THE LONG VOYAGES OF THE ANCIENT HAWAIIANS

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

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

DISTURBANCE IN SOUTHERN POLYNESIA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

STORY OF KARIKA AND TANGIIA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KARIKA'S CHARACTER.

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

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

DEATH OF TUTAPU.

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

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3 Avaiki, so called by the Rarotongans ; probably the same as Savaii of Samoa. "Notes on the Geographical Knowledge of the Polynesians;" S. Percy Smith, F.R.G.S., Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891, p. 285.

4 I conjecture that by this depreciating epithet, "sister," Tangiia meant himself.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE STORY OF PAAO.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

6 "Kipaku aku, kipaku mai." See "Moolelo Hawaii," by E. Helekunihi (MSS), p. 14.

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

"Yes, he is," said Lonopele.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

9 Each lashing, or *aha*, had its own name; the one used on this canoe was called "*Aliomaomao*." MSS. by E Helekunihi, p. 16.

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

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

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

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

There is apparent reason to suppose that Paao also took with him the two large *maika*[10] stones, which popular tradition named "*Na Ulu a Paao*," and which only a few years ago Mr.

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

Fornander[11] was instrumental in rescuing from the ruins of the *Heiau* of Mookini in Kohala.

VOYAGE TO HAWAII.

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

"Take me, too."

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

"A prophet."

"Your name ?"

"Makuakaumana."

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

"I'll take it," said Makuakaumana.

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

INCANTATIONS OF LONOPELE.

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

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

12 "Ua poniia o Paao no ka holo ana e imi aina "

13 "Lohe koliuliu puainawele, me he leo no ka hanehane i pai a hiuhini ia ka nawele o Paao "

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

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

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

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

ARRIVAL AT PUNA.

Land was first reached in the district of Puna, Hawaii. Here Paao built a temple (*heiau* or *luakini*), significantly called *Wahaula* (red mouth), in honor of his idol, *Kukailimoku*. His residence, however, was not fixed until he reached Kohala, where he built the large temple (*heiau*) of *Mookini* in a land (*Ahupuaa*[16]) called *Puuepa*, the ruins of which remain to the present day.

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

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

17 *Alii*—king or chief.

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

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

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

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

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18 *Makaainana*—plebeian or commoner.

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

20 (Note below).

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

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

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

CHARACTER AND INFLUENCE OF PAAO.

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

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

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

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

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

To Paao is acredited the introduction of the *puloulou*, an insignia of the tabu.

PAAO'S CANOES.

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

The office of high priest was probably hereditary in the family of Paao, the last incumbent being Hewahewa, who was high priest at the time of Kamehameha's death in 1819.[23]

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

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

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

PAUMAKUA.

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

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

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

KAULU-A-KALANA.

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

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

24 "O ka haole nui, maka alohilohi, ke a aholehole maka aa, ka puaa keokeo nui maka ulaula." See MSS. of Helekunihi, p. 34, also The Polynesian Race, A. Fornander, Vol. II., pp. 23-26.

25 Also called "Ka Mimilo o Manawaikeoo."

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

* * * * *

I am Kaulu,
Offspring of Kalana,

* * * * *

This one has visited Wawau,
Upolu, little Pukalia,
Great Pukalia, and Alala,
Pelua, Palana and Holani,
The isthmus of Ulunui and Uliuli,
Melemele, Hiikua, Hiialo, and Hakalauai;
Has spanned the heavens,
Spanned the night, spanned the day,
Made the circuit of Tahiti,
Tahiti is traversed by Kaulu.

* * * * *

MOIKEHA.

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

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

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

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26 "The Polynesian Race," A. Fornander, Vol. 2, pp. 13-14.

included the Valley of Waipio on Hawaii,[27] loved the same woman, Luukia, she being the wife of Olopana.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

RETURN OF MOIKEHA TO HAWAII.

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

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

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

KAMAHUALELE'S ADDRESS TO HAWAII.

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

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

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

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

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

Moikeha at Kauai.

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

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

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

KILA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KILA'S VOYAGE TO TAHITI.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

KILA'S SEARCH FOR LAA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE TRIPLETS OF LAA-MAI-KAHIKI.

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

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

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

LAA-MAI-KAHIKI'S SECOND VISIT TO HAWAII.[38]

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

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

37 By a bard named *Pakui. MSS. of S M. Kamakau, p 16*
38 See MSS. of Kamakau, pp. 186-9.
39 See MSS. of Helekunihi, p. 27.

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

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

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

KAHAI, GRANDSON OF MOIKEHA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"*O ke anuenue ke ala o Kahai,*
Pii Kahai, koi Kahai;
He Kahai i ke koi ula a Kane;
Hihia i na maka o Alihi:"[42]

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

CONCLUSION.

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

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

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

42 The Polynesian Race, Vol. 2. p. 16.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * * *

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

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

N. B. EMERSON.

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

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

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

N. B. E.

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