power and granted a constitutional government. We may definitely establish the date of the change by running through official documents.

In 1841, the constitution, and the laws which followed it, were published (16). In these the term *moi* is not used, and the official title of the king, prescribed for royal address in the second law, is *Alii*, thus: "Na ke Alii nui, na Kamehameha III" (To the king—or to His Majesty—Kamehameha III). The title page carries the name "Kamehameha III" without further dignification. The term for "king" throughout the text is either *Alii* or *Aliinui*, except that it is stated that "Kamehameha I was the head [*poo*] of this kingdom."

In the manuscript proceedings of the legislative council from April 1841 to April 1843, the term used is *Alii* or *Aliinui*, whether applied to Kamehameha III or to foreign sovereigns. The publication (18) of the laws enacted in April 1843 contained many references to *ke aupuni* (the government, or kingdom), but not to "the king." At that time the control of the government was in the hands of a commission.

<sup>\*</sup>Mr. W. F. Wilson has drawn my attention to the inscriptions on the coffins of Kamehameha II and his queen (Byron's Voyage of the Blonde, London, 1826). In these *moi* is not mentioned, but "Elii", namely *Alii*, is given three times.

*Appearance in 1842*

The council met in Lahaina until April 1843. In August of that year, it met in Honolulu. The published title (19) of the new laws then enacted carried the authority of "Ka Moi Kamehameha III, Ke Alii o ko Hawaii nei Pae Aina" (His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of these Hawaiian Islands). Consideration of this and the facts preceding indicate (1) that the term *Moi* was first officially recognized between the years 1841 and 1843, and (2) that it was probably not familiar to the Hawaiians themselves.

Running through the early State correspondence (13) for about ten years prior to August, 1843, letters are to be found addressed to the Hawaiian king by the many resident consuls, captains of war and mercantile vessels, Catholic missionaries, Hawaiians, and many others. Some letters are originally in Hawaiian; others are translated into Hawaiian. In some there is such informality of address as "My dear King". However, a general tendency towards formality is maintained, and "Majesty" is variously rendered. In addition to the usual Hawaiian address to royalty, *E ke Alii*, "O King", there is found *E ka Haku*, "O Lord", *Mea Kiekie*, "Exalted One", or *Mea Hanohano*, "Honored One",—the last apparently gaining in favor. The variation implies that some definite term was sought.

Among the papers mentioned, the term *Moi* indicating "King" is not met with at all; indicating "Majesty" it appears for the first time in the translation, into Hawaiian, of a letter (13a) dated September 1, 1842. The translation is of particular interest because it is in the handwriting of an American, G. P. Judd, appointed on May 15, 1842 as official translator and recorder (1, p. 332 and 16 a, p. 200). Apparently it marks the first official use of the term.

The earliest publication (23 a, p. 54) applying the term to a Hawaiian monarch appears to have been on October 25, 1842, in a vernacular newspaper edited by a missionary. This gives a translation (apparently by the official translator) of a letter from America to the king.

Similar translations were made in two publications in 1843, which give Judd as the translator. In these, the correspondence and speeches relating to the provisional cession of the kingdom

(13 b) and to its restoration (13 c) were given in English and Hawaiian. It is worthy of note that in the earlier of the two, "Majesty" is once rendered *mea Hanohano*, and is twice ignored in the Hawaiian—irregularities which suggest new usages. Obviously the term was newly applied by the official translator about this period.

Possibly the new application began with the translation of the letter of September 1, 1842. The Hawaiian term *alii* was used for "sea-captain" as well as for "king", and a specific term for "majesty" was desirable. *Hanohano*, then coming into vogue, was needed for another purpose in official language. For instance, the letter opens with: "I have the honor to inform your Majesty that . . .", which the translator renders gracefully as "Ua hanohano wau i ka hoike aku ia oe e ka Moi penei . . .". *Moi*, as "sovereign" was already in the vocabulary published in 1836 as a result of missionary labors, and *hanohano*, released from other service, could be used fittingly for "honored."

#### *Not a Hawaiian choice*

So far as we have followed the use of the term, it is evident that *Moi*, applied to a Hawaiian monarch, was an introduction into the Hawaiian language by one not of Hawaiian birth. Contrary to Fornander's statement it was not applied to their kings by the Hawaiians, to whom the term *alii*, with its qualifications, conveyed the full idea of royalty. As Jarves explained (see below) the governmental advisers desired to teach the natives foreign court formalities. If we follow the course of *moi* into Hawaiian official language, we will find that the Hawaiians while trying to cling to their own term *alii* for "king", first attempted to use *moi* for "majesty" as newly taught, and then gradually applied it as a synonym for "king"—the way Fornander found it later.

From August 1843 onward the published title pages of the laws carried the phrase "Ka Moi Kamehameha III, ke Alii o ko Hawaii Pae Aina." But it required time to secure acceptance of the new term *moi* by the Hawaiians, except as a matter of extreme formality. For instance, while the record (17) of the legislative proceedings of May 6, 1845, is headed by the statement that they were gathered together at the command of *ka Moi*, the term *ke 'Lii* is used in the body of the report. In addition,



there is spread on the records a letter in which Kamehameha III signs himself as *ke 'Lii*.

#### *New Formalities*

Alexander notes (1, p. 255) that on May 20, 1845, "the legislature was formally opened for the first time, by the king in person, with fitting ceremonies." It was a noteworthy occasion, rendered especially significant by the announcement then made of the appointment of ministers of state and the acknowledgment of Hawaiian independence by the great powers of the world.

In the council meetings of May 13, 15 and 19, the preparations for the royal formalities (*ano Alii*) had been discussed, the term used for "king" being *Ke Alii* or *ke 'Lii*. Minister G. P. Judd had charge of the arrangements and on the 15th outlined the plan "of the king's attendance . . . with all his glory [or majesty]" (*o ko ke Alii hele ana . . . me kona nani a pau*, as the native scribe has it.) On the 19th, when the arrangements were being approved, the term used for "king" was still *ke 'Lii*. However, other ideas were stirring: in one place appears the expression "*ke 'Lii Hanohano Kamehameha III*," and in another, "*H. H. M. Kamehameha III, ke 'Lii*", the last being a hybridization for "His Hawaiian Majesty Kamehameha III, the King."

On the great day, May 20, the unusual formality made the native recording clerk nervous over his responsibilities. He opened (18) with the statement: "*Hele mai ke 'Lii*" (The King arrived), and followed in the next paragraph with "*Heluhelu ka Moi Hanohano Kamehameha III i kana Palapala*" (His Glorious Majesty Kamehameha III read his address). The body of the record generally carried the term *alii*, but the addresses prepared beforehand maintained the formality, although there were some irregularities: "*ke 'Lii Lokomaikai loa ia Victoria ka Moi Wahine o Beretania*" (the most Benevolent Sovereign Victoria Female Majesty of Britain). In the following we get the Biblical influence: "*Ke Akua mana loa, ka Moi o na Moi, ka Haku o na Haku*" (the most powerful God, King of Kings, Lord of Lords). The closing address ended with "*Na ke Akua e malama i ka Moi*" (May God preserve the King, or, Your Majesty).

As the legislature continued, new expressions are to be noted, such as "*E oluolu ka Moi*" (May it please your Majesty) and

"Ka Moi, ke Alii" (His Majesty, the King). In the discussions, *Alii* was frequent, but there were valiant attempts to say *Moi*. As the new laws were printed, however, the editor seemed to be careful to use the term *Moi*. An exception is to be noted. In the laws of 1856, every preamble carries the authority of *Ke Alii* instead of the almost familiar *Ka Moi*.

*Not used by Judiciary*

There were other exceptions. W. L. Lee, who placed the judiciary on its feet (1, p. 258) and later became chief justice, gives (26, iii) as his authority for preparing the Penal Code published in 1850, the following: "Mamuli o ka ke Alii kauoha iloko o kana Aha" (In accordance with the King's commands within his Assembly. Lee may have been guided by a lawyer's precision in language, or possibly he wished to be understood by the bulk of the Hawaiians.

Even as late as 1864, apparently, the term *Ka Moi* had made little progress outside official circles. Kamehameha V, who leaned towards absolutism, promulgated a new constitution, in section 34 of which (20) he explained that "The *Moi* is the *Alii Nui* over all the chiefs and people. The kingdom is his." This is approaching Fornander's value of the term. It seems certain that the natives themselves never regarded it as more than a synonym or substitute for their old term for "king." The following translations from Kamehameha V's Constitution will serve for illustration:

Section 41. The *Moi* will appoint . . . who will remain during the pleasure of the *Alii*.

Section 42. The *Alii* will appoint . . . who will remain during the pleasure of the *Moi*.

*Foreign influence revealed*

Fortunately, Jarves the historian was editor of the government newspaper during the famous opening of the legislature on May 20, 1845, and throws much light on the unusual ceremonies. In half a page of his history (21, p. 197) he explains that "it is the desire of the advisers of the king to prepare for the nation a polity of forms" compatible with those of "official order and etiquette as they exist in more advanced countries." "Thus many forms and ideas are introduced, which although

in the outset appear disjointed and crude, yet by practice conduce to useful results." Jarves does not specifically mention any new term, but there is little question that *Moi* for "Majesty" was thrust into official use at this time together with the other new formalities. The advisers referred to were of foreign birth (1, p. 332).

If to the preceding I may add current observations, I will state that the older Hawaiians still use the term *Ke Alii* instead of *Ka Moi* in reference to the king. Most of them are of the opinion that *moi* is modern. I am strongly guided by the view of the historical authority Mrs. Lahilahi Webb (38), who regards the word as foreign, because of its unusual pronunciation.

In this review, we have found that the term *moi* for "king" or "majesty" was not in use by historical writers of Hawaiian blood, writing as late as 1863, nor is it in general use among the older people today. In other words, it did not belong to the native language, official or common.

Its first official appearance, in 1842, was an introduction through foreign influence.

#### *Origin of error*

This showing cannot be integrated with Fornander's idea that it was adopted by the Hawaiians in the fourteenth century. I believe that Fornander was misled by the language of his environment.

In the last quarter century of the monarchy, we find *Ka Moi* and *Ka Moi Wahine* well established as terms for King, Queen, Sovereign, or Majesty. Today, in sight of the main street of Honolulu, King Lunalilo's mausoleum bears in large letters of gold, the following inscription:

LUNALILO  
KA MOI  
1874

All this belongs to the official circle within which Fornander moved during the time of his intensive studies.

#### *Fornander's authorities*

His principal Hawaiian historical authority was S. M. Kamakau (23) who served in the legislature many times between the years 1851 and 1876 (37, p. 44). I cannot find that

Kamakau makes the same statement concerning *moi* as does Fornander, but he uses the term loosely and irregularly. Pre-disposed to the magnificent and the spectacular, he frequently applied the term *moi* to the early Hawaiian kings, especially in his later writings. In the first few of his articles, however, he consistently used the term *alii*. He wrote continuously in the native newspapers between 1865 and 1871.

Another historical associate of Fornander was Kepelino, to whom is attributed a manuscript history of Hawaii written in 1868 (24). It gives as though ancient the order of the Hawaiian government as conducted after the death of Kamehameha I, and placed the *Mo-i* at the head. The term as explained by him was composed of two words, *mo*, a "container for words", and *i*, "to speak." "Therefore the king was called a *moi* because it was his to command." No Hawaiian authority, ancient or modern, will confirm this statement, nor the identification of the term *mo*; furthermore Hawaiians point out that it was not their nature to analyze terms in this manner.

Apparently Fornander was led astray through conclusions drawn from the prominence of the term *moi* in the modern official vocabulary, and the use made of it by Kamakau and Kepelino.

#### *Early terms for "king"*

In a search for terms in Hawaiian for "king" or "chief", it will be found that the first written record was that made at Kauai in 1778 by Cook (6, II, 216) who wrote "hairee", namely, *he alii*. Later, Lieut. King (6, III, 153) noted that rank was in three grades: "The first are the Erees, or Chiefs, of each district; one of them is superior to the rest, and is called at Owhyhee Eree-taboo [*Alii-kapu*] and Eree Moe [*Alii kapu-moe*]. By the first of these words they express his absolute authority; and by the latter, that all are obliged to prostrate themselves (or put themselves to sleep, as the word [*moe*] signifies) in his presence." As King observed, Terreoboo or Kalaniopuu, then king of the island of Hawaii was such a chief.

The *moe* or prostration tabu had already been observed by Cook on Kauai, and King's explanation of the term "Eree Moe" makes it clear that the reference is to the *alii-kapu* class of chiefs with the *kapu-moe* privilege carrying the highest degree of

prescribed postural respect. It is unrelated to *moi*, or to *alii moi*, the modern descriptive title. With the *alii-kapu* is associated the phrase which marks the ruler as "king by divine right", to be discussed later.

The terms for "king" appearing in the native writings\* (cf. p. 3 above) are: *Ke Alii* (The Chief), *Ke Alii Nui* or *Ke Aliinui* (The High Chief), *Alii aimoku* (Chief possessing the island, or province), *Aliinui aimoku*, and *Alii ai aupuni* (Chief possessing the kingdom, or government). There are other variants or descriptive qualities attached to the term *alii* including the abbreviated form *'lii*. In poetry, and in respectful or affectionate address, the term *Lani* (Sky, Heaven) is found; occasionally, though rarely, it has the qualification *aimoku*, as used in the Lament of Kahahana: "He *lani aimoku*, he *alii no ka moo*" (A reigning king, a sacred chief in the genealogical line).

For the designation of "the king" the qualifications are necessary. *Alii* and *Lani* are also applied to the numerous members of the chiefly caste, so that *Ke Alii* or *Ka Lani* might refer to a minor chief, a high chief, or the king. Standing without context, either term would indicate the king. The term *alii ai aupuni* is rare, and may be merely descriptive.

#### The "*alii aimoku*"

The earliest reference to *alii aimoku* in tradition might mark it as belonging to the period of Liloa (ca. 1525 A. D.): "He *'lii nui aimoku o Liloa no Hawaii a puni*" (Liloa was the king of the whole of Hawaii Island). This application of the term is more descriptive than titular and the record (12, IV, 178-9) being recent, it is possible that the title originated later than the time of Liloa.

The qualification *ai-moku* is also descriptive. *Moku* is applied to "an island", "a land division", and other things. *Ai*, normally interpreted as "food" has the nuclear concept of "absorption". Hence, in the older dictionaries it is interpreted as a verb for

\*Mr. R. S. Kuykendall has given me the following quotation from Kotzebue's Voyage (London, 1821, III, 245-6) in which Chamisso, naturalist of the expedition, notes the terms used in 1816 and 1817:

"The word *Hieri*, *jeri*, *eriki*, *ariki*, or *hariki* (chief), is best to be translated by lord. The king is *Hieri ei Moku* [*Alii aimoku*], the Lord of the Island or Islands. Every powerful prince or chief is *Hieri Nue* [*Alii Nui*]. Great Lord, and by this title *Tamaahmaah*, *Kareimoku*, *Haulhanne* (Mr. Young), are called without distinction."

"eat" and "possess". In the latest dictionary the compound *aimoku* is translated as "to conquer."

With Malo the term *alii aimoku* is titular in the direct sense of ruler or administrator, applied not only to temporal but to spiritual matters—in brief, "the high executive." Malo uses it particularly when he mentions the king in discussing civil affairs of state.

The military side predominates in Hawaiian temporal power, and we find the *alii aimoku* to be also the warrior king. Malo (27, XXXVII, 122) notes that "If the king [*alii aimoku*] is killed in war, he is placed in the sacrificial temple [*luakini*] and offered up by the other king [*alii aimoku*]." The *luakini* class of temple may be used only by the king or independent chief (28, p. 212).

Malo (27, XXII, 4) also states that cloaks made of the *mamo* feather belonged to the *alii aimoku* as his war cloak. But one feather cloak of this type has been identified—that of Kamehameha I.

In the administration of spiritual matters, namely, the services at the national temples, it is found that the presence of the king or his deputy is essential, and during the most sacred service, the priest alone accompanies him. The priest utters the incantations, but the king merely moves his lips. When the priest has obtained favorable auguries, he begs the king for a piece of land.

It may be a matter of surprise to find that the king referred to is still the *alii aimoku* (or administrative phase) and not the *alii-kapu* or sacred phase. I shall give two quotations from Malo (27, XXXVIII, 23-4) to illustrate this: "Of all the kings [*alii aimoku*] from the ancient times to that of Kamehameha I, not a single king [*alii aimoku*] was irreigious." Malo further adds that "If any king [*alii aimoku*] were neglectful about worship, it was believed that the kingdom would pass to a king who was punctilious in worship." In brief, it is stated that the subjects were much gratified with a religious king, because they believed that his devotions brought prosperity to the land and success in war.

From the references given it is apparent that not only did the term *alii aimoku* apply to the king as the supreme administra-

tor in temporal and spiritual matters, but also that Kamehameha I and the kings preceding him were regarded by Malo as *alii aimoku*.

Malo, however, did not restrict the term to the rulers of the entire island, although it might be so inferred. Since Fornander states that *alii aimoku* indicated the "independent chiefs of provinces only", we may combine the two and arrive at the fact that the term was applied by Hawaiians to any independent chief or king. In brief, its English analogue is "king."

#### *Supremacy of the king*

According to Malo (28, p. 84), Ellis, and other authorities, the Hawaiian king was supreme. His word was law. Malo (28, p. 79), however, occasionally mentions that the king's tenancy was contingent upon good behavior—a reference undoubtedly to political revolution. As shown, he was not merely the temporal but also the spiritual administrator.

In addition, the king was the sole proprietor of the land by right of inheritance or conquest (9, p. 423). He granted the occupancy of it to his relatives, friends, and other chiefs, the grant being revocable at his will (28, p. 79), at his death (11, p. 300) and at the death of the occupant (9, p. 429). A complete redistribution was thus to be expected at the death of every king. With the occupancy went an administration of the land which was independent, except for the king's requirements.

Land re-distribution, as a custom, did not necessarily imply that a family of chiefs might not become established in one district. Through friendship, intermarriage, or expediency perhaps, but with the king's acquiescence (cf. 9, p. 429), such occupancy has been noted as continuing for several generations. Opportunity was thus afforded for building up a military or political organization stronger than that of the king's immediate group, followed at times by rebellion and independence or even usurpation of the throne.

In land matters, conquest wiped out all preceding titles in favor of the victors, who divided the new possessions among their followers (9, p. 423). It was also the custom, as Malo observed, for the victorious king to kill the defeated king, when captured, and offer up the body in sacrifice. The relentless search for the royal fugitive sometimes continued for as much as

two years after all fighting had ceased (11, pp. 201, 225, 348). In general, the defeated king died in the decisive battle. When it is noted by Malo (27, XXXVI, 8) that "Land was the principal thing sought by the kings through worship [*hoomana*]" and the significance of the term *alii aimoku* is given due consideration\* it is evident that the pursuit and sacrifice of the defeated king was not so much for revenge as for the absorption of his title to the land. Such a conclusion seems more certain when the victim is frequently found to be a brother or near relative.

Of course under the system followed, land and power are inseparable, but it is possible that the system was not very ancient.

*Land system not ancient*

If we may read history in the legends Fornander followed, the conquest of Hawaii Island by Hua of Maui about 1100 A. D. did not affect land titles (11, p. 41). About 1400, Kalauniuhua of Hawaii conquered the islands of Maui and Molokai and part of Oahu and captured their kings. He was defeated and captured on Kauai (11, p. 67). No land was held or partitioned by the victors, and no kings were killed. No other clear-cut conquests followed until the last half of the eighteenth century (11, p. 147) when Kalaniopuu of Hawaii seized part of Maui, distributing the land among his followers, and using it as a base for the attempted conquest of the whole island.

The earliest reference to the sacrifice of a king is also the first reference to land distribution. Two generations later, land-distribution on the king's death is noted as a custom. Throughout there was much internal strife and general departure from precedent. About 1550 the low-born Umi, with the aid of some priests, surprised, assassinated, and succeeded his half-brother, the rightful and high-born king (11, p. 78). The allegiance of some of the district chiefs was withheld from Umi, perhaps on account of his inferior birth, but they were conquered and their lands given to others (23). There was further rebellion and reconquest of the district chiefs in the reigns of Umi's son Keawenui and of Umi's grandson. Since land redistribution as a royal mortuary custom is said to have begun after the reign of Keawenui (11, p. 300), it seems highly probable that it arose

\*cf. p. 11-13 above.



as a result of successive conquests, and with it the absolute power and all-embracing possessions of the king.

This later period appears to be distinctly un-Polynesian. For instance, land titles were hereditary within the tribe in New Zealand, or within the village community in Samoa, or within the upper and lower chiefly families in Tahiti. Conquest might, but did not necessarily make a change in these titles. The title *alii aimoku* is limited to the Hawaiian Islands, while the absolute power ascribed to the Hawaiian kings is greater than that of the southern Polynesians. At the same time, there is enough to be observed in the earlier and later Hawaiian periods to indicate that its system of aristocracy was basically connected with that of the Society Islands.

#### *Prescriptive rights*

Fornander correctly sensed the fact that there was some "constitutional or prescriptive right" by which the Hawaiian king theoretically could or did keep in control the provincial chiefs of greater power or wealth than himself. This right does not appear in our examination of the *alii aimoku*-ship which, apparently, was the might of the mailed fist. If we look closely, we find that the functions of the king as *alii aimoku*, whether in temporal or spiritual matters, are entirely active. Circumstances may arise which will lead to his displacement if he becomes lax.

The "right" detected by Fornander, but incorrectly applied, was the passive one present in the king as *alii-kapu* or tabu chief whose power existed through his identification with the great gods—through the right of inherited divinity.

In this part of the study we are handicapped through the acquired condemnatory outlook of our principal informant, David Malo, whose judgment, as his translator (28, pp. 6-7) points out, became warped through his new ideas on religion. Malo rejected the fascinating series of Maui myths because he would "repeat no lies" (28, p. 322). He, perhaps, was the authority for revealing the royal Hawaiian genealogy, which is treated as though all the ancestors were human beings. Since the other Polynesian genealogies are cosmogonies in their earlier stages, and the names and actions of the characters, similarly placed in the Hawaiian genealogies, agree with those of the cosmogonic characters in the other genealogies (36, p. 13), we must read

Hawaii through the rest of Polynesia. This is necessitated through the fact that in Hawaii as in other parts of Polynesia (36, pp. 5-6) the genealogies were sacred and secret, and although the significance of the sacred portions has been, under changed conditions, revealed elsewhere, it was not done in Hawaii. The attitude towards the old in Hawaii which Malo and his instructors displayed was such that no keeper of the sacred genealogies could acquaint them with all the accepted details. We must therefore derive the Hawaiian kings from the ancient gods, the record of which is the royal genealogy, preserved, as Malo (28, p. 81) points out, with the greatest care. In Malo's idea (28, p. 87), also, failure to maintain a genealogy might lower an *alii* to the status of a commoner, since apparently it was only the genealogy which established the *alii*-ship.

Whether gods or *alii* or commoners, they seem to depend upon *mana*.

#### *Mana*

*Mana* is described in the dictionaries as "might", "supernatural power", "divine power of God", "spirit", "energy of character", etc. all of which are variably applicable. *Mana* is ever present, and in all objects animate and inanimate. If we are content to regard it as analogous to the power of God, the supreme source, as in the Christian concept, further definition is unnecessary. Otherwise we may draw an analogy with electricity, a vast but indescribable fund of latent power and energy, which may be motivated by various agencies, including human, and, what is more important to observe, may be drawn on and directed by human effort. *Mana* however may vary in quality, or, more likely in force, according to the degree of its concentration.

Under the influence of great *mana*, man becomes superhuman, with a capacity for accomplishment limited only by his *mana*. Without *mana*, he is but a clod, or a shell. However, the shells vary in quality. That of the commoner is of low grade, because his genealogy is not established. The shell of the chief must be of high potentiality because it is identified through the genealogy with that of the gods.

#### *Hoomana*

The terms *hoomana* and *haipule* have been generally translated

as "worship." Other interpretations of *hoomana* are: "to ascribe divine honors", "to cause one to have regal power." In the term, we may recognize *mana* with the causative *hoo*. *Hoomana* is accomplished through *haipule*, meaning "recitation of *pule* or prayers", the "prayers" being found upon examination to be less supplications than magical incantations, sequences of names and allusions as though the spoken word drew out the *mana* and directed it in the stream of the incantation.

Without *hoomana*, apparently, none of the Hawaiian gods now heard of, whether great or small, could exist. This is a clear indication of their shell phase mentioned, because the power to motivate them must be drawn from outside. The regularity of *hoomana*, which Malo states was required for the great gods, again brings up the analogy of electricity. The shell represents the storage battery, which on account of losses of power through usage and possible leakage, must be consistently recharged. The analogy is weak in the penalty phase for neglect of *hoomana*. In case of neglect, the god, although fading away, is supposed to inflict severe punishment (cf. 10, p. 24 and 9, p. 112). The analogy however is maintained if part of the *hoomana* be regarded as insulation upkeep.

#### *Creating gods*

If *hoomana* be essential to the maintenance or support of a god, why cannot a god be created by the same process? Malo (28, p. 142) states that this was done, both with the king's bones and with those of commoners. The king's bones alone were given very special treatment that they might become an *akua maoli* (real god). It was the type of god termed *akua aumakua*, and a temple was made for it.

Malo gives few details concerning the creation of gods by men. Since he regards *aumakua* and *unihipili* as similar, we may understand the process from J. S. Emerson's account of the *unihipili* (10, p. 4). The essential materials are the bones and hair of a near relative or friend. Over these, regular daily *hoomana* must be rigidly maintained until the spirit of the *unihipili* is strong and operative. It then becomes the friend and servant of its creator, and imbues him with superhuman power. If the *hoomana* be neglected, however, the *unihipili* spirit destroys

him. The term *aumakua* in general indicates a "steady, trust-worthy servant."

The connection of the devotee or creator with the *unihipili* may be established through the relationship, or through the possession of the remains, or both, while the connection with the *unihipili* spirit enables the creator to reach into the vast fund of *mana* beyond.

Andrews defines *akua-aumakua* as "the ancestors of those who died long ago, and who have become gods; the spirits of former heroes." N. B. Emerson (28, p. 144) states that the great gods of Hawaii, namely, Ku, Kane, Kanaloa, and Iono, were spoken of as *akua maoli*, and also affirms (28, p. 157) that they were *aumakua*. J. S. Emerson (10, p. 16) states that these gods were "sometimes regarded as *aumakua*, particularly by the highest chiefs." It might then seem that these great gods are but the royal ancestors projected into the past and magnified through the accumulations of *mana*. In Maori sacred tradition (34), Tane (Hawaiian Kane) as the great procreator and aided by the enchantments of his brother gods, becomes the biological human ancestor. His personification is Tiki, or Ki'i as carried in the Hawaiian genealogies. The circle might thus seem to have been completed. However, I do not feel too sure of the analogies since they may be drawn from more than one religious or philosophical system.

#### *Identity of kings and gods*

Whether the great gods are concepts or projections, *hoomana* is essential for their maintenance, so that the country as well as the king may be benefitted and not injured. The benefits, apparently, are to be obtained through the establishment of the identity of the *alii-kapu* element with the great gods, which is done by means of the carefully preserved genealogies intended to prove the purity of the *alii's* descent (28, p. 81).

This identification with the great gods by means of the genealogy might seem to have been the principle of Hawaiian temple worship, or the core around which the services centered.

As in the English term "lineage" and as used by the Maoris, the Hawaiians apparently symbolized the genealogy as a line or cord. *Aha* in Hawaiian is a braid composed of the fibers of the coconut husk—short compared with other fibers used, but

in successive combinations making a continuous product. Such, of course, is also the genealogy.

*Aha* were also the important temple incantations, the name of which Andrews says originated from the analogy of the coconut fiber braid. *Aha* was also the acquiescence of the god indicating that the incantation was successful; unless "the *aha* were obtained" (*loaa ka aha*) all the many preceding services were without avail.

According to Malo (27, XXXVII, 95) the decisive service of the temple consecration was the *hoowilimoo*. Emerson (28, p. 245) records an incantation for the service addressed to Kane, in which the theme is the devotional offering of the sacred red braid *Hoowilimoo* (*ka alana o ka aha ula Hoowilimoo*) and the acceptable conclusion of the incantation. The service itself was held over a coconut fiber braid in the sacred *Mana* house of the temple. Emerson translates *hoowilimoo* as "twisting the *moo*" or lizard, although *moo* is an orthodox abbreviation of *mookuauihau*, "genealogy", (4) as may now be recognized. Evidently we have here a claim preferred by the priest of the king (who himself does not offer incantations) of the identity of the god and the king by means of the genealogy. Hence (28, p. 226) the priest's assurance of success to the king when the god's acquiescence is obtained. Similarly with the other *aha* services—the acquiescence of the god symbolized an acknowledged identity by means of the connecting cord or genealogy.

The identity being established, then the *mana* present in, or instilled into the gods is also the *mana* of the *alii-kapu*, and thus becomes operative for the benefit of the country.

#### *Perpetuation ceremony*

Of course, if intended for such a mighty purpose, the quality of the shell must be in accord. Such was in mind in the *hoomau* (perpetuation) ceremony which Malo (27, XXV, 1-2) states was *hoomana* because it was believed that the kings were like gods in power (*mana*) and that "the begetting of children by members of royalty through the *hoomau* was worshipping the gods [*hoomana i ke akua*]. It was only practiced for the first-born, because the first-born was believed to be [inherently] a chief of the very highest rank or sanctity." Malo (27, XVIII, 15) also notes that these firstlings were especially high-born so that they might

occupy the throne, the *alii*-quality being increased through incestuous unions. The idea is present (certainly in modern times) that through such unions the rank or sanctity of the offspring was raised above that of either of the parents.

There were several degrees of *alii-kapu*, but the highest resulted from the union of full brother and sister in the direct royal line. The offspring of such "was called a god" (*ua kapaia ke akua*), with a sanctity requiring the prostration of the people. The intended parents, not allowed to form a first union with a low chief or a commoner, were mated for the day, the nuptials being under the aura of an ancestral god, while the priest chanted incantations for fertility from the union. These preparations apparently were sufficient to produce only a shell of an *alii*, for when the child was born, he had to submit to an "incantation to sanctify the chief" (*pule hoolaa alii*). The example preserved (22) forms a genealogical chain from chaos thundering down untold ages and world phases, through gods and human beings, to the princeling babe (36, p. 12). Thus even though the shell be of the highest quality, the *alii*-ship is not present until placed there through the incantation of the full genealogy, which affirms the *alii's* god-ship.

#### *Respect for rights*

The preceding sketch will, I believe, explain any prescriptive right of a politically weak king to hold a stronger vassal in check. It is less a matter of rights, perhaps, than a recognition in common that the *mana* of the vassal (a near relative) reached him through the *alii*-ship of the king—the direct divine heir.

Notwithstanding the alleged right, rebellions, *with the support of the priests*, by elder brothers of less tabu or by younger brothers, did result in placing the fraternal relative on the altar. Malo's wording\* is of interest here because he states that it was the *alii ainoku* who was sacrificed. Presumably the *alii-kapu* being divine, could not die. His spirit not being individualized was still operative, being also incarnated in younger *alii-kapu*. This obviously was recognized by the powerful usurper, who is to be observed in history as taking the *alii-kapu* into his possession as soon as possible. If the *alii-kapu* be a woman, she is either married to the usurper, or to his son, and the direct line is thus

\* p. 12 above.

continued. The *alii-kapu* and *alii aimoku* are thus again united in the one person. Meanwhile, since proxy is common in Hawaiian worship, the *alii aimoku* will represent the *alii-kapu* in his control.

The Hawaiian system seems to be a primitive form of that evolved in Japan and in Tonga.

#### *Customs not ancient*

The customs discussed above do not seem to be very ancient in the Hawaiian Islands. In tradition, the prostration tabu dates from 1650 or 1700 (11, p. 277). While the cosmogonic incest myth is found in Hawaii, the first incestuous union which seems to have historical standing is that of Umi with his highly born sister (ca. 1550 A. D.). Umi was the first to introduce plebeian blood into the sacred line, and his marriage was intended to elevate his descendants. Following Umi, inbreeding seems to have grown and, under the theory of increasing the sanctity, must have been intended to reconcentrate the essence of divinity scattered through contact with Umi's partly plebeian ancestry. Probably the term and institution of *alii aimoku* belongs to the same period. Apparent innovations in the traditional period are listed in Table II, with assumed dates.

The term *alii aimoku* later disappeared through non-use. When Kamehameha I conquered or acquired the whole group, the designation was no longer necessary. Soon after this, *alii aimoku* is found applied to district governors under Kamehameha, later being displaced by the present term *kiaaina*, "governor."

Thus so far as Hawaiian royalty is concerned, a completeness and self-contained symmetry of organization and terminology has been shown. Despite the convenience of the brief term *moi*, the old Hawaiians were unaware of it as a term for "king."

#### *"Moi", an idol*

Andrews (3) gives as a third definition of the term *moi*: "name of one of the idols in the *luakini* [national temple]." The authority for this was apparently Malo (28, p. 228) in his account of the building of the highest grade of temple. He speaks of the *moi* as the "lord of the idols."

Unfortunately we cannot now obtain the pronunciation of the term *moi* for "idol." According to Mrs. Lahilahi Webb (38),

the Hawaiians had but two pronunciations for the word written "moi", namely, "mo'i" with the glottal stop, and "moi" with the vowels approaching the diphthong. Although similarly written, the words are very distinct in Hawaiian. Mrs. Webb was inclined to believe that, if it existed, the term for the idol was *mo'i*. *Mo'i* was the name of a very early, or a mythical priest.

The position of Malo's *moi* idol in the war or national temple corresponds with that of Ku, as observed by Cook's officers in 1779. This Ku, the war god, Malo stated was the most important god of the temple he was then describing. When the image intended to represent Ku is met with, Malo merely calls it *he moi* "a *moi*", although Ku was the dominant national god in Malo's youth.

One explanation is that Malo, writing in 1840, or his informant, might have borrowed the term *moi* as indicating "supreme" from the missionary translations of 1832, or from the missionary Richards, his very close friend.

#### *Possible derivations*

If *moi* were an esoteric term for the supreme god, it may not have reached the people. Accepting for the moment Mrs. Webb's pronunciation "mo'i", it may have been caught up by the missionary translators with the guttural break emphasized, as a synonym for "supreme" or "majesty." The over-emphasis of the guttural break may have caused the perpetuation of the unusual pronunciation "mo-i" (moh-ee).

Starting again from the basis that the *moi* was the central image of the row of images, "the lord of the idols," and represented Ku the war god and spirit of the temple, we may find several possible derivations. From the Polynesian, only two suggest themselves. In Samoa (31), there is *mo'i*, "true, to be true." Closer perhaps are the Tahitian terms (7): *moi*, "the heart of a tree," and *moi-moi*, "aged, principal, steady old man."

In another direction we find (33) the Japanese word *moi* (with the long "o") "fury" which may be regarded as symbolic of war. The Japanese pronunciation of the Ainu term for "god" or "supreme" is *kamoi*, according to Professor Harada (15), who also points out that the Japanese term *kami* indicates god, master, head of the government or of the family. Philologically, the



comparisons are irregular, and the solution of the enigma of derivation is not yet at hand.

For conclusions I may refer back to those outlined in the introduction, in substantiation of which the present discussions are offered.

Gen. 34, Pg. 39 Gomer Keola - Genealogy of the Chiefs of Maui  
State Archives.

Wakea	Papa	Hoohokukalani
"	Hoohokukalani	Haloa
Haloa	Hinamanouluae	Waia
Waia	Huhune	Hinanalo
Hinanalo	Haunui	Nanakehili
Nanakehili	Haulani	Wailoa
Wailoa	Hikawaopuaionea	Kio
Kio	Kamole	Ole
Ole	Hai	Pupue
Pupue	Kamahele	Manaku
Manaku	Hikohoale	Kahiko
Kahiko	Kaea	Luanuu
Luanuu	Kawwaamakele	Kii
Kii	Hinakoula	Ulu
		Nanaulu
Nanaulu	Ulukou	Nanamea
Ulu	Kapunuu	Nanaiea
Nanaiea	Kahaumokuleia	Nanailani
Nanailani	Hinakinau	Waikulani
Waikulani	Kekauilani	Kuheleimoana
Kuheleimoana	Mapunaiaala	Konohiki
Konohiki	Hikaululena	Wawena
Wawena	Hinamahuia	Akalana
Akalana	Hinakawea	Mau-i-mua
		Mau-i-hope
		Mau-i-kikii
		Mau-i-a-Kalana
		Nanamaoa
Mauiakalani	Hinakealohaila	Nanakulei
Nanamaoa	Hinakapaikua	Nanakaoko
Nanakulei	Kahaukuhounua	Heleipawa
Nanakaoko	Kahihiokalani	Hulumanailani
Heleipawa	Kookookumaikalani	Aikanaka
Hulumanailani	Hinamaikalani	Puna
Aikanaka	Hinahanaiakamalama	Hema
		Kahai
Hema	Ulumahoha w.	Wahieloa k.
Kahai	Hinauluohia w.	Laka
Wahieloa	Koolaukahili	Luanuu
Laka	Hikawalena w.	Kamea k.
Luanuu	Kapokulaiula w.	Pohukaina
Kamea	Popomaile	Hua
Pohukaina	Huahuakapolei	Pau
Hua	Hikinolulolea w.	Huanuiikalalailai
Pau	Kapohaakia	Paumakua
Huanuiikalalailai	Kapoea	Kuihelani
	Molehai	Haho
Paumakua	Manokalililani	Palena
Haho	Kauilaianopa	Hanalaanui
Palena	Hikawainui	Hanalaaiiki

ANCESTORS OF THE CHIEFS OF MAUI

Gen. 34, pg. 36 - Collection of Gomer Keola  
Hawaii State Archives

<u>Kane/Male</u>	<u>Wahine/Female</u>	<u>Keiki/Child</u>
Hanalaaiki	Kapukapu	Mauiloa
Mauiloa	Kauhua	Alau
Alau	Moikeaea	Kanemokuhelii
Kanemokuhelii	Keikauhale	Lonomai
Lonomai	Kolu	Wakalani
Wakalana	Kauai	Alo
Alo	Puhia	Kahaka
Kahaka	Maiaoula	Mapuleo
Mapuleo	Kamaioakalani	Paukei
Paukei	Painalea	Luakoa
Luakoa	Hinaapoapo	Kuhimana
Kuhimana	Kaumana	Kamaluohua
Kamaloahua	Kapu	Loe
Loe	Wahaakuna	Kahaokuohua
Kahaokuhonua	Hikokaiula	Kaulahea I
Kaulahea I	Kapohanaaupuni	Kakae
Kakae	Kapohauola	Kahekili I
Kahekili I	Haukanuimakamaka	Kawaokaohela
Kawaokaohela	Kepalaoa	Piilani
Piilani	Laielohelohe	Kihapiilani
Kihaapiilani	Kumaka	Kamalalawalu
Kamalalawalu	Piilaniwahine	Kauhi-a-Kama
Kauhi-a-kama	Kapukini	Kalanikaumakaowakea
Kalanikaumakaowakea	Kaneakauhi	Lonohonuakini
	Makakuwahine	Umialiloa
Lonohonuakini	Kalanikauanakinilani	Kaulahea
Kaulahea	Papaikaniau	Kekaulike
Kekaulike	Kekuiapoivanui	Kamehameha Nui
Kamehamehanui	Neau	Peapea

See Hawaiian Language Newspaper - Ka Makaainana 5/25/1896

Kekaulike	Rahawalu	Kauhiaimokuakama
	Kekuiapoivanui	Kamehameha Nui
		Kalola w.
		Kahekili k.
	Kanealae	Luahiwa w.
	Holau	Kekauhiwamoku
		Kaeokulani k.
		Manuhaaipo w.
	Haalou	Kekuamanoha k.
		Namahanaikaleleokalani
Kamehamehanui	Namahana	no issue
	Kekumano	Kalanihelemailuna
		Peapea
	Manuhaaipo	Kalaniulumoku
Kahekili II	Kauwahine	Kalanikupule
		Koalaukani
		Kailikauoha/Kalili-
		kauoha
		Kalola II w.

an illustrated article by Bloxam which appeared in an English paper, *The Mirror*, dated October 7, 1826. The illustration is a good engraved reproduction of an image with the arms stretched out in front; and the text, after mentioning the visit of Lord Byron and his officers to the mausoleum, says of the illustration, "the above is a faithful representation of one of the two great wooden idols, which stood on each side of the altar . . ." The image remained in the possession of the Bloxam family in England until almost a century later, when in 1924, it was presented by the family to Bishop Museum.

An image in the private collection of A. W. F. Fuller, London, is strikingly similar to the Bloxam image, though it is a little shorter (fig. 309, *b*). The treatment of the chest, abdomen, and legs is identical. The position of the arms is

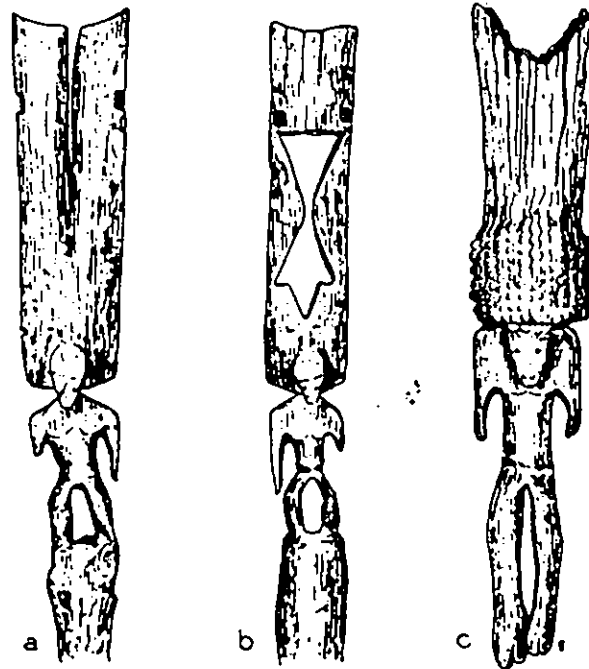


FIGURE 311.—Temple images with high head slabs: a, b, from Kahuku, Oahu; c, from Kahoolawe.

the same, but the palms of the hands are turned upward. The head—similar in the formation of the eyes, nose, and the crossed grooves on the head and face—differs in having two crests, a low wide crest ornamented with oblique grooves and a narrow plain crest above the wider one. The mouth is crescentic in shape instead of elliptical, but the upper and lower rows of teeth and the tongue are similar. In spite of the minor differences, the general resemblance of the two images is such that it is probable that both were made by the same craftsman.

Though we have no clear history of the Fuller image, it is also probable that it completes the pair which stood on each side of the altar in the Hale o Keawe.

A curious type of temple image is illustrated by a specimen found buried in mud in a rice field at Waipahu, Oahu, and now in Bishop Museum (6816). It is a complete human figure with a rectangular headdress carved with three rows of triangles. The curious feature is a high rectangular slab, extending upward from the back of the head, in which crescentic and triangular openings are cut. The part below the human figure extends into a pointed prop. (See figure 310.) The side view shows that the upper head slab is a continuation of the body and that the head is formed by a forward projection. The total height is 5 feet 5.5 inches, of which the actual figure occupies 21.5 inches.

Two images of a similar type were found at Kahuku, Oahu. Both have the high head slab, one plain and the other with triangular and lozenge-shaped openings (fig. 311, *a, b*). Each has a pointed prop and each is more than 5 feet tall. The image with the slab openings was destroyed by fire, and the other is in a private collection. Fortunately, the Museum has field photographs, from one of which the figure was drawn. A much-worn image of the same type, obtained from Kahoolawe (C.8814) is shown in figure 311, *c*.

### CARVED SEA URCHIN SPINES

Carved spines of the "slate pencil" sea urchin (*Heterocentrotus mammillatus*) were found by J. F. G. Stokes (McAllister, 1933b, pp. 35, 36) at the Kamo-hio fisherman's shrine on the island of Kahoolawe. One (C.3526) has a perfect human head carved on the thicker, proximal end of the spine (fig. 317). The spine is 3.5 inches long and the greatest width of the triangular section is 0.4 inch. The carved head occupies 0.8 inch of the spine. The brows are well-defined with sunken slant eyes, a projecting nose, and a large figure-of-eight mouth, with the lips defined. The neck is well cut in, and one of the three longitudinal edges of the spine runs down the middle of the front view. Four other spines, partly carved at the same ends, were found with the perfect specimen.

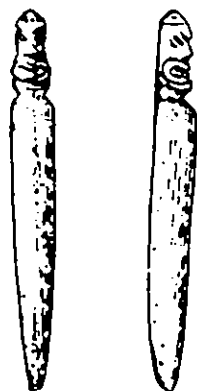


FIGURE 317.—Carved sea-urchin spines.

Kahoolawe had a highly developed fishing culture, and the presence of the carved spines on a fishing heiau indicates that they had some religious connection with fishing. We have no information as to whether they were 'aumakua or some special form of fisherman's offering.

FROM: Native Hawaiian Study Commission, Report on the Culture, Needs and Concerns of Native Hawaiians, Volume 1, June 23, 1983.

## Native Hawaiian Religion

SEE pages 241-242 for KANALOA

### A. APPROACH

In order to faithfully represent most modern-day native Hawaiians and their needs and concerns in this important area of native culture, this report will clarify with as much brevity as possible the aspirations of the Hawaiian people to effect respect for their dignity as native Hawaiians, Hawaiian Americans, and as thoughtful citizens of the world. It will concentrate on several main issues:

- 1) The ancient Hawaiian concept of the soul of man in relation to ancestral or controlling spiritual beings in nature, or beyond nature, during human life and in a spiritual afterlife.
- 2) The relationship between the community worship of the chiefs and priests as a ruling class, and family ('ohana) worship in ancient pre-contact (1778-1779) and post-conversion (1820-) times, continuing into fragmented private family religious observances today in association with introduced forms of worship, reflecting positive or negative identity changes.
- 3) Post-conversion Hawaiian conflict in native identity or crisis in self and group esteem, and its opposite, complete conversion without trauma to other world religions or philosophies; Hawaiian resiliency in adjusted personality and identity change.
- 4) The need felt by some emerging native Hawaiian groups to recover self-esteem as Hawaiians by pledging faith in ancient religious beliefs and customs beneficial to group identity through participation in a live, revitalized religious setting, requiring recovery of temple and other shrine sites designated as sacred, with the privilege or right to reenact pertinent rituals in ceremonies conducive to harmonious and inspired religious expression.
- 5) Summary of needs and concerns about Hawaiian religion with recommendations for improving religious expression as desired in the present multi-ethnic social setting.

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\*/ The following chapter is a complete reproduction of the paper prepared by Rubellite K. Johnson, entitled, "Religion Section of Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report" (February 1983), written at the direction of and funded by the Office of Hawaiian Affairs. Rubellite Johnson is an Associate Professor in Hawaiian Language, Department of Indo-Pacific Languages, at the University of Hawaii, Manoa campus. Minor editorial changes have been made to conform to the Final Report's

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(cont'd) format, and the footnotes have been redesignated, for the convenience of the reader. Also, information appended to Professor Johnson's paper does not appear in the text of this chapter, but can be found in the Appendix of this Report, referenced at the appropriate places in the text. Except for these changes, Professor Johnson's paper appears as sub-edited by OHA and is otherwise unchanged. References used by Professor Johnson appear in the "List of References" of this Report, marked by a "[3]."

B. BASIC RELIGIOUS CONCEPTS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE IN LIFE AND AFTER DEATH

Life in Hawaiian \*/ thought is not restricted to human life in the concrete world felt and seen by the senses of the human body. The Hawaiian idea of the reality of life in the world supersedes the world that is seen and experienced by the material body, and enters into the life of the spirit that is beyond the physical senses of the body. This reality is perceived through the ability of the mind to either envision through the mind asleep or awake or to sense through other psychologically-conditioned awareness (through premonition, for example) that the total life of man involves the ability of the spirit through all of material life to move back and forth between the world of the live physical senses and the world of the "extra" spiritual senses. Thus, the Hawaiian mind places greater reality on the life of the human individual in the spiritual realm, the present material life being regarded as ground for discipline of the spirit in preparation for the afterlife. Therefore, a human being, whether male or female, has spiritual origin, material birth, and spiritual eternity of complete unceasing existence--a personality composed of several layers of embodiment. These are:

- 1) The living material, corporeal body (kino) having life (ola) of the body;
- 2) The separable, second soul (kino wailua) that moves

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\*/ Professor Johnson uses the term "Hawaiian" to signify all Hawaiians of native descent, similar to the term "native Hawaiian," as used in this Report. (See definition above, page 37.)

during sleep causing dreams (moe 'uhane), with the consciousness inert (the kino wailua may also become "dis-embodied;" for example, the experience by some people of so-called "astral projection," when the personality wholly leaves the body and moves about with the consciousness intact, the corporeal body lies inert but alive);

- 3) The spirit that is the dormant body, which at death survives the body, that is, the 'uhane. (The living human being as a foetus is not considered a "live" person until birth when the kino breathes (hanu) the "air" (ea) of the god(s), so that the material body quickens with the "spirit" (ea) of the universe in the "breath" (hā) of the human being as it ingests the atmosphere (ea) of "god." Abortion of the non-breathing foetus is thus not considered deprivation of life inasmuch as "life" (ea) is a condition of the "spirit" (ea) and requires the ability to breathe (hā) in the god's breath. To be a full, living personality there must be corporeal life (ola), spiritual life ('uhane), the soul personality (kino wailua), and breath (hā). Survival of the 'uhane, however, is not dependent on breath (hā) nor the corporeal body (kino ola); it is intact and continues the existence of the person in another life.)

No Hawaiian has experienced how the spirit ('uhane) survives, inasmuch as all reports of a second life are the



results of experiences by the astral travel (wailua) of Hawaiian persons. Such experiences as related describe extraterrestrial journeys through known parts of the galaxy in the form of light, while the soul escapes from the tear ducts and returns through the toe. Other experiences of Hawaiian astral travels (wailua) are walks through familiar places, watching people in their daily doings, and then returning to the body; or, the astral travel (wailua) moves upward to a place of great light, only to find it is not ready to be allowed entry and must go back to the corporeal body (kino) to live out the corporeal existence. Persons who have had such experiences are often described by relatives as living a daily life of prayer and having an expectation of dying with no fear of passage from human life to death. Stories told by persons having had these experiences usually fortify strong Hawaiian faith in the reality of an afterlife and tend to also assist in conversion to both Western and Eastern forms of world religion without any loss of faith in the older religious beliefs. Where there has been no experience of this kind, there is conversion accompanied usually by rejection of the older religious beliefs and total absorption of the family into the adopted norms.

One must regard these beliefs and experiences in the life of the soul as a social condition that allowed the Hawaiian a margin of belief in similar ideas voiced in other sacred works and foreign forms of religion that were not inconsistent with native Hawaiian beliefs. Thus, prophecy based on visions and dreams is accepted practice, whether found in native Hawaiian or foreign religions, and dream interpretation in the Bible as practiced by the prophet Daniel on the dream of Nebuchadnezzar is given wide credence. Hawaiian attitudes of belief in dream interpretation,

however, vary between dreams or visions considered "prophetic" and those that are brushed aside as rubbish. Dreams with prophetic value contain symbols of wide application in meaning among Hawaiians, and visions that are seen when the conscious mind is fully alert receive the most credence. In the same context, experiences of an extrasensory nature perceived by more than one individual at the same time are given more credence than the same perceived by only one individual. Dreams visualized while the disembodiment (kino wailua) is moving around but the conscious mind is asleep are therefore called moe 'uhane (spirit sleep). Visions beheld while fully alert are called aka-kū (shadow-standing, or shadow substance).

For each Hawaiian individual a lifetime of collected experiences of this nature, whether by himself or by other family members, continues a record of the spiritual life as witnessed psychologically. Hawaiians do not doubt others' experience but are also equipped to recognize when these states are injurious to mental health and to separate true prophetic visions or dreams from hallucinations and defective, abnormal perceptions. The criteria of evaluation is difficult to determine and needs research, study, and clarification. Hawaiians are sensitive, however, to being called "superstitious" so far as these areas of belief are concerned, and denials of acceptance when these experiences are offered bring either deep-seated resentment or open anger. This may be one of the pitfalls of religion, that it requires belief and acceptance without proof or demonstrability, and the Hawaiians in being converted to other religions have never required proof or demanded demonstration of the efficacy, for example, of Christian beliefs. As with other converts the world over, the Hawaiian people take the

resurrection of Christ as demonstrable by the written record of the gospel and effect their belief strictly by faith. The Hawaiian Christian is therefore more primarily affiliated with his church, and so far as his native Hawaiian beliefs are concerned, simply keeps them separate as it suits him, or as in other cases, will work them into home rituals combining Christian and Hawaiian forms of worship with no fear that they may be violating either tradition.

#### Animism and Animatism as Primary Facets of Hawaiian Religious Belief

Animism is the belief in spirits, and as we have demonstrated, Hawaiian religion rests upon a basic belief in spirits and the spirit world. These spirits ('uhane) are also the gods (akua) in the ranking hierarchy of guardian gods ('aumakua) who protect the family from harm and who answer all kinds of trouble calls from their family ('ohana) patrons. Thus a patron deity is an akua when called upon by a group of workers, but when turned to by the family for help is called an 'aumakua. Both the akua as "gods" and the 'aumakua as "ancestral guardian gods" are 'uhane (spirits).

We can classify these spirit gods as ancestral spirits ('aumakua) ranging from the recent deified departed dead in the family, or the ancestral spirit gods (akua) who have never known mortal existence except in instances when they occupy human bodies for visits to earth and who are true spirits, or those who are god-like in that they have never experienced human death. These immortal spirits are those, then, with the greatest supernatural power (mana), and as they are called upon through prayer and ritual, they impart their mana to human beings. Men receive more of this power than women do, and chiefs more than commoners.

Mana is the "animating" force in all life forms and in all forms of universal energy. Since the source of this power is from the spiritual to the material world, it follows that the material world flows from the spiritual into concrete being, and man is the conduit of its intelligent, cognitive thought, whereby understanding or knowledge of its existence perseveres through corporeal life and back again into spiritual life. Thus, Hawaiian religion evinces a dependency between belief in spiritual entity ('uhane) residing in man and ancestral gods ('akua, 'aumakua), in man as living god (kupua or "demigod"), and belief in the psycho-dynamic force of life-energy and power existing in a direct flow to all of creation; that is, animism and animatism: man's life and all life in the creation being but a manifestation of the animating force of spiritual energy and power.

Inasmuch as nature is, however, both animate and inanimate, it can be asked how inanimate nature demonstrates, in its dormancy, spiritual energy, and how Hawaiian belief in mana as residual, in all of creation's forms, handles the resolution between animation and in-animation? It is simple. "Life," in Hawaiian thought, is not restricted to animated, corporeal life (ola), because "life" as emerging invigoration is spirit (ea) in both inanimate and animate forms. Mana is either dormant and residual in the inanimate forms of life or energy (if we see mana as "potential" energy) and also dynamic and active in the animate forms of life (or "kinetic" energy). Light is not living (ola), but it is a manifestation of the great akua god Kāne-ka-'onohi-o-ka-lā (Kāne-eyeball-of-the-sun). So light is masculine, and an expression of mana as it emanates from the sunlight to man on earth for his use. Light as the inner

light of intelligence in man is thus "daylight intestines" or that gut-feeling reaction that prompts enlightenment (na'auao) and the mana of enlightenment in man's wisdom and intelligent use of power. In this context, therefore, mana is inherited by mankind from the gods, as both are spiritual ('uhane) and therefore in constant contact between birth and death; that is, mana is transferable.

In being thus transferable, it can be either increased by function or decreased by dysfunction, so that mana has quantity in indefinite amount of flow, and if it is not maintained it is diminished. Therefore, mana can also be acquired by intelligent use and need not be inherited, necessarily, in a direct conduit between gods (akua) and men as chiefs (ali'i). The common man (kanaka maoli) or woman (wahine) is born with intelligence (akamai) and with intelligent use of akamai and na'auao (wisdom) acquires skill (no'eau), thus increasing mana in possessing all three: akamai, na'auao and no'eau. Thus, inherited mana as possessed by chiefs in the kupua (demigod) role as gods incarnate, through which they rank higher than the kanaka maoli, does not guarantee superior rank as automatic privilege in the afterlife. Mana as power and as a "good" in itself, as possessed by gods or by men, is a force that does not inhibit the free will of mankind to produce either "good" (maika'i) or "evil" ('ino), as evil doing takes as much intelligence and power as doing good requires.

So, it also follows that in Hawaiian ethics mana in productive or destructive use by man in daily existence does not automatically will him into good acts. Therefore, it is not mana that places the spirit of man into favorable circumstances in the afterlife by virtue of rank. No spirit ('uhane) of man or woman ascends into the spiritual life

guaranteed into eternity except by pono, which means duty, responsibility, justice, and righteousness. Without pono no good life for mankind either on earth or beyond earth develops. Thus, in ancient Hawaiian society, history records the lives of good and bad kings, of good and bad spirits, in order to demonstrate what pono is and how it is achieved through the intelligent use of mana in all positive attributes of the total activity of man. Thus, mana can be diminished by negative transference, and in order to be vital must be maintained and kept moving positively through every activity of the economic, political, social, aesthetic, and religious life of ancient Hawaii.

The discussion can continue here indefinitely into volumes of analysis, but suffice it here to define mana as the three-fold manifestation of power with its regional source in the spiritual world, or the world of neither birth nor death, and its perceptive function in the visible, material world as:

- 1) The source mana, that is, supernatural power of sacred spiritual beings (akua, 'aumakua, 'uhane), as seen abstractly in their manifold inanimate forms of natural energy (potential, kinetic), or concretely in their manifold animate forms of corporeal life.
- 2) The mana of human beings, inherited or acquired, by either direct descent from the gods, as chiefs (ali'i), or by intelligent, wise, or just and productive use for the good life (pono).

- 3) The residual mana of sacred objects wrought by human intelligence as used in everyday economic life and in sacred shrine and temple rituals.

This leads the discussion of Hawaiian religion from this point into two directions: (1) toward an understanding of the forms of the gods (akua, 'aumakua) as manifestations of mana in life's forms, inanimate and animate, or as their kinolau, that is, "many forms;" and (2) toward an understanding of the use of political power as the mana, or authority of chiefs to effect maintenance of this mana so as to keep it increasing for mankind's use and to prevent its decreasing from his grasp. This leads, then, ultimately to an understanding of how mana is retained as a result of the discreet use of kānawāi, secular law, and kapu, sacred law, to inhibit negative transference or loss of available or necessary mana for retention of human mana as political or economic power.

#### C. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY WORSHIP OF THE RULING CLASS AND THE PRACTICE OF FAMILY WORSHIP

This section will explore the relationship between the community worship of the chiefs and priests as a ruling class, and the practice of family ('ohana) worship in ancient pre-contact times (that is, before Captain Cook, 1778-1779), and post-contact times to post-conversion times (1820, arrival of American missionaries from New England), with fragmented continuation of aboriginal religious practices in family worship patterns today associated with introduced forms of worship. In order to handle this topic, it will be necessary to divide the discussion that follows into three sub-topics:

- 1) Variability in observed patterns of worship between classes, that is, as between chiefs and priests as one group, and commoners as another; or between men on one hand and women on another, or between followers or "true believers" on one hand, and resisters or "deviants" on another;
- 2) The overthrow of the kapu system in 1819 effecting defeat of the community worship of the chiefs and priests, without destruction of the active family practice of 'ohana worship persisting in family customs in the present society; and
- 3) The unifying effect of the kinolau concept of akua and 'aumakua identification in symbolic forms, abstract or concrete, linking community worship of the chiefs and priests on one hand to the family 'ohana religion on the other.

This discussion will then lead to the next section, which explores changes in the Hawaiian psyche, or duplicity of religious practice with or without harmful effects to personality and identity of the Hawaiian individual as a member of native Hawaiian or Hawaiian American society; and the duality of allegiance to traditional Hawaiian and to American (Christian) religion.

#### Variability in Worship Patterns

In the earliest account written by native Hawaiian scholars called the Mo'olelo Hawaii, for which principal authorship is often credited to David Malo (not exempting however other

Lahainaluna scholars such as Samuel M. Kamakau, John Papa I'i, Boaz Mahune, and Timothy Keawe'iwi) the following account is given:

The manner of worship of the kings and chiefs was different from that of the common people. When the commoners performed religious services they uttered their prayers themselves, without the assistance of a priest or of a kahu-akua. But when the king or an ali'i worshipped, the priest or the keeper of the idol uttered the prayers, while the ali'i only moved his lips and did not utter the prayers to their gods. 1/

It is expedient here to recognize that "assistance of a priest or a kahu-akua" is the key phrase underscoring the role of the organized priesthood in the formalized "community" organization of "national" worship by chiefs. While worship of the gods by commoners was directed toward the identical akua 'aumakua, the role of the priests (if they assisted the commoners in simpler rites on family shrines at all) was outside their official governmental capacity. The political aspect of the chiefs and priests' religion can be seen in that the community system of religion sustained the authority of the chief as an authority granted by the akua in lineal descent from the akua, with the chief as a divine embodiment of the akua in the world.

Thus, there were two systems of religion in ancient Hawaii: one set in which commoners and chiefs worshipped the gods and where the rules of order were maintained by the priestly orders of Kū and Lono; another in which men and women worshipped the same gods as family guardians in everyday ceremonies, or as patron deities by occupational groups. The society did not exempt

the men from the established community worship of the great akua gods on the sacrificial temple (luakini), but it exempted the women. Chiefesses worshipped at the Hale o Papa temple (heiau) when services were held at the heiau dedicated to Kū (one of the major gods). All women in the society observed the tabus on silence, eating, and cohabitation when worship periods were in effect on the major temples.

The year was organized into the major ritual seasons by the Lono priesthood who kept the calendar computations accurate by marking the solstices, equinoxes, turning of the Milky Way during the months of the year, and by adjusting the ecliptic to the sidereal cycle of the Pleiades from one November sighting in the east, at first rise after the first new moon, to another November. Heiau attendance by males in the community was compelled for eight months of the year, divided into seventy-two days per year, nine per month. The required attendance was relaxed during the four-month makahiki season of Lono-i-ka-makahiki, when taxes were collected and the first-fruits ceremonies enacted in honor of the god Lono-i-ka-makahiki. This makahiki season took place in the first quarter of the Hawaiian year, between the autumn equinox and the winter solstice, ending when the Pleiades came to zenith culmination. Exactly ninety days, or three Hawaiian months, could be computed between the first sighting of the Pleiades in November and the end of the quarter called ke au o Makali'i, the quarter season of the Pleiades year. These ninety days equalled one-quarter of the ecliptic, or the passage of the sun from one equinox to one solstice.

All of this was coordinated into a lunar calendar so that the nine tabu days called the lā kapu kauila were spaced out through the moon's synodic cycle of 29.5 nights per month (mahina). During the waxing of the

moon, the kauila days were assigned first to Kū; at the rounding of the moon to Hua; and at the waning of the moon to Kanaloa, Kāne, and Lono, in that order.

Services to Kū on the human sacrifice or "war" heiau were confined to the period between the spring equinox and the summer solstice, between April and June. Human sacrifices were restricted to luakini ceremonies on the heiau po'okanaka (human sacrifice) or heiau kua (war temple), dedicated to Kū as patron deity of warrior chiefs. The quantity of human sacrifices varies in accounts from three to as many as twenty-six for building or consecrating the luakini po'okanaka. Since criminals who broke the kapu akua supplied the sacrificial numbers, and since these ceremonies only took place when the community went to war or when the ruling chief sickened and died from sorcery, the impression is allowed that people were not being carried off to the execution altars every year, but it would seem that the chiefs and priests kept note of who in the community skipped the services or disturbed the peace. This does not rule out the likelihood that chiefs could revenge themselves easily upon their opposition. So, it is interesting once again to note how the society provided the escape hatch: first, in the form of the pu'uhonua "cities of refuge" dedicated to Lono, wherein criminals were granted full mercy from violations of the kapu akua that brought the death penalty in judgment upon them; and again in the right of any man to remove himself and his family from his ali'i and move out of his constituent 'ohana to any other district or island beyond the reach of revengeful overlords. What of those, however, who knowingly stayed and accepted their lot, unless taken unawares by the priests? From several accounts (particularly that of the penitent behavior of men in

Kamehameha's army who were sacrificed before the Battle of Nu'uaniu in the heiau Papa'ena'ena on O'ahu) it would seem that compliance was consistent with religious beliefs, that proper restitution was owing to society and the 'aumakua by willingness to admit wrongdoing and to suffer punishment in order to reach eternal existence as a living spirit, absolved finally of crime.

#### Overthrow of the Kapu System in 1819

Within six months after the death of Kamehameha the Great in May of 1819, the chiefesses Keopuolani and Ka'ahumanu, surviving wives of Kamehameha I, publicly ate with the young chiefs Liholiho (then Kamehameha II) and his younger brother Kauikeaouli (not yet Kamehameha III), in defiance of the 'ai kapu, or sacred law against men and women eating together. This act of the chiefesses and young chiefs ushered in the 'ai noa, or "free eating," that eliminated the death penalty for criminal infractions by breakers of this law through execution on the heiau as human sacrifices.

This was not the first breach by the ali'i in customary law requiring capital punishment for breaking of the kapu akua. Human sacrifice as the moe-pu'u custom, a kind of "self-immolation," was required of the chief's closest companions in life as demonstration of loyalty to a king upon his death. It placed the strain of heroism on the ali'i to demonstrate to their peers and to their subjects that they were not afraid to die for their lords, although practicality would demand these heroic actions from those ranks nearest the king in age or those who had seen many wars, defeats and victories, with him. If none, however, volunteered within specific allowances of time, then the moe-pu'u death companions were forcibly taken from the community at will. In

addition, if they were not found within the allowed time, the number of moe-pu'u required also increased. The first "freeing" of these "death" laws was a request by Kamehameha I that the moe-pu'u custom not be observed when he died.

In 1819, moreover, breaking of the 'ai kapu by Keopuolani and Ka'ahumanu did not eliminate human sacrifice requirements entirely, for there were other kapu akua of capital punishment equally enforceable. What they especially achieved was freedom for women to eat with the men and to eat what the men could eat in formerly prohibited places. The Russian visitor Lisianski, writing aboard the Neva (1804-1806), mentioned that he observed that men could visit the women while they ate in the hale 'aina but did not partake of the food they ate, while women never went near the men's hale mua where they were not allowed. He also observed that men and women ate together outside the houses while they fished and farmed as husbands and wives, but never ate taro or poi from the same dish. He also observed that the house in which the women ate, or the hale 'aina by day, was the sleeping house at night (hale moe). 2/ It is known that the houses of sleeping were places where men and women came together to be with their families, that is to say, the hale moe was noa, "free," from tabu.

The sanctity of the hale mua was due to its being the shrine (unu) of the god Lono in the Ipu o Lono image. The hale mua was called a "shrine of Lono" (uno o Lono) due to the presence of the "gourd" (Ipu) in the men's eating house. The 'Alana sacrifice, by which the men ate of offerings placed for the god in the Ipu of Lono, suspended in a net (koko), was ritually made here before eating of food. The presence of women may be considered as providing a conduit for negative transference of mana from the

male gods away from male participants. The same kind of inhibition is recognized in the situating of the women's menstrual house (hale pe'a) away from the community of "normal" women and men. Men were not allowed in or near the hale pe'a, and were prohibited from cohabitation with menstruating women, as such acts reduced availability of mana.

This duality of separation in the social sphere of kapu akua is rooted in the male/female dualism of the religion that metaphysically assigned to portions of the universe either male or female identity, as in Chinese yin/yang opposition. Male/female dualism was a tenet of ancient religion defining the male sphere of action as distinct from the female. 3/

The overthrow of the kapu system by native Hawaiian society was the most significant departure, then, effecting culture change in religion and politics after contact with Europeans between 1778 and 1819. (Note that this is still within the pre-conversion period.) It was a significant alteration in attitude as belief or faith in the efficacy of mana of the great male akua gods to influence positive outcome in human spheres of power and action from a supportive spiritual source.

So-called "deviant" behavior in the pre-contact period by commoners, while the kapu system was in force, constituted capital offenses against both the akua and the community, so that chiefs and priests enforced the penalty as required by a system established in traditional custom through belief of the entire society in the akua gods. Pre-contact deviant behavior by the 'aiā (ungodly) against the kapu system is documented: "But there were people who had no god, and who worshipped nothing; these atheists were called 'aiā." 4/

These "atheists" ('aiā) in the pre-contact society are defined as

"ungodly, irreligious, wicked, careless of observing taboos" and who "led others astray." 5/ They represent a recurrent, steady percentage of the population discontent with the status quo. This "radical fringe," already existing in marginal Hawaiian society before the arrival of Captain Cook, could only have increased during the time of massive annexation of territory by Kamehameha I that obliterated traditional claims of titled chiefs to their lands and gods, both of which Kamehameha attached to his domain. Disaffection with conquest is evident in reported rebellions and retaliations by rival chiefs until they, and their families too, were dispossessed or brought under the Kamehameha administration.

The increase in numbers of conquered "deviants" were being influenced as well by the mere proximity of deviant, although natural, examples of European behavior operating out of range of akua controls with no negative results as expected. Cultural deviation by the ali'i class from ordained akua authority, established in native religion by force of kapu akua, as a ripened revolt (while not military in character) became in 1819 open refutation by the chiefesses in publicly defying the efficacy of godly mana. This action by the ali'i is not to be misconstrued as violent overthrow, but rather as a reasoned movement toward liberation of both the ali'i and maka'ainana classes from restrictions on human pleasure. (Note that restrictions on sex as plural or extramarital relations were absent. Post-conversion introduction of the Mosaic code of Biblical laws on adultery became a headache for Hawaiians.)

The chiefesses, however, could not have succeeded without support of the priesthood. The priests had charge of and professional obligation toward interpretation of the law for the ali'i, and such power was not given to

ruling chiefs. In a sensitive analysis of the overthrow of the kapu system as a result of "culture fatigue," anthropologist Kroeber correctly identifies High Priest Hewahewa as the real force behind the whole overthrow. 6/ What motive drove this high priest to completely dismantle his "courts of justice" (the heiau with powers over life and death) by renouncing the authority of his public office? Nothing so liberating in bringing the law itself to justice has ever been seen on earth since, paving the way for easy conversion of Hawaiians to Christianity in 1820.

#### Unifying Effect of the Kinolau Concept

This section discusses the unifying effect of the kinolau concept of the akua and 'aumakua (that is, multiple symbolic forms of gods) in the religious practice of the chiefs and priests on one hand, and the commoners on the other. It is expedient for discussion of the kinolau concept to return to Malo's description of the difference between the manner of worship of chiefs/priests versus commoners as a primary factor of distinction, rather than in the objects of worship, that is, the gods worshipped in common by both systems. To quote Malo:

The names of the male deities worshipped by the Hawaiians, whether chiefs or common people, were Kū, Lono, Kāne, and Kanaloa; and the various gods worshipped by the people and the ali'i were named after them. 7/

There was and still is an inherent and consistent agreement in the symbolism of identity linking through the kinolau of the akua the "national" manner of worship, or customs carried on closer to home or in places of daily, economic occupation. A pervasive system of multiple symbolic



forms (kinolau) as manifestations of the akua/'aumakua reaches into associations of multiple ancestral ties through common genealogies and, thusly, to other related 'aumakua.

For example, if someone has a dream of a man with webbed feet coming on a canoe and wearing a red malo (loincloth), that personality is Kanaka-o-Kai (Man-of-the-sea), an 'aumakua of Moloka'i families who also takes the form of a shark god. If one has a dream of a man in a red malo standing by a clear pool of fresh water, that personality is the god Kāne as giver of the wai ola "water of life" (that is, procreative male fluid, drinking water, sea water as the source of man's beginnings, human blood). As the 'aumakua Kanaka-o-kai is also Kanaka'aukai (Man-who-swims/sails by sea), persons with the name "Aukai" are also associated with the migration hero 'Aukele-nui-aiku. Since 'Aukele married the older sister of the volcano goddess (Pele), Nā-maka-o-Kaha'i (The-eyes-of-Kaha'i), in the land of Ka-la-ke'e (Ra'iatea, Borabora, Pele's home), the name 'Aukai is related to Pele's parental ancestor, Kāne-hoa-lani. As Pele in variant genealogies is given two fathers (po'olua, "two heads"), Kū and Kāne, there are two parental lineages, but major maternal descent is from the goddess Haumea, who is called also Papa-hānau-moku (Papa-giving-birth-to-islands) and Walinu'u. Haumea (or Papa) married four gods (Kū, Kāne, Kanaloa, and Wākea). As Haumea joined with Kū, both she and Kū share the breadfruit tree as kinolau bodies. When Haumea as Papa-hānau-moku joins with Wākea, she is the mother of Ho'ohōkū-ka-lani, who in turn is mother of the taro stalk, Hāloa.

Hāloa (Long-stalk), or the lauloa species of taro, is the symbolic representation of a large extended family of chiefs and commoners descended from Papa and Wākea. Hā is

the taro stalk replanted as the huli, or corm and root cutting that regrows the starchy stem; loa (long) means that the hā is enduring. Until the 'ohā forms, or the new shoot from the parent stem, the hā stalk is continually replanted as the same individual, so "long" (loa) not only in stalk (hā) but also in living "breath" (hā). A subtle understanding is found here in how Hawaiians view the character of the taro stalk, as it must come up from below water to "breathe," analogous to the human need to breathe out of water and in air (ea, "spirit"). From the joint symbolism involved comes an analogy to the extended family ('ohana). The taro corm is a kinolau of the god Kāne, and the lū'au leaves, of Lono. When the Hawaiian family sits down to dinner, and the calabash of taro poi is set before them, a rule of good manners is that no one while eating Hāloa should talk expectantly of the future, as "Hāloa says no," meaning it is rude to speak before the ancestral staple while eating one's own words, so nothing comes of prophecy.

How does knowing the kinolau bodies of the four-fold godhead help to understand the Hawaiian concept of deity in the "real" and in the "spirit" worlds? The following kinolau outlines for each of the major gods present the holistic view of akua so as to divide the animate and inanimate nature of akua into their proper spheres of control and how they themselves are governed to provide for the daily life of mankind.

1. Symbolization of god Kū:

- a. As god of forest and rain, patronized by canoe-makers and builders of the luakini (po'okanaka type) human sacrifice temples:

Kū-moku-hali'i: Ku-spreading over land.

Kū-pulupulu: Kū-of-the-under-growth (pulupulu), fern down, used in tinder, fire-making; equated sometimes with Laka, ancestor of the menehune people; hence, with Kū-ka-ohi'a-laka, -in-the-lehua-tree, god of the hula dance, and god in the haku-ōhi'a image on the Kū heiau.

Kū-o-lono-wao: Kū-of-the-deep-forest (wao, uninhabited by human beings).

Kū-a-lana-wao, Kū-a-ela-na-wao: (Variant of Kū-o-lono-wao, one of the gods of the canoe).

Kū-ka-ohi'a-laka: Kū-of-the-ohi'a-laka tree (the lehua tree; see Kū-pulupulu, above).

Kū-ka-'ie'ie: Kū-of-the-wild-pandanus vine (Freycinetia scandens).

Kū-mauna: Kū-of-the-mountain.

Kū-holoholo-pali: Kū-sliding-down-steps (God of canoe-hauling over cliffs).

Kū-pepeiao-loa/Kū-pepeiao-poko: Kū-of-long-ears/Kū-of-short-ears; gods of the pepeiao or "ears" of the canoe interior, used as handles for hauling and later for sea supports.

Kū-pa'ai-ke'e: Kū-adzing-out-the-canoe (Kū-in-the-reversible adz).

b. Kū as god of husbandry; patronized by farmers.

Kū-ka-o'o: Kū-of-the-digging-stick.

Kū-kulia: Kū-of-dry-farming.

Kū-ke-olowalu: Kū-of-wet-farming.

Kū-'ula-uka: Kū-of-the-abundance-of-uplands.

c. Kū as god of fishing; patronized by fishermen.

Kū-'ula-kai: Kū-of-the-abundance-of-the-sea; "red" things in the sea symbolized "abundance" of the sea; sacred to Kū.

d. Kū as god of war and sorcery; patronized by warriors/chiefs.

Kū-nui-akea: Kū-the-supreme-god.

Kū-ka'ili-moku: Kū-snatcher-of-land; war god of Hawaii, cared for by Liloa, handed down to 'Umi and inherited by Kamehameha from Ka-lani-opu'u; war god of the 'Umi-Kamehameha line of kings of the Mahi clan of Kohala-Hamakua district.

Kū-ke-oloewa: Kū-the-supporter, god of the Maui kings; captured by Kamehameha the Great.

Kū-ho'one'enu'u: Kū-pulling-together-the-earth; god of Pakaka temple of Oahu chiefs and their war god; captured by Kamehameha.

Kū-waha-ilo: Kū-maggot-mouth; god who received human sacrifices, symbolized as the tongue; kinolau bodies in whirlwind, earthquake, caterpillar, blood; mo'o reptile with "flashing eyes and thrusting tongue."

e. Kū as god of healing/invoked with the goddess Hina in Kū and Hina worship.

Kū symbolizes the east point of the compass. Hina, as the moon, symbolizes the west.

f. Kū as god of sorcery.

Kū-koa'e: Kū-tropic-bird; the Kū-koa'e shrine was erected by a chief for the deification into an aumakua after death; also for circumcision rites for young chiefs.

g. Kū of bird-catching; patronized by bird-snarers.

Kū-huluhulu-manu: Kū-bird-feathers; god of bird-snarers, bird-liners, and all who did featherwork.

h. Kū gods as chiefs' gods:

Kū-

Kū-maka-iki: Kū-small-eyes

Kū-maka-nui: Kū-big-eyes

Kū-makela

Kū-maka'aka'a

Kū-holoholo-kaua: Kū-run-wars

Kū-koa: Kū-warrior/courage

Kū-nui-akea: Kū-of-wide-expanse (the highest form and rank of Kū as war god)

Kū-ka'ili'moku: Kū-snatcher-of-land

Kū-waha-ilo-o-ka-puni: Kū-maggot-mouth-of-overcoming

i. Kū symbolization summary:

- 1) Fibrous pulupulu of fern, used in fire-making and for stuffing mummified corpses; pulupulu, as of coconut sennit, for rope and cordage to wind adz blade

to handle (a form of Kū), and for lashing canoe parts and house timbers.

- 2) 'Ie'ie pandanus vine, used as rope for tying the tops of the felled trees and for girdling the tree before cutting; red spathe of the flower is a phallic symbol of Kū as male god.

- 3) The adz, as used in sacred ceremonies on the Kū temple and for cutting wood and adzing out canoes; the primary "tool" form of Kū as used by carpenters.

- 4) Coconut tree as proceeding out of the head of the eel, a form of Kū, related to the caterpillar (Kumuhea, son of Kū), worm (ilo, as worm of corruption, i.e., Kū-waha-ilo; ilo, as sprouting shoot of the coconut), sea cucumber, eel; coconut tree provides the materials for making sennit, also provides the drinking nut, has many uses for survival on the ocean and on land.

- 5) Breadfruit tree, wood and flower (as the husband of Haumea, goddess in the breadfruit tree).

- 6) Upright stem of the ti plant (Cordyline terminalis); or "uprightness" (kū) of solid plant stems and hardwood trees or shrubs, particularly as used in making canoes and building houses.

2. Symbolization of the god Lono (partial):

a. As god of rain:

Lono-nui-akea: Lono-of-wide-expanse.

Lono-nui-noho-i-ka-wai:  
(Great-Lono-dwelling-in-water.

1) Visible in cloud and storm phenomena: Thunder; rain-clouds; "Blood-red rainfall" (uakoko) as flood after storm; rainbow (uakoko); Lightning (maka'ālohilohi, "flashing eyes").

2) Heard as sound of thunder (Lono), thus the verb ho'olono, "to hear."

b. As god of the agricultural year:

Lono-i-ka-makahiki:  
Lono-in-the-year; Lono-in-the-first-fruits-season

1) God of first fruits, tax-collecting, sports, in the makahiki season.

(a) Major forms: Ipu o Lono (gourd, hue, ipu); (sweet potato, 'uala)

Ipu o Lono image in hale mua (unu o Lc.10)

2) God of the ahu-pua'a image.

(a) The boar incarnation of Lono as Kamapua'a the hog demigod (kupua). Represented as a pig's head carved from kukui wood.

(b) As the medicine god:

Lono-puha: Lono-of-abscess

(c) Plant forms of Kamapua'a, as medicinal kinolau of Lono:

kuki: Aleurites moluccana

ama'uma'u fern: Sadleria spp.

hala: Pandanus odoratissimus

uhaloa: Waltheria americana

kūkae-pua'a grass: Digitaria pruriens

(Pua'a) olomea: Perrottetia sandwicensis

hapu'u fern: Cibotium spp.

lū'au leaf: Colocasis esculenta

hinu pua'a banana: Muscacear spp. (black)

limu lipu'upu'u: Valonia utricularis

kī (tī): Cordyline terminalis

3) Images of Lono-i-ka-makahiki (other than Ipu o Lono gourd image)

Lono-makua (makahiki standard): Lono-father

Called the akua loa: (long god, carried around the island);

akua poko: (short god, carried inland).

c. As god of fire-making:

Lono-pele, Lono-makua:  
Lono-in-lava-flow, Lono-  
Father.

1) In firesticks, the 'aunaki  
(grooved, light wood);  
'aulima (held in the land,  
hard wood) (Polynesian  
fire-plow method).

2) Lono-pele, Lono-makua:  
names of the volcano  
goddess; Pele god of  
fire-making.

d. Other kinolau of the god Lono.

1) "Pig-fish" forms of  
Kamapua'a/Lono:

humuhumu-nukunuku-a-pua'a:  
Rhinecanthus aculeatus

humuhumu: all trigger-  
fishes

kūmū: Upeneus prophyreus,  
goatfish

'ohua palemo: young of  
uhu, parrotfish

paulu: surgeonfish

pawalu: oilfish (Ruvet-  
tus pretiosus)

2) Sacred black color:  
hiwa, hiwahiwa (as of  
sacrificial pig).

Shiny black color: hinu,  
hinuhinu (as of sacri-  
ficial banana).

3) Lono-muku: Lono-cut-off  
(as moon phases, dark  
night)

Another name for Hina-  
hānai-a-ka-malama, goddess  
of the moon.

3. Symbolization of the god Kāne:

a. Atmospheric and geophysical  
phenomena:

1) Kāne-nui-akea: sky

2) Kāne-ka-'onohi-o'ka-la:  
sun

3) Kāne-i-ka-hoku-lani: star

4) Kāne-hekili: thunder

Kāne-i-ka-leo-lono-nui

Kāne-i-ka-leo-lono-iki

Kāne-i-ka-leo-'ula-nui

5) Kāne-wawahi-lani

Kāne-uila-ma(ka)-ke-hā-'i-  
ka-lani: lightning

Kāne-i-ka-pōhā(ku)-ka'a:  
hailstones

6) Kāne-i-ka-punohu-'ula:  
red rainbow

Kāne-i-ke-anuenuē:  
rainbow

Ke-ao-popolo-hua-mea-ā-  
Kāne: purple  
thunderhead

7) Kāne-i-ke-pili: cloud-  
burst, atmosphere

Kāne-i-ka-ua: rain

Kāne-i-ke-ao-lani:  
heavenly cloud

Kāne-i-ke-ao-luna: upper  
clouds

Kāne-i-ke-ao-lewa-lalo:  
lower clouds

- Kāne-i-ka-maka-o-ka-opua: tips of the horizon clouds
- Kāne-i-ka-pua-lena: yellow cloud
- 8) Kāne-i-ka-pa-kolonahe: in the gentle breeze
- Kāne-i-ke-aheahe-malie: in the calm breeze
- Kāne-i-ka-makani-iki: in the slight wind
- Kāne-i-ka-makani-nui: in the great wind
- Kāne-i-ka-pūahiohio: in the whirlwind
- Kāne-i-ke-kiu: in the Kiu wind (sharp point)
- 9) Kāne-i-ke-ahi: fire
- Kāne-i-ka-'ohu: mist
- Kāne-i-ka-noe: mist
- Kāne-i-ka-uahi (-nui, iki): smoke
- Kāne-i-ke-aka: shadow
- Kāne-i-ke-aka-o-Kapolei: shadow-of-Kapo-lei
- 10) Kāne-hulihia (i-Kahiki): overturning of Kahiki (earthquake)
- b. Water
- Kāne-i-ka-pahu'a-nui: great thrust
- Kāne-i-ka-pahu-wai (nui, iki): water
- Kāne-i-ka-wai-ola: (Ka-wai-ola-ā-
- Kāne, the healing waters of Kāne; fresh water).
- c. Agriculture
- Kāne-pua'a: pig
- d. Reef, coral
- Kāne-kokala: coral
- Kāne-i-ke-kokala-loa: reef
- Kāne-i-ke-kokala-lu-honua: shaking coral
- Kāne-i-ke-kokala-kū-honua: steadfast coral
- Kāne-i-ke-kokala-kiu: sharp-pointed coral
- Kāne-i-ke-kokala-ahe: wafted coral
- e. Directions (movement, stationary position).
- Kāne-i-ka-holoholo-uka: to run upland
- Kāne-i-ka-holoholo-kai: to run towards the sea; short travel (running, sailing)
- Kāne-i-ka-holo-nui: great travel
- Kāne-noho-uka: living upland
- Kāne-noho-kai: living by the sea
- Kāne-hālō-luna: to look upward
- Kāne-hālō-lalo: to look downward
- Kāne-hālō-lewa-lalo: to look in the lower spaces of the atmosphere
- f. Land formations.
- Kāne-noho-pali-luni: dwelling in the upper cliff

Kāne-noho-pali-lalo: dwelling in  
the lower cliff

g. Plants.

Kāne-i-ka-ho'opuakea: pale  
flower

Kāne-i-ka-pua-lalahua: seed-  
scattering flower

Kāne-i-kamaile: Alyxia olivae-  
formis

Kāne-i-ka-palai: Microlepi setosa

Kāne-i-ka-ei'ie: Freycinetia  
arborea

Kāne-i-ka-pua-lehua: Metrosideros  
macropus

Kāne-i-ka-pualena: yellow flower

Kāne-i-ka-'olapa: Cheirodendron  
spp.

Kāne-i-ka-halapēpē: Dracaena  
(Pleomele) aurae

Kāne-i-ke-kalo: Colocasia  
esculenta

Kāne-i-ke-kō: Saccharum  
officinarum

Kāne-'ohe: Graminae bambusa

Kāne-i-ka-'awa: Piper methysticum

(pua-kala): spiny poppy (kala,  
'to forgive')

(limu-kala): seaweed, Sargassum  
spp.

h. Birds.

Ka-pueo-kahi: lone owl (bird of  
Kamehameha IV)

Ka-pueo-makalulu: owl of peace  
("still eyes")

i. Procreation, fertility.

Pohaku-o-Kāne: stone-of-Kāne  
pillar as fertility shrine

4. Symbolization of the god Kanaloa.

a. God of the sea.

octopus, as symbol of the  
eight-eyed, or eight-legged  
wind compass rayfish  
whale, propoise, whale ivory  
coral (with Kane)

b. Plant forms.

banana fiber, as used in cordage  
('awe'awe, plantain).

uhaloa (Waltheria americana), with  
Kamapua'a/Lono

black 'awa ('awa hiwa), with  
Kāne.

c. Other

sunlight and white color (with  
Kāne)

To summarize the discussion of  
kinolau symbolism, although more  
thorough analysis is really needed,  
suffice it to say that a significant  
number are staple plants, or basic,  
necessary food plants: taro (Kāne,  
Lono, Haloa); sweet potato (Lono);  
breadfruit (Ku, Haumea); cane (Kāne).  
Another group are medicine and narco-  
tic plants: 'uhaloa (Lono, Kanaloa);  
ti plant (Kū, Lono); kala (Lono); or  
fiber plants: coconut (Kū); banana,  
plaintain (Kanaloa); fern down as  
stuffing for embalming the dead or for  
fire-making (Kū-pulupulu, Lono-makua).  
A very important group are hardwood  
plants and trees used in making  
weapons, implements, and in general  
building of houses, canoes, or carving  
of images, all forms of Kū. Others

are plants used in constructing parts of the temple, as fencing or thatching: lama (Lono); loulu palm (Kū).

#### D. POST-CONVERSION HAWAIIAN CONFLICT IN NATIVE IDENTITY

This section discusses post-conversion Hawaiian conflict in native identity, or crisis in self and group esteem, reflecting positive or negative personality or identity changes; or, the opposite, Hawaiian steadfastness in tradition with resiliency in adjusted or modified personality and identity change. As we contemplate the first Hawaiian "Christians", the names of several powerfully influential people come into view, including Henry 'Opukahaia and David Malo.

Henry 'Opukahaia, or Obookiah, was a young boy when war took the lives of his parents and baby brother and made him a captive in the household of his captors. He endured the stay until other men threw his aunt off a cliff into the sea. He stole away on a ship with Captain Brintnall "from New York." In 'Opukahaia's own words he tells what it was like to feel abandoned in the society of the 1790's:

At death of my parents...I was with them; I saw them killed with a bayonet--and with them my little brother, not more than two or three months old. So that I was left alone without father and mother in this wilderness world. Poor boy, thought I within myself, after they were gone, are there any father or mother of mine at home that I may go and find them at home? No, poor boy am I. And while I was at play with other children--after we had made an end of playing, they return to their parents--but I was returned into tears;--for I have no home,

neither father nor mother. I was now brought away from my home to a strange place and thought of nothing more but want of father or mother, and to cry day and night.

While I was with my uncle, for some time I began to think about leaving that country to go to some other part of the world. I did not care where I shall go to. I thought to myself if I should get away, and go to some other country, probably, I may find some comfort, more than to live there without father and mother...

...the captain made some inquiry to see if we were willing to come to America; and soon I made a motion with my head that I was willing to go. This man was very agreeable, and his kindness much delighted my heart, as if I was his own son, and he was my own father. Thus I still continue thankful for his kindness toward me.

...As soon as my uncle heard that I was going to leave him, he shut me up in a room, for he was not willing to let me go. While I was in the room, my old grandmother coming in asked me what was my notion of leaving them, and go with people whom I know not. I told her it is better for me to go than to stay there. She said if I should leave them I shall not see them any more. I told her that I shall come back in a few months, if I live. Her eyes were filled with tears. She said I was a very foolish boy. 8/

This moving personal account written in fluent English by a native Hawaiian scholar while in New England training to return as a missionary to the Hawaiian people, tells a certain truth about the character of the Hawaiian people at the time of European contact. When 'Opukahaia



died in 1818, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions sent the First Company instead, men like Hiram Bingham, Asa Thurston, and Elisha Loomis. He was converted completely to Christianity and by the time of death had mastered English and Latin, common arithmetic, geometry, and was learning Hebrew. Because of the strength and fervor of 'Opukahaia's determination to bring Christianity to Hawaii, the mission felt obliged to undertake forming the First Company and sent it out in 'Opukahaia's place. One of 'Opukahaia's letters frames this frustrated commitment:

I hope the Lord will send the Gospel to the Heathen land where the words of the Savior never yet had been. Poor people worship the wood, and stone, and shark, and almost everything [as] their gods; the Bible is not there, and heaven and hell they do not know about it. I yet in this country and no father and no mother. But God is friend if I will do his will, and not my own will. 9/

David Malo, born in 1793, commenced his studies for Christian ministry at 30 years of age. He spent the previous 30 years immersed in ancient culture preparing for the priesthood. Converted in 1823 in Lahaina, he began writing the Mo'olelo Hawaii (Hawaiian Antiquities), a historical description of ancient mores, after 1831, in the company of other illustrious Hawaiian peers at Lahainaluna Seminary. Before his death in 1853, Malo finished other writings that have been lost. Had he not written the Mo'olelo Hawaii, all that has been included about ancient religion in this Report would never have been available. Although converted, Malo still accepted the task of writing about the past he had come to reject.

Malo cannot be fully appreciated, however, by reading his written work without assessing his lifetime as a period of immense cultural upheaval:

- 1) The conquest of Oahu by Kamehameha in 1795 (Malo was two years old);
- 2) The ceding of Kaua'i to Kamehameha by Kaumuali'i in 1810 (Malo was seventeen);
- 3) The death of Kamehameha I in 1819 and overthrow of the kapu system in the same year (Malo was twenty-six);
- 4) The arrival of the First Company of American missionaries in 1820 (Malo was twenty-seven);
- 5) The conversion of Malo at Lahaina in 1823 (Malo was thirty); William Ellis arrived in Hawaii with Tahitian converts who spoke fluent English;
- 6) Malo entered Lahainaluna Seminary in 1831 (he was thirty-eight when he commenced his studies); 10/ [See footnote for explanation of curriculum at Lahainaluna Seminary.]
- 7) The first printing press at Lahainaluna Seminary published the first Hawaiian language newspaper, Ka Lama Hawai'i (The Hawaiian Torch) in 1834 (Malo was forty-one);
- 8) The Hawaiian Magna Carta, or Declaration of Rights, was promulgated by Kamehameha III in 1839 (Malo was forty-six);

- 9) The first constitution setting up a constitutional monarchy was promulgated by Kamehameha III in 1840 (Malo was forty-seven);
- 10) The first partitioning of land in the Great Mahele took place in 1848 (Malo was fifty-five);
- 11) The Kuleana Act of 1850 gave the maka'ainana title in fee to land (Malo was fifty-seven);
- 12) Kamehameha III died in 1854; Malo was already dead in 1853 at the age of 60.

The list of critical events does not include the difficulties experienced by the fledgling kingdom with foreign nations between 1793 and 1853. During this period Kamehameha III witnessed the civil war on Kaua'i in 1824 (death of Liholiho in England); the struggle between the clergy of Protestant (American) and Catholic (French) missions, until 1839, when freedom of religion became a constitutional guarantee; the Lord George Paulet episode in 1843 by which the king temporarily ceded the government to Britain; restoration of sovereignty to the Hawaiian monarchy by Admiral Thomas in 1843; and the smallpox epidemic, 1853.

It would seem then that in 1853-1854 two great Hawaiian representatives of the post-conversion period of immense change in Hawaiian life and society died: David Malo and Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). Their attitudes were interesting contrasts. Malo, destined for the Hawaiian priesthood, followed that career out by switching allegiance in the mid-stream of life away from the Hawaiian akua to the Akua Mana Loa, Jehovah of the Old Testament and the "Perfect Spirit" (akua Hemolele), or "Father:

(Makua) of the New Testament." By the end of his life he had become too disillusioned by the knowledge that foreigners would be arriving in such sufficiently larger numbers to eventually overwhelm Hawaiians:

Malo was one of that class to whom the prophetic vision of the oncoming tide of invasion--peaceful though it was to be--that was destined to overflow his native land and supplant in a measure its indigenous population, was acutely painful and not to be contemplated with any degree of philosophic calm; and this in spite of the fact that he fully recognized the immense physical, moral and intellectual benefits that had accrued and were still further to accrue to him and his people from the coming of that man to his shores. And this sentiment, which was like a division of councils in his nature, controlled many of his actions during his life, and decided the place of his burial after death. 11/

In order to escape the "tide of invasion," Malo requested burial atop Mount Ball high above Lahainaluna Seminary.

By contrast, Kauikeaouli, although king, never submitted to conversion to Christianity and never became a member of the established Protestant Church at Kawaiaha'o in Honolulu, although he attended services. What would Henry 'Opukahaia say if he had lived to be a bold instigator of such changes wrought by two living Hawaiian personalities, Hawaiian priest and ruling chief, after the 1819 overthrow of the kapu system that propelled them into changed roles of diminished authority and power? This is the background against which to evaluate the search today by Hawaiians for traditional values in the culture that got away from them.

#### E. PRESENT-DAY SEARCH FOR TRADITIONAL VALUES

In 1979, the Humanities Conference addressed these issues of concern and need among Hawaiians in a panel discussion on: "Can the Humanities Help the Search for Traditional Hawaiian Values?" Since then the Office of Hawaiian Affairs has become a reality, but at that time the community was groping for answers to some of these questions:

Do humanities scholars know what values motivated ancient Hawaiian society and to what extent they are now present in the contemporary Hawaiian society? Moreover, if they do know what they were and are, are such values proper for present-day Hawaiian society with its multi-ethnic composition? Or, rather, if they are worth recovering, should they be applied to present-day social aims to promote inter-ethnic understanding or to be strictly applied toward the Hawaiian Renaissance? If so, how shall they be applied and who shall determine the effective means of implementation?

Let us assume that traditional Hawaiian values are worth knowing by humanities scholars and worth recovering by both the general public and the Hawaiian people themselves. What questions would then be posed? If it should be assumed that the people of Hawaii and the Hawaiians in particular wish to recover certain traditional values, does this imply that they genuinely feel something of tremendous value has been lost to all of society that was formerly unique to the aboriginal group? What then do they wish to recover for the sake of all and also what, in more

specific terms, ought to be recovered for the sake of the Hawaiian people? Whose responsibility would it then be to determine those differences in value choices and under what conditions? Would it be largely a question for an open society to contemplate or is it one in which the role of the Hawaiian group may assert priority in basic decision-making? If the latter, in what role would the humanities scholars then find themselves if they have not yet ascertained what their present state of actual knowledge of Hawaiian values is, and if it is sufficiently reliable enough when used to augment or to modify any determination effected chiefly through the means of political, rather than intellectual or economic process? 12/

Since the Humanities Conference of 1979, when these questions were first offered for consideration, the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA) has been mandated by the State Constitution, with full community support and legislative backing, precisely to give Hawaiians priority in decision-making on issues directly affecting their lives now and in the approaching future.

The need for research into the area of indigenous Hawaiian cultural values, including those of ethics and religion, has become a primary requirement in OHA's program for cultural recovery. Most Hawaiians are unsure of what the true, dependable, and trustworthy models are and if they are suited to their present needs and conditions, while some feel they need to be simply recognized, esteemed, and respected not just for what they are but who they are, the last living remnant of the original inhabitants of this place. What can others learn about cultural extinction as it

rapidly lunges forward in the wake of replacement by values inimical, in many ways, to those of extended families in large kind groups? What can silent temples be made to reveal of Hawaiian knowledge if probed, and probed with understanding? What values, if any, exist there for Hawaiians to realize how their families and ancestors of old fared under kind or ruthless power figures?

The issue of Kaho'olawe looms large in the minds of young and old alike, but the issue remains a divisive polarization of opinion between young Hawaiians who wish the Navy to stop bombing long enough to allow them to set up religious practices in accordance with present law, and older Hawaiians who see no need to recover it from the United States Navy. Common ground or agreement between them may be found, perhaps, in the realization of scientific interest and curiosity about existing archaeological sites on that island.

OHA states in its 1982 report the view that: "The Hawaiian religion was the first aspect of our culture to be suppressed. It is today the least understood dimension of the culture. As we shed light on religious and ceremonial practices, we will choose more freely how we live our lives."

There is no doubt in anyone's mind that much can be gained in combing recorded but untranslated Hawaiian documents for history on such sites that have been wasting away through neglect, due to lack of funds to study them more fully. The value, especially for young Hawaiian people, in involving themselves in careful, patient study as such is that it generates enthusiasm for authentic history. 13/

#### F. RECOMMENDATIONS \*/

From all appearances the OHA cultural plan under the State of Hawaii for implementation of action to gather, record, and to make available information desired by the Hawaiian community about traditional values in religion and ethics, or rites and ceremonies, seems to be on solid ground.

In the same direction one major private corporation, American Factors, has begun to seriously consider building, within a live native Hawaiian village setting, a functioning heiau kilolani, or astronomical temple than, among other things, will feature alignment to the celestial equator/ecliptic coordinate system, which is known to have been used by ancient Hawaiian priests in computing the sidereal and tropical calendar.

In the same context, astrophysicists and geographers have been drawn to the Pacific, Hawaii included, to continue research into potential archaeoastronomic sites in the Oceanic and Southeast Asian area. Within the last few years, some of this work has reached publication. 14/

Along these lines of inquiry, local, national, and international interest in the Pacific archaeo- and ethno-astronomy may perhaps grow, with concomitant interest in the aboriginal religious institutions that raised, as in Hawaii, temples to celestial and spiritual understanding. One never knows how much human progress there is in this mustard seed of genuine hope.

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\*/ NOTE: These recommendations are reproduced directly from Professor Johnson's paper, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Native Hawaiians Study Commission. (See "Conclusions and Recommendations," above.)

NATIVE HAWAIIAN RELIGION

NOTES

1/ David Malo, Hawaiian Antiquities (Mooolelo Hawaii) (Honolulu: Bernice P. Bishop Museum, Special Publication 2, 1951), Second Edition, translated by Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson (1898), p. 82.

2/ Urey Lisianski, Voyage Round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, Bibliotheca Australiana No. 42 (New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), pp. 84, 87, 120, and 127.

3/ See Rubellite K. Johnson, Kumulipo, Hawaiian Hymn of Creation, Volume I (Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., 1981); pp. 145-14 to 145-19 of this volume were included in Professor Johnson's paper and are appended to this Report, in the Appendix containing the written comments received by the Native Hawaiians Study Commission.

4/ Malo, p. 82.

5/ Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, Hawaiian Dictionary (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1971), p. 9.

6/ See A. I. Kroeber, Anthropology: Culture Patterns and Processes (New York: First Harbinger Books, 1963). Pages 211-213 were included in Professor Johnson's paper and are appended to this Report, in the Appendix containing the written comments received by the Native Hawaiians Study Commission, as pages 145-21 to 145-22.

7/ Malo, p. 81.

8/ Henry Opukālaia, Memoirs of Henry Obookiah, A Native of Owhyhee, and a Member of the Foreign Mission

School; Who Died at Cornwall, Connecticut February 17, 1818, Aged 26 Years, edited by Edwin Dwight (Honolulu: Published on the 150th Anniversary of his death, 1968), p. 7.

9/ Ibid., p. 28, Letter from Andover, dated December 15, 1812.

10/ The following paragraphs of Professor Johnson's paper appeared in her original paper at this point in text:

It is important here to realize what the curriculum was like at Lahainaluna Seminary between 1831 and 1850. The curriculum included the "hard" sciences and higher mathematics (geometry, trigonometry, navigation), geography (Biblical and world), anatomy, grammar in Hawaiian and English, and not purely religious subjects. The texts used were produced in Hawaiian at the school by translating from English and other language texts, but it is the calibre of the Hawaiian technical texts that astound present-day scientists. Evaluation of the Anahonua (Land Surveying) text in Hawaiian, as written by the Rev. Ephraim Clark, has been evaluated by Dr. E. Dixon Stroup, oceanographer (Hawaii Institute of Geophysics, University of Hawaii). Below is a facsimile of his evaluation:

The Manual of Navigation is the last major division of Ke Anahonua, published in Hawaiian at Lahainaluna in 1834. It is the most technically advanced section in a book which begins with the basic definitions of geometry ("point," "line," and "plane"). The methods described include both dead reckoning and celestial navigation

as used by western navigators in the 1830's (and, in fact, into the early 1900's). While there is no input of Polynesian navigation, a lot is revealed about the surprisingly high academic level of instruction at Lahainaluna in these early days. It is clear from the text, and in many illustrative navigational problems and exercises, that the students were required to have ability in the following areas:

Basic geography (world wide).

Astronomical concepts (orbits and relative distances of moon, sun, planets, and fixed stars; the thin atmosphere of earth in empty space; curvature of the earth and its effect on the horizon; refraction of light, etc.).

Worldwide time and its relation to the earth's rotation.

Use of a sextant (at least in principle) and drawing instruments (in practice).

Abstract concepts, such as comparison of real observations with those which might be made by a hypothetical observer at the center of the Earth.

Use of mathematical tables of various sorts (familiarity with log tables) and the use of logarithms in working numerical problems--(Note: This was introduced with no explanation in the text). Trigonometry and the use of tables of trig functions. Use of a log-scale ruler (like a slide rule without the slide) in working problems. Working out of quite complex problems, involving many steps. (As an example, the following quote is part of the instructions for working up Lunar Observations:

"From Table XIV, extract the logarithm equal to the parallax and it is written in two columns. Write down the cosecant of the Lunar altitude below the second (column), and the cosecant of the solar altitude under the first, and the sine of the corrected distance under the first, and the tangent of the corrected distance under the second. Add these two columns (discarding the interval 20), then look for the logarithms in Table XIV, where the two arcs are written. If the first arc is greater than the second, subtract the excess from the corrected distance; however, if the second arc is greater than the first, add the excess to the corrected distance; and if the corrected distance is greater than  $90^\circ$  then subtract the sum of the two arcs from the corrected distance; this the true distance."

Comments of the Translation: My main reaction is admiration for the way that they were able so successfully to put pretty heavy technical material into Hawaiian, along with numerical examples. This is a Manual, not just a simplified introduction to the subject. I know I would have a hard time trying to put a lot of this across in English, to college freshmen today!

It's also clear that they had a high opinion of the ability of their students, or they wouldn't have taken (what must have been) the very great trouble of printing all this complex stuff, with numerical tables and examples of computations. (Setting the type by hand--wow!)

The text is also an excellent illustration of the general principle that, for translation of technical material, the translator had better

have some technical background in the area, besides knowledge of Hawaiian. Would someone not a navigator or cartographer know that "na hakina meridiana" should translate as "meridional parts" and nothing else? Or that "alanuihonua" should be "ecliptic?" Or "hina," "dip?" "Holo ililaumania," "plane sailing?" The text is full of these; a translator unfamiliar with the English terminology would make a botch of it no matter how hard he tried. With such background, the Hawaiian reads with remarkable ease. (E. Dixon Stroup, Manuscript translation of the Manual of Navigation in Ke Anahonua, section entitled Ke Kumu o Ka Holoholomoku (the principles of sailing in ships or navigation) (Lahainaluna: Press of the High School, 1834), pp. 83-122; in Rubellite K. Johnson, "The Contribution of Lahainaluna to Educational Excellence," Keynote Address on the occasion of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the founding of Lahainaluna Seminary in Hawaii in 1831 (presented May 23, 1981).

11/ Dr. Nathaniel B. Emerson, in Malo, p. xiii.

12/ Rubellite K. Johnson, "Can the Humanities Help the Search for Traditional Hawaiian Values," Hawaii Committee for the Humanities Newsletter (May, 1979), pp. 1-7; in Cultural Pluralism and the Humanities, Proceedings of the 1979 Humanities Conference, panel entitled: "The Hawaiian Renaissance and the Humanities" (Honolulu: Chaminade University, April 14, 1979).

13/ See two pieces appended to this Report in the Appendix containing the written comments received by the Native Hawaiians Study Commission: an article on the study of Ku'ilioloa Heiau, by young students (Hawaii Coastal Zone News, Vol. 4, No. 10 (February, 1980)); and the Office of Hawaiian Affairs' program for Hawaiian religion (First Draft, 1982).

14/ See, Armando Da Silva and Rubellite K. Johnson, "Ahu a 'Umi Heiau, a Native Hawaiian Astronomical and Directional Register," in Ethnoastronomy and Archaeoastronomy in the American Tropics, edited by Anthony F. Aveni and Gary Urton, Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, Vol. 385 (May 14, 1982): pp. 313-331. This study appears in the Appendix of this Report.