

## THE LESSER HAWAIIAN GODS.

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Vice-President of the Society.

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THE subject of this paper is The Lesser Hawaiian Gods, especially those gods who have received the worship, and become the patrons, of individuals and of families, and have entered most intimately into their daily life. We shall treat of them under the two heads of *Unihipili* and *Aumakua*. It does not include several other classes like the *lapus* [ghosts], and that myriad of spooks, sprites, and elves, with which the Hawaiian imagination peopled earth, sea, air, and the nether as well as the upper world.

The battle of Kuamoo, fought about December 20, 1819, settled the fate of heathenism as the religion of the state in these islands. With the abolition of the tabus and of human sacrifices, the two most important features of the old regime forever passed away. Under the powerful leadership of Kaahumanu, many of the idols were destroyed, and in a remarkably brief period Christianity became the recognized religion of the land. But the ancient beliefs of the people, though greatly modified by the changed condition of the country, still continued to exert a powerful influence on their lives. There have always been those who have clung to the faith of their fathers, and who, in secret, have kept up the worship of their ancestral gods. From time to time the outward manifestations of heathen worship have cropped out. Especially from the year 1863, when Kamehameha V began his reign, up to the death of King Kalakaua in the latter part of the year 1890, has this tendency been more apparent. Under their royal favor and sanction, the heathen party took courage and publicly revived many of their ancient practices. Open encouragement throughout the land was given to the *kahunas*, so that they enjoyed an influence over the people unknown to them since the strong arm of Kaahumanu had guided the helm of state. In the mind of the average Hawaiian, the old gods still exist as living and active beings, even though he may defy their power and abhor their worship. In justice to the race, however, we may add that all history shows that the uplifting of an entire people out of a

degrading heathenism into the light and liberty of a Christian civilization is not, and in the nature of things cannot be, accomplished in one or two generations. As with the Anglo-Saxon race, it is, and must be, a slow and long continued process of growth. While much of the ancient cult with its cruel and bloody ceremonies is necessarily a thing of the past, the familiar worship of the gods treated of in this paper has more naturally survived to the present. In describing this worship, it is proper, where it has undergone a substantial change, to speak of it in the present tense, but, in those cases where there is a doubt as to the extent of this change, the past tense seems preferable.

In the preparation of this paper I would acknowledge my indebtedness for substantial assistance to Prof. W. D. Alexander, Dr. N. B. Emerson, Mr. C. J. Lyons, Mrs. Emma Nakuina, J. M. Poe-poe, Esq., and, "last but not least," to my friends among the *kahunas* and others of the Hawaiian people, from whom I have gained most of my information. In its original form this paper was read before the Social Science Association of Honolulu, on the 25th of March, 1889, but since then it has undergone an extended revision.

#### UNIHIPILI.

Of all the familiar spirits which a *kahuna* [sorcerer] summons to execute his wishes, the most dreadful is an *unihipili*. To secure an alliance with a spirit of this class, it is necessary to attend carefully and systematically to a number of most exacting details. On the death of the child or the near relative or intimate friend whose spirit is to be devoted to this service, the body is not to be buried, but must be secreted in the dwelling house of the *kahu*<sup>a</sup> [keeper], who will carefully remove the flesh, and in due time gather up the bones and hair into a bundle. He must then present it with two *malos*,<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Kahu*, "an honored or upper servant; a guardian or nurse for children."

*Kahuna*, "a general name applied to such persons as have a trade, an art, or who practice some profession. Some qualifying term is generally added, as *kahuna lapaau* [a physician], *kahuna pule* [a priest]. Generally, in Hawaiian antiquities, the word *kahuna*, without any qualifying term, refers to the priest or the person who offered sacrifices."—(Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary.)

The *kahu* of an *unihipili* was the person who fed, guarded, and watched over it, as devotedly as a nurse cares for a living child. The word *kahu* in this connection implies the most intimate and confidential relations between the god and its guardian or keeper, while the word *kahuna* suggests more of the professional relation of the priest to the community.

<sup>b</sup> "A strip of *kapa* [cloth] girded about the loins of men; in former times the *malo* was the only dress worn by men when at work."—(Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary.)

one of which should be white [*malo kea*], and the other red [*malo puakai*], a single sheet of *kapa*<sup>c</sup>, either *puakai* or *ekahaloa*<sup>d</sup>, an *awa*<sup>e</sup> cup [*apu awa*], a red fish properly salted and dried, a choice *awa* root [*pu awa hiwa*], and a small calabash of *poi*<sup>f</sup> to be renewed every time he makes fresh *poi* for himself. At each meal the spirit of the departed must be invoked with the following prayer:

"E Puih, e hoi mai.  
Eia kou ai.  
Eia kou ia.  
Eia kou kapa.  
Eia kou awa.  
Eia kou malo.  
E hoi mai a ai a maona,  
A hele a paani a lelele.  
Amama, ua noa.  
No Puih, ka uhane kino wai lua, kino uhane."

Translated, this invocation is as follows:

"Return, O Puih<sup>g</sup> [calling the deceased by name],  
Here is thy food.  
Here is thy fish.  
Here is thy clothing.  
Here is thy awa.  
Here is thy malo.  
Come and eat thy fill,  
Then go again to thy play and skip around. Amen.  
The tabu is lifted and we are free.  
Unto Puih, the spirit separate from the body, a spirit body."

<sup>c</sup> "The cloth beaten from the bark of the *wauki* [paper mulberry], also from the *mamaki* and other trees."—(Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary.)

<sup>d</sup> There was a great variety in the style of the *kapas* manufactured by the ancient Hawaiians. Some of them were regarded as particularly acceptable as presents to the gods. This was the case with the *kapas* called *puakai* and *ekahaloa*, both of which were of a superior quality.

<sup>e</sup> A shrub known to botanists as *Piper methysticum*, from the root of which the Polynesians extract an intoxicating beverage, the favorite drink of gods and men.

<sup>f</sup> The chief food of the Hawaiians, usually made from the baked tuber of the *kalo* [taro, *Colocasia antiquorum*], "pounded, mixed with water, and exposed to fermentation for a short time," and then "eaten cold with the fingers."

<sup>g</sup> Literally an eel, but here it stands for a particular Hawaiian youth, who happened to be present when the *kahuna* was reciting this prayer. The name was brought in to fill out the form of the prayer, which requires the name of the deceased whose spirit is to become the *unihipili* to be mentioned in the prayer. For convenience of illustration, the same name is introduced in all the prayers in this paper where a name is required.

Let me here distinctly remark that the worship [*hoomanamana*]<sup>h</sup>, rendered to the spirit is not an ascription of power already possessed by the object worshipped, but an imparting to it of *mana* [power] which but for this worship it would never have. In short, the god does not make the *kahuna*, but the *kahuna* often makes his god.

Little by little the spirit gains strength and becomes mighty. During the time, months it may be, that he is engaged in *hoomanamana*, the *kahu* [keeper] must not at his peril omit this prayer at a single meal. Should he by any unfortunate chance be called away for a few days, he must take with him a lock of hair or a bone of the deceased, and the complete outfit of *malos*, *kapa*, *awa* cup, red fish, etc. At length the patience and perseverance of the *kahu* is rewarded. He feels a strange supernatural power resting upon him, enabling him to see into the mysteries of the spirit world, and to do wonderful things, impossible to other men. To increase this growing power to a still greater degree, he now divides the remains of the body into four parts and disposes of them as follows: A portion of hair is thrown into the *Lua Pele* [the burning lake of the volcano of Kilauea], and becomes a *kino makani* [a wind body]. Most of the bones and a portion of hair are thrown into the sea and become a shark. A finger, or finger nail, is thrown into a river or pond and becomes a *moo* [lizard]. Lastly, a bone or two is wrapped in *kapa* and placed in a secret recess of the *kahu's* house as a most sacred object of *hoomanamana*. Like the portion thrown into the *Lua Pele*, it too becomes a *kino makani*. It must be carefully guarded, and at every meal during the life time of the *kahu* must be invited to partake of the food in the exact words of the prayer already given. At the death of the *kahu* this solemn responsibility devolves upon his son or heir, who in turn becomes the *kahu*, to be succeeded again by his son, and so on until the family is extinct.

The *kahu* is now fully invested with a power most infernal. The shark in the sea, the *moo* on land, and the *kino makani* in the air, are his remorseless agents to pursue, torment and destroy his victims. Except to his *kahu*, the *unihipili* shows kindness and com-

<sup>h</sup> The simple word *mana* may, in brief, be explained as "supernatural power." With the causative prefix *hoo* it forms the verb *hoomana* [to worship], "to ascribe divine honors; to cause one to have regal authority."—(Andrews' Haw. Dict.) In the frequentative form *hoomanamana* [the causing one to have *mana*], the *imparting* of supernatural power seems to be the prominent idea, rather than the ascription of a power already possessed by the object worshipped. Naturally *hoomana* is the word used for the worship of Jehovah, while *hoomanamana* is only used of heathen worship.

passion to no one. Should the *kahu* at any time become *hewa* [at fault] by breaking a *kapu*<sup>1</sup>, or by failing to fulfill a vow or neglecting the regular prayer at meals, this power is turned against him with seven fold fury, to his own confusion and utter destruction. His fate and that of his family are sealed and a terrible death soon overtakes them.

In addition to the more powerful *unihipilis*, such as have been described, there are others which are represented as having an inferior development and a milder disposition. A little infant cast into the sea may become an *unihipili mano* [shark *unihipili*], by the *hoomanamana* of the *kahu*, aided by his shark *aumakua*. Another cast into the fresh water may become, by the aid of the lizard-god, an *unihipili moo* [lizard *unihipili*]. Another may develop into some other form, like that of the *aumakua* by whose aid it is transformed. Like all *unihipilis*, it also becomes a *kino makani* and rests upon its *kahu* as his *akua noho* [familiar spirit] by whose inspiration he is supposed to act. Its voice, inaudible to others, often whispers in his ears, warning him of the machinations of other *kahunas* and of danger from malign influences. If he devote himself to the healing art, it aids him in finding out what evil spirit is troubling his patient, thereby sometimes enabling him to restore the sick. But against the spell of the *anaana*<sup>2</sup>, an *unihipili* is powerless. As the family of the *kahu* becomes extinct, its familiar spirit is left to shift for itself, wandering at large with that innumerable throng of gods that infest land and sea in these islands.

#### AUMAKUAS.

A far more numerous and varied class of beings, whom the *ka-*

<sup>1</sup> The word *tabu*, or *taboo*, (Hawaiian *kapu*) is one of the few Polynesian words which have found a place in the English Dictionary. It is "a general name of the system of religion that existed formerly on the Hawaiian Islands, and was grounded upon numerous restrictions or prohibitions, keeping the common people in obedience to the chiefs and priests; but many of the *kapus* extended to the chiefs themselves. The word signifies prohibited, forbidden, sacred," etc.—(Andrews' Hawaiian Dictionary.)

<sup>2</sup> A form of sorcery, to some extent still practiced. In order to effect his purpose, it was absolutely necessary for the *anaana* sorcerer to secure something connected with the person of the intended victim, as the parings of the nails, a lock of the hair, etc., which was termed the *maunu* [bait], and served to bring the victim within the sphere of the sorcerer's influence. After the requisite imprecations and offerings had been made to *Uli*, the chief god of sorcery, the *maunu* was either buried or burned, and, whether through the influence of imagination or of poison secretly administered, the victim was apt to pine away and die. The prayer of *Uli* given on page 21 of this paper is a good specimen of an *anaana* prayer.—(See Alexander's "Brief History of the Hawaiian People," page 69.)

*huna* can summon to his aid, are the *aumakuas*. Their name is legion and their influence on the Hawaiians, not only of the past, but of the present as well, is beyond calculation, and deserves the careful consideration of every one who would understand the intellectual and spiritual bondage of this people.

The important distinction between an *unihipili* and an *aumakua* is this: The *unihipili* is created, as it were, by, and becomes the slave of, a single *kahuna*, who has the entire responsibility of its feeding and growth. An *aumakua*, on the contrary, is in general an ancestral god. It may have a host of worshippers, and usually enters into intimate and often pleasant relations with the clan or the class that acknowledges it as one of their gods. There is no doubt on its part a jealous guarding of its rights, and a punishing of those who owe it allegiance and fail to render it, but since it is assured of always having a number of devotees to give it the required *hoomanamana*, it is not driven to desperation, as is an *unihipili*, by the neglect of a single worshipper.

Of all the *aumakuas* the fiercest and most universally dreaded is *Kiha wahine* [the *moo*, or lizard-god]. She is represented as a mermaid, a woman above with long flowing tresses, while below the waist she is a *moo*. She usually lives with her companions of the same form in the water, and they are collectively known as *Na aumakua o ka wai* [the *aumakuas* of the water]. At times she comes on land and appears as a beautiful woman. Her mermaid companions are said to assume also the form of an imaginary water-lizard of a light color, called *moo inanea*, rarely appearing on land. There are two varieties which make their home on the land, namely, the *moo kaula* [common grey lizard], also called *moo alii* [royal lizard], because it climbs up the sides of houses, coming even into the royal presence, and the *moo kaala*, which, because it hides under stones and shuns the sight of man, is regarded as a much inferior creature.

Every one who is much acquainted with Hawaiians knows the dread, amounting oftentimes to terror, which the sight of a lizard will produce. "*Auwe ka moo!*" [Oh, the lizard!] as an expression of fear on the part of my Hawaiian associates was familiar to me in my childhood. The introduction of small-pox and leprosy among the Hawaiians is attributed by some of the *kahunas* to the implacable malice of *Kiha wahine* and her *moos*, who also are charged with afflicting people with painful sores such as *puha* [ulcers] and *alaala*

[scrofulous eruptions], and a general wasting of the system. When a person is taken with a chill on leaving the water it is said to be due to her ill will, expressed by the Hawaiians in these words: *No ke aloha ole o ka moo.*

A native doctor finds great difficulty in treating patients troubled with an *aumakua moo*, as he has no other more powerful *aumakua* with which to drive it out, and for this reason perhaps many of late years are claiming to practice their incantations by the power of the two foreign *aumakuas*, introduced, according to native belief, by the missionary fathers, viz., Jehovah and the Bible.

The fire goddess *Pele* received, especially on Hawaii, as much worship as any other *aumakua*, if not more. She could at times, especially when at home, assume the appearance of a handsome young woman, as when *Kamapuaa* [the hog-god], to his cost, was smitten with her charms when first he saw her with her sisters at Kilauea. At other times the innate character of the fury showed itself, and she appeared in her usual form as an ugly and hateful old hag, with tattered and fire burnt garment, scarcely concealing the filth and nakedness of her person. Her blood-shot eyes and fiendish countenance paralyzed the beholder, and her touch turned him to stone. She was a jealous and vindictive monster, delighting in cruelty and at the slightest provocation overwhelming the unoffending victims of her rage in wide spread ruin. Her usual place of abode was in the summit crater of Mauna Loa, or at the volcano of Kilauea, where she built her *halema'uma'u* [rude temporary houses of fern] only to tear them down and build again as her ungovernable temper moved her.

That painful deformity of the eyelids, especially of the lower eyelid, called *makahelei*, is charged to the malice of this goddess, who is herself represented as suffering with the most aggravated ophthalmia.

Her younger sister, *Hiiaka i ka poli o Pele*, after slaughtering many of the inferior gods that formerly dwelt near Waimea, on Hawaii, on the famous Mahiki road, became an active agent in the destruction of the Hawaiian race. She is the especial *aumakua* of those sorcerers who practice the murderous arts of *po'i-uhane*, *apo leo*, and *hoonoho uhane*.<sup>k</sup> These terms are explained in Prof. Alex-

<sup>k</sup> "The *po'i-uhane*, who worshipped *Hiiaka*, had the faculty of not only seeing the souls of living persons [*kakaola*], but of catching them with the hand [*po'i*], and of either squeezing them to death or imprisoning them in a water-calabash."

ander's admirable account of sorcery in his "Brief History of the Hawaiian People."

An inferior demon of the *Pele* family is the obscene *Kapo*, a conception of impurity too revolting to admit of description. She is continually employed by the *kahunas* as a messenger in their black arts, and is claimed by many as their *aumakua*.

In pleasing contrast with the above is the *pueo* [owl], perhaps the most beneficent to man of the lesser gods. As an *aumakua*, it was invoked as "*Pueo nui o Kona*" [the great owl of Kona], because so large a portion of the people of the district of Kona, on Hawaii, revered it as peculiarly their family god. The *pueo* gave its *kahus* and faithful worshippers timely warning of approaching danger. It aided the prisoner in untying the knotted cords with which he was bound and in making good his escape, and guided the fugitive, hiding him from his pursuers so that they might not find him.

The shark was perhaps the most universally worshipped of all the *aumakuas*, and, strange to say, was regarded as peculiarly the friend and protector of all his faithful worshippers. In the case of the *pueo*, all birds of that species were equally considered as representatives of the *aumakua* known as "*Pueo nui o Kona*." They were not worshipped as individual owls, and when one died the life of the *aumakua* was in no wise affected. Not so with sharks. Each several locality along the coast of the islands had its special patron shark, whose name, history, place of abode, and appearance, were well known to all frequenters of that coast. Each of these sharks, too, had its *kahu* [keeper], who was responsible for its care and

The sorcerer then had the owner of the soul in his power, and could levy blackmail on him as he pleased, for if he killed his *kakaola* he would go into a decline and soon die."—(Alexander's "Brief Hist. of Haw'n. People," pages 72-3.)

*Apo iêo* was the art of depriving a person of the power of articulate speech. In order to do this, the *kahuna* prayed at night to *Uli* and *Hiiaka*, presenting them with the usual offerings of *awa*, etc. The next day he sought out his intended victim and entered into conversation with him, during which, as was believed, he caught and took away his voice, or paralyzed his vocal organs, so that he could never speak again. He might linger a long time in this wretched condition, or die in a few days if the sorcerer so willed.—(Ditto. Page 71.)

*Hoonoho uhane*. "The practices of the *kahuna hoonoho* strongly resembled those of modern spiritism. The medium was called the *kahu* or *ipu* of the spirit, which was often called a *makani* [wind]. Sometimes the spirit descended upon the *kahu*, and sometimes it spoke from the roof of the hut. Probably some of these *kahunas* were ventriloquists. The necromancer always demanded *awa* before commencing operations. . . . After drinking the *awa* the wind descended upon the *kahuna*, and showed him the cause of the sickness, whether the patient had been bewitched by a sorcerer, and by whom. The same practitioners were employed in cases of theft to recover stolen goods, and to detect the thief."—(Ditto. Page 68.)



worship. The office of *kahu* was hereditary in a particular family, and was handed down from parent to child for many generations, or until the family became extinct. The relation between a shark-god and its *kahu* was oftentimes of the most intimate and confidential nature. The shark enjoyed the caresses of its *kahu* as it came from time to time to receive a pig, a fowl, a piece of *awa*, a *malo*, or some other substantial token of its *kahu's* devotion. And in turn it was always ready to aid and assist the *kahu*, guarding him from any danger that threatened him. Should the *kahu* be upset in a canoe and be in serious peril, the faithful shark would appear just in time to take him on his friendly back in safety to the nearest shore. Such an experience, it is said, happened to Kaluahinenui, the *kahu* of a certain shark, while voyaging in the Alenuihaha channel. The schooner was overtaken by a severe storm and was lost with most on board. In her distress Kaluahinenui called upon her shark god, *Kamohoalii*, who quickly came to her rescue, taking her upon his back to the neighboring island of Kahoolawe.

This story of shark intervention and many similar to it are extensively believed at the present day. In Prof. Alexander's History<sup>1</sup>, however, where the real facts of this case are carefully stated, no allusion is made to any aid rendered by a shark. His statement is as follows: "At noon on Sunday, the 10th of May, 1840, the schooner *Keola* foundered and sank a considerable distance west of Kohala Point. As there was a strong current running to the northward, the passengers and crew, seizing on oars, boards, etc., swam for Kahoolawe, then about thirty miles distant. A Mr. Thompson of Lahaina was drowned, but his wife and two young men reached Kahoolawe the next day. Mauae of Lahaina and his noble wife, Kaluahinenui, swam together, each with an empty bucket for a support, until Monday afternoon, when his strength failed. His wife then took his arms around her neck, holding them with one hand and swimming with the other, until she found that he was dead, and was obliged to let him go in order to save her own life. After sunset she reached the shore, where she was found and taken care of by some fishermen, having been thirty hours in the sea." It is interesting thus to learn the facts connected with this modern instance of a case illustrating the popular belief.

The largest and most celebrated of the Hawaiian shark-gods was

<sup>1</sup> Pages 230-1.

*Kuhaimoana*, a male whose mouth was said to be as large as an ordinary grass-house and could take in two or three common sharks with ease. Most of the channels around the islands of Maui and Oahu were too shallow for his huge bulk. More than once he had the misfortune to get aground, and to avoid this fate he spent most of his time in the deep waters off the island of Kaula.

Second to him in size and power was the shark called *Kamohoalii*, older brother of the goddess *Pele*. Like many of the other shark-gods, he was able at pleasure to assume the human form. In that form he dwelt in profound solitude in a most sacred spot called the *Pali Kapu o Kamohoalii* [the sacred precipice of *Kamohoalii*], overlooking the fires of the volcano of Mokuaweoweo.<sup>m</sup> Another *Pali Kapu o Kamohoalii*, with a like tradition, is similarly situated with reference to the crater of Kilauea. Even *Pele*, fiercest of gods, dared not allow the smoke from her furnaces to trespass on the awful sanctity of her brother's abode. He was also said to make his home in the highest cone in the crater of Haleakala. From time to time he walked among men, when he claimed the well-known prerogative of an Hawaiian god to discard his *malo*. In his shark form he is still said to roam at large in the deep waters about the island of Maui, and is claimed by many as their *aumakua*.

One reason for the affection shown to the shark *aumakua*s was the fact that so many of them claimed human parentage, and were related by ties of kinship to their *kahus*. Such was the case with *Kaahupahau* and her brother *Kahi'uká*, the two famous shark-gods of the Ewa Lagoon on this island. Their birth and childhood differed in no essential features from that of other Hawaiian children up to the time when, leaving the home of their parents, they wandered away one day and mysteriously disappeared. After a fruitless search, their parents were informed that they had been transformed into sharks. As such, they became the special objects of worship for the people of the districts of Ewa and Waianae, with whom they maintained the pleasantest relations, and were henceforth regarded as their friends and benefactors. After a time the man-eating shark, *Mikololou*, from the coast of the island of Maui, paid them a visit and enjoyed their hospitality until he reproached them for not providing him with his favorite human flesh. This they indignantly refused to give, whereupon, in spite of their protest, he made a raid

<sup>m</sup> The summit crater of Mauna Loa, on the Island of Hawaii.

on his own account upon the natives, and secured one or more of their number to satisfy his appetite. *Kaahupahau* and her brother promptly gave warning to their friends on shore of the character of this monster that had invaded their waters. To ensure his destruction they invited their unsuspecting guest to a feast made in his honor at their favorite resort up the Waipahu river. Here they fed him sumptuously, and at length stupefied him with the unusual amount of *awa* with which they supplied him. While he was in this condition, their friends, who had come in great numbers from the surrounding country, were directed to close up the Waipahu river, which empties into the Ewa Lagoon, with their fish nets, brought for the purpose, while they attacked him in the rear. In his attempt to escape to the open sea he broke through one net after another, but was finally entangled and secured. His body was then dragged by the victorious people on shore and burned to ashes, but a certain dog got hold of his tongue, and, after eating a portion, dropped the remainder into the river. The spirit of the man-eater revived again, and, as a tongue, now restored and alive, made its way to the coasts of Maui and Hawaii, pleading with the sharks of those waters for vengeance upon the sharks of the Ewa Lagoon. They meantime secured the aid of *Kuhaimoana* and other notable sharks from the islands of Kaula, Niihau, Kauai, and Oahu. A grand sight it was to the numerous spectators on shore when these mighty hosts joined combat and began the great shark-war. It was a contest of gods and heroes whose exploits and deeds of valor have long been the theme of the bards of the Hawaiian Islands. We cannot enter into the details of this story, which, if wrought out, would be worthy of being called an epic. We will only say that in the first great battle the friends and allies of the cruel man-eater were routed by the superior force of their opponents, while the good *Kaahupahau* and her brother long continued to enjoy the affectionate worship of their grateful people. It is said that she is now dead, while her brother *Kahi'uká* still lives in his old cave in the sea, where he was visited from time to time by his faithful *kahu*, *Kimona*, now deceased. Sometimes *Kimona* missed his fish nets, when he was pretty sure to find that *Kahi'uká* had carried them to a place of safety, to preserve them from destruction by hostile sharks.

By some authorities *Kaahupahau* is represented as the mother of

*Kahi'uká*, but as there is always an uncertainty in these matters of shark-relationship, I will not attempt to settle the point.

When we reflect on the amphibious habits of the Hawaiians and their familiarity with and exposure to the dangers of the sea, it is no longer a matter of surprise that they should propitiate certain sharks, and cultivate the pleasantest possible relations with them, as a defence against other sharks with whom they may not be on friendly terms.

The *leho* [cowry] is also a beneficent *aumakua*. It was over four hundred years ago, during the reign of Umi, on Hawaii, that the great value of its shell as a means of attracting and securing the *hee* [squid] was first discovered, and a lucky cowry is the squid catcher's greatest treasure, even to the present day. Like the shark, the *leho* helps its shipwrecked *kahu* to reach the shore. Should the *kahu* of a shark *aumakua* send him on an errand of mischief to one who has an *aumakua leho* [a cowry *aumakua*], the *leho* will outwit the shark, and, clinging to his eyes, will blind him so that he cannot do the intended ill.

The *opihī* [limpet], so common on our rocky coasts, is also an *aumakua* which defends its *kahu* against sharks in the same manner as the *leho*. It is of great service to fishermen, calming the raging surf and aiding them in bringing their canoes to land in safety. The *enuhe* [worm] is an *aumakua* of ill omen, worshipped under the name of *Kumuhea*, *he kanaka ino* [*Kumuhea*, a bad man]. The story is that *Kumuhea* was a monster living in a cave at the base of the hill called after him *Puu Enuhe* [Hill of the Worm], just north of the Hilea cane-fields in the district of Kau, on Hawaii. By day he carefully kept out of sight, hiding away in his cave. At night he paid attentions to a daughter of a prominent chief of the district, carefully concealing from her the fact that he was as much an *enuhe* as a man. When the fraud was discovered, her friends resolved upon his destruction. She was instructed to tie some *kapa* cloth about him, which would easily tear and leave the shreds upon the bushes as he returned to his cave. The artifice proved successful, and he was tracked to his den and slain the next day by the enraged friends of her family. From him sprang the hordes of *peluas* and other worms so destructive to vegetation, also the *loli* [sea-cucumber] and allied forms of marine life.

It is related of a certain Hawaiian King that as he was riding out at the head of a company of his followers, he spied one of these

creatures crossing his path, when he suddenly halted, and, with an expression of fear and horror on his countenance, pointed at the worm, uttering in a constrained voice the single word *enuhe!* Without any further remark or explanation the entire party at once turned back and gave up the trip for that day.

The following fishes, in addition to those already mentioned, were worshipped as *aumakuas*, namely, the *aawa*, the *oōpuhue*, the *ohua*, the *opae* [shrimp], the *uu*, addressed in prayer as *‘Uu kani po*, the *kokala*, addressed as *Kane i Kokala*, the *humuhumu-nuku-nuku-apuaa*, one of the forms in which the hog god, *Kamapuaa*, took to the sea when *Pele* made it too hot for him to remain on land, the *hee* [squid], addressed as *Haaluaa*, the *paoo*, and the *puhi* [eel]. With them we may also mention the *wana* [echinus], and the *loli* [sea-cucumber], already referred to. I give this without claiming it to be a complete list.

The following birds received similar worship, viz., the *aa*, the *alae* [mud hen], the *amakihi*, the *elepaio*, the *iiwi*, the *io*, the *ou*, the *ua’u*, the *kolea* [plover], the *moa* [common fowl], addressed as *Kane-ulu-po*, the *nene* [wild goose], the *noio*, and the *pueo*, already mentioned. The *alae* is interesting for the part it played in the story of the discovery of the art of producing fire by friction, which it revealed to Maui, the Prometheus of Hawaiian mythology. "Its cry," as Alexander states in his history<sup>n</sup>, "was an omen of death."

The *elepaio* is the first of all the feathered race to welcome the dawn. When she utters the familiar cry *elepaio*, the night-labors of gods and heroes must cease, though broken off in the midst of an incompleted task. In this way she continually appears in the old legends. Among the gods of the canoe-makers, she held the position of inspector of all *koa* trees designed for that use. If, while inspecting a tree, she pecked it with her bill in a particular way, the tree had to be abandoned as unsound.

Three quadrupeds were included among the *aumakuas*, viz., the hog, dog and rat. The hog was the most powerful of all land animals known to the early Hawaiians. In the legend of *Kamapuaa*, we have for a hero a gigantic hog who was able for a time to defy the power of mighty *Pele*. Like so many of the demi-gods of Hawaiian mythology, this unruly hog was born of human parents and could appear as a handsome young man, a hog, a fish, or a tree, as

<sup>n</sup> Page 38.

suiting his purpose. This power of changing his appearance led him into all sorts of mischievous pranks and deviltry, and added greatly to the complications in which he became involved. The legend requires sixteen hours to repeat, and is perhaps one of the best commentaries on the ineffable depths of impurity in which some heathen delight to wallow. In general, the more vile, obscene, and hateful the god, the more ready were the deluded people to render him worship.

While the hog-god embodies the idea of unbridled passion and mighty brute force, the dog-god is associated with faithful friendship to man and superhuman sagacity, as may be seen in the really beautiful story of the dog *Puapualenalena*, who flourished over four hundred years ago, in the time of King Liloa, on Hawaii. The Hawaiians throughout all the islands were passionately fond of their dogs, treating them with the same affection which they bestowed upon the other members of their families.

The rat [*iole*] shares with the owl the credit of being a most beneficent *aumakua*. Like the *pueo*, the *iole* is ever ready to assist its *kahu* when a captive, releasing him from his fetters and guiding him to a place of safety. When, according to the old mythology, the demi-god, *Makalii*, attempted to rob mankind of their food by putting all the taro, potatoes, yams, bananas, etc., into a net, which he hung up out of the reach of men to the *naulu*, ["a thick dense cloud" in the sky above Hanalei, on the island of Kauai], it was a rat, hidden away in the *Koko a Makalii* [net of *Makalii*] by the man *Puluena*, who bit a hole in the net and let all the food drop down to earth. For this important service, the *iole* was associated with *Kanepuaa*, the furrow-making god, as a god of agriculture. The *hei* [cat's cradle<sup>o</sup>] of *Koko a Makalii* still keeps fresh in mind the bold attempt of the robber, while the name *Iole*, given to a land in Kohala, on Hawaii, preserves the memory of the deliverer who saved mankind from hunger.

The following trees and plants were included among the *aumakuas*, or, speaking more strictly, served as the abodes of those *aumakuas* who manifested their power and presence through them,

<sup>o</sup> The ancient Hawaiians were exceedingly expert in this child's game, played like the familiar game of "cat's cradle" with a loop of string on the fingers. Usually the player worked the design on his own fingers, sometimes with the aid of his toes or teeth, unassisted by any other person. Many of these figures were supposed to represent some familiar mythological incident alluded to in the chant with which the play was generally accompanied.

namely, the *ahēahea*, the *iliahi* [sandal-wood], the *ipu awaawa* [gourd], the *oa*, the *ohia ku makua*, the *olomea*, used in producing fire by friction, the *pilo*, the *kauila*, the *ko* [sugar cane], the *koa*, the *kakalaioa* [bramble], the *ki*, the *lama*, the *maia* [banana], the *manono*, and the *niu* [cocoanut]. All the wooden charms and fetiches, still so common among the Hawaiians, are made of the various woods included in the above list.

The *aumakua* in the water was addressed as *Kane i ka wai e ola*, and that in the stone as *Kane pohakaa*, a god often invoked in certain forms of sorcery. The worshipper of *Kane pohakaa* was forbidden to sit on a stone and was debarred from various of its uses.

The disgusting worship of *Nuu*, the *aumakua* in human waste, was associated with the treatment of the two diseases, *pupule* [insanity], and *hoounauna*, a chronic pain in some particular part of the body. In either case the disease was caused by an evil spirit sent by a *kahuna* to occupy the body of the afflicted person. The cure, always most difficult, required the exorcising of this spirit by a *kahuna*, who rubbed the patient with the substance most offensive to the spirit, and for that reason the most powerful of the remedial agents known in ancient Hawaiian medical practice. The *kahuna* who had *Nuu* for his *aumakua* could not burn this substance in the fire. If by any chance he should happen to do so, he became *hewa* [at fault], and must propitiate *Nuu* with a feast and with special prayer.

The *aumakua* in clouds was worshipped as *Nuu mea lani*, i. e. rain as *Na kulu wai lani o Kulanihakoī*, in the lightning as *Lanioaka*, and in the thunder as *Kane wawahi lani*.

The *aumakua* in the sun, known as *Lanipipili*, also that in the moon as well, were chiefly invoked as detectives in cases of petty thieving. It is a strange comment on the intellectual and spiritual condition of these islanders that in their worship such an insignificant place should be given to the noblest of the heavenly bodies, while abject and slavish fear drove them to prostrate themselves before the foulest fiends.

Among stars, *Sirius*, called *Newe* or *Hoku kau opae*, determined the best time for catching shrimp by her rising or setting. *Newe* and *Keoe* were known as *Na-hoku-hookele-waa* [boat-steering stars]. The Milky way, or a portion of it, was called *Na ia* [the fishes], and the expression "*Ua huli na ia*" [the fishes are turned] indicated the near approach of morning. The Pleiades were called *Na huihui*, "the bunch," or *Na hiku*, "the seven." *Venus* was named *Hoku*

*loa*. The nebula of Andromeda, aptly described as having the appearance of a candle seen through horn and known to the Hawaiians as *Poloahilani*, also as *Hoku makapaa* [the star with a blind eye], and *Na kao* [Orion], complete the list of the star *aumakuas*.

The four greater gods, *Ku*, *Kane*, *Kanaloa*, and *Lono*<sup>p</sup>, were sometimes regarded as *aumakuas*, particularly by the highest chiefs, while *Hina* the wife of *Ku*, so famous throughout Polynesia as the patron of *kapa* beaters,\* was also invoked as their *aumakua* by those who practiced that art here. According to one tradition, she led a secluded life on the summit of Hualalai, in the District of Kona, on Hawaii, with her son *Hiku*, who made the bold descent into the *Lua o Milu* [the pit of *Milu*]<sup>q</sup>, and brought back the spirit of his beloved from the nether world. The cave in which she beat her *kapa* and the six *kahua hale* or raised foundations of the houses in which she lived, still mark the site of her ancient abode, while her body, long since turned to stone on the Kona coast near Hoopuloa, rests beside the huge *moo* for whose company she deserted her mountain-home. According to another tradition, she lived with her son *Mauï* near Rainbow Falls in Hilo, on Hawaii, where she experienced great difficulty in drying her *kapa*, on account of which *Mauï* sprang upon the sun and broke off some of his rays, so that he was thereafter

<sup>p</sup> It must not be supposed that in their worship these four deities were necessarily associated together as a group. The two brothers *Kane* and *Kanaloa* were represented as being much together, so that the worship of one of them generally involved the worship of the other. Not so, however, with *Ku* and *Lono*. Indeed, "Lono had a separate order of priests and temples of a lower grade, in which human sacrifices were never offered."—(Alexander's History, pages 36.)

<sup>q</sup> The *Lua o Milu* was the Hades of Hawaiian mythology. Its entrance, according to the usual account of the natives, was situated at the mouth of the great valley of Waipio, on the island of Hawaii, in a place called Keoni [the sands], where the sands have long since covered up and concealed from view this passage from the upper to the nether world. "The valley of Waipio is a place frequently celebrated in the songs and traditions of Hawaii, as having been the abode of *Akea* and *Milu*, the first kings of the island. . . . Some said that all the souls of the departed went to the *Po* [place of night], and were annihilated or eaten by the gods there. Others said that some went to the regions of *Akea* and *Milu*. *Akea* (*Wakea*), they said, was the first king of Hawaii. At the expiration of his reign, which terminated when he died to *Akea*, and shared the government of the place with him. Their land is a place of darkness; their food lizards and butterflies. There are several streams of water of which they drink, and some said that there were large *kahilis* and wide spreading *kou* trees beneath which they reclined." Ellis' Polynesian Researches, London edition, 1853, pp. 365-7. For a further account of the *Lua o Milu* and of *Hiku's* descent into it, see "The Myth of *Hiku* and *Kawelu*," by the author, in Thrum's Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1883.



obliged to travel at a slower pace through the heavens and furnish a day of sufficient length for *kapa*-drying and other domestic cares.

Another tradition locates the home of *Hina* at Nanakuli in Wai-anae, on this island, where the cave in which she beat her *kapa* still exists. There, too, is the hill Heleakala on which her son *Maui* stood when he seized hold of the sun. The people of the Island of Maui, however, locate the scene of this seizure in their great extinct crater of Haleakala.

Each of the various crafts and professions had its *aumakua*, whose worship was an essential part of the business. The bird catchers had their *La'e*, a female. Some of the gods of the canoe makers are mentioned in the following fragment of an ancient prayer:

“O *Kupulupulu*,  
 O *Kualanawao*,  
 O *Lea*, o ka wahine noho mauna,  
 O *Ku*,  
 O *Mokuhalii*,  
 O *Kupaaikēe*,  
 O *Nohinohiana*.”

*Mokuhalii* was the chief of these, dwelling in the woods, and, like a king, doing nothing himself, while his sister *Lea* was his chief minister. *Kupaaikēe* was the inventor of the bevel adze called by his name. He presided over the work of the interior of a canoe.

The fishermen retain more of the ancient superstitions than any other industrial class. Their chief *aumakua*, to whom they looked for abundant supplies of fish and other good things, was *Kuula*, whose worship extended throughout the islands. The following prayer to *Ku* and *Li* is quite charming for its simplicity and beauty:

“E *Ku e Li*,  
 E hee i kou honua aina nei e hua,  
 E hua i hea?  
 E hua i (*Kalaeloa*),  
 Hee ilaila,  
 Ulua ilaila,  
 Ke akule ilaila,

<sup>r</sup> This line may be rendered:—

“*Lea*, the woman that dwells on the mountains.”

The other lines contain only the names of gods.

Anae ilaila,  
 Oio ilaila,  
 Ke aku ilaila,  
 Kawakawa ilaila,  
 Ka moi ilaila.

Kaina mai kou honua aina nei e hua,

E hua i hea?  
 E hua i ka aina,  
 Uala ilaila,  
 Ke kalo ilaila,  
 Ka ipu ilaila,  
 Ka nin ilaila,  
 Ka maia ilaila,  
 Ka hala ilaila,  
 Ka umeke ilaila.

Kaina mai kou honua aina nei e hua,

E hua i hea?  
 E hua i ke kanaka,  
 E hua i ka wahine,  
 E hua i ke keiki,  
 E hua i ka puaa,  
 E hua i ka moa,  
 E hua i ka waiwai,  
 E hua i ka aina.

Kaina mai kou honua aina nei e hua,

E hua i hea?  
 E hua i na alii,  
 E hua i na makaainana,  
 E hua i ka noho ana,  
 E hua i ke aloha,  
 A e pale i ka lokoino.  
 Amama, ua noa.  
 Ua lele wale aku la<sup>s</sup>.

<sup>s</sup> This is the usual formula with which a Hawaiian prayer concludes, though the last clause, *Ua lele wale aku la*, is often omitted. Every prayer to be of any avail had to be chanted by the *kahuna* from beginning to end in a single breath, without break or interruption of any kind whatsoever. During the uttering of the prayer a deathlike stillness was enforced by severe penalty. At the close of a prayer the *kahuna* said: "*Amama*," which may be freely rendered "amen;" "*ua noa*," "it is free," or, otherwise expressed, the *taboo* has been taken off, giving those present a chance to breathe freely once more. If all had gone well the *kahuna* might add, "*Ua lele wale aku la*," "it flies away," that is to say, the prayer or the sacred influence flies to its destination.

Translated, this prayer reads as follows:

*"O Ku and Li,*

*Soften your land that it may bring forth;*

*Bring forth where?*

*Bring forth at Kalaeloa,*

*Bring forth the squid,*

*Bring forth the ulua<sup>1</sup>,*

*Bring forth the akule,*

*Bring forth the anae,*

*Bring forth the oio,*

*Bring forth the aku,*

*Bring forth the kawakawa,*

*Bring forth the moi.*

*Encouragingly lead your land that it may bring forth;*

*Bring forth where?*

*Bring forth on the land,*

*Bring forth the sweet potato,*

*Bring forth the kalo,*

*Bring forth the gourd,*

*Bring forth the cocoanut,*

*Bring forth the banana,*

*Bring forth the pandanus,*

*Bring forth the calabash.*

*Encouragingly lead your land that it may bring forth;*

*Bring forth what?*

*Bring forth man,*

*Bring forth woman,*

*Bring forth the child,*

*Bring forth the hog,*

*Bring forth the fowl,*

*Bring forth wealth,*

*Bring forth land.*

*Encouragingly lead your land that it may bring forth;*

*Bring forth what?*

*Bring forth chiefs,*

*Bring forth the common people,*

*Bring forth pleasant living,*

<sup>1</sup> The words *ulua*, *akule*, *anae*, *oio*, *aku*, *kawakawa* and *moi* are Hawaiian names of fishes.

Bring forth good will,  
 And ward off ill will.  
 Amen. The kapu is lifted and we are free.  
 The sacred influence flies away."

It is not uncommon for fishermen, even now, to keep hidden away in some secret recess a wooden or stone fetich carefully wrapped up in *kapa* to which they direct their prayers for success in fishing. Most of them are quite unwilling to part with these heirlooms, which have come down to them with the accumulated superhuman power [*mana*] of generations. To many of these fetiches they apply the name *Kuula*.

*Laka*, the obscene goddess, still presides over the unspeakable abominations of the *hula*<sup>u</sup>. No one can master the art who has not first sacrificed a pig to her in token of allegiance.

*Nakuialua* was the *aumakua* of those who practiced the *lua* or *haihai* [the art of breaking bones] and *mokomoko* [the art of boxing.]

*Kalaiḥaoa*, the famous poison god of Molokai, originally dwelt in the poison-tree long since cut down. He is now supposed to dwell in the numerous wooden fetiches which have been consecrated to him. These pieces of wood are carefully kept by the *kahuna*, wrapped up in *kapa*, and the aid of the god is obtained by scraping a small portion from the stick.

*Uli* is the chief *aumakua* of sorcery and the infernal arts of praying to death. She was a woman who came from Kahiki and whose great reputation for skill in the black-arts led to her being worshipped [*hoomanamana*-ed] after death. It is not my purpose to discuss the subject of sorcery in this paper, as it would require a lengthy essay to do it justice. The following is a sample of a prayer to *Uli*:

"E *Uli e!*  
 E *Uli nana pono,*  
 E *Uli nana hewa,*  
 E *Uli i uka,*  
 E *Uli i kai,*  
 Eia mai la o (*Puhi*), he *kanaka,*

<sup>u</sup> The ancient Hawaiian national dance, more or less practiced up to the present time. It "was not so much dancing in the usual sense of the term, as acting out by gestures and movements the ideas expressed by the songs which they accompanied." One of the chief objects sought in the worship of *Laka* was to prevent any slip of the memory on the part of the performer while chanting the songs.

*He ia wawae loloa,  
 Ke iho aku la,  
 Ke kuukuu aku la,  
 Nana ia (Puhi),  
 He ia wawae loloa mai ke poo a i ka hii.  
 Amama, ua noa.  
 Lele wale aku la."*

Translated, the prayer reads as follows:

*"O Uli!  
 O Uli, look upon the right,  
 O Uli, look upon the wrong,  
 O Uli, towards the mountains,  
 O Uli, towards the sea,  
 Here is (Puhi), a man,  
 A fish with long legs.  
 He is descending.  
 He is being let down.  
 Look upon (Puhi).  
 He is a fish with long legs from head to tail.  
 Amen. The tabu is lifted and we are free.  
 The sacred influence flies away."*

The following prayer to *Kuamu*, an inferior demon in the form of a man connected with the *Pele* family, often sent by the *kahunas* of the present day as a messenger of mischief, is truly devilish:

*"E Kuamu, e hele oe ia (Puhi),  
 E komo hii a e komo poo,  
 Oia kau ai me kau ia.  
 Aole e hoi hou mai i hope nei a kuailo.  
 Ua noa."*

Translated, this prayer reads as follows:

*"O, Kuamu, go thou to Puhi,  
 Enter him head and tail,  
 Let him become your bread and meat.  
 Return not back again until he is devoured of worms.  
 The tabu is lifted."*

Every family had its *aumakua*, to whom each individual owed allegiance and worship, and from whom he expected aid and guidance in all the affairs of life. So long as a person devoutly ob-

served the *kapus*, fulfilled his vows, and rendered due worship, the *aumakua* was his best friend and protector. But let him fail in any of these particulars, thereby becoming *hewa* [wrong, or guilty], he incurred its wrath and displeasure, which was visited upon him by pain and sickness. The *kahuna* must then be called in to determine which of the *aumakuas* was offended and for what cause, and to atone for the fault by the proper prayer and offerings. One of the grave faults that a person might commit was "*pepehi aumakua*," that is, injuring or destroying any animal of the class held sacred by his family. This fault [*hewa*] was never done intentionally, and, when committed by an unlucky accident, the offender was bound to make a feast of such articles as *ūwa*, a pig, fowls, squid, the fishes called *aholehole*, *anae*, *kala*, *kumu*, and *palani*, together with *kalo*, potatoes, bananas and sugar cane, as an offering to the offended god, while the priest repeated the following prayer:

"*Na aumakua o ka po,*  
*Na aumakua o ke ao,*  
*Na aumakua o ke ahi me ke kuahiwi,*  
*Na aumakua o ke kai, .*  
*Na aumakua o ka wai,*  
*Ka paa iluna, ka paa ilalo,*  
*Ka hookui, ka halawai.*  
*Eia ka puaa,*  
*Eia ka awa,*  
*Eia ka moa,*  
*Eia ka ia,*  
*Eia ka ai,*  
*He mohai na Pui.*  
*He uku no kana mau hewa a pau i hana ai.*  
*E kala mai.*  
*Hoopau i ka pilikia o ka oukou pulapula.*  
*E lawe aku i na pilikia a pau mai kona kino ae.*  
*Eia kana uku ia oukou,*  
*Na aumakua kane,*  
*Na aumakua wahine,*  
*Na aumakua keiki,*  
*E hele mai e ai a e ike ia Pui,*  
*Ka mea nana keia mohai.*  
*Amama, ua noa."*

Translated, this prayer reads as follows:

*Ye gods of the night,  
 Ye gods of the day,  
 Ye gods of the fire and of the mountains,  
 Ye gods of the sea,  
 Ye gods of the water,  
 The solid heaven above and the solid earth beneath,  
 The place of union where they meet.  
 Here is the pig,  
 Here is the awa,  
 Here is the fowl,  
 Here is the fish.  
 Here are the vegetables,  
 An offering from Puhi,  
 A payment for all the sins he has committed.  
 Forgive.  
 Bring to an end all the troubles of your devotee.  
 Remove all distress from his body.  
 This payment he makes to you,  
 Ye gods, male,  
 Ye gods, female,  
 Ye gods that are children.  
 Come hither and eat and see Puhi,  
 Who makes this offering.  
 Amen. The kapu is lifted.*

As the children inherited the *aumakua*s of both father and mother, the tendency was for every family to have a large number of *aumakua*s. It is claimed that the primary idea of the word *aumakua* is the spirit of an ancestor, deified and rendered potent for good or evil, by the long continued *hoomanamana* of its posterity. The spirits of those who had become famous for skill or power would very naturally after death receive the worship of those of their craft or profession. Many of these *aumakua*s still retain the shadowy form of a human spirit. Others have been transformed into various animal forms, or, as some prefer to consider it, manifest themselves through those animals. Others again have taken up their abode in trees, stones, and other objects. Everything strange and unusual becomes, in the eyes of an uninstructed people, a god. Indeed, we may believe that to the ignorant mass the object in which the god

resided would often be quite confounded with the god itself. In this way, it would seem, the primary idea of ancestral worship has become greatly confused, if not sometimes quite lost sight of, so that it has become associated with the most odious and debasing form of fetich worship.

The friendly relations maintained between the Hawaiians and some of their *aumakua*s is in pleasing contrast with the dread with which the Tahitians regarded their *oromatua*s, who, as Ellis tells us in his "Polynesian Researches," "were never invoked but by wizards or sorcerers, who implored their aid for the destruction of an enemy, or the injury of some person whom they were hired to destroy. The *oromatua*s were the spirits of departed fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, children, etc. The natives were greatly afraid of them, and presented offerings in order to avoid being cursed or destroyed, when they were employed by the sorcerers<sup>v</sup>."

Moses was divinely instructed to present the true God as a "jealous God" who would not tolerate the worship of another. Not so does the Hawaiian conceive of his deities. They willingly accept a worship in common with other gods, so long as they themselves are not entirely deserted, and left out in the cold. The term "*Akua pukuole*" used by the Hawaiians, and found in one of their old prayers, represents the deserted gods as hungering and starving for lack of worship and physical sustenance to be derived from the offerings which their neglectful worshippers failed longer to provide. The great need of the Hawaiians is to have clearly impressed upon them the fact of the absolute unity of the Godhead, a fact which they have never sufficiently appreciated and from which many of them have departed. The teaching of the Hawaiian *kahunas* is that the decay of the race is the result of the vengeance of their old time offended deities, fearful of being supplanted by the white man's God who, they claim, was brought from over the water in a book [the Bible]. This foreign God, according to the belief, came into the land as a weakling and a stranger, but by the worship [*hoomanamana*] paid him he has waxed mighty and destroyed the balance of power in the Hawaiian pantheon. Hence the revival of heathenism and the revolt against Christianity which has in a measure prevailed during the past few years.

<sup>v</sup> Ellis' Polynesian Researches, London edition, Vol. 1, pp. 334-5.

[To Rev. R. R. Hoes, Chaplain of the U. S. Flag-ship "San Francisco" and Librarian of the Hawaiian Historical Society, I am especially indebted for the careful reading of the proof, and for many valuable suggestions which have enabled me to make the paper clearer to readers in foreign countries.]



## TRACES OF SPANISH INFLUENCE IN THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS.

HON. C. R. BISHOP,

PRESIDENT OF THE HAWAIIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

DEAR SIR:—The monograph by Prof. Alexander on the early relations of these Islands to Spanish enterprise and navigation in the Pacific is very interesting and suggestive. I may be pardoned for recounting a number of instances of the introduction of Mexican and South American ideas and habits amongst Hawaiians.

The use of adobe is perhaps one of the most prominent. People in these days can hardly realize how important an element that was in the early building up of Honolulu. House lots were enclosed in walls of adobe, built from the clayey soil of the yard itself, with *pili* grass stirred in. Great pits in the yards, afterwards used as rubbish holes, attested to the origin of these walls, which of course cost simply the labor of putting up. Crude boxes of boards served as moulds for the huge sun-dried bricks. Even important buildings had walls of this material, plastered with lime burnt from Hawaiian coral, and whitewashed inside and out. Notable among such was the early Mission School House, built, I think, about 1830, and the regular meeting place of the annual missionary gathering, known as the "General Meeting." This building still stands, south of Kawaiahao Church, at the foot of a lane, is still used as a schoolhouse by the Board of Education, and will, I trust, long be preserved. The great Kaumakapili Church, about 60x120 feet, if my recollection serves me right, had walls of this material; also all the early buildings of Punahou school, being 20 rooms built in single line around three sides of two open quadrangular courts, these courts too being a Spanish idea, followed also in the original Royal School, which stood on the site of the present barracks-building. I mean the school for young princes and chiefs taught so long by Mr. and Mrs. Cooke. It may also be queried whether the old Honolulu custom

of shutting in the front door-yard from the sight of the street, either by high walls or board fences, may not have originated from the same Spanish source, or it may have grown out of the Hawaiian *ki* fence.

At Waimea, Hawaii, on the highland plateau, where ranged the wild cattle descended from Vancouver's original importation, long horned Spanish cattle like unto the modern Texas steer,—at Waimea, the Mexican Hispano-Indian found his home and occupation. He was called by the Hawaiian, specifically, Huanu, Hoke, Hoakina, etc., these names of course meaning Juan, Jose, Joachin, etc. He had with him sometimes full-blooded Indians of Mexican origin, whom I saw in my boyhood. He was called generically "Paniolo" or "Espagnol," the word that now-a-days means "cow-boy." He brought with him the Mexican saddle in all its rich adornment of stamped bull-hide leather, and stirrups broad-winged. He brought the jingling spur with bells of hand-wrought steel. He brought the hair-rope in strands of alternate black and white, and the hand-whirled wheel for twisting it; also the hand-wrought bit, not so crude as it looked to be, and a necessity in bullock-hunting. All this away back in the thirties, long before the birth of the modern cow-boy. Do not I remember him well, this Spaniard, the red bandanna handkerchief tied over his head under the broad flapping hat with rim upturned in front? Did not the serape—poncho we always called it, and the name must have come from South America—commend itself to our common sense as a defence from rain? We adopted it, and the red silk sash in the bargain, and the leggins not buttoned. Last but not least, the lasso or lariat, braided evenly and lovingly from four strands of well-chosen hide, then well-stretched and oiled, coiled in the same left hand, that with the little and third finger held the finely braided bridle rein; (Mexican too this was, and Mexican the causing of the rein to bear on the horse's neck, instead of to pull on the mouth.) A more formidable weapon this lasso than revolver or Winchester; and no artist has yet mastered the problem of depicting the throwing of the lasso. not even the inimitable Frederick Remington. These Spaniards are the men that taught the Hawaiians the conquest of the wild herds of Mauna Kea. Not tens, but hundreds of thousands, of skeletons have bestrewed the sides of that old mountain. They rode the descendants of the old Moorish horse, the tough bronco.

The model of the Mexican cart was another importation into Hawaii. The wheels were cross-sections of koa-logs trimmed into circular form, with holes bored for the wooden axle—the box, a frame of sticks something like to a hay-cart, only perpendicular sided, and, for carrying loose freight, lined with hides. The yokes of the oxen were cut so as to fit just back of the horns, and were fastened to the horns by thongs of raw-hide. In a cart thus fitted out did a missionary mother and her family make the journey over the rocky road between Kawaihae and Waimea, and these carts carried hides, koa-boards, *pai-ai*, there called *holoai*, and New England rum, back and forth over the same road.

Mexican saddles, bits and bridles, spurs and pack-saddles were long a specialty of Waimea manufacture. The tan-pit, the blacksmith's shop, the saddler's shop, and shoemaker's too, all flourished as home industries—now, alas, no longer. The wire fence is limiting the size of the "drive in," the *hohuli bipi*,—"round-up," the Americans call it. The merchant ship brings the cheap spur and inferior saddle for the degenerate *paniolo* of 1892; and so on—in short, the times are changed.

On a late occasion I spoke of the Mexican poppy which whitens deserted fields in dry districts of Hawaii as a probable importation like the above. But I am informed on good authority that it figures in British botanical collections, dating from Captain Cook's first visit. Consequently, either the birds or the currents of the ocean probably brought it here—more probably the former.

Honolulu, April 27, 1892.

CURTIS J. LYONS,

ERRATA.

Page 3, foot note c, *wauki* should be *wauke*.

Page 12, line 36, *pelua* should be *peelua*.

Page 16, foot note q, line 3, Keoni should be Keone.