

TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL  
REPORT  
OF THE  
HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

FOR THE YEAR 1917

*WITH PAPERS READ DURING THE YEAR  
BEFORE THE SOCIETY*



H O N O L U L U :  
PARADISE OF THE PACIFIC PRESS  
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S. M. KAMAKAU, HAWAIIAN HISTORIAN

From a damaged daguerreotype owned by Mrs.  
Benj. L. Kamakau of Napoopoo, Kona, Hawaii

*Photographed and re-touched by A. R. Gurrey, Jr.*

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LAURENCE H. BENTLEY  
M.D.

THE HAWAIIAN



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# HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT.....MR. W. A. BOWEN  
THIRD VICE-PRESIDENT.....REV. LEOPOLD KROLL  
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RECORDING SECRETARY.....H. M. von HOLT  
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.....REV. W. D. WESTERVELT  
LIBRARIAN.....MISS E. I. ALLYN

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MR. J. F. BROWN      MR. G. C. POTTER

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#### Genealogy Committee

MR. EDGAR HENRIQUES, Chairman  
MRS. F. W. KLEBAHN      MR. S. M. KANAKANUI  
MR. R. C. LYDECKER      MRS. W. D. WESTERVELT

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(Authors are alone responsible for their respective statements.)

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## Minutes of the Annual Meeting

Held January 21, 1918.

The 26th Annual Meeting of the Hawaiian Historical Society was held at the rooms of the Society at 8 p. m. January 21st, 1918, Mr. Jos. S. Emerson presiding.

The Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Society held on January 17, 1917, were read and approved.

Following the reading of the Minutes the reports of the Librarian, Treasurer, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Genealogical Committee, Printing Committee and Library Committee were read, accepted and ordered printed in the Annual Report, upon motion of Mr. Dole, seconded by Mr. B. Cartwright, Jr.

Mr. S. B. Dole, having previously consented to serve as President of the Society for 1918, then reported as Chairman of the Nominating Committee as follows:

For President.....	Mr. S. B. Dole
“ 1st Vice-President.....	Mrs. W. F. Frear
“ 2nd Vice-President.....	Mr. W. A. Bowen
“ 3rd Vice-President.....	Rev. Leopold Kroll
“ Treasurer.....	Mr. Bruce Cartwright, Jr.
“ Recording Secretary.....	Mr. H. M. von Holt
“ Corresponding Secretary.....	Mr. W. D. Westervelt
“ Librarian.....	Miss E. I. Allyn
“ Additional Members of the Board of Managers:	
	Hon. W. L. Whitney
	Mrs. A. G. M. Robertson
	Mr. Percy G. H. Deverill.

Mr. S. B. Dole moved, seconded by Mr. B. Cartwright, Jr., that the amount of income from the Society's investments be paid to the Library of Hawaii, as usual. Motion carried.

Mr. W. A. Bryan, First Vice-President, then arrived and was asked to preside in the absence of Mr. W. F. Frear, President. This he consented to do.

Mr. Jos. S. Emerson then read his paper entitled "Selections from a Kahuna's Note Book of Prayers".

Mr. Bryan and Mr. Dole made remarks on the value of the paper and Mr. Stokes made some interesting remarks on the teaching of kahunaism.

Mr. Carl B. Andrews then read a paper written by Mr. George R. Carter entitled "Frank Gruard, Celebrated Hawaiian Indian Scout".

Mr. Ed Towse then stated that he knew Frank Gruard personally, that he was a Polynesian but not a Hawaiian. Mr. Carter's paper was then referred back to the writer for his decision as to whether he wished it printed or not.

Mr. Westervelt read a paper prepared by Mr. Thos. G. Thrum entitled "Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of Mr. S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian".

The meeting was well attended, there being about 50 members present besides a number of guests.

The meeting adjourned at 10 p. m.

EDGAR HENRIQUES,  
*Secretary.*

## Report of the Librarian

---

*To the Officers and Members  
of the Hawaiian Historical Society.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Since the meeting of one year ago a splendid beginning has been made in caring for the unbound material in the library of the Society. This has been done under the direction of Miss Carpenter who came to the Library of Hawaii in April from the Wisconsin Library Commission. She has given six weeks to the work thus far, and has sorted and roughly classified all the loose material, which included periodicals and newspapers, pamphlets, leaflets, manuscripts, &c. One copy of each was laid aside for filing, and duplicates were placed separately.

In this collection it was found that there were many incomplete files, and some material that it did not seem expedient to include in the collection of the Society. Lists of these items were made and submitted with a report to the Board of Governors, and recommendations made as to their final disposition. Miss Carpenter's suggestions were for the most part approved, and the disposition of the material has been begun accordingly.

About 100 volumes of complete files are now ready for binding. The next important work will be the classifying, cataloging and filing of pamphlet material together with letters and other manuscript, and a systematic effort to fill out incomplete files. When completed, it would seem advisable to arrange for keeping the work constantly up to date. It would greatly increase the interest in the library of the Historical Society and enhance its value to the community and to the reference department of the Library of Hawaii, if the rooms of the Society were kept open for two or more hours each day,

and for some time there would be sufficient to occupy one person during those hours.

An inventory of the books just taken shows only one volume missing since the inventory in 1915. This is a copy of Twombly's *Hawaii and Its People*.

The additions this year were the following:

Executive orders and proclamations issued by the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands. 1913.

Natural History of Hawaii by W. A. Bryan. 1915.

Men of Hawaii ed. by J. W. Siddall. 1917. Presented by G. R. Castle.

Around the poi-bowl and Legend of Paaoy by W. D. Westervelt. 1913.

Hawaiian legends of volcanoes by W. D. Westervelt.

The psalms in plain Cree. 1905.

My children's ancestors by Rev. R. T. Cross. 1913.

Annals for the propagation of the faith v. 25. 1864.

A captive in Patagonia by B. F. Bourne. 1853.

Pele and Hiiaka; a myth of Hawaii by N. B. Emerson. 1915. Presented by Mrs. Emerson.

New Zealand Official Year Book. 1915-16. 2v.

Proceedings State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1912-16. 4v.

Missionary Herald. 1840-60; 1886-88. 16v.

The Friend. 1878; 1881-82. 2v.

Paradise of the Pacific. 1909-10; 1911-12; 1913-14. 3v.

New and complete edition Voyages and travels by J. H. Moore. 2v.

Modern, authentic and complete system of universal geography by Rev. Thomas Bankes. Lond. n.d.

Since the publication of the last report twelve new members have been admitted, one has resigned, one has been withdrawn, and seven have died. The membership is 172.

Respectfully submitted,

EDNA I. ALLYN,  
*Librarian.*

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## Treasurer's Report

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1917

RECEIPTS.

Balance from 1916.....	\$	237.87	
Membership dues.....		319.00	
Sale of Reports.....		11.50	
Interest on McBryde Bonds.....		100.00	\$ 668.37

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid to Treasurer, Library of Hawaii....	\$	118.60	
Postage .....		25.90	
Collector .....		17.40	
Publishing Annual Report.....		168.28	
Publishing Reprint No. 2.....		72.80	
Book purchases.....		14.00	
Typewriting for Secretary and Printing Committee .....		23.40	
Lecture expenses .....		7.97	
Printing, miscellaneous.....		4.50	
Stationery .....		34.25	
		\$ 487.10	
Cash deposited in Bank of Hawaii, Ltd.		181.27	\$ 668.37

## ASSETS.

Am't in Bishop & Co.'s Savings Bank..\$	499.08
\$2000.00 McBryde Sugar Co. Bonds 5%	
(Now in safe keeping with the Bank of Hawaii, Ltd.).....	2,000.00
Cash on deposit with the Bank of Ha- waii, Ltd.....	181.27
	<hr/>
	\$2,680.35
	<hr/>

Respectfully submitted,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,  
*Treasurer.*

Jan. 21, 1918, Audited and found correct,

A. C. O. LINNEMANN.

## Corresponding Secretary's Report

In these days of war—and the demands upon time, thought and money, there is not very much effort along lines of historic research. Our chief interest is in two incidents connected with New Zealand.

Hon. G. Mitchelson, for many years member of the New Zealand cabinet, paid a visit to these islands during the past summer. He was very much interested in the racial unity of the natives of Hawaii and the Maoris of New Zealand. He was here at the time when we were considering the benefits of our volcano research work, and after full discussion felt so strongly the need of such efforts in New Zealand that he has already interested their Premier and opened the way for us to render them assistance in starting observatories like ours after the great war is over.

Hon. S. Percy Smith, probably the best Polynesian scholar in the world, in reviewing my book *Hawaiian Legends of Volcanoes* called attention to the word *Kua-i-helani* which is one of the names of the ancient home of the Hawaiians—and was here frequently written *Kuai-he-lani*. This among the Hawaiians was an indefinable name of some mysterious ancient place. Mr. Smith says, "May we suggest that *Kuai-he-lani* should be *Kua-i-Helani*, or as we express it in Southern Polynesia *Tua-i-Herangi*—the latter name being one for a locality in the original Fatherland of the race and the expression should mean "Beyond at Herangi." He also calls attention to the New Zealand name *Para-whenua-mea* which is practically the same as one of the full names for *Pele* i. e. *Pelehonua-mea*. He says also *Pele* is known as *Pere* among the Tahitians and Paumotuans.

A correspondent writing from Fiji to the librarian of the Bishop Museum suggests very plausibly that our *aloha* which is

aroha or kalofa, etc., in other parts of Polynesia might come from the Hebrew name of God, Elohim. Aloha oe would be "God to you" or "God bless you" or "God be with you." There are other similarities to the Hebrew in the Hawaiian e. g., Hoo is the sign of the causative verb with exactly the same usage from most ancient times, even to the present day in both languages. Hoo-hana i keia mea means "*Make* anyone do this thing." Many points in the comparative study of the dialects and legends of Polynesia and those of the most ancient nations of the world may well demand the attention of students of history.

Respectfully,

W. D. WESTERVELT,  
*Corresponding Secretary.*

## Recording Secretary's Report

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Your Secretary desires to call your attention to the unusual number of meetings of the Society held during the past year. Papers were read on the following subjects:

February 13th:

- Notes Regarding Kamehameha I (by Edgar Henriques).
- Circumstances Leading Up to the Death of Capt. Cook (by Mr. J. W. Walron).
- The Abolishing of the Tabu (by Hon. S. B. Dole).

February 27th:

- Illustrated lecture, entitled New Lights on Sir Francis Drake (by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall).

March 27th:

- Lecture on Ancient Egyptian Mechanical Science (by Prof. A. H. Sayce).

April 23rd:

- A lecture and exhibition of rare old books; descriptive of early printing and illumination (by Mr. John Howell).

These meetings have been well attended and great interest shown.

If our membership was larger we would be able to have more of these lectures and print in our annual report more original research work. Our annual report has not grown in size in any appreciable degree in the past fifteen years.

Respectfully submitted,

EDGAR HENRIQUES,

*Secretary.*

## Report of the Genealogical Committee

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I present herewith the Report of the Genealogical Committee. While the Committee has not met as a whole during the year several of the Members have held informal meetings. We have been able to obtain what we consider a complete list of the descendants of John Davis, a Welshman and nephew to the famous Isaac Davis. It has been almost impossible to obtain any of the dates of birth, marriage or death of the individuals but we hope that by printing this incomplete genealogy, at least as far as much interesting data goes, it may come into the hands of some one of the descendants of John Davis who will be willing to assist us in completing this genealogy. This Davis family is one of the oldest foreign families in Hawaii. We have also been very fortunate in obtaining much interesting data of a genealogical nature pertaining to the descendants of John Harbottle who arrived in Hawaii about 1791. These notes, however, are very incomplete and your committee will welcome the assistance of anyone who can help them with data so that we will be able to publish a genealogy of this famous man's descendants.

There are many old families in the islands who have their genealogies in manuscript and we hope that some of them will be generous enough to allow us to have copies of their manuscripts printed. In this way the genealogies can be permanently kept.

Respectfully,

EDGAR HENRIQUES,

*Chairman of the Genealogical Committee.*

## Report of the Printing Committee

---

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

As Chairman of the Printing Committee for the past year I beg to report that we have had printed the Annual Report for 1916 and "The Death of Captain Cook" by David Samwell, Surgeon of the Discovery, the latter being Reprint No. 2.

Quite a number of our members have expressed their satisfaction on receiving Reprint No. 2 and have stated that they hoped our Society would continue to get out these Reprints, as they were extremely interesting and valuable.

I have seen Mr. L. A. Thurston several times with a view to making some arrangement whereby our reprints could first be run in the Advertiser and then copies struck off in pamphlet form for our Society, at cost price. An arrangement of this sort would be a great financial saving to the Society, and is well worth further investigation.

The idea of getting out the Reprints is that they can eventually be bound together and indexed and be a very valuable Hawaiian reference library.

Respectfully,

BRUCE CARTWRIGHT, JR.,

*Chairman of the Printing Committee.*

## Report of the Library Committee

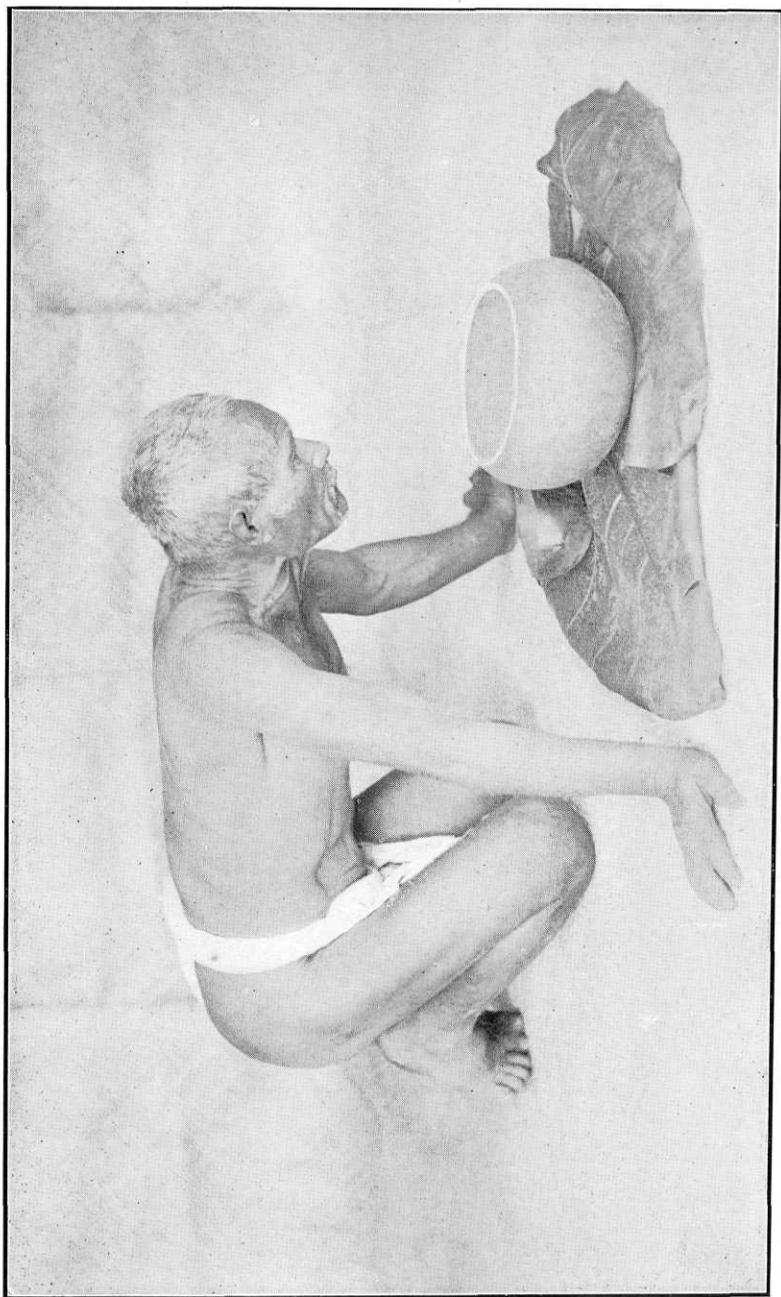
LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

No meeting of the entire Committee has been held during the year. Nevertheless informally the work accomplished has been considerable. Miss Carpenter under the care of our librarian has recatalogued the library and has set apart the items which are sufficiently complete to be bound. Some duplicates have been given the Archives and the Bishop Museum libraries. Some very valuable volumes of the Kuokoa have been secured by Miss Carpenter for the Historical Society from the Archives. A list has been made out of books needed in our library, to be purchased when sufficient funds are on hand. It is to be hoped that in the near future some arrangement with the Honolulu Library Board of Managers can be made so that the Historical Society Library can be open for use regularly certain hours every week.

Respectfully,

W. D. WESTERVELT,  
*Chairman.*





KAOHIMAUNU

*Photo by C. Hedemann*

## Selections From a Kahuna's Book of Prayers

BY J. S. EMERSON.

---

The ancient Hawaiians were a very religious people. Almost every important undertaking was accompanied by prayer. These prayers were addressed to a great number and diversity of gods and covered a wide range of subjects. In the limited time allotted to this paper it is impossible to give more than a few of the many prayers in my possession. I will therefore confine my attention chiefly to those relating to one particular branch of the subject, namely, seeking to cause the death of a person or asking protection against such a practice by others. The kahuna, or witch-doctor, has been a tremendous power in this land. Praying to death has long been recognized as a potent agent in swelling the mortality list in the past, and has not yet ceased to act with its blighting influence on people so long subject to its deadly power.

I cannot do better than to begin with a prayer which enumerates some eleven different methods of causing death by kahunaism. This prayer, secured for me by the late Rev. J. B. Bicknell, is addressed to Nuu, a god whose dwelling place is the projecting and inaccessible ledges on the precipitous mountain sides. The word "nuu" is found in composition in the familiar local name Nuu-anu. This is a prayer for protection against the machinations of any one seeking the death or serious injury of a person by any of the various methods employed in the black art. The prayer appeals to Nuu on the ground of his ubiquity. Whatever such plotting may be and wherever carried on, "Go thou thither to deliver us," is the burden of this litany.

For the clearer understanding of what follows it seems best

at this point to explain the terms used in designating the eleven forms of the black art referred to in this prayer:

1—"KA ANAANA," the general name of any prayer to cause the death of a person by sorcery.

2—"KA PULE KUNI," the prayer with burning, so called because it is offered in connection with the burning of certain articles in a fire. This will be treated more at length in another portion of this paper.

3—"KA HOOPI'OPI'O," a more simple form of the black art, practiced only on a sandy beach by the sea shore. A rude diagram, suggesting that used in the game of hop-sotch, is marked out on the sand. In the upper section is arranged a little pile of small pebbles, in which is placed a stone, tied to one end of a pohuehue or ipomoea vine, readily obtained from the vicinity. The person officiating in the ceremony takes the other end of the vine in his hand, hops through the successive sections of the diagram and wades into the sea, still holding on to the vine. As soon as the sea reaches the middle of his body he repeats the formula, "Aole, aole i pau ku'u loa," My stature is not yet entirely submerged. This he continues to repeat until the water covers his head and chokes his voice. This is supposed to symbolize the approaching death of the victim.

4—"KA LAWE MAUNU." The maunu, or article taken from the intended victim to be used in the incantations to cause his death, must be burned in a fire of akia (*Wikstroemia*), for three nights in succession. On the last of these nights, which should be that of "Kaloa-pau," the 26th night of the lunar month, the ashes are carried to the sea and thrown in. This ceremony is called "ka lawe maunu", the carrying of the maunu. The death of the victim is expected to follow in from two to four days.

5—"KA HOOUNAUNA," the sending, that is of a messenger of death, into a person. This will be more fully explained in connection with the prayer used for that object.

6—"KA APO-LEO," voice-catching, the art of catching and destroying the voice of a person.

7—"KA PO'I UHANE," spirit-catching, the art of catching one of the two spirits of a person and shutting it up in a drinking gourd for ransom, or, more generally, to be crushed in the fist of the kahuna and eaten at once by him and his client. This is usually done in the early part of the night, when sleep releases one of the two spirits of every individual, and it begins to wander at large in dreamland. With the death of this spirit, the death of the other, as well as the body of the victim, may be looked for not long after.

8—"KE KAUOHA," the command. A person fearing that some particular thing is liable to injury or theft, utters a prayer somewhat as follows: "O ye sun and moon, O ye stars of heaven, O ye winds of the gods, and thou, o Uli, guard ye this article. If anyone disturbs it, bite his hand." This prayer is the "kauoha," or command, given to the above powers who, in the old Hawaiian system, were regarded as constituting a sort of petty police force to watch for and spy upon any who might make too free with little things belonging to another. When we consider that the worship of the heavenly bodies has occupied so important a place among other nations, it seems most extraordinary that among the Hawaiians they were treated with so little respect, and were addressed as fit only to be commanded to do the work of inferior policemen, or watch dogs.

9—"KA ONI," the writhing, a form of anaana, in which the kahuna makes his body writhe like an eel and thus starts an influence which causes his victim to writhe in pain.

10—"NA KAHA PE'A," the crossed lines, a form of anaana in which the kahuna marks two lines crossing each other on the ground, utters a prayer and runs away. The person who steps on these lines will have a sprained ankle, a sore, or some other serious trouble with his foot or leg.

11—"KA HOUPUUPU," giving false alarms so as to secure a person's death. To do this, the kahuna, on meeting an acquaintance, enters into conversation with him, in the midst of which he suddenly breaks out with the exclamation, "Auwe! o (mea) keia." Hullo! here is (blank), giving the name of his intended victim. With systematic planning he continues this sort of work with many whom he meets. In due time it is reported by one after another to the victim that he was seen at these various places. At first he declares that he was not there to be seen by the kahuna, but at length the suspicion that it must have been his wraith that really did thus appear grows to be a terrifying conviction on his part which leads to serious illness, if not actual death. The following is the prayer:

#### HE PULE KA'LA.

Ia oe, e Nuu, ikaika, e Nuu.  
 Ilalo, e Nuu;  
 Iluna, e Nuu;  
 I ka lewa, e Nuu;  
 I ka papa-ku, e Nuu;  
 I ka pilipili, e Nuu;  
 E Nuu, i na wahi a pau  
 I kahi i waiho ai o na hua-olelo ino a pau,  
 Ka anaana, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka pule kuni, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka hoopi'opi'o, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka lawe maunu, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka hoounauna, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka apo-leo, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ke po'i-uhane, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 Ke kauoha, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka oni, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I na kaha-pe'a, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 I ka houpuupu, ilaila oe, e Nuu;  
 A make no ka lele mua ia Nuu.

Elieli kapu, elieli noa.  
Amama, ua noa.

#### A PRAYER FOR PROTECTION.

To thee, O Nuu, O Nuu, be strong.  
Downward, O Nuu;  
Upward, O Nuu;  
To the region of the floating clouds, O Nuu;  
To the solid ground, O Nuu;  
To the steep sides of precipices, O Nuu;  
To all places whither the words of cursing have been carried,  
The "anaana," thither go thou, O Nuu, to deliver us:  
To the prayer with burning, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the black art of the seashore, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the carrying of the "maunu," thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the sending forth of a messenger of death, thither go thou,  
O Nuu;  
To voice-snatching, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To spirit-grabbing, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the command to spy and bite, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the writhing incantation, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the magic crosses, thither go thou, O Nuu;  
To the false alarms inspiring fear, thither go thou, O Nuu, to  
deliver us;  
Till the first fleeing culprit is destroyed by thee, O Nuu.  
Finished—the tabu. Finished—It is free.  
The tabu is lifted, removed.

The following "pule anaana," obtained from Kaukeanu of Kohala, Hawaii, Dec. 19, 1892, is addressed by a professional "kahuna anaana" to Uli, the goddess of ceremonial observance. She is the chief of those gods invoked in prayers of this class and her name must always appear to make the prayer regular and complete. The "akua-kii" referred to is a nameless god whose image was placed in a "heiau poo kanaka," one where human sacrifices were offered. Wakea and his wife, Papa, are usually represented as occupying a place on the "papa ku," or

solid ground; but when Wakea was sent on errands of death, he descended, as in this prayer, deeper even than the abode of Milu, in the lower world. On such occasions Wakea became an "akua hoounauna," one who was sent into the body of a person to destroy it, which was never true of Papa.

The attitude of a "kahuna anaana" in prayer is on his hands and knees with his face near the ground. This may be seen, true to life, at the Bishop Museum, in the person of old Kaohimaunu, formerly a kahuna of this class. My brother, Dr. N. B. Emerson, got him to pose in this position for his photograph, taken by Mr. C. Hedemann. The result was so successful that he was persuaded to again assume the same attitude for the life-sized figure by Allan Hutchinson in the Bishop Museum. The prayer must be delivered in one uninterrupted breath. Should the kahuna stop to take breath before the completion of the prayer, or should the silence about him be broken by any other human voice or sound produced by an animal, the prayer would be declared a failure, and it might go hard with the person or thing that caused the interruption. The concluding words, "Amama, ua noa. Lele wale aku la," may be thus paraphrased. The solemn hush is over. We are now freed from the awful restraint of enforced silence. The prayer, like a well-directed arrow, takes its flight straight for the bull's eye.

#### HE PULE ANAANA.

E Uli, e akua-kii,  
 Nahu'a ma ka puu ma kahi haiki,  
 I pau pu me ke a iwaho,  
 Eia mai ka makana,  
 He kanaka,  
 He i'a wawae loloa.  
 Ke iho aku la ilalo,  
 I o Milu la,

Ilalo aku i o Wakea la.  
 Amama, ua noa.  
 Lele wale aku la.

A PRAYER TO CAUSE THE DEATH OF A PERSON  
 BY SORCERY.

O Uli, and thou, image of a nameless god,  
 Bite his throat where it is slender;  
 Destroy it and wrench out the jawbone.  
 Here is thy gift, a man,  
 A long legged fish.  
 He descends,  
 He goes down to Milu,  
 And yet deeper, down to Wakea.  
 The hush is ended. It is free.  
 The prayer takes its flight.

THE "KAHUNA KUNI."

When a person dies under suspicious circumstances, it becomes the duty of one of his family, or a near relative, to consult a "kahuna kuni" to determine the cause of his death. There are five classes of "kahuna kuni," characterized by the number of pebbles (iliili) used in their incantations. These numbers are 25, 28, 36 and 42 respectively. These iliili are carefully kept by the kahuna wrapped up in a "kapa kahuna," such as the "ouholowai," "ekahaloa," "puakai" and others, in a place of safety where they will not become ceremonially defiled (haumia). Generally they are put in a coconut shell (puniu), or gourd (hokeo), and suspended to the side of the house, for if they were put in a trunk it would defile them for any one to sit on the trunk. The kahuna takes the iliili and kapa out of the hokeo or puniu, which he leaves behind and goes to the house where the sick person or corpse is. He places the iliili on a clean new mat, covers them with the kapa and offers a prayer to Uli, stating the facts of the case and asking Uli to take vengeance on the guilty person who caused

the death or sickness of the victim. He then takes something, known as a "maunu," from the person of the deceased, a lock of hair, a tooth, a pairing of finger nail, or some vomit or other excreta, positively assuring his client that during one of the following nights, namely "Ku-kahi," "Ku-lua," "Ku-kolu," or "Ku-pau," that is either the 3d, 4th, 5th or 6th night of the lunar month, when the moon is in the west; or during one of the following nights, namely: "Kaloa-ku-kahi," "Kaloa-ku-lua" or "Kaloa-pau," that is either the 24th, 25th or 26th night of the month, when the moon is in the east, the guilty one would die. The class of kahunas using 42 pebbles have an advantage over those using a lesser number, from the fact that their iliili cause death on the night known as "Kane," the 27th of the month; and that of "Lono," the 28th of the month, in addition to the seven nights mentioned above. On leaving his client the kahuna takes the "maunu," secured from the deceased, as already described, and hides it in the water that his victim is to drink, in his food, in his pipe, with his tobacco, or buried in the road where his victim will travel. This is followed by a "pule anaana," or prayer, addressed to Uli, Kane, Kanaloa, Pele or Kamohoalii, in which the death of the victim is invoked in a horrible, sometimes in a blood-curdling fashion. The kahuna's fee is paid, either wholly or in part in advance, and must be nothing less than fifty dollars. Sometimes much larger fees are paid; even as high as three hundred dollars.

The following very remarkable prayer was given to me by the late Rev. S. E. Bishop, March 15, 1892. It was reduced to writing by his mother, who died in the year 1828, and the original manuscript, now in my possession, is in her handwriting. It is a prayer by a "kahuna kuni," addressed to Pele, who is his "aumakua," or ancestral god. Its object is to destroy the evil-doer, the rival kahuna, who by his black art has caused the death of a well-known person by whom, it is claimed, no offence justifying such a fate has been committed. "Slain by a god," the prayer says, yet the punishment falls

on the kahuna who was the party responsible for inciting the god to commit the murder. This god had no option in the matter. He simply *had* to obey the command of his master, the kahuna.

In all prayers to Pele the closing formulae, "Amama, ua noa," etc., or "Elieli kapu," etc., are omitted for the reason that she can be addressed in prayer only by those related to her, for whom she thus becomes an "aumakua." The "kuni" prayer is only used after the "kuni" fire is lighted which must be made of uhaloa wood. Upon it is thrown some "pupu-awa" and "opihi-awa," and, inclosed in a wrapping of ki leaves, are put some "pupu makaloo," "kua-paa," "limu-kala" and "kalolau-loa," which are roasted in the fire as a preliminary to the prayer. This ceremony is limited to no particular night. It may even be performed in the daytime. The word "Ku," to stand, is applied to any dry land where one may stand, and thus becomes an appellation of Pele, who made the dry land. This name for Pele should not be confused with that of Ku, one of the four principal gods.

Holani is the god of agriculture. "Ku a Holani," stand as Holani, is an ancient expression meaning stand firm.

Hamoeba is the principal goddess of those who practice the art of massage. Her duty, like that of a physician, was to help those who were ill to recover their health; not to destroy life. She is supposed to have presided over those who attended the victim in his last hours, and thus to be able to give definite information about the nature of his malady and the cause of his death. After all the other gods concerned have given their verdict of the guilt of the offending kahuna, her approval of the death sentence seems to be considered as a fitting close to the prayer.

Lono is one of the four principal gods of the Hawaiian pantheon. Only on the 28th night of the lunar month, called in his honor, "Lono," is he appealed to in prayer by the "kahuna kuni." No wonder then that he had failed to notice

what deeds of darkness had taken place on some other night of the month.

To understand the reference to the sands of Mahinahina and those of Heihei, the following story will be of interest. These sands were brought by ocean currents from Kahiki to Hilo, Hawaii ("*Hilo one*," sandy Hilo), thence to Kahului, Maui. They filled up the straits that formerly separated East from West Maui. From Maalaea Bay they kept on their way to Molokai where the stream divided in two, one portion traveling along the southern coast and the other along the northern coast of that island, touching at Halawa, at a point known as Kauhuhu, where it is called the "Sands of Mahinahina." Some of the same sand went on to Heihei, a few miles to the west. Between these "Sands of Mahinahina" and those of Heihei there exists a peculiar sympathy. If a fisherman from the populous village of Mahinahina wishes to fish on the good fishing shoals of Heihei, where there are no people living, he would naturally want to know whether there were any surf there to interfere with his plans. It is a well-known fact that when the surf is high in one of these localities the same conditions prevail at the other. Hence the old proverb, "*Ke one o Mahinahina kapi ka wai ma Heihei.*" The Sands of Mahinahina sprinkle water on those of Heihei. Another saying is, "*He one mana keia*," This sand has supernatural power. It has seen the former home of the Hawaiian race, has traveled extensively and is a fit witness to testify in this case. The various forces and features of nature are called upon for their testimony; such as the thunder, the earthquake, the rain, the winds, the surf, the heavens, the earth, the mountains and the ocean. These are all, as it were, deified and considered as allies of Pele. The language of this prayer is highly figurative and archaic. Things are hinted at with great brevity of words, so that a literal translation would in many cases convey no meaning. There is one curious expression that may well receive our attention, namely, "*Muka' ha, a pa, a pa ka lani e*," Snap then your jaws until the sound reaches the heavens. The

expression "muka" is applied to the act of tightly compressing the lips between the front teeth and suddenly opening the jaws so as to let the air forcibly rush into the mouth. This is an appeal to a power above. If the heavens hear the call and return an approving answer, then the death of the guilty one is assured. The answer returned to this appeal was the vivid lightning flash illuminating the heavens. "Muka" must be distinguished from "muki'," the squeak or jibber of the lapu or ghosts. To produce the sound known as "Muki" the lips are puckered as for a kiss while the air is forcibly drawn in to produce the sound.

#### HE PULE KUNI.

E Ku e,  
 Napenape ka hau-hala i make ai,  
 Ke akua i make ai;  
 Ke akua na'e i make ai.  
 Ua hana'ku ka hale;  
 Pa'i ka hekili;  
 Nu ke ola'i;  
 A pa ka lani.  
 E ka ua, na Ku;  
 A e Holani,  
 E ka lani e,  
 O Hamoea,  
 Ke wehe'a mai;  
 Ua wehe'a ka lani e,  
 Ka po, e Lono e,  
 A hano oe,  
 A hano oe ia Pikanala'-a-ka-ua.  
 E Ku, e Holani, e ka lani e, o Hamoea,  
 Ke wehe'a mai i lani e.  
 Kukulu aku au,  
 Kaha kou kuku i ka ipu wai.  
 Kukulu o Ku,  
 Kana kapa ka pahu.

Ka ipu wai,  
 O ku ma kunalo'u ka la.  
 Aha makani akea,  
 A hana ka ua.  
 Ke one o Mahinahina  
 Kapi ka wai ma Heihei,  
 O pele honua mea,  
 Kau honua nei, Pele honua mea,  
 Makua ia ka lani,  
 Muka' ha, a pa, a pa ka lani e.  
 Ka ua, na hu'a Holani,  
 E ku a Holani.  
 E ka lani e, o Hamoea ke wehe'a mai.  
 Ke a mai la ka lani;  
 Hekili kona pahu.  
 Wehe'a mai ka honua;  
 He ola'i kona pahu.  
 Wehe'a mai ka mauna;  
 Ka kuahiwi kona pahu.  
 Wehe'a mai ka moana;  
 Kaiko'o kona pahu.  
 E ku a Holani.  
 E ka lani e,  
 O Hamoea ka wehe'a.

A "KUNI" PRAYER (A PRAYER WITH FIRE).

O Ku,  
 Unproven is the guilt of him who died,  
 Slain by a god;  
 Yea verily, slain by a god.  
 He has built his house;  
 The thunder has rolled;  
 The earth has quaked;  
 Their testimony to his innocence has reached to heaven.  
 O thou rain, gift of Ku;  
 And thou, Holani, god of agriculture;

O ye heavens,  
 And thou, Hamoea, goddess of the massage,  
 Ye all are his witnesses.  
 The heavens have declared for him.  
 If during thy night, O Lono,  
 Thou didst fail to see;  
 Surely then it was on some common night, not thine, that this  
 deed was done.

O Ku, Holani, ye heavens; and thou, Hamoea;  
 The evidence is now clear as the dawning light.  
 As I present the case  
 The evidence will flash before your eyes.  
 When Ku gives testimony  
 The garment of the guilty kahuna will become his coffin.  
 With the testimony of eye-witnesses,  
 The death sentence will not be delayed.  
 Ye winds in your wide circuit;  
 And you, ye rains, present your testimony.  
 Ye magical sands of Mahinahina,  
 In close sympathy with those of Heihei;  
 O Pele, maker of the earth;  
 And this thy earth, O Pele,  
 Nursed by the heavens,  
 Snap then your jaws until the sound reaches the heavens.  
 Ye rains, ye fruits, the gift of Holani,  
 Stand as Holani.

O ye heavens, Hamoea now gives her testimony.  
 The heavens are ablaze with their verdict;  
 The thunder shall be his coffin.  
 The earth gives its verdict;  
 An earthquake shall be his coffin.  
 The mountains give their verdict;  
 The mountain ridges shall be his coffin.  
 The ocean gives its verdict;  
 The raging surf shall be his coffin.

Stand as Holani.  
 O ye heavens,  
 Hamoea approves the death sentence.

“HE PULE HOOUNAUNA.”

A PRAYER TO SEND A MESSENGER OF DEATH INTO A PERSON.

The following is a portion of the English translation of this prayer which was obtained in Kalaoa, N. Kona, Hawaii, in 1888. To give an adequate treatment of this important branch of Hawaiian kahunaism would require much more time than we can devote to it in this paper.

O Lono,  
 Listen to my voice.  
 This is the plan;  
 Rush upon and enter;  
 Enter and curl up;  
 Curl up and straighten out.  
 The petition is offered, etc.

As an instance of the carrying out of such a prayer I will briefly tell the story of the Hawaiian who for many years supplied the Volcano House with sweet potatoes, raised at his home in Kau. When a young man he incurred the enmity of another native who hired a “kahuna hoounauna” in Hilo to cause his death. This kahuna accordingly sent his messenger into the body of a shark and thus attacked his victim while fishing in the sea. The poor fellow fought the shark with blows of his fists aimed at the shark’s eyes. One hand was bitten off in the unequal conflict and then the other. Still the struggle was kept up by the man who continued to kick the shark in the eyes with his uninjured foot. All this time he had slowly retreated towards the shore. In a fainting, unconscious state, he was finally picked up by his friends at the shore, through whose careful nursing and the application of native medicinal herbs he recovered from his wounds and had two good stumps of arms and a brave heart left him to fight life’s

battles. He married the true-hearted girl whom he had loved and became the father of a large family which he supported by his own industry and hard work. As he told me the story he laid the blame not so much on the shark as on the kahuna who sent his messenger into the shark and compelled him to do the cruel work.

The following prayer, secured for me by the late Rev. J. B. Bicknell, is addressed to Oni, the god of the ground and all things planted in the ground. There he lives and appears in the form of a ko'e, or mud-worm, but only in his quality as a god does he receive the name Oni. It is not any particular worm that is thus addressed, but the concept mud-worm, all the creatures of this species, who are ever moving about in the damp earth and thus collectively are supposed to wield a mighty power. This power can be invoked to cause the death of the offender who has done mischief to the cultivated patch of the aggrieved party, and the latter, without calling upon a professional, can himself pray the culprit to death. The word "oni" is the verb, to move, as well as the name of the god. In the former sense it occurs eight times and in the latter sense six, in this prayer. This play on words is a characteristic of ancient Hawaiian poetry. The god, in his innumerable representatives, is called upon to exert his power by moving through the length and breadth of the field. He is to move to the east and the west because the sun which has such an influence on growth moves in that direction.

Ia oe, e Oni, ikaika, e Oni.

Oni ia imua, oni ia i ka loa; oni ia i ka laula;

Oni ia i ka hikina; oni ia i ke komohana, e oni oe.

E oni a make ka laa mua,

A make, ke kauoha;

I ka la, i ke ao panopano, i ke ao opua;

I ka makani pa lauwili,

A make ke kolohe ia oe, e Oni.

Lawe ia mai ka inoa i lilo ia Oni,

I ka ihu oni loa o ke kau, make ia Oni.  
 Ua make, he laa mua ia Oni.  
 Elieli kapu, elieli noa.  
 Amama, ua noa.

To thee, O Oni, O Oni, be strong.  
 Move on, move in the length; move in the breadth;  
 Move to the east; move to the west, move thou.  
 Move until death takes the devoted one,  
 Until death takes him, is the command;  
 In the bright day, in the black cloud, in the clustering white  
 clouds;  
 In the whirlwind,  
 Until the offender is slain by thee, O Oni.  
 Bring hither his name that it may be lost by Oni,  
 In the ever-moving on of the season, destroyed by Oni.  
 He is slain, the one devoted to death, by Oni.  
 Finished—the tabu. Finished—It is free.  
 The tabu is lifted, removed.

With the conclusion of the above prayer an interval of three days is allowed to pass, when the mud-worms are relieved of their active part in the work of death, which by the following prayer, is now handed over for completion to Milu, the god of the infernal regions.

#### HE PULE ANAANA.

Eia mai, ke iho aku la me Milu.  
 Nahu'a i ka puu i kahi haiki.

#### A PRAYER TO CAUSE THE DEATH OF A PERSON BY SORCERY.

Here he is descending with Milu.  
 Bite his throat where it is slender.

The following prayer to Ku-wahai'lo is a companion prayer to that just given to Oni. It came from the same source at the same time. The other was marked No. 1, this No. 2. The purpose in both is identical, namely: the death

and destruction of "ke kolohe," the mischievous one, or the offender, who has trespassed on the rights or property of him who offers the prayer. In case one prayer fails in its mission the other may succeed. There is a general simliarity of style and thought all through, and the closing formula in each is the same. This prayer No. 2 is addressed to Ku-wahai'lo, invariably pronounced Ku-wahai'lo, making a diphthong of the ai, and giving it a decided accent. Etymologically this name is made up of three components, Ku-waha-ilo, Ku with a mouth producing maggots. It is his function to bite a person and through the wound to cause these creatures to enter the body of his victim and destroy it.

#### HE PULE IA KU-WAHAI'LO.

Ia Ku-wahai'lo,  
 Eia mai ua i'a a kaua.  
 Ua kaoko'a ka i'a a kaua nau, e Ku-wahai'lo.  
 E ai oe i ka i'a, mai ke poo a ka hi'u,  
 A make ia Ku-wahai'lo.  
 Ua pau holooko'a na moku ia Ku-wahai'lo,  
 Mai ka hikina a ke komohana,  
 A komo 'ku la i kahi o Ku-wahai'lo, a make.  
 A make 'ku la; ua make loa.  
 Ua pau ka inoa o ke kolohe ia Ku-wahai'lo.  
 A waiho ia 'ku i ka waha o ka mano';  
 I ka lele pali;  
 Wahi'a ke kua;  
 He uli'a ka make.  
 Ahaha', ua make ia Ku-wahai'lo.  
 Elieli kapu, elieli noa.  
 Amama, ua noa.

#### A PRAYER TO KU-WAHAI'LO.

To Ku-wahai'lo,  
 Here is this fish of ours.  
 The whole of this, our fish, is thine, O Ku-wahai'lo.

Devour thou the fish, head and tail,  
 Until it is consumed by Ku-wahai'lo.  
 All the islands are for Ku-wahai'lo,  
 From the east to the west.  
 He will go down to the place of Ku-wahai'lo and die.  
 He dies; he is dead.  
 The very name of the offender is destroyed by Ku-wahai'lo.  
 He is left for the mouth of the shark;  
 He will jump off a precipice;  
 His back will split open;  
 He will die by accident.  
 There now, he is destroyed by Ku-wahai'lo.  
 Finished—the tabu. Finished—It is free.  
 The tabu is lifted, removed.

To appreciate the following prayer, obtained for me by the late Rev. J. B. Bicknell, we may imagine a kahuna sitting at the threshold of his open door. The threshold itself is an object of no little reverence as the abode of a god bearing the name "Ka paepae nui a Lono-makua," the great threshold of father Lono. It is night, and as he looks out into the darkness, he discovers, sneaking around the corners of his house, a company of diminutive creatures in human form, belonging to those classes of godlings whose names denote that their myriads are beyond enumeration. This hostile band is seeking to carry out the plans for mischief devised by the rival kahuna to whom they acknowledge allegiance. To overcome and thwart the machinations of his enemy and cause these, his followers, to quit his service is a task which calls for all the skill and address of our kahuna, who is no novice at this game. Years of practice have trained and sharpened his wits. He calls upon the others of this multitude of little godlings, many of whom are already in his service, flattering them for the orderly system that governs their hosts and gives it its superiority. Having thus secured their attention and confidence, he issues his orders to them. Thus encouraged, they advance before him

or by his side, while the band of his adversary sneak behind. With the closing words of the prayer, "Elieli kapu, elieli noa," we may see him in imagination stooping down and gathering a handful of dust which he throws back to the right and to the left into their eyes. This is too much for his opponents. They return crestfallen to their master, who sent them on an unsuccessful errand, and as he had ordered them to bite his foes, they now bite him instead, and desert his cause.

### HE PULE KA'LA.

E kini o ke akua ;  
 E lehu o ke akua ;  
 Ka mano o ke akua ;  
 Ka puku'i o ke akua,  
 O ka lalani o ke akua,  
 O ka mau o ke akua,  
 O ka oi o ke akua ;  
 Eia ka hana o ke akua :  
 Kulia mai a nana i ka'i'na wawae a ke akua ;  
 I ke kiei ana i ka mana'o ino,  
 I ka nana ana i ka uhane ino o ka poe e.  
 E ala mai a nana pono  
 I ka hana nui, hana iki, a kanaka po e.  
 Elieli kapu, elieli noa.  
 Amama, ua noa.

### A PRAYER FOR PROTECTION.

O ye forty thousand godlings ;  
 Ye four hundred thousand godlings ;  
 The four thousand little gods ;  
 The assembly of the gods,  
 The ranks of the gods,  
 The endurance of the gods,  
 The superiority of the gods ;  
 This is the task for you gods :  
 Present yourselves and behold the strides of these hostile gods ;

Guard against their evil plans,  
 Keep watch of these evil spirits of the night.  
 Arise and consider diligently  
 The great things and the little things done by the men of the  
 dark.  
 Finished—the tabu. Finished—It is free.  
 The tabu is lifted, removed.

The following prayer, said to have been composed and taught the people by Hewahewa, the last high priest of the ancient regime in these islands, is connected with a story so characteristically Hawaiian that I will give it as I heard it. Hewahewa was a great favorite with the high chiefs and the royal family. A few days before the missionaries landed at Kailua he foresaw their coming and instructed his awa-chewer to run in front of the house, near the shore where the royal family were living, and call out, "E ka lani e, ina aku ke akua a pae mai." O King, the god will soon land yonder, pointing, as he spoke, to the very spot on the sandy beach where, a few days later, April 4th, 1820, the little band of missionaries landed from the brig Thaddeus, bringing with them the new god. In commemoration of this incident the spot received the name, "Kai-o-ke-akua," the sea of the god, by which name it has ever since been called. During the next few days the missionaries had audience with royalty and earnestly presented the claims of their god for the worship of the people. Their pleading made such an impression on the high chiefess, Kapiolani nui, that she told Hewahewa that the god had really landed, and expressed her willingness to accept the new religion. This led Hewahewa, the chief religious leader of the kingdom, to prepare this prayer as a welcome to the new god who had so recently arrived. We may remark that the Hawaiians regarded the rainbow as the most beautiful object in nature, whose feet, without the connecting arch, were looked upon as indicating the presence of some exalted personage. Such is the idea conveyed in this prayer. The im-

agery and beauty of this exquisitely worded composition shows its author to be no mean poet. No mere translation can do it justice.

The above story was lately given me by Peter Pascal, who in turn obtained it from Matthew Kane of Halawa, Molokai, who was born at Kailua, Hawaii. The prayer itself has been in my collection for more than twenty years.

HE PULE MAMUA O KA LAHA ANA O KA PULE A  
KA HAKU MA HAWAII.

Ku, ku la ia, ku la.  
 Piha, ku lalani, ku la.  
 O pouli la, poeleele la.  
 Opu kalakala, lau ia, e ku la.  
 He Akua nui, he Akua mana,  
 He Akua ola, he Akua mau,  
 Iehova he Kamahale mai ka lani mai;  
 He Akua noho i ka iuiu,  
 O ka welelau o ka makani,  
 Iloko o ke ao kaa lelewa.  
 He ohu ku i ka honua,  
 He onohi ku i ka moana,  
 Ieku, ko makou Kalahala.  
 Mai ke ala i Kahiki a Hawaii nei,  
 Mai ka hooku'i a ka halawai;  
 Ehuehu ka ua mai ka lani,  
 Iehova I, ka makemake.  
 Himeni i ka lani kaakua.  
 Ke olioli nei ka honua.  
 Ua loa ka hua olelo  
 O ka ike, o ka mana, o ke ola.  
 Halawai i ke alo o Poki,  
 I ke alo o ka Haku mana mau.  
 Pule pono ia Iehova,  
 I Kahuna mana o na moku,  
 Me he lama ike hewa nui;

I ola makou a pau;  
 I ola ia Ieku.  
 Amene.

A PRAYER ANTE-DATING THE USE OF THE LORD'S  
 PRAYER IN HAWAII.

Arise, stand up, stand.  
 Fill up the ranks, stand in rows, stand.  
 Lest we be in darkness, in black night.  
 Ye thorny-hearted, assemble, a multitude, stand.  
 A great God, a mighty God,  
 A living God, an everlasting God,  
 Is Jehovah, a Visitor from the skies;  
 A God dwelling afar off, in the heights,  
 At the further end of the wind,  
 In the rolling cloud, floating in air.  
 A light cloud resting on the earth,  
 A rainbow standing in the ocean,  
 Is Jesus, Our Redeemer.  
 By the path from Kahiki to us in Hawaii He comes  
 From the zenith to the horizon;  
 A mighty rain from the heavens,  
 Jehovah the Supreme, we welcome.  
 Sing praises to the rolling heavens.  
 Now the earth rejoices.  
 We have received the words  
 Of knowledge, of power, of life.  
 Gather in the presence of Poki,  
 In the presence of the ever mighty Lord.  
 Pray with reverence to Jehovah,  
 As a mighty kahuna of the Islands,  
 Who, like a torch, shall reveal our great sins;  
 That we all may live;  
 Live through Jesus.  
 Amen.

The Poki referred to in this prayer was the Governor Poki, more generally known as Boki, who was Governor of Oahu from 1819 to 1830, a younger brother of Kalanimoku, or Kalaimoku. This Kalaimoku was one of the most important persons in the Kingdom. He was commander of the Hawaiian army from 1819 to 1824 and Prime Councillor of Kaahumanu during the first three years of her regency.

Hewahewa, the gifted author of this prayer, was the last High Priest of the old cult and one of the first to denounce the old gods and to recognize the new one. With his own hand on the 26th day of June, 1822, he helped to destroy some 102 idols by fire and thus to demonstrate their impotence. He afterwards confessed himself a follower of the Christians' God, and when my father, Rev. John S. Emerson, organized the Church of Waialua, Oahu, Hewahewa became one of the early attendants, if not a communicant, his home being at Waimea on the same island. I know of no good account of this remarkable man whose story would be so fascinating to the student of ancient Hawaiian worship.

## Brief Sketch of the Life and Labors of S. M. Kamakau, Hawaiian Historian

BY THOS. G. THRUM.

Prepared for the Hawaiian Historical Society and Read at Its Annual Meeting, January 21, 1918.

It is quite in keeping with the aims and purposes of this Society to recognize the efforts made by Hawaiians to perpetuate the early history, antiquities and traditions of their race, influenced though they were by their foreign teachers and others. It is common knowledge, though in a vague way, that Dibble's "History of the Sandwich Islands," the text book for various successors, was compiled from information gathered by the pupils of Lahainaluna Seminary as compositions with this end in view.

Of this early class or classes of historic and antiquarian gatherers, which began in 1836, several members followed the example of Dibble's teachings beyond their school term, which has proved of inestimable value for later generations, though, strange to say, but David Malo and S. M. Kamakau stand out prominent, the former for his Antiquities, the latter for his Historic and Traditional contributions to the press which ran several years, continuously.

Malo's "Hawaiian Antiquities," translated by the late Dr. N. B. Emerson, with a brief sketch of the author, was published by the Bishop Museum in 1903. With the publication now in progress from the Museum Press of the "Fornander Collection of Folk-lore," in which the compiler was materially aided by Kamakau, as also in his published work "The Polynesian Race," it may not be deemed inappropriate or inopportune to place this brief sketch of his life and labors upon our Annals.

No knowledge has been gathered relating to the parentage or early life of the subject of this sketch, Samuel Manaiaka-

lani Kamakau, except that he was born at Mokuleia, Waialua, Oahu, October 29, 1815, and was doubtless of the favored middle-class of that district, for in his seventeenth year, in 1833, he is found among the second body of students to enter Lahainaluna Seminary, which numbered twenty-four. Of this class it is recorded that twenty-one completed the four-year course; two dropped out at the end of the third year, and one, S. M. Kamakau, remained at the school for seven years as pupil and teacher's assistant.

From fragmentary references in his writings to his school life, and his selection as an assistant in the Seminary at his graduation, it is fair to presume that Kamakau was found an exceptionally bright Hawaiian, and his subsequent work shows that he profited by the teachings and examples set before him during his school course which qualified him above his fellows to enter upon the work inaugurated by the Rev. Sheldon Dibble, of the faculty, and fostered by a class or body of those connected with the school, which led to the formation of an association to gather from the people their traditions, genealogies, antiquities and other folk-tales, for preservation for their historic value in after generations. And to Kamakau we are indebted for the account of the formation, aims and purposes of this pioneer Hawaiian Historical Society, which he summarizes as follows:

"An Association for the conservation of historical data concerning the chiefs from Hawaii to Kauai; the origin of this race; the first ancestors, the first chiefs, the first servants; the first men who sailed to Kahiki; the first men of Kahiki who came here; the first foreigners who came to these Islands; the first ships, etc." He further states:

"This Association was formed at Lahainaluna because the teachers of the Seminary desired to obtain and preserve all historical data possible which bore on the origin of this race, and to obliterate the common belief among some foreigners who claim that this is a wandering race which was lost in a storm and driven by the winds to these shores. There are others who

hold that this race is a remnant of the American Indian race who, because they feared their chiefs, stole away in canoes; were caught in a storm and blown hither by the winds. Still others hold that these Islands are of volcanic origin and were raised out of the deep. A great many things being circulated by these foreigners are not so. Because of the fact that these foreigners are partaking of the same food with us, what they would say now would be given much credence by our descendants, and if we do not gather these data now, after many generations our children would be like the American Indians—a race without a history.

“At the time this Association was formed, in 1841, the King, Kamehameha III., was present, as also Keoni Ana (John Young), L. Haalilio, and the teachers of the Seminary, D. Baldwin and W. Richards, and some of the older students, David Malo and others. Permanent officers were elected, with power to appoint committees and lay out the scope of their work.

“Kamehameha III. was elected President, Wm. Richards vice-president, S. Dibble secretary, and S. M. Kamakau, treasurer. The secretary and treasurer were authorized to assign subjects to the various members of the Association.

“To Kamehameha III. was assigned the work of overseeing the work of compiling the histories of Hawaii, Maui, Oahu and Kauai. To David Malo was assigned the Story of Umi; to Keoni Ana the subject, the first foreigners who came to Hawaii nei; to Haalilio the story of the birth and life of Kamehameha I.; S. M. Kamakau, the story of Kihapiilani; to A. Moku, the account of the first vessels which arrived at Lahaina. Other subjects were assigned to various members, and it was agreed upon that an appeal should be made for the cooperation of those living in country places. The different missionaries living in various parts of the islands were asked to send matters pertaining to the history of their localities.

“This Association lasted for three years under the leadership of the king. In 1845, the Court and Legislature were

moved to Oahu, and the Secretary, S. Dibble, died, and because of these things we are lacking today a compiled history of Hawaii nei.

"You have seen Pogue's history of Hawaii. In the last part of that work is the story of Umi, but it only goes from the first chapter to the genealogy of the ancestors. David Malo compiled that, but it is full of errors and is incomplete. But that is something, even though incorrect, which our children can read.

"Had Mr. Dibble lived until all the Hawaiian historical stories were compiled, we would today be enjoying a Hawaiian history. Some of these stories I have found by inquiring from folks from Hawaii to Kauai, but there are many more which I have not seen or heard about.

"Perhaps one of the causes for the failure of the Association was the lack of funds. It would have been much better had an appropriation been made, as I desired and urged for the four main Islands, so that four intelligent men could have been appointed to thoroughly cover the Islands and gather all the information concerning famous places of old chiefs resident at those places while they were alive. As it is, many of them have passed away and strangers have taken their places. Now, when a chief is asked concerning his place he excuses his ignorance by pleading that he is a malihini, and so on; the reason for this is that the old chiefs are dead. There are no more people conversant with old history; those who are left try to make out that they are beacon lights on historical subjects, when in fact their knowledge on these subjects is only limited. Still others are those foreigners who claim to know so much about our land and people, but whose knowledge is only superficial."

The rest of this report deals with traditions and legendary matter in which he finds discrepancies, concluding with the statement that "history is of great value when founded on facts, for it becomes a work resting on a foundation."

While still connected with Lahainaluna as teacher, Kama-

kau was married to one S. Hainakolo, a maiden from Kipahulu, Maui (Rev. Mr. Dibble officiating), and to which district he moved several years later, living at Kaupipa, and acting as principal of the school of that section for some time. From Kipahulu he next settled at Waihee, and was an official in various capacities in Nawaieha—Waihee, Waiehu, Wailuku and Waikapu—also in Lahaina. An honored position held by him at one time in this section was as District Judge of Wailuku, from July, 1855, to November, 1856, which trust, unfortunately, he proved unequal to, for at the fall term of the Circuit Court held at Lahaina, after due trial, he was removed for malfeasance in office, the report of the case being as follows:

“The Court (Maui) was occupied for two and a half days in the investigation of complaints against S. M. Kamakau, District Justice for Wailuku, for malfeasance in office, resulting in a decision depriving him of the office on several grounds set forth in the judgment.”<sup>1</sup>

Kamakau's name appears as a member of the Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles, in 1848, and was succeeded by the Hon. G. M. Robertson in August, 1850. He was a member of the Legislature of 1851, representing the district of Hana, and was placed on the Committees of Finance; on Public Lands; on Elections, and to draft reply to the king's speech. From that up to the year of his death, 1876, he served many times in the legislature, representing various districts from time to time of Maui, and of Oahu.

His name also appears as a member of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1852, and the following year he was assigned the chairmanship of the Committee on Olona or native hemp, to report upon in 1854, which was duly dealt with, though in a cursory manner, and is believed to be the only published article here on the subject in English<sup>2</sup>. His treatise in the *Au Okoa* on the cultivation of Olona; the prepara-

<sup>1</sup> “Polynesian,” Nov. 22, 1856.

<sup>2</sup> Trans. R. H. Agricul. Soc., Vol. II, No. I, p. 142.

tion and use of its fiber, is now being translated for publication in the "Hawaiian Annual."

Kamakau was a voluminous writer, and must have had a rare acquisitive talent and studious disposition, with the added blessing of a remarkable memory. And it is to his writings we are indebted for much data relating to himself, brought out in newspaper communications and controversies, for he was self-confident to a fault bordering on conceit that brooked no criticism, and made him a hard and sarcastic opponent, whether as writer or lawmaker. In answering an attack by "Lahui Hawaii," while he asks to be excused for being *mahaioi* (presumptuous), still he brags that he is the only one who can answer to perfection, and to the satisfaction of anyone who asks any question pertaining to Hawaiian history; that others are nothing but children and did not know much of what they were saying. In controversy it is said he had a habit of using many words which expressed the same thought over and over again. He was an adept in quoting poetry, some of which embodied the thought he wished to convey, but more frequently for the play upon words which the Hawaiian language licensed him to follow, hence, would have been a hard speaker to interpret for.

In S. N. Haleole's defense<sup>3</sup> of Kamakau's historic writings from an attack in the *Au Okoa* of May 29, 1865, he states that Kamakau began his researches in this line, from Hawaii to Kauai, in 1836, and continued the same up to 1848. This clearly shows the directing influence of Mr. Dibble, who began his labors at Lahainaluna in 1835, and these and subsequent years of research made Kamakau a veritable storehouse of Hawaiian history and folk-lore, though at times of doubtful character. Judge Fornander's testimony relative to him is as follows:

"Probably the best informed Hawaiian archeologist of the present day is S. M. Kamakau, but even he is often very credulous, inconsistent and uncritical. He has published, through

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<sup>3</sup> "Kuokoa," June 1, 1865.

the various newspapers, several genealogies of the ancient chiefs, but beyond the time of Umi-a-Liloa of Hawaii, Piilani of Maui, and Kaihikapu-a-Manuia and Kakuhihewa of Oahu, his love of antiquity often leads him into irreconcilable difficulties."

Referring to his duties at the Seminary he claims, in *Hae Karitiano*<sup>4</sup> (a Catholic publication), having helped S. Dibble in the translation of the Book of Nehemiah from Greek and Latin to Hawaiian, and further says: "Those who entered Lahainaluna and were in the school during the years 1832-1846, I taught some of them." This gives us the approximate time of severing his school connection, but whether to move to Honolulu or to Kipahulu is not quite clear.

An unfortunate weakness shown by Kamakau was that of a vacillating character; he lacked stability. With all his expressed love of truth as the basis of history that would live, he was unstable in his faith; led by associates to inconsistent views, and an impetuous nature which may account for the wide distribution of his literary favors. From a pronounced Protestant he became an exponent of Catholicism, and if general impressions mean anything it classed him as much a kahuna as anything else in his later years, and for some trivial cause he changed within a week from the editorial staff and contributor of his series in the *Kuokoa* of over two years running, to its opponent, the *Au Okoa*.

The following is the substance of his defense of Catholicism—and incidentally idolatry—translated from a letter to the *Hae Karitiano*, written from Waihee, dated April 9, 1860.

"For two years previous he had watched the Catholic Church and acquainted himself with its doctrines. While not a member, still he had spoken in gatherings of the people of this faith and he believed that he was well able to speak in its defense as he believed all its doctrines. In his discussion defending the Catholic religion in this publication, he speaks of the charge that they worshiped the images of the saints in

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<sup>4</sup> "Halawai," No. 12, 1860.

this manner: They (the Catholics) do not worship these images. These are placed in the church to remind the devout of such saintly men and women who are dead. That was the case in the olden times here. There were those who worshiped idols; that is, who attributed to idols power to create life or death; to cause prosperity or poverty; to make a ruler high or low. Naming several gods of various classes he said: that though some of them were made into images still they were not gods and were not so worshiped."

The time of Kamakau's moving from Maui to Oahu is not stated, but it was subsequent to the birth of his only daughter, Kukelani Kaaapookalani, at Waihee, December 14, 1862. His journalistic labors date from June, 1865, fully a year before the start of his History of Kamehameha. It may not be generally known that a series of papers by him of traditional and legendary character preceded his famed historic papers. These will be found in the *Kuokoa* of 1865, commencing June 15, which ran with but few omissions to the close of the year. A feature of this series was their descriptive vein, as though the writer was touring the country and touched briefly on the lore connected with various points or places of interest. It is here that we learn that Waikiki was acknowledged as the capital of Oahu in the reign of Mailikukahi, the exemplary king of this island who proclaimed just laws; divided Oahu amongst his followers; caused all first-born children to be brought to his Court for adoption by him; a king who never offered a human sacrifice. Also, that Pakaka was Honolulu's heiau at the foot of Fort street, and why; Punchbowl the place where men were burnt; Hekili the oven for cooking the chiefs captured in war, and Kewalo the place where servants were drowned according to the laws of Kekaihehee.

In the issue of August 5 of that year he names various genealogical experts and insinuates that they could yet learn some more from him, and thinks it about time to form a school of these experts so that they may be able to compare notes and get the stories straightened out, and in October, writing from

Mokuleia, Waialua, he deals particularly with genealogy and sarcastic criticisms of opponents.

After several months' silence an editorial in the *Advertiser* of March 31, 1866, conveys the following information relative to him:

"S. M. Kamakau, a few miles out from Waialua, was found confined to his house where he had been six months unattended save by kahunas. He had sent for medicines but could get none. Next we hear of him may be his obituary or kanikau, and he who surpasses all living Hawaiians in his knowledge of the ancient traditions and history of his race will have passed away. In ancient traditional knowledge of the Hawaiians the late David Malo alone excelled him."

Recovering from this illness he announces in the *Kuokoa* of August 25 his forthcoming work in the near future. His history of Kamehameha I. begins in the *Kuokoa* of October 20, 1866, and continues to the accession of Liholiho, No. 45, when the title changes to the history of the Kamehamehas and so runs to October 14, 1868, to the death of Kamehameha III. with No. 133. In this same issue a new series starts (No. 1), which treats of antiquities and traditions of Hawaii, apparently patterned after Malo, but much fuller on many of the subjects. In the issue of January 9, 1869, this series of papers end in the *Kuokoa*, and its continuance appears in the *Au Okoa* of the 2nd under the title of "Ka Moolelo Hawaii," and runs, with occasional breaks, to February 2, 1871, with No. 60, ending with Keawe as King of Hawaii at death of Lono. Many legends and biographies of noted aliis are embodied in these series, as also ancient genealogies, the publication of which drew forth much criticism and bitter controversy from time to time, as has been mentioned, though more particularly during the years of 1867 and '68. His contributions also of koihonuas, kanikaus and other meles are many.

It is noticeable in all controversies above referred to that Kamakau signs his name in all replies to his assailants, while they all hide under assumed, or suggestively fictitious names in

their attacks upon him, or in questioning his facts, notably "Lahui Hawaii," "Punimooolelo," "Hoa'loha," and one "R. Kapihe." This latter critic aroused Kamakau's ire to an unwonted degree, as shown in a series of replies in the *Kuokoa* of September 12 and October 17, 24, and 31, 1868. Extracts therefrom would make interesting reading.

In the summer of 1868, the *Hawaiian Gazette* was publishing without authority, the "History of Kamehameha," supposed to be the translation work of H. L. Sheldon. This, Kamakau naturally strongly objected to, and had his work copyrighted, whereupon he announced himself ready to receive proposals for his interest therein. But the translations ceased.

With January, 1867, he appears to have joined the writing staff of the *Kuokoa*, for in the issue of the 5th he is urging all the writers from Hawaii to Niihau to contribute to it, especially on subjects pertaining to the history of Hawaii. He calls especially on J. Kapena and Keliuwaiwaiole of Oahu, S. Kahooku and Kaniwi of Kauai, J. H. Napela, Malaihi, H. Kuihelani, Kaimu and Haleole of Maui, and M. Kenui and Kamanowai of Hawaii. Subsequently and to the issue of November 6, 1869, his name is on the staff among the "Poe Haku Manao," comprising Rev. L. Lyons, Rev. M. Kuaea, D. Malo (Lokoio), S. M. Kamakau and Rev. C. B. Andrews. Rev. L. H. Gulick was its editor at that time and J. U. Kawainui assistant.

S. N. Haleole,<sup>5</sup> following the defense stated in behalf of Kamakau's work, mentions that he (Haleole) had devoted eighteen years to collecting the legends of Hawaii, and from 1841 to 1861 he had gathered fragments of the history of Kamehameha. In March, 1863, a society was formed to seek the early traditions of these islands and S. D. Keolanui and S. N. Haleole were the committee appointed to the task of seeking the history of Kamehameha. In pursuance of this duty Oahu was searched diligently, and in April, 1864, Kohala was visited for further data, which occupied nine months.

<sup>5</sup> Author of "Laleikawai."

Returning to Honolulu he had a large book on the history of Hawaii.<sup>6</sup>

Yet with all the various efforts made to secure the history of Hawaii, and Kamehameha, here set forth, Kamakau's is the only one that has seen the light, and that only through scattered newspapers, now incomplete.

His paper on early Hawaiian customs, in the *Kuokoa* of August 8, 1868, may be briefly quoted here, to freshen the memory of kamaainas, and afford educational interest to others.

"1. The chiefs were held on the laps of parents or kahus; sat on the breast, on the back or astride the neck; they sat on fine mats or kapas. The first born was a great favorite.

"2. The practice of adopting children was prevalent. The chiefs adopted the children of friends and favorites of their subjects. The well-to-do and some of the subjects also practised this, in which case all shared alike the food, the fish, the kapa and other property. Open-heartedness was common. Such usages are all gone now because everything is commercialized.

"3. The nation was obedient and lowly-minded. They were taught to obey; to be respectful to their betters; to be gentlemanly in all things; to be just. They had a fine sense of what was right and what was wrong. They adhered to a good chief and often ran away from an unjust king or chief.

"4. The nation cared for its chiefs and respected them. It was the customary thing for one chief to speak well of another chief, and the subjects followed this example. These practices are gone now because the chiefs do not uphold their dignity, and because they are poor.

"5. The nation was fond of fragrant things and always cared to dress well. This was especially true of women.

"6. When mourning for their chiefs they expressed their sorrow in wailing, in abusive treatment of their body, etc. They would knock off some of their teeth, or shave part of their head.

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<sup>6</sup> "Kuokoa," June 1, 1865.

"7. They loved to show off. Even a poor chief or subject would try to live as well if not better than one who had the means to do so. A chief considered it beneath his dignity to be unable to meet the condition of another chief. It was especially humiliating if one should come to his house and he be unable to serve him with food.

"8. We are a nation of good-hearted, loving people. We receive, we call in gentle voice to strangers to come in; we feed and house them, often giving of our best to accommodate the malihini. We are not forward; we do not go from house to house, nor indulge in loud talking. We are a race well set up and well groomed."

Of S. M. Kamakau as a representative to the legislature, the records do not accord him high honor, notwithstanding his many terms' experience. In 1856 he made a bad break by introducing a resolution (which was laughed down) "that the speaker be instructed to admonish the government organ, the *Polynesian*, that it desist from publishing nonsense and falsehood in its columns, without being directed to do so by anyone—like a young pup whose eyes are not opened, gnawing the skin of his neighbors; said paper having this year forsaken its manhood and returned to second childhood."<sup>7</sup>

For the session of 1870 he was elected at the head of the government ticket as representative for Honolulu, on which occasion the *Kuokoa* placed him in the doubtful class, without comment. Party feeling ran high that session on the amendment to the "Master and Servant Act." Kamakau stood with the independents, C. J. Lyons, G. W. Pilipo, and others in its favor, but it failed, 28 to 11.

He was a representative for the session of 1876, but illness prevented his attendance and he died at Kahehuna, his Emma street home, in Honolulu, September 5, 1876, in the 60th year of his age. His remains were interred in the little Maemae cemetery, Nuuanu valley.

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<sup>7</sup> "Polynesian," May 10, 1856.

S. M. Kamakau and his wife Hainakolo had a number of children, but two only are living at the present time, Sam Mahelona Kamakau and Kamaialii Kamakau.

The legislature adjourned out of respect upon the report of his death on motion of Hon. S. K. Kaai, seconded by His Ex. the Attorney-General (W. R. Castle), and in doing so paid the following excellent tribute<sup>s</sup> to his memory:

“Mr. President: It is fitting that such a resolution should be offered at this time. I am glad that this Assembly is disposed to do honor to the lamented dead. In my early youth I remember hearing the name of S. M. Kamakau associated with all that pertained to the legendary history of these islands. I learned to think of him as a man whose mind was stored with wonderful tales and stories, who was saving for the future the tissue of romance with which ancient Hawaii is environed.

“In later years I have distrusted his political and social opinions. They were such that I could not agree with him and could only feel that he was mistaken. But today we ought to strip from the man that which did not belong to him and re-view his character in its true light. S. M. Kamakau was not a statesman, nor a clear-sighted politician. Let us cast aside, then, that portion of his history when he lived under a mistake, and regard him in his true position. As a historian and legendary writer he stood peerless and alone among the present sons of Hawaii. He was a man who might well be called a representative Hawaiian. There are but few today who present as he did the characteristics of Hawaiians, unhurt by the various influences of civilization. As a thinker and reasoner, he was thoroughly original; he looked at questions of the day from a position so peculiar as to be accountable for then only on the theory of his inbred Hawaiianism. His memory was remarkably accurate and acute, and his method of connecting events with periods of time was surprisingly correct. Before the eye of his mind the ancient history of the country passed in a panoramic picture. He caught upon men and events in

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<sup>s</sup> “P. C. Advertiser,” Sept. 9, 1876.

that picture and fixed them upon the mind of the hearer with remarkable force, producing an effect never to be forgotten. By word of mouth, spoken to admiring listeners, he has done much to perpetuate a history which must always be romantic and interesting. His contributions to the written history of this people, as well as those large efforts by which he has perpetuated the beautiful and original romances of the country, have rendered Hawaii forever his debtor. Such men, in such labors, Hawaii can ill afford to lose. I know of no one today who can supply his place. He stood above all about him in his position as a historian and romancer. The pages written by the lamented deceased would fill many a volume; volumes which would grace the shelves of the proudest libraries, for their record would be that of a most interesting people."

Appended herewith is a Key to the full series of Kama-kau's Historical and Antiquarian Papers, referred to in the foregoing, showing the subject matters dealt with in each issue, and the paper and date in which such may be found.

SERIES OF S. M. KAMAKAU'S HISTORIC PAPERS, BEGINNING IN  
THE KUOKOA, VOL. V, OCT. 20, 1866, UNDER TITLE OF  
"KA MOOLELO O KAMEHAMEHA I" (HISTORY  
OF KAMEHAMEHA I).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
1866		
Oct.	20	1 Relates the time and birth of Kamehameha; of reign of Kekaulike.
	27	2 Movements of Alapai and Peleioholani.
Nov.	3	3 Alapai and Peleioholani meet; Alapai returns to Hawaii.
	10	4 Relates to Alapai's movements on Hawaii.
Dec.	1	5 Relates to the time of Kalaniopuu of Hawaii.
	8	5 Contests of Kahekili, Keeaumoku, and Kalaniopuu.
	15	6 Movements of Kalaniopuu and Kahekili.
	22	7 Kalaniopuu cont'd; advent of foreigners.
	29	8 Traditional account of Pao and other voyagers.
1867		
Jan.	5	9 Introduction of Priest and Rulers from "Kahiki"; first "heiaus" constructed—Wahaula and Mookini.
	12	10 Advent of Laamaikahiki and others; Advent of the Gods (images).
	19	11 Traditional account of prior visitors and arrival of Captain Cook at Kauai.
	26	12 Relates to Cook's visit at Kauai and at Maui.

- Feb. 2 13 Cook's arrival at Hawaii.  
 9 14 Death of Captain Cook and departure of ships; Kalaniopuu reign.  
 16 15 Kalaniopuu and summary of his principal deeds. Kamehameha sacrificed Imakakaloa at heiau, Pakini.  
 23 16 Celebrities in time of Kalaniopuu; Kahekili of Maui.
- Mar. 2 17 Conflict between Kiwalao and Kamehameha in Kona.  
 9 18 Kamehameha Moi of Hawaii; the times of Kamehameha; his relatives.  
 16 19 History of Kahahana of Oahu.  
 23 20 History of Kahahana continued.
- Mar. 30 21 Conflict between Kahahana and Kahekili; Oahu conquered 1772-3.
- Apr. 6 22 Transactions on Oahu; Rebellion on Maui.  
 13 23 Maui incidents; foreteller of Kamehameha as sole Moi; Battle of Keoua.  
 20 24 Kamehameha pursues Keoua; Foreigners after Cook; the Eleanor—Olowalu tragedy.  
 27 24 John Young and Isaac Davis; sloop captured; Kamehameha wars against Maui.
- May 4 25 Heiau at Kawaihae built; plans to overcome Keoua.  
 11 26 Death of Keoua; Kamehameha wars against kings of Maui and Kauai.  
 18 27 Arrival of Vancouver, 1792.  
 25 28 Vancouver continued; Kaeokulani succeeds Kahekili of Maui, 1793.
- June 1 29 Kaeokulani starts for Kauai; returns and battles at Ewa; murder of Captain Brown; "Jackall" and "Prince Lee-boo" sail for Hawaii.  
 8 30 War between Kamehameha and Kalanikupule, 1795, and Namakeha, 1796.  
 15 31 Namakeha's rebellion; Times of Kamehameha, 1797-1811; Battle of Nuuanu—Oahu conquered; Kamehameha returns to Hawaii; various callings assigned.
- July 6 32 Kamehameha erecting heiaus: Various idols and their powers: Kamehameha a devout worshiper: A considerate King: Marks the place of sedition plotters.  
 13 33 Kamehameha adjusting affairs on Hawaii, John Young governor; Lava flows to Kiholo.  
 20 34 Kamehameha sends for the prophet of Pele to stay the flow: Peleleu fleet begun; Liholiho at age of 5 empowered to consecrate heiaus: Peleleu fleet sails to Lahaina, and Oahu. Royal family a year on Oahu when the okuu scourge decimates his army, chiefs and people.  
 27 34 or 35 Death of Keeaumoku: Kamehameha resides on Oahu: Revenues of Hawaii and Maui sent him: Ancient criminal laws.
- Aug. 3 35 Kamehameha encourages industry: Introduction of rum, 1791: Kanihonui put to death. Kamehameha gives up plan to invade Kauai.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
	10 36	Kamehameha invites Kaumualii to Oahu. Kaumualii cedes Kauai to Kamehameha.
	17 37	Return of Kamehameha to Hawaii; ancient religion and kinds of heiaus.
	24 38	Idolatry; Sandalwood; Kamehameha's cultivation.
	31 39	Attempt well digging at Kalae; Russians arrive; death of Kaoleioku; erection of fort at Honolulu.
Sept.	7 40	Heirs of Kamehameha; his admonitions.
	14 41	Death of Kamehameha at Kailua, Hawaii, 1819.
	21 42	Succeeded by Liholiho as Kamehameha II.
	28 43	Liholiho and chiefs of his time. Obsequies of Kamehameha I.
Oct.	5 44	Reign of Liholiho; overthrow of the Kapus.
	12 45	Reign of Liholiho; overflow of the Kapus cont'd.

TITLE CHANGES TO "KA MOOLELO O NA KAMEHAMEHA" (HISTORY OF THE KAMEHAMEHAS).

Nov.	2 46	Proceedings following overthrow of the kapus.
	9 46 or 47	Battle of Kuamoo; Conditions prior to advent of Missionaries.
	16 47	Conditions, etc., continued. Genealogy of Chiefs.
	23 48	Conditions, etc., continued—under the kapu system.
	30 49	Treatment of prisoners of war; decrease of population—causes of.
Dec.	7 50	Population on arrival of foreigners and missionaries.
	14 51	Conditions and employment of the people under Kamehameha.
	21 52	Conditions and employment of the people under Kamehameha, continued.
	28 53	Sundry professions; Hale Nauwa.
1868		
Jan.	4 54	Remarks on changing conditions.
	11 55	Liholiho consents to residence of missionaries; John Reves.
	18 56	The people accept Christianity; schools established; printing.
	25 57	Proceedings under Kamehameha II.
Feb.	1 58	The king's dissipations; he tours Oahu and visits Kauai.
	8 59	Kaahumanu returns from Kauai with Kaumualii; Keaumoku's death.
	15 60	Liholiho and party sail for England; death of king and queen.
	22 61	Return of royal remains; Regency of Kauikeaouli; His genealogy.
	29 62	Genealogy of chiefs, etc., cont'd. Plan to exchange Keopuolani in childhood failed.
Mar.	14 63	History of Keopuolani; her husband and children.
	21 64	History of Keopuolani cont'd; her death.
	28 65	Keopuolani; birth and early years of Kauikeaouli.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
Apr.	4 66	His youth; Death of Kaumualii; Kauai rebellion.
	11 67	Eclipse noted; Progress of Kauai war.
	18 68	Rebellion ends; Arrival of the Blonde with bodies of the king and queen.
	25 69	Kauikeaouli becomes Kamehameha III; Schools extended.
May	2 70	Rulers accept Christianity; Course of Government under Kamehameha III.
	9 71	Boki as Kuhina-nui (under Kaahumanu); Serious epidemic and death of many chiefs.
	16 72	Revolt of Boki; he runs into debt and opens grog shops.
	23 72	Kamehameha III. directs sandalwood gathering at Wai- alua; Kinau and Kekuanaoa married; new royal house
	30 73	Attack on Mr. Richards by Captain Black at Lahaina.
June	6 74	Kaahumanu, David Malo and chiefs defend Richards.
	13 75	The king visits Hawaii; Government and Boki debt troubles; Kaahumanu visits Hawaii, 1828.
	20 76	Kaahumanu annuls French's Kewalo land transaction; Boki's advice to Kamehameha III. respecting Nahiena- ena; he threatens Kaahumanu with the aid of foreigners.
	27 77	Boki gathers his forces at Waikiki; Kekuanaoa alone dissuades Boki in his course.
July	4 78	Street work in Honolulu begun; arrival of "Vincennes"; chiefs concentrated; regal procession to service at Kawaiahae.
	11 79	Boki plans for his sandalwood expedition.
	18 80	Attempts to dissuade him fruitless.
	25 81	Liliha appointed to Boki's position; Paki-Kaahumanu dispute.
Aug.	1 82	Liliha revolts at Kaahumanu's acts and laws.
	8 83	Liliha after much persuasion submits to rightful authority.
	15 84	Chief Ulumaheiehi arrives; Liliha dispossessed of all power.
	22 85	Sundry changes; Kaahumanu visits Maui, urging at- tention to instruction.
	29 86	Return of Kaahumanu; her death at Manoa, aged 64.
Sept.	5 87	Life of Kaahumanu; her high rank.
	12 88	Life of Kaahumanu; becomes wife of Kamehameha I.
	19 89	Life of Kaahumanu continued.
	26 90	Life of Kaahumanu continued.
Oct.	3 91	Life of Kaahumanu continued; views of Kauikeaouli.
	10 92	Views of Nahienaena and Kalanimoku.
	17 93	Views of Kaahumanu.
	24 94	Arrival of Roman Catholics.
Dec.	19 95	Arrival of Roman Catholics continued.
	26 96	Arrival of Roman Catholics continued.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
1869		
Jan.	2 97	Views of John Reves: Arrival of French frigate l'Artemese.
	9 98	Lapalace secures \$20,000. indemnity; Actions of the Protestant Mission.
(This ends Kamakau's work in the <i>Kuokoa</i> , the continuation of his series being found in the <i>Au Okoa</i> , beginning Jan. 7, with error number.)		
Jan.	7 94	The King under evil influences of Kaomi; Kinau becomes Premier; Removal of Kaomi.
	14 99	Kaomi removal cont'd.; Death of Nahienaena; Body taken to Lahaina; the King on Maui.
	21 100	Appointment of Richards as King's tutor; Kinau's death and history.
	28 101	Kinau and Kekuanaoa Troubles of 1839.
Feb.	4 102	Hoapili's death and history; his conversion to Christianity. Succession of Kekauluohi I. to Kinau as Kuhina-nui.
	11 103	Kekauluohi, Kuhina-nui; Catholic priests and the l'Artemise. Forcible cession of islands to Great Britain, and restoration by Thomas.
	18 104	Proceedings with Paultet.
	25 105	?) (Papers missing).
Mar.	4 106	?) (Papers missing).
	11 107	?) (Papers missing).
	18 108	Proceedings with Mallet, of French sloop "Embuscade" concerning Catholic priests.
	25 109	?) (Missing).
Apr.	1 110	Departure of the embassy to America and Europe.
	8 110	Negotiations of the ambassadors.
	15 111	?) (Missing).
	22 112	Hawaiian Constitution; Ancient laws and customs; forming the new laws under constitutional government.
	29 113	Relates to formation of constitutional government of Kamehameha III., 1840.
May	6 114	Ancient and modern laws, and methods thereunder compared.
	13 115	Ancient and modern laws, knowledge and customs compared.
	20 116	Changes under constitutional government; Foundation of Legislatures at Lahaina, 1840.
	27 117	Work of the Legislature of 1842.
June	3 118	Kekauluohi Kuhina-nui; History of Kapiolani and her works.
	10 118	Exemplary works of Kapiolani; her death; Death of Hoapili-wahine; her history.
	17 119	Biographical sketch of Hoapili-wahine; Death and sketch of Kalua Kuakini.
	21 120	Kuakini's change to Christianity; Death and sketch of Kekauluohi.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
July	1 121	Sketch of Kekauluohi continued; Government situation following her death; Kamakau letter to the king.
	8 122	Kamakau's letter to king continued; the king's reply; Cabinet of foreign ministers.
	15 122	The Government of Kamehameha III.; Ministerial reports; W. Richards as Minister of Public Instruction.
	22 123	Progress of education; sundry schools established; sketch of W. Richards, first Minister of Public Instruction.
	29 123	Legislature of 1847; Report of John Ricord, Attorney-General.
Aug.	5 124	Legislature of 1847; Report of Keoni Ana, Minister of the Interior.
	12 125	Keoni Ana's report continued; Comparative considerations of ancient knowledge and ability.
	19 126	Considerations continued; Laws established; the cabinet; Government Acts, 1848-9-50.
	26 127	Catholic troubles considered; Hawaii losing her good Qualities: Progress of the Government, 1850-54.
	Sept.	2 128
9 129		The new constitution of 1852: Introduction of the smallpox, 1853; Scarcity of Doctors: Hawaiians' treatment successful.
16 130		Important events of 1854; closing days of Kamehameha III.
23 131		Some contrasts considered; the king at Koolau; returns to Honolulu; his illness and death; Progress of Hawaii under his reign.
30 131		Progress of Hawaii under Kamehameha III. continued.
Oct.	7 132	Benefits under constitutional government; seven granted under Kamehameha III.
	14 133	Benefits under ancient mo'is, and how Kamehameha III. came to the throne.

ANTIQUITIES, ETC. (KA MOOLELO HAWAII).

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Description</i>
Oct.	14 1	Chapter 1 of Ancient History begins in this number: Origin of the Islands and Their People. --
	21 2	Original name of different islands; First man created by Kane, Ku and Lono, tradition.
	28 3	Hema; Kahai; Wahieloa; Laka; Luanuu; Hua (2) Paumakua; Hanalaanui and iki; Circumcision and Aha ili introduced.
Nov.	4 4	Signs by the elements on birth of royalty; instances named; their establishment and kind.
	11 5	Division of the lands; shore portions; cultivable sections.
	18 6	Potato culture described; prayers to the gods; Kane-puaa; other cultures.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Description</i>
	25 7	Wet taro culture; preparation of the loi; bananas; sugar cane and wauke.
Dec.	2 8	Cultivating awa and olona; fish pond construction; noted ponds.
	9 9	Fish pond construction continued; Canoe building.
	16 10	Fishing with nets and seines; ancient kaka uhu fishing.
	23 11	Catching squid of various kinds; and hiaku.
	30 11	Various kinds of fishing and implements.
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Jan.	6 12	Basket fishing; seizing with the hand.
	13 13	Catching eels and sharks; house building; affixing the ahos.
	20 14	Thatching; the openings; trimming the doorway and its ceremony.
	27 15	Plaited Hawaiian cloth originally; kapa making from wauke bark.
Feb.	3 16	Kapa making continued; net and twine making; procuring fire; Marriage; Marriage customs; Care of children.
	10 17	Birth and consecration of children; divisions of the year; names of the months.
	17 18	Annual festivals; of Heiaus; Koas, Ipu Olono, Pookanaka; their construction.
	24 19	Heiaus continued; the Hakuohia, his functions in heiau building; ceremonies.
Mar.	3 20	Heiau ceremonies continued; closing day of sacrifice; Pohaku-o-Kane; places of refuge.
	10 21	List of Heiaus; places of refuge; laws relating thereto.
	17 22	Human sacrifices; Ancient laws; kapus; penalties, etc.; the Niaupio Kalowalo of Kualii, a beneficent law; Kualii's death at Kailua, Oahu, aged 175.
	24 23	The Mamalahoa law; the Gods and worshipping the host of heaven.
	31 24	Deities of Pele and traditions thereof; of thunder and lightning; Kanehekili.
Apr.	7 25	Kanehekili traditions; spirits of deceased persons to assume electrical powers; traditions thereof; humans changing to shark deities.
	14 26	Sundry shark traditions; worshipping sharks.
	21 28	(There seems to be no No. 27, the number of the chapter having been advanced erroneously and so continued). Shark worship continued; their deification; traditions thereof.
	28 29	Relating to lizard deities and worship and assuming lizard form.
May	5 30	Ceremonies and traditions of lizard superstitions, etc.
	12 31	Division of minor kapus; of Kalaipahoa and Kapo.
	19 32	Kalaipahoa continued; Molokai's fame for evil doing and sorcery.
July	14 33	Molokai matters continued; Kamehameha's care of Kalaipahoa and Pua gods.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Description</i>
	21 34	Kamehameha worships Kalaipahoa and crowns it; Praying to death.
Aug.	4 35	Ceremonies of the Pule Anaana; divisions therein; sundry kahunas.
	11 36	Sundry prayers; medical kahunas.
	18 37	Medical kahunas continued.
	25 38	List of remedies for ailments; instances in aid of offspring; Haha kahunas.
Sept.	1 39	The Lonopuha and other kahuna schools.
	15 40	Various medical schools and remedies.
	22 41	Sundry remedies; ancient medicines; aumakuas and kumupaa.
	29 42	Aumakuas, etc., continued; approaching death; sorcery and provisioning the dead; treatment thereof.
Oct.	6 43	Treatment of the dead, continued; the nupa or deep pit; Dr. John Pelham of Waimea, Hawaii; the spirit after death; superstitions.
	13 44	The realm of Milu; Myths of Mokulehua, Maluae and Kawelu; Spirits resting on the living; instances narrated.
	20 45	Trance, visions, and dreams; Ancestral spirits (aumakuas), the depression thereunder.
	27 46	Of ancient chiefs; their several ranks.
Nov.	3 47	Boards of priests, prophets; grades of the people; kapus of aliis and the gods; history of certain kings, notably Liloa; his heiau construction in various places.
	10 48	Liloa meets Akahiakuleana who becomes the mother of Umi; her history; Umi visits Waipio and makes himself known to Liloa and is acknowledged as his son.
	17 49	Hakau shows disapproval; History of Umi-a-Liloa.
	24 50	History of Umi continued; battles with and defeats Hakau; he wars against Hilo chiefs and conquers that district.
Dec.	1 51	He overcomes Hua-a and annexes Puna; Imaikalani the blind king of Kau; Ehunuikaimalina, king of Kona; Kiha-a-Piilani joins forces with Umi and wages war on Maui.
	8 52	Kiha-a-Piilani in Makawao incognito; scarcity of food; he settles at Hana; surf-riding contest; wins the affianced of Lono-a-Piilani; her father disowns her; division of land sought; is promised subject to fealty to Lono; Kiha-a-Piilani seeks aid on Hawaii and falls in with Piikea of Umi's household.
	15 53	Kihapiilani visits Piikea; declines Umi's offer to settle on Hawaii; but fights for his rights on Maui against Lonoapiilani; Hoolae defender of Kauiki escapes; his reported death of some doubt; death and secret burial of Lonoapiilani; Kihapiilani divides the land; Umi returns to Hawaii; Stones hewn for his tomb; Dies at

<i>Date</i>	<i>Chapter</i>	<i>Description</i>	
		Kailua; Koi sets out to conceal the body; kills a man resembling the king and substitutes the body.	
22	54	Koi secretes the bones of Umi; Chief of Hawaii after Umi's time; War between Hilo and Kona; Death of Kealiioakaloa; History of Pakaa, famous canoeist; through intrigue Keawenuiaumi disrates him, so he secretly departs and dwells on Molokai; Keawenuiaumi searches for Pakaa.	
29	55	Canoes built to search for him; diviners sought to locate him; Keawenuiaumi sets out in his search; visits Maui and Molokai; Kuapakaa is introduced; one having knowledge of all winds.	
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	5	56	Canoe fleet of Keawenuiaumi meets disaster; Pakaa and son follow their chief to Molokai; takes charge of all food, clothing, etc.; food giving out, Ku directs lunas to secure supply; after three months they set out for a long voyage and are lost; but the chief returns and sees Pakaa; Death of Keawenuiaumi and division of lands.
	12	57	Chiefs of Kona; Kanaloakuaana, Lonoikamakahiki; Lonoikamakahiki and Kaikilani; tradition of Lonoikamakahiki's tour, domestic troubles; in his demented state he is cared for by Kapaihihilina.
	19	58	Returning to Hawaii Kapaihihilina is made chamberlain; he chants the king's experiences; Lonoikamakahiki starts on regal tour of the islands; is entertained on Maui; his insignia a mammoth kahili called Hawaiiiloa.
	26	59	Lonoikamakahiki visits Molokai; becoming jealous he strikes Kaikilani, his wife, and sails for Oahu; meets a princess of Kauai and learns the latest name chant which in a contest he repeats; visits Kauai, etc., then returns to Kona and enjoys friendship treaty made with all the aliis; treaty broken by Kamalalawalu of Maui, who invades and wars on Hawaii.
Feb.	2	60	Engagement between Puapuakea and Makabukilani; the latter killed in battle between Hawaii and Maui forces; Kamalalawalu is killed and Kauhiakama reigns in his stead; kings of Hawaii after Lonoikamakahiki's death; internal wars on Hawaii; Keawe comes to the throne.

## Notes Regarding Kamehameha I.

BY EDGAR HENRIQUES.

(Taken from the Diary of George Hueu Davis, the Son of Isaac Davis.)

Kaleiopuu (k) and Keoua (k) were half-brothers. Their mother was Kamakaimoku (w), their fathers were brothers. During the illness of Keoua (k), at his residence in Hilo, a messenger was sent to Kau to notify Kaleiopuu (k) of his brother's illness. Kaleiopuu (k) immediately started for Hilo. That night he rested at Hianamoa, arriving next day at Hilo, where he found Keawemauhili (k), his cousin, reigning chief of Hilo. When all had retired for the night, Keoua (k) said to Kaleiopuu (k), "Brother, I cannot live long, for our uncle Alapainui (k) has an evil disposition and is praying me to death. My only request to you is to take my young son Kamehameha (k) and keep him with you, for some day he will become famous and will add luster to our lineage; do not neglect him."

As soon as Kaleiopuu (k) heard of the unkind disposition of his uncle Alapainui (k) towards his half-brother, he was much overcome. He immediately sent for their kahuna who resided at Kaimu in Puna, and was renowned for his power in performing the kuni rights.

As soon as the kahuna saw Keoua (k) he advised Kaleiopuu (k) to return home, as it was impossible for his brother to live, and stated that he wished to lose no time in performing the kuni rights on his uncle Alapainui (k), and that by the time he reached Kau he would hear of the death of Alapainui (k).

When Kaleiopuu (k) started for Kau he took with him Kamehameha (k) as requested by his dying brother.

Two days after his arrival in Kau he received word of Alapainui's (k) death and that the Kingdom had been left to his son, Keaweopala (k).

Kaleiopuu (k) immediately called his warriors and ordered his war canoes to be launched. They embarked that night, arriving at Kawaihae the following day, where a pitched battle immediately took place. It was a complete rout. Keaweopala (k) was killed and most of his forces slain.

Kaleiopuu's (k) son Kiwalao (k) and nephew Kamehameha (k) took part in this battle from start to finish. Kaleiopuu (k) kept his eye on Kamehameha (k), admiring his strength and valor, and vividly remembering what his brother had predicted. At this battle Kamehameha (k) won his first honors. The chiefs and warriors were unanimous in their praise of his bravery.

After the ceremony of offering the remains of Keaweopala (k) to the gods (Hai), Kalaniopuu (k) started for Kealakekua. While on their way a messenger arrived with the news of the death of his brother Keoua (k), the father of Kamehameha (k). On arriving at Kailua great preparations were being made for the mourning ceremonies. Wailing, casting off of raiment, removing the teeth, shaving the head, etc., took place. After these ceremonies King Kalaniopuu (k) started for Kaawaloa to await the remains of his brother Keoua (k) from Hilo. On their arrival they were deposited in a cave three-fourths of the way up the pali, whence it was called "Ka pali kapu o Keoua."

Then the kapu heiau of Hikiau was built to consecrate the god Kaili.

It was decided to have the two princes deliver the offering upon the altar. The offering was a pig and a soldier who had been killed.

Kiwalao (k), being the son of Kaleiopuu (k), the older brother, proceeded to take his offering to the altar and saw the open eyes of the corpse. He was afraid and chose the pig. Kamehameha (k) followed and without hesitation took the dead man. During this ceremony the kahunas were watching and immediately knew that Kamehameha (k) would be the monarch and not Kiwalao (k).

On this account the chiefs and priests held a council and decided to ask Kaleiopuu (k) to do away with Kamehameha (k), saying "Nip the bud of the Wauke while it is young." As soon as the king heard of this he told the assembled chiefs and priests that he did not want to kill his nephew, saying:

"Should I pass away, let them fight it out, for they are born equal. I will not know when I am gone, for I am not coming back."

As soon as these people heard the King's answer they tried to place the blame for the suggestion on one another, finally withdrawing from the King's presence as quietly as possible. When the king discovered this he said, "My beloved nephew will be killed by these people."

From that time Kamehameha (k) always resided with his uncle. When the King went to Maui to fight Kahekili (k), Kamehameha (k) accompanied him.

Kamehameha (k) and Kekuhaupio (k) were Kalaiopuu's (k) famous warriors in the battle of Kahului. One battalion commanded by Inaina (k), composed of the flower of Hawaii, were trapped and slaughtered, and completely wiped out with their noble commander.

After the slaughter Kaleiopuu (k) and Kamehameha (k) retired to Hana. From that time Hana became a District of Hawaii. It was not long after this Kaleiopuu (k) fought with Maui again, and it was during this war that the Maui warriors discovered the fighting qualities of Kamehameha. When they returned to their camps in Molokai they immediately told the chiefs who had not been able to participate, of a great fighter, a friend of King Kaleiopuu (k), who was so strong that he would break the body of his opponent in twain, while poised on his spear in mid-air. This little man was of a hard, thickset build with large lips. They said, "Our battalion held firmly. As soon as he came, we could not resist his strength and were obliged to retreat, and whoever came in his way would seldom escape. Should he fail in striking his opponent, a tall man who was much older and had wavy

hair, would strike the one just missed, but his thrust was lower and would break the opponent's body downward."

While these warriors were relating the battle news, Kealumoku (k), who resided with the chiefs of Molokai under Kehikili (k), immediately knew who these brave chiefs were. They were Kamehameha (k) and Kekuhaupio (k). During the recitation Kealumoku (k) was much wrought up over the insolent way in which Kamehameha's valor was described by the Maui warriors. Like one possessed by some unknown power, with no thought of the hospitality received from these chiefs under whose roof he was, or of being killed by them, he instantly stood up and chanted a mele inoa of Kamehameha's (k) composed by his foster mother, Keaka the Alii Kapu of Kau, wife of Kaleiopuu. When the chant was finished the Molokai chiefs offered their apologies, but Kealumoku (k) would not heed them. He immediately left for Hawaii and found Kamehameha (k) at Kohala.

After the battle of Wailuku, Kaleiopuu (k) and Kamehameha (k) retired to Wailuaiki to prepare for their voyage back to Hawaii. One morning they saw a ship anchored in the sea at Haalua. This was Capt. Cook. Kamehameha (k) boarded the vessel and remained all day. The vessel left that night and the following evening returned with Kamehameha (k). During his absence many a tear was shed by Kaleiopuu (k), who thought his nephew would not be allowed to return. Kaleiopuu (k) proceeded to Kailua and Kamehameha (k) to Kohala. When Kaleiopuu (k) was taken ill he sent for Kamehameha (k) and requested him to accompany him to Kau. On their way they stopped at Honomalino and Kaleiopuu (k) decided to send Kamehameha (k) home with his relatives, Keaumoku (k), Kameeiamoku (k), Kamanawa (k), Heulu (k) and Kekuhaupio (k), giving him as a present Kona, Kohala and Hamakua, and his aumakua; and to Kiwalao (k) he gave the districts of Puna, Kau and Hilo, with the following understanding: That the older cousin, Kiwalao (k), should be the superior of the two and whatever produce Kamehameha

(k) had in his district should be brought to Kiwalao (k) when he visited him. When this was all decided, Kaleiopuu (k) called the High Chiefs together and made known to them his wishes.

Kaleiopuu (k) addressed Kiwalao (k) as follows: "My son, you are the chief. The Kingdom is yours, but your cousin Kamehameha (k) is to have charge of the God Kaili for you both." After the King had made known his wishes he called for his canoes to take him to Kau and Kamehameha (k) returned to North Kona. The King arrived at Kailiki and from there he was carried overland in a palanquin (Manele) to Pakini, where he was confined to his sick bed. Kamehameha (k) heard of his failing health, assembled his chiefs at Honaunau and prepared to visit the dying King. Opuainapeau (k) and his son arrived from the King to relate to Kamehameha a presentment the King had had, and also to tell of the confirmation of the same by the King's spies. It was that Kiwalao (k) and Keawemauhili (k) were preparing to kill Kamehameha (k) and his chiefs upon their arrival. He implored him not to come, stating that if they saw his ambassador it would be the same as seeing him. Opuainapeau (k) said, "That if anything was to befall me I was to give this message to my son to deliver to you."

Kamehameha replied, "The King's word will be obeyed. I will return immediately to Kohala."

When Opuainapeau (k) related the success of his journey, the King said, "I can now rest easy."

A few days after this the King passed away.

Kiwalao (k) held a council and decided to take the King's remains to Kailua. Their reason for doing this was to give them an opportunity for taking Kau. It being the custom in those days, that wherever the cortege passed, that property would become the property of the reigning monarch and he could dispose of it to whom he wished.

One morning the people of Kona saw a circle of canoes at Heku point. They knew it must be the King's funeral.

Keaumoku (k) went out in his canoe to greet them, but to his great surprise he saw that the mourners were all prepared for war. Keaumoku (k) returned to shore and sent a messenger to Kamehameha (k), who was in Kohala, telling him of what he had seen.

Kamehameha (k) immediately started with Kekuhaupio (k) in canoes. Arriving at Kailua they were informed that the King's remains were in Hale o Keawe, at Honaunau.

They immediately started off again. At Keeki they heard that Kona had been taken by Kiwalao (k), but Keoua (k) was the only chief who did not get any portion of land. Being thus disappointed Keoua (k) returned to make trouble between Kamehameha (k) and Kiwalao (k). He cut down coconut trees at Keomowai and the following day came again and killed some of the people.

On hearing this Kekuhaupio (k) said to Kamehameha (k), "This is the fulfilling of the presentment of Kaleiopuu (k). The men of your district have been killed and the cocoanuts of your district have been cut down. Man and coconut are alike. Coconut is the food of the gods, and man is the servant of the gods. So we must now prepare ourselves."

That day the chiefs and their warriors assembled at Keeki.

We will now hear what transpired with the funeral cortege. They proceeded with the object of depositing the remains at Kailua.

When the canoes arrived at Kealia, the rain started from Aalanapo, and when they reached Kipapa Point they were caught in a terrific downpour. By the time they reached Kiilae the sky darkened and the rain came down like a deluge. The canoes filled with water and they were compelled to seek refuge at Honaunau, where they deposited the King's remains in the Hale o Keawe.

When Kiwalao (k) heard that Kamehameha (k) was at Keeki he knew that there would be war because Keoua (k) had done those things that were practically a challenge, so he sent for a kahuna to find out if he would be successful. The ka-

huna said, "You did very wrong, and none of you will escape if you insist on war." This excited the chiefs and they each tried to place the blame on the other, until they finally decided to send for another kahuna whose name was Hoomii (k) and who lived at Kealia. This kahuna advised Kiwalao (k) to go and see Kamehameha (k). "He will not kill you. When you two meet you will kiss each other and wail and all will be righted."

The kahuna returned to Kealia and told his wife they had better go to the forest and hide, as he had given Kiwalao (k) bad advice and they would be killed if found by any of the King's chiefs.

When Kiwalao (k) arrived at Kēē his marshal called "Kapu e Moi." All prostrated themselves except Kamehameha (k), who walked to Kiwalao (k), where they kissed and wailed. After this greeting Kiwalao (k) said to his cousin, "Our times will not be peaceful, as our cousin Keawemauhili (k) is bent on war. Should we fight, and you are the victor, all I request of you is to shield and protect my body."

After this communication Kiwalao (k) went back to Hōnaunau.

Kamehameha (k) said to his chiefs, "How I love my cousin Kiwalao (k)!" But Kekuhaupio (k) said, "We must put love aside or we will all be slaughtered by him. If he had any feeling of love for us he would have stayed here with us, and there would be no battle, but he wants to fight. That is why he returned."

That evening Kamehameha (k) and Kekuhaupio (k) visited the King (at Hōnaunau), where they found him preparing an awa feast.

Kekuhaupio (k) asked to pass some of the awa root to Kamehameha (k) to chew. After it was all prepared, Kamehameha (k) gave it to the King, who in turn passed it to a chief near him. This chief was just in the act of drinking when Kekuhaupio (k) knocked the cup out of his hand, and said to Kamehameha (k), "Let us go. The awa you prepared

is not for such people to drink. You chewed it for the King." They immediately left for Keei.

The following morning was beautiful. The warriors were all encamped at Hauiki awaiting the sunrise. They could see the soldiers of the King with ahuula and pololu marching along the lava plains of Ahuakai; also men in canoes. When they all arrived at Keomowai they rested. Then the kahunas of both armies said prayers.

Kamehameha (k) ordered his forces to move to the other side of the battle-ground at Mokuohai. This place was a plain of pahoe-hoe streaked with white sand that the sea had thrown up during the Kona storms.

When Kiwalao (k) saw Kamehameha's (k) army, he closed in and they met at Mokuohai. Nuhi (k) of Kiwalao's (k) army tripped Keeaumoku (k) and pinned him to the sand with his spear, exclaimingly exultingly, "The spear has pierced the yellow-back crab." Kiwalao (k) called to Nuhi (k), "Be careful of the leiomano." This is what Kiwalao (k) wanted to save.

When Keeaumoku (k) heard this he knew that Kiwalao (k) thought more of the teeth and was not thinking of guarding himself. At this time Kiwalao (k) was about to give Keeaumoku (k) another thrust with his spear when Keeaumoku (k) rose suddenly to his knees and disemboweled the King.

When Keawemauhili (k) saw that his King was killed he told the soldiers to run for their lives. Some fled over the mountains; others fled with Keoua (k) in their canoes.

They were all caught in a rainstorm called "Kona Awa," thus the name.

When Keoua (k) reached Hilo he proclaimed himself King of that district. Those who fled in the direction of Kohala were killed by Hinai's (k) army, which was on the way to help Kamehameha (k), while his son Nuhi (k) assisted Kiwalao (k).

When the battle ended the body of Kiwalao (k) was

wrapped in cocoanut leaves and taken to Honaunau, where Kamehameha (k) performed the rights of burial and then deposited the remains with his father, the late King Kalaniopuu\* (k). Thus Kamehameha (k) became sovereign of the Kingdom. This first battle of Kamehameha (k) for the empire was called Mokuohai.

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\* Note: Commonly called Ka lei opuu.

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